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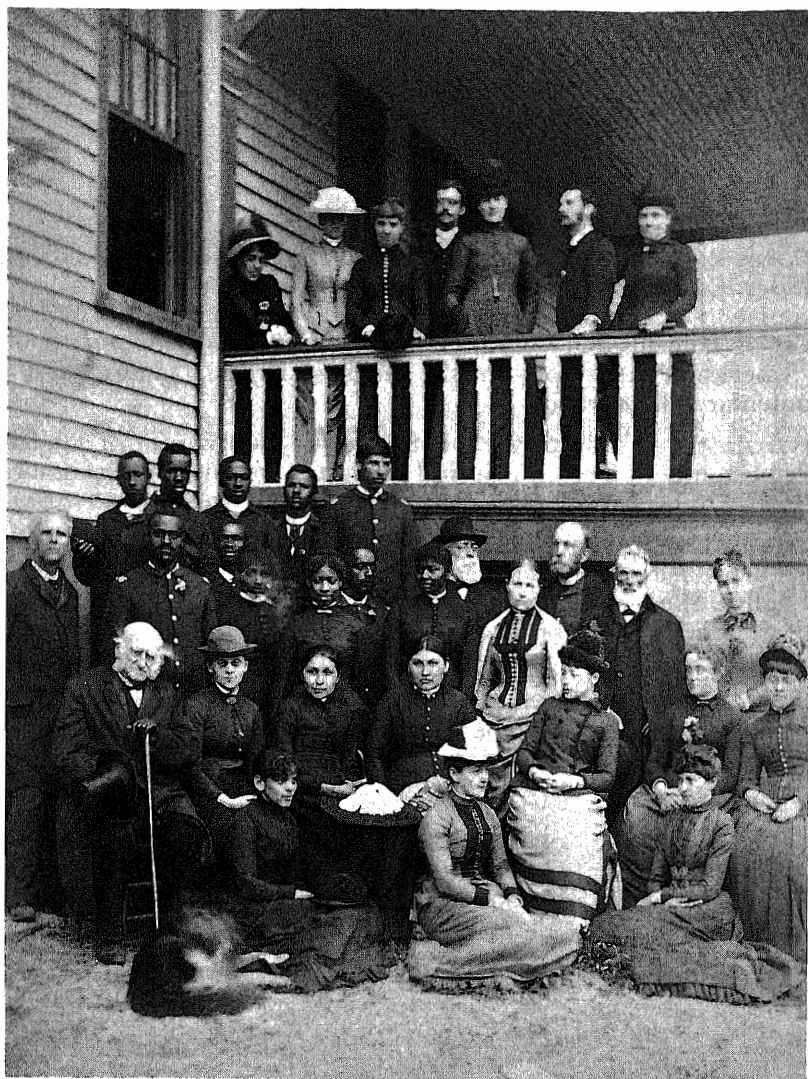
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Hampton Institute: Part of the graduating class of 1886, with founder General Samuel Chapman Armstrong (second row, far left), and Mr. Johns Hopkins (seated front left, with a cane). Seated to Mr. Hopkins' left are Miss Alice Bacon, founder of Dixie Hospital (now Hampton General), and Dr. Susan LaFleshe Picotte, the first female Indian doctor and a graduate of Hampton Institute. Dr. Hollis Burke Frissell, later Principal of Hampton Institute, is to the right of the white-bearded man with the hat. Gift of P. Randolph Hill, '72. The Princeton Collections of Western Americana, Princeton University Library.

The "Vanishing Red"

Photographs of Native Americans at Hampton Institute

BY JAMES K. GUIMOND

As devotees of the Library's Graphic Arts Collection know, photographs are important documents in the visual arts. In their exhibition, "The Photograph and the American Indian," Alfred Bush, Curator of the Princeton Collections of Western Americana, and Lee Mitchell, Director, Program in American Studies, taught us that photographs also contribute greatly to our understanding of our society and its history. In 1987 P. Randolph Hill, '72, gave Princeton a set of photographs taken at Hampton Institute in the 1880s. In this article, James K. Guimond discusses the significance of photographs as a record of American ideas about the education of Native Americans during the last years of the 19th century.

In Robert Frost's grim little poem, "The Vanishing Red,"¹ the mere presence of "the last Red Man" in a Maine town so angers a miller that he murders the Indian. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, other white Americans were equally convinced that Indians should "vanish," but in a more humane and metaphorical sense. As John Q. Smith, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, said in 1876: "The civilization or the utter destruction of the Indians is inevitable. The next twenty-five years are to determine the fate of a race. If they cannot be taught, and taught very soon, to accept the necessities of their situation and begin in earnest to provide for their own wants by labor in civilized pursuits, they are destined to speedy extinction."²

Reflecting this attitude, well-intentioned reformers and friends of the Indians set out to destroy "tribalism" as quickly as possible, by transforming Native Americans into industrious, self-supporting cit-

¹ The poem, published in 1916 in *Mountain Interval*, is in *The Complete Poems of Robert Frost* (New York: Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, 1964), p. 179.

² Quoted in Arrell Morgan Gibson, *The American Indian* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1980), p. 428.

izens who would be indistinguishable—except by the color of their skin—from white middle-class Americans.

In 1878, as part of the transformation program, the first group of Indians was taken to the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute in Hampton, Virginia,³ founded in 1868 as a coeducational school for Negroes. Almost immediately, photographers began recording their progress. Twenty-one years later, Frances Benjamin Johnston, one of the most successful photographers in Washington, was commissioned to document the success of the Institute's program to educate both races in the ways of white America. Her photographs were exhibited at the Paris Universal Exposition of 1900.⁴

Both Johnston's pictures and the ones made by the unknown photographers who preceded her represent one of the more revealing and eloquent expressions of the ideas which white Americans held about educating Indians—and Negroes—which have survived from that period. Indeed, commenting on the photographs that were sent to the Paris Exposition, Thomas J. Calloway, a young Black man who had been appointed a "Special Agent" of the American Commission, said that the pictures from Hampton were considered "the finest photographs to be seen anywhere in the exposition," and "it was the general opinion that nowhere had the photographer's lens been so eloquent and impressive in the story of a great work as was silently narrated by these photographs."⁵

A year later, Johnston's Hampton photographs were also exhibited at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York. Afterward, someone had them mounted and bound in a large, impressive leather photograph album. As so often happens, Johnston's Hampton Album was lost from sight until the early 1940s, when it was discovered in a Washington, D.C., bookstore by the critic and editor Lincoln Kirstein. Kirstein bought it, and donated it to the Museum of Modern Art, where the photographs were once again exhibited.⁶

³ In 1930 its name was changed to Hampton Institute. It is now recognized as one of the most distinguished of the traditionally all-Black colleges in the United States.

⁴ For a study of her work, see Pete Daniel and Raymond Smock, *A Talent for Detail: The Photographs of Miss Frances Benjamin Johnston* (New York: Harmony Books, 1974). On the Paris Exposition, see "The Paris Exhibit," *Southern Workman*, Vol. 29 (1900) 8-9.

⁵ Thomas J. Calloway, "The American Negro Exhibit at the Paris Exposition," *Hampton Negro Conference*, Vol. 5 (1901) 74-80; p. 75.

⁶ In 1966, 44 of the photographs were published, with a "Foreword" by Kirstein, in Lincoln Kirstein, ed., *The Hampton Album* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1966).

The Hampton photographs in the collection given by P. Randolph Hill '72 to the Princeton Collections of Western Americana were taken soon after the first Indian students arrived at the Institute.

The 37 photographs in the Hill gift to Princeton date to the middle years of the 1880s and thus provide a view of the institution and its students almost 15 years earlier than that of the Johnston album. The earlier photographer has yet to be identified, though many of the subjects, including "Arrivals '84," "H. B. Frissell's Sioux Party '84," "Indian Territory Boys '88," "Cheyenne River Boys '85," "James Firecloud" with a friend, "Standing Rock Party '84," and "Sydney Frissell & Indian Baby," have been labeled by contemporary identifications. These identifications often betray unconscious attitudes towards the Indians (the infant Frissell has a name, his companion is merely an "Indian baby").

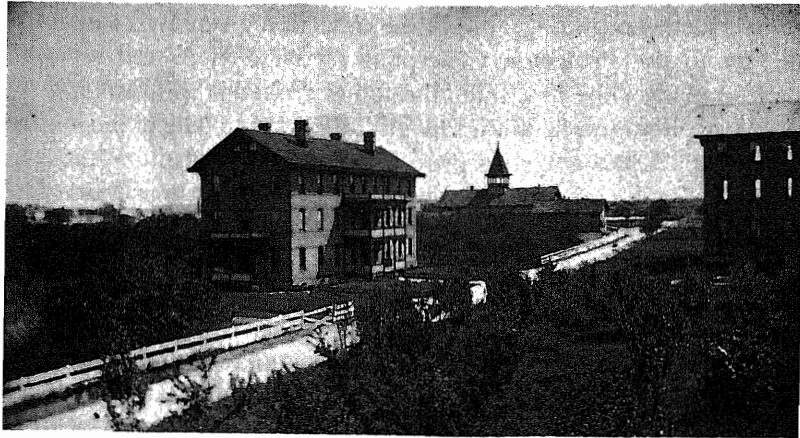
The Hill gift also includes a group of photographs that comprehensively record the architecture of the Institute—including the "Indian Cottages," the "Indian Training Shop," the "Wigwam," and "Winnona Lodge," the latter being residences for Indian boys and girls respectively.



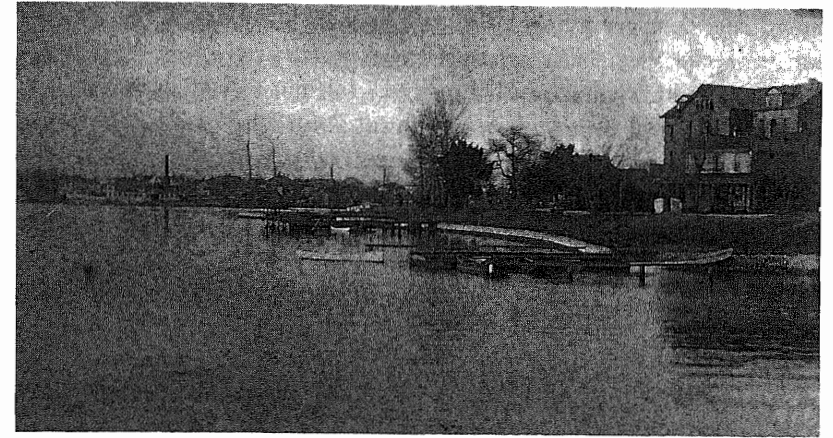
The photographs in Randolph Hill's gift to Princeton's collection and those in Johnston's Hampton Album were intended to chronicle the "great work" of the Institute; they are at once both realistic and idealized images of Hampton's educational philosophy. That philosophy occupied the middle ground between two more extreme 19th- and early 20th-century ideas about racial relationships. On the one hand, Hampton educators rejected the claims of bigots who believed that "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" because Native Americans could not be "civilized," or that the Negro was a "lazy, lying, lustful animal which no conceivable amount of training can transform into a tolerable citizen."⁷ They were equally opposed to the idea

An additional set of the Hampton prints from Johnston's own collection is in the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of Congress, which also has slightly more than 100 photographs which she made of Indian students at the Carlisle Institute in 1903.

⁷ Quoted in Thomas F. Gossett, *Race: The History of an Idea in America* (Dallas, TX: Southern Methodist University Press, 1963), p. 271.



Hampton Institute: "The Wigwam," a residence for Indian boys built at a cost of \$14,700 in 1879. Gift of P. Randolph Hill, '72. The Princeton Collections of Western Americana, Princeton University Library.



Hampton Institute: "Winona Lodge," residence for Indian girls, 1882 and Virginia Hall, 1885. Gift of P. Randolph Hill, '72. The Princeton Collections of Western Americana, Princeton University Library.

that Indians should be permitted to retain their own cultures, or that Black Americans should seek "social equality" with whites, or enjoy the same civil rights. Instead, they believed that Black and Indian Americans were "dependent" or "undeveloped" races who might, with proper training, eventually meet white standards of industry, thrift, and sobriety.

This idea was expounded in great detail in Hampton's publications and at the conferences which were held at the Institute. In a January 1899 editorial in the *Southern Workman*, for example, the writer explained "the . . . Negro problem in this country" with an evolutionary analogy which also applied to the school's Indian students and graduates:

If we liken it to a course of study, then at the present stage of the world's development, the white man is in college and the colored man is in the lowest grade of the primary school; and the white man demands, and justly too, that he shall successfully make all the grades below, before he enters college with him. There is but one solution to this question, and that lies within the colored man himself. It is the same that the white man wrought out for himself—*development*. The stern, inflexible law of nature and Chris-

tianity, "First the blade, then the ear," confronts us. There is no short cut, nor is there a royal road. Step by step we must climb the rugged hill of progress.

But the stern advice to Hampton students and alumni was accompanied by a promise, an invocation of the great American dream of the era, that any poor boy in America, no matter what his class or family background, could grow up to be President: "If we would be Lincolns, Grants, and Garfields in the White House, we must cheerfully become rail splitters, tanners, and canal boat drivers."

Unlike similar institutions, such as Carlisle and Tuskegee, Hampton was determined to educate not one but two races so that they could "climb the rugged hill of progress." The Institute had been founded in 1868 as a school for freedmen by General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who served as its Principal until his death in 1893, and throughout its history it has been known chiefly as a school for Blacks. However, in 1878, 17 Indians were brought to the Institute by Captain Richard Pratt, who later founded Carlisle. They were part of a group of Kiowa, Comanche, Cheyenne, and Arapaho chiefs and warriors who had resisted the manifest destiny of the white race so strenuously that they had been imprisoned for three years at Fort Sill in Oklahoma, and then in Fort Marion in Florida. Despite warnings

from his colleagues who had “little faith in the capacity of the red man for civilization,”⁸ Armstrong was eager to prove that Hampton’s methods would “civilize” and “improve” Indians as well as Blacks. His parents had been missionaries in Hawaii, and while he was growing up there Armstrong had been impressed by the Boarding and Manual Labor School for Boys at Hilo which, he believed, had “turned out” graduates who might be less “brilliant” than those of other schools, but were “more solid men.” Later, when he commanded Black troops during the Civil War, Armstrong had a vision—he called it a “day dream”—of a school for Blacks which would be like the Hilo school. He thought that Hawaiians resembled Blacks in that both had “deficient character” which could be cured by manual training and the “industrial system” which would make them into exemplary, self-supporting Christians.⁹ So when he heard about the Indians at Fort Marion, it was logical that he would bring them to Hampton to show that this system of education could train yet another race in the “white man’s way.”

The photographs from Hampton made in the 1880s, as well as the ones Johnston made in 1899, show how thoroughly General Armstrong’s beliefs influenced education at the Institute. For example, the ideal of educating two races was carefully portrayed, but between 1878 and the early 1920s when they stopped attending the Institute, the actual enrollment of Native Americans at Hampton was always relatively small compared to the number of Black students. In 1899 Indians were only about 20 percent of the student body, yet in Johnston’s pictures they often seem to represent one-third to one-half of the students present. Moreover, in some classes in which there are very few Indians, the group has been arranged so that one or two of these students are prominently displayed near the camera so that their straight hair and lighter complexions are clearly visible.

One reason that the Institute was so proud of its Native American students is suggested by picture number 43 in the Museum of Modern Art’s Album, which carries the caption “*History, Class in American History.*” Here is the stereotypical Indian brave of countless dime-novel covers, Remington paintings, Wild West shows, and Hol-

⁸ J.F.B. Marshall, “Reminiscences,” *Twenty-Two Years’ Work of the Hampton Normal and Agricultural Institute* (Hampton, VA: Normal School Press, 1893), p. 16.

⁹ Samuel Chapman Armstrong, “From the Beginning,” *Twenty-Two Years’ Work*, pp. 2-6.

lywood westerns. In the genteel atmosphere of the Hampton classroom, the Indian has been reduced to an exhibit, and his fellow students observe him with the same calm attention that they direct to plants in their biology lessons, or to the pyramids in their lessons in Ancient History. Although it is not clearly visible in most prints, the classroom also contains a reproduction of a Remington print or painting which is the rectangular piece of paper tacked on the windowsill above the students’ heads. According to Kirstein, the print was probably a picture of U.S. “cavalry on their rough-riding way to exterminate rebellious Piute or Ojibwa,” and he went on to describe this *tableau vivant* in the Hampton history classroom as an “odd happening.”¹⁰ From the standpoint of the Hampton educators, however, there probably was nothing odd or ironic in this picture. For them this *was* American history as they wanted their Indian students to believe in it and participate in it: a picturesque but doomed past of Indians in buckskins and feathers, the tragic recent years of warfare at places like Little Big Horn and Wounded Knee, and now the new “white man’s way” of life which these students were supposed to learn at Hampton and take back to their reservations.

The Hampton photographs of Indians differ markedly from those of other photographers of the era. Many late 19th-century photographers spent years making pictures of “vanishing Americans” so that there would be some record of their picturesque way of life. To do this, the photographers sometimes arranged pictures which were, from a documentary standpoint, rather dishonest. Indian men were posed with wigs provided by the photographers; facepaint was added by retouching negatives; and in one particularly pathetic picture, an old Chippewa man who had come East was posed with a feather-duster tied to his head, apparently because the standard headdress was not available.¹¹

Since the Indians were supposed to be a “vanishing race,” photog-

¹⁰ Kirstein, “Foreword,” *Hampton Album*, p. 9.

¹¹ For analyses of how various photographers staged and manipulated their pictures of Native Americans, see Joanna Scherer, “You Can’t Believe Your Eyes: Inaccuracies in Photographs of North American Indians,” *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, Vol. 2 (1975) 65-79; Margaret B. Blackman, “Posing the American Indian,” *Natural History*, Vol. 89 (1980) 69-75; and Christopher M. Lyman, *The Vanishing Race and Other Illusions: Photographs of Indians by Edward S. Curtis* (New York: Pantheon Books in Association with the Smithsonian Institution, 1982). For a more general study of white stereotypes and “images” of Indians, see Robert Berkhofer, *The White Man’s Indian* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978).



A class in American history at Hampton Institute, 1899, photographed by Frances Johnston. The Hampton Album, Library of Congress.

rappers like Edward Curtis and the ethnographers went to great lengths to photograph, label, and record such features of Native American culture as religious rituals and distinctive tribal costumes. Paradoxically, by doing this they implicitly valorized these things, treated them as if they were all so interesting and unique that they had to be preserved, if only on film or in a museum. One purpose of such photographs was to create the illusion that many Indians had not been changed or affected by their contact with white culture, that they had not yet been afflicted with flannel shirts, short haircuts, and tuberculosis because they were still living as they had before Columbus arrived. "Above all," Curtis said, he wanted none of his pictures to "admit anything which betokened civilization, whether in an article of dress or landscape or objects. . . . These pictures were to be transcriptions for future generations that they might behold the Indian . . . before he ever saw a pale-face."¹²

The Hampton photographs can be considered propaganda for an antithetical illusion: that contact between whites and Indians could be controlled so that it was a benign process that would serve the best interests of both races. The photographs were a serious effort to document claims that Hampton's educational philosophy and methods

¹² Quoted in Florence Curtis Graybill and Victor Boesen, *Edward Sheriff Curtis: Visions of a Vanishing Race* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976), p. 13.



Sioux Indians from Standing Rock, North Dakota, photographed upon their arrival at Hampton Institute in 1884. Possibly because they had been working off the reservation, the men had already adopted the haircuts and clothing of whites. It is not unusual, however, for women to retain ethnic dress longer than men. Gift of P. Randolph Hill, '72, The Princeton Collections of Western Americana, Princeton University Library.

changed the students from degraded ex-slaves and wild Indians into self-respecting, self-supporting Americans, living in harmony with each other and with whites. Thus the 1886 graduation photograph in the Hill gift to Princeton shows all three races assembled in a harmonious group that includes Dr. Susan LaFleshe Picotte, the first female Indian doctor and a graduate of the Institute. Similarly, for the Native American students in Johnston's "Class in American History," the picturesque, barbaric Indian brave is a classroom exhibit, and the students have gone on painlessly and efficiently to become something else. In the process of transformation, the tribal characteristics and clothing that Curtis and the ethnographers tried to record have been totally erased. The Native American students have become generic Indians dressed in white's clothing (including the Army uniforms that were issued to the male students at Hampton), and their tribal cultures seem to have become history to them, like the pyramids.

Usually, institutions like Hampton illustrated the idea of transformation visually by making simple before-and-after pictures. Native American students were photographed, either as individuals or in groups, when they arrived at school wearing blankets or mixtures of

white and Indian clothing. They were then portayed a few weeks later wearing white's clothing, in which their white contemporaries thought they looked a good deal cleaner and more alert.¹³ Twentieth-century observers, however, frequently see in the before-transformation image the nobler subject.

Images of the Institute itself were similarly idealized to show it as a place apart, where the "childlike races" could be gently taught to prosper in the white man's world. Both the photographs in Randolph Hill's gift to the Princeton Collections of Western Americana and Johnston's Hampton Album include views of its various buildings taken from the banks of the river, which they faced. Geographically, these pictures are accurate; the Institute does face the water, and it does have a great deal of frontage on it. However, these pictures also create a visual illusion that the Institute is like an island, surrounded by water, and that therefore it is much more separated from its surroundings than it really is. People at the Paris Exposition, seeing pictures like these, would have imagined that the Institute was a relatively isolated place which they would approach from the sea, then land, and (through the photographs) gradually meet the inhabitants and learn their way of life.

Historically, this kind of illusion might be seen as a subtle justification of racially segregated education; serene in their "separate but equal" educational facilities, the Hampton students were being allowed to progress at their own quiet pace towards "civilization" without any temptations, distractions, or threats from the outside world. Considered from a more psychological or mythical viewpoint, this illusion of the Institute as being like an island has some additional, archetypal connotations. Throughout history and in many different cultures, islands have been considered places where the harsher laws and more mundane processes of life are not in force. From the islands of the immortals in Greek, Chinese, and Irish mythology, to the works of Shakespeare, Marvell, Melville, and Gauguin, mankind has been very receptive to the idea that islands can be special places where people can live in blissful innocence and where the most wonderful transformations can occur under the direction of some benevolent Prospero.

¹³ For a discussion of these issues, see Lonna Malmshemer, "Imitation White Men: Images of Transformation at the Carlyle Indian School," paper presented at a conference "The Photograph and the American Indian," Princeton University, September 1985.

And indeed, Princeton's photographs and Johnston's Hampton Album do show transformations. They are cultural transformations, rather than magical ones, but they are still quite dramatic. In Johnston's Hampton Album there is a group of rather poor quality snapshots and studio pictures—which Johnston did not make—contrasting Indians on reservations who had received Hampton educations with those who had not. Coming as it did a good half-century before we would begin to appreciate the advantages of cultural differences, the message of such contrasts is not subtle. With white education Native Americans could become solid, middle-class citizens; without it they are squalid barbarians, and therefore education is the great panacea for what whites called the "Indian Problem."

Two photographs of children—one taken on the reservation "before entering school" and the other in the parlor of Hampton-educated parents—illustrate another interesting point. Since the children in the first picture look just as healthy and intelligent as those in Benjamin Brave's family, it is hard to understand why the Hampton educators considered the reservation picture a negative, "before" picture. However, what it does reveal is that on the reservation the assimilation (i.e. "Americanization") process was a complex mixture of white and Native American customs and attitudes—a fact which is symbolized by the ways in which the children are dressed. And it was this kind of partial, mixed assimilation that made white reformers and educators nervous, since they feared it could lead to "backsliding." What they wanted was the kind of total transformation, as quickly as possible, of Indians into middle-class Americans which is expressed symbolically by the second photograph. Or, as Booker T. Washington phrased the matter, "no white American ever thinks that any other race is wholly civilized until he wears the white man's clothes, eats the white man's food, speaks the white man's language, and professes the white man's religion."¹⁴

It is not certain who made the photographs in these before-and-after reservation sequences, but their purpose can be deduced easily from the Institute's publications. Educating Native Americans at Eastern schools was controversial and relatively expensive. To justify their work, Hampton teachers and administrators industriously col-

¹⁴ Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1901), p. 98. Washington was in charge of the Indians' dormitory at Hampton Institute for several years.



Sioux Indian children "before entering school," 1897. Photograph from the Hampton Album, Library of Congress.



Benjamin Brave's family, ca. 1900. Both parents had been educated at Hampton Institute. The Hampton Album, Library of Congress.

lected all kinds of letters, statistics, testimonials, progress reports, and success stories which would show how prosperous and civilized their alumni were after they returned to the reservations. In an 1888 report entitled *Ten Years' Work for Indians*, for example, an agent at a Western reservation wrote that he would recommend sending a few students "every year to the Eastern training-schools, selecting the brighter pupils . . . as it affords an opportunity to see for themselves many things impossible to be seen on the reservation, such as the uniform home comforts of civilized life, the prosperity by perseverance and economy, of the white race, together with the industry and economy, of all classes."¹⁵

Looking at the sequence of Indian pictures from Hampton, one can see this statement neatly illustrated. The "brighter pupils" have not only been seen but adopted the "uniform home comforts of civilized life" and have apparently become as prosperous and persevering as any white person. It is significant, however, that General Armstrong saw this transformation in religious and moral terms. When he went to reservations in the West to recruit students in 1888, he visited an Agency in the Dakotas, reporting that:

A three hours' drive over this reservation was one of my most encouraging and inspiring experiences of Indian life and progress. . . . Of the thousand people, two hundred and ten are farmers, heads of families, scattered over the reserve just as white men would be settled, cultivating from one to one hundred acres apiece. . . . The climax of my experience was in seeing a McCormick self-binder and reaper driven with two horses by an Indian farmer round splendid fields of yellow grain. . . . The redeemed and regenerated Indian, guiding the complicated, brainy machine . . . seemed fairly established in manhood. . . . All I could say was, "This is the end."¹⁶

¹⁵ Helen Ludlow. "The Agents' Opinion of Eastern Education," *Ten Years' Work*, pp. 79-80. Judging from their letters and comments, some of the teachers at the reservation schools hated Native American culture and believed that only an "Eastern education" could save their "promising" pupils. Thus in a letter to the American Missionary Association, one teacher wrote that "Ever since my work among these Indian children [began] I have realized how great was the importance of getting them entirely away from their reservation life and environments to other schools where they could receive a true conception of a pure noble life." Mary E. Field in the *Southern Workman*, Vol. 28 (1899), pp. 28-29.

¹⁶ Quoted in Francis Greenwood Peabody, *Education for Life: The Story of Hampton*

The Hampton photographs, varied though they are, nevertheless have a clear though implicit logic. The before-and-after sequences illustrated the Institute's claims that it could change its students' lives. Other pictures, especially those in Frances Johnston's Album, illustrated how this change was supposed to occur.

✱

In some ways, the education given Indian and Negro students at Hampton Institute was similar to that of the emerging land-grant colleges of the era, focusing on agriculture and industry. There were some significant differences, however, especially where education in the manual arts was concerned. As Vine Deloria, Jr., has pointed out, during most of the 19th century,

Congressional policy-makers held firm to the belief that "Indians were good with their hands" and vocational education provided the ideal model of what the federal government should be doing with Indians in the classrooms. The students were rushed through the "three R's" in the morning so that they could spend their afternoons working on the school farm producing most of what the school needed.¹⁷

There were additional reasons why white politicians and educators considered vocational education so desirable for Native Americans. Obviously it would have been a great relief for them, both economically and morally, if Indians on reservations could have been transformed into self-supporting farmers and artisans. Vocational education also fit very well into the popular evolutionary theories of the time. "At Hampton," the *Southern Workman* explained, "the Indian has received an education which was planned for people who were very much in the same situation in which the Indian finds himself—

Institute (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1919), p. 159. The visual quality of these before-and-after reservation snapshots and studio portraits is not very good, but their message was considered so important that Frances Johnston was asked to make a similar series about the Institute's Black students.

¹⁷ Vine Deloria, Jr., "Token Indian, Token Education: Indian Traditions versus the Federal Grant," *Four Winds* (Winter 1980) 24-30; p. 24.

making their first endeavors in self supporting civilized ways."¹⁸ And finally, the proponents of vocational training believed that it was the best way to spread civilization and Christianity. A missionary, quoted in the *Workman*, claimed that "among barbarous peoples, one of the most formidable barriers to the acceptance of the Gospel is the indolence, the absolute laziness, which marks the . . . life of such people."¹⁹

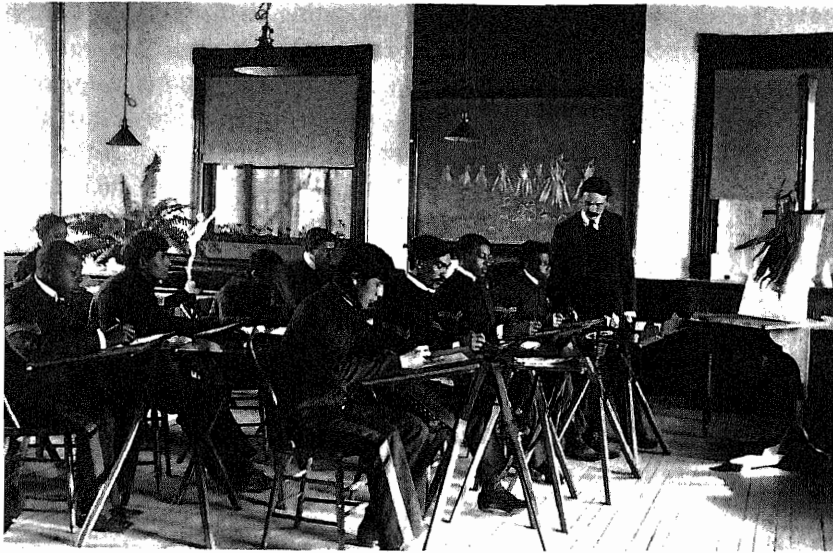
Clearly the students in Johnston's photographs are in no danger of sinking into "barbarous indolence." Instead they are hard at work in the Institute's manual trades classes in brick-laying, shoe-making, dress-making, and carpentry. In other subjects like "Agriculture," Johnston photographed some classroom scenes, but she made many other pictures which had a utilitarian emphasis and showed the students sampling milk and learning how to make butter and mix fertilizer. In some cases even traditionally academic courses were presented as being taught in an extremely pragmatic way, as when a physics class was shown earnestly studying the principle of "The Screw as applied to the cheese press" by operating a number of little cheese presses in a laboratory. None of the students seems restless or bored by these activities. Instead their keen interest in brick-laying, cheese presses, and fertilizer mixing implies that this is exactly the kind of education that is appropriate for them.

If vocational education was supposed to teach the Institute's students how to work in an industrious, "civilized" way, there were other classes meant to train them so that they would see the world as white men did. Judging from Johnston's pictures, there were many laboratory courses in which the students learned to observe and classify plants and insects scientifically, and there were also quite a few classes in drawing and sketching. As one of the Hampton staff members wrote in an 1899 *Annual Report*:

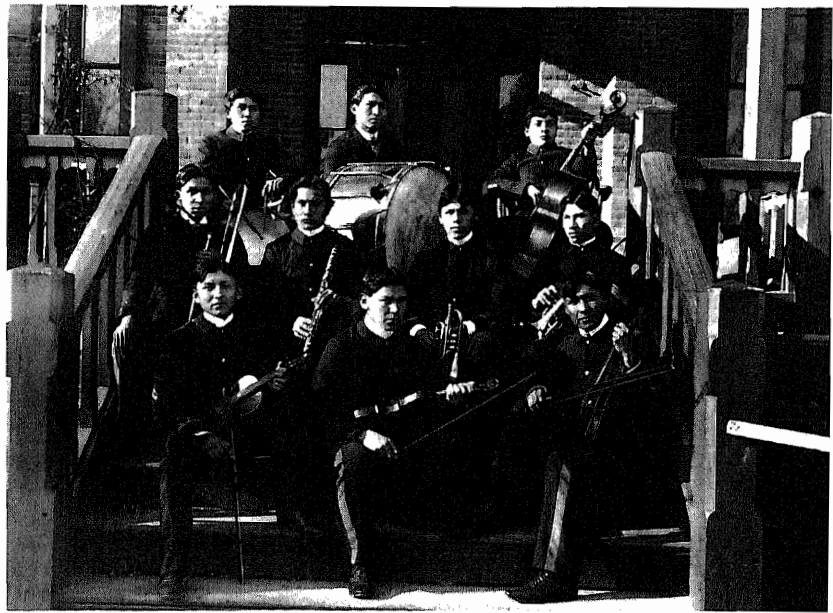
Whenever the work to be done demands the eye and hand, the Indian as a rule excels. In drawing, it is true, they have some things to unlearn, their native art at first, like the ancient Egyptian and Assyrian, being devoid of perspective, and their habit of close observation and exact im-

¹⁸ "Co-education of Races," *Southern Workman*, Vol. 28 (January 1899) 2-4; p. 3.

¹⁹ Editorial, "Manual Training in Mission Schools," *Southern Workman*, Vol. 28 (1899), p. 162.



A drawing class at Hampton Institute, 1899, photographed by Frances Johnston. The Hampton Album, Library of Congress.



The Indian orchestra at Hampton Institute, 1899, photographed by Frances Johnston. The Hampton Album, Library of Congress.

itation, leading them to see too much, and instead of boldly grasping outlines and values, to lose the *spirit* of the model in minute detail. They make very promising pupils, however.²⁰

Even the students' recreational activities were carefully supervised so that they would contribute to the assimilation process. Some "Indian Incidents" in the "Hampton School Record" show that the Native American students were occasionally allowed to discuss those aspects of their cultures which their teachers considered "the strong and the helpful characteristics" of "their heritage from their ancestors." On February 8, 1899, the anniversary of the signing of the Dawes Bill, they were encouraged to give speeches on subjects like "Indian Handicraft," "Indian Literature," and "Natural Religion."²¹ These "Incidents," however, are far outnumbered by references to the Indians' participation in the Institute's Glee Clubs, Orchestras, and football teams. When the students who belonged to these teams and clubs were photographed, they were arranged in poses which were exact replicas of the group photographs taken at white colleges and universities—presumably to emphasize how completely the students had accepted white culture as well as the white people's clothing which they wore.

Besides the way in which they idealize the Institute's educational philosophy and the assimilation process, the Hampton photographs possess a number of other significant visual features. First of all, as one might expect, both students and classrooms are all very neat and well-organized. In Johnston's Carlisle pictures, which she made several years after the Paris Exposition, some of the classrooms are rather messy; there are wood shavings on the floors of the carpentry

²⁰ Josephine Richards, "Report on Indian Department. Thirty-first Annual Report," *Southern Workman*, Vol. 28 (1899) 266-269; p. 267.

²¹ "Indian Incidents. Hampton School Record," *Southern Workman*, Vol. 28 (1899) 108-109; p. 109. The "General Allotment Act," usually known as the Dawes Bill because it was sponsored by Senator Henry Dawes, was passed in 1887. It was designed to break up reservation lands into separate allotments for individuals and families, who were supposed to farm them. Indians who received titles to their lands, or adopted "civilized ways," could become citizens. Since it was supposed to destroy "tribalization," and was considered a very efficient "measure . . . devised . . . for the ultimate civilization of the Indians of this country" (Gibson, *American Indian*, p. 497), it was particularly ironic that the Hampton educators encouraged their students to celebrate this anniversary with a program about Indian culture.

classes and scraps of cloth littering the sewing classes. The Hampton classrooms, kitchens, and workshops are all scrupulously clean.

Johnston's photographs are also orderly in a way that transcends the cleanliness of the Institute's physical environment. In virtually every picture, she has organized the students into a compact group which is precisely yet unobtrusively related—visually speaking—to their activities. If they are observing plants on tables, for example, then all the students are standing or sitting beside the tables, and their attention is completely focused upon the plants. None of them is inattentive, bored, or distracted by anything, least of all by the photographer and her camera.

Another significant feature of this orderliness is the almost complete lack of hierarchical order. In virtually all of the pictures, it is the group which dominates the pattern, not some commanding figure. The teachers in the classrooms are often so unobtrusive that it is difficult to see them—and in some photographs no teacher at all seems to be present. Thus the students work quietly at their tasks and lessons with little or no supervision, presumably because they do not need to have a white teacher sitting at a desk or standing at a lectern giving them lectures or commands. Instead, the teachers are shown standing by individual students and helping them, more like attentive parents than commanding authority figures. This characteristic of the pictures' organization contributes to their utopian atmosphere, discreetly eliminating the issue of inferiority and superiority. We see the Hampton students primarily in relation to one another and to their work or classes, and consequently they possess an implicit social equality, something which Black and Native Americans were so often denied in the real world of 1899 and 1900. Secure in the classrooms, fields, and farmyards of their segregated "island," the Hampton students cheerfully work at becoming the Grants, Garfields, and Lincolns of their races, for they have been transformed by the Institute into ideal Christian students and artisans, humble, patient, and industrious.

The white American spectator seeing these pictures could also be transformed. No longer did he need to feel any anxiety about the "darker races" living in his nation, to be frightened of them, or to feel guilty at what had happened to them. By photographing the students playing their roles as model pupils at Hampton so well, Johnston implicitly confirmed the Hampton educators in *their* roles as be-



Sioux Indian boys in the "Wigwam," Hampton Institute, 1885. Gift of P. Randolph Hill, '72. The Princeton Collections of Western Americana, Princeton University Library.

nign parents gently helping the "child-like" races entrusted to their care "climb the rugged hill of progress." This paternalistic attitude was expressed with particular clarity by Daniel Gilman, President of the Slater Fund, a Northern foundation which gave vocational education buildings and facilities to schools and colleges for Black students. When he came to campus in 1896 to dedicate Hampton's Armstrong-Slater Trade School building, Gilman told the Institute's Black and Indian students:

What does this assembly represent? On the one hand, those who stand for the best that the white race has produced, the fruit of many generations, developed under the sunshine of freedom, religion and education; and, on the other hand, those who represent the capacity, the hopes, and the prospects of races but lately emerging from bondage or barbarism, error and illiteracy. The light-bearers are here, ready to hand to the light-seekers the torch which shall illuminate the path of progress.²²

²² Daniel C. Gilman, "A Study in Black and White," *Occasional Papers* (Baltimore: Trustees of the J. F. Slater Fund, 1897), p. 5. This speech is a good example of how

The Hampton pictures are impressive not least because of the way in which both Frances Johnston and the earlier photographers were able to use their cameras to create a delicate balance between the aesthetic and documentary, the real and the ideal, the mundane and the beautiful. Especially in Johnston's pictures, Hampton is not the bland, misty never-never land which so many of the salon photographers of her generation loved to depict. Nor is it the plain, unimaginative realm of the factual which appears in the works of some other documentary photographers. Instead, in many of her pictures Johnston made the documentary element seem more credible because of—not in spite of—the aesthetic skill with which she arranged the composition and lighting of her scenes. Except for the relatively few pictures which now seem too stiffly and elaborately posed, Johnston was able to imply that daily life at Hampton was educationally ideal because it was so visually serene, orderly, and detailed.

On the one hand, as their contents and captions indicate, Johnston's photographs depict real students going about their daily activities, which include learning how to judge cows and swine, lay bricks, and mix fertilizer. Yet Johnston consistently shows them doing these things under ideal conditions and while expressing the most perfect attitudes of discipline, patience, and attentiveness.

The photographs made at Hampton Institute at the end of the 19th century were meant to demonstrate to an ignorant or perhaps skeptical world that, under the benevolent tutelage of white educators and leaders, the United States was fulfilling its *mission civilisatrice* and that the Black and Native American races had indeed progressed during the past few decades. By implication, the photographs also documented the United States' progress as a nation: America was solving the difficult "problems" caused by emancipation in the South and the closing of the frontier in the West, and was progressing towards its ideal of being a nation in which all men were created equal and in which any poor boy could become President.

It is a rather painful commentary on 20th-century American his-

readily white Americans could adopt the rhetoric of imperialism when they dealt with the "darker races" of their own nation. Reading it, I was reminded of Kurtz's "pamphlet" as Marlow describes it in the second chapter of Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*: "He began with the argument that we whites, from the point of development we had arrived at, 'must necessarily appear to them [i.e. the savages] in the nature of supernatural beings. . . . By the simple exercise of our will we can exert a power for good practically unbounded.'"



The "Indian Picnic" at Hampton Institute, early 1880s. Dr. Frissell is seated in the center. Gift of P. Randolph Hill, '72. The Princeton Collections of Western Americana, Princeton University Library.

tory, that later generations of Americans, more sensitive to the benefits of cultural diversity and the ideal of self-determination, have seen Johnston's photographs not as ones which document a historical reality or process, but as works of art expressing hopes and dreams. When the Museum of Modern Art's edition of Frances Johnston's *Hampton Album* was published in 1966, one reviewer said that the photographs "radiate such innocence and good hope they make me want to cry."²³ And in his Foreword to that book, Kirstein spoke of the students as "long-vanished individuals, who still so vividly speak to us in public of the proper private longings for a shared social paradise. . . . Outside of Hampton there is an ogre's world of cruel competition and insensate violence," but in the Hampton pictures all the white race's good intentions and promises seem to come true. "While we are here" in the world depicted by Johnston and her predecessors, "all the fair words that have been spoken to the outcast and injured are true. Promises are kept."²⁴

²³ Hennig Cohen, "Innocent Eye," *The Reporter*, Vol. 34 (March 10, 1966) 45-48; p. 45.

²⁴ Kirstein, *Hampton Album*, p. 11.

Henry Holt and the Literary Agents

BY JAMES L. W. WEST III

Princeton's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections is, as Associate University Librarian William L. Joyce put it, "a collection of collections." Among its holdings are the archives of some of the most important publishers in the United States, including those of Henry Holt and Company. Professor West has used the Holt Archive as the basis for discussion of an important change in publishing history, one that raises issues relevant to today's literary scene.

Literary agents played a major role in the transformation of book publishing in the United States and England around the turn of the century. Their most important function was cross-fertilization; they handled much transatlantic business and brought American and British publishers into closer and more frequent contact with one another. They were catalysts for change on both sides of the ocean; they broke the book-publishing process into its component parts and succeeded in taking many of these operations away from publishers. By stimulating competition among publishers for the most marketable authors, they forced conservative houses in both England and the United States to abandon old business methods. Most traditional British and American publishers, as a consequence, resented the activities of literary agents and blamed them, sometimes wrongly, for many of the alarming changes that were taking place in the industry.

Other factors also contributed to the transformation of book publishing during the 1890s and early 1900s. Technological advancements in the printing trade had made it possible by 1900 for publishers in England and America easily to manufacture large editions of single titles for growing middle-class markets. Magazines had become increasingly important in the literary marketplace—not genteel 19th-century periodicals like the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's* in England or *Scribner's* and the *Century* in the United States, but mass-cir-

ulation magazines supported by brand-name advertising and featuring popular fiction and articles of general interest. New men with large funds of capital were entering the book trade and were bringing different business methods with them. Many of these methods, in fact, were adapted from magazine publishing. Authors were now courted and manuscripts pursued; the passive publisher who waited for material to come to him on the strength of his reputation and backlist was likely to miss out on the most lucrative publishing opportunities, and, if he were not careful, might also lose popular authors from his own stable to more aggressive houses. Such houses were more highly organized and stratified than their predecessors had been, with separate divisions for editing, promotion, and distribution, and with hierarchies of personnel within each division.

Authors, too, were becoming more troublesome; many now dealt with publishers through agents and demanded larger advances, higher royalty rates, and more advertising than had been customary in earlier decades. Agents encouraged publishers to bid against one another for books with strong selling potential; advances went higher, and publishers were obliged to tie up capital in unfinished manuscripts. Subsidiary rights became more important, and publishers were sometimes required to depend on percentages of these rights for their profits on a given title.

All of these factors encouraged, even demanded, a style of publishing alien to the instincts and experience of the older generation of publishers—men who had come to maturity in the 1860s and 1870s. New publishers of the 1890s and early 1900s were beginning to take more risks, to gamble more frequently on best-sellers, and to rely less heavily on their backlists. To traditional-minded publishers it must have seemed an unwise approach which would eventually bring on capital shortages and cash-flow problems. Rightly or wrongly, they blamed the literary agent for many of these difficulties.

Such British agents of the 1880s and 1890s as A. M. Burghes, Morris Colles, and A. P. Watt were repeatedly attacked in the trade journals by London publishers. Perhaps their most vitriolic critic was William Heinemann, who wrote to a fellow publisher, "My theory is that when once an author gets into the claws of a typical agent, he is lost to decency. He generally adopts the moral outlook of the trickster, which the agent inoculates with all rapidity, and that virus is so poisonous that the publisher had better disinfect himself and avoid con-

tagion."¹ The first literary agents in America also met with much resentment. Most U.S. publishers felt that agents were interlopers who stirred up trouble and made amicable author-publisher relationships impossible.

The American publisher who resented agents most strongly, and who was most vocal about his views, was Henry Holt. In this article we shall examine his public attacks on the literary agent and study some of his business dealings and confrontations with three of the most influential agents of his time—James B. Pinker, an Englishman; Paul Revere Reynolds, an American; and Curtis Brown, an American whose base of operations was London. Our study of the interrelationships among these four men will be facilitated by correspondence and other documents in the Henry Holt Archive at Princeton. Holt's confrontations with Pinker, Reynolds, and Brown are instructive: One is observing arguments between men of conflicting ideals and temperaments, but one is also watching a struggle between a 19th-century philosophy of book publishing and a 20th-century approach to literary commerce. This battle changed book publishing on both sides of the Atlantic.

Holt was among the most highly respected American publishers of his day. After graduating from Yale in 1862, he entered publishing as co-owner, with George Palmer Putnam, of a compilation called *The Rebellion Record*. He sold his interest in that venture in 1864; two years later, after taking a law degree at Columbia, he entered a book-publishing partnership with Frederick Leypoldt. In 1873 Leypoldt departed to help found *Publishers' Weekly*, and Holt took over full ownership of the publishing house, which he renamed Henry Holt & Co. By 1900 he had assembled one of the most distinguished lists in American publishing. Among his British authors were W. M. Thackeray, Thomas Hardy, John Stuart Mill, and R. L. Stevenson; his American authors eventually included William James, Henry Adams, John Dewey, and, much later, Robert Frost. A man of parts, Holt wrote two novels, played the cello, and was a prominent clubman and civic leader in New York. He held strong views about the publishing

¹ Frederic Whyte, *William Heinemann: A Memoir* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1928), p. 124. For an account of the early battles in England between publishers and agents, see James Hepburn, *The Author's Empty Purse and the Rise of the Literary Agent* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1968).

industry, and, as we shall see, was inclined to be uncompromising with his adversaries.²

James B. Pinker, one of those adversaries, began in publishing as a newspaper and magazine editor. He was a member of the second generation of British agents; in 1896 he began to do business in London as an authors' representative and quickly acquired a list of important clients. He represented Stephen Crane, Ford Madox Ford, Oscar Wilde, Henry James, Arnold Bennett, and many other writers. His closest relationship was with Joseph Conrad, to whom he eventually became a financial manager and personal friend. Pinker could be abrasive—both James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence disliked him—but many authors testified to his good business sense.³

Paul Revere Reynolds was the first true literary agent in America. He was educated at Boston Latin School and the Adams Academy in Quincy, then took bachelor's and master's degrees at Harvard. The M.A. was completed in 1891, with honors, under the tutelage of William James and in the company of George Santayana, a fellow student. Shortly after taking his M.A., Reynolds came to New York City in order to make a start in the literary business. He secured his first employment representing British publishers—Cassell, Constable, and Sampson Low among them. Soon he was handling negotiations in America for other British publishers and collaborating with agents there in transatlantic dealings. Reynolds negotiated American contracts for H. G. Wells and George Meredith and for many of Pinker's authors—Wilde, Conrad, and Crane among them. His American clients, besides Crane, included Robert W. Chambers, Joel Chandler Harris, Frank Norris, and Booth Tarkington.⁴

In the early 1900s, when Holt, Pinker, and Reynolds were debating the legitimacy of the agent with one another, the American literary marketplace, as we have seen, was in the midst of a major transition. Traditional publishers viewed the developments with alarm but expressed most of their fears to one another privately. Their public

² The most extensive treatment of Holt as publisher is Charles A. Madison, *The Owl among Colophons: Henry Holt as Publisher and Editor* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966). Portions of Madison's book were pre-published in his "Gleanings from the Henry Holt Files," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 27 (Winter 1966) 86-106.

³ For a sketch of Pinker by one who knew and dealt with him, see Frank Swinnerton, *Swinnerton: An Autobiography* (London: Hutchinson, 1937), pp. 242-243.

⁴ Fredrick Lewis Allen, *Paul Revere Reynolds* (New York: privately published, 1944).

spokesman was a younger man—Walter Hines Page, junior partner in the firm of Doubleday, Page & Co. Page published a series of anonymous articles in the *Boston Transcript* in 1905 under the title “A Publishers’s Confession.” Soon after, the articles were issued in book form by Doubleday, Page—again anonymously, but it was commonly known in the industry that Page was the author.⁵

A Publisher’s Confession is a lament and a warning: “Authorship and publishing,” writes Page, “has for the moment a decided commercial squint. It would be wrong to say, as one sometimes hears it said, that it has been degraded; for it has probably not suffered as nearly a complete commercialization as the law has suffered, for instance. But that fine indifference to commercial results which was once supposed to be characteristic of the great publishers does not exist today.”⁶ Throughout his book, Page argues that the publisher should maintain fiduciary relationship with the author—an arrangement similar to the doctor-patient or attorney-client relationship. The publisher must inspire such strong loyalty in his authors that they place their literary affairs entirely in his hands, trusting his expertise and good judgment. Page’s language in *A Publisher’s Confession* is abstract, idealistic, and, it must be admitted, often vague. He deplores certain practices, particularly the payment of large advances on unwritten work, but he engages in no close analysis of the industry and says virtually nothing about the effect of the literary agent on book publishing.

Page’s failure to blame the agent for the problems then current in the industry must have irritated Henry Holt, who had been waging his own private war against agents for well over a decade. Initially he had refused even to negotiate with an author who employed an agent, and by the early 1900s he was doing so only with reluctance. Shortly before the appearance of *A Publisher’s Confession*, in fact, Holt had tangled with Pinker and Reynolds through the mails over an interesting piece of transatlantic publishing business. The literary work in question was a lightweight British novel about the charms of new-fangled automobile travel. Certainly Holt knew that this book would do little for the reputation of his house, but he had been in publishing long enough to know that all firms had to issue occasional “entertainments” in order to cross-subsidize more weighty but less marketable titles.

This particular novel, entitled *The Princess Passes: A Romance of a*

⁵ Page’s name appears on the title page of later reprintings of the book.

⁶ Page, *A Publisher’s Confession*, pp. 61-62.

Motor Car, was written by a British husband-and-wife team, Charles N. and Alice M. Williamson. The Williamsons specialized in light fiction, and *The Princess Passes* is typical of their product. Much of the action takes place in the Swiss Alps. The hero of the tale is one Lord Lane, who has recently been jilted in love. On his travels he meets a young boy, who becomes his “little pal,” and who turns out to be an American heiress in disguise. The action is rapid, the dialogue amusing. The characters motor through France, Switzerland, and Italy, and the story comes to a close in Monte Carlo, with matrimony imminent.

The Princess Passes was in fact a sequel to an earlier automobile novel entitled *The Lightning Conductor: The Strange Adventures of a Motor Car*. The Williamsons were to make a specialty of the motoring novel over the next several years; subsequent titles included *My Friend the Chauffeur* (1905), *The Car of Destiny and Its Errand in Spain* (1906), *The Motor Maid* (1909), and *The Lightning Conductress* (1916). *The Princess Passes*, second in this series, was not a serious work of literature, but the negotiations among Holt, Pinker, and Reynolds for the novel were entirely in earnest because the book was a good gamble, almost certain to make money.

One can learn much about the workings of the literary marketplace by studying negotiations and contracts for such works. The publishing arrangements for more ambitious writings are usually not as interesting; publishers and agents do not expect them to be profitable, and they can afford to be relaxed when discussing terms. With potentially popular works, on the other hand, a small shift in the royalty scale or a readjustment of the division of subsidiary rights can mean real money to the publisher or to the author and his agent. The negotiations over such works tend to be more spirited.

In 1903 Holt had published the first American edition of *The Lightning Conductor*, the initial motoring novel by the Williamsons. The contract had been quite favorable to his house; the Williamsons were only beginning to be published in America, and Holt had been able to name his terms. The deadlines had passed for the Williamsons to secure U.S. copyright on the novel, but Holt had persuaded them to write a new final chapter for the book and, by calling the volume a “revised edition,” had been able to copyright it for them in Washington. This was a wise move, as it turned out, for *The Lightning Conductor* was a surprisingly strong seller. Holt made a great deal of money

on the book very quickly. Its large sales did not go unnoticed by other American publishers, however, and several of them approached the Williamsons through Reynolds and Pinker, their agents, with tempting offers for a sequel. Reynolds and Pinker used these offers for leverage when they negotiated with Holt.⁷

Holt resented the pressure, perhaps because it reminded him of the strategy used by the agent A. P. Watt, ten years before, in negotiating for a different sequel. Holt had published the first American edition of Anthony Hope Hawkins' *The Prisoner of Zenda* in 1894, and the book became enormously popular. In 1895 Holt brought out five more of Hawkins' previous novels, and good relations with the author appeared to have been established. But when it came time to negotiate for *Rupert of Hentzau*, the sequel to *The Prisoner of Zenda*, Watt used offers from other publishers to pressure Holt into paying a larger advance and a higher royalty than he wished to. Now, ten years later, Pinker and Reynolds were employing identical tactics, and Holt resented it.⁸

Pinker, for his part, believed that Holt should have offered the Williamsons a higher royalty on *The Lightning Conductor*, once he saw how rapidly the book was selling. This gesture, he felt, would have predisposed the Williamsons to turn a deaf ear to the offers of rival publishers. Pinker, writing from London, said as much in a letter to Holt of 31 December 1903, and Holt wrote back a month later in his own defense:

I did not volunteer the Williamsons, when their book succeeded, a royalty greater than agreed, because in these days (in no small degree from the fault of publishers them-

⁷ Pinker's connection with the Williamsons was an old one. He had begun his career in the early 1890s as assistant editor of the magazine *Black and White*, of which C. N. Williamson was editor. See the introduction to *Letters of Arnold Bennett*, Vol. 1, ed. James Hepburn (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1966).

⁸ For an account of Holt's difficulties with Watt over Hawkins, see Madison, *Book Publishing in America* (New York: McGraw-Hall, 1966), p. 103. By 1901 Hawkins had left Holt and settled on Harper & Brothers as his American publishers. Watt was negotiating generous contracts for Hawkins with them; for *The Intrusions of Peggy*, for example, Watt sold British serial rights separately to Smith, Elder in London and to Harpers, for another £1,000, in New York. Harpers also purchased book rights for an additional £500 advance against a 20% royalty from the first copy sold—a percentage commanded only by the most popular of novelists. Watt held back all translation and drama rights for separate disposal. The contract is preserved in the Harper & Brothers Archive, Butler Library, Columbia University.

selves), even such a proceeding gives a publisher no hold on an author's future. I have just had a most disgusting illustration of it: so it has appeared only reasonable self-defence, to get what I honestly could, and keep what I get.

When you negotiated regarding the Williamsons' second book, what was there to prevent you and Mr. Reynolds from saying to us, substantially: "Now you have found that the Williamsons are authors to put on the best footing, hadn't you better do that retroactively and prospectively, and enter into permanent human relations with them? Then you need only pay us what experience with the new book shows you ought to, instead of outbidding rivals, or leaving it to them."

I have in mind my answer. What's yours?⁹

Pinker responded immediately and bluntly:

At the risk of seeming impertinent, I am still going to say that I think you made a mistake. You were the first to know what "The Lightning Conductor" had done. I had a sort of general impression that it was doing well, and when other publishers began to approach us the view was confirmed, but of course I did not know and do not now know what the sales have been. Had you, as soon as you saw where the book was going, written to me and said the book was doing well, that you would pay a royalty on it at a higher rate than the contract provided for, on condition that you had the next book on stated terms, I think I should certainly have advised the Williamsons to come to an agreement with you. Instead of that, other publishers made the first move with proposals, and of course you do not need me to tell you that some publishers when they want books assure authors that they would have sold far more had the last book been in their hands.

The same question comes up now. A publisher came to me last week and said "well, since I can't have the sequel to *The Lightning Conductor* why can't I have the next?" and

⁹ The correspondence among Holt, Pinker, and Reynolds quoted in the next several paragraphs is in Box 104 of the Holt Archive, Princeton.

proposing terms for serial and book rights. . . . The Williamsons will next do a motor car novel for which they have what they think is a very good plot, and if you are disposed to, make a proposal which would include this I shall be very pleased to put it before them. I do not want to force your hand at all, but I have explained the situation as it is from the author's point of view. If you make a proposal I shall put it before the Williamsons, and they shall say "yes" or "no" to it before anything further is said to other publishers.

Holt was not prepared to be cooperative, however, and his reply to Pinker of 1 March is unrepentant:

In order that I may better judge your impression that I made a mistake in not paying the Williamsons more than I agreed on "Lightning Conductor" because it did well (mainly because I induced them to write the chapter which both ended the book better and secured their copyright), you would have to tell me whether they propose to return any money I pay them on "The Princess Passes," in case that book does *not* do well. . . .

I think I am through making specific terms for books I have not seen, and probably through with buying periodical rights I cannot see a definite place for. It is unquestionably to your immediate interest at least, to scatter around your clients' books. If your conscience satisfies you that it is also to theirs—especially when it involves trusting them to publishers who do both those foolish things, don't wait for me.

Holt eventually did come to terms with Pinker and Reynolds for an American edition of *The Princess Passes*. The Williamsons received an advance of \$4,000 against a 15% royalty on the first 5,000 copies, 20% thereafter, plus \$1,500 for U. S. serial rights, which Holt had to dispose of himself. The entire proceeding seems to have irritated him, however, and he did not forget it. Perhaps for this reason he allowed the Williamsons to move to another publisher, the more com-

mercial-minded S. S. McClure, for the American editions of their subsequent novels.

Holt vented his frustrations with agents several months later in a long article entitled "The Commercialization of Literature," published in the November 1905 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Holt presents this article as if it were a response to Page's *A Publisher's Confession*, but in fact it is a polemic aimed primarily at literary agents. Early on in the article, Holt admits that the agent can sometimes have a legitimate function, even a "beneficent" one, especially when he can find a publisher for a beginning author or help an experienced writer dissolve an unhappy publishing relationship. Holt also recognizes that agents are sometimes useful intermediaries in dealings between British and American publishers and that they are often helpful in disposing of serial rights. But when agents go beyond these tasks, when they "break down the old relation between authors and publishers" and "make the connection mainly a question of which publisher would bid highest," they damage the entire industry. The publisher in such situations becomes "a *corpus vilum* to be exploited for money" and "a 'golden goose' to be killed for immediate profit." Holt is quite explicit: "I unhesitatingly say that in carrying his functions farther, the agent has been the parent of most serious abuses, has become a very serious detriment to literature and a leech on the author, sucking blood entirely out of proportion to his later services; and has already begun to defeat himself."¹⁰

"The Commercialization of Literature" appeared in the *Atlantic* in November 1905. The next few months could not have been pleasant for Paul Revere Reynolds: to have his calling attacked in these terms by a reputable publisher, and in one of the major American literary periodicals, surely was not a happy experience. Some idea of his reaction can be had from a seven-page letter he wrote to Holt on 30 January 1906, three months after the November 1905 issue of the *Atlantic Monthly* went on sale. It is clear from the letter that he and Holt were not on good terms and that they were engaging in an epistolary debate, through the New York postal system, about the legitimacy of the agent and his methods. In his letter of 30 January, Reynolds begins by citing numerous instances in which he has been useful

¹⁰ Henry Holt, "The Commercialization of Literature," *Atlantic Monthly*, November 1905, pp. 581-582, 583.

to experienced authors on "the third or fourth book." In "The Commercialization of Literature," Holt had contended that the agent should help a beginning writer by finding him a publisher, but that thereafter he should step out of the picture and allow the author and publisher to arrange things to suit themselves. Ideally the publisher should then issue all of the author's subsequent books in such a way that each one would help sell the others, and all of the author's writings would be kept "under one roof." Reynolds disagrees:

The assumption that publishers will always take all of an author's output is a mistaken one: they won't. Almost any author's work is uneven. When he puts out a less successful book the publisher leaves him. He probably says to the author "This book will hurt your reputation." The author says to the agent "I must live." The agent knowing that he will have the author's future work and having faith that some of it will be good, sticks to him. I sold one book not long ago which had been declined by nineteen houses.

After offering more examples, Reynolds comes to the case of the Williamsons, which he seems to know is still a sore point with Holt.

In the case of Mrs. Williamson, I do not think you can believe that if she had never heard of an agent that she would not have received offers from other houses. . . . The agent may stimulate such conditions and undoubtedly in some cases he has done so, but he does not create them. You do not seem to me to allow in your scheme for legitimate competition.

Reynolds ends the letter on a personal note:

I feel sure that you won't assume from what I have said that I regard all publishers as thieves. I think you know me too well to make such an assumption. On the contrary, I believe publishers, taking them in a mass, to be as high a class of business men as can be found. That does not mean that they don't like to drive a good bargain if they can, but

in this they are only human. I have tried to write you frankly about the whole matter. I hope that we may be friends trying to cooperate with each other rather than opponents. In conclusion let me say that if I did not feel that the work of the literary agent—and here I am not speaking of myself but of the occupation—was legitimate and necessary, a good deal of my pleasure in my work would be gone.

Holt replied to Reynolds two weeks later, on 13 February 1906. He addressed the points Reynolds had brought up and, still angry, ignored the conciliatory note on which the agent had ended his letter.

Of course cases can arise where an agent is needed more "for the third or fourth book" than the first, but I don't suppose that you would consider them the rule, or even relatively frequent. The difficulties come in the frequent cases where he is not needed, and sometimes makes a pretense of being, to the immediate damage of all hands but himself; and in the long run, of himself. . . .

You say I don't seem to you to allow for legitimate competition. In publishing, I don't think a competition *merely* of dollars and cents is legitimate. Steady relations, when good ones, are better for the author than jumping around to catch pennies, even many pennies; and when the jumping around leads, as in the case of "Princess Passes" (and, I suspect, of "Chauffeur") to realizing by an immediate grab, only half as many pennies during a few months as would have been realized by depending on legitimate returns, the policy seems doubly bad. . . .

I don't see how we can "cooperate with each other" if you insist on attributing to me opinions which I never advanced, and in knocking down men of straw which I never set up. I've never denied that "the work of the literary agent . . . is legitimate and necessary" when kept within reason. I've even said in print that it may be "beneficent." I do think, however, that it has often gone—and unless carefully guarded, tends to go—to extremes where it is simply devilish.

Holt's "The Commercialization of Literature" caused discussion not only in America but in England as well.¹¹ In August 1906 there appeared in the *Fortnightly Review* an anonymous rejoinder to Holt entitled "'The Commercialisation of Literature' and the Literary Agent." In 1865, at its founding, the *Fortnightly* had been among the first Victorian periodicals to encourage its contributors to sign their writings. Most had done so, but in every volume there had been a few contributors who had preferred to remain anonymous. The author of "'The Commercialisation of Literature' and the Literary Agent" was among these; the by-line of his article simply read, "By One of Them."¹²

The author of the article was in fact one of the most visible and successful of "Them"—the aforementioned Curtis Brown, an American whose literary agency was based in London.¹³ Brown made his start with the U.S. newspaper syndicates in the 1890s, and by 1898 was London correspondent for the *New York Press*. Pearl T. Craigie, who wrote popular literature under the pen name John Oliver Hobbes, asked him to sell the British serial rights for one of her novels, and he did so, placing the story with *Pall Mall Magazine* and collecting 10 percent of the price as his fee. Not long after, he sold the U.S. book rights for one of Egerton Castle's novels to an American publisher. His success in these two transactions decided him to become a literary agent; eventually he expanded and employed subordinates, and by the 1920s he had branch offices in New York, Paris, Berlin, Milan, and Copenhagen. From the beginning he made a specialty of translations and foreign rights; he knew the fine points of the Berne Convention and of U.S. copyright law and often negotiated contracts between British and American publishers and magazine editors.

In his *Fortnightly* article, Brown is in surprisingly close agreement

¹¹ On 10 January 1906, for example, London publisher T. Fisher Unwin wrote Holt to congratulate him on the article and offered to have it printed and distributed as a brochure in England at his own expense. (Box 130, Holt Archive, Princeton.)

¹² For an account of the founding of the *Fortnightly*, see Vol. 2 of *The Wellesley Index to Victorian Periodicals*.

¹³ Brown acknowledges authorship of the article in his memoirs: *Contacts* (London: Cassell, 1935), p. 239. Apparently he made no secret in 1906 of having written the piece; he notes that he had it reprinted as a pamphlet and "sent it around to authors, and it brought many of them to us—and continues to do so." Brown's article was reprinted (still anonymously) in America in the *Bookman*, 24 (October 1906) 134-139. The sketch of Brown's career which follows is taken from Chapter 1, "Early Agency Days," of *Contacts*.

with the major arguments advanced by Holt in "The Commercialization of Literature." Brown agrees that a steady and amicable relationship is an ideal to which all writers and publishers should aspire. He reminds his readers, however, that enduring and friendly arrangements between publishers and authors are rare in the literary world. In any case, the author should not be spending his primary energies on business matters:

Even suppose we waive the contention frequently made, that the great creative genius generally lacks correspondingly great executive ability, the fact remains that the author's work is to write; he cannot in justice to himself spend the time necessary to gain the business knowledge and experience of the man whose work it is to buy and sell. It is altogether a question of specialty, not ability.¹⁴

Brown is firm in his contention that the best agent is one who takes advantage of competition to get the best market price for the author. "But," he adds, "if the author flits about from one publisher to another, dealing indiscriminately with the highest bidder, he finds that in the long run no publisher takes an interest in him nor [sic] has the enthusiasm for him that he would get from any one publisher to whom he had remained faithful." The vital point, according to Brown, is that the middleman in any transaction must keep both sides in mind as he negotiates:

[The agent] stands between the author and the publisher, and he ought to uphold better than either of them the importance of the greatest truism in trade, viz., that no bargain is ever really sound and honest without being profitable to both parties to it. If the agent deceives the publisher in his client's behalf, he has not only wronged the publisher, but in the long run it will appear that he has wronged his client too. On the other hand, if he "plays fair," and scrupulously tells the truth about his wares, and has sufficient intelligence to know approximately what the truth is, every publisher with whom he deals is certain to

¹⁴ Curtis Brown, "'The Commercialisation of Literature' and the Literary Agent," *Fortnightly Review*, August 1906, p. 357.

recognise the fact sooner or later and to look upon such an agent's opinion and good will as well worth having.¹⁵

Holt was determined to have the last word. In February 1907 he published another article, this one entitled "The Commercialization of Literature: A Summing Up," in *Putnam's Monthly*. In it he devotes eight pages to answering Brown's contentions. He concedes that the *Fortnightly* article is the most thoughtful response he has seen to "The Commercialization of Literature," but he remarks, with some irony, on the similarity of Brown's position to his own.¹⁶ "It is encouraging," he notes, "to find a critic expressing so many ideas which I supposed that I had put into print for the first time, and I venture to felicitate myself upon having made so intelligent and candid a convert."¹⁷

In the *Putnam's* article, Holt makes several important points. The chief one is that "a reputation for liberality," once attached to a publisher, "is worth more, in hard dollars, than all that a publisher can save by haggling for the last cent." Holt also believes that when honorable authors publish their writings with reputable houses, the services of the agent are not necessary. All the agent can do in such cases is to undermine the trust that author and publisher have built in one another. Holt still maintains that agents can be useful in placing the works of young authors and in selling off drama rights, translation rights, second serial rights, and colonial rights. What Holt does not mention is that no agent can make a living by handling first novels and subsidiary rights. Then as now, agents need 10 percent of the big business to repay them for attending to minor chores.

Both Holt and Brown argue convincingly for high business ethics. One senses that they would have dealt straightforwardly and fairly with one another in negotiating over a work of literature, but one also senses that both men have been burned in past dealings with other publishers and agents whose principles are not so elevated as theirs. As Holt puts it in his second article, "My critic has stated his ideal of the agent's mission, which, so far as it is practicable, does him honor, but which seems to me a good many pegs above experience and possibility."¹⁸

¹⁵ Brown, "Commercialisation," pp. 357, 359.

¹⁶ Holt does not identify Brown as the author of the *Fortnightly* article, but probably he knew the authorship of the piece.

¹⁷ Henry Holt, "The Commercialization of Literature: A Summing Up," *Putnam's Monthly*, February 1907, p. 567.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 573.

Holt's anger over the activities of the literary agent was part of his growing disillusionment with book publishing after 1900. By 1911 he was bitter about the industry. In the fall of that year he wrote George Haven Putnam, "Good God, how I hate and despise the publishing business and everything connected with it, except you and one or two other good people!"¹⁹ Putnam would probably have agreed with Holt, at least about the literary agent. As early as 1897 Putnam had written of the agent, "For his interest it is important that the author should be kept in a state of reiterated dissatisfaction." Putnam's own ideal authors were those "fully ready to confide to their publishing friends the business interests connected with their literary work."²⁰ This was just the sort of paternalistic author-publisher relationship which the agent sought to do away with.

Not all American publishers, however, were opposed to the agent, and by the 1920s and 1930s he had come to be tolerated, accepted, and occasionally even welcomed. In 1935 George H. Doran wrote in his memoirs:

I have had large dealings with literary agents, and if I had my publishing life to live over again I would choose, except in isolated instances, to deal with authors through a reputable agent rather than with the authors direct. In the first instance, it protects the publisher from charges of unfairness. An agent, through his knowledge of general publishing conditions and practice, is often able to explain satisfactorily some point in question. Again, it is a convenience to a publisher to be able to confer with literary agents and ascertain quickly what books and authors are open for negotiation. On the whole, I feel that the literary agent has been a constructive force in modern publishing.²¹

Even Holt came finally to accept the presence of the literary agent. In his own memoirs, he admitted that his opposition to agents cost him the chance to publish several authors whose works he wanted to add to his list. "I refused to have anything to do with the agents," he remembered, "and so for years cut myself out of more new business

¹⁹ Holt to Putnam, 20 October 1911, Box 99, Holt Archive, Princeton.

²⁰ Putnam, *Authors and Publishers* (New York: Putnam's, 1897), pp. 132, 142.

²¹ Doran, *Chronicles of Barabbas* (London: Methuen, 1935), p. 93.

than I got in without them." His hopes for purely fiduciary relationships with his authors, he now believed, were "unpractically ideal." Holt's final word on the agent is cast in the form of a brief reminiscence: "A few years ago, when that good man the late Mr. Dodd, said at a publishers' lunch, that he believed an author had a right to employ an intermediary, I found I had changed so far as, in spite of all the objections, to agree with him. He had profited greatly by his wisdom, and I had lost heavily in chasing after my ideal."²²

What Holt, Pinker, Reynolds, and Brown were really arguing about was the shift, in both England and America, from a conservative to an aggressive style of publishing. Holt saw the agent as the chief perpetrator of the difficulties he faced in the trade, but with hindsight one now can see that the agent was probably more symptom than cause. Book publishing in England and the United States, under technological and demographic pressure, was changing from a 19th-century business pattern to a 20th-century one, a transition which was taking place at about this time in many other businesses. The agent was a by-product, a good example of Thorstein Veblen's "middle man." He had arrived permanently on the literary scene in England and America, and Henry Holt would not be able to drive him away.

²² Holt, *Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1923), p. 119. "Mr. Dodd" is publisher Frank H. Dodd.

"The Bitter-Sweet of This Shakespearean Fruit"¹

BY IVO KAMPS AND LISA SCHNELL

There is an enemy within the covers of 19th- and 20th-century books that is gradually destroying the collections in our libraries. Acid, alum, and other chemicals which were used in the production of paper attack its fabric and eventually destroy the words themselves. In the last twenty or so years many volumes have simply disintegrated; it would appear that the time has come for us to decide about the future well-being of our books. But the choices are not simple. They involve questions of value and cost, quantity and quality, the relation of a book to its contents.

At Princeton's Firestone Library, during the summer of 1987, we faced these questions while conducting an intensive analysis of the Library's open-stack Shakespeare collection. Our analysis—an involved and often complicated inventory—led us not only to an understanding of the physical characteristics of the books themselves but also to a new appreciation of the direct relationship of the physical artifact—the book—to the more abstract—literary scholarship. As students of literature first, librarians only in the summer, we became both fascinated and deeply concerned with the implications for scholarship of what we saw happening around us. What follows is a brief description of our study, its findings, and an attempt (begun during discussions in the stacks of Firestone) to situate these findings in a wider context by wondering how the deterioration of the book may affect our idea of one apparently indestructible author, William Shakespeare.²

¹ This line is taken from John Keats' "On Sitting Down to Read *King Lear* Once Again," *The Poetical Works of John Keats*, ed. H. W. Garrod (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958), p. 483.

² The study, a co-operative venture of the Library and the Department of English,

THE SHAKESPEARE PROJECT

A recent survey conducted at Yale University indicates that approximately 37 percent of the books in Yale's library system are in need of preservation attention.³ The volumes in question are in an "advanced state of disintegration" and usable only at the "risk of irreparable damage." If these findings are indicative of the state of affairs in other libraries, it is necessary to conclude that, unless we act decisively, we stand to lose a significant part of our intellectual and material history.

In contrast with the procedures of the "Yale Survey," we did not gather the volumes for our sample from throughout Princeton's library system. Instead we examined all the volumes (bibliographies, editions, biographies, and monographs) by or pertaining to a single canonical author, William Shakespeare. Rather than seeking to corroborate grand claims such as those made about the New York Public Library (which, it is suggested, could lose half its collection) and the Library of Congress (in danger of losing six million volumes),⁴ our study seeks to give the problem an identity, to cast it in a recognizable shape, in order to arrive at a more detailed idea of the specific consequences a Shakespeare scholar might have to face in the very near future. We therefore limited our investigation to the almost 3,800 titles (more than 6,000 volumes) catalogued and classified in the Richardson system, containing texts, in the case of Shakespeare, dating back to the first half of the 18th century. Our immediate goal was to identify the books that are missing from the collection, the books that are in need of repair, and the books that are in need of preservation. The second stage of the project consisted of making recommendations concerning the replacement or preservation of books (either missing or beyond repair) on the basis of bibliographical research.

In order to carry out the first stage of the project we created a machine-readable form of the shelf-list (cards that represent every title in Firestone's main collection) on a personal computer.⁵ This al-

was known as the "Shakespeare Project," and was initiated and supervised by Literature Bibliographer John Logan '66.

³ Gay Walker, Jane Greenfield, John Fox, Jeffrey S. Simonoff, "The Yale Survey: A Large-Scale Study of Book Deterioration in the Yale University Library," *College and Research Libraries*, Vol. 46 (March 1985) 111-132; p. 126.

⁴ Walker et al., "Yale Survey," pp. 111-112.

⁵ We were assisted in our amateur labors by several library professionals. Sue Batton and Kevin Shopland (Head of Treatments and Preservation Specialist, respectively, at

lowed us to create a "notecard" containing "fields" for bibliographical information, the condition of the volume, its location, and recommendations for further action for each title. In the stacks, we compared each shelf-list entry against the corresponding volume on the shelf and categorized each title according to one of four categories: "missing," "repair," "preservation," "brittle."⁶ Following this procedure, we examined 1,437 collected editions and 2,354 bibliographies, monographs, biographies, and single-play editions. The collected editions yielded these results:

Good condition:	842	(58.7 percent)
Missing:	95	(6.6 percent)
Repair:	186	(12.9 percent)
Preservation:	229	(15.9 percent)
Brittle:	85	(5.9 percent)

For the remaining books the figures broke down as follows:

Good condition:	1723	(73.1 percent)
Missing:	125	(5.3 percent)
Repair:	211	(9 percent)
Preservation:	145	(6.2 percent)
Brittle:	150	(6.4 percent)

If we manipulate these numbers some more we find that of the 1,437 titles in the collected editions section 595 (41.3 percent) are in less than good condition. And of the 2,354 monographs, etc., 631

Firestone Library) taught us how to determine accurately the condition of a book. Philippe Menos, Firestone's Systems Analyst, installed for us on the fixed disk of an IBM XT a database management system, "Professional File System."

⁶ If the book was not on the shelf we entered it *missing* on the computer note card, and later checked it against other sources of information to see whether it had been transferred to another section of the library system or had been withdrawn from the collection altogether. If the book's status remained "missing," it became a candidate for replacement. We marked for *repair* those volumes that had loose boards or a partially detached spine covering. If, however, the spine itself was severed or if some of the pages had become detached (or if either occurred during the examination process), we placed the volume in the *preservation* category. Many of the volumes receiving this designation were printed on acidic paper and were so brittle that repair was absolutely impossible: The pages crumbled when touched. We marked as *brittle* all volumes that were still in good shape but that did not pass the brittle-test: The paper would break off at the corner when folded back sharply two or three times.

(26.9 percent) are in need of attention. To get an impression of the effect of the acidic paper on the longevity of the Shakespeare collection, we isolated the 92 collected editions printed between 1850 (which is roughly when the acidic paper widely replaced the durable rag paper) and 1930. To our dismay, we discovered that 65 editions are in need of preservation, while the remaining 27 are in an irreversibly brittle state. In fact, while handling these volumes we had to wear surgical masks to avoid inhaling clouds of pulverized paper.⁷

When we compare the findings of our inquiry with those of the Yale survey, we can note that only 16.1 percent of the Shakespeare volumes in Firestone have brittle paper, compared with 37.1 percent (overall) at Yale.⁸

The final stage of our project, the making of recommendations pertaining to replacement and preservation, was more cumbersome than we had anticipated. Our goal—which we assumed to be easily within reach—was to assess a book's value (scholarly, monetary, historical, and social) on the basis of bibliographical research. However, it turned out that a project of this type requires an annotated bibliography not yet in existence.⁹ Nevertheless, even if that bibliography

⁷ We did encounter a handful of well-preserved Shakespeare editions (some of them on rag paper) in Princeton's Rare Book Collection. Hence, we can rest assured that not all Shakespeare texts printed between 1850 and 1930 will vanish.

⁸ Walker et al., "Yale Report," p. 126. This comparison may be deceptive since it does not consider environmental differences between Firestone Library and the Yale system. The Yale Survey included books in 15 different libraries; our "compact" inquiry covered four and a half ranges of books within close proximity of each other on one floor. Also, it is not out of the question that books dealing with Shakespeare—the canonical author of the western world—are generally manufactured a little better than most other books.

⁹ William Jaggard's monumental *Shakespeare Bibliography* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Press, 1911) halts in 1910 and exhibits a pronounced tendency to omit editions printed in the United States, especially when they are reprints or revised versions of British editions. Larry Champion's recent *Essential Shakespeare: An Annotated Bibliography of Major Modern Studies* (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1986) is richly annotated but it does not list collections of essays or reprints in general. A *Shakespeare Bibliography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), prepared by Walther Ebisch and Levin L. Schucking offers some unique data no other work can offer, but it too has significant omissions. The new *Garland Shakespeare Bibliographies* series (New York and London: Garland Publishing Company, different dates) of which William Godshalk is the general editor, is superb, but at this time it covers fewer than half of Shakespeare's plays and is incomplete in its citations of the older editions. A. A. Raven's *Hamlet Bibliography and Reference Guide 1877-1935* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1966) proved an invaluable source of information, but its narrow scope made it of limited use to our objectives. When we were simply stymied for information we were lucky enough to be able to consult with such expert scholars as Professors Gerald E. Bentley, Lawrence N. Danson, and Alvin B. Kernan, who kindly made recommendations where we were unable to do so.

had existed, our recommendations would still have led to a whole new set of difficulties for the librarian and bibliographer. Many of the titles "missing" from the collection, or titles in need of preservation, are simply not available. Moreover, even when a book can be located through an antiquarian book dealer, the possibility of it being printed on nonacidic paper is almost nil. It makes little sense to replace a missing book with one that is about to become missing. The practical ways around this problem will not equally satisfy the textual editor, the literary critic, and the book historian. For example, when a book in need of replacement is in the collection of another library, the library in need has the option of requesting a photocopy or a microfilm copy. However, it is often necessary to cut the book's spine in order to produce a high quality copy, and in the process the original pages and their binding (often unique) are lost forever. Clearly, this predicament constitutes an acute dilemma in the debate on methods of preservation for brittle books: Is it more desirable to have available this original copy of an edition with leather bindings, gold tooling, and color illustrations for another decade or so, or should it be destroyed now while a copy can still be made—a factory-bound Xerox copy that will perhaps last for several centuries?¹⁰

THE BOOK AND SOCIETY

Ben Jonson was a man who thought he knew the value of a book. Shakespeare, thou "art still alive, while thy Booke doth live," he wrote in his commendatory poem to the first collected edition of Shakespeare's plays. Jonson assumes that a book is an object capable of ensuring the life of its author. Or, in John Milton's words, a book is a "vial" that preserves "the purest efficacy and extraction of the living intellect that bred [it]."¹¹ If there is truth in this view of the book as life-preserving vessel, then perhaps Shakespeare is, as Jonson

¹⁰ Unwilling to send all brittle books to the guillotine too quickly and hopeful that new methods of book restoration will become available in the next decade, we have tried to be as conservative as possible in our recommendations. If we believed that a volume marked for preservation would be likely to receive heavy use in the next few years (we made this decision based on the book's circulation record and our knowledge of the field), we opted for having it microfilmed or photocopied. If, however, we could reasonably assume a volume would not be used more than once or twice in the foreseeable future, we proposed it be sent to the Annex (an infrequently used off-campus library), where it can rest on the shelf quietly (and whence it can always be recalled).

¹¹ John Milton, *Areopagitica* in *John Milton: The Complete Poems and Selected Prose*, ed. Merritt Y. Hughes (Indianapolis: Odyssey Press, 1957 [1980]), p. 720.

wrote, "not of an age, but for all time,"¹² since some 230 of the original 1,200 First Folios are still in existence. They survive in the libraries of the world as an insurance policy against the death of their author.

Why worry then about all those tattered, fragile, endangered successive editions of Shakespeare which were the object of our study? Why not find the living author in his first edition, and do without the middlemen? An adequate answer would require a short course in the intricacies of Shakespearean textual scholarship; it would begin with the fact that Shakespeare, unlike Jonson, appears to have had no interest in the printing of his works and therefore left us no authorized version. John Heminges and Henry Condell, the publishers of the First Folio, claimed that their edition was based on "the True Originall Copies" of the plays; but their assertion is cast in a somewhat doubtful light when we remember that about half of the plays printed in the 1623 Folio—itsself probably based on a variety of texts: the playwright's own papers, a scribe's copies of those papers, theatre promptbooks, and printed texts—also appear in different form in earlier quarto editions. Some of those quartos are manifestly corrupt versions, but most of them provide at least a few readings which, on a variety of grounds, might be preferred to Folio readings; and some are arguably preferable to the Folio version overall. Which "first" edition gets us closer to the original Shakespearean version—the one published by Shakespeare's theatrical colleagues in 1623, or the unauthorized quarto that appeared closer in time to the play's original composition? Which is the more authentic version—the one the author wrote, or the one his company of players performed? The very idea of an *original* text may seem a will o' the wisp with an author who left us no manuscripts and who wrote for that most fluid, self-revising, social medium, the stage.

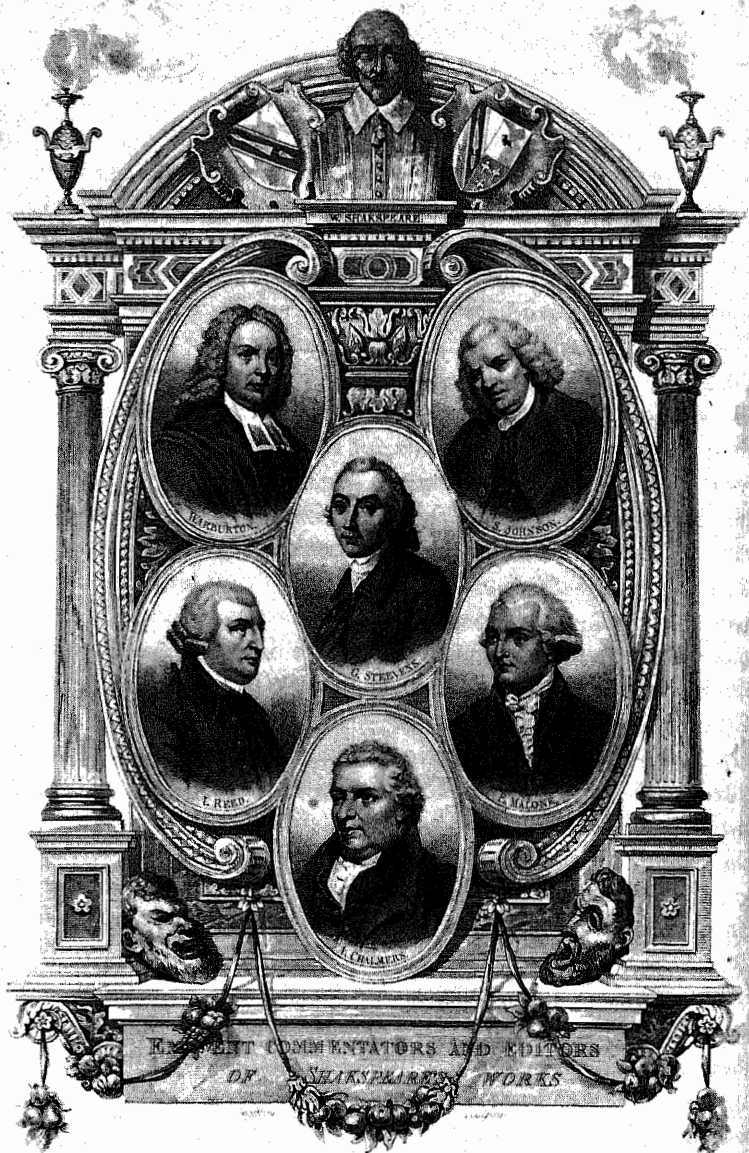
If there is no authentic, original book of William Shakespeare, there is, even more certainly, no definitively final edition of that culturally central book. Every editor makes choices; those choices, in small ways and large, silently or screamingly, rewrite the book of Shakespeare. For instance, editors must decide what to do about the differences between folio and quarto texts. Since the 18th century,

¹² Ben Jonson, "To the Memory of my Beloved, the Author Mr. William Shakespeare: and what he has left us," *The Complete Poetry of Ben Jonson*, ed. William B. Hunter, Jr. (New York: Norton, 1963 [1968]), p. 373.

most editors have conflated the two texts; the result is a longer play, but almost certainly a play Shakespeare never wrote in that form. But neither is it a mistake. The history of Shakespeare editions is not merely a record of variations, or misconceptions, or successive approximations; that history is itself, rather, what we now mean by the name "Shakespeare." Who then is the Shakespeare who lives while his book lives? He is the sum total of all the books in which he has lived, in all the editorial rewritings from those of the quartos and folio until the present moment. The literary scholar and the bibliographer, the critic and the librarian are equally bereft when acid eats away the pages of the composite Shakespearean body.

The history of Shakespeare's text perhaps more than that of any other author cannot properly be conceived of as a mechanical reproduction of an essentially immutable set of words. On the contrary, ever since the early performances and the first quarto printings the playwright's words have been subjected to political, aesthetic, and scholarly scrutiny and, literally, censorship. We have only to contemplate the political powers of the Bishop of London and the Master of Revels in Shakespeare's time to halt a performance and censor a play to see that the tradition of revising Shakespeare began even before Shakespeare's plays were first performed or published. The traces of those first editings are, for the most part, beyond recovery. But not all: We know that the character called Falstaff in the first printing of *1 Henry IV* was called Oldcastle in an earlier performance, and we know that the name was changed because of political pressures applied by the historical Oldcastle's family. What should a modern editor do with that fact? If the editor believes that the play as first performed has more claim to authenticity than the play as first printed, then Falstaff ought to be Oldcastle once again—as indeed he is in the current, best-selling Oxford University Press edition. In that same edition, there are two separate texts of *King Lear*, both the quarto and the folio texts, because the editors believe that conflation obscures the authentic Shakespearean intention—in this case, Shakespeare's intention in the folio text to revise his own quarto text. A Falstaff called Oldcastle and two *King Lears*, neither of which sounds exactly like the one you read in college: These are merely the latest products of the inevitable process of rewriting Shakespeare in the effort to catch the chimera of an authentic text.

The Oxford editors' choices may catch on or they may go the way



"Eminent Commentators and Editors of Shakespeare's Works." Frontispiece for Alexander Chalmers, *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare, with Explanatory & Historical Notes by the Most Eminent Commentators* (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1838). Princeton University Library.

of other, earlier efforts to make the text of Shakespeare resemble an editor's ideal Shakespeare. In either event, future literary scholars will need to know this recent version, just as they need to know about the stylistic and didactic "improvements" made by Alexander Pope (1725); or about Edward Capell's (1768) application of the "principle of copy-text;"¹³ or even about the omission of "those words and expressions . . . which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family"¹⁴ by Thomas Bowdler. The diversity in the complete record, including its most bizarre manifestations, underscores the notion of Shakespeare's text as one that is socially, rather than individually, constructed. The editorial exploits of these and other scholars have produced a variety of formulations of the text, an actual history of efforts to re-think the shape and nature of the most "ideal" Shakespearean text. As Alvin B. Kernan notes in a wide context, editing—and we might add, librarianship—is an activity which helps constitute the idea of literature as social fact. The social reality of literature is reinforced, he writes,

by a vast body of criticism which has over many centuries defined literature as a particular mode of writing, established a canon, arranged it in a chronology, linked its components in a history, interpreted individual literary works again and again, woven them together into various thematic structures, commented on and edited the texts with elaborate care, established a literary way of reading texts, written the lives of the poets, compiled bibliographies and concordances, etc., etc.¹⁵

With Kernan's concept of literature as social construction in front of us, we can revise Jonson by putting his line in the plural form: thou art still alive while thy *Bookes* do live.

Literature is a continuous process, not a fixed entity containing unchanging truth, and the study of that process depends on the availa-

¹³ Harry Levin, "General Introduction," *The Riverside Shakespeare*, textual editor G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), p. 33. The "copy-text" is the manuscript or printed text upon which an editor bases his or her edition.

¹⁴ Thomas Bowdler, *The Family Shakespeare* (London: Longman, Green et. al., 1863), title page.

¹⁵ Alvin B. Kernan, *The Imaginary Library: An Essay on Literature and Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 13.

bility of the book. In the case of our study, that process is called Shakespeare. Ironically, just at the time when this social view of the text is becoming a major interest of literary scholars, there occurs the disturbing realization that we are in real danger of losing a substantial portion of the material records for our investigation.

THE COLLECTION AND SCHOLARSHIP

In this age of computers, photocopiers, laser technology and microfilm it is becoming increasingly possible to read widely without ever touching a book. And there are those—Stephen Ferguson calls them the “information professionals”¹⁶—who are comfortable with the idea of reducing the majority of our books to strings of “bytes” or “pits” on computer disks. But what exactly, in the case of Shakespeare, do we stand to lose if the “information professionals” have their way? For one thing, Ferguson insists, we cannot “intuit another reader’s response to the book without handling the original. Moreover, when one sees and uses a reproduction, the only response one knows is one’s own response.”¹⁷ This is not the overly subtle point it may seem. It is of considerable significance to be able to examine a sumptuously bound, finely illustrated, and exquisitely decorated 19th-century edition. Such volumes, differing profoundly from their 18th-century predecessors, are material records of the remarkable technological changes in printing techniques and paper production of the day. They are also the most immediate evidence of an audience’s changing taste and its growing infatuation with color reproductions. They help us to construe a record both of how Shakespeare was perceived by the culture and how he was presented in the culture. D. F. McKenzie seems to have precisely this in mind when, in one of the Panizzi Lectures, he argues for a redefinition of bibliography as “the discipline that studies texts as recorded forms, and the processes of their transmission, including their reproduction and reception.”¹⁸ These words, although spoken from the bibliographer’s

¹⁶ Stephen Ferguson, “Rare Books in University Libraries,” *Library Trends* (Summer 1987) 157-169; p. 165. Ferguson notes that many librarians have become “information professionals” insofar as they believe that the “preservation of library materials becomes a matter of saving ‘the intellectual content,’” and that “the form of the information is irrelevant to its apprehension and use by the individual.”

¹⁷ Ferguson, “Rare Books,” p. 167.

¹⁸ D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of the Text* (London: British Library, 1986), p. 4.

perspective, closely echo our earlier discussion of text as social institution.

McKenzie defines the bibliographer’s task in a way which fits like a glove the literary scholar’s view of the modern Shakespearean text, which is inevitably a part of the intricate web of quartos, folios, mysterious texts behind the printed text, and subsequent editions. “Bibliography,” McKenzie says, “is the means by which we establish the uniqueness of any single text as well as the means by which we are able to uncover all its inter-textual dimensions.”¹⁹ Statements by some of Shakespeare’s editors suggest that they would accept McKenzie’s words as a fair description of their own inter-textual endeavors. The editors of the Cambridge *Shakespeare* (1863-1866), for example, note their indebtedness to Edward Capell.²⁰ And Harry Levin speaks of “the culmination of the line initiated by Capell [1768]” in the “great Cambridge *Shakespeare* edited by W. G. Clark and W. A. Wright.”²¹ Irving Ribner notes the same and adds that the Globe text (the one volume version of the Cambridge edition) “is still [in 1970] probably the most widely reprinted of the editions of Shakespeare. It forms the basis for most texts printed for use in the schools, including such popular textbook editions as those of G. B. Harrison (1948) and Hardin Craig (1951).”²² Even Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, the innovative editors of the new Oxford edition (whose general practice it is to leap-frog over the editorial labyrinth of the 18th and 19th centuries in an effort to generate texts primarily from the First Folio and the quartos), acknowledge that their edition “required a minutely detailed reading of the early texts” and that “they adopted [many] emendations suggested by previous editors.”²³

The inter-textual web reaches beyond Shakespeare himself to include works written in response to Shakespeare. There is a long tradition of poets writing about their predecessors. John Keats’ sonnet, “On Sitting Down to Read *King Lear* Once Again,” from which we take our title, is a poetic response to the conflated 18th-century ver-

¹⁹ McKenzie, *Bibliography*, p. 51.

²⁰ W. G. Clark, W. A. Wright, and John Glover, “Preface,” *The Works of William Shakespeare* (Cambridge and London: Macmillan and Co., 1863-1866), Vol. 1, pp. x, xxvi.

²¹ Levin, “General Introduction,” p. 33.

²² Irving Ribner and George Lyman Kittredge, “Introduction,” *The Complete Works of William Shakespeare* (Waltham, MA; Toronto: Ginn and Company, 1971), p. 59.

²³ Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, “General Introduction,” *William Shakespeare: The Complete Works* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. xxxv.

sion of *King Lear*. A young poet sitting down to read *King Lear* in our own time is very unlikely to read the precise version the young Keats “burn[ed] through.” Neither a first edition nor a last edition will give that reader the whole Shakespearean cloth, which by now includes the edition Keats read and Keats’ response to that reading.

And the inter-textual web includes the interpretive work of scholars and critics. It is important for us to have available the texts literary critics have used to generate their interpretations. Literary arguments often hinge on the smallest linguistic details (even when those details are not specifically stated). To engage seriously, for example, the writings of Coleridge, A. C. Bradley, T. S. Eliot or any other critic, we need to know if their Hamlet considers the flesh “too solid” or “too sallied.” For this reason, scholars are expected to cite the edition on which they base their interpretation. If the editions cease to exist, the interpretations based on them become strangely ungrounded.

Furthermore, we are in danger of losing the interpretations themselves. The works of Coleridge, Bradley, Eliot, and other luminaries have, of course, been well-preserved, but the books of many lesser known critics have long been out of print. These critics may have little direct bearing on current readings of the plays, but they are an invaluable source of evidence for the way Shakespeare has been seen at various times—ways which can often reveal the dominant if unstated values of those times. Critics may, for example, look at Mary Cowden Clarke’s “Preface” to her 1861 edition of Shakespeare’s *Works* and find in Clarke’s assessment of the dramatist the extreme articulation of a Romantic agenda to install Shakespeare at the very summit of poetic and creative achievement. “Shakespeare’s works,” she writes,

are a library in themselves. A poor lad, possessing no other book, might, on this single one, make himself a gentleman and a scholar. A poor girl, studying no other volume, might become a lady in heart and soul. Knowledge, refinement, experience in men and manners, are to be gathered from his pages in plenary abundance.²⁴

²⁴ Mary Cowden Clarke, “Preface,” *Shakespeare’s Works* (New York and London: Appleton and Trubner, 1861), p. v.



“Portraits of William Shakespeare.” Frontispiece for Thomas Campbell, *The Dramatic Works of W. Shakespeare* (Paris: Baudry’s European Library, 1843). Princeton University Library.

She further deifies Shakespeare by offering him as “a standard of language” and a “standard for true feeling and taste,” and by vigorously defending him against such critics as Ben Jonson, Alexander Pope, Samuel Johnson, or anyone else who finds “fault” with the plays of the “incarnation of creative power.”²⁵ Mary Cowden Clarke does not read Shakespeare the way a modern Shakespearean does, yet her criticism would be particularly interesting for the recent wave of new critical approaches which consider it part of their task to “proceed by means of a *critique* of the dominant readings [in a given era] of a text.”²⁶

Even the physical characteristics of editions of Shakespeare and the number of those editions can provide important evidence for a critic or sociologist or historian of culture. The 19th century produced many deluxe editions, finely decorated and richly bound in expensive leather—not unlike a family library edition of the Bible. In the words of one critic,

The veneration of the dramatist himself can be shown to be not an act of simple idolatry so much as a process of transubstantiation. The view that would substitute the Shakespeare canon for a fully operative theology constitutes, as [Alfred] Harbage mischievously proposes, a search for faith.²⁷

A “poor girl” and a “poor lad” only need one book. For them the book is a “library” in itself.

This view is underscored further by the incredible explosion in the number of editions printed during the 19th century. Important strides forward in the methods of book production cannot wholly account for the huge increase of Shakespeare editions on the Romantic and Victorian book markets. Between the publication of the *Lyrical*

²⁵ Clarke, “Preface,” pp. v, xi, xiii, xiv, xv.

²⁶ Francis Barker and Peter Hulme, “‘Nymphs and Reapers Heavily Vanish’: The Discursive Con-texts of *The Tempest*,” in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. John Drakakis (London and New York: Methuen, 1985), p. 194. For other “critiques,” see Jacqueline Rose’s “Sexuality in the Reading of Shakespeare: *Hamlet* and *Measure for Measure*” and the “Introduction” by John Drakakis in the same volume. But Leonard B. Schlosser indicates in his introduction to a recent edition of *Practical Remarks on Modern Paper Making* (North Hills, PA: Bird & Bull Press, 1981) that Murray’s insights were not generally known.

²⁷ John Drakakis, *Alternative Shakespeares*, p. 2.

Ballads in 1798 and Wordsworth’s death in 1850 no fewer than 392 collected editions were published. Between 1623 and 1798 only 91 editions had been printed. In the Victorian era the playwright’s popularity continued to soar; 628 editions saw the light between 1850 and 1900 (with absolute peaks in the 1850s [164], the 1860s [145], and 1870s [146], and a noticeable decline as the turn of the century approached).²⁸ Figures such as these are simply unparalleled by any other author at any other time.²⁹

Finally, those concerned with sociological or cultural analyses of Shakespeare’s text will treasure the fascinating illustrations in what might otherwise seem negligible editions. There is still a genuine need for a thorough analysis of the visual representation of Shakespeare’s image. We are all familiar with the Stratford bust, the Droeshout engraving, and the Chandos portrait, but if we browse through the editions, we find the playwright’s image appropriated in a multitude of ways. He is alternately portrayed as a mild and perhaps melancholy poet, a stern thinker, an aristocratic figure or nobleman, a romantic poet, a poet of nature, a masculine figure with an intense and penetrating look, or, finally, as a slightly feminized rendition of the Droeshout portrait—to list just a few.³⁰ If Gheerart Jansen’s bust of the playwright—described by John Dover Wilson as the image of “a self-satisfied pork-butcher”—is, as S. Schoenbaum be-

²⁸ These figures are extracted from Jaggard. Any such analysis must start with David Piper’s wonderful study, *The Image of the Poet* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982).

²⁹ It is noteworthy that the 19th century, which generally believed that Shakespeare’s works were for all time, printed so many (deluxe) editions on acidic paper made of esparto grass, woodpulp, or other inferior rag substitutes. Why, for example, is the *New Variorum Shakespeare* (1871), a massive monument to the “everlasting value” of Shakespeare, printed on paper scarcely better than that on which newspapers are printed? Shortages of rag materials played a crucial part in experimental paper making (see Alfred H. Shorter, *Paper Making in the British Isles: A Historical and Geographical Study* [Newton Abbott: David and Charles, 1971], pp. 113-116), but John Murray, a chemist, noted already in 1829 the destructive effects of alum and chloride on paper (*Practical Remarks on Modern Paper* [Edinburgh: Blackwood; London: Cadell, 1829], pp. 69-76). Judith A. McGaw gives evidence that confirms Murray’s claims in *Most Wonderful Machine: Mechanization and Social Change in Berkshire Paper Making, 1801-1885* (Princeton University Press, 1987), pp. 207-214.

³⁰ These images all appear in collected editions of the playwright’s works. a) Stebbin, ed. (London and New York: Vertue, 1850); b) Rossetti, ed. (Boston: Lothrop, 1882); c) Chalmers, ed. (Cincinnati, 1859); Wheeler, ed. (London: Fisher, 1834); Carruthers and Chambers, eds. (London and Edinburgh: Chambers, 1861); d) figure 7 of the collage opposite the title page of Thomas Campbell’s Baudry edition (Paris: Baudry’s European Library, 1843); e) title page of the same Baudry edition; f) Campbell, ed. (London: Moxon, 1838); g) Cowden Clarke, ed. (New York: Appleton, 1860).

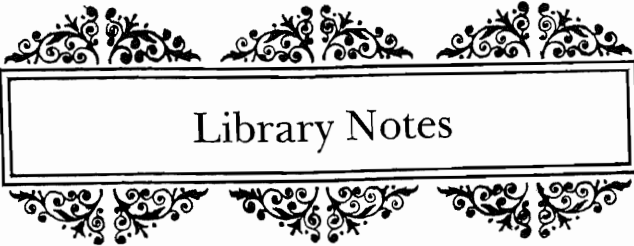
lieves, "an authentic portrayal,"³¹ then it is obvious that subsequent image-makers took considerable liberties with the features of the poet. Clearly, there is enough material to warrant an iconographical study of Shakespeare, but if the visual image of the dramatist were not enough, one could extend the study of the visual representation of his characters. Recently, Elaine Showalter has sought to tell Ophelia's "story" from a feminist perspective. Ophelia's story, she suggests, is "neither her life story, nor her love story . . . but rather the history of her [visual] representation."³² To make her case, Showalter relies largely on paintings and photographs, but another scholar could easily adopt her method of analysis and study the editions to examine visual images of Ophelia or any other character we find there; that is, if the texts and the illustrations have not vanished.

Bibliography, interpretation, editing, and iconography—these are the most obvious areas of scholarship that will be affected by the deterioration of books. Together they make for a gloomy picture, in particular to those with specific interests in Shakespeare. Furthermore, if we do not manage to arrest the destructive process before many of our books have turned to dust, we will abort future and yet unimagined areas of scholarly inquiry before their inception. In this essay we have focused mostly on those 19th-century texts that are falling apart now, but we conclude by pointing out that the findings of the Yale survey strongly imply that 82.6 percent of all books are printed on acidic paper.³³ This means that, unless something changes drastically, 82.6 percent of all the books currently in our libraries will be brittle and unusable by the middle of the next century. At that point it will not matter whether we believe that a book is a "vial" preserving the spirit or life of an individual author or that it is an essentially social construct; all current critical and theoretical arguments will cease to be relevant—unless we find a way to preserve the thing itself, the book.

³¹ S. Schoenbaum, *William Shakespeare: A Compact Documentary Life* (Oxford, London, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 309. Even if Schoenbaum is wrong (and he could well be since the Chandos portrait is the only image of the poet produced during his lifetime), there is still sufficient variety in the different representations of Shakespeare to warrant ideological analysis.

³² Elaine Showalter, "Representing Ophelia: Women, Madness, and the Responsibilities of Feminist Criticism," in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, eds. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (New York and London: Methuen, 1985) 77-94, p. 79.

³³ Walker et al., "Yale Survey," p. 126.



Library Notes

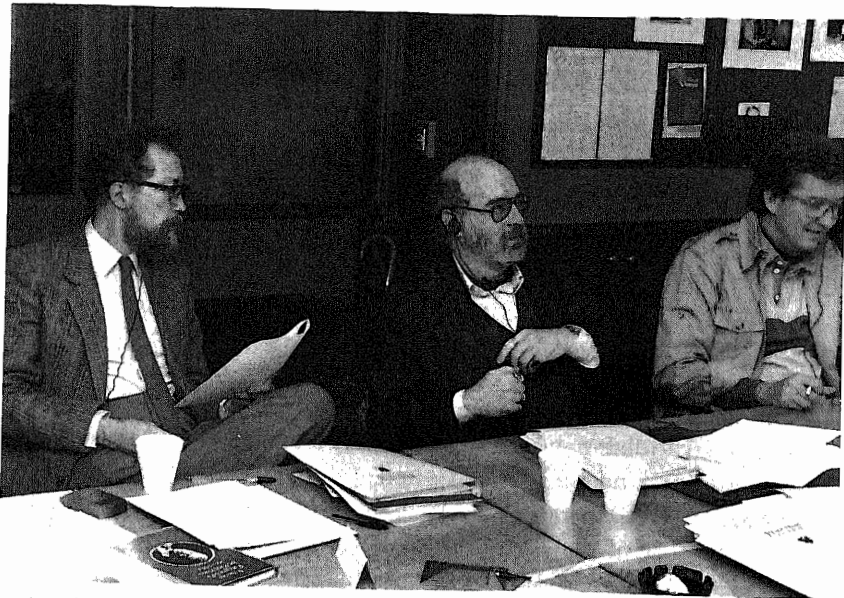
THE THEATRE COLLECTION MAKES THEATRE HISTORY

Almost as a postscript to the U.S./Soviet summit meetings in Washington, D.C., last December, an important "mini-summit" was held between scholars from the two countries in the reading rooms of the William Seymour Theatre Collection at Princeton University Library. On December 9, 1987, those rooms were fitted with an interpreters' booth, and three long tables were pushed together for the 15 delegates to gather around on the following two days. The agenda was full, and the meetings, held under the watchful eyes of Shakespeare, Molière, and William Seymour, were intense as the eminent panels of theatre historians and dance historians discussed the possibility of an exchange of scholars, exhibitions, and resource materials between the United States and the U.S.S.R. Sponsored by IREX (the International Research and Exchanges Board), a division of the American Council of Learned Societies, it was the first meeting of this particular Commission to establish and discuss future gatherings and exchanges within these two important scholarly disciplines.

The representatives from the United States were: Kalman A. Burnim (Chairman), President, American Society for Theatre Research, Fletcher Professor of Drama and Oratory, Tufts University; Marvin Carlson, Distinguished Professor of Theatre and Comparative Literature, The Graduate School and University Center, The City University of New York; Selma-Jeanne Cohen, Editor-in-Chief, *International Encyclopedia of the Dance*; Martha W. Coigney, Director, International Theatre Institute of the United States; Adrian Hall, Artistic Director, Dallas Theater Center and Trinity Repertory Company; Bruce Marks, Artistic Director, Boston Ballet; and Laurence Senelick, Professor of Drama, Tufts University.



U.S./U.S.S.R. Negotiations: Presiding over the meeting at the far end of the table are Kalman Burnim of the U.S. (in the white shirt) and Kirill Lavrov of the U.S.S.R.



U.S./U.S.S.R. Negotiations: Among those in the U.S. delegation representing the academic and professional theatre were Professors Marvin Carlson and Laurence Senelick; at the right is Adrian Hall of the Dallas Theater Center and Trinity Repertory Company.



U.S./U.S.S.R. Negotiations: The agenda was so full that, by the eleventh hour, dance critic Elizaveta Yakovlevna Surits was visibly exhausted, as were most of the delegates.



U.S./U.S.S.R. Negotiations: Playwright and dramaturg Mikhail Filippovich Shatrov listens intently to translator Natalie Latter. Mr. Shatrov arrived late to the meeting because he had been attending the Washington summit as part of the Soviet delegation. His most recent play opened in Moscow at the end of November.

And from the Soviet Union, with their affiliations: Kirill Yurievich Lavrov, actor, M. Gorky Bolshoi Drama Theatre, Chairman, Theatre Union of the U.S.S.R., Deputy, Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.; Aleksei Vadimovich Bartoshevich, theatre critic, Head of Sector, All-Union Institute of Art Studies, Secretary of Board, Theatre Union of the U.S.S.R.; Georgy Davidovich Lordkipanidze, director, First Secretary, Theatre Union of the Georgian S.S.R.; Lev Lazarevich Rudnitsky, theatre critic, Senior Researcher, All-Union Institute of Art Studies; Mikhail Filippovich Shatrov, dramaturg, Secretary of Board, Theatre Union of the U.S.S.R.; Anatoly Mironovich Smeliansky, theatre critic, Assistant Chief Director of Repertory, Moscow Art Theatre, Professor, Drama School of Moscow Art Theatre, Secretary of Board, Theatre Union of the U.S.S.R.; Robert Robertovich Sturua, Chief Director, Rustaveli Theatre, Deputy, Supreme Soviet of Georgian S.S.R.; Elizaveta Yakovlevna Surits, dance critic, Senior Researcher, All-Union Institute of Art Studies.

The Soviet Commissioners spoke only Russian during the meetings, the Americans only English, as three interpreters spelled one another, translating both languages simultaneously with amazing virtuosity. By re-routing our readers through an emergency door near the open stack area, the staff of the Theatre Collection was able to carry on "business as usual" while the delegates forged an agreement which was signed at the Shubert Archive in New York City on the evening of December 11th. We were permitted to listen to the proceedings on headsets, and the staff was both fascinated and privileged to be a small part of this historic academic event.

—MARY ANN JENSEN
Curator of the Theatre Collection

BENDINER'S WORLD

Alfred Bendiner (1899–1964) achieved fame as a caricaturist, but also became known in Philadelphia as a practicing architect, cultural critic-at-large, and general *bon vivant*. His caricatures often illustrate his close association with the Philadelphia cultural scene. Less well-known are his travel drawings done in two diametrically opposed styles: one freely rendered water colors, and the other tightly designed but delightfully colored saturated studies and scenes of the Near East. Diverse as these approaches are, they express Bendiner's kindly bemusement with our all-too-serious world.

Trained as an architect at the University of Pennsylvania, Bendiner traveled widely in the Middle East and Europe, and effortlessly captured, in pen and crayon, all manner of people in a light-hearted and gently satirical mood. His caricatures of Philadelphia's visiting artists and his sketches of local landmarks form a social commentary that makes cartoon and caricature such a varied and fascinating resource for the student of social history.

In time for the holiday season, an exhibition of Alfred Bendiner's caricatures and cartoons was presented in the Milberg Gallery for the Graphic Arts. Thanks to the generosity of Mrs. Alfred Bendiner and the Bendiner Foundation, a substantial and representative collection of the artist's work has been added to the already rich holdings of historical caricatures and cartoons in the Graphic Arts Collection.

Among the lesser-known strengths of the Graphic Arts Collection are several important collections of satirical prints and drawings. These include a major group of Hogarth engravings, the Dickson Q. Brown Collection of Rowlandson (including nearly all of his illustrated books and more than 2,000 prints and drawings), Gillray and many other caricature artists of the Rowlandson period, and one of the largest collections of Cruikshank outside England. American satirical cartoons are also remarkably well-represented in Graphic Arts in the form of hundreds of large-scale pen-and-ink drawings meant for reproduction in the famous humor magazines, including *Puck*, *Life*, and the *New Yorker*. These original pen-and-ink folio drawings make fine exhibition pieces and an intriguing historical record of social and political satire in America from the early years of the 19th century to the present. They include the Woodrow Wilson collection of cartoons lampooning his presidential career, and the William Walker collection of *Life* cartoons spanning nearly a century of political and social events in American history.

The Bendiner drawings bring the Graphic Arts Collection of American caricatures much closer to our own time, and evoke a passing cultural scene within much more recent memory.

—AGNES SHERMAN
Graphic Arts

ROME AND HER ENEMIES: THE EVIDENCE OF COINAGE

An exhibition devoted primarily to Roman numismatics, "Rome and Her Enemies: The Evidence of Coinage," occupied the main exhibition gallery of Firestone Library from January 22 until April 24,

1988. It was accompanied by a conference, held during the first week in March, on the uses of numismatic evidence.

The exhibition's nucleus was a traveling show of 176 pairs of coin electrotypes, prepared as "Rom und die Germanen: Das Zeugnis der Münzen" by Dr. Bernhard Overbeck of the Staatliche Münzsammlung in Munich. Under that title it appeared in a number of German cities. In America it has been shown under the name "Rome and the Germans as Seen on Coins" in the Schatten Gallery of Emory University (August–December 1987). Princeton is its second stop on what is planned to be an extended American visit.

The original selection of coins comes from a number of major European coin collections, and is enhanced by photographic enlargements of more than 30 examples. Dr. Overbeck has also produced a fully illustrated descriptive catalogue, translated for the exhibition's American appearances, with an added introductory essay by Professor Thomas Burns of Emory University.

Coin electrotypes are casts made from the coins themselves and then electrolytically plated with a thin coating of the metal used in the original. A 19th-century invention, they were most popular and useful before the evolution of skilled coin photography, particularly color photography. But electrotypes are still commonly shown in European museums, where they substitute for originals that are too rare or too valuable to exhibit, that are owned by other museums, or that—like the gold of Troy—simply no longer exist. In America, their use may be increasing, like that of plaster casts of ancient statuary.¹

The utility of coin electrotypes for the security of traveling exhibitions is obvious; they also permit juxtaposition of material from different collections to illustrate a single theme or related themes, as was the case with "Rome and the Germans."

Seventy-six of the pieces chosen exemplify Rome's attitude toward the German tribes she confronted for more than half a millennium on her northern frontiers. The remaining electrotypes are concerned with the more general subject of Rome's armed forces and their relationship to the Emperor, and with the Roman attitude towards other "barbarian" peoples. At Princeton, the exhibition was expanded and the title changed to reflect these broader themes. More than 90 coins were added from the Library's Numismatics Collection.

¹ For Princeton's recent acquisitions of plaster casts of ancient statuary, see the *Weekly Bulletin* for 9 November 1987.

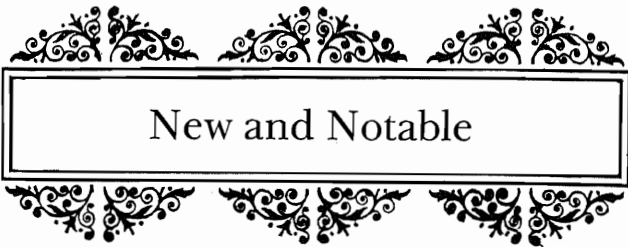
A group of Republican *denarii* was included to illustrate Rome's early obsession with military victory. From the period of the Empire, the additions consisted chiefly of provincial coin issues (an area in which the Library collection contains particularly interesting material) and those of "outsiders" such as the Parthians.

The Princeton exhibition was also supplemented with related material from Library holdings of rare books, manuscripts, and graphic arts, and with objects from the Art Museum. Especially notable among the latter was a laureate head from a marble relief of the late Julio-Claudian period—a new acquisition here displayed for the first time—and a bronze censer whose base is fashioned from a disused Roman military diploma. The latter is soon to be published in the Art Museum's *Record*.

Two charming and unexpected water-colors by William Blake, "The Landing of Julius Caesar in Britain," came from the Robert H. Taylor Collection, while the Graphic Arts Collection contributed a recently acquired series of the splendid "Triumph of Caesar" chiaroscuro woodcuts by Andrea Andriani, made after the Mantegna paintings now in Hampton Court. A copy of Marcanova's *Quaedam antiquitatum fragmenta* from the Manuscripts Division (Ms. Garrett 158) was opened to another Renaissance version of the triumphal procession, this one seen passing through the Arch of Titus in the Roman Forum. Still another manuscript (Ms. Kane 44) showed a 15th-century illuminator's vision of Julius Caesar astride the Roman world. Rare editions of numismatic works by Beger (1691), Liebe (1730), and others gave a notion of early speculations on the meaning of the coin issues that formed the exhibition's core.

"Rome and Her Enemies" exemplified the combination of resources on the local, national, and international level.

—BROOKS LEVY
Curator of Numismatics



New and Notable

RENAISSANCE EDUCATION

One of the most difficult tasks of the Renaissance historian is to describe ordinary life during the 16th century in Europe. Sources are scarce, widely scattered, and often fragmentary; evidence is therefore difficult to assemble, analyze, and interpret. Information about education is especially hard to come by. We know little about what students read in the classroom, or how, exactly, they were taught. How long did each class session last? How much time was devoted to one topic? All of these questions focus on practical, everyday matters that are not usually discussed in the contemporary theoretical treatises on education.

Recently, scholars have discovered that answers to such questions can be developed from a detailed examination of annotated school texts of the period. These tract-volume texts are known as *sammelbands*, and one of them acquired by the Library in 1978 served as an admirable source for Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton in their study of Renaissance education, *From Humanism to the Humanities*.¹

In the spring of 1987, the Library acquired a perfect companion to its collection of humanistic texts of the 16th century, which includes not only the 1978 accession but also a *sammelband* given in 1954 by Henry N. Paul, Jr., Class of 1884.² The new volume, consisting of 14 school-text versions of rhetoric and the classics, is notable not only for what it tells us about 16th-century higher education, but also for

¹ Anthony T. Grafton and Lisa Jardine, *From Humanism to the Humanities* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986). See also Professor Grafton's short description in the *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Vol. xli, No. 1 (Autumn 1979), pp. 76-78, also discussed in Grafton, "Teacher, Text, and Pupil in the Renaissance Classroom: A Case Study from a Parisian College," *History of Universities*, Vol. 1 (1981), pp. 37f.

² It is in the Rare Books Collection, and its call number is (EX) 2837.302.052.

its extraordinary wealth of manuscript detail. It was annotated by the student Pierre Guyon from lectures by the master Louis Godebert of Picardie. Extensive annotation is found in nearly every work; in some cases the young student has provided not only marginalia, but also interlinear notes and alternative versions of the text.

The latest acquisition bears a striking resemblance to the two other *sammelbands* in the Library.³ Printed between 1551 and 1571 by several Parisian printers and bound by Guyon for his own use, the works exemplify the changes taking place at the University of Paris at that time. The University was no longer bound by the strictures of Scholastic theology; the monastic influences of the 13th and 14th centuries had given way to the fervor of the humanists and their concern for human dignity and worth. This shift in focus manifested itself in interests more literary, rhetorical, historical and ethical. Ancient Greece and Rome served as the models; indeed, 12 of the 14 works represented in Guyon's volume are by classical authors. The remaining two are by contemporary rhetoricians and grammarians.

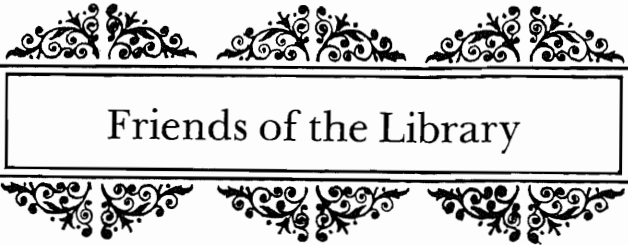
Little is known about either the student or his master. Guyon and Godebert probably had some Jesuit affiliation, as indicated by the IHS on the cross that appears in some of the works. Certainly the manner of instruction is very much like that offered by Claude Mignault and recorded by Geraldus de Mayres in the Library's second *sammelband*, acquired in 1978.

Pamphlet editions of these university texts were printed with very wide margins, and bound with blank leaves. Rather than dictate these texts to the pupils, the master would paraphrase the works, and the students (mostly teenagers) would feverishly try to record what he said in the blank spaces. As might be expected, words were often omitted in an attempt to record as much as possible.⁴ Nevertheless, what has survived is remarkable: a glimpse into a Renaissance classroom and a tantalizing taste of a different way of learning.

—SCOTT CARLISLE
Rare Book Cataloguer

³ For a description of a school-text *sammelband* in the Bibliothèque Nationale, see Philippe Renouard, *Imprimeurs & libraires parisiens du XVI^e siècle, Fascicule Brumen* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1984), pp. 91-92.

⁴ Grafton and Jardine. *From Humanism to the Humanities*, pp. 173-174.



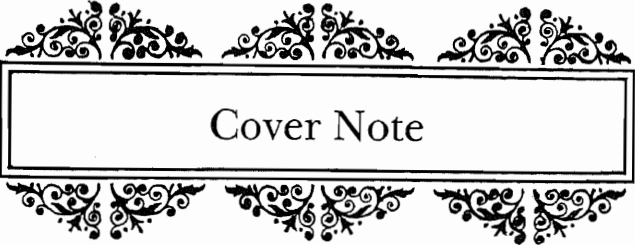
Friends of the Library

GRAHAM D. MATTISON

Graham D. Mattison, who had been a member of the Council of the Friends of the Princeton University Library since 1963, died on November 3, 1987, at his home in Rio de Janeiro.

Mr. Mattison was graduated from Princeton in 1926 and from the Harvard Law School three years later. After practicing law for a number of years, he became an investment banker. During World War II he served as an Army Air Force intelligence officer in North Africa and Europe, receiving many decorations and attaining the rank of colonel.

Mr. Mattison was a generous donor to Princeton University. In addition to establishing two fellowships in the Woodrow Wilson School and an undergraduate scholarship, he provided funds for the construction and endowment of Princeton's first undergraduate library, named in memory of his friend, the novelist, playwright, and essayist, Julian Street. He also enabled the University to acquire in 1964 the papers and books of Sylvia Beach, proprietor of Shakespeare and Company, the famous Paris bookshop which was a meeting place for writers in the 1920s and 1930s.



Cover Note

Generations of American school children have held in their mind's eye an image of Pocahontas very different from the one on our cover. For them, she is the beautiful Indian princess dressed in supple deer-skin clothing, the gentle American Portia who rescued Captain John Smith from death. The stern-faced, stiffly-dressed Elizabethan woman of the engraving seems an impostor. Is it possible that Pocahontas could be so transformed by marriage to an Englishman?

This engraved portrait by Simon de Passe appeared in John White's *The General History of Virginia* (London, 1627), a copy of which is in the Library's Grenville Kane Collection. Almost three centuries later, other artists used their cameras to portray Indians who were undergoing similarly startling transformations at Hampton Institute in Virginia.

Hampton had been founded on the site of an Indian village, also changed beyond recognition by the conquerors. General Samuel Chapman Armstrong and his successor, Dr. Hollis Burke Frissell, believed firmly in the virtue of their mission to eradicate Indian culture, and they were convinced that Hampton Institute was particularly appropriate to the task. As Armstrong wrote, "Close at hand, the pioneer settlers of America . . . landed on this continent; here Powhatan reigned; here the Indian was first met; here the first Indian child was baptized; . . . I soon felt the fitness of this historic and strategic spot for a permanent and great educational work." Alas, Armstrong and his colleagues succeeded too well; the photographs of 19th-century "transformed" Indians are as stiff and severe as the 17th-century portrait of Pocahontas.

—PATRICIA H. MARKS

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