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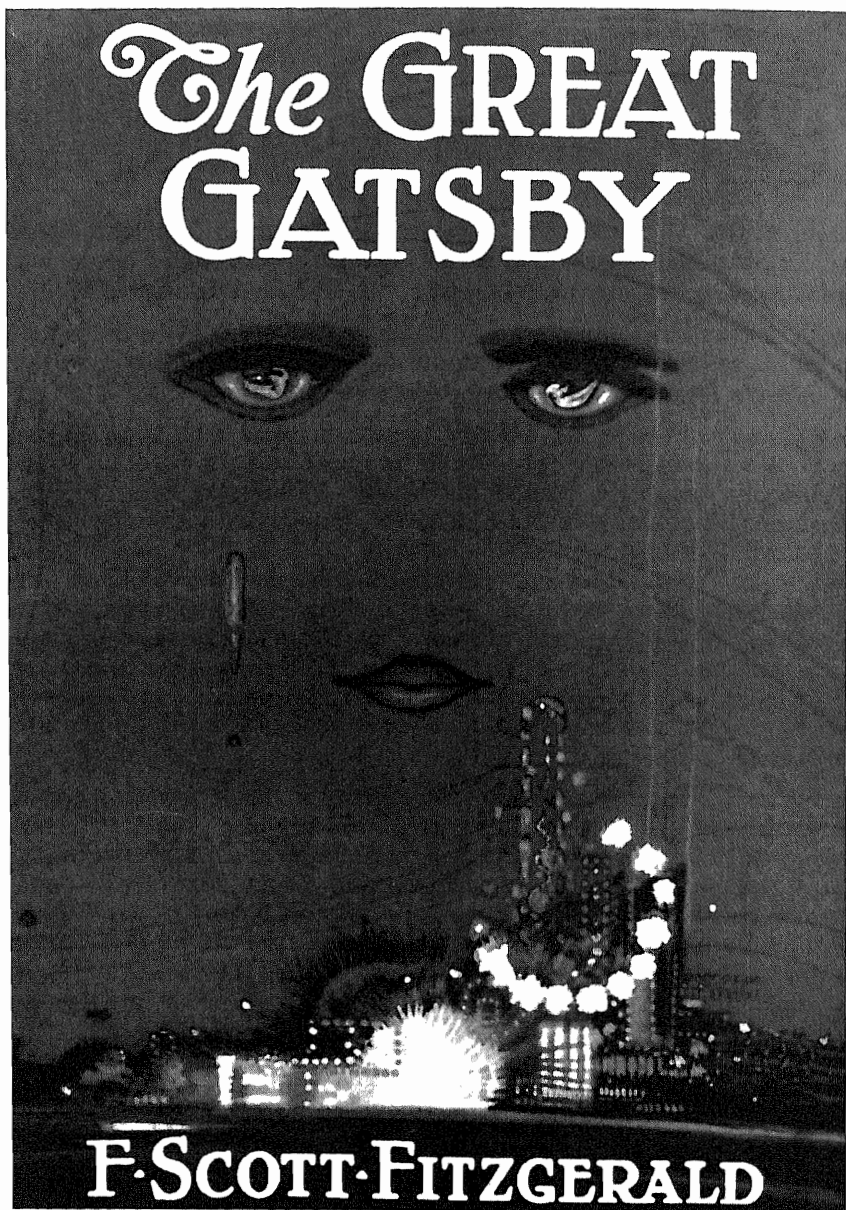
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Francis Cugat, dust jacket for F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1925). Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Celestial Eyes

From Metamorphosis to Masterpiece

BY CHARLES SCRIBNER III

Francis Cugat's painting for F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* is the most celebrated and widely disseminated jacket art in twentieth-century American literature, and perhaps of all time. After appearing on the first printing in 1925, it was revived more than a half-century later for the "Scribner Library" paperback edition in 1979.¹ More than a decade (and several million copies) later it may be seen in classrooms of virtually every high school and college throughout the country. Like the novel it embellishes, this Art Deco tour de force has firmly established itself as a classic. At the same time, it represents a most unusual — in my view, unique — form of "collaboration" between author and jacket artist. Under normal circumstances, the artist illustrates a scene or motif conceived by the author; he lifts, as it were, his image from a page of the book. In this instance, however, the artist's image *preceded* the finished manuscript and Fitzgerald actually maintained that he had "written it into" his book.² But what precisely did he mean by this claim?

Cugat's rendition is not illustrative, but symbolic, even iconic: the sad, hypnotic, heavily outlined eyes of a woman beam like headlights through a cobalt night sky. Their irises are transfigured into reclining female nudes. From one of the eyes streams a green luminescent

¹ Cugat's cover was also used for the Collectors Reprints edition of *The Great Gatsby* (New York: Published by Collectors Reprints, Inc., by arrangement with Charles Scribner's Sons, a division of Macmillan Inc., 1988).

² The Fitzgerald-Perkins correspondence is preserved in the Charles Scribner's Sons Archives at the Princeton University Library. Most of the letters are published in *Dear Scott/Dear Max*, ed. J. Kuehl and J. R. Bryer (New York: Scribner's, 1971). For a complete discussion of the composition and publication of the novel, see *The Great Gatsby*, Matthew J. Bruccoli, ed. (Critical Edition; London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). For biographical background, see Matthew J. Bruccoli, *Some Sort of Epic Grandeur: The Life of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1981).

tear; brightly rouged lips complete the sensual triangle. No nose or other discernible facial contours are introduced in this celestial visage; a few dark streaks across the sky (behind the title) suggest hairlines. Below, on earth, brightly colored carnival lights blaze before a metropolitan skyline.

It has been alleged that Fitzgerald's symbolic billboard eyes of Dr. T. J. Eckleburg derived from Cugat's jacket. Fitzgerald describes them as "blue and gigantic — their retinas are one yard high. They look out of no face, but, instead, from a pair of enormous yellow spectacles which pass over a non-existent nose." If this hypothetical source is valid, then we are clearly not dealing here with a literal translation from graphic imagery into prose: there can be no mistaking of Cugat's seductive visage for the grotesque, bespectacled eyes of the optician's billboard. Yet each is, in its own way, both ethereal and mystical; each is explicitly abstracted from a face, in each case with the nose "edited out." As we would expect from a writer of Fitzgerald's imagination, he thoroughly transforms his visual sources, or background images, into his own creation: that is to say, one symbol *evolves* into another.

To those who still find the derivation troublesome, an alternative has recently been proposed for Fitzgerald's acknowledged debt to Cugat: Nick Carraway's image of Daisy as the "girl whose disembodied face floated along the dark cornices and blinding signs" of New York at night.³ This citation at the close of chapter four appears to correspond perfectly with the final jacket. But, at the same time, it raises the question of how far we may reasonably seek interrelations between the jacket art and the text of *Gatsby*. In other words, what did Cugat know of the novel before he illuminated its jacket? And what did the novelist know of Cugat's artwork before he completed his manuscript? Fortunately, Matthew J. Bruccoli's recent discovery of Cugat's preparatory studies and sketches for the design sheds new light on these questions as well as on the creative evolution of his iconographic masterpiece.⁴

³ This observation was made to Professor Bruccoli by his student, Mary Jo Tate.

⁴ Professor Bruccoli has very kindly provided the following account of the discovery: "In my 1990 F. Scott Fitzgerald seminar at the University of South Carolina, I discussed the thematic connections between *The Great Gatsby* and its original dust jacket, mentioning the mystery of Francis Cugat (or F. Coradal-Cugat). Little is known about the artist responsible for the most eloquent jacket in American literary history: he was born in Spain in 1893 and raised in Cuba; he was brother of orchestra leader Xavier

In the editor-author correspondence between Maxwell Perkins and Fitzgerald there are several references to the *Gatsby* jacket art. These comments are more intriguing than clarifying. The first occurs on 1 April 1924: Perkins asks whether Fitzgerald has finally decided on a title for his new novel-in-progress so that Scribners might proceed to design a "wrap," or jacket, in anticipation of its publication on Scribners' fall list. (Fitzgerald's ledger entry for that month begins "out of the woods at last and starting novel."⁵) Six days later, Perkins writes that he does not like Fitzgerald's proposed title, "Among the Ash Heaps and Millionaires," although he likes the general idea it seeks to convey: "The weakness is in the words 'Ash Heaps' which do not seem to me to be a sufficiently definite and concrete expression of that part of the idea." This reaction evidently prompts either a phone call or a meeting, and is followed by Fitzgerald's confessional letter of *circa* April tenth ("A few words more relative to our conversation this afternoon. . .") in which he explains that he has "every hope + plan of finishing my novel in June" but that it may take "10 times that long." In any event, the new novel will be "a consciously artistic achievement + must depend on that as the 1st books did not." Perkins replies on the sixteenth: "The only thing is, that if we had a title which was likely, but by no means sure to be the title, we could prepare a cover and a wrap and hold them in readiness for use. In that way, we would gain several weeks if we should find that we were to have the book this fall. . . ."

On April fifteenth, Scott and Zelda decided to move to Europe. There is no further correspondence on the subject of a title or jacket art before they set sail in early May. The next written reference indicates a *fait accompli*; it appears in Fitzgerald's long itemized letter sent from France some time in August. (Perkins acknowledged it on the twenty-seventh, and it took at least ten days for mail to travel by sea from the Villa Marie in St. Raphael to the Scribner offices in New

Cugat; he worked in Hollywood as a designer for Douglas Fairbanks; he had a one-man New York show in 1942; he died on 13 July 1981. No other Cugat book jackets have been identified.

"A student in my seminar, Martha Alston, mentioned the mystery to her visiting aunt and uncle, Evelyn and Harvey Kilby; they traced a collection of Cugat's work to the Wilmington, Delaware, artist and restorer Roy Blankenship, who had acquired them from a Connecticut gallery. Mr. Blankenship permitted me to purchase the eight pieces I recognized as preceding the *Gatsby* jacket."

⁵ *F. Scott Fitzgerald's Ledger*, Matthew J. Bruccoli, ed. (Washington: Bruccoli Clark/NCR Microcard Editions, 1973).

York.) Item one: "The novel will be done next week. That doesn't mean however that it'll reach America before October 1st as Zelda and I are contemplating a careful revision after a week's complete rest." Item six: "For Christ's sake don't give anyone that jacket you're saving for me. I've written it into the book." This seemingly straightforward request has provoked much speculation among scholars: What did he mean by "don't give anyone"? That Perkins should keep it secret? But that would nullify the very purpose in commissioning such art in advance, which was, then as now, to create promotional materials. The answer is simpler, and may be deduced from the context, or sequence, of the correspondence between editor and author.

In a letter of July fifteenth Perkins writes: "I suppose it will be here in a month or six weeks. . . . In any case, your book could not now wisely be published this fall and the spring will be a good season with us because there is no other book of fiction that will have a large sale then. . . ." From these remarks, Fitzgerald must have inferred (correctly) that since his new novel had been taken off the "rush" list for fall 1924 and would not be published for at least another nine months, there was no longer a current need to have jacket art for its advance promotion. Perhaps he feared that Cugat's artwork might therefore be given to another book — or perhaps even to *Scribner's Magazine*, for which it would have made a striking poster — rather than being held in abeyance for several more months. Perkins immediately puts this worry to rest in his response of September tenth: "There is certainly not the slightest risk of our giving that jacket to anyone in the world but you. I wish the manuscript of the book would come, and I don't doubt it is something very like the best American novel." Two things are clear: that Perkins had yet to read any of it, and that he would reserve for it the previously designed jacket art.

On October twenty-seventh, Fitzgerald writes that he is finally sending *The Great Gatsby*. (He offers as an alternate title "Gold-hatted Gatsby.") He follows up a week or so later with a letter in which he says:

I have now decided to stick to the title I put on the book. *Trimalchio in West Egg*. The only other titles that seem to fit it are *Trimalchio* and *On the Road to West Egg*. I had two others *Gold-hatted Gatsby* and *The High-bouncing Lover* but they seemed too light.

On November fourteenth Perkins replies that none of his Scribner colleagues likes the "Trimalchio" title, and urges him to change it. Significantly, he adds: "But if you do not change, you will have to leave that note off the wrap. Its presence would injure it too much; — and good as the wrap always seemed, it now seems a masterpiece for this book." Fitzgerald replies: "About the title. I'll try my best but I don't know what I can do. Maybe simply 'Trimalchio' or 'Gatsby.' In the former case I don't see why the note shouldn't go on the back."

Fitzgerald's typescript no longer exists, but the first set of the proofs is slugged "Trimalchio" at the top of each galley. We can only guess at the length and content of the note explaining Trimalchio's source in Petronius' *Satyricon*. That ancient Roman host of extravagantly decadent feasts did indeed offer a worthy prototype for Fitzgerald's *Gatsby*, but would readers or booksellers have been able to pronounce it, much less spell it?

Fitzgerald was never satisfied with the title *The Great Gatsby*. Yet when the first copy of the book arrived he wrote to Perkins that he "thought the new jacket was great." No doubt this concise compliment conveyed not only his approval of all its elements — illustration, flap copy, typography, and back ad — but also something of an inside joke. To the author it was "new" insofar as it incorporated for the first time an actual title, from which Fitzgerald quoted the adjective — perhaps with pointed irony, since he had earlier denigrated to Perkins its titular connection with Jay Gatsby: "The Great Gatsby" is weak because there's no emphasis even ironically on his greatness or lack of it. However, let it pass."

Was the jacket "new" to Fitzgerald in other ways? The payment card in the Scribner art files confirms that Cugat designed only one jacket, for which he was paid one hundred dollars. If the original jacket painting that Perkins had promised to save for Fitzgerald had in fact been replaced by a new one, there would be some indication of it on the card, as well as the payment of an additional fee to the artist. It is inconceivable that Perkins would have allowed such a substitution without further comment to the author after his written promise and, equally important, after his declaring the original design "a masterpiece." On the other hand, it is entirely conceivable that Fitzgerald had never seen Cugat's final, finished artwork, the magnificent gouache painting today preserved in the Princeton University Library. Since there were at most a couple of weeks between the com-

mission and Fitzgerald's departure for France, it is likely that what he had seen — and “written into the book” — was one or more of Cugat's preparatory sketches which were probably shown to him at Scribners for his comments before he set sail. We may turn to the sketches themselves in search of a plausible scenario.

In the first, Cugat has rendered in charcoal and pen-and-ink, washed with watercolor and gouache, a scene of a train passing through a deserted depot amidst a bleak, grey landscape with distant hills. Over the green building at the far left a faint, crude image of a face emerges from the dark sky. Cugat proceeded to enlarge this sketch, altering some of the architecture, transforming the central track into an undulating curve, and adding two significant elements that leave no doubt as to the connection between this watercolor and Fitzgerald's novel-in-progress. The red coal cars are lettered “Long Island Railroad,” and over this ashen scene float, like so many balloons, a series of sad, feminine eyes and mouths — all without noses or other physiognomic features. Signed at the bottom right, this sheet clearly represents a *modello*, or demonstration piece, for the advance jacket and derives its conception from Fitzgerald's originally proposed title, “Among the Ash Heaps and Millionaires.” Cugat probably based this scene on an oral briefing, either by the art director or by Perkins himself, that included Fitzgerald's explanation to Perkins of the “valley of ashes” as it would eventually appear in chapter two: “About half way between West Egg and New York the motor road hastily joins the railroad and runs beside it for a quarter of a mile, so



Francis Cugat, preliminary sketch of a railroad scene, for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Charcoal with pen-and-ink, watercolor, and gouache on paper. Matthew J. Bruccoli Collection.



Francis Cugat's second, enlarged version of the railroad scene, for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Charcoal with pen-and-ink, watercolor, and gouache on paper. Matthew J. Bruccoli Collection.

as to shrink away from a certain desolate area of land. . . .” The fact that in Cugat's sketch there is no indication of a billboard, much less the bespectacled eyes of Doctor Eckleburg, suggests that Fitzgerald had yet to conceive his optical symbol or, at least, had yet to share it with either his editor or the artist. We are left, then, with the enticing possibility that Fitzgerald's arresting image was originally prompted by Cugat's fantastic apparitions over the valley of ashes; in other words, that the author derived his inventive metamorphosis from a recurrent theme of Cugat's trial jackets, which the artist himself was to reinterpret and transform through subsequent drafts.

The next stage, a quick pencil and crayon sketch, adapts structural elements (rooftlines, poles, automobile) from the “valley of ashes” watercolors, but the geography is unclear. The emphasis has shifted upward to the celestial eyes — now weeping — with outlined eyebrows, rouged lips, and what appear to be asymmetrical nostrils completing the hovering visage. A second face, or perhaps an alternate pose, is sketched at the left and framed by a schematic heart that devolves into a sort of calligraphic kite's tail. Above it, Cugat has drawn an enlarged version of the left eye, from which streams the broken, staccato trail of a tear, and which serves as the starting point for an expansive, purely abstract sweep of a circle breaking into three radiating lines — a variation on motifs already suggested by the cursive improvisations in the sky above the valley of ashes.

The focus on a single weeping eye links this rough draft with Cugat's next, and innovative, conception of the jacket: the pencil and



Photo: Don Breza

Francis Cugat's sketch of a face over a house, with details of a weeping eye, for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Pencil and crayon on paper. Matthew J. Bruccoli Collection.

crayon drawing of the female countenance, now reduced to one eye with parted red lips and viewed in profile (as he has noted on the sheet). The schematic tear falls into Long Island Sound, with the New York skyline (labelled "cityscape") in the background and five prominent pilings directly below. Cugat's anatomical license is reminiscent of Egyptian hieroglyphics, if not Picasso. His invention — a beacon-like and beckoning eye of what Shakespeare called "the constant image" of the beloved — suggests an iconographic prefiguration of that "enchanted object" of Gatsby's, the green light "of colossal significance" at the end of Daisy's dock which had seemed as near to her "as the star to the moon."

The next and penultimate version is rendered in pencil, crayon, charcoal, and gouache. Cugat here returns to his original image of a celestial visage seen straight on. Two full, bright blue eyes now hover over the expanded cityscape. Their hooded gaze alone expresses their sorrow; the trailing tear is integrated into a pattern of lines that punctuate the urban sky like so many flares or shooting stars.

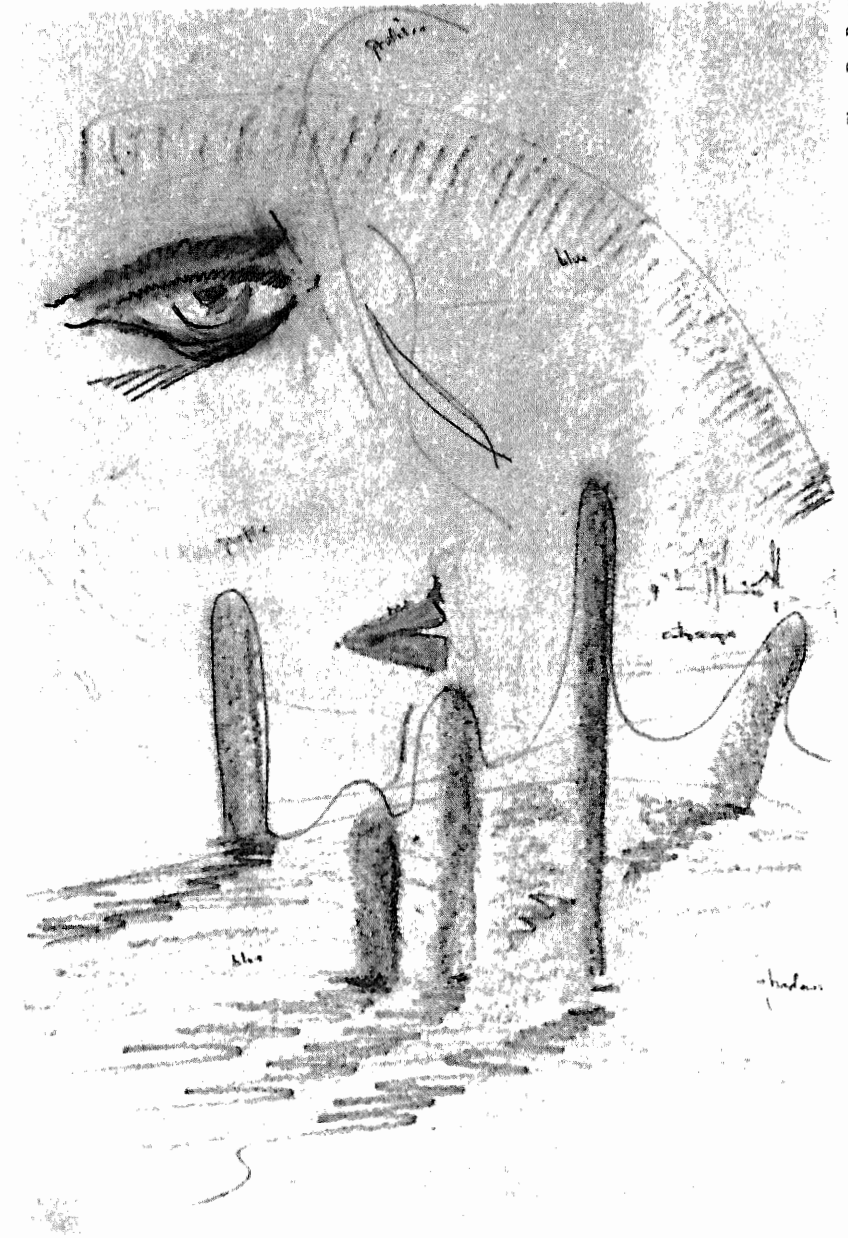


Photo: Don Breza

Francis Cugat's sketch of a face over Long Island Sound, for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Pencil and crayon on paper. Matthew J. Bruccoli Collection.



Photo: Don Breza

Francis Cugat's sketch of a face over the New York skyline, for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Pencil, crayon, charcoal, and gouache on paper. Matthew J. Bruccoli Collection.

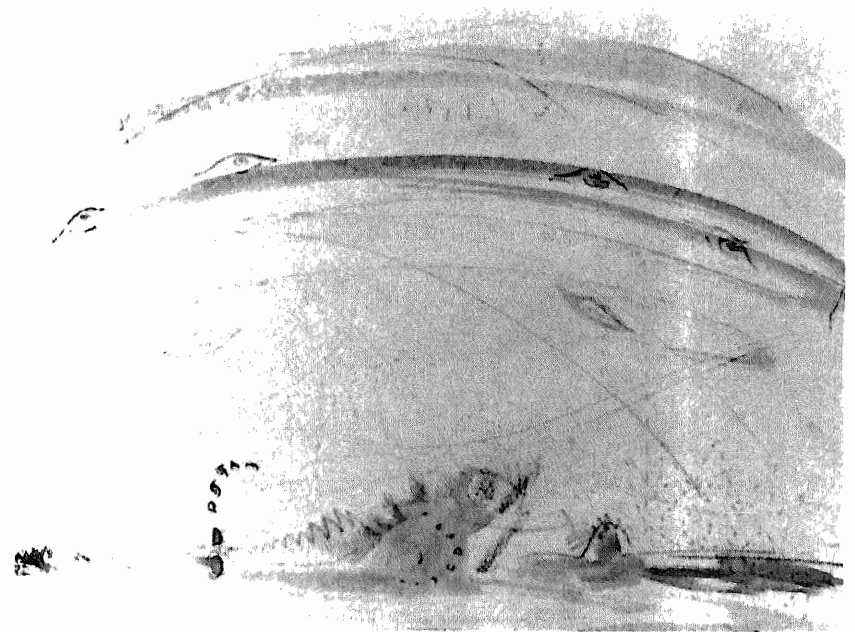


Photo: Don Breza

Francis Cugat's study of faces over carnival lights, for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Pencil and watercolor on paper. Matthew J. Bruccoli Collection.

At some point between this sketch and the finished gouache painting, the decision was made to enliven the somber skyline of bricks and mortar by superimposing a dazzling carnival of lights, as though Manhattan had been relegated to a backdrop for riotous Coney Island. The remaining three working sketches (as distinct from *modelli*, or display models) offer glimpses into this final transmutation. The first is a graphic impromptu or fantasia. Through tentative, faint pencil outlines and quick broad strokes of colored wash, Cugat explores the dramatic juxtaposition of the heavenly serene faces, alternatively inclined, and the pyrotechnical explosion of swirling lights below. On a separate sheet, in pencil, he further refined the idealized physiognomy, enlarging the pupils and filling out the sensual lips; below, he improvised in dotted rhythms his basic geometric motifs: the circle, a steep parabola, and cascading arcs. Then, in a murky oil and crayon sketch, he experimented with the background from



Photo: Don Breza



Photo: Don Breza

Francis Cugat's sketch of a nocturnal carnival backdrop, for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Crayon over oil on board. Matthew J. Bruccoli Collection.

which his light-show was to burst forth. In the center we find again the schematic Ferris wheel which in the final gouache would be suggested by an incomplete series of yellow bursts.

Cugat's carnival imagery is especially intriguing in view of Fitzgerald's pervasive use of light motifs throughout his novel, specifically in metaphors for the latter-day Trimalchio, whose parties were illuminated by "enough colored lights to make a Christmas tree of Gatsby's enormous garden." Nick sees "the whole corner of the peninsula . . . blazing with light" from Gatsby's house "lit from tower to cellar." When he tells Gatsby that his place "looks like the World's Fair," Gatsby proposes that they "go to Coney Island." Fitzgerald had already introduced this amusement-park symbolism in his short story "Absolution." Written in 1923 as part of an early draft of the novel and published separately in 1924, it was originally intended to serve as the prologue illustrating an important facet of the Midwestern, Catholic youth of the central character who eventually developed into Jay Gatsby. At the conclusion of the story, a deranged priest encourages the guilt-ridden boy to go see an amusement park — "a thing like a fair only much more glittering" with "a big wheel made of lights turning in the air." But "don't get too close," he cautions, "because if

Francis Cugat's study of a face, with geometric patterns, for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Pencil on paper. Matthew J. Bruccoli Collection.

you do you'll only feel the heat and the sweat and the life." The evocation of this passage in Cugat's jacket design suggests that someone had conveyed to the artist the symbolic light motif that defined Gatsby's life.⁶

Daisy's face, says Nick, was "sad and lovely with bright things in it, bright eyes and a bright passionate mouth." In Cugat's final painting, her celestial eyes enclose reclining nudes and her streaming tear is green, like the light "that burns all night" at the end of her dock, reflected in the water of the Sound that separates her from Gatsby.

What Fitzgerald in fact drew directly from Cugat's art and "wrote into" the novel must of course remain an open question. What is beyond doubt is that Perkins hit the mark when, having finally read the completed typescript, he declared the jacket "a masterpiece." Yet Cugat's name never appears again in the Scribner art file. He was not a regular contributor to Scribners. Who commissioned him? Nowhere is Cugat ever mentioned by either Fitzgerald or Perkins. The credit must almost certainly go to some anonymous angel in the Scribner art department.

On the art file card, there is a handwritten notation that Cugat's gouache painting for *Gatsby* (mistakenly described as a watercolor: it does indeed look like one) was given to Fitzgerald on 2 April 1927. If so, he either gave it back to his publisher or left it behind when he returned home to Delaware, where he was struggling to make progress on the new novel that would become *Tender is the Night*.⁷

Five days later, on April seventh, Perkins wrote: "I do not want to harass you about your book, which might be bad for it. But if we could by any possibility have the title, and some text, and enough of an idea to make an effective wrap, by the middle of April, we could get out a dummy. And even if all these things had to be changed, it would be worth doing this."

We come full circle. April is not always the cruellest month. Three years earlier, Fitzgerald had planted with Perkins "enough of an idea to make an effective wrap," and reaped a unique visual harvest.

⁶ For an excellent analysis of light imagery and religious metaphors in Fitzgerald's work, see Joan M. Allen, *Candles and Carnival Lights: The Catholic Sensibility of F. Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: New York University Press, 1978), especially pp. 93–116.

⁷ Decades later, my cousin George Schieffelin discovered it at Scribners in a trash can of publishing "dead matter" and preserved it for posterity. Eventually I inherited the painting, enjoyed it at home for several years, then donated it to the Princeton University Libraries for the Graphic Arts Collection.

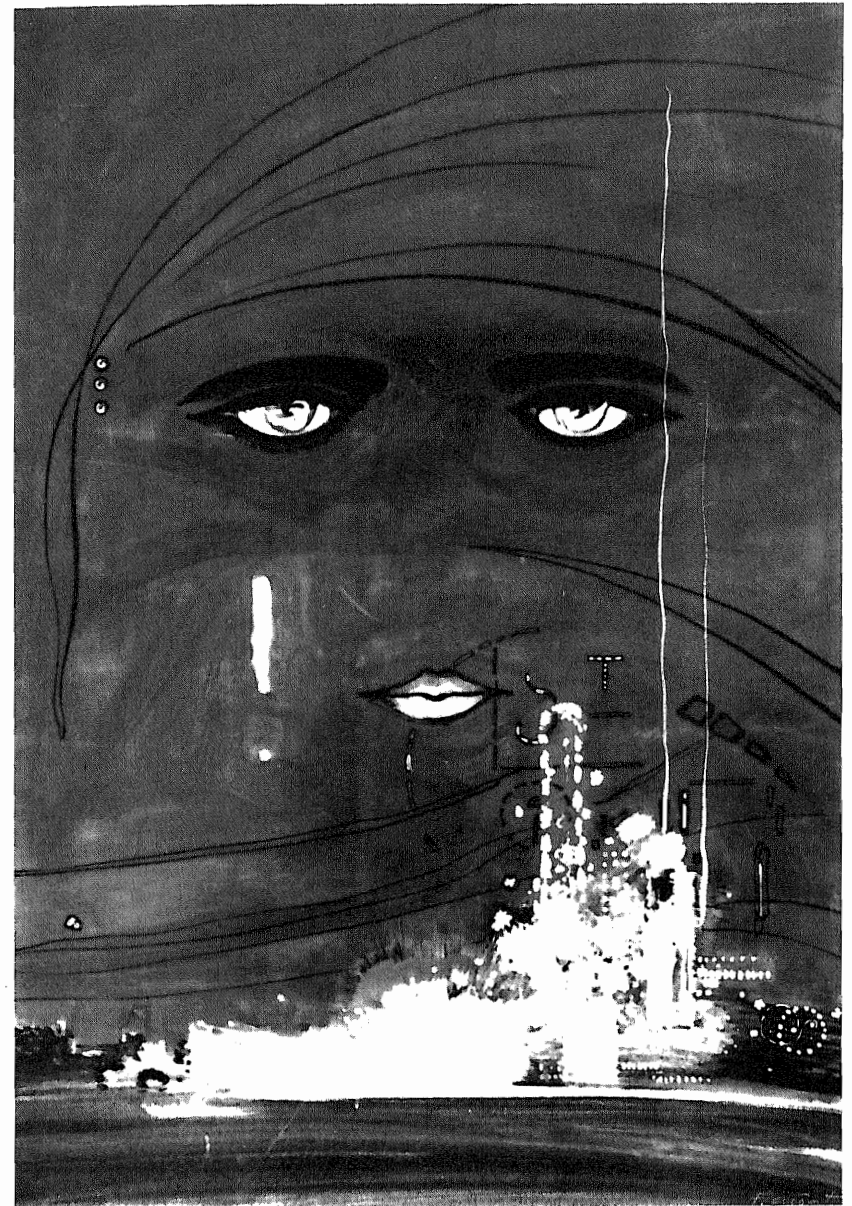


Photo: Don Breza

Francis Cugat's final painting for the dust jacket of *The Great Gatsby*. Gouache on paper. The Graphic Arts Collection, Princeton University Library.

Q' ai deo p̄re + sp̄i sc̄o v̄iuis + reg
 uas de' p̄ oia secula secl̄oꝝ Amen.

Photo: John Blazefewski



The miniature of the Trinity mercy-seat, surrounded by angels bearing the instruments of the Passion and with a portrait of the owner of the prayer roll. Princeton MS 126. Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Devotion to the Holy Name Late Medieval Piety in England

BY CATHERINE A. CARSLY

Rhythmic invocations of the Holy Name of Jesus characterize the three Latin prayers of Princeton MS 126, a small vellum prayer roll from late fifteenth-century England: "O most loving Jesus, O most longed for Jesus, O most gentle Jesus, O most sweet Jesus."¹ This delicate example of late medieval lay piety finds its surprising origins in the elite seclusion of the twelfth-century monastery, and it retains in its ritual repetition some of the meditative tone fundamental to monastic reading. With the growing disaffection for ecclesiastical institutions, however, and the increasingly private religious practice of the literate laity, earlier monastic writings were by the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries less the prerogative of the cloister and more the essential component of ordinary Christian devotion.²

The Princeton manuscript's rolled form and small size (800 x 121 mm) suggest that it was designed to be carried on one's person, while the workmanship it evidences affirms its value to the fifteenth-century layman who owned it and who is portrayed kneeling in a corner of the miniature of the Trinity mercy-seat.³ To explore exactly why

¹ Lines 30–32 in the transcription of Princeton MS 126 that follows.

² As a whole the late Middle Ages witnessed a lively revival of earlier monastic texts for general religious use. Some twelfth-century texts were far more popular, and were copied far more often in the fifteenth century than they had ever been in the twelfth. See two articles by Giles Constable, "Twelfth-Century Spiritual Writers in the Late Middle Ages" and "Twelfth-Century Spirituality and the Late Middle Ages," both reprinted in his collected essays, *Religious Life and Thought* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1979).

³ For an earlier description of the manuscript and its possible uses, see Jeanne Krochalis, "God and Mammon: Prayers and Rents in Princeton MS 126," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 44 (Spring 1983): 209–221. For another example of a prayer roll owned by a lay person, see W. A. Pantin, "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman," in J.J.G. Alexander and M. Gibson, eds., *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays*

this devotion was so precious to him it is necessary to describe the affective literary sources of his prayers, and then to examine the growing enthusiasm for the cult among English lay readers who, like himself, probably admired the famous Yorkshire hermit and lover of the Holy Name, Richard Rolle of Hampole.

✱

Devotion to the Holy Name has a history as long as Christianity itself, and traces of its origins can be found in the earliest Christian writings.⁴ In the same way that the Hebrew name Yahweh was thought to contain, in some extraordinary sense, the divinity of God himself, Jesus' name in the New Testament is considered synonymous with his power, and in the Acts of the Apostles are recorded numerous miracles performed through its authority alone.⁵

In patristic sources occasions for celebration of the Holy Name were various. Ambrose wrote about Christ's name during a discussion of the knees; Peter Chrysologus, a fifth-century bishop of Ravenna, discussed it during a sermon on the Annunciation; and Bede, with unfailing historical logic, favored for his homilies the Feast of the Circumcision — the actual day a Jewish boy would receive his name.⁶ More spectacular than the appearance of devotion to the Holy Name in sermons and commentaries were the legends that began to accompany its observants during the later Middle Ages. Consider the story of the early second-century martyr, St. Ignatius (d. 107). His reputation for devotion to the Holy Name grew to such proportions in later times that his medieval *vita* reported a fascinating post-mortem mir-

Presented to Richard William Hunt (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 398–422. I disagree with the opinion offered by Rossell Hope Robbins stating that prayer rolls were displayed in church during sermons for the edification of the “lewd” folk; see “The ‘Arma Christi’ Rolls,” *Modern Language Review* 34 (1939): 415–421. Princeton MS 126 would have been too small for such use.

⁴ Peter R. Biasiotto, *History of the Development of Devotion to the Holy Name* (New York: St. Bonaventure Seminary, 1943), pp. 1–30.

⁵ Irénée Noye, “Jésus (Nom de),” *Dictionnaire de spiritualité*, Tome 8, Col. 1110.

⁶ Biasiotto, *Development of Devotion*, pp. 16–24. For Ambrose's sermon, see *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 14, col. 247ff., lib. 6.9.74; for Peter Chrysologus' often quoted passage on the Holy Name, see *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 52, col. 586, sermon 144; for Bede's homily, see *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 94, col. 55ff., *Homilia X, In die Festo Circumcisionis Domini*.

acle: His heart, cut open after his gruesome death, was said to contain the name of Jesus engraved in letters of pure gold.⁷

The most famous medieval devotees of the Holy Name, Bernardine of Siena and Henry Suso, were arguably not the most influential in the development of the literature surrounding the English version of this devotion. While we may identify the popularity of the emblem “IHS” with Bernardine's controversial sermons preached with the blazing monogram held high, or with Suso's over-zealous inscription of the holy initials on his chest, their writings contribute only tangentially to the fifteenth-century English version of the devotion to the Holy Name contained in Princeton MS 126.

The most striking feature of the three prayers found in our manuscript is their incantatory nature, a calculated repetition of words that originated in the monastic study of the sacred scripture called *ruminatio*. A ruminant animal is one that chews its cud, swallows it, and brings it back to the mouth for further digestion; this analogy pleased medieval monks, and they liked to imagine themselves ruminating on the divine word, digesting its “spiritual nutrition.” In the words of Jean Leclercq, this type of meditation was used to “attach oneself closely to the sentence being recited and weigh all its words in order to sound the depths of their full meaning. It mean[t] assimilating the content of a text by means of a kind of mastication which release[d] its full flavor.”⁸ I would argue that the ritual repetition found in the prayers of Princeton MS 126 stems directly from the practice of monastic *ruminatio*. It enables the supplicant to digest the profound implications of the Incarnation through the very textuality of Christ's name, and directs us to monastic writing for further clues to the manuscript's literary ancestry.

Probably the first monastic writer to give this devotion a rhetorically powerful literary form was Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1093 to 1109. In his carefully crafted “Meditation to Stir Up Fear” Anselm focuses on the monastic theme of compunction — repentance coupled with desire — and expresses that theme through a series of intricate and nearly untranslatable puns on the Latin verbs *respirare*, “to breathe” or in a monastic context “to revive,” *sperare*, “to hope,” and *desperare*, “to despair”:

⁷ Biasiotto, *Development of Devotion*, p. 15.

⁸ Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. Catharine Misrahi, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961; reprinted 1985), p. 73.

Revive now, O sinner; revive, lest you despair. Hope in him whom you fear. Flee to him from whom you fled. Invoke insistently he whom you proudly provoked.

Jesus, Jesus, for the sake of your name, make me in accord with your name. Jesus, Jesus, forget the proud one who provokes you, look instead on the wretched one who invokes you. Sweet name, delectable name, the name that comforts sinners and the name of blessed hope.

For what is 'Jesus' if not 'Savior'?⁹

In an affective vein similar to Anselm's urgent plea to be recreated through the sweet name of Jesus, Bernard, abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Clairvaux in the twelfth century, argues famously for the name's invigorating savor in his fifteenth sermon on *The Song of Songs*. Possibly the most well known devotional writer of the High Middle Ages, Bernard had a dramatic personal style that clearly helped his commentary on Canticles 1:2, "your Name is oil poured out," become a spiritual classic. Comparing the name of Jesus to the lover's balm of the Canticles, Bernard develops an elaborate spiritual analogy, writing that:

All the food of the soul is dry if not soaked with that oil; it is tasteless, if not seasoned with that salt. If you write, it has no savor for me unless I read Jesus there. If you argue or converse, it has no savor for me unless Jesus resonates there. Jesus is honey in the mouth, music to the ear, rejoicing in the heart.¹⁰

⁹ "Respira iam, o peccator; respira, ne desperes. Spera in eo quem times. Affuge ad eum a quo aufugisti. Inuoca importune quem superbe provocasti. Iesu, Iesu, propter hoc nomen tuum, fac mihi secundum hoc nomen tuum. Iesu, Iesu, obliuiscere superbum prouocantem, respice miserum inuocantem. Nomen dulce, nomen delectabile, nomen confortans peccatorem et beatae spei. Quis est enim Iesus nisi saluator?" Saint Anselm, *Opera Omnia* . . . , ed. F. S. Schmitt. 5 vols. (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1946); vol. 3, p. 79, lines 81–86. I wish to thank Dr. Frank Ordiway for his suggestions on this and subsequent translations.

For a discussion of monastic compunction, see Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 29–30.

¹⁰ "Aridum est omnis animae cibus, si non oleo isto infunditur; insipidus est, si non hoc sale conditur. Si scribas, non sapit mihi, nisi legero ibi Iesum. Si disputes aut ceras, non sapit mihi, nisi sonuerit ibi Iesus. Iesus mel in ore, in aure melos, in corde iubilus." Bernard of Clairvaux, *Sancti Bernardi opera* . . . , ed. Jean Leclercq et al. 8 vols. (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957); vol. 1, p. 86, lines 16–19.

In response to Bernard's exhortations, a poet who was probably a Cistercian monk from an English monastery¹¹ composed what was to become the most famous of medieval meditations on the sweetness of Jesus, regularly used in liturgies and literary compositions alike. Although the meditation does not specifically address Christ's *nomen*, it repeats 'Jesus' rhythmically in virtually every verse. By the end of the Middle Ages, this poem had found its way into the Office of the Holy Name:

The sweet memory of Jesus
Gives true joy to the heart
But his sweet presence
Is above honey and all things.

Nothing is sung more pleasingly
Nothing heard more gladly
Nothing is thought more sweetly
Than 'Jesus' Son of God.¹²

Together these three Latin works of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries can be thought of as the *locus* for the literature surrounding the later devotion to the Holy Name, and they directly influenced the texts of the Princeton manuscript.

The first of the three prayers on the small vellum roll is, in fact, a version of the meditation of Anselm quoted above, although with some additions and omissions.¹³ The reader will recognize echoes of Anselm's prose in the manuscript's

O most merciful Jesus, I beg you through that precious blood, which you wished to pour forth on behalf of sinners, that you wash away my iniquity and look upon me, wretched and most unworthy sinner, one who asks humbly and calls upon your name, Jesus. O name of Jesus, sweet

¹¹ F.J.E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 329.

¹² "Dulcis Jhesu memoria/ Dans vera cordi gaudia/ Sed super mel et omnia/ Eius dulcis presentia. // Nil canitur suauius/ Auditor nil iocundius/ Nil cogitatur dulcius/ Quam Iesus Dei filius," printed in André Wilmart, *Le 'Jubilus' dit de Saint Bernard* (Rome: Istituto Grafico Tiberino, 1944); verses I and II, pp. 146–147.

¹³ The three prayers are not, as Jeanne Krochalis suggested in her study of the manuscript, "original compositions" ("God and Mammon," p. 213).

name, name of Jesus, delectable name, name of Jesus, comforting name. For what is 'Jesus' if not 'Savior'?¹⁴

André Wilmart prints an almost identical prayer in one appendix to his study of "Dulcis Iesu Memoria" and remarks that Anselm's meditation "was incorporated into a larger text in the fifteenth century." Wilmart also found that this prayer was associated on different occasions with Richard Rolle, and often appeared in the middle of copies of Rolle's own commentary on *The Song of Songs* (certainly written in conscious imitation of Bernard). On other occasions the prayer was attributed to Bernardine of Siena or Vincent Ferrier, both saints associated with the Holy Name. Wilmart thinks it safe to assume that this version of Anselm's meditation was not compiled until the fifteenth century.¹⁵

The second prayer in Princeton MS 126 begins with an address to the omnipotent Father, "you who made the most glorious name of Jesus, your only begotten Son our Lord, a name of highest sweetness and loving affection for the faithful, and dreadful and terrible for evil spirits,"¹⁶ and proceeds to ask that the veneration of Jesus' name yield present consolation and future joy. This *oratio* was commonly used during the Office of the Holy Name and can be found in the printed editions of the Sarum and Hereford Breviaries for 7 August.¹⁷ While the votive mass to the Holy Name, that is, the mass dedicated to its celebration but not fixed in the calendar, seems to have been fairly common in the fourteenth century, the feast itself as a permanent addition to the Church year developed late in English liturgical history. Its accompanying office was not compiled until late in the fifteenth century, probably sometime in the mid-1480s,¹⁸ and it makes sense to think that its institution as a full-fledged feast-day was prompted by the votive mass' tremendous popularity. According

to Norman Tanner's study of wills in the medieval city of Norwich, bequests for the votive mass of the Holy Name were second only to bequests for the Trentals of St. Gregory, the popular offering for the dead consisting of "masses said on thirty consecutive days after the example of thirty masses allegedly said on [Gregory's] instructions to free the monk Justus from Purgatory."¹⁹ Moreover, confraternities of the Holy Name regularly established perpetual chantries for the recital of the votive mass.²⁰ All of this liturgical evidence suggests that the original owner of Princeton MS 126 shared his enthusiasm for this devotion with much of the English population.

The third prayer in the manuscript is similar in some ways to the first, and repeats an entire phrase from it, "pour into me grace, wisdom, devotion, charity," at lines 63 and 64. Unlike the other prayers, it invokes the Pauline source of the devotion to the Holy Name, the powerful Jesus "at whose name all knees of heaven, earth, and hell are bent" (Philippians 2:10).²¹ Although probably drawn from a liturgy connected to the devotion, this particular prayer does not appear in any of the English missals or breviaries known to me, nor does it seem to be a part of the continental liturgies. Similarly the four versicles and responses found following the first prayer in the manuscript, although certainly not unknown, do not seem to be drawn from any particular Holy Name devotion, and I have been unable to locate them in any printed text in the exact order in which they appear in Princeton MS 126.²²

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More thought-provoking, perhaps, than the particular sources for the manuscript's prayers is the devotion's meaning to its original owner. It is possible that the man kneeling in the corner of our manuscript was merely following the famous advice of his well-beloved

¹⁹ Norman Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich, 1370 - 1532* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1984), pp. 102-103.

²⁰ Tanner, *Church in . . . Norwich*, p. 103.

²¹ Lines 59-61.

²² Krochalis notes on p. 213 of her "God and Mammon" that prayers similar to the third may perhaps be found in two Bodleian Library manuscripts: Lyell 3, fols. 77v-78r, and Gough liturg. 9, fol. 263; and in Bibliothèque Nationale MS lat. 13296, fol. 183, but I have been unable to ascertain whether her conjecture is correct.

¹⁴ Lines 5-15.

¹⁵ ". . . a été intégré au text plus large du XV^e siècle." For his complete comments on the prayer, see Wilmart's *Le 'Jubilus'*, pp. 264-265.

¹⁶ Lines 47-51.

¹⁷ For a discussion of the date of the English celebration, see R. W. Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 73-75. For modern editions of the office, see R. W. Dickinson, ed. *Missale ad Usus Insignis et Praeclarae Ecclesiae Sarum* (Burntisland, 1861 - 1883), and W. H. Frere and L.E.G. Brown, *The Hereford Breviary* (London: The Henry Bradshaw Society, xxvi, 1904; xl, 1911; xlvi, 1915).

¹⁸ Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 83.

countryman, the enthusiastic Richard Rolle. "If you will be well with God, and have the grace to rule your life, and come to the joy of love, this name Jesus, fasten it so fast in your heart that it never comes out of your thought," counsels Rolle in *The Form of Living*. He continues, "And when you speak to him, and say 'Jesus' through custom, it shall be in your ear joy, in your mouth honey, and in your heart melody."²³

Any discussion of devotion to the Holy Name in England must in some way compass Rolle. He has been called "the chief religious and literary figure in early fourteenth-century England"²⁴ and almost every work by this eloquent writer of prose and poetry includes a burst of alliterative energy directed towards the Holy Name or the accompanying sweetness of Jesus, because, as Rolle put it, "I do not know how to pray, I do not know how to meditate unless when sounding the name, 'Jesus.'"²⁵

The particulars of Rolle's life are known chiefly through the biography composed by the nuns of Hampole in hope of his canonization. Born in Yorkshire around 1300, at the age of nineteen Rolle began to study at Oxford, but suddenly "considering the uncertain term of human life"²⁶ returned to his father's house. According to the devout nuns, he then made a strange request of his sister. He asked for two of her tunics, one grey and one white, and for his father's rain-hood. Next,

He took off his own clothing, and put his sister's white tunic next to his flesh. The grey tunic (with the sleeves cut off) he put over it . . . He hooded himself in the aforesaid rain-hood, and thus, as far as was then possible to him, he contrived a confused likeness to a hermit.²⁷

²³ "[I]f þou will be wele with God, and have grace to rewle þi lyf, and com til þe joy of luf, þis name Jhesu, fest it swa fast in þi hert, þat it com never owt of þi thoght. And when þou spekes til hym, and says 'Jhesu', thurgh custom, it sal be in þi ere joy, in þi mouth hony, and in þi hert melody." Hope Emily Allen, ed., *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931; reprinted Gloucester: Allan Sutton, 1988), p. 108.

²⁴ John A. Alford, "Richard Rolle and Related Works," in A. Edwards, ed., *Middle English Prose, A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984), p. 35.

²⁵ "Nescio orare, nescio meditari nisi resonante nomine Ihesu." Rolle's *encomium* to the Holy Name from his commentary on the Canticles is printed in its entirety in Wilmart, *Le 'Jubilus'*, p. 275.

²⁶ Quoted and translated in Hope Emily Allen, *Writings Ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole, and Materials for his Biography* (New York: D. C. Heath, 1927), p. 55.

²⁷ Allen, *Writings Ascribed*, pp. 55-56.

After his sartorial transformation into a wandering ascetic, Rolle became a prolific writer in English and Latin, giving the fourteenth century a popular English translation of the Psalter as well as an ardent account of his own mystical experiences in his Latin *Incendium Amoris* (The Fire of Love).

Whether one ascribes Rolle's rhapsodic prose on the Holy Name to a form of "emotional absorption in the Saviour"²⁸ or as the practice of "a capsule act of faith,"²⁹ the combination of his amazing lyricism with the demand for devotional texts by the increasingly literate laity ensured that the popularity of Rolle's meditations on the Holy Name would grow in proportion to his own pious reputation. In fact, according to one of the most learned of Rolle scholars, Hope Allen, Rolle believed that he owed his very entry into the mystical life to a miracle associated with the Holy Name.³⁰ He describes the event in an autobiographical aside in his commentary on the Canticles: One night soon after his renunciation of the world Rolle had a vision of a lovely woman. As often and unfortunately occurred in male visions of beautiful females during the Middle Ages, Rolle writes that he soon perceived she was "not a woman, but a devil in the shape of a woman." He continues:

Therefore I turned to God, and when I had said in my mind, "O Jesus, how precious is your blood," making the sign of the Cross on my chest with my finger, the one who already had begun to be somewhat dislodged — behold! — completely disappeared. . . . From then on truly I sought to love Jesus, and to the degree that his name named tasted sweeter to me, to that same degree I progressed in his love.³¹

Spiritual proficiency was for Rolle a direct result of his devotion to

²⁸ Allen, *Writings Ascribed*, p. 92.

²⁹ Mary Madigan, *The Passio Domini Theme in the Works of Richard Rolle. His Personal Contribution in Its Religious, Cultural and Literary Context*. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies 79 (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universität Salzburg, 1978), p. 178.

³⁰ Allen, *Writings Ascribed*, pp. 73, 469-470.

³¹ ". . . non mulierem esse, sed diabolum in forma mulieris. . . . Verti ergo me ad deum et, cum in mente mea dixissem: 'O Ihesu, quam preciosus est sanguis tuus,' cruce[m] imprimens in pectore cum digito, qui quodammodo iam mobilis esse incepit, et ecce totum disparuit. . . . Deinceps vero Ihesum amare quesivi, et quanto in amore eius profeci, tanto nomen eius dulcius michi sapiebat." Wilmart, *Le 'Jubilus'*, p. 280.

the Holy Name. This account of foiled temptation occurs during the fourth section of Rolle's *Tractatus super Cantica Canticorum*, his famous lyric interlude that circulated separately in English and Latin under the name *Encomium Nominis Jhesu*. In short, the power of the Holy Name became intimately coupled with Rolle's much admired mysticism, and chances are that most people familiar with the devotion in late medieval England, including the owner of our prayer roll, would associate prayers to the Holy Name with some kind of emulation of the piety of the hermit of Hampole.

Moreover, Rolle's didactic works instructed the devout to recite the Holy Name regularly for the sake of spiritual safety and inward purity. In his vernacular epistle to a holy woman, *The Form of Living* (quoted above), Rolle promises that his mystical experience of God through the Holy Name will become the reader's own, "If you think 'Jesus' continually, and hold it steadfastly, it purges your sin, and enkindles your heart. . . . It opens heaven, and makes a contemplative man."³²

Rolle's instruction quickly became standard in compilations aimed at the literate laity, a section of medieval society for whom the sermon was fast becoming the accessory, rather than the foundation, of their instruction in the faith. This particular section of Rolle's *Form* can be found in *The Pore Caitif*, a widely circulated compilation whose self-described purpose was to "teach simple men and women of good will the right way to heaven,"³³ and an example of one of the many late medieval religious handbooks designed for the lay household. Besides Rolle's instructions on the recital of the Holy Name, *The Pore Caitif* includes copies of the Creed and the Pater Noster, a tract on the active and contemplative lives, and a discussion of temptation. Some versions include instructions on the married life and others a listing of the seven deadly sins.³⁴ In this kind of document it is possible to see Rolle's miraculous devotion metamorphose, changing from an outburst of personal emotion into a general mandate for the daily life of ordinary Christians.

³² "If þou thnk Jhesu contynuly, and halde it stabely, it purges þi sin, and kyndels þi hert . . . it opens heven, and makes a contemplatif man." Allen, *English Writings*, p. 108.

³³ ". . . teche symple men and wymmen of good will the right weie to heuene," quoted in Sister Mary Theresa Brady, "The Pore Caitif, An Introductory Study," *Traditio* 10 (1954): 529-548. No critical edition of *The Pore Caitif* is currently available.

³⁴ Brady, *Pore Caitif*, pp. 529-548.

While the influence of Rolle may not explain the textual sources of the prayers in Princeton MS 126, it does shed some light on the English enthusiasm for their topic. Devotion to the Holy Name grew from old and lyric monastic practices that eventually became incorporated into the lives of some of the fifteenth-century English devout. Consciously or not, the owner of our small roll was following the lovely exhortation to the soul spoken by Bernard centuries before:

Hidden as in a vase, in this name of Jesus, you my soul, possess a salutary remedy against which no spiritual illness will be proof. Carry it always close to your heart, always in your hand, and so ensure that all your affections, all your actions, are directed to Jesus.³⁵

A DESCRIPTION AND TRANSCRIPTION OF PRINCETON MS 126

Princeton MS 126 was produced in late fifteenth-century England (ca. 1475). The names and places on the verso may be of use in establishing early modern provenance. In the nineteenth century the prayer roll belonged to Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792 - 1872); it was his MS 26985 and marked by him on the verso top, "A Roll bought at Warwick from Redfernes." The Sotheby catalogue entry mentions a note by Thomas FitzRoy Fenwick: "June 1924. I have not catalogued this yet. T.F.F." The manuscript was acquired by Princeton from Sotheby's, Lot 101, 14 July 1981.

The physical description is as follows: Vellum roll, one membrane, 800 x 121 mm. 82 lines scored 10 mm apart, illumination painted over scoring. Written in a gothic liturgical hand, *textura formata* with forked ascenders, in brown ink. Most unilluminated capitals have red central descenders. Abbreviations for versicles, responses, and orations are rubricated. Two 2-line illuminated initials and a fragment of a third, gold-filled on a green latticed square field, each used to

³⁵ The English translation is borrowed from Kilian Walsh, trans., *On the Song of Songs I. The Works of Bernard of Clairvaux*. Cistercian Fathers Series, no. 4 (Spencer, Massachusetts: Cistercian Publications, 1971), p. 111. The Latin reads, "Hoc tibi electuarium habes, O anima mea, reconditum in vasculo vocabuli huius, quod est Iesus, salutariferum certe, quodque nulli umquam pesti tuae inveniatur inefficax. Semper tibi in sinu sit, semper in manu, quo tui omnes in Iesum et sensus dirigantur et actus." Bernard of Clairvaux, *Opera*, vol. 1, p. 87, lines 14-22.

mark the beginning of each prayer (i.e., at the beginning of lines 1, 46, 57). Two glosses on the recto in a different hand in pale brown ink, at lines 18 and 67. Verso of roll is highly discolored.

Miniature (87 x 84 mm) of Trinity mercy-seat, with the crowned Father in a pink robe, the crucified Son with a silver-gray loincloth, and the Spirit as a dove on the Father's breast directly above the Son. An orange halo with gold rays radiates from the Father. The Trio is surrounded by a blue and black striped mandorla situated within a square gray frame. In the four corners of the border are four angels bearing the instruments of the passion, the scourge on the upper left, the pillar on the lower left, the pincers and hammer on the upper right, and the lance and sponge at the lower right. The kneeling man, presumably the owner, kneels at the lower left and wears a black robe and a cap. The halo, mandorla, owner's robe, and angel's hair and wings are touched with gold.

The contents are as follows:

Lines 1–39: Latin prayer to the Holy Name of Jesus. The vellum has been cut half-way through the first line and the incipit is illegible, although the bottom fragment of an illuminated initial, probably an "O", can still be recognized. The line may have read "O ihesu o dulcissime ihesu o . . ." [Wilmart, *Le 'Jubilus'*, p. 267; in a slightly different form in Christopher Wordsworth, *Horae Eboracenses* (Durham: Surtee Society, cxxxii, 1920), pp. 83–84]. This particular prayer to the Holy Name — although often attributed in medieval sources to St. Bernardine — is loosely based on a meditation of St. Anselm beginning "Respira iam, o peccator, respira . . ." [Wilmart, *Le 'Jubilus'*, p. 266].

Lines 40–45: Series of four versicles with responses, written in a slightly smaller script, although in the same hand.

- a) V1: *Adiutorium nostrum in nomine domini*
Rx: *Qui fecit*
- b) V1: *Sit nomine domini* [benedictum]
Rx: *Et hoc nunc* [et usque in seculum]
[Wordsworth, *Horae Ebor.*, p. 84]
- c) V1: *Adiuva nos deus salutaris noster*

Rx: *Et propter gloriam nominis tui . . .*
[Dickinson, *Sarum Missal*, p. 847]

d) V1: *Domine exaudi*

Rx: *Et clamor* [meus]

[Roger S. Wieck, *Time Sanctified, The Book of Hours in Medieval Art and Life* (New York: George Braziller, 1988), p. 166]

Lines 46–56: Latin prayer to the Holy Name of Jesus, beginning "*Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus qui gloriosissimum nomen . . .*" [Wilmart, *Le 'Jubilus'*, p. 269; S. W. Lawley, *York Breviary* (Durham: Surtee Society, lxxv, 1883), p. 766; F. Procter and C. Wordsworth, *Sarum Breviary*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1879–1886), vol. 2, p. lxi; Frere and Brown, *Hereford Breviary*, xl, pp. 282–285]. This *oratio* was regularly used in the office for the new feast of the Name of Jesus, developed in the late fifteenth century most probably in response to the great popularity of the votive mass to the Holy Name. In England the feast was usually celebrated on August seventh [Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 77]; on the Continent it was celebrated some time in January, either on the ninth, fourteenth, fifteenth, or thirty-first [Victor Leroquais, *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France* (Paris: Macon, 1934)].

Lines 57–82: Latin prayer to the Holy Name of Jesus, beginning "*Domine ihesu christe fili dei vivi piissime salvator et misericordissime redemptor . . .*" Unlike the other prayers, it does not seem to appear in either the votive mass or the office of the Holy Name, or at least does not appear in the York, Sarum, or Hereford use. Neither does it resemble any *oratio* attributed to the usual people associated with the Holy Name, Bernardine, Bernard, or Richard Rolle. Jeanne Krochalis reports that it does not appear in Victor Leroquais, *Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: Macon, 1927–1943), but does list several manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Ox-

ford, in which similar prayers occur. [Cf. *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 44 (Spring 1983) 213, n. 8.]

Miniature of the Trinity in the form of a mercy-seat, surrounded by angels carrying the instruments of the passion and a kneeling man, probably the owner. While all three motifs are common separately, the combination of owner, mercy-seat, and instruments of the passion appears to be unique [Krochalis, p. 217].

Verso: List of names, descriptions of properties, and money amounts in English. Later hand, probably from the sixteenth century. Names include Wyllyam Robyns, John Pery, Thomas Tomkys, John Pype, Robert Mowseley, Edward Kempson, John Johnson, Margery Marston, Roger Atkyns, William Mason, and Robert Carle [Krochalis, p. 220].

In the transcription that follows, letters that appear in *italics> indicate that an abbreviation in the text has been expanded for the purposes of this reading text. A pair of brackets indicates an editorial conjecture concerning a letter or word that is damaged, illegible, or misspelled in the manuscript. An asterisk after a line number marks the beginning of a new prayer, the initial of which is illuminated in the original. Although this transcription does not indicate rubrication, the reader should note that the vast majority of the capital letters in Princeton MS 126 are written with red central descenders, while abbreviations for orations, versicles, and responses are completely rubricated. Two small glosses appear in the manuscript. In the margin of line 18 an annotator has written "creasti" to correct the originally misspelled "ceasti." At line 67 a blotched attempt at "timere" has been improved above the line by the same annotator.*

- 1* MS has been cut half-way through the line. Visible are the bottom of an illuminated initial, probably an "O", and 5(?) words that possibly read [ihesu o dulcissime ihesu o].
2 ihesu fili marie virginis plenus
3 miseracordia et pietate o dulcis ihesu secundam
4 magnam miseracordiam tuam miserere mei

- 5 O clementissime ihesu deprecor te per il
6 lum preciosum sanguinem quem pro peccato
7 ribus effundere voluisti ut abluas in
8 iquitatem meam et in me respicias
9 miserum et indignissimum peccatorem
10 humiliter petentem et hoc nomen
11 tuum ihesum invocantem. O nomen ihesu
12 nomen dulce nomen ihesu nomen de
13 lectabile nomen ihesu nomen con
14 fortans. Quid est enim ihesus nisi
15 salvator. Ergo ihesu propter nomen
16 tuum salva me ne peream et qui plas
17 masti me et redemisti me ne permit
18 tas me dampnari quem tu ex nichilo c[r]easti
19 O bone ihesu ne perdat me iniquitas mea. Ro
20 go te pijssime ihesu ne perdas me quem tua
21 fecit omnipotens bonitas. O dulcis
22 ihesu recognosce quod tuum est et
23 absterge ihesu quod alienum [est]
24 O benignissime ihesu miserere mei
25 dum tempus est miserendi ne dampnes
26 me in tempore iudicandi Que utili
27 tas in [s]anguine meo dum descendo in
28 corrupcionem neque mortui laudabunt
29 te o bone ihesu neque omnes qui descen
30 dunt in infernum. O amantissime
31 ihesu o desideratissime ihesu o mitissi
32 me ihesu o dulcissime ihesu o ihesu fi
33 li marie virginis infunde in me gra
34 ciam sapientiam devotionem carita
35 tem et castitatem ut te possim perfec
36 te diligere te timere te digne lauda
37 re te perfrui tibi servire et in te gloria
38 re inter omnes qui diligunt nomen
39 tuum quod est ihesus Amen. Pater noster. Ave
40 maria. Et ne nos. Sed libera nos. Versiculus Adiuto
41 rium nostrum in nomine domini. Responsio Qui fecit. Versiculus Sit
42 nomine domini. Responsio Et hoc nunc. Versiculus Adiuva nos
43 deus salutaris noster. Responsio Et propter gloriam nominis tui

44 ihesu domine libera nos et propicius esto peccatis nostris propter no
 45 men tuum *Versiculus Domine exaudi. Responsio Et clamor. Oratio.*
 46* *Domine sancte pater omnipotens eterne deus*
 47 *qui gloriosissimum nomen*
 48 *ihesu unigeniti filii tui domini nostri fecis*
 49 *ti fidelibus summe suavitatis affectu*
 50 *amabile et malignis spirit[i]bus tre*
 51 *mendum atque terribile concede propicius ut*
 52 *omnes qui hoc nomine ihesu devote veneran*
 53 *tur in terris sancte consolacionis dulcedinem*
 54 *in presenti percipiant et in futuro gau*
 55 *dium exultationis et interminiabilis iubi*
 56 *lacionis o[b]tineant. Per eundem et ceteram. Oratio.*
 57* *Domine ihesu christe fili dei vivi piissi*
 58 *me salvator et misericordis*
 59 *sime redemptor mundi in cuius nomine*
 60 *omne genu curvatur celestium teresti*
 61 *um et infernorum. te deprecor propter reverenci*
 62 *am gloriam et honorem altissimi nominis*
 63 *tui ihesu infunde in me gratiam sapien*
 64 *ciam devocionem caritatem castitatem et fer*
 65 *vetissimum tui amorem ut te possim*
 66 *perfecte et ardentissime super omnia di*
 67 *ligere te tim[e]re te digne laudari te*
 68 *perfrui tibi devote servire tibi gratias*
 69 *condignas agere et gloriosissimum no*
 70 *men tuum ihesum super omnia laudare bene*
 71 *dicere magnificare honorare et glorifi*
 72 *care et post mortem cum sanctis et electis*
 73 *tuis vitam et reginam eternam possidere*
 74 *ubi super excelsum et ineffabilem tue divi*
 75 *nitatis maiestatem cum beatissima et*
 76 *felicissima virgine maria matre*
 77 *tua et sanctissima curia celesti incessabi*
 78 *li gaudio contemplari ac in eadem eter*
 79 *naliter letari et exultare valeam per te*
 80 *ihesu christe salvator mundi rex glorie.*
 81 *Qui cum deo patre et spiritu sancto vivis et reg*
 82 *nas deus. Per omnia secula seculorum. Amen.*

Maintaining the Empire

General Sir John Maxwell and Egypt during World War I

BY ROBERT L. TIGNOR

Appearances of solidity and durability notwithstanding, the British empire, acquired in a frenzy of expansion in the late nineteenth century, was a hastily assembled and highly experimental structure. Often it rested on displays of power, designed to conceal military limitations, and it relied heavily on alliances with strategically placed local collaborators. As befits a loosely anchored construction, it came unravelled with frightening speed in the aftermath of World War II. Just how fragile imperial authority was is palpable in the newly processed materials of General Sir John Maxwell, located in the manuscript collection of the Firestone Library at Princeton University and referred to in the April 1991 *Newsletter* of the Friends of the Princeton University Library.¹ These documents, supplemented by the already catalogued Maxwell collection and other sources, demonstrate the many difficulties and the varied techniques employed by Britain to maintain a secure hold over Egypt during World War I.

General John Maxwell was a second-rank military-administrator of empire. He lacked the skills of better known colleagues. Men like Frederick Lugard and Herbert Kitchener engineered the conquest of vast African territories (Northern Nigeria and the Sudan respectively) and then moved on to high administrative office. Lugard became governor of Northern Nigeria and then governor-general of the Nigerian Federation, while Kitchener replaced Eldon Gorst as British consul-general and virtual ruler of Egypt in 1912.

¹ Friends of the Princeton University Library, *Newsletter*, No. 7 (April 1991), p. 4. For a general account of Maxwell's career based on his papers see Letitia W. Ufford, "Imperialists at Work and Play: The Papers of General Sir John and Lady Maxwell," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 51 (Spring 1990): 141-182.

Although less visible than these men, Maxwell was at the center of Britain's expanding empire throughout his life. He served in Garnet Wolseley's invading force which defeated the Egyptian army at the battle of Tel el-Kebir on 13 September 1882 and ushered in the British occupation of Egypt. Seconded in 1883 to the Egyptian army, he helped to rebuild this organization so that it could defend Egypt's southern frontier from the Mahdists in the Sudan and, when the appropriate moment arrived, play its part in conquering that country. At the battles of Firket and al-Atbara and the savage engagement of Omdurman, Maxwell led Egyptian regiments against the Mahdists and helped to bring the Sudan under British rule. Later he moved to other imperial trouble spots. The Anglo-Boer war commanded his attention in 1900; for a brief period he served as military governor of Pretoria. In 1916 he was deputed to Ireland as military commander to deal with the Sinn Fein uprising, and in 1919–1920 he returned to Egypt as a member of the Milner Commission to elicit the causes of the Egyptian uprising of 1919 and to make recommendations on the future governance of that country.

Nowhere were Maxwell's administrative and military capabilities more severely tested and more fully displayed than during the two-year stint (1914–1916) when as military commander of the British army of occupation in Egypt he was responsible for maintaining order in that country and defending it from invaders. The material at the Firestone Library demonstrates Maxwell's skills in stretching the men, materiel, and money available to him in Egypt so that the country could play a significant role in Britain's war effort.²

Maxwell was never chosen to lead large armies in battle. His skill lay in handling people and drawing upon a deep wellspring of common sense. His forte was military administration rather than battle-field command.³ Predictably, his old friend and military superior, Lord Kitchener, chose him to head the British army of occupation in Egypt once war had broken out in Europe in 1914. British troops in Egypt had two wartime purposes: to secure the country from domes-

² There are useful accounts of Maxwell's life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, pp. 570–571; Sir George C.A. Arthur, *General Sir John Maxwell* (London: J. Murray, 1932); and *The Times*, 22 February 1929.

³ Assessing Maxwell's contribution to Egypt in the time of war, P. G. Elgood concluded: "His genius lay in administration, not in military operations." *Egypt and the Army* (London: Oxford University Press, 1924), p. 228.



Photo: John Blazejewski

General John Grenville Maxwell. General Sir John G. Maxwell Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.



Photo: John Blazejewski

Lord Kitchener, Britain's Consul-General in Egypt, 1912 – 1914, and then Minister of War in Great Britain, was a lifelong friend and correspondent of General John Maxwell. Maxwell Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

tic and foreign foes and to train troops for action in Europe and later in Palestine and Syria.

By 1914, the British well understood Egypt's importance to the empire. Astride the Suez Canal, Britain's major shipping artery to East Asia, Egypt had strategic value in Northeast Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean and was the location of Britain's largest military establishment in Africa and the Middle East. The country was occupied in 1882 to prevent any potentially hostile country from taking it over and imperilling imperial communications. Promises of an early evacuation were speedily revised in light of the country's strategic importance. At the onset of war in 1914, the prospect that some enemy, either domestic or external, might disrupt traffic through the canal and damage the war effort alarmed Britain's war planners. Kitchener's response at the War Office was to send a shrewd, unflappable military administrator to Egypt, ostensibly as commander of the British armed forces, in reality as military governor over the entire country.

From the onset of the occupation Britain had garrisoned Egypt with its own troops; in contrast Britain maintained control of other colonial possessions in Africa through indigenous military and police forces commanded by British officers. Traditionally the British had kept a 5,000-man army, basing it in the major urban centers of Cairo, Alexandria, and the delta so as to impress the local population.

The domestic political situation of Egypt in 1914 gave cause for considerable concern. Having crushed the proto-nationalist movement of Colonel Ahmad Urabi, the British were dismayed when anti-British sentiments appeared and gained in strength in the two decades leading up to 1914. Nationalists like Mustafa Kamil rallied young, educated, urban Egyptians against the British occupation and called for independence. Founder of a popular national newspaper, *al-Liwa*, and an embryonic political party, *al-Hizb al-Watani*, Mustafa Kamil proved to be a thorn in the side of British administrators. His agitation precipitated Lord Cromer's resignation as consul general in 1907 after twenty-four years in that position. Although Kamil died in 1908 and was succeeded by a much less charismatic personality, Muhammad Farid, the nationalist movement was a force to be reckoned with.

The *Watani* party was not the only political organization in pre-World War I Egypt. Almost simultaneously with its founding, a more conservative group of educated and wealthy Egyptians organized a

second political party, *al-Umma*, with its own newspaper, *al-Jarida*, less strident in its nationalism, more gradualist on Egypt's political evolution, and more accommodationist toward the British. One of the forums for educated Egyptian opinion was the Egyptian Legislative Assembly, a new quasi-parliamentary advisory body established by Lord Kitchener in 1913. Among its members were dynamic and influential politicians, not the least of whom was Sa'd Zaghlul, leader of the Egyptian uprising after the war. Although Kitchener intended the new organization to be conservative and pro-British, it displayed a tendency for independent action and rancorous debate.⁴

In addition to fearing internal, purely nationalist opposition, the British leaders in Egypt were apprehensive of Egypt's ties with the outside world. Juridically Egypt remained part of the Ottoman empire. The British worried about the Ottoman Turks entering the war on the German side and calling upon Ottoman citizenry to join in the struggle against Britain and France. In the immediate past *Watanists* had been pro-Turk and had embraced pan-Islamic propaganda against their British overlords. No event disillusioned Cromer more thoroughly than a territorial dispute in 1906 when the Ottoman state laid claim to Taba, located on Egypt's eastern frontier. Cromer defended what he regarded as legitimate and unimpeachable Egyptian territorial interests only to see the *Watanists* rally to the Ottoman side.⁵ The Italian-Ottoman war over Libya (1911 – 1912) witnessed a further outpouring of pro-Ottoman sentiment. To be sure, the *Umma* party was critical of Ottoman and pan-Islamic leanings. Yet one of the *Umma's* most respected figures, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid, encountered considerable criticism by suggesting that instead of collecting money to help the peoples of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania against Italian colonialism, Egyptians should employ these funds for their own domestic purposes.⁶

A final concern of the British was the existence of secret terrorist anti-British organizations. In 1911 a young Egyptian patriot, al-Wardani, had assassinated the Coptic prime minister, Butrus Ghali, un-

⁴ 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad, *Sa'd Zaghlul* (Cairo, 1936), p. 154; and 'Abd al-Khaliq Muhammad Lashin, *Sa'd Zaghlul: Duruhu fi-l-Siyasa al-Misriya hatta Sana 1914*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1970); vol. 1.

⁵ Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid, *Egypt and Cromer: A Study in Anglo-Egyptian Relations* (New York, 1969), pp. 166–167.

⁶ Muhammad Husayn Haykal, *Mudhakkirat fi-l-Siyasa al-Misriya*, 2 vols. (Cairo, 1951); vol. 1, pp. 47ff.

popular because of his record of collaboration with the British. Was this an isolated incident, the act of a single aggrieved person, or was al-Wardani part of an underground anti-British organization?*

*

When John Maxwell disembarked at Port Said on 8 September 1914, just a month after the outbreak of war, he was far from contented. He longed to be at the front lines in France, for he believed the war would be short and regarded his posting to Egypt as nothing short of banishment. Nor was he inclined to see peril there. He discounted a Turkish invasion. If by some bold stroke the Turks succeeded in reaching the east bank of the Suez Canal, he was confident that his forces could repulse the invaders. His early letters to his wife Louise, residing in England, dealt with the logistics of arranging for her to join him in Egypt. They contained little about administrative and military problems facing him there.

Within a month Maxwell had changed his mind. In a letter to his wife on 14 November 1914, he contended that "it is curious but Egypt becomes the most important theater after France."⁸ A subsequent letter offered an explanation of the challenge of Egypt: "I am awfully busy and pushed but I will survive. Under martial law I am practically in charge of all. Of course the agency [the British Residency] goes on as usual but I am consulted in everything and have the final say. . . . We have a lot of bogeys — the Khedive, the Senussi, the Turk, the Germans and Austrians in Egypt, the so-called nationalists, etc. etc. Many pitfalls."⁹

From the beginning of August, when war was declared, until the end of December, Britain forced through a series of political changes which completely altered Egypt's formal political status. Maxwell was consulted in all of these matters, presided over many, and was the person most responsible for ensuring that these transformations occurred in a climate of continuing political tranquility.

As a first step, taken just prior to Maxwell's arrival, the British en-

⁷ On political terrorism in this era see 'Abd al-Fattah 'Inayat, *Qissa Fitah* (Cairo, n.d.) and Muhammad Anis, *Dirasat fi Wathaiq Thawra 1919* (Cairo, 1963).

⁸ Maxwell to wife, 14 November 1914. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

⁹ Maxwell to wife, 19 November 1914. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

acted a decree on 5 August 1914 which associated the Egyptian government with the British declaration of war against Germany and Austria. By its powers the British sent Austrian and German diplomats out of the country and seized German and Austrian assets. No further step was taken until 2 November, when with Ottoman-British war in the offing, Britain placed Egypt under martial law. This decree swelled Maxwell's powers and enabled him to censor the press and to imprison and exile opponents of the government. One powerful anomaly remained, however — Egypt's status as a province of the Ottoman empire, not to be tolerated when on 5 November 1914 Britain declared war on Turkey. Following intense debate, Egypt became a British protectorate on 19 December 1914. The country was spared annexation to the British empire largely because British officials in Egypt feared the Egyptian reaction to such an announcement. British officials also announced the deposition of Khedive Abbas, who since his accession to power in 1892 had opposed British influence and who, purely by accident, was in Istanbul when war broke out in Europe. In Abbas' place as Sultan of Egypt the British selected Husayn Kamil, regarded as sympathetic to British interests.

In the brief span of five months Egypt had moved from an autonomous province of the Ottoman empire, temporarily occupied by British forces until order should be restored, to a British protectorate under martial law. Its Khedivate had been replaced by a Sultanate, and its feisty ruler, Abbas, a promoter of nationalist and anti-British activities, had been replaced by a pro-British monarch. These changes could hardly have contented most Egyptians. Coming as they did at a time when Britain had declared war on Ottoman Turkey, the chief Islamic power in the world, they might have been expected to produce an outpouring of Egyptian resentment. It was Maxwell's responsibility to prevent this resentment from assuming overt political forms and jeopardizing the British war effort.

Maxwell's techniques for securing order reveal Britain's imperial dexterity. The British general intensified tried and tested mechanisms of overrule. He also employed new procedures which the state of war permitted a military governor to invoke. In the first place, he used massive displays of Britain's military might to impress on the local population the strength of Britain's commitment in Egypt. In peacetime British Consuls General had been fond of trooping the colors on important imperial occasions, not merely because of their en-

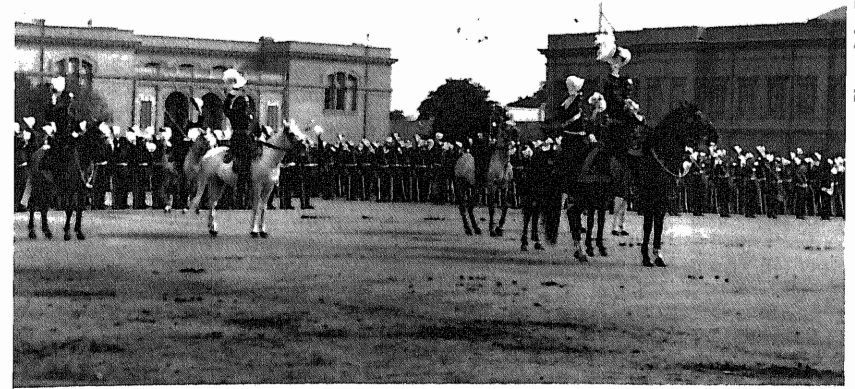


Photo: John Blazjewski

British troops on parade in the square in front of Abdin Palace, Cairo, during World War I. Maxwell Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

joyment of pomp but also to demonstrate Britain's military prowess. Maxwell carried this tendency to great extremes. He had a large military presence to work with. By November 1914 the imperial army based in Egypt numbered 82,000 and consisted of 17,000 British territorials, 25,000 Indians, and 40,000 Australians and New Zealanders. The Indian forces were there to defend the Suez Canal, while the British territorials, the Australians, and the New Zealanders were in training before being sent to Europe. Maxwell was given permission to use all of these soldiers in defense of Egypt and to march them around Cairo and other major cities to display British military might.

Maxwell took advantage of the heavy troop concentrations at times when perilous political changes were occurring. The physical capacities of the Australian and New Zealand forces astonished and delighted him. "The natives of Cairo," he reported to his wife in November 1914, "are much impressed with the size of the colonials. They are certainly immense and tower over the territorials [British soldiers] who are none too bad either. Mena House road is a sight crowded with military vehicles and tramways full of soldiers."¹⁰ Max-

¹⁰ Maxwell to wife, 14 November 1914. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

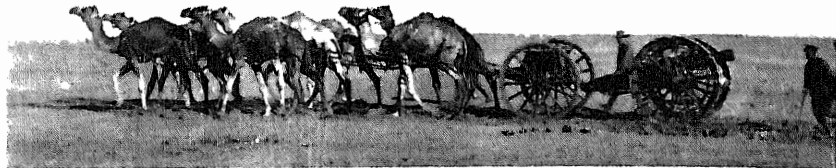


Photo: John Blazejewski

Desert warfare: "Australian contrivance adapting artillery harness to camel transport for heavy artillery to cross desert. Can easily do 25 miles a day over soft sand. Gun wheels fitted with wooden flanges easily detachable. Australians calculate one camel per ton." Autograph caption for a series of snapshots in an album. Maxwell Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

well dispersed his soldiers throughout Egypt and all over the city of Cairo. He bivouacked 12,000 Australians at the Pyramids. Another large encampment at Zeitoun was full of New Zealanders and territorials, and yet another camp existed at Maadi.

Maxwell could report that the prospect of deposing Abbas and declaring a Protectorate did not faze him. "I have got such a smashing force here now that it would be worse than folly for a few discontents to attempt any foolish act."¹¹ To drive the message home, the day before he proclaimed martial law he marched his new territorial troops through the streets of Cairo and proclaimed the exercise "a great success — very impressive. . . . It came off too just at the right moment, for the next day martial law was proclaimed."¹² In the same fashion, after Britain had announced the appointment of Husayn Kamil as Sultan of Egypt, Maxwell "marched 8,000 cavalry through the Cairo streets. I think the natives thought they would never stop. They took two and one-half hours to pass the saluting point. Cairo is quite a sight, full of soldiers and great huge fellows they are."¹³ He might have added that, just prior to the march-through, Cairenes had gathered along these same streets to watch in a mood of sullen hostility as the carriage of Egypt's new Sultan, Husayn Kamil, brought Egypt's new ruler to Abdin palace for the coronation ceremonies.¹⁴

¹¹ Maxwell to wife, 12 December 1914. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

¹² Maxwell to Kitchener, n.d. but ca. 5 November 1914. Maxwell Papers.

¹³ Maxwell to wife, 25 December 1914. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

¹⁴ Latifah Muhammad Salim, *Misr fi-l-Harb al-'Alamiya al-Ula* (Cairo, 1984), p. 307.

The British empire was a multiethnic and multinational enterprise, never more so than in times of war. Gold Coasters and Southern Nigerians conquered Northern Nigeria under a small contingent of British officers. Egyptian and Sudanese soldiers formed the majority of the reconquest army in the Sudan while Indian soldiers temporarily garrisoned Egypt. During Maxwell's tenure of authority in Egypt the military forces there were drawn from all over. Shortly after he arrived, he was informed that the whole of the British army of occupation was to proceed to Europe. Egypt was to be garrisoned by raw territorial troops sent out from Great Britain and a substantial Indian brigade.¹⁵

Maxwell worried that, as Muslims, the bulk of the ninth Indian brigade, assigned to guard the Suez Canal, might be responsive to Islamic propaganda should the Ottomans attempt an assault. To the south, the *Sirdar* (Commanding General) of the Egyptian army and the military governor of the Sudan, Reginald Wingate, expressed alarm that he had to hold the Sudan with a force of Maoris. Maxwell endeavored to calm Wingate's fears by claiming that more experienced troops were needed in Egypt; "trouble in the Soudan will be subsequent to trouble here," he wrote. Given the manpower resources of the war in Europe, "better 5,000 robust and loyal Maoris" than inexperienced territorials whom Maxwell was trying to whip into the semblance of a fighting force in Egypt.¹⁶

On the whole Maxwell remained confident about having to defend a vital and potentially explosive area of the British empire with non-British soldiers. The Indian troops were impressive. Under expert British command, they could be trusted with any military task, no matter how difficult. As the many different ethnic groups of the empire passed through Egypt on their way to France, he exulted in the achievement of welding diverse peoples together into a powerful fighting machine. Believing Britain's empire would prove decisive in bringing victory, he wrote that "the contingents are pouring in. The Germans will think we have let a menagerie loose when they see Turkos, chasseurs d'Afrique, Spahis, Gounis, Gorkhas, Pathans, Afridis, etc. rushing at them."¹⁷

Displays of force and constant parading did not guarantee political

¹⁵ Note from John Maxwell, n.d. but late 1914. Maxwell Papers.

¹⁶ Maxwell to Kitchener, 21 March 1915. Maxwell Papers.

¹⁷ Maxwell to wife, 13 September 1914. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

quiescence, however. Maxwell was not reluctant to employ the more substantial powers at his disposal. As fate would have it, three of Britain's most severe critics were out of the country when war broke out. Khedive Abbas and Shaykh Shawish, Egypt's most effective pan-Islamic publicist, were in Istanbul, and Muhammad Farid, head of the *Watani* Party, was in Geneva. These men were not allowed back, and Khedive Abbas was deposed. Other nationalists were imprisoned or exiled, and the press was muzzled. British and Egyptian spies prowled the notorious Egyptian coffee houses, listening for seditious talk. Any provocation produced swift and harsh retaliation. A young man who screamed out "long live Germany and down with England" was apprehended and flogged seventy times.¹⁸ The tribunal at Alexandria imposed a year sentence at hard labor on Mustafa al-Tarmadhi for distributing revolutionary literature.¹⁹ No meeting of Egypt's newly established Legislative Assembly was allowed during the war, and a law prohibiting Egyptians from holding public assemblies rendered any kind of public demonstration illegal.²⁰

Overall, Maxwell and the British were gratified at Egyptian acceptance of the transformation of the country's political status. There were no formal protests inside the country. No minister or high-ranking civil servant resigned over the declaration of the protectorate, the proclamation of martial law, and the deposition of Abbas. Members of Egypt's Legislative Assembly made no demand to discuss these important constitutional changes.²¹ Even so forceful a critic of British policies as Sa'd Zaghlul welcomed the new British High Commissioner, Henry McMahon, when he arrived in early 1915.²² Eminent politicians like Zaghlul, Husayn Rushdi, and Adli Yakin counselled moderation in hopes of wringing political concessions after the war.

Egyptian scholars attempting to explain the relative quiescence of a previously aroused population have emphasized the effectiveness of British coercion and propaganda. For Latifah Muhammad Salim, Britain's campaign of exiling, imprisoning, and intimidating left the country leaderless. The ordinary rank and file resented British military rule but were unable to channel their discontent into effective

¹⁸ Salim, *Misr fi-l-Harb al-'Alamiya al-Ula*, p. 298.

¹⁹ Muhammad Sayyid Kilani, *al-Sultan Husayn Kamil* (Cairo, 1963), p. 76.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

²¹ Elgood, *Egypt and the Army*, p. 89.

²² 'Abd al-Rahman al-Rafi'i, *Muhammad Farid* (Cairo, 1948), p. 349.

protest.²³ Muhammad Sayyid Kilani noted that British propaganda emphasized the modernizing achievements of the occupation and portrayed the Germans as brutal colonial rulers. Egypt's leading poets, Ahmad Shawqi, Hafiz Ibrahim, and Ahmad Nassim, took up these themes, praising the British and depicting Kaiser Wilhelm as a tyrant.²⁴

There was, nonetheless, just enough discontent bubbling below the surface to keep British officials like Maxwell on constant alert. The British establishment believed that Egyptian critics planned a major uprising to coincide with the deposition of Abbas and the accession of Husayn Kamil to the throne. They kept their forces in Cairo at the ready. When Turkish troops were crossing the Sinai peninsula and closing in on the canal in January 1915, rumors abounded in Cairo. According to Maxwell, one report claimed that British and Turkish forces had clashed in a bloody battle in the Sinai and that Maxwell himself had been severely wounded. In Cairo protest assumed a symbolic form. Students at Egypt's intensely nationalist School of Law boycotted Sultan Husayn Kamil's visit in 1915. Indeed, the Sultan and Egyptian ministers found themselves ostracized from the non-official population. On two separate occasions assassins made attempts on the Sultan's life.

In the countryside, on the other hand, endemic violence occurred. Much of the rural discontent continued the high levels of pre-war crime, but some of it stemmed from wartime circumstances. Rural criminal bands cut off communications with the city. They engaged in robbery and even murder. In the province of Behera, notorious for its brigandage, criminals created political organizations, replete with shaykhs, ghaffirs, and spies. Many crimes were committed against the railway, which rural groups judged to be a source of urban control.²⁵

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General Maxwell had discounted an Ottoman invasion when he had first arrived in Egypt. Yet on 2 and 3 February 1915 Ottoman soldiers

²³ Salim, *Misr fi-l-Harb al-'Alamiya al-Ula*, pp. 13-90 and 281-348.

²⁴ Kilani, *al-Sultan Husayn Kamil*, pp. 200ff.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

under the command of Djemal Pasha launched an attack all along the Suez Canal. The Turks directed the main thrust of their assault at Toussoum. A major assumption behind the Turkish strategy was that the Egyptian population and possibly even the Indian Muslim military forces guarding the canal would rally to the Ottoman forces. The Ottoman call for *jihād*, they hoped, would have a strong appeal in Egypt because of the support it received from ex-Khedive Abbas and Shaykh Shawish.²⁶

Maxwell did not discount the Ottoman threat even though the Ottoman force was a relatively small one of less than 20,000 men. He was especially concerned about the propagandizing activities of Shaykh Shawish whose "secret seditious agitation" and agents "in India, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Senussi, and the West" held the potential for inflaming Muslims against the British and the French.²⁷

Fortunately for Maxwell, his worst fears were not realized. The Egyptian population did not revolt. The imperial forces of 30,000 guarding the canal remained loyal and repulsed the enemy, killing 142 and wounding 381.²⁸ The only blot on Maxwell's record was his inability to take advantage of the military edge he had achieved. By failing to pursue his Ottoman adversaries, his forces took no prisoners and seized no Turkish weapons.

The first half-year of the war (August 1914 – February 1915) went more smoothly than Maxwell had anticipated. The next year, however, fully tested the general's skills as an administrator and military man. In 1915 British military strategists embraced Winston Churchill's plan for relieving pressure on the Western front by carrying out an assault against the Ottomans at Gallipoli. Egypt was to serve as the primary base for troop movements to and from the battlefield.

The British invasion of Gallipoli commenced in April 1915. Turkish soldiers, dug into trenches, drove the imperial forces back and inflicted heavy casualties. By the time this ill-conceived campaign came to an end in January 1916, losses numbered 25,000. During these months Maxwell's responsibilities in Egypt were manifold and at times overwhelming. He prepared the forces in Egypt for the bat-

²⁶ Maxwell to Kitchener, 31 October 1914. Maxwell Papers.

²⁷ Maxwell to Kitchener, 8 March 1915. Maxwell Papers. Kilani, *al-Sultan Husayn Kamil*, p. 44.

²⁸ Elgood, *Egypt and the Army*, pp. 128–138, and "Supplement" to *London Gazette*, 21 June 1916, which contains a narrative of military events based on official despatches.

tle at the Dardanelles. He made available the medical and social facilities of Egypt to treat the wounded and sick so that they could return to the front line as rapidly as possible. All the while he was responsible for the political stability of Egypt itself.

As the campaign bogged down, Maxwell came to fear its deleterious consequences in Egypt. The battlefield losses encouraged opponents to believe that Britain was losing the war. In a note to Ian Hamilton, commander of the Gallipoli expedition, Maxwell noted that the 1,500 officers and 60,000 men who had passed through Egypt wounded and sick had exerted "a bad effect" upon the country. Hamilton, for his part, argued that with a slightly larger infusion of fighting men — 60,000, he thought — he could overrun Turkish defenses and defeat the Ottomans. His request for two additional Indian regiments, however, produced an immediate rejection from Maxwell who was worried about the adequacy of his resources in Egypt. Maxwell pleaded that though he did, in fact, have 60,000 soldiers under his command he did not have a single complete formation, and that he lacked any kind of "mobile force to use if disturbances break out." He reminded Hamilton that "whatever else we do we cannot lose our hold on Egypt."²⁹

Allowing for exaggeration, there can be little doubt that the Egyptian military situation was precarious in late 1915. Not only were all of the spare fighting forces earmarked for Ian Hamilton's Gallipoli army, but enemies of England's rule in Egypt were fomenting trouble on the eastern and western borders of the country. The loyalty of the domestic population had yet to be tested by a forceful Ottoman invasion.

To the east, the Ottomans, with considerable German engineering and military advice, were building a railroad aimed at Sinai and the canal. The Turks hoped, at the least, to wheel up long-distance cannons to bombard the canal. By October 1915 the railhead had reached Bersheeba, just 120 miles from the canal, and construction was exactly on schedule. The Ottoman rail line, Maxwell wrote, "gives everybody the jumps."³⁰ Additionally, he was pessimistic about being able to guard the entire eighty-seven miles of the canal against a large German-Turkish invading force. Far from reassuring were reports

²⁹ Maxwell to Ian Hamilton, 24 September 1915. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

³⁰ Maxwell to Kitchener, 1 November 1915. Maxwell Papers.



John Maxwell and Ian Hamilton conferring in preparation for the British assault on Gallipoli. Maxwell Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

gathered from Egyptian listeners in Europe that the Germans planned to create a 600,000-man army for the invasion and liberation of Egypt.³¹ To the west Sanusi beduins had been fighting the Italians ever since Italy had invaded Libya. Under Ottoman and German prodding, the Sanusi had begun to turn their guerrilla forces in a westerly direction. Maxwell distrusted the loyalty of Egyptians, especially those living in the western part of the country, many of whom were linked through family and religious ties with Sanusi brotherhoods.

Maxwell's letters to Kitchener and to his wife, Louise, his regular correspondents in 1915, took on an alarmist and pessimistic tone. They expressed fear that an internal revolt, sparked off by the Ottomans in the west or by the Sanusi, might rage out of control and do irreparable damage to the war effort. The leader of the Sanusi he regarded as "a religious fanatic with considerable aspirations to temporal power . . . and great influence here and also east and west. The latter is an ambitious self-seeking potentate who may be very dangerous."³²

As for the Ottomans, Maxwell saw them trying to inflame Muslim opinion all over the world. One of their most effective agents was Shaykh Shawish, an exiled Egyptian nationalist and pan-Islamist domiciled in Istanbul during the war. Of Shawish Maxwell wrote: "His gang have a better organization for secret seditious agitation than we credit. Agents all over the place. We hear of them in India, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Senussi and West."³³ Although he could conclude this letter to Kitchener with the comment that "the large garrison here has overawed any outburst," he was not so sanguine in a later letter written to Reginald Wingate in the Sudan: "I can hardly carry on as it is, for though there are some 60,000 men in Egypt, there is not a single formation left after I send the last Australian brigade [to Gallipoli]."³⁴

Maxwell spelled out further anxieties in two letters to Hamilton in September and October 1915, while the fighting was going poorly at Gallipoli. In the September note, he worried about the Sanusi and Turkish threats and then described the vulnerability of his position

³¹ Letter from Abdin Palace to Maxwell, 6 December 1915. Maxwell Papers.

³² Maxwell to Beauchamp, January 1915. Maxwell Papers.

³³ Maxwell to Kitchener, 8 March 1915. Maxwell Papers.

³⁴ Maxwell to Wingate, 25 August 1915. Maxwell Papers.

in Egypt. "In Egypt," he observed, "there are some twelve million Moslems, the majority of whom do not love us. What have I here? On paper, I have somewhere about 60,000 men, but exclusive of the Indian force on the canal the great bulk are oddments of your force which cannot be used. Most of those in Alexandria are without rifles, having been disarmed by your orders."³⁵ One month later, replying to Hamilton's pleas for more soldiers, Maxwell wrote: "People are getting jumpy here. Even the Sultan seems to think that we are not winning. The feeling here is distinctly worse than it was, but fortunately they do not realize how weak I really am, for they see lots of soldiers in the streets."³⁶

The Sanusi threat was the first to materialize, and it did so before the Gallipoli campaign had been halted. Late in 1915, following a series of discussions and an exchange of letters expressing peaceful intentions, Sanusi units crossed the border with Egypt and entered the city of Sollum, which they proceeded to loot. Some units of the Egyptian army and coast guard defected, while the small garrison of British soldiers fell back to Mersa Matruh. Understanding just how British-Sanusi relations had deteriorated into a state of warfare and why Maxwell had to deal with this threat requires some background information on this remarkable Muslim brotherhood.

The Sanusi order was founded by Muhammad Ali al-Sanusi who was born in a small town in Algeria around 1787. A devout and scholarly Muslim, he was deeply troubled by the way Islam was practiced in the world he knew. Studies and travels took him to Morocco, Egypt, and the Hijaz, and brought him a band of devotees. Unable to settle in these regions because of the suspicions of local leaders, including the French in Algeria, he found a haven among the beduin peoples of Cyrenaica. There he established his so-called mother lodge, *al-Zawiya al-Barida*. Later he moved his spiritual headquarters to Jaghub, which became the center of the movement as well as the seat of a great Islamic university.

The Grand Sanusi was succeeded in 1859 by his son, Muhammad al-Mahdi (d. 1902) under whose guidance the order reached its widest geographical spread and its greatest political and cultural sway. Reflecting the dissemination of Sanusi ideas into Sahelian Africa and the establishment of numerous lodges there, Muhammad al-Mahdi

³⁵ Maxwell to Hamilton, 24 September 1915. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

³⁶ Maxwell to Hamilton, 13 October 1915. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

moved the center of the order farther south to Kufra, even more remote from settled authority, yet an important trading entrepôt between North Africa and black Africa. By the time of his death the order was well established in Cyrenaica, even in the towns, and had spread into the western desert of Egypt, Fazzan, and the central Sahara. It also had adherents in the Hijaz.³⁷

Under al-Mahdi's brother and successor, al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif, the order suffered setbacks. The movement was already too widely dispersed for effective central control, but the Sanusis also came into collision with encroaching European colonial influence. First to arrive were the French, expanding through the Sudan and Sahel of Africa. Then in 1911 the Italians sought to turn Libya into a colony.

The Sanusi movement brought unity to the beduin peoples inhabiting large stretches of North and Central Africa. It offered unifying cultural themes, and it facilitated the exchange of ideas and commodities over a wide geographical terrain. As it spread it entered Egypt where it became a religious and political force, not merely among the beduins of the desert but even among fellahin families living in the settled part of the country.

The beduin tribes of the central Cyrenaican plateau were, in Evans-Pritchard's words, "like trucks [railroad cars] on a siding, one pushing another outward."³⁸ Many groups moving in a westerly direction settled in Egypt's western desert. Under pressure from the government some of these groups were induced to take up agricultural pursuits on the irrigated lands of the Nile valley. The Awlad Ali people, 40,000 counting clients, traced their lineages to Cyrenaica and maintained ties with kinfolk outside of Egypt. They occupied the Mediterranean littoral from Egypt's western desert outpost at Sollum to Alexandria. As the Awlad Ali migrated to Egypt, they drove the Hanadi in front of them into Sharqiya province. Similarly, the Bahaja group, expelled from the Bahaira oasis, settled in Sharqiya and Gharbiya provinces while the Fawayid of the Jibarna group put down their roots in Fayyum, Beni Suef, Behera, and Minya. "Besides the migra-

³⁷ On Sanusi history, I have drawn from E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1949); Lisa Anderson, *The State and Social Transformation in Tunisia and Libya, 1830 - 1980* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); John Wright, *Libya: A Modern History* (Baltimore, 1982); and Majid Khadduri, *Modern Libya: A Study in Political Development* (Baltimore, 1963).

³⁸ Evans-Pritchard, *Sanusi*, p. 50.



Photo: John Blazewski

al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif, the Sanusi leader who embraced German-Turkish war ambitions and opposed the British in Egypt's Western Desert. Maxwell Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

tion of whole tribes from Cyrenaica into Egypt," Evans-Pritchard observed, "there has taken place an exodus of many tribal sections and fragments, owing to inter-tribal fighting, until today [1949] there is not a Cyrenaican tribe, or even large section, which has not some of its members in Egypt, often whole lineages."³⁹ Of the 146 lodges which he identified at the time of his study, no fewer than thirty-one were in Egypt. In contrast, only one existed in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, at al-Fashir, near the Northwest frontier of the country.⁴⁰

Sanusi influence ordinarily would not have troubled the British. The British colonial mentality was averse to Christianizing Muslims, and in any case the nineteenth century had witnessed a decisive sedentarization and Egyptianization of beduin peoples. The Sanusi's strong anti-colonialism, directed originally against the French and the Italians, coupled with an increasing reliance on Ottoman and

³⁹ Evans-Pritchard, *Sanusi*, p. 50.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

German political advice, did, however, worry the British once war in Europe was under way. Maxwell and the other British and Egyptian authorities endeavored to promote peaceful relations with the Sanusi leadership in order to prevent conflict on both borders. They feared not only an uprising of Sanusis living in the western desert but also collaboration from large segments of the settled Nile valley population.

Until 1914 the Sanusi busied themselves with the defense of Cyrenaica. Their military successes confined the Italian forces to the coastal cities. Although Turkey had signed a peace treaty with Italy in 1912 and renounced political claims in Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, the Turks had left behind a number of military men who gave military advice to the Sanusi beduins. Not surprisingly, when the war started, the Turks, with their German allies, sought to involve the Sanusi against the British in Egypt.

The Sanusi leadership was badly divided over policy toward Egypt. Muhammad Idris counselled a pro-British stance and argued that the greatest threat to Sanusi independence came from Italy. The head of the order and successor to al-Mahdi, al-Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharif was more ambitious and pan-Islamic, however. He was also beholden to his Turkish and German allies, having allowed Nuri Bey, brother of Enver Bey, a leading Ottoman statesman, and Ja'afar al-Askari, another high-ranking Ottoman official, into his inner circle. Whether it was the inordinate influence of these Ottoman figures, as some scholars have asserted, or the soaring political and religious ambitions of Ahmad al-Sharif, as British officials in Egypt believed, or the trickery of pro-Turkish, pan-Islamic subordinates, British-Sanusi relations deteriorated sharply during 1915.

On 1 July 1915, much to the dismay of the British, Ahmad al-Sharif published an Ottoman *firman* declaring himself Governor of Tripolitania and also promulgating the Ottoman call for a *jihad* against the infidels. Later in the year, perhaps emboldened by the British military defeats at Gallipoli and persuaded by Nuri and Ja'afar that the Germans were winning the war, Ahmad al-Sharif drove Anglo-Egyptian forces out of their border outpost at Sollum. Maxwell's last major task in Egypt, before his unhappy resignation in March 1916, was to deal with this threat.

The Sanusis were not to be taken lightly. They had proven themselves in guerrilla warfare, and now with German and Ottoman mili-

tary advice, they threatened the western desert of Egypt as well as the edges of settled and agricultural Egypt. In writing to Kitchener, Maxwell claimed that the Sanusis had "the nucleus of a formidable force." According to Maxwell, Ahmad al-Sharif was "a truculent fanatic, and we know that he has been got at by the Turks and the Germans."⁴¹ Maxwell estimated that the Sanusi leader had about 1,500 well-trained men camped near Sollum, possessing a large supply of rifles, machine guns, and ammunition. To protect the Nile valley from Sanusi raids Maxwell was compelled to maintain an army of approximately 35,000 men along the western edges of the Nile valley at a time when every last imperial soldier was needed at Gallipoli.

More worrisome was the revolutionary potential of the Sanusi in Egypt itself. A British-Sanusi military engagement close to settled Egypt might produce "an infinity of trouble and no one can foresee where it would end," Maxwell opined. He feared that beduins right up to Darfar would join with Ahmad al-Sharif, and that the Sanusi might find considerable support in settled Egypt as well.⁴²

In an effort to calm the Egyptian population, Maxwell put himself in touch with the leaders of Egypt's western beduin population, estimated at nearly 600,000. Sultan Husayn Kamil lent his prestige among beduin shaykhs to this effort, believing that Ahmad al-Sharif was an ambitious political leader and a religious imposter.⁴³ Unfortunately, the beduin structure had been disintegrating in the nineteenth century. No longer did tribes and sub-tribes have recognized leaders. The group most crucial to the British campaign, the Awlad Ali, had once been organized under a single head, aided by four sub-heads. Now, a congeries of competing leaders, perhaps as many as seventy chiefs, aspired to preeminence.⁴⁴ Nor was this tribal disintegration confined to the Awlad Ali. Britain's adviser to the Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, Ronald Graham, wrote: "Where are the big sheikhs of the Bedouins? They seem to have disappeared — indeed they have never existed since I have been here and the present pseudo-leaders of the Bedouin are either indebted or shady."⁴⁵

⁴¹ Maxwell to Kitchener, 1 September 1915. Maxwell Papers.

⁴² Maxwell to Kitchener, n.d. but October or November 1915. Maxwell Papers.

⁴³ Hussein Kamil to Maxwell, 17 December 1915. Maxwell Papers. Although Husayn Kamil spelled his name as above, I have used the preferred Arabic transliteration throughout the text of this essay.

⁴⁴ Hussein Kamil to Maxwell, 9 December 1915. Maxwell Papers.

⁴⁵ Note from the Office of the Adviser to the Egyptian Minister of the Interior, 15 December 1915. Maxwell Papers.

Still, the British did what they could to manipulate these beduin shaykhs. Sultan Husayn Kamil called together a group of them and lectured them on loyalty to the British. Employing by now a familiar Khedivial technique, Husayn Kamil confined to Cairo those beduin leaders of whom he was most suspicious. Muhammad Ali al-Sayyid, head of part of the Garasa tribe residing in Fayyum and Cyrenaica, remained in Cairo under an ill-concealed house detention. Joining him there was Lamlun el-Sadi from Minya.⁴⁶

The military crisis in the west proved to be short-lived, however. No general beduin uprising took place, and none of the discontent felt in the desert resonated in settled Egypt. Once Gallipoli was over, the British diverted military resources to the desert. Maxwell argued the need to inflict "a smashing blow" against the Sanusi in order to deter the war party and to strengthen pro-British factions.⁴⁷ At the battle of al-Aqqaqir on 26 February 1916, British forces routed the Sanusi and drove them from Sollum. The Ottoman adviser, Ja'afar, and his staff were taken prisoner. Thereafter, imperial forces constantly harassed Sanusi military units and forced them to retreat to the oases of the western desert — Bahaira, Farafra, and al-Dakhla.⁴⁸

Equally important were Maxwell's negotiations with pro-British Sanusi leaders. Al-Sayyid Muhammad Idris struck Maxwell as a man with whom the British could deal. In Maxwell's opinion he was "the real Senussi, and I believe . . . favorable to peace with Italy."⁴⁹ Even while talks were under way, Maxwell strengthened Britain's military posture in the western desert by raising "a dependable camel corps of 1,000 men, with a few maxims and an efficient service." He was enormously cheered when Ahmad al-Sharif fled the country for Istanbul and turned authority over to Muhammad Idris.

Although Italy and the Sanusi did not sign a peace accord until 1917, the agreement contained precisely the terms Maxwell had favored. Italy and the Sanusi agreed to a cease-fire. Each party remained sovereign in the territories it occupied. Between Egypt and the Sanusi there was to be a cessation of all hostilities, the opening of commerce, the exchange of prisoners, and the dismissal of all Turk-

⁴⁶ Hussein Kamil to Maxwell, 9 December 1915. Maxwell Papers.

⁴⁷ Maxwell to Kitchener, 23 December 1915. Maxwell Papers.

⁴⁸ On the military conflict in the western desert, see Anderson, *The State and Social Transformation*, pp. 127-133; Evans-Pritchard, *Sanusi*, pp. 125-133; Khadduri, *Modern Libya*, pp. 12-15; Elgood, *Egypt and the Army*, p. 273; and Amin Sa'id, *al-Dawla al-'Arabiya al-Muttahida*, 3 vols. (Cairo, 1938); vol. 3, pp. 21-23.

⁴⁹ Maxwell to Oswald Fitzgerald, 9 March 1916. Maxwell Papers.



al-Sayyid Muhammad Idris, a Sanusi leader who sought accommodation rather than confrontation with the British during World War I. Maxwell Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

ish and other enemy officers from the ranks of the Sanusi. To ensure peace with Egypt, the Sanusis pledged to have no armed units in Egypt, no armed gatherings near the frontier, no Sanusi lodges on Egyptian soil, and only one trade route from Cyrenaica to settled Egypt, that from Sollum to Alexandria.⁵⁰

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Maxwell left Egypt in 1916. Complaints about his handling of the Suez Canal defenses had dogged him. But his overriding worry was the new military command structure, which he found unworkable. Having put an end to the Gallipoli campaign, many British planners wished to transfer military units to the European theater as quickly as possible. The more imperially-minded, however, saw rich territorial prizes in the disintegrating Ottoman empire. Far from wishing to demobilize Egypt, they sought an increase in the British forces there. The latter group prevailed. By the beginning of 1916 Britain had no fewer than three separate armies and 400,000 troops stationed in Egypt. Maxwell's responsibilities, however, were reduced. He was to maintain stability in the Nile valley and the Nile delta while Archibald Murray, appointed in December 1915, took over the Egyptian Expeditionary Force which continued to guard the Suez Canal and would later embark on campaigns in Palestine and Syria. A third force, designated the Levant Army, controlled allied military operations around Salonika. Maxwell found the existence of three separate commands unwieldy. After briefly attempting to work in harness with Murray, he resigned.⁵¹

Maxwell's departure brought forth an outpouring of deep sentiment for a man who had served in Egypt for thirty years. The feelings of disappointment from Egyptian well-wishers, admittedly the official ruling classes, seem to have been genuine. Maxwell had won the trust of many, among whom Sultan Husayn Kamil regretted the departure most keenly. The two men continued their correspondence right up until the Sultan's death in 1917, and the Sultan's man-

⁵⁰ Evans-Pritchard, *Sanusi*, p. 143.

⁵¹ Elgood, *Egypt and the Army*, p. 226; *The Times*, 22 February 1929; and Fitzgerald to Maxwell, 28 January 1916. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

ner of addressing Maxwell in letters changed from *mon cher general* to *mon cher ami*.

Gilbert Clayton, who headed the British intelligence services in Egypt, claimed that Maxwell was the crucial intermediary between the British establishment in Egypt and Egypt's nominal and collaborating rulers. In a letter to his old comrade, Clayton observed that no one of authority in the British community, now that Maxwell had left, paid Sultan Husayn Kamil any heed — a fact that Clayton deeply regretted. "I can't think why they don't use him more," Clayton wrote. "One needn't tell him more than one wants to and when one has one of the most influentially placed Moslems heart and soul with one, it is incomprehensible to neglect him."⁵² No doubt Maxwell's military friend, R.E.M. Russell, overstated the case when he asserted that the rebellion of 1919 might well have swept through the Nile valley in 1914 or 1915 but for Maxwell's deft handling of the Egyptian ruling elite.⁵³

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The British empire at the outbreak of World War I was the largest imperial structure in world history. Its territorial expanse stretched into every continent, and it brought under its jurisdiction all the religions and most of the major ethnic groups in the world. Nonetheless, Britons living at home were chary about spending resources on overseas territories. They demanded that the British government administer the empire with minimal expenditures of men, materiel, and money. The British employed age-old techniques of imperial rule, all of which were reflected in Maxwell's military administration of Egypt between 1914 and 1916. They used strong doses of coercion not only at the moment of conquest but when and as required in the ordinary march of daily events. They used propaganda to extol their virtues and to denigrate local achievements and the work of colonial competitors. Having once identified ruling groups, like the landed classes in Egypt, and royal personages, like Husayn Kamil, they endeavored to tie their economic and political success to British rule. When suc-

⁵² G. F. Clayton to Maxwell, 2 May 1916. Maxwell Papers, Correspondence.

⁵³ R.E.M. Russell to Maxwell, 23 March 1919. Maxwell Papers.



Photo: John Blazjewski

Scots Guards Mess in the Kasr el Nil barracks, Cairo, 1912. The building was along the Nile in the heart of Cairo, evidence of how the British military made apparent their domination over Egypt. Maxwell Papers, Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

cessful, these groups were as eager as the British to repulse challenges to imperial authority, which in any case were dealt with quickly and severely.

The Maxwell letters reveal how precarious British authority was at particular moments and especially during World War I, how little real substance it often rested on, how much it relied on displays of force, and how dependent the British core was on the active collaboration and even military assistance of colonial peoples. Not surprisingly, then, once vital regions of the colonial periphery became less secure, as India and Egypt did after World War II, the whole system became vulnerable.

The Many Lives of William Alfred Eddy

BY C. A. PRETTIMAN

In 1922 a young doctoral student wrote a critical study of a book of travel narratives. The book chronicled what was to become the young man's persistent quest in life: How does one learn about other cultures when voyaging, to the mutual benefit of oneself and the foreign culture? How learn to face the noble and the absurd in one's own country, reflected in the eye of the Other?

The student was William Alfred Eddy and the book was *Gulliver's Travels*.¹ Nearly a quarter of a century later Eddy (then a colonel instead of an English professor) knelt in front of President Franklin D. Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud on the deck of a destroyer in the Suez Canal, interpreting for the two men and their respective nations. The quest for the Other, and the desire to learn and to teach was the impetus for Eddy's many careers: educator, diplomat, author, intelligence agent, and tireless advocate of good relations between the United States and the Arab world.²

Arguably the most important of Eddy's numerous professions, and most pertinent today, was his diplomatic career. In the 1940s, Eddy was one of the few Americans who had firsthand knowledge of the Arab world, and he made it his life's work to disseminate that knowledge. He served as naval attaché in Tangier in 1942, and was Eisenhower's only contact in North Africa at the time. From 1944 to 1946, he was the first American minister plenipotentiary to Saudi Arabia; in 1945 he was the sole interpreter between the ailing President Roo-

¹ William Alfred Eddy, *Gulliver's Travels, A Critical Study* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923).

² Eddy's obituaries made much of the number of his occupations: "Colonel William Eddy, Third Generation American in Lebanon Succumbs at 66: Soldier, Educator, Diplomat, Oil Adviser and Writer was Friend of Arab Countries," *Beirut Weekly*, 14 May 1962. Other obituaries on Eddy, including the one in *The New York Times*, make similar statements. I am indebted to Professor William L. Howarth for pointing out that Eddy's fascination with Swift bore on his later professions.

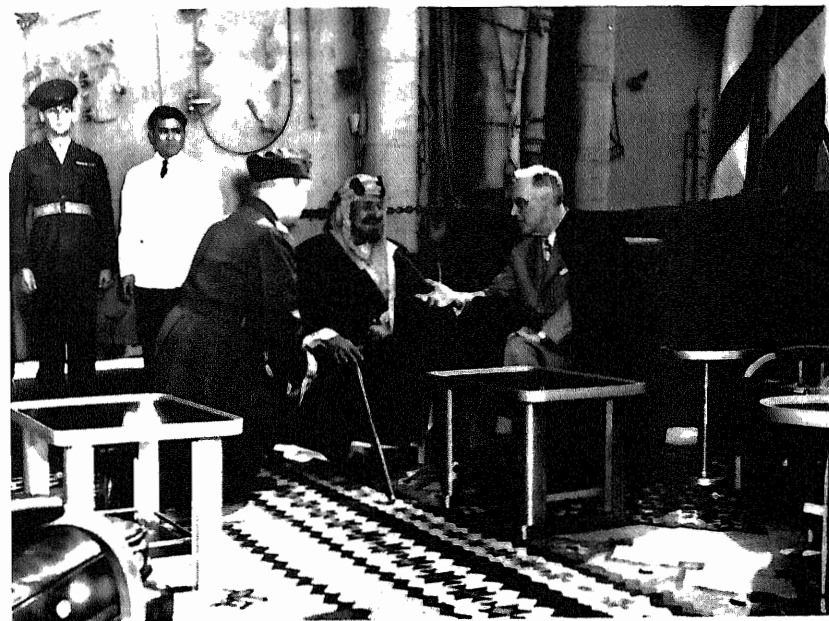


Photo: John Blazjewski

William Alfred Eddy kneeling before Franklin Delano Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia, while acting as interpreter for them at the conference aboard the destroyer *Murphy* in the Suez Canal, 1945. William Alfred Eddy Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

sevelt and King Ibn Saud during the historic meeting between the two heads of state aboard a destroyer in the Suez Canal. In 1946, as envoy extraordinary, he forged the first treaty between the United States and the Imam Yahia of Yemen.

Others might argue that Eddy's greater contribution was in military affairs. Recipient of the Navy Cross, the Distinguished Service Cross and the French Fourragère in World War I, he went on to become head of the Office of Strategic Services (OSS)³ in North Africa in 1942 and was one of the principal planners of the Allied landings. He retired with the rank of colonel.

Eddy's other careers were also worthy of note: He published and lectured extensively on academic subjects while a professor of English at Dartmouth and other colleges; he served a revolutionary and con-

³ The Office of Strategic Services (OSS) was the World War II successor to the Central Office of Intelligence and the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

troversial term as president of Hobart and William Smith College (1936–1942); he was a consultant in Beirut for two oil companies; and, for most of his life, he was a high-level secret agent.⁴

The only accounts of William Eddy's career in print today concern his work as an intelligence agent under "Wild Bill" Donovan in World War II. These reports are mostly brief, hazy, sensationalist, and in one case simply false, surely because they were written before the acquisition or cataloguing of the Eddy Papers in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University — a collection that contains much unknown and unused material.⁵



William Alfred Eddy was born in Sidon, Syria, on 9 March 1896; his parents were American Presbyterian missionaries of English descent. From 1901 to 1905 Eddy stayed with relatives in Wooster, Ohio, but in 1905 he returned to Syria with his brothers Clarence and Herbert. We can assume that he was reasonably fluent in Arabic as a young boy; according to the Reverend Elwyn Brown, Eddy often spoke of having been sent by his parents into the beduin tents in the summer in order to perfect the boy's Arabic and teach him more about his father's flock.⁶

Eddy's father, William King Eddy, died unexpectedly while on a camping trip with his sons William and Clarence. The collection includes a contemporary account of W. K. Eddy's death:

Before midnight Mr. Eddy was seized with acute pain in the heart and called Hasan, who came with 'Ali and found him suffering. . . . The boys [William and Clarence] awoke and sat up in bed. Mr. Eddy said to them, "My sons, I am

⁴ Nearly all of the documents having to do with Eddy's intelligence work are still classified.

⁵ For truthful if cursory accounts, see Anthony Cave Brown, *The Last Hero, Wild Bill Donovan* (New York: Times Books, 1982); and the *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, vol. XLIX. I processed the Eddy Papers in 1991, and acquired additional holdings from Eddy's eldest daughter, which accounts for my familiarity with the material.

⁶ I would like to thank the Rev. Elwyn Brown, who was a student at Hobart College during Eddy's tenure as president, for providing this and other information about Eddy's life.

about to die, good-bye." He gave them various messages, to their mother and others, and asked Clarence to repeat the Twenty-third Psalm. . . .⁷

The Rev. Eddy insisted on being buried "among my people" in Sidon; William Eddy was to imitate his father's lack of racial and cultural prejudice all his life. But no one knows how the death of Eddy's father affected him. His eldest daughter wrote in 1991, "Unfortunately I never heard [Eddy] discuss his father or his father's work except for the account of the liberation of the village Jezzine."⁸ We can only assume either that Eddy was not terribly close to his father or (more likely) that even in later life he found the whole subject too distressing for casual conversation.

In 1908 William Eddy made the sea voyage to New York, staying briefly in New Rochelle. The family promptly moved to Wooster, Ohio, where Eddy started eighth grade at Wooster Prep. In 1913 he matriculated at the College of Wooster, but transferred to Princeton, alma mater of all his relatives, in 1915. At Princeton, Eddy threw himself into collegiate activities while pursuing his degree in English: he was on the basketball and baseball teams, tried out for the football team, and was a member of Dial Lodge. He also joined the National Guard in 1916 — a fateful move. He kept contact with a Wooster sweetheart, Mary Garvin, a young woman his age who had lived most of her life with missionary parents in Valparaiso, Chile.

William Eddy and Mary Garvin received their baccalaureate degrees in 1917 and married on the eve of his departure with the Marine Corps for the trenches in France. According to his superiors he was "an officer of exceptional ability"⁹ and soon found himself a brigade intelligence officer and aide-de-camp to General Wendell Cushing Neville. At the battle of Belleau Wood he was wounded by a high-explosive shell on 25 June 1918. Dampness and exhaustion left him with double pneumonia and a draining abscess in his wounded

⁷ Pamphlet entitled "Rev. William King Eddy: Twenty-Eight Years a Missionary in Sidon, Syria, Died November Fourth 1906," p. 10. William A. Eddy Papers, Box 8, used by permission of the Princeton University Libraries.

⁸ Letter from Mary Furman (née Mary Garvin Eddy) to C. A. Prettiman, 17 August 1991.

⁹ Extract from the Headquarters U. S. Marine Corps Adjutant and Inspector's Department, France, 5 July 1918, General Order No. 30, p. 32. Eddy Papers, Box 5, folder 6.

hip; he was not expected to live. The next part of the story is told by his daughter, Mary Eddy Furman:

When Woodrow Wilson was elected President of the U.S., he brought to the White House a few Princeton graduates as aides and secretaries. One of these was Donald Close. . . . One morning Donald Close said, "Mr. President, my sister-in-law has a younger brother serving in the Marine Corps . . . he is now in a hospital in France and the family is worried as they have been receiving incoherent letters from him and they don't know where he is." Whereupon President Wilson . . . wrote "Find Lt. William Alfred Eddy, USMC, and have him returned home immediately" and fired it off to the War Department. Eventually the order arrived at a hospital outside of Paris and the resident doctor protested that the Marine was not in good enough condition to travel, but the order from the President left him no alternative. When the wounded soldiers arrived at the ship for transport home, the ship's doctor refused to take Eddy for the same reason: "He'll never make it across the ocean." Again the order prevailed. Lt. Eddy [who was six feet tall] weighed 108 pounds when the ship docked in New York.¹⁰

William Eddy finally arrived safely at the Naval Hospital in Brooklyn and spent more than a year recuperating. He shakily wrote a letter full of pathos to his mother-in-law:

You don't have to worry about how we are managing to get along, while I am sick. Fortunately the government continues my full salary until I recover as far as possible. It is a real question what we will do after I leave the hospital (probably next fall) as you know I will be a cripple all my life. There will be something I can do I know.¹¹

There was indeed something that Eddy could do, even from his bed:

¹⁰ Letter from Mary (Eddy) Furman to C. A. Prettiman, 29 August 1991.

¹¹ Letter dated 10 June (1919?). Eddy Papers, Box 5, folder 6.



Photo: John Blaziejewski

William Alfred Eddy, Class of 1917, and his son at his fifth Reunion, Princeton, 1922. Note the position of Eddy's right leg, the result of a wound to his hip at the battle of Belleau Wood. Eddy Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

continue his studies. After receiving his A.M. and Ph.D. in eighteenth-century English literature from Princeton, he embarked upon an academic career. In 1922 he taught a one-year stint at Peekskill Military Academy, then returned with his small family to the Near East where he had been raised. In 1923 he accepted the position of chairman of the English Department at the American University in Cairo. Life in Cairo in the twenties was a sweltering and austere one, but William Eddy clearly enjoyed himself: Despite the pronounced lameness from the shrapnel in his hip, he managed to coach basketball and tennis, write the first basketball rule-book in Arabic, and introduce the sport to the Nile valley.

Needing to consider three children and the feelings of a young wife who was longing for the States, William Eddy accepted a position as assistant professor at Dartmouth College in 1928. A telegram from Ernest M. Hopkins dated 24 December 1927 reads, "Eddy victorious Cairo writing in full will recommend trustees assistant professorship three thousand."¹² We can only assume from this cryptic congratulatory telegram that Eddy drove a hard bargain and got his terms.

Hanover seemed like "heaven" to his young wife Mary after the dusts of Egypt and the iciness of her British neighbors, who still occupied Egypt at that time and who did not trouble themselves overmuch about colonials. William Eddy published regularly when at Dartmouth (mostly on the eighteenth-century novel, pedagogy, and Islam), swam, and played squash with his friends. The refreshing climate was enjoyed by the family (Mary was the first woman in Hanover to wear a genuine pair of ski pants made for women, and was the envy of the neighbor ladies, who borrowed their husbands' trousers to ski). This happy period came to an end in 1936, when William Eddy accepted an invitation to become president of Hobart and William Smith Colleges — a decision that was to change his outlook on academia permanently.

The years at Hobart were not joyous ones for the Eddy family. The young couple had to do the endless entertaining and fundraising required of a college president,¹³ and William Eddy soon found himself violently opposed by conservative faculty who were outraged by his sweeping reforms of the curriculum.

¹² Eddy Papers, Box 5, folder 7.

¹³ The Reverend Elwyn Brown, telephone conversation with C. A. Prettiman, 27 August 1991.



Photo: John Blazewski

The official portrait of William Alfred Eddy as president of Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 1936. Eddy Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

Mary McCormick Scott-Craig, former academic dean at Hobart's sister-school, William Smith College, explained Eddy's policies thus: "Mr. Eddy came to the colleges with a plan for a new core-curriculum — Citizenship. He was aware that only an informed and responsible electorate could breathe new life into the economy and public life. This was to be a four-year course, one required each year."¹⁴ These courses "won the support of most of the faculty," but were vehemently disputed by others — disputes that grew more heated as his term went on. The final blow fell when several faculty members resigned in protest in 1941. Eddy had had enough. He resigned from the troublesome post with the words, "college presidency is a job with which I am definitely out of love; I want to be a Marine."¹⁵ His decision was quite unpopular with most students, who loved their

¹⁴ Letter of 30 August 1991 from Mary M. Scott-Craig to C. A. Prettiman.

¹⁵ Eddy was already in Tangier as naval attaché at the time of his Hobart resignation.

“prexy.” The collection has an emotional letter from William Eddy’s personal secretary written to the couple the day following his resignation: “Yesterday and the days preceding were very hard ones for me — for I know that when you two leave Geneva I have lost the best friends I ever had. . . . I have never known such joy or happiness as has come to me in working for both of you.”¹⁶ Clearly, William Eddy was someone who sparked either great loyalty or tremendous animosity.

*

When Eddy declared that he wanted to be a Marine, he was not being facetious. In 1942 he did indeed offer his services to the Marines through William Donovan, and was appointed naval attaché in Tangier for the American legation. He was commissioned a major, and eventually was made colonel on the staff of Mark Clark. The attaché’s job was actually a cover for his real position: head of Allied intelligence in North Africa. Memos from the Marine Corps headquarters reveal that William Eddy first became involved in U.S. intelligence operations in France when he was twenty-two years old;¹⁷ many of his citations are for gathering valuable information from the enemy under perilous conditions. Almost surely he continued to work for military or governmental intelligence offices after the Great War. What we do know is that, with Robert Murphy, he was one of the few men who helped to plan the Allied landings in North Africa, deceiving the Germans completely and saving hundreds of lives.¹⁸

Despite his tone when resigning from Hobart, however, William Eddy was not really a military man. He was too fond of tempering

¹⁶ Hester Brennan Holleran, letter of 23 June 1942. Eddy Papers, Box 9.

¹⁷ Eddy Papers, Box 5, folder 6.

¹⁸ For more information on the OSS and Eddy’s role in the North African landings, see Corey Ford, *Donovan of OSS* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1970); Stewart Alsop and Thomas Braden, *Sub Rosa: The OSS and American Espionage* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1964); R. Harris Smith, *OSS: The Secret History of America’s First Central Intelligence Agency* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); and Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939–1961* (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1987). The most reliable of these accounts is Corey Ford’s. Robin Winks’ account, full of absurd statements like “in World War I [Eddy] had lost a leg, and the stump and attached wooden leg gave him pain in the heat . . .” (p. 190), can safely be dismissed.



Photo: John Blaziejewski

William Alfred Eddy with the first president of Egypt, General Mohammed Naguib, Cairo, 1943. Eddy Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

discipline with courtesy and independent thought, and too much an educator to be pleased with an automatic “yes, sir.” Thus, in 1944, he resigned from the Marine Corps. Where to turn next? The war had interrupted his academic career. Although he disliked administration, he had enjoyed the research, publishing, and teaching he did as a professor, but a sudden offer again deflected him from pursuing a scholarly career.

On 12 August 1944 President Franklin D. Roosevelt asked Eddy to become minister plenipotentiary to Saudi Arabia. Eddy was a logical choice for a diplomatic position: he had already been naval attaché in Cairo and Tangier in 1941 and 1942, and even though that job was a cover for his intelligence operations, he carried out his public duties with charm, grace, tact, bonhomie, and the opacity of motive so necessary to diplomatic work.¹⁹ An accomplished raconteur, William

¹⁹ William Eddy also had some traits that were not so characteristic of a diplomat. He often expressed his own opinion, which was usually egalitarian and democratic, in ringing tones, even at administrative and diplomatic functions. At Dartmouth and Hobart he expressed contempt for the students who were there “to get a better job or be

Eddy was attractive, likable, and well-educated. He was fluent in French and at least two dialects of Arabic.

Eddy's fluency in Arabic, acquired during his childhood in Syria, served him in good stead. In a time when few Americans understood that language, he was the obvious choice to interpret for President Roosevelt and King Ibn Saud of Saudi Arabia during their historic meeting in the Suez Canal in 1945. Eddy wrote an amusing and informative account of the meeting aboard the destroyer *Murphy*, entitled *F.D.R. Meets Ibn Saud*.²⁰ In later years Ibn Saud was to address Eddy as "my great and good friend" — and to offer one of his sons for William Eddy's eleven-year-old daughter Carmen to marry. (A diplomatic problem, indeed.)

After the war William Eddy remained a diplomat for some years. In 1946, he was head of a special mission to Yemen and developed the U.S. treaty with that unallied nation. But for his strenuous efforts and knowledge of the Arab culture, the entire mission would have been in vain. In 1946 – 1947 he was also a special assistant to the secretary of state, in charge of research and intelligence.

Eddy's carefully guarded intelligence career was to occupy him for the rest of his life, but it did not stop him from having other occupations. After his diplomatic work (he resigned from the Department of State in September 1947) he was increasingly drawn to write about the Middle East and the economic and political problems there; eventually, he and his wife moved to Beirut. He was a part-time consultant for the Arabian-American Oil Company (ARAMCO) and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company (Tapline) for some years, and became a full-time consultant from 1947 (when he flew to Arabia at their behest) until his retirement in 1957, continuing to work part-time until his death in 1962.

William Eddy spent his spare time with his wife Mary, who was cheerfully learning Arabic and watching the local birds. Mary was a fit companion for him: in her late fifties she was publishing ornitho-

more respected in social circles, instead of learning how to be an adult." (See his first Hobart address.) He was not racially or culturally prejudiced, and he was firmly in favor of education and equality for women. (He even believed that women should be given equal positions with men in the armed forces.) His own wife and daughters earned university degrees, and he told his elder daughter, "women are just as bright as men; you can be anything you want to be." (Mary Eddy Furman, interview with C. A. Prettiman, Bethesda, Maryland, 27 July 1991.)

²⁰ New York: American Friends of the Middle East, 1954.



William Alfred Eddy in Arab garb with 24-karat gold embellishments, a gift of King Ibn Saud. The photograph was taken at the King's palace in Riyadh, 1945. Eddy Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.



Photo: John Blazjewski

William Alfred Eddy seated at the desk with the Imam of Yemen during the signing of the Treaty of the Yemen, Sana'a, 1946. Eddy Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

logical articles and skiing in Switzerland. William Eddy wrote numerous letters to his children, then grown, about his doings and about circumstances in the Middle East. He loved to travel, as always, and in his later years had an audience with Pope Pius XII in the Vatican (an audience gotten by illicit means, he gleefully reported to his family). He visited Dhahran, Venice, Naples, Kuwait, and Bagdad, and roamed the hills around Sidon and Beirut.²¹ He went to Jerusalem in 1947, 1954, and 1955, and his sojourns there sparked his anti-Zionist writings.

As early as 1950 Eddy's health had begun to fail, and he fell victim to bouts of bronchial pneumonia, heart attacks, and high blood pres-

²¹ A series of index cards in the Papers, in Eddy's and his wife's handwriting, lists many trips and biographic events throughout his lifetime — information that was presumably intended to be used in his memoirs. A look at his extensive passports, with all pages filled with stamps and many extra pages stapled in, also indicates the route of his official and leisure traveling.

sure. Thus it was both a shocking and an expected event when William Eddy died suddenly and quietly at age sixty-six from a cerebral thrombosis. He was buried next to his father and other relatives in the family graveyard in Sidon (now in Lebanon) as hundreds of condolences poured in from all over the world. They came from ambassadors, former students, professors and university administrators, admirals and generals, presidents of countries, and Arab villagers. Admiral W. Hill spoke of William Eddy's "personal charm, force, ability, integrity, all combined in one person in an unusual degree." President John F. Kennedy sent a certificate awarded "by a grateful nation in recognition of devoted and selfless consecration to the service of mankind."²²

*

William Eddy's papers remained in his widow's possession after his death, and in 1978 she donated them to the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library at Princeton University. Personal correspondence from 1914 to 1918, 1935, and the 1940s was donated by his eldest daughter, Mary Garvin Eddy Furman, in 1991.²³ Although most of the correspondence is from Eddy's term as president of Hobart College, the collection includes many military documents, especially from 1941 to 1946 when he was involved in planning the North African landings, translating for Roosevelt and Ibn Saud, and working on the Treaty of the Yemen. There are many genealogical papers and letters from relatives concerning American missionary work. Brought together for convenience are most of William Eddy's numerous publications concerning eighteenth-century English literature, religious and civic duties, U.S. foreign policy towards Israel and the Arabs, and socio-economic accounts of the Middle East. Mary Eddy added her own papers dating from William Eddy's death (1962) until 1978; often these letters have to do with mutual friends, royalties from William

²² The condolences are in the Eddy Papers, Box 1, folder 5.

²³ I must express my gratitude to Mary "Cita" Furman, who shared her memories and mementoes of her father. I also wish to thank the other people who were valued by William Eddy and who graciously discussed long-ago events and people with me: Carmen Eddy Costinett (his youngest child); Barbara Hayward Weymouth (one of William and Mary Eddy's closest friends); Mary M. Scott-Craig (former academic dean of William Smith College); and the aforementioned Reverend Elwyn Brown.

Eddy's books, William Eddy's estate, or Mary's unsuccessful attempts to publish his book of memoirs.

The collection has been arranged in six sections: correspondence, documents, diaries and notebooks, addresses, publications, and photographs. The majority of the letters are William Eddy's professional, day-to-day correspondence, and personal letters to and from his wife and four children. Individual files include correspondence with Dorothy Thompson, Crown Prince Faisal, Robert Murphy, and John Foster Dulles, and most are dated 1936 – 1962.

The documents principally concern Eddy's military promotions, citations and service records from both World Wars, medical records, genealogical information, his will, and deeds to property — and a list of books in his personal library.

The series of articles is less diverse than the documents. Eddy's files contained essentially three types: articles from scholarly journals concerning eighteenth-century English literature, especially satire;²⁴ sermons and pamphlets of a religious nature; and articles written for popular magazines concerning U.S.-Middle Eastern relations. Conceivably a scholar could track down these works elsewhere, but since Eddy's books and pamphlets are out of print, and some of the learned journals may be hard to find, having the run of articles here is a great convenience.

The personal journals are partly class notebooks from Eddy's college days. Others are lecture notes for classes that Eddy was teaching as a young professor; they give a coherent idea of his opinions on various literary subjects. There is a short diary kept by his future wife, Mary Garvin, from 1914 to 1915. Also contained in this series are daybooks and journals for various years, and a set of "Middle-East Memoirs."

The photographs, some of which have accompanying negatives, are divided into two sections: portraits and landscapes. The portrait section contains photographs of William Eddy and his family, friends, and professional acquaintances, most dated from 1945 to 1961. There are many pictures of Eddy and dignitaries at various official and political functions. The landscapes section contains extensive photo collections of Middle Eastern landmarks and scenes of

²⁴ See also a book, *Jonathan Swift: Satires, and Personal Writings* (London: Oxford University Press, 1944), edited and with an introduction by Eddy.

daily life. The landscape photographs are very helpful in charting Syria, Lebanon, Egypt, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia over the last hundred years. Middle Eastern life, dress, and customs are represented in detail. There are also a few military aerial shots.

The scrapbooks in the collection, four of them put together by Mary, also contain photographs. One of them depicts Eddy's family life from boyhood to World War I. Three of the scrapbooks preserve newspaper clippings from the Hobart College years. The fifth contains photographs of the Eddys in the Middle East in 1945.

Interesting information is also to be found in the segments of the collection that span the years *before* Eddy's birth. There are letters dating from as early as 1859 and written by relatives who were missionaries in the Middle East, and there are genealogical materials of the same sort from Mary Garvin Eddy's family in Valparaíso, Chile. We have, however, little information about Eddy's early years as a student and as a soldier in World War I. There are a dozen or so Wooster-era photos, some undergraduate notebooks and his graduate school records, but William Eddy's years as a young academic in Cairo and Dartmouth are all but blank; we have little besides his publications and addresses to give any indication of his doings.

The next phase of his career, that of administrator, is very well documented with scrapbooks and letters, as is the World War II era. There is a file of correspondence with Robert Murphy, information on Tangier, on his years as naval attaché there, and on the landings in North Africa. The photo collection and newspaper clippings for these years are especially informative. The collections of photos of Jidda, Saudi Arabia, in 1945 and Sana'a, Yemen, in 1946 are particularly interesting from a sociological point of view: William Eddy often took pictures of local people that a non-Arabic speaker could not hope to get. His facility with the language also enabled him to fill a notebook in Yemen with information describing that culture.

The later years are still more fully documented. For instance, we have passports for 1956 and 1962, information on Eddy's conference with Adlai Stevenson in 1954, his daybooks for 1961, and the journals he kept in Egypt and Yemen. There is information on his crusade against unfair treatment of the Arabs by the Israelis and on the Persian Gulf Command. In addition, there is a veritable avalanche of personal letters from the later years. He wrote of his activities in Beirut and its environs in round-robin letters to his grown children in

passages that almost sounded like bits from a journal or memoir, which they may well have been.

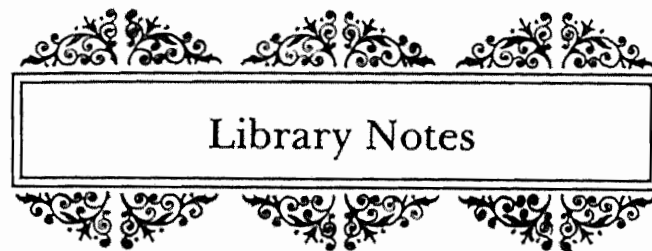
William Eddy had made major inroads into getting his "Adventures in the Arab World" (included in the Papers) written and published. As his health failed, the task may have taken on some urgency: In a late letter to his children, he wrote, "As I get older I believe one must do things while one can, before some unforeseen event slams a door shut."²⁵ A commonplace sentiment, perhaps, but never truer than in his case. His sudden death shut the door on finishing his book, arranging his papers, or — another project that occupied his interest — finding Adam's tomb.

After his death the collection continues with condolences, accounts by William Jr. of the funeral, pictures of Mary in later life, and financial correspondence with John Eddy (their younger son, an attorney) winding up the Eddy estate. Then the collection becomes more properly the letters of Mary Garvin Eddy, having to do mostly with her husband.

Without doubt, William Alfred Eddy deserves more scholarly study than has been accorded him in the last thirty years. His diplomatic work in the Arab world set the tone in early twentieth-century relations between the two disparate cultures. He launched a passionate campaign against anti-Arab sentiments in the United States and abroad, especially during the formation of the state of Israel, and his numerous speeches and articles educated the government and the military about the Middle East. He was one of the unsung heroes in military intelligence operations during World War II. These achievements alone would make him worthy of scholarly study. His papers are likely to contain valuable and previously unknown information, especially about the Middle East, the North African campaigns, and about world leaders.

The William Alfred Eddy Papers are a rich resource for scholars interested in a wide variety of subjects. The paraphernalia of Eddy's many lives illuminates a part of the world about which we in the United States know too little, and sheds light on a past that has shaped our most recent history.

²⁵ Eddy Papers, Box 6, folder 7.



THE MELVIN ADAMS HALL PAPERS

Melvin Adams Hall (1889 – 1962) graduated from Princeton in 1910, and soon afterwards he and his mother took their 1906 Packard automobile on the first of his "great adventures." They drove around the world, a 45,000-mile odyssey which had never before been attempted. The Halls were no strangers to automobile travel, however; among the Melvin Adams Hall Papers — recently processed and made available for research — are photographs of the coach-like motorcars in which the family had previously toured both the United States and Europe.¹

Hall, "probably Princeton's most fabulous alumnus,"² was a much-decorated World War I hero, a military aviation pioneer, and a protégé of General William "Billy" Mitchell.³ He volunteered for the British Expeditionary Forces at the beginning of the war, and by the time America entered he had served with British, French, and Belgian troops. His descriptions of the bloody waste and destruction of those battles is both horrifying and moving. At the instigation of then Colonel Mitchell, Hall transferred to the United States Army in 1917, becoming part of the birth of the United States Army Air Corps. He

¹ The Melvin Adams Hall Papers (Collection MC159) are housed in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

² *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, 9 October 1953, p. 10.

³ General William ("Billy") Mitchell, a pioneer in the new field of military aviation, served brilliantly in fourteen major battles of World War I. After the war he was court-martialed for criticizing the United States' aviation policy. Among his many books and other writings are *Our Air Force*, *The Keystone of National Defense* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1921), *Winged Defense: The Development Possibilities of Airpower — Economic and Military* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1925), and *Skyways: A Book on Modern Aeronautics* (Philadelphia and London: J. P. Lippincott, 1930). He died in New York in 1936.

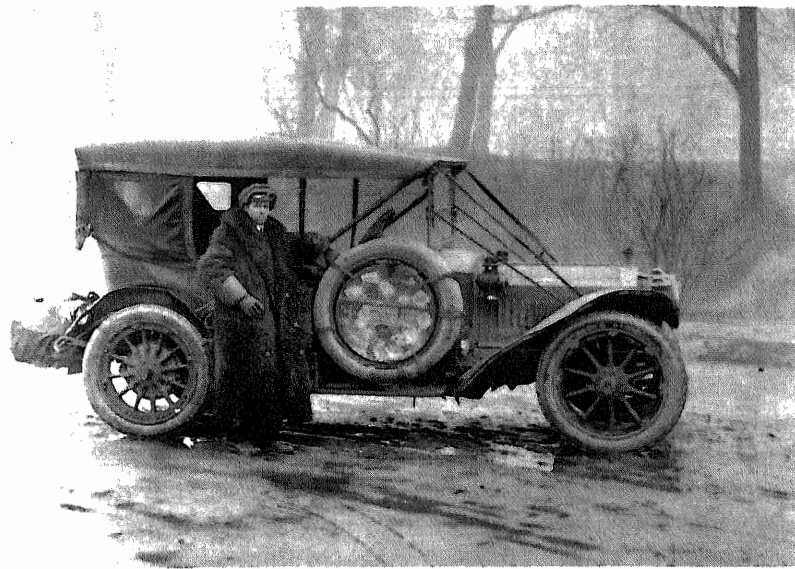


Photo: John Blazjewski

"Mr. Melvin A. Hall and his Packard '30', photographed in Central Park, New York, upon the completion of his 50,000 mile around-the-world tour, Thursday, January 23rd [1913]." Melvin Adams Hall Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

was cited for organizing the first American escadrille for nighttime aerial reconnaissance; he was wing commander of eight U.S. and nine French squadrons and nine balloon companies; and he pioneered aerial photography for military purposes. He was wounded twice, four times decorated by three different countries, and was cited ten times for gallantry and distinguished service.

Both an astute observer of the human condition and an adventurer, Hall consistently sought the middle of the fray, never the fringes. The only child of wealthy parents, he might well have been a different man given his privileged background and upbringing; instead, he was a mover and a doer, the driver, not the passenger — as rare in his day as he would be today. His papers reflect his varied career; of particular value are the official documents which illuminate his tenure as a provincial financial administrator in Persia in the 1920s.

Persia limped into the twentieth century haunted by the glories of Cyrus and Darius and wracked by centuries of feudal disunity. By



Photo: John Blazjewski

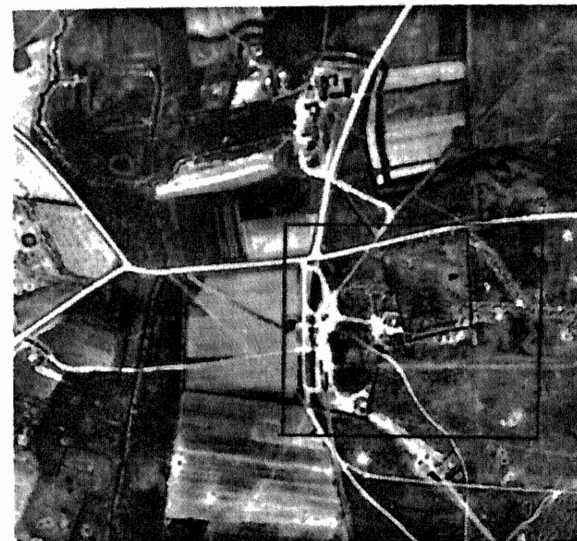
Melvin Adams Hall in British uniform during World War I. Hall Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

1910 Persia's economy was in ruins. The burdens of an impoverished peasant class, an authoritarian Moslem clergy, and the despotic rule of the Shah-in-Shah had taken their toll. Russia and Britain had divided oil concessions and banking privileges between them, thereby deepening existing north-south tribal rivalries. A group of Persian patriots were justifiably uneasy with the Anglo-Russian spheres of influence; recognizing that their economic quagmire kept them at the mercy of foreigners, these patriots invited a team of American financial experts to help them draw up plans for reform. It was then 1911. America seemed to have no strategic interests in the Middle East, and both the Russians and the British assumed that the members of the financial mission would be sympathetic to Persian independence. In the face of opposition from the two powers, the first American financial mission lasted less than a year.

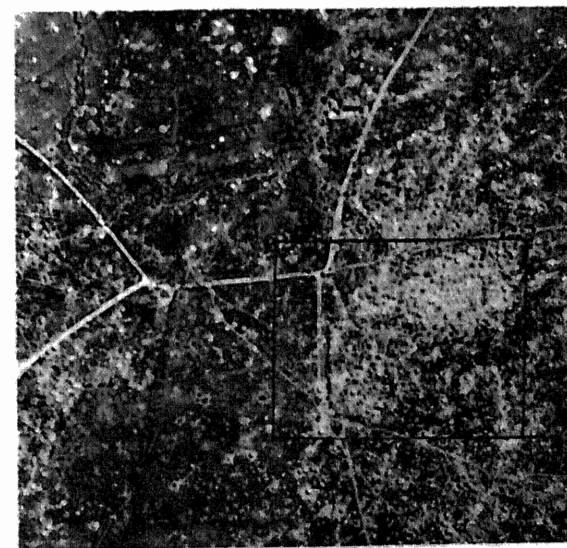
World War I turned neutral Persia into a battleground for Germans, Turks, Britons, and Russians. The effects of the war were disastrous. Finally, in 1921, Reza Khan Pahlevi took control of the Army, British troops withdrew, and conditions were ripe for renewed attempts at economic modernization. Once again, American advisors were asked to assist and, with a contract approved by the Persian Parliament, the second American financial mission began. Arthur Chester Millspaugh (1883 – 1955), an economic advisor to the State Department, accepted the position as administrator general of the American mission, and in 1922 he began the task of reorganizing Persia's economy.⁴

Fresh from a three-year stint as the American air attaché in London and recently married to Josephine Johnson, Melvin Adams Hall arrived in Persia in 1922 to work with Millspaugh's team. Hall brought with him both unusual perspective and considerable energy; his five years in Persia contributed solidly to the mission's success. He served as the administrator of finances for East Persia (which included the provinces of Khorasan, Seistan, and Ghayenat), as the acting treasurer-general for the mission, and then as the administrator of finances for South Persia (Fars and the Southern Ports).

⁴ The State Department disassociated itself from the mission, assuming no responsibility for what might be accomplished. For a first-hand account of the mission, see Arthur C. Millspaugh, *Americans in Persia* (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1946); the background for the mission, described here, is found on pp. iii–26.



AREA CONCENTRATION



Aerial reconnaissance photographs, before and after the destruction of an enemy battery during the Second Army Offensive in Flanders, 31 July – 26 October 1917. Hall Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

The Millspaugh mission's task was to centralize Persia's revenues, collect taxes, reorganize the financial structure (which included abolishing gate and road tolls in existence since the Middle Ages), administer public-domain properties, encourage trade, build roads and railroads, oversee agricultural production and oil concessions, and investigate the traffic in opium.⁵ It comes as no surprise, then, that provincial administrators like Hall were enmeshed in tribal disputes and local politics. Hall represented the Shah in negotiating a peace treaty in the Baluchistan uprising of 1925, handled the League of Nations' inquiry into opium production, served as inspector-general on a team investigating the Anglo-Persian oil fields in Khuzistan, and oversaw the pearl fishing industry on the Persian Gulf. Stories of his escapades — including plunging his arms into bushels of emeralds just to see how it felt — and descriptions of the picaresque characters he met appear in two of his books, *Journey to the End of an Era* (1947) and *Bird of Time* (1949).

More important, however, are the primary documents that Hall brought back from Persia. They provide insight into the ponderous mechanics of a feudal economic system and often serve as a census of the regions he administered. The taxation rolls, for example, contain lists of names from small villages, as do the rosters of vessels registered for the pearl-fishing industry. In his correspondence and the written evaluations of regional staff members are candid assessments of both nationally important people and of the political structure in which they worked: He discusses Reza Shah Pahlevi's impact on the country, as well as Jan Mohammed Khan's involvement in the military muddle in Khorasan. Quarterly financial reports contain fascinating notes on local government corruption — with lists of bribes accepted. Persistent trouble with local military units is reported throughout the correspondence.

Hall travelled all over Persia, by every conveyance imaginable, and kept careful mileage and transportation notes on roads and bridge construction. His powers of observation were formidable, and his papers include descriptions of the intricate agricultural and land-use system of the country. His lengthy "Report on Sistan" (1924 – 1925) is composed of sections on local administration, irrigation and farm-

⁵ For a contemporary account of the purposes of the mission, see Arthur C. Millspaugh, *The American Task in Persia* (New York and London: The Century Co., 1925).



Photo: John Blazewski

Melvin Adams Hall in a photograph taken during a World War II mission to Turkey, 1941 – 1942. Hall Papers, Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

ing methods, notes on the history and literature of the area, lists of disputed public-domain properties, and observations on the uprising in the Oasis of Khwash in the Sarhad Valley. There is even information on the sect of Hashishin (assassins) that so scandalized the Western world.

Intrepidity and commitment to responsibility illuminate all of Melvin Hall's writings and certainly permeated his long and varied career. Although his business career was short-lived, it included a stint with the Curtiss-Wright Company, selling aircraft in twenty countries, helping to establish an airline in Turkey, and re-equipping the Netherlands Air Force. Civilian life gave way once again to the military as World War II approached, ending only when his knee was shattered at the Normandy landing. His diaries and letters to friends and family contain trenchant analyses of political and social factors in countries where he travelled and was stationed. On a flight over Iraq in 1941, he reported to his wife that between Baghdad and Basra he saw "no railway, telegraph or telephone," and described riots in Baghdad as "serious . . . with bad stories of rape and mutilation and sacking and murder."⁶ In 1942, assessing the progress of the war, he wrote, "I believe that if the Germans do not withdraw from their present front in Russia . . . they will face one of the greatest debacles in all history. . . . Hitler's temperament being what it is . . . we may witness a repetition . . . of the Napoleonic catastrophe. . . . What a hash our pacifists, isolationists, do-nothing'ists have made of our Pacific situation."⁷ When CIA Director Walter Bedell Smith sent him to Indochina as chief of a special mission in 1951, Hall became convinced that the situation in Vietnam would someday directly affect America. "Simple minds," he wrote, "will not grasp the problems and complexities of the Indochinese picture . . . yet it remains a very vital concern of the American people."⁸

Colonel and Mrs. Hall retired to "La Grangeotte," their fourteenth-century residence in Vézelay (Burgundy), France. Hall remained a voyager and raconteur. Included in his papers is an unpublished book on the twelfth-century pilgrimage route from Vézelay to Santiago de Compostela, where Saint James the Major is buried — a thousand-mile journey which Hall traced by jeep some fifty years after his Princeton graduation.⁹

⁶ Melvin Adams Hall to Josephine Johnson Hall, 1941, Box 4, folder 10. Hall Papers, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University.

⁷ Melvin Adams Hall to Josephine Johnson Hall, 1942, Box 4, folder 10.

⁸ Melvin Adams Hall to Armitage Watkins, 1955, Box 4, folder 15.

⁹ Melvin Adams Hall, "They Followed the Stars," Box 10, folders 24-44, and Box 11, folders 1-10.

Melvin Adams Hall's own voyages ended in 1962, in a Veterans Administration Hospital in New York City. He was a gifted public servant, a dedicated soldier, and a man of wit and charm. His papers demonstrate those qualities and illustrate an era.

— BARBARA BENNETT

FREDERICK CATHERWOOD'S VIEWS OF ANCIENT MONUMENTS

From 20 September 1991 until 5 January 1992, twenty-five original hand-colored lithographs by Frederick Catherwood — his *Views of Ancient Monuments of Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatán* — were exhibited in the Leonard L. Milberg Gallery for the Graphic Arts. Lent to the Library by Mr. Milberg, Class of 1953, the lithographs were displayed together with Maya artifacts from a private collection. Matthew Robb, Class of 1994, prepared a brochure for the exhibition; excerpts from the brochure are reprinted here.

*

One hundred and fifty years ago, in September of 1841, John Lloyd Stephens's *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatán*, with eighty lithographs after drawings by Frederick Catherwood, gave the American reading public its first glimpse into the world of the ancient Maya. At five dollars, it was then an expensive book, but it went through ten printings in three months. Edgar Allan Poe called it "perhaps the most interesting book of travel ever published." Catherwood and Stephens, though not the first to visit the Maya cities of Palenque and Uxmal, discovered many previously unknown sites and were the first to conclude that the Maya had been an indigenous culture, separate from the Indo-European tradition. Today, we know much more about the Maya than Catherwood and Stephens guessed at, but it was their initial discoveries that made our ever-growing knowledge of the Maya possible.

The first of the Catherwood-Stephens adventures began on 3 October 1839, when they set out for Copán in Honduras. It was not easy to get there. The intrepid pair faced narrow, rocky mountain paths, rain, mud, unbearable humidity, and a fearsome variety of tropical

insects. On 15 November 1839 they reached Copán, and two days later Frederick Catherwood began the first systematic survey of a Maya city. Tropical overgrowth too dense to remove covered many of the large pyramids. Catherwood focussed on the large stone stelae of Copán, but even these posed problems, as Stephens related:

Standing with his feet in the mud, he was drawing with his gloves on to protect his hands from the mosquitoes. As we feared, the designs were so intricate and complicated, the subjects so entirely new and unintelligible that he was having great difficulty drawing.

The travellers continued to Palenque in May 1849. Palenque had been visited by other explorers, but Catherwood and Stephens had the advantage of having seen Copán as well. They could see that the same culture had to have produced the similar motifs and glyphs of both sites. Catherwood was able to draw finely detailed representations of the fabulous reliefs and stuccos of Palenque despite mosquitoes that covered his hands with bites and insects that bored into his toes. Stephens left to scavenge for food and returned days later to find Catherwood in far worse health.

They left in June for Mérida, where Catherwood gradually recovered. Stephens went out to find Uxmal, a site known to European explorers. When he returned, Catherwood did not believe Stephens' fantastic descriptions and vowed to see Uxmal with his own eyes. But his constitution could stand no more. After one day of drawing, Catherwood had completely exhausted himself. The two travellers returned to New York in July 1840, and were able to publish *Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatán* by September 1841.

Almost at once, Stephens and Catherwood returned to Uxmal. Catherwood spent six weeks drawing the site. The comparatively sparse vegetation allowed Catherwood to produce some of his best works. But after six weeks, Catherwood again succumbed to malarial fever. Despite illness, oppressive heat, and insects, the explorers continued in early 1842. They visited the cities of Kabah, Labná, Sayil, Bolonchen, and Sabachiché. In March, they came upon Chichén Itzá, one of the most spectacular Maya cities. By June 1842, the second voyage ended.

Back in New York, Catherwood and Stephens put on an ambitious showing of artifacts and panoramas of their Central American journeys in Catherwood's showplace called the Rotunda. But on the night of 31 July 1842, the Rotunda burned to the ground, destroying large watercolors of Maya cities, irreplaceable carved lintels, Catherwood's "Panoramas," and perhaps his earlier drawings as well.

Catherwood refused to give in to the tremendous loss of his life's work. He prepared illustrations for the next Stephens book, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatán*. The book had 120 engravings and was published in March 1843. On its success, Catherwood and Stephens conceived a grand catalogue of Maya archaeology, comparable in scale only to Audubon's *Birds of America*. But the crowning achievement was not meant to be. The requisite number of subscribers could not be found, and Stephens gradually lost interest.

Catherwood vowed to publish the work himself, so the scale of the work had to be drastically reduced. He paid for its publication entirely out of his own pocket. On 25 April 1844, a book of twenty-five lithographs entitled *Views of Ancient Monuments of Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatán* made its appearance. Only three-hundred sets were issued. A small number were hand-colored, perhaps by the artist himself. It was to be Catherwood's greatest achievement.

— MATTHEW ROBB

THE ELMER ADLER BOOK-COLLECTING CONTEST

As usual, student interest in the Elmer Adler Book Collecting Contest was gratifying, and choosing the winner difficult. This year's third prize went to Steven Fox, Class of 1991; Thaddeus A. Squire, Class of 1994, won second prize. First prize was awarded to Ronald Scott Strauss, Class of 1993. His essay, "An Alternate Source of (Creative) Energy," is printed below.

"I'd be delighted!" he practically shouted, and with that, the seemingly bookish Andrew Hudgins whisked a pen from his pocket and grabbed *After the Lost War* from my fingers. Last year's Hodder Fellow and poet-in-residence was about to deliver a lecture to my English class; friends began to stare as he punctuated his inscription with a wonderfully off-the-wall account of the morning's burnt toast and broken yolks. This was certainly one of the livelier encounters of my

collecting experience, and illustrates the direct personal contact often involved in collecting poets' autographs. But whether, as in this case, I am fortunate enough to meet the poet, or whether I must further my collection through written correspondence or purchases from autograph dealers, collecting autographs offers me a personal interaction with the writer. I have found this especially exciting for my own progress as a student in Princeton's Creative Writing Program.

My collection of literary autographs focusses on modern poets, primarily because my own interests in poetic study lie in twentieth-century poetry. I began to build this collection after joining a poetry creative-writing seminar at the beginning of my freshman year, and my enthusiasm for collecting certainly stemmed from my love for writing and reading poetry.

I started by writing letters to a few of my favorite contemporary poets (James Merrill, Richard Wilbur, and William Stafford), asking them to copy out a few lines from a selected poem. Within a couple of months I had received responses from all three. "I must rebound at once to such a letter," wrote Stafford in a note I received precisely one week after mailing my request. "Written out with pleasure . . .," Richard Wilbur's reply began. Since then I have acquired the autographs of Allen Ginsberg, Galway Kinnell, J. D. McClatchy, and Paul Muldoon, among others.

The flair and color of responses has been simply exhilarating! These letters represent contact with people whom I consider my heroes. Their replies offer encouragement, like Stafford's "someday we'll meet in the literary swirl." The excitement is tantamount to the fascination of reading a compelling biography — a flicker of the individual's character comes through. Autographs bring out the romantic in me; through them I feel not only like an enthralled on-looker, but almost written into the biography's margin.

I have also started buying poetry autograph material from dealers now and then, and to date am fortunate to have typed letters signed by T. S. Eliot and e.e. cummings, as well as an autograph letter signed by W. H. Auden. Although, of course, the letters are not addressed to me, I still sense an indirect personal tie with the writer, almost as if I have been allowed to steal a glimpse at the window of a great gathering. The cummings letter reads like one of his poems, with clever *double entendre*, peculiar *enjambment*, and bizarre punctuation — even his typewriter's somewhat whimsical placement of the printed

letters mirrors the poet's idiosyncrasies. Auden's sense of humor rings through in a comment on the boys and staff at the Shrewsbury School: "and — O how they drink!" Eliot's letter to author David Gannett, on the other hand, is a far cry from his often surreal verse as he laments the rush to complete book reviews for his literary magazine, *Criterion*.

As a facet of my personal development as both a reader and writer of poetry, I consider this collection invaluable. In the Creative Writing Program over the past two years, I have found that much of writing poetry depends on a tremendous level of personal enthusiasm. I am certain that this collection, as a source of excitement, has been an important part of maintaining the energy necessary for writing.

— RONALD SCOTT STRAUSS

New and Notable

PIECES OF SILVER

The autonomous silver tetradrachms, also known as shekels, of Tyre in Phoenicia (modern Lebanon) are exceptional among ancient coinages. Not only are they dated by year, using the city's own local system; they seem to have been issued *every* year from 125 B.C. to about 65 A.D. Thus, whereas most coinages of the Mediterranean before the Roman imperial period must be approximately — and doubtfully — dated by style, the Tyrian series offers an opportunity to study the development of style itself, as expressed in the forceful Heracles portrait of the obverse design, through nearly two hundred years of exactly dated coins.

In the last few years the Library has been able to achieve a representative holding. We now have examples of the relatively rare early classicizing style in high relief; of the flat, slick manner typical of the series' most prolific years during the early first century B.C.; of the generally less attractive styles of the first century A.D., struck on thick planchets too small for the dies; and of the local imitations made at the time of the shekels' discontinuance, which can probably be correlated with a shortage of precious metals late in the emperor Nero's reign (54–68 A.D.).

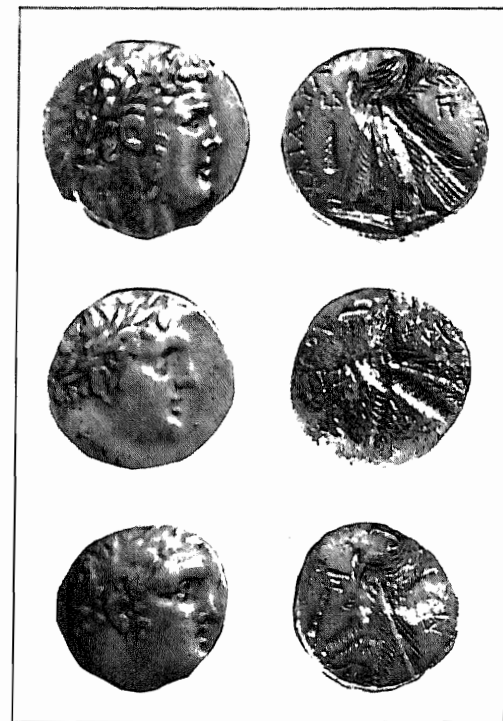
But the greatest interest of the Tyrian series, and the reason for its survival after other high-purity silver coinages of the area had ended, lies in its use for the annual half-shekel offering to the Temple in Jerusalem. This was mandated for observant Jews by the text of Exodus 30:13. Producing no silver coinage itself, Judea relied on neighboring mints for this purpose, particularly Tyre.

The dissident sect at Qumran, as one of its documents discloses, believed the offering should be made only once in each man's life-

time; in 1955 a hoard of 561 Tyrian pieces was found in the excavations there, dating from 115 B.C. to the time of the settlement's probably temporary abandonment under Herod the Great. Jesus too paid the half-shekel offering, though he disapproved of it, in order not to "offend"; hence the famous story of the fish caught by Peter with a silver coin in its mouth, just enough to make the offering for them both (Matthew 17:24–27). It was undoubtedly a Tyrian shekel.

There has been much discussion as to the identity of the "thirty pieces of silver" paid to Judas. Since an attempt was made to offer them back to the Temple, and since they were rejected not because they were the wrong sort of currency, but the price of blood (Matthew 27:3–6), these too will have been Tyrian shekels — a sacred currency put to shocking use. That at least must be the intent of the story. Its historicity is another matter, not at issue here.

Shekels minted in the period immediately before and during these momentous times are nowadays rare in trade and in collections.



Silver tetradrachms of Tyre: Early classicizing style, 124 B.C. (top); coin with the Eta, Rho, Delta monogram, 19 B.C. (middle), and coin from Jesus' time, 35 A.D. (bottom). The Numismatics Collection, Princeton University Library.

Princeton has recently been able to acquire five, spanning the years from 19 B.C. to 2 A.D. Their rather poor style, typical of the period, is offset by their historical interest. But this may involve more than simple contemporaneity with great events. As well as annual dates, Tyrian shekels feature periodically changing monograms: they may represent magistrates' names or suppliers of bullion to the mint. Two of our new pieces, dated 19 and 17 B.C., bear a monogram composed of the Greek letters Eta, Rho, Delta (E, R, D), which at Tyre appears only on issues of the 20s B.C. and a few years after. These were the years in which Herod the Great was financing his most ambitious operations in the region. The historian Josephus paints him, in a moment of crisis, even chopping up his precious palace ornaments for coin (*Jewish Antiquities* 15.306), and it has always been a mystery what this coinage might be, since Herod is otherwise known to have struck only copper. It is intriguing to speculate that the monogram E, R, D, on shekels of Tyre might represent his name. For their character as *written* documents, as well as their historical importance, the new Tyrian shekels find an appropriate place in the Library's collections.

— BROOKS LEVY
Curator of Numismatics



Those of us who are fortunate enough to have access to *Scribner's Magazine*, which ceased publication in 1939, find there a fascinating record of American culture. Of course the writings first published in *Scribner's* by the likes of Edith Wharton and Henry Van Dyke have been collected and made available elsewhere; but there is so much more of interest that remains all but hidden to those who do not consult its pages. The issues published during World War I¹ carried articles and photographic essays that illuminate the experiences of men like William Alfred Eddy, Melvin Adams Hall, General Sir John Maxwell, and even F. Scott Fitzgerald, who served in the army but never saw combat.

Melvin Hall, whose adventures during his round-the-world tour by motorcar were published in the *National Geographic Magazine*, would have enjoyed the articles on motoring in *Scribner's*, among them "The Motor in Warfare: Power and Speed in the Great European Conflict," by Charles Lincoln Freeston, and even "The Woman at the Wheel," by Herbert Ladd Towle.² Both were illustrated with photographs and paintings.

Melvin Hall's knowledge of aerial reconnaissance could have enabled him to serve as a consultant to Charles Lincoln Freeston, who contributed "The Aeroplane in Warfare."³ William Beebe's "Battle Photography, with Illustrations from French and Belgian Official Photographs"⁴ included aerial views much like those found in Hall's papers at Princeton. Hall might have found something of interest,

¹ See James E. Sait, "Charles Scribner's Sons and the Great War," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 48 (Winter 1987): 152-180.

² Vol. 57 (February 1915): 185-200 and 214-223.

³ Vol. 58 (July 1915): 1-18.

⁴ Vol. 64 (October 1918): 399-409.

too, in A. de Lapradelle's "Aerial Welfare and International Law,"⁵ or in the "War Letters of Edmond Genet, the First American Aviator Killed Flying Officially the Stars and Stripes."⁶

We can only guess at General Maxwell's opinion of "A War Mission in the Sahara," by Raymond Recouly ("Captain X");⁷ it is more of a travelogue than its title suggests, and was written very much from the French point of view. Maxwell might have found H. G. Dwight's "Turkey and Germany"⁸ somewhat more useful, and, because he was responsible for caring for the wounded in Egypt, he would certainly have been interested in the article by C. L. Gibson, M.D., "Caring for American Wounded in France,"⁹ which was illustrated with photographs.

The advances made in medicine during World War I were of great personal importance to Melvin Hall and William Alfred Eddy, both of whom were wounded in battle. Eddy was taken to "a hospital outside of Paris" for treatment: Was he a patient in "The American Hospital at Neuilly" depicted by a French artist, Georges Pavis, who was wounded at Verdun? Pavis had survived the battles of the Marne and Champagne with hardly a scratch, and "During all those days of horror his ever predominant thought was the fear of permanent injury to his hands or arms; rather death a thousand times than to lose all that life held most dear to him, the continuance of his art."¹⁰ Pavis' cartoons depict the progress of the "Poilu" from the first-aid station through recovery (and the return to the trenches). One of his happiest drawings showed the wounded soldier on "his first day out;" it is pleasant to imagine that the jaunty American nurse pushing the wheelchair is none other than Anna C. Talbert, who served in France during World War I and whose wartime scrapbooks are in the Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

— PATRICIA H. MARKS

⁵ Vol. 58 (July 1915): 19-21.

⁶ *Scribner's Magazine* 63 (May 1918): 514-529. Edmond was the great-great-grandson of "Citizen Genet," appointed French ambassador to the United States of America in 1793.

⁷ Vol. 64 (September 1918): 257-271.

⁸ Vol. 57 (March 1915): 368-372.

⁹ Vol. 58 (May 1918): 594-607.

¹⁰ Vol. 61 (May 1917): 531-538. Like Eddy, Pavis was wounded in the hip.

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