

Syracuse University

SURFACE

The Courier

Libraries

Spring 1991

Courier, Volume XXVI, Number 1, Spring 1991

Syracuse University Library Associates

Follow this and additional works at: <https://surface.syr.edu/libassoc>



Part of the [Arts and Humanities Commons](#), and the [Library and Information Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Syracuse University Library Associates, "Courier, Volume XXVI, Number 1, Spring 1991" (1991). *The Courier*. 269.

<https://surface.syr.edu/libassoc/269>

This Journal Issue is brought to you for free and open access by the Libraries at SURFACE. It has been accepted for inclusion in The Courier by an authorized administrator of SURFACE. For more information, please contact surface@syr.edu.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY ASSOCIATES
C O U R I E R

ADVERTISEMENT.

“**Y**OUNG people should be early taught to distinguish the stops, commas, accents, and other gramatical marks, in which the correctness of writing consists; and it would be proper to begin with explaining to them their nature and use *.”

* ROLLIN on the Belles Letters, b. i. c. 1.

A. 24a

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATES COURIER

VOLUME XXVI

NUMBER ONE

SPRING 1991

- Describing the Flora of the United States:
Botanies at Libraries in Syracuse
By Dudley J. Raynal, Professor of Botany,
SUNY College of Environmental
Science and Forestry 3
- Gabriel Naudé and the Ideal Library
By Antje Bultmann Lemke, Syracuse University 27
- Philip Evergood and Ideologism in the 1930s
By Kendall Taylor, Academic Director,
Art and Architecture Program, Washington Semester,
The American University 45
- Artists' Papers in the George Arents Research Library:
Sources for the Study of Twentieth-Century American Art
By Mark F. Weimer, Syracuse University
Library, and Donna Capelle Cook,
Syracuse University Library 65
- The Punctator's World: A Discursion (Part Six)
By Gwen G. Robinson, Editor, *Syracuse University
Library Associates Courier* 83
- News of the Syracuse University Library and the
Library Associates 141

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATES COURIER contains articles relating to the holdings of the Syracuse University Library, most especially the George Arents Research Library for Special Collections, and to the interests of the Library Associates membership.

Authors are invited to submit their manuscripts to Editor of the *Courier*, 600 Bird Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York 13244-2010.

Published Spring and Fall
Yearly subscription: Thirty dollars
Single numbers: Fifteen dollars

EDITOR
Gwen G. Robinson

ACTING EDITOR
Margaret Hurley

ASSISTANT EDITOR
Edward Lyon

ON THE COVER: The Advertisement, title page verso, from the first American edition of Joseph Robertson's *An Essay on Punctuation* (Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph James, 1789). Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library.

The paper in this book meets the guidelines for permanence and durability of the Committee on Production Guidelines for Book Longevity of the Council on Library Resources.

ISSN 0011-0418

Copyright 1991 by Syracuse University Library Associates

Describing the Flora of the United States: Botanies at Libraries in Syracuse

BY DUDLEY J. RAYNAL

The first written descriptions of the flora of North America were those of sixteenth-century Europeans who marvelled at the botanical treasures brought to them by explorers of the New World. The earliest account of American natural history was that of the English botanical explorer Thomas Hariot who wrote his *Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* in 1590 after returning from an expedition arranged by Sir Walter Raleigh.¹ Hariot carried to England tubers, fruits, and seeds of plants previously unknown in Europe. Perhaps thirty different plant species had been introduced into Europe from the New World by 1600, most of these valued for their practical uses or unusual properties.² Pumpkin, persimmon, potato, sunflower, mulberry, sassafras, arborvitae, maize, chestnut, black walnut, and tobacco found their way to Old World gardens.

During the 1600s, sojourners from Europe as well as colonial Americans were busy describing the natural resources of America and enumerating the flora. The first book devoted entirely to American botany was *Canadensium Plantarum* (1635) written by the French scientist Jacques Cornut, who described plants sent to him in France by explorers in Canada.³ Later the Englishmen John Josselyn, a resident of Boston, and the Rev. John Banister, who settled in Virginia, wrote of their botanical discoveries in *New England's Rarities* (1672) and *A Catalogue of Plants Observed in Virginia* (1680). By the 1700s many industrious and observant naturalists in America had

1. Howard A. Kelly, *Some American Medical Botanists* (Troy, N.Y.: Southworth Company, 1914), 13.

2. Joseph Ewan, *A Short History of Botany in the United States* (New York: Hafner, 1969), 29.

3. Kelly, *Medical Botanists*, 12.

collected botanical specimens and sent them—along with sketches and accounts of their occurrence and distribution—to scientists and patrons in Europe who were eager to learn of novel plants. In 1763 John Bartram, America's first native-born botanist, well known for establishing a fine botanical garden near Philadelphia, wrote to Peter Collinson, an English patron of botany, "The variety of plants and flowers in our south western continent is beyond expression. . . . If I could but spend six months in Ohio, Mississippi, and Florida in health, I believe I could find more curiosities than the English, French, and Spaniards have done in six score years."⁴

Illustrations of the flora informed Europeans of the beauty and diversity of American plants and kindled deep interest in botanical discovery. In the mid-1700s Jane Colden, perhaps our first colonial woman botanist, illustrated a manuscript (now in the British Museum) in which she described the plants on the estate of her father, Cadwallader Colden, surveyor general of the colony of New York and himself an accomplished botanist. The handsome drawings of Mark Catesby accompanying his *Natural History of the Carolinas, Florida, and the Bahama Islands*, published in London from 1730 to 1743,⁵ record in splendid realistic detail the plants and animals he observed in natural settings. The style and beauty of Catesby's illustrations undoubtedly influenced the painting of the noted ornithologist John James Audubon in the next century.

The first botanical works to present American plants in a systematic arrangement were published in Europe. *Flora Virginica* (1739), compiled by J. F. Gronovius of Leiden, was based on collections of the colonial botanist John Clayton, who lived near Williamsburg, Virginia (fig. 1). *Flora Caroliniana* (1788) by Thomas Walter of Santee, South Carolina, described plants that he and Scottish botanist John Fraser collected in the coastal plain and piedmont of the Carolinas.

The world's outstanding botanist of the 1700s was undoubtedly Carolus Linnaeus, the Swedish scientist who revolutionized botanical study. He developed an ingenious system of classification based on a few easily observed properties of the flower and standardized the use

4. William Darlington, *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall* (New York: Hafner, 1967), 256.

5. A copy of Volume II of a revised edition (1754) is found in the George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University.



Fig. 1. Spring-beauty (*Claytonia virginica* L.), a tuberous perennial named in honor of John Clayton, colonial botanist (W.P.C. Barton, *A Flora of North America*, 1821, Plate 51).

of binomial nomenclature. Called the “sexual system” because of its emphasis on stamen features, the scheme was adopted widely during the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries because of its simplicity and utility. Although Linnaeus himself never visited North America, he sent his favorite pupil Peter Kalm to America in 1748 for two and a half years. Kalm collected widely and carried back many plants to Linnaeus in Uppsala. Linnaeus honored him by naming the genus of mountain laurel, *Kalmia* (fig. 2). Another Linnaeus student, Adam Kuhn, an American, became professor of botany at the University of Pennsylvania, the first such professorship in the United States.

By the end of the century, works describing the flora of North America had begun to be published in the United States. *Arbustum Americanum* (1785), written by the horticulturist Humphry Marshall, was the first volume on American plants by an American that was published in the United States. It contains a description of *Franklinia alatamaha* (fig. 3), a tree discovered by John Bartram and his son William in their travels along the Altamaha (in its current spelling) River in Georgia.⁶ John Bartram, a founding member with Benjamin Franklin of the American Philosophical Society,⁷ was appointed “King’s Botanist” by George III of England, his service to be that of plant collector. The famed Franklin tree (named by William Bartram for Benjamin Franklin), a member of the tea family and closely related to *Camellia*, has been extinct in the wild since 1803 but survives in cultivation in the United States and Europe.⁸

In the 1800s the United States and France fostered botanical discovery through sponsorship of scientific exploration in America. The Lewis and Clark Expedition to the Northwest (1803–1806), conceived by Thomas Jefferson, collected many plants new to science. Jefferson himself promoted botany by encouraging the import and export of agricultural plants and by stimulating scientific investigation. The name of the delicate forest herb known as twinleaf, *Jeffer-*

6. Mark Van Doren, ed., *The Travels of William Bartram* (New York: Macy-Masius Publishers, 1928), 370.

7. Edmund and Dorothy Smith Berkeley, *The Life and Travels of John Bartram* (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1982), 112.

8. Keith Stewart Thomson, “Benjamin Franklin’s Lost Tree”, *American Scientist* 78 (1990): 203–6.

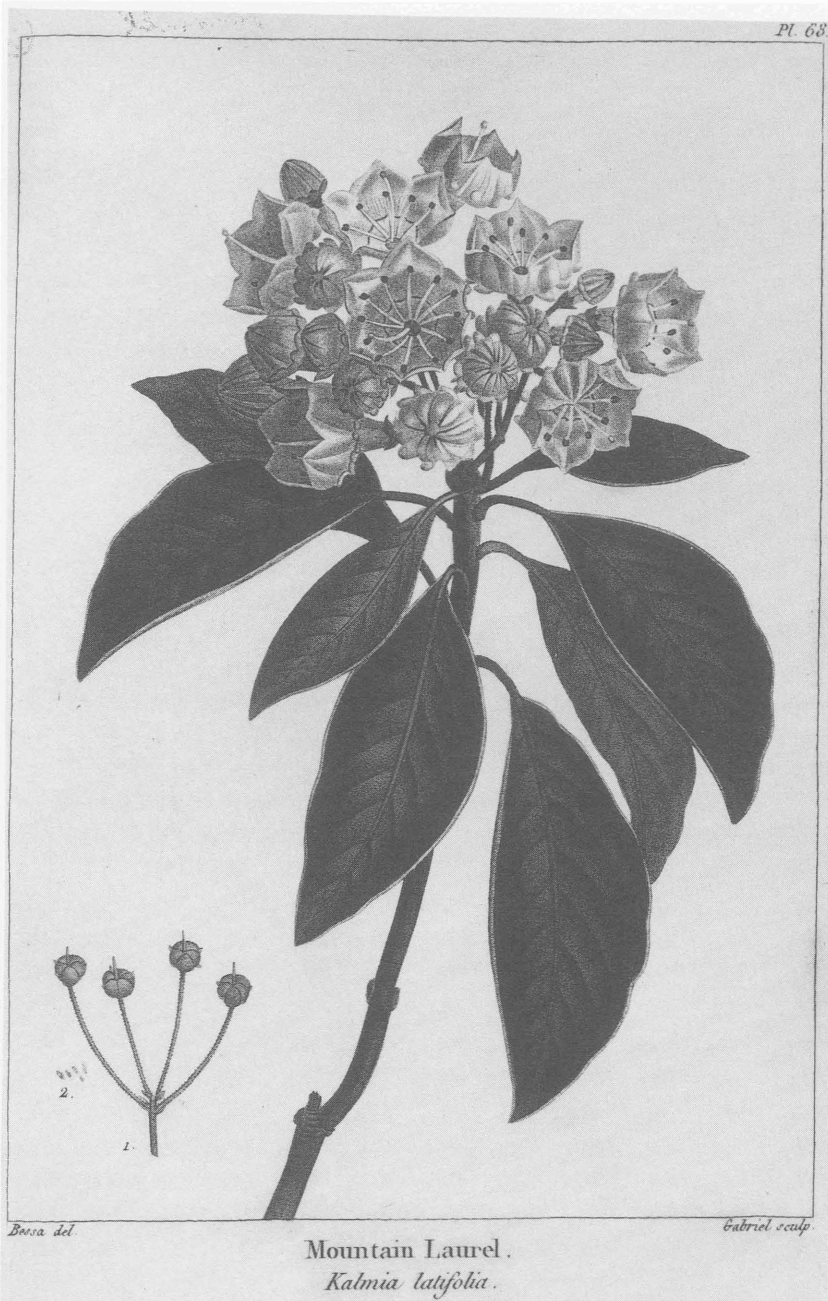


Fig. 2. Mountain laurel (*Kalmia latifolia* L.), named by the Swedish botanist Carolus Linnaeus for his student, Peter Kalm, who explored the United States (F. A. Michaux, *The North American Sylva*, 1852, Plate 68).



Fig. 3. Franklin tree (*Franklinia alatamaha* Marsh.), discovered by John and William Bartram in their travels (F. A. Michaux, *The North American Sylva*, 1852, Plate 59).

son *diphylla* (L.) Pers., commemorates his botanical contributions.⁹ The Wilkes Expedition to the Pacific coast (1838) produced discoveries that kept botanists at work for more than a decade.¹⁰ The French government sought to replenish the depleted forest resources of France and sent André Michaux to America in search of useful plants and wood products.¹¹ Michaux's travels extended from Florida to Canada and west to the Mississippi River and resulted in the shipment to France of boxes of acorns and seedlings. In 1803, based on his explorations, Michaux published the first extensive catalogue or flora of North American plants. Had he not been diverted elsewhere by the French government, Michaux might have served as botanist for the Lewis and Clark Expedition. Without a formally trained participating botanist, plants collected on that expedition had to await identification until the venture was completed. Michaux's son François continued his father's botanical exploration and contributed a multivolume work on trees, *The North American Sylva*, to the growing literature on American plants.

Following the Mexican War (1846–1848), a series of government-sponsored expeditions to the Mexican border, Rocky Mountains, California, and the Pacific Northwest produced many plant discoveries. During this midcentury period of frontier extension, two successors of Amos Eaton (see page 12), Professors John Torrey of Columbia University and Asa Gray of Harvard University, as well as physician George Engelmann of St. Louis, Missouri, published accounts of plants collected on the expeditions, including those of Fremont (1842–48), Marcy (1852) and Emory (1853–56).¹² Many montane, grassland, and desert plants were described. The naming of Mount Gray and Mount Torrey in the Colorado Rocky Mountains and the Engelmann spruce, a dominant conifer of their slopes, attests to the exploits of these eminent scientists.

9. Edmund H. Fulling, "Thomas Jefferson. His Interest in Plant Life Revealed in His Writings. II", *Bulletin of the Torrey Botanical Club* 72 (1945): 248–70.

10. A. Hunter Dupree, *Asa Gray, American Botanist, Friend of Darwin* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1988), 69.

11. Frederick Brendel, "Historical Sketch of the Science of Botany in North America from 1635 to 1840", *American Naturalist* 13 (1879): 754–71.

12. Frederick Brendel, "Historical Sketch of the Science of Botany in North America from 1840 to 1858", *American Naturalist* 14 (1880): 25–38.

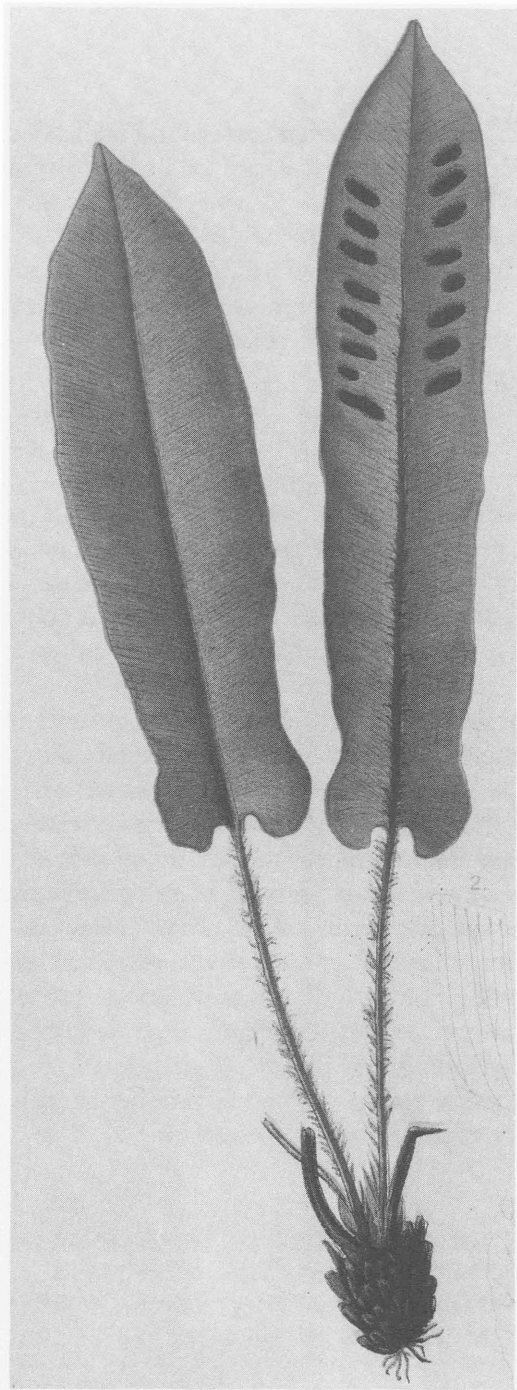


Fig. 4. Hart's-tongue fern, *Phyllitis scolopendrium* (L.) Newm., var. *americana* Fern., drawn from a small specimen collected in Onondaga County, New York by L. M. Underwood (D. C. Eaton, *The Ferns of North America*, 1879, Plate 32).

The uses of plants in medicine also prompted botanical interests in America. The first American *materia medica*, *Materia Medica Americana Potissimum Regni Vegetabilis*, was written in 1787 by Dr. Johann Schoepf, a German physician from Erlangen who visited the United States.¹³ American physicians and botanists, most notably Drs. Benjamin S. Barton and Jacob Bigelow, followed with similar works in 1801 and 1817. Bigelow critically evaluated the medicinal uses of numerous plants. In describing the root of the native ginseng, for example, he wrote that “its virtues do not appear, by any means, to justify the high estimation of it by the Chinese.” However, “many have acquired an habitual fondness for chewing it,” it being “certainly one of the most innocent articles for this purpose.” Physicians interested in natural medicines produced so-called family floras as well as a number of *materia medica*. Some of these works have actually contributed to confusion about plant identity. For example, Cyrus Thomson’s *Materia Medica* (1863) contains an illustration of *Trillium* labeled as *Orobanche*, the broom-rape, a very different and unrelated plant. Constantine Samuel Rafinesque, a European immigrant who discovered and named many American plants, published his *Medical Flora* in 1828 and Francis Peyre Porcher, a South Carolina naturalist, wrote *Resources of Southern Fields and Forests* (1863), a work that provided Confederate troops with practical information on plant uses.

Benjamin S. Barton, noted scientist and professor at the University of Pennsylvania, advanced botanical education in the United States by producing the first botany textbook,¹⁴ *Elements of Botany*, in 1803. Barton contributed to botanical science not only through teaching and writing but also by sponsoring the expeditions of the productive botanists Frederick Pursh and Thomas Nuttall. Pursh, a native of Germany, visited the Middle Atlantic and northeastern states and first discovered the rare hart’s-tongue fern, *Phyllitis scolopendrium* (L.) Newm. var. *americana* Fern. (fig. 4), near present-day Syracuse, New York. Today it is known only from New York, Michigan, Tennessee, Alabama and Ontario.¹⁵ Nuttall, an English bota-

13. Kelly, *Medical Botanists*, 15.

14. Ewan, *A Short History*, 37.

15. Diane M. Cinquemani, Mildred E. Faust, and Donald J. Leopold, “Periodic Censuses (1916–1986) of *Phyllitis scolopendrium* var. *americana* in Central New York State”, *American Fern Journal* 78 (1988): 37–43.

nist, extensively explored the area from the Atlantic seaboard to the Rockies and the West Coast, collecting plants and recording their distribution.¹⁶

Amos Eaton, who had begun his own studies at Yale, and whose impressive botanical *Manual* went through eight editions from 1817 through 1840, instilled a love of his subject in many of the students he taught at Albany and Troy, New York. Among them was Mrs. Almira Hart Lincoln, whose *Familiar Lectures on Botany* (1829) was used widely in female academies and seminaries. More significantly, Eaton encouraged the botanical interest of the young John Torrey, who would, after obtaining his medical degree in New York City, establish a distinguished career as professor of botany at Columbia University and later at Princeton. Torrey's influence in botanical circles was celebrated in 1866 by the founding of the Torrey Botanical Club, a society that remains active today and publishes a respected professional journal. The Torrey cedar, *Torreya taxifolia* Arnott, an endangered Florida evergreen, memorializes his major contributions to taxonomic botany. Torrey's most noted student was Asa Gray, America's greatest botanist of the last century. Gray, a Harvard professor and friend as well as advocate of Charles Darwin, promoted scientific exploration of the western United States and conducted lively botanical intercourse with both American and European botanists of his day. Several plant names honor Gray, most notably the genus *Grayia*, the hop-sage, a shrub found in the plains of the West. Gray's *Manual of Botany*, first published in 1848 and revised seven times, remains a standard reference even today.

The end of the 1800s witnessed the publication of two fully illustrated botanical works of enormous importance. Charles Sprague Sargent produced, beginning in 1892, *The Sylva of North America* in which he precisely described the rich diversity of trees of North American forests. In 1896 Nathaniel Lord Britton (of Columbia University and, later, the New York Botanical Garden) and his collaborator and patron, Addison Brown, wrote their *Illustrated Flora*, a comprehensive guide to the plants of eastern North America. The work was twice revised and still serves as a valued identification manual.

16. Jeannette E. Graustein, *Thomas Nuttall, Naturalist* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 1.

OUTSTANDING BOTANICAL VOLUMES IN SYRACUSE

The libraries at Syracuse University, the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry, and the SUNY Health Science Center, as well as the Onondaga County Public Library, contain outstanding botanical works that mark the discovery and description of the American flora, and include many first editions. While not a complete assemblage of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American botanies, the collections do represent well the early writings about the flora of this continent. What follows is a chronological, annotated list of these works by Americans or by scientists from Europe who sojourned in America. Representing early discourses on botanical science, the volumes at the Syracuse libraries document the North American flora and are nicely complementary with little duplication. The heart of the collections in the Arents Library is from the personal natural history library given by William Martin Smallwood.¹⁷ The books listed here are in the special collections of libraries in Syracuse. Their locations are designated by the standard library codes as follows:

Syracuse University George Arents Research Library	[NSyU]
State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry F. Franklin Moon Library	[NSyU-F]
State University of New York Health Science Center Library	[NSyU-M]
Onondaga County Public Library	[NSy]

Marshall, Humphry (1722–1801). *Arbustum Americanum: The American Grove; or, An Alphabetical Catalogue of Forest Trees and Shrubs, Natives to the American United States*. Philadelphia: Joseph Cruikshank, 1785. [NSyU]

A compilation intended as a botanical vademecum, useful to those, including foreigners, seeking information on the characteristics of American woody plants. Interestingly, the title page carries the typographical error *Arbustrum Americanum*. The author dedicated

17. Eileen Snyder, "William Martin Smallwood and the Smallwood Collection in Natural History at the Syracuse University Library", *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier* 22 (1987): 67–94.

- the book to Benjamin Franklin, then president of the American Philosophical Society.
- Stearns, Samuel (1741–1809). *The American Herbal; or, Materia Medica*. Walpole, N.H.: David Carlisle, 1801. [NSyU-M]
 An early account of the medical uses of plants, written for physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries as well as “masters and mistresses” of families. The book was published without illustrations and was intended to shed “medical light and information in America”.
- Barton, Benjamin Smith (1766–1815). *Collections for an Essay Towards a Materia Medica of the United States*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Robert Carr, 1801–2. [NSyU-M]
 Barton sought to promote an understanding of the medicinal properties of indigenous American plants. In the foreword, he asks “how are we to know what plants are most proper for the purposes of medicine, until we shall have examined the properties of a great body of vegetables?” He then proceeded to outline briefly the characteristics of potentially useful species.
- Michaux, André (1746–1802). *Flora Boreali-Americana*. Paris: Levrault, 1803. [NSyU]
 A catalogue of North American plants presented in Latin and arranged in the system of classification developed by the Swedish botanist and “father of taxonomy”, Carolus Linnaeus. This work, published posthumously, contains fine plate illustrations by Pierre Redouté.
- Barton, Benjamin Smith. *Elements of Botany; or, Outlines of the Natural History of Vegetation*. Philadelphia: Printed by the Author, 1803. [NSyU]
 An early textbook written by the professor of *materia medica*, natural history, and botany, at the University of Pennsylvania. The book presents plant morphology, physiology, and the Linnaean sexual method of classification.
- Waterhouse, Benjamin (1754–1846). *The Botanist*. Boston: J. T. Buckingham, 1811. [NSyU]
 Waterhouse was a physician who obtained his medical education at Leiden and was known for his early advocacy of cowpox vaccination to prevent smallpox.¹⁸ This anthology, based on lectures
18. William M. Smallwood, *Natural History and the American Mind* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941), 293.

- on natural history given by the author at Rhode Island College and Harvard University, served as a textbook. It was dedicated to John Adams, formerly president of the United States, at that time president of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society.
- Wakefield, Priscilla Bell (1751–1832). *An Introduction to Botany*. Boston: Kimber and Conrad, 1811. [NSyU]
 The first American edition (from the fifth London edition) of a popular British textbook designed to acquaint young persons with elementary botany. It contains illustrative engravings.
- Henry, Samuel [dates unknown]. *A New and Complete American Medical Family Herbal*. New York: Published by the Author, 1814. [NSyU-M]
 An account of the natural history and botanical characteristics of medicinal plants and their uses designed specifically for the layman. Hand-colored engravings decorate the text.
- Pursh, Frederick (1774–1820). *Flora Americae Septentrionalis; or, A Systematic Arrangement and Description of the Plants of North America*. 2 vols. London: White and Cochrane, 1814. [NSyU; NSyU-F]
 Frederick Pursh was given the task of describing plants collected on the Lewis and Clark Expedition.¹⁹ This work, based on twelve years of botanical exploration and study, contains descriptions of many of those species. Because Pursh collaborated with and was assisted by John and William Bartram, Humphry Marshall, Benjamin S. Barton and others, his *Flora* contains considerably more species than that of Michaux, who based his work on his own observations.
- Bigelow, Jacob (1787–1879). *Florula Bostoniensis: A Collection of Plants of Boston and its Environs, with their Generic and Specific Characters, Synonyms, Descriptions, Places of Growth, and Time of Flowering, and Occasional Remarks*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cummings and Hilliard, 1814. [NSyU; NSyU-F (1824 edition)]
 The first local flora in America,²⁰ written in English and presented in the Linnaean system without figures or engravings by the professor of *materia medica* at Harvard. The book was intended to make information about plants “growing spontaneously in their wild state” widely available.

19. Fulling, *Thomas Jefferson*, 261.

20. Ewan, *A Short History*, 6.

Smith, Sir James Edward (1759–1828). *An Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany*. Boston: Finley, Bradford and Read, 1814. [NSyU]

The author of this work was the first president of the Linnaean Society of London. He purchased the Linnaeus herbarium from Linnaeus's widow and moved it from Sweden to London, where it remains today in the care of the Society. This first American edition of Smith's elementary text was published through the efforts of Jacob Bigelow, who added explanatory notes to the text.

Bigelow, Jacob. *American Medical Botany, Being a Collection of the Native Medicinal Plants of the United States*. 3 vols. Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1817–20. [NSyU-M]

In this work, Bigelow, a prominent Boston physician and professor of *materia medica* at Harvard University, described in lucid text and attractive illustrations the virtues of numerous herbaceous plants. To aid botanical students, he supplied detailed drawings of flower and fruit dissections.

Eaton, Amos (1776–1842). *A Manual of Botany for the Northern States*. Albany: Websters and Skinners, 1817. [NSyU]

The first of eight editions of an exceedingly popular textbook containing a botanical dictionary translated from the French. This text presents plant species in the Linnaean system. With the advent of the natural system of classification that provided a more realistic treatment of plant arrangement, this work eventually became obsolete.

Barton, William Paul Crillon (1786–1856). *Compendium Florae Philadelphiae: Containing a Description of the Indigenous and Naturalized Plants Found within a Circuit of Ten Miles around Philadelphia*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: M. Carey and Son, 1818. [NSyU]

An early local flora written by the nephew of Benjamin Smith Barton, intended for use by students taking field botany courses. The work preceded Barton's more comprehensive study of the American flora (see 1821–23 entry).

Locke, John (1792–1873). *Outlines of Botany*. Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1819. [NSyU]

Written by a lecturer at Dartmouth and Yale, this book was intended as an introductory text for use in schools and academies. It was dedicated to the influential Cambridge physician and botanist, Jacob Bigelow.

Michaux, François André (1770–1855). *The North American Sylva; or, A Description of the Forest Trees of the United States, Canada and Nova Scotia*. Paris: C. D'Hautel, 1819. [NSyU-F]

An English translation of a single-volume work on North American trees written by the son of André Michaux, this book was a precursor of his multivolume illustrated work on the trees of America (see entry for 1852). Despite the comprehensive title, this book presents only American oaks observed by André and François Michaux. It includes twenty-nine species from the United States and Canada and twenty-one from Mexico.

Torrey, John (1797–1873). *A Catalogue of Plants Growing Spontaneously within Thirty Miles of the City of New York*. Albany: Websters and Skinners, 1819. [NSyU]

Torrey, a principal American botanist during the nineteenth century, wrote this local flora while a medical student in New York City. Just five years later his *Flora* appeared (see 1824 entry).

Barton, William Paul Crillon. *A Flora of North America*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: M. Carey and Sons, 1821–23. [NSyU]

A set of books describing the flora of North America written by the professor of botany at the University of Pennsylvania; beautifully illustrated with color plates.

Elliott, Stephen (1771–1830). *A Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia*. 2 vols. Charleston: J. R. Schenck, issued in parts, 1821–24. [NSyU]

Despite the title “Sketch”, this work, written by an influential South Carolina planter, legislator, scientist, and teacher, is a masterly documentation of the southeastern flora using the Linnaean system. A unique feature is the presentation of botanical descriptions in Latin and English in parallel columns. Elliott was instrumental in founding the Medical College of South Carolina and the state’s Philosophical and Literary Society. The work is inscribed in memory of the Rev. Henry Muhlenberg (1753–1815) of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a respected botanist of the time.

Smith, Sir James Edward. *A Grammar of Botany, Illustrative of Artificial as well as Natural Classification*. New York: James V. Seaman, 1822. [NSyU]

An introductory textbook presenting plants according to the natural system of classification of the French botanist, Antoine Jussieu. The natural system was designed to express floral affinities

rather than the sexual differences that the Linnaean system had emphasized. The grouping of related plants was an attractive feature of the natural system of plant classification and led to the gradual replacement of the Linnaean method. The book contains handsome early hand-colored lithographs.

Torrey, John. *A Flora of the Northern and Middle Sections of the United States*. 3 vols. New York: T. and J. Swords, 1824. [NSyU]

Serving as a counterpart of Stephen Elliott's *A Sketch of the Botany of South Carolina and Georgia*, this work described the flora of the northern and middle states using the Linnaean system. The book is dedicated to Thomas Nuttall, indefatigable English botanist who explored much of the United States.

Barton, William Paul Crillon. *Vegetable Materia Medica of the United States; or, Medical Botany*. Philadelphia: H. C. Carey and I. Lea, 1825. [NSyU-M]

A compendium of botanical descriptions and medical uses of plants, this work was issued by subscription in eight fascicles. In the foreword, Barton requested responses from users of the book, "As it is probable that country practitioners of medicine residing in different parts of the United States, are possessed of much useful information, derived from experiences, covering our native medicines, the author earnestly solicits communications on the subject".

Torrey, John. *A Compendium of the Flora of the Northern and Middle States*. New York: S. B. Collins, 1826. [NSyU]

A condensation of Torrey's *Flora* (1824), this book was published in pocket-size format for convenient field reference.

Barton, William Paul Crillon. *Outlines of Lectures on Materia Medica and Botany*. 2 vols. Philadelphia: Joseph G. Auner, 1827. [NSyU-M]

Based on lectures given by the author at Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia, this work was written "to aid the student in the laborious task of taking notes". Volume I gives a synopsis of *materia medica* and the therapeutic uses of plants; Volume II lists alphabetically plants and their uses.

Rafinesque, Constantine Samuel (1783–1840). *Medical Flora of the United States*. Philadelphia: Atkinson and Alexander, 1828. [NSyU-F]

An eccentric genius, Rafinesque of Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky, eschewed the Linnaean system of classification

- calling it “defective and indelicate . . . too obsolete for the state of the science”. This book provides morphological and chemical descriptions of plants in alphabetical order. The uses, doses, preparations, and equivalent substitutes for plants are explained. The work is dedicated to John Torrey, Charles Wilkins Short (also of Transylvania), and Stephen Elliott.
- Phelps, Almira Hart Lincoln (1793–1884). *Familiar Lectures on Botany*. Hartford: H. and F. J. Huntington, 1829. [NSyU; NSyU-F]
The first of many editions of a popular textbook used in schools and academies, written by a former pupil of Amos Eaton of Albany. Mrs. Phelps was a science educator rather than a botanical scholar.
- Nuttall, Thomas (1786–1859). *An Introduction to Systematic and Physiological Botany*. Cambridge, Mass.: Hilliard and Brown, 1830. [NSyU]
Written by the capable and energetic English naturalist, this second edition of a book first published in 1827 was produced as a text for students at Harvard, where Nuttall served as curator of the botanical garden for ten years. Nuttall’s *Genera of Plants* (1818) (not found in the Syracuse collections, except in a facsimile edition) is a botanical classic.
- Browne, Daniel J. (b. 1804). *The Sylva Americana*. Boston: William Hyde, 1832. [NSyU-F]
A single-volume compilation admittedly not based on original study, but intended to “furnish the public with the history of all important species of forest trees indigenous to the United States”.
- Comstock, John Lee (1789–1858). *An Introduction to the Study of Botany*. Hartford: D. F. Robinson, 1832. [NSyU]
A descriptive illustrated guide that includes the major groups of plants as presented in the Linnaean system. This textbook competed with those of Eaton, Beck, and Phelps.
- Beck, Lewis Caleb (1798–1853). *Botany of the Northern and Middle States*. Albany: Webster and Skinners, 1833. [NSyU; NSyU-F]
This manual provided a synopsis of plant genera arranged according to the Linnaean system. However, his growing disenchantment with Linnaean classification led Beck also to include in this volume an introduction to the British botanist Lindley’s natural system of classification. The author, a professor at Rutgers, dedicated the book to the much respected Moravian botanist

Lewis David von Schweinitz (1786–1834) of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Wright, John (1796–1873) and James Hall (1811–1898). *A Catalog of Plants Growing without Cultivation in the Vicinity of Troy*. Troy, N.Y.: N. Tuttle, 1836. [NSyU]

An inventory and guide to the plants growing within ten miles of Troy, New York, written by protégés of Amos Eaton.

Priest, Michael L. [dates unknown]. *Medical Companion*. Exeter, N.H.: J. C. Gerrish, 1838. [NSyU-M]

This volume by the physician Priest was written for persons living in the country or spending time at sea. A listing of non-technical descriptions of medicinal plants accompanies text characterizing human diseases and their remedies.

Torrey, John, and Asa Gray (1810–1888). *A Flora of North America*. 3 vols. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1838–43. [NSyU]

The beginnings of a comprehensive flora that was never completed as envisaged, this scholarly collaborative work on indigenous and naturalized plants combined the considerable skills of two outstanding American botanists, professors at Columbia (and later Princeton) and Harvard, respectively. The work is dedicated to the foremost British botanist of the day, Sir William Jackson Hooker, Regius Professor of Botany, University of Glasgow, Scotland, and, later, Director of the Royal Botanical Garden at Kew, near London.

Gray, Asa. *The Botanical Textbook*. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1842. [NSyU]

Following his earlier book, *Elements of Botany* (1836), Gray sought in this text to develop a book that would (but never did) supplant Amos Eaton's *Manual*.²¹

Torrey, John. *A Flora of the State of New York*. 2 vols. Albany, 1843. [NSyU-F; NSy]

In 1836 the Legislature of the State of New York commissioned a survey of the natural history of the state. In his capacity as director of the botanical survey, Torrey compiled this impressive illustrated flora. Colored lithographs with technical botanical details add much to this important early state flora.

21. A. Hunter Dupree, *Asa Gray: 1810–1880* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), 125.

Smith, Elisha [dates unknown]. *The Botanic Physician, being a Compendium of the Practice of Medicine, upon Botanic Principles*. New York: Daniel Adee, 1844. [NSyU-M]

A revised version of Smith's *Botanic Physician* (1830) written by Isaac S. Smith, Elisha's father, this volume appeared in two parts and included sections on the "Art of Healing" and *materia medica*.

Good, Peter P. (1789?–1875). *The Family Flora and Materia Medica Botanica containing the Botanical Analysis, Natural History, and Chemical and Medicinal Properties of Plants*. 2 vols. Elizabethtown, N.J.: Published by the Author, 1845. [NSyU; NSyU-M (vol. 1 only)]

An illustrated directory of plants and their uses published quarterly in parts for subscription.

Emerson, George B. (1797–1881). *A Report on the Trees and Shrubs Growing Naturally in the Forests of Massachusetts*. Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1846. [NSyU-F]

A commissioned inventory of woody plants arranged according to the natural system, submitted by the author to the state governor.

Strong, Asa B. [dates unknown]. *The American Flora*. 4 vols. New York: Strong and Bidwell, 1846. [NSy (vol. 1 only)]

A *materia medica* providing non-technical botanical descriptions along with the medical uses and properties of a diverse array of plants. Beautiful handcolored engravings accompany the text.

Gray, Asa. *A Manual of the Botany of the Northern United States*. Boston: James Munroe, 1848. [NSyU; NSyU-F]

This first edition of Gray's monumental work, dedicated to his teacher, colleague and confidant, John Torrey, was intended to be a pocket volume. Its listing of plants according to the natural system of classification did much to popularize that system in America. Through eight editions (the later ones edited by subsequent Harvard botanists and the last appearing in 1950) this work became a standard botanical taxonomic reference for the eastern United States.

Michaux, François André, and Thomas Nuttall. *The North American Sylva*. 6 vols. Philadelphia: Robert P. Smith, 1852 [NSyU; NSyU-F, another edition. 6 vols. in 5. Philadelphia: D. Rice and A. N. Hart, 1857]

Produced with stunning color plates, this set describes trees of the United States and Canada. Volumes 1–3 are a translation by

- A. L. Hillhouse of Michaux's *L'Histoire des arbres forestiers de l'Amérique septentrionale* and cover the eastern United States; volumes 4–6 were written by Nuttall to complete the project by including species of the western states: they appear only in English language editions.
- Tatnall, Edward (1818–1898). *Catalogue of the Phaenogamous and Filicoid Plants of Newcastle County, Delaware*. Wilmington: J. T. Heald, 1860. [NSyU-F]
 A local flora modeled after the work of Asa Gray, it updated an earlier list of flora of that region.
- Thomson, Cyrus (1797–1867). *Materia Medica: A Book for Everybody*. Geddes, N.Y.: Published by the Author, 1863. [NSyU-M]
 Described by the author as a “treatise upon the laws of health” this work was written as a guide to natural medicine for the layman. It contains descriptions and illustrations of “vegetables” used medicinally and recipes to prepare them for use.
- Paige, E. W. [dates unknown]. *Catalogue of the Flowering Plants of Schenectady County*. Albany: Van Benthuyzen, 1864. [NSy]
 This pamphlet, which has no illustrations, lists all the herbaceous plants observed by the author in Schenectady County, N.Y. It was intended as a working list to be added to as necessary.
- Wood, Alphonso (1810–1881). *Class-book of Botany: Being Outlines of the Structure, Physiology, and Classification of Plants*. Boston: A. S. Barnes, 1864. [NSyU; NSyU-F]
 A general text for secondary schools, this book was published in numerous editions over several decades. Its popularity arose, in part, from a rather extensive flora included within the text, making the book a useful guide to plants.
- Curtis, Moses Ashley (1808–1872). *Geological and Natural History Survey of North Carolina. Part 3, Botany*. Raleigh, North Carolina: Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, 1867. [NSyU-F]
 The publication of this catalogue of the indigenous and naturalized plants of North Carolina had been delayed by the Civil War. It was originally intended as a companion to the author's treatise on the woody plants of the state, published in 1860. Curtis was a skilled mycologist and correspondent of Asa Gray and other botanists.
- Meehan, Thomas (1826–1878). *The Native Flowers and Ferns of the United States*. 2 vols. Boston: L. Prang, 1878. [NSyU-F]

- The lack of an illustrated flora of the United States prompted the author, a professor at Pennsylvania State University, to produce this work, which amounts to an anthology of “the most beautiful, interesting, and important from among the vast number of plants which grow in different parts of our country”. The intent was to produce an attractively illustrated set for popular use rather than of technical value. The arrangement of species is asystematic.
- Eaton, Daniel Cady (1834–1895). *The Ferns of North America*. 2 vols. Salem, Mass.: S. E. Cassino, 1879. [NSyU]
 These volumes present descriptions and distribution of ferns, beautifully illustrated with color plates (figs. 4 and 5). The author, who studied at Harvard, was the grandson of Amos Eaton; he dedicated the work to his professor, Asa Gray.
- Hollick, Charles Arthur (1857–1933), and Nathaniel Lord Britton (1859–1934). *The Flora of Richmond County, New York*. Staten Island, N.Y.: Published by the Authors, 1879. [NSyU-F]
 A compilation that amounts to a checklist of the vascular plants of Richmond County. Britton became professor of botany at Columbia University and the first director of the New York Botanical Garden.
- Goodale, George L. (1839–1923). *Wild Flowers of America*. Boston: S. E. Cassino, 1882. [NSy]
 Despite a title that sounds comprehensive, this single volume describes and illustrates with color plates only fifty American wild-flowers. The choice and presentation of plants follow no obvious order or arrangement.
- Dudley, William Russel (1849–1911). *The Cayuga Flora*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Andrus and Church, 1886. [NSyU-F]
 A catalogue of the flowering plants growing outside of cultivation in the Cayuga Lake basin, written by the renowned Cornell, and later Stanford, botanist.
- Sargent, Charles Sprague (1841–1927). *The Sylva of North America*. 14 vols. Boston: Houghton and Mifflin, 1892–1902. [NSyU-F; NSy]
 The magnum opus of the Director of the Arnold Arboretum of Harvard University, these magnificent scholarly folios, superbly illustrated with French engravings, became the authoritative American dendrological reference. This work covers all of North America excluding Mexico. Individual volumes were dedicated to scientists or patrons of science including André and François Mi-



Fig. 5. New York shield fern, *Thelypteris noveboracensis* (L.) Nieuwl., a plant of moist woods and thickets from Canada to Virginia (D. C. Eaton, *The Ferns of North America*, 1879, Plate 7).

caux, Asa Gray, George Engelmann, Sir Joseph Dalton Hooker, and John Muir.

Britton, Nathaniel Lord, and Addison Brown (1830–1913). *An Illustrated Flora of the United States, Canada, and the British Possessions from Newfoundland to the Parallel of the Southern Boundary of Virginia and from the Atlantic Ocean Westward to the 102nd Meridian*. 3 vols. New York: Scribner's, 1896–98. [NSyU-F]

Britton wrote the text of this impressive work, which was the first complete illustrated flora describing all known vascular plant species from the ferns through the flowering plants for an area much larger than that treated in Gray's *Manual*. This reference and its several revisions have long served as handbooks and supplements to manuals more limited in descriptive information and coverage. The volumes, issued consecutively in 1896, 1897, and 1898, present the native and naturalized flora arranged in the natural phylogentic system of the German botanists Adolph Engler and his associate Karl Prantl, whose comprehensive treatment gained worldwide popularity.

Chapman, Alvan Wentworth (1809–1899). *Flora of the Southern United States*. 3d ed. New York: American Book Co., 1897. [NSyU-F]

A regional flora covering the states south of Virginia and Kentucky and east of the Mississippi River, modeled after Gray's *Manual*. Dedicated to the Rev. Moses Ashley Curtis, noted North Carolina botanist, the book was the forerunner of John K. Small's *Flora of the Southeastern United States* (1903).

I am grateful for the courteous assistance provided by the staffs at the Arents, Moon, Health Science, and Onondaga County Libraries. My colleague, Robert L. Burgess, read drafts of this manuscript, called my attention to several important references, and made a number of useful suggestions that have improved the text.

For a more comprehensive perspective of the literature of this field, the following book is recommended: Joseph Ewan, *A Short History of Botany in the United States* (New York: Hafner, 1969).

Gabriel Naudé and the Ideal Library

BY ANTJE BULTMANN LEMKE

*This paper is an edited version of a talk given by the author for the Syracuse University Library Associates on February 18, 1988. It was originally titled: "Gabriel Naudé, Seventeenth-Century Scholar Librarian of Mazarin". Among Naudé's works discussed here, the George Arents Research Library has copies of the 1903 reprint of the 1661 English translation of *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, the 1744 Cologne edition of *Considerations politiques sur les coups d'estat*, and *Naudaeana et Patiniana*, 2nd ed. (Amsterdam: Vander Platts, 1703).*

The life of Gabriel Naudé falls within one of the liveliest centuries in the history of Europe. Against the background of continent-wide civil unrest, the Star Chamber Decree in England, the breakup of the Spanish Empire, and the Thirty Years' War, people were seeing the first performances of the plays of Shakespeare and Molière, and were looking at the paintings of Rembrandt and Velasquez. Leibniz, Descartes, and Spinoza were challenging traditional philosophies, and while Newton was developing the principles of universal gravitation, Kepler was formulating laws governing the motion of the planets that laid the foundations for modern astronomy.

Born in Paris in 1600, Gabriel Naudé (fig. 1) reflected the climate of this century in his own life and thought. The son of respected but not wealthy parents, Naudé went first to a religious school, then enrolled in the University of Paris. Greatly influenced by Montaigne, for some time he could not decide whether to study philosophy, theology, or medicine. He eventually chose medicine, writing about and maintaining a lifelong interest in this subject. Although Louis XIII in 1632 honored him by appointing him royal physician with a salary, Naudé never practiced medicine, but was apparently more interested in general scholarship and the political life of his times. His friends considered him a skeptical moralist, a man who combined courage with tact. His numerous publications expressed strong personal opinions on controversial issues. The Bibliothèque Nationale

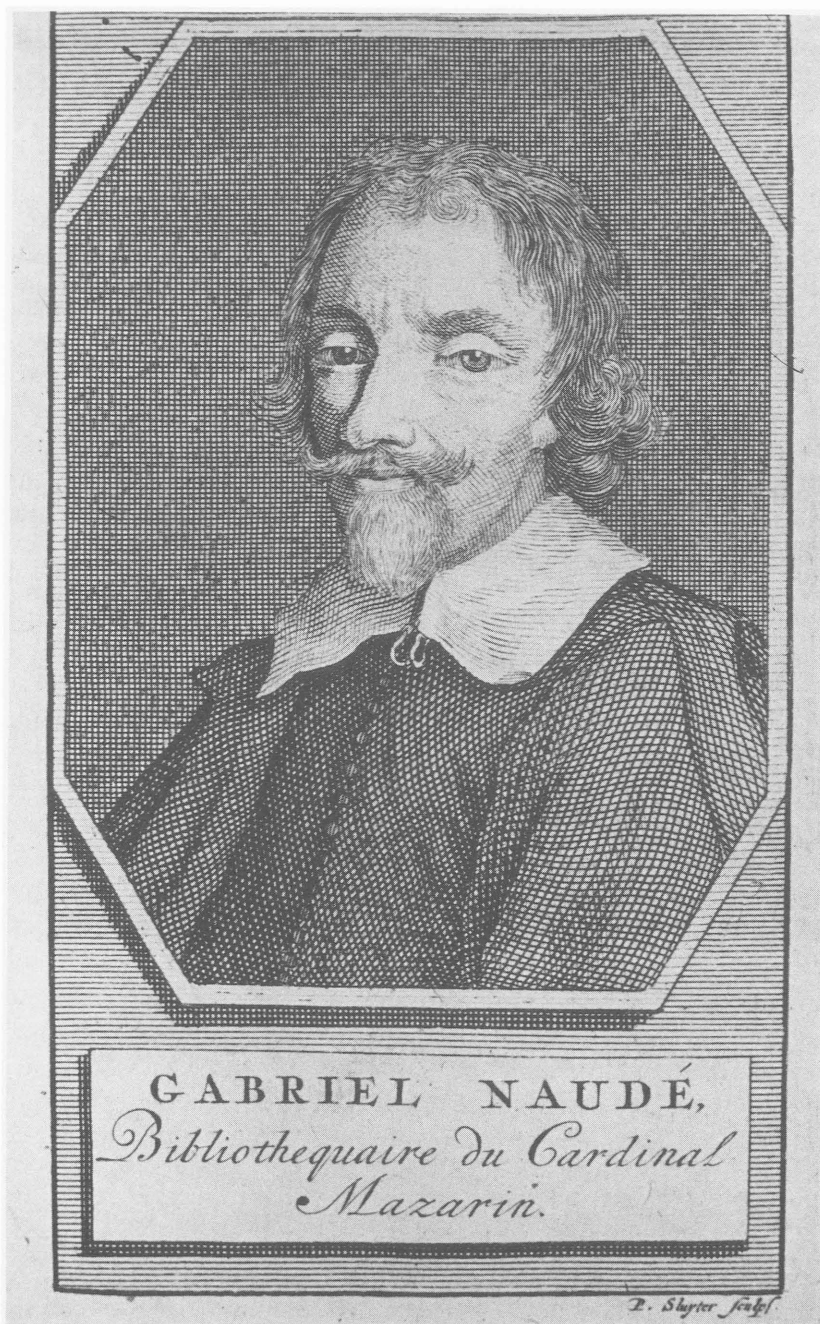


Fig. 1. Engraving of a portrait of Gabriel Naudé (reproduced from *Naudaeana et Patiniana*).

in Paris lists ninety entries under his name today. These include translations of Latin classics and of works by Italian Renaissance scholars, many of whom he introduced to France. Paul Kristeller, the Renaissance scholar at Columbia University, considers Naudé a major figure in historical and philological scholarship of the seventeenth century.¹ At that time the center of humanistic thought moved from Italy to France, and Naudé was an influential force in this development.

Naudé's many original works include *Considerations politiques sur les coups d'estat* (1639), a widely read attack on the Rosicrucians; and a rather interesting volume, *Apologie pour tous les grands personnages qui ont esté faussement soupçonnez de magie*, which lists among the suspected Pythagoras and Roger Bacon. Some of these writings had attracted the attention of Henri de Mesme, the president of the French Parliament. Naudé was able to convince de Mesme—who was neither a scholar nor a bibliophile—that he could gain unique prestige and lasting fame by establishing a great library that would be open to the public. To this end Naudé wrote his *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*, published in 1627 (fig. 2). This *Advice on Establishing a Library*, which has become a classic in librarianship, will be discussed later in the context of his years as librarian to Cardinal Mazarin. Through his writings Naudé had by 1630 become well known in both political and religious circles. He not only wrote books and pamphlets in philosophy, science, history, and biography, but also took a keen interest in typography and supervised the printing of his own publications.

When Guido di Bagni, ambassador from the Vatican to Paris, returned to the Papal States (which covered a much larger territory than the Vatican today) he asked Naudé to come to Italy as his librarian, and there Naudé spent perhaps the most enjoyable ten years of his life. He delighted in the intellectual climate of Italy; immediately on arrival, he indulged his devouring curiosity about all phenomena, natural or unnatural, by writing an essay on the eruptions of Mount Vesuvius. He was a prolific letter writer, corresponding most notably with Hugo Grotius, Hobbes, Bacon, Kepler, Galileo,

1. See Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Between the Italian Renaissance and the French Enlightenment: Gabriel Naudé as an Editor", *Renaissance Quarterly* 32 (1979): 41–72.

A D V I S
POVR DRESSER
V N E
BIBLIOTHEQVE.

*Presenté à Monseigneur le
President de M E S M E.*

Par G. N A U D É' P.

Omnia quæ magna sunt atque admirabilia,
tempus aliquod quo primum efficerentur
habuerunt. *Quintil. lib. 12.*



A P A R I S,
Chez FRANÇOIS TARGA, au premier
pillier de la grand' Salle du Palais,
deuant les Consultations.

M. D C. X X V I I.

Fig. 2. Title page of the first edition of Naudé's *Advis pour dresser une bibliotheque*.

and Descartes, as well as other scholars. He became a member of academies of savants at Rome, Urbino, and Florence, and it was through the Roman Academie degli Humoristi that he met Mazarin. It was, however, Cardinal Richelieu, the great patron of literature and the arts, and in 1635 the founder of the French Academy, who, impressed by Naudé's scholarly achievements, invited him to return to Paris and assemble a major library.² Although happy in Italy, Naudé returned to Paris on 10 March 1642. A few months after his arrival Richelieu died, and his successor Cardinal Mazarin appointed Naudé as his librarian and designated one wing of the Palais Tubeuf to serve as a library.

There is little doubt that the right patron and the right bookman had come together and that neither Mazarin nor Naudé could have accomplished singly what they achieved in the next years together. Theirs was a genuine interest in learning, and Naudé, the implementor of their passion, was not dogmatic. Instead, he had come to the job with an open mind, a broad education, and a great joy of vocation. Because of Mazarin, he now had the chance to bring to fruition what he had recommended in his 1627 *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*. This volume is addressed to "Monseigneur le President de Mesme" and the first pages provide a marvelous example of baroque prose, including the flattery of a patron: "To come directly to the heart of the matter—common sense tells us that it is altogether laudable, generous, and worthy of a courage which defies mortality, to save from oblivion, preserve, and erect again, like another Pompey, all these images, not of bodies, but of minds of so many distinguished gentlemen who have spared neither time nor industry in transmitting to us a lively portrait of what was most noble in themselves". He continues to enumerate the benefits of a great library and promises that de Mesme, with such a creation, "may (with reason) call himself cosmopolitan, a citizen of the whole world, [since] he may know all, see all and be ignorant of nothing".³

2. One of his scholarly achievements endeared him to Richelieu because it embarrassed the Benedictines. In 1641 during a debate on the authorship of the popular religious guide *Imitation of Christ* of 1426, Richelieu had asked Naudé to authenticate four key manuscripts in Rome. He concluded that all four were fakes, although the Benedictines had already accepted them as genuine.

3. Gabriel Naudé, *Advice on Establishing a Library* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950), 5.

To these high-flown sentiments he adds a practical note: “I do not intend to engage you in any superfluous or extraordinary expense since I do not subscribe to the opinion of those who consider gold and silver the heart and soul of a library. . . . Neither is it my intention to persuade you that so great a collection can be made without cost or with your purse closed, knowing well that the saying of Plautus is as true in this respect as in many others, ‘He who seeks gain must make an outlay’.”⁴

About his own role and about his book Naudé states that “it is certain that of the almost infinite number of men who have taken pen in hand there has not yet been one, to my knowledge, whose advice a man might follow concerning the choice of books, the means of procuring them, and the arranging of them in the most useful and attractive manner for a handsome and stately library.”⁵

To this day, librarians agree with the author: his is the first systematic, comprehensive treatise on librarianship. The famous *Philobiblon*, written in the fourteenth century by Richard de Bury (1287–1345), and other earlier works on book collecting focus on books—not on libraries, their organization, their users, and their administration.

Several of the nine chapters begin with “Now, Monseigneur” and then use the first person to explain carefully, clearly, and in practical terms what has to be done, and why. This direct discourse does make the *Advis* lively and enjoyable reading, and prevents it from becoming too theoretical, the weakness of many handbooks.

Naudé’s first recommendation to the librarian is to read about and to consult great book collectors. As a start, and while the first volumes are being acquired, the catalogues of all interesting libraries, whether ancient or modern, public or private, in the collector’s country or abroad—especially those of small collections—should be transcribed, to have them available in the library.⁶ This step serves two main purposes: to make known what is available—since no one library can have everything—and to document the history of knowl-

4. Naudé, *Advice*, 9.

5. *Ibid.*, 1.

6. Naudé, who was familiar with the great Italian libraries, most likely knew that the Duke of Urbino, Federigo de Montefeltro, had, in the fifteenth century, already suggested the transcription of the catalogues of great libraries for the same reasons.

edge. In addition we can find out what an author has written, and glean many other useful morsels of information.⁷

The two chapters on the selection and procurement of books occupy over half of the nine-chapter treatise, a sure indication that Naudé considered the development of a collection the most important among the librarian's responsibilities. Concerning the number of books and serial publications, Naudé reminds us that, while a large collection is appealing, selection according to the purpose of the library is essential. To this subject he devotes a whole chapter with detailed examples.

A library, he urged, should be furnished with all principal authors, ancient and modern, obscure or well-known, religious or secular, in the best editions. This inclusiveness was not the recommendation of most of Naudé's contemporaries. Even Sir Thomas Bodley (1545–1613), founder of the famous Bodleian Library at Oxford, did not accept modern literature and considered some authors—Shakespeare for example—frivolous. Gabriel Naudé, on the other hand, was liberal and against exclusion based on personal taste or orthodoxy. His concept, that a library should inform and delight all, was quite revolutionary, and by no means would be followed by all librarians in coming generations.

Books in foreign languages should be acquired in both the original language and the best possible translations "for the use of many persons who have not the knowledge of foreign tongues". Special attention must be given to controversial subjects, and no efforts spared to have present in the library the pros and cons of these. We should:

not neglect all the works of the principal heretics or adherents of religions that are new and differ from the one most commonly revered among ourselves as being more sound and true . . . it is necessary that our scholars should find these authors somewhere available in order to refute them. . . . There are no scruples about having a Talmud or a Koran,

7. Today we have many examples of comprehensive catalogue reprinting that expand our own collections. In addition to the *National Union Catalog*, which includes most of the holdings of the Library of Congress and selected holdings of many American research libraries, we have many invaluable printed catalogues of specialized collections.

which belch forth against Jesus Christ and our religion a thousand blasphemies infinitely more dangerous than those of the heretics; since God permits us to profit from our enemies . . . I think it neither an absurdity nor a danger to have in a library all the works of the most learned and famous heretics.⁸

These famous heretics include Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, and Beza.

Throughout the *Advis*, Naudé not only writes about principles and procedures but also lists and comments on authors who should be included in public collections.⁹ He recommends the acquisition of materials on esoteric subjects, books on the Cabbala, on mnemonic devices, and on divination.¹⁰ When discussing the physical arrangement of books, however, Naudé rejected mnemonic devices because they spoil and pervert our natural memory.

The *Advis* gives special emphasis to reference works and anthologies. Naudé states, "I consider these collections highly useful and necessary because of the brevity of our life and because the multitude of things which we are now obliged to know . . . do not permit us to do all by ourselves. . . . In this connection, one should put into practice Hippocrates' aphorism which advises us to make concession to time, place, and custom; that is to say certain kinds of books being sometimes in vogue in one country and not so in another."¹¹ Such books, as he explains, are needed to make readers aware of changes in popular taste in different countries and centuries.

In addition to books, libraries should collect dissertations, pamphlets, and, especially, manuscripts. "It is the essence of a library to have a great number of manuscripts because they are now most in demand and least available".¹² Naudé, of course, was referring pri-

8. Naudé, *Advice*, 26–28.

9. About Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), the author of *Oration on the Dignity of Man*, he mentions for example that he "learnedly refuted the astrologers"; about Argenterio (1513–1572) that he took to task Galen, the court physician to Marcus Aurelius (130–200). (Galen had been virtually undisputed until the sixteenth century, a fact that had hampered medical progress for over a millenium.)

10. Naudé, *Advice*, 23.

11. *Ibid.*, 31–32.

12. *Ibid.*, 44.

marily to manuscripts of classical authors preceding the invention of printing with movable type. But his recommendation applies to original documents of any time. Such documents bear the mark of the person who created the text and are unique sources for serious study, for criticism, for biographies, or, as Leopold von Ranke said, “to know how it really was”. Like books, manuscripts should be collected not for their “superfluity of ornaments” (as found in many medieval religious texts), but for their content. Illustrations that clarify the text are, of course, acceptable, but decoration for its own sake is not. Thus he also assures his patron that he will not squander money on luxurious bindings. This chapter on the quality of books ends with an admonition that it is impossible to evaluate any works, especially those treating obscure or difficult subjects, or those by little-known authors, by applying rigid rules. This can only be done “by weighing thoughtfully the book’s actual character and usefulness”.¹³

The chapter on “Procuring Books” begins with an emphatic statement on preservation: “A library will never be much benefited if that which is collected with so much care and industry should be lost for want of care”.¹⁴ It then continues with a recommendation that librarians pay special attention to what is quickly out of print: “broad-sides, theses, scraps, proofs and the like”. Today we take the research value of ephemera for granted, but in Naudé’s time this was a new venture and not universally heeded.

Important for all collection development (the procurement of single volumes as well as whole collections) are scholarship, friendships, travel, and the advertising of one’s own library. “One’s affection for books and strong desire to form a library” should be as widely publicized as possible. One never knows where a gift or a clue to treasures may come from. In addition to the use of conventional sources like bibliographies and booksellers’ services, Naudé has some good advice for the acquisition of scholarly works: “Finally, the man with great affection for books should visit the shops of those who often buy old paper or parchment to see whether, by accident or otherwise, there may fall into their hands anything that may be worth collecting for a library. And in truth we should be much encouraged in this search by the example of Poggio [1380–1459], who found Quintilian on a

13. *Ibid.*, 45–46.

14. *Ibid.*, 47.

pork butcher's counter when he was at the Council of Constance."¹⁵

Naudé himself, having exhausted the resources of Paris, traveled through Flanders, Italy, Germany, and England. About his own methods of acquisition we have amusing contemporary descriptions. From Italy, where he spent almost a year (1645–46) and returned with an estimated 14,000 volumes, comes this account:

When Naudé has been in town, the booksellers' shops seem devastated as by a whirlwind. Having bought up in every last one of them all the books, whether in manuscript or in print, dealing in any language whatever with any subject or division of learning no matter what, he has left the stores stripped and bare. Sometimes, moreover, as if he had come to those shops not as a purchaser of books, but to get at the size of the walls, he measures with a surveyor's rod all the books and the shelves clear to the roof, and names his figure on the basis of that measurement. Not infrequently he comes to a place where there are on view heaps of books, piles of a hundred or a thousand apiece; he asks the price; the seller names it; they fail to agree; they wrangle; but in the end it is he who by insisting, by pushing, and finally by sheer malignancy, has his way so that he carries off the very best volumes cheaper than if they were pears or lemons, while the merchant, thinking over the transaction at his leisure, complains that a veil was cast over his eyes and his hand forced, because for those books he could have got a far better price from the spice merchants, for casing incense or pepper; or from the food merchants, for wrapping up butter. But you just ought to see the fellow dashing out of the bookshops; you could not help laughing, so covered from head to foot is he with cobwebs and the dust of learning.¹⁶

Indeed, Naudé must have haunted places with books and urged his friends to do the same whenever they traveled. In addition he had a keen eye for new publications, as well as a network of scholarly

15. Naudé, *Advice*, 58.

16. Gian Vittorio Rossi, *Epistolae ad Tyrrenum et ad diversos* (Cologne, 1645–49), cols. 11, 18–19. Quoted in Jack A. Clarke, "Gabriel Naudé and the Foundation of the Scholarly Library", *Library Quarterly* 39 (October 1969): 338.

contacts alerted to donate and/or purchase new books for the Mazarin Library.

Besides reflecting the life of the cities of the seventeenth century, the chapter on the building and location of libraries contains some excellent suggestions for all time. While centrally located within the community it serves, a library should be at some distance from the noisiest streets. It should, if possible, be situated “between some spacious court and a pleasant garden, from which it may enjoy good light, a wide and agreeable prospect, and pure air, unpolluted by marshes, sinks, or dunghills; the whole arrangement so well planned and ordered that it is compelled to share nothing unpleasant or obviously inconvenient”.¹⁷

In his instructions for illumination and general comfort, Naudé includes an amazing reference to Hippocrates, who stated that “south winds cause deafness, dimness of vision, heaviness of the head, torpor, and they are relaxing because they fill the head with certain vapors, obstruct the passages, obfuscate the senses, and render us dull and almost unfit of any sort of action”. Naudé adds that if one is “unable to arrange for east winds, one should have recourse to those from the north which, cold and dry, engender no humidity and conserve both books and papers”.¹⁸

In addition to tables, rugs, and comfortable chairs, the library should provide “feather dusters, clocks, pens, paper, ink, penknife, sand, a calendar, and other small items and suchlike instruments, which cost so little and are yet so necessary”.¹⁹ Naudé again and again emphasizes the importance of a congenial atmosphere and the convenience of the reader. Not in his *Advice*, but in his later recommendations for the remodeling of the library in the Palais Tubeuf by the architect François Mansart (who introduced the style of roof now named after him), Naudé made the appealing, sensitive suggestion that in addition to the regal main staircase, there should be a backdoor to the library for shy people.

He recommends that just as money should not be spent on expensive, fancy buildings and illustrations that serve only decorative purposes, a library has no need for valuable original statues. More appropriate, he argues, would be good copies of the portraits of famous

17. Naudé, *Advice*, 60.

18. *Ibid.*, 62.

19. *Ibid.*, 73.

literary figures, “so we may at one and the same time form a judgment of the minds of authors by their books and their bodily shape and facial expression which may serve in my opinion as a powerful motivation to encourage readers to follow in their footsteps and to continue steadfastly in the spirit of some noble enterprise resolved upon”.²⁰

Concerning the physical arrangement of a collection, Naudé favored subject divisions. Although, as we have seen, he recommended the acquisition of books on mnemonic devices, he denied that books could be arranged usefully in this mechanical way. Librarians should design a system with which the people who use the library feel comfortable. He suggested that a library collection be grouped under the same general subject headings used by the university curricula because most readers would be familiar with them. However, the danger in a subject arrangement is its tendency to become inflexible and therefore to hinder, not to help. Among the examples he gives to illustrate this point, he quotes with disfavor a certain Jean Mabun who suggested that all books should be arranged:

[according to the] words of the Psalmist, “Teach me discipline, goodness and knowledge”, for placing all books under three classes and principal headings of Morals, Sciences, and Devotion . . . which seems to have no other purpose than to torture and eternally crucify the memory. . . . I [Naudé] conceive that arrangement to be always the best which is easiest, least intricate, most natural, most used, and which follows the subjects of theology, medicine, jurisprudence, history, philosophy, mathematics, humanities, and so on, each of which should be classified under subheadings according to their several divisions, which for this purpose should be reasonably well understood by the librarian in charge.²¹

Although all except the rarest books must be on open shelves, the reader does need catalogues. There should be two kinds: one arranged by authors and the other by subjects.

Naudé then suggests further break-downs by language, chronology,

20. Naudé, *Advice*, 72.

21. *Ibid.*, 64–65.

and other features. The principle for subdivisions is illustrated by the classification of theology: “. . . all the Bibles should be placed first in order of their languages; next to these the Councils, Synods, Decrees, Canons, and all that concerns the Constitutions of the Church, and the more since they hold the second place of authority among us; after these, the Fathers, Greek and Latin, then the commentators, scholastics, learned men of various schools, and historians; and finally, the heretics”.²²

To achieve his aims—knowledgeable acquisition, logical organization, and effective service—the librarian must be a learned and honorable person. He also must be given a commensurate salary. In high civilizations, Naudé assures us, the post of librarian was a most honored position, and “honorable librarians have made their libraries honorable”.

The volume concludes with thoughts on the purpose of the library: “Therefore I shall tell you, Monseigneur, with as much freedom as I have affection for your service, that in vain does he strive to carry out any of the preceding suggestions . . . who does not intend to devote them to the public use and never to withhold them from the humblest of those who may reap any benefit thereby”.²³ As a reward for having made this possible, the patron will “receive wide acclaim, an infinitude of thanks, and indescribable satisfaction”.²⁴

The *Advis* is a testimony to Naudé’s erudition, his methodical thinking, and his astute comprehension of a library’s potential. Beyond its importance for future librarians, it holds a significant place in the history of learning. John Cotton Dana writes in the introduction to the 1903 reprint of the English edition of 1661:

The *Advis* was written and printed in 1627 to save the labor of writing out the many copies asked for by his friends, of his opinion and advice on books and libraries . . . it embodies, in fact, the very spirit of Naudé; it forecasts his career, it suggests by its many allusions the young man’s learning; and above all it sets forth the principles its brilliant author was to follow twenty years later, first in building, next in making

22. *Ibid.*, 65.

23. *Ibid.*, 74.

24. *Ibid.*, 79.

“open to all the world, without excluding a living soul” the great library of Cardinal Mazarin.²⁵

On 30 January 1644 the Mazarin Library (fig. 3) opened to the public with great fanfare. The *Paris Gazette* of that date reported that Mazarin welcomed in his library all learned and curious people every Thursday from morning to evening to “feuilleter”, literally “leaf through”, his rich collection. Naudé was described as being the most “thoughtful, wise and hardworking librarian and scholar”, who possesses “perfect” knowledge of books. His library was soon called “without flattery, ‘une bibliothèque vivante’”—a living, lively library.²⁶

His appointment by Cardinal Mazarin had given Naudé the opportunity to realize his ideals. Scholars from many countries—Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) the Dutch philosopher, among them—came to pursue their research at this unique library. A German seventeenth-century scholar, Johannes Lomeier (1636–1699), commented in his *View of European Libraries* that the library of Cardinal Jules Mazarin, organized by Naudé and comprising over 40,000 books, scarcely had an equal and “could have provided a model for the perfect library, had not Parliament decreed that it should be divided and sold”.²⁷

And this is indeed what had happened. Many members of the French aristocracy were discontented with the influence that Cardinal Mazarin exerted on the Regent, Queen Anne of Austria, while Louis XIV was still a minor. Between 1648 and 1653 the Fronde, a series of rebellions by the nobility, was organized to oust the Cardinal. At the height of the uprisings, on 6 February 1651, Cardinal Mazarin left Paris at night. Eight days later, on 14 February, Gabriel

25. Gabriel Naudé, *Instructions Concerning Erecting of a Library, presented to my Lord the President de Mesme*, ed. John Cotton Dana, and trans. John Evelyn. (Cambridge, Mass.: Printed for Houghton and Mifflin at the Riverside Press, 1903), iii–iv.

26. Cornélis de Waard, ed., *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1933–65). Quoted in Sidney L. Jackson, “Gabriel Naudé, Most Erudite and Most Zealous for the Common Good”, *Stechert Hafner Book News* 23, no. 5 (January 1969): 65.

27. Johannes Lomeier, *A Seventeenth Century View of European Libraries*, trans. J. W. Montgomery, University of California Publications in Librarianship, vol. 3 (Berkeley, 1962), 49.

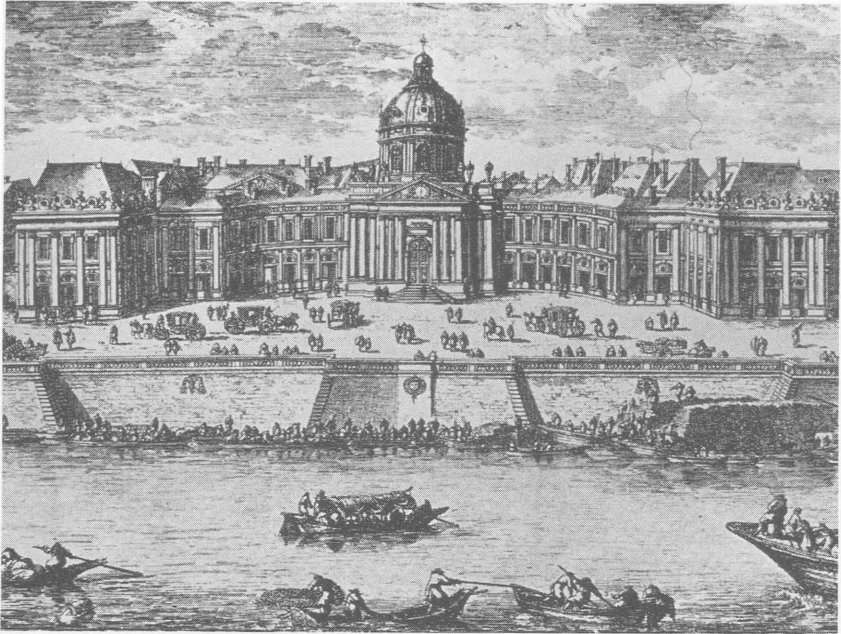


Fig. 3. "College of the Four Nations", Mazarin's legacy to France, presently housing the Académie Française and the Bibliothèque Mazarin.

Naudé was summoned to appear at the Palais Tubeuf and surrender the keys to the library to the President of the Chambre des Comptes.

Naudé tells about this in his essay *Remise de la bibliothèque de Monsieur le Cardinal Mazarin par le Sieur de Naudé entre les mains de Monsieur Tubeuf*, which was published in 1652 with his *News from France; or, The Description of the Library of Cardinal Mazarin Before it was Utterly Ruined*, first in England and later in France and Germany. After he had explained his personal obligation to keep the collection intact, he described how, with great care, he led M. Tubeuf through the library, room by room, explaining the value of each section. "I implored Tubeuf to do his utmost to prevent the dissipation of the finest and largest library the world had ever seen, and withdrew with tears in my eyes, thinking that the public might be deprived of so great a treasure, and that the noble intentions of His Eminence were being so ill repaid."²⁸

28. Gabriel Naudé, *News from France; or, A Description of the Library of Cardinal Mazarin*, preceded by *The Surrender of the Library* (Chicago: A. C. McClurg, 1907), 53.

Several efforts were made to save the library. Even the young king, Louis XIV, wrote letters ordering a halt to the sale. Tubeuf, however, was not able to preserve the library, and Mazarin's enemies made a special point of selling it in small, discrete lots, for fear that the Cardinal might regain possession through his agents if it were found in one place.

In his *News from France* Naudé published his letter to the Parliament. The French title reads: *Advis a Monseigneurs de Parlement sur la vente de la bibliotheque de M. le Cardinal Mazarin*. (Again, Naudé used the neutral term "Advis" in the title of his plea, hoping to dissuade Parliament from the sale):

Gentlemen: Since all the ordinances of your famous company are like thunderbolts, which dash in pieces each person whom they strike, and make dumb or astonish every one that sees them fall: Give me leave to tell you . . . that what you thundered out on the twenty-ninth of the last, against the library of the most eminent Cardinal Mazarin, hath produced those two effects, with so much force and violence, that forasmuch as concerns the said library, it is not likely it should ever recover those losses which it had suffered, unless by some very remarkable effect of your singular goodness and protection.

And, as for me, who cherish it as the work of my hands and the miracle of my life, I protest to you ingenuously, that, since that stroke of thunder—which was cast from the heaven of your justice . . . I have been so extremely astonished, that if this cause . . . did not now untie my tongue I should remain eternally dumb.²⁹

He then describes the library, enumerates those who have contributed to it, and refers to the lawyers, schoolmen, bishops, hospitals, and other individuals and institutions who would continue to benefit from it. It is a forceful and moving statement that culminates with the threat that the ruin of this library will be more carefully marked in all histories than the sacking of Constantinople.

29. Naudé, *News*, 61–63.

Must such a rich and learned work be dissolv'd,
 Can eyes with patience see 't in flames involv'd?
 Methinks the flames should spare it, sure the fire
 (More merciful than men) will sav 't intire.
 A, sweet Apollo, hinder! Muses, stay
 Their violence! And what though fond men say
 "It is decreed; the ordinance is made;
 The will of supreme power must be obey'd"?
 Rather let laws be broke, let reverend power
 Lie prostrate, ere 't be said, that in one hour
 A work so toil'd for many years, was late
 Quite ruin'd by commandment from the state.³⁰

Naudé's pleas were ignored. Parliament was not moved. Naudé accepted the invitation of Queen Christina of Sweden to go to Stockholm. Under her rule, the Swedish court had become a haven for refugee intellectuals and artists, and knowing of Naudé's reputation, the Queen appointed him royal librarian. However, he did not stay long.

Mazarin, after his return to power in 1653, asked Naudé to come back to Paris and, Naudé, still loyal, returned. Mazarin had already begun an amazingly successful effort to reassemble the collection. As Naudé himself had bought all the medical books at the sale of the collection, that part survived intact. Even members of the Fronde, now eager to please the Cardinal, helped with the restoration of the collection in the hope that it might again be available to the public.

Sadly, Naudé fell ill during the trip. He died at the age of 53 in Abbeille (Somme) before he reached Paris.

For Naudé literature and congenial friends must have been fulfilling. He once wrote, "I cannot make up my mind to marry, that manner of life is too thorny and difficult for a man who loves study".³¹ His contemporaries report that his tastes were simple and modest, that he lived like a true philosopher, and that his sobriety was proverbial.

Today the Bibliothèque Mazarin is the oldest public library in Paris. Since 1945 it has been administered by the Institut de France, which

30. *Ibid.*, 75.

31. *Ibid.*, 32.

was founded in 1795 and has been located from its beginnings in the Collège Mazarin. Readers must present their national identity cards or passports. Beyond this there are no restrictions for use. A bust of Gabriel Naudé reminds visitors of the man who had told his first patron that: “Those who create a library defy mortality, they transmit to us a lively portrait of what was most noble in themselves”.³² This Gabriel Naudé certainly did.

32. Naudé, *Advice*, 5.

Philip Evergood and Ideologism in the 1930s

BY KENDALL TAYLOR

Though not in the mainstream of American art, Philip Evergood (1901–1973) was an unusually talented artist. Labeled expressionistic, surrealist, and even gothic, he was really an aesthetic lone wolf with a restless, quizzical glance, a slightly halting but resonant voice (distinguished by a trace of Etonian accent), and a somewhat suspicious manner that quickly dissolved into a sparkling and mischievous smile (fig. 1). Timidity was a characteristic foreign to his exuberant nature. He was proud to think he bore a strong resemblance to his paternal grandfather, one of Australia's most successful businessmen, who had evidenced "a great warmth and loving quality for those he respected, rich or poor, but also a testy, irritable capacity for those he felt were untrue, malicious, conceited or stupid".¹

He was introduced early to art by his father, Meyer Evergood Blashki, a landscape painter in the style of Henry Ward Ranger (1858–1916). His own art, however, was different from that of his father, and he candidly acknowledged this intentional dissimilarity. Speaking before the National Institute of Arts and Letters in 1959, he explained: "Though a large bulk of my work deals with the humorous, the ridiculous and the bawdy . . . I am always associated in the minds of the critics and public alike, with the undernourished and emaciated members of our society. The symbol of the underdog has been my bundle and my banner. I wonder sometimes if my father's passionate concern with nature, with the trees, the sky, the rocks and the sea did not spark some kind of revolt in directing me toward the harder facts of life."²

1. Philip Evergood, "A Short, Intimate Biography of My Father", unpublished essay, February 1966, p. 1, Philip Evergood Papers, box 5, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. (hereafter designated as AAA).

2. Philip Evergood, acceptance speech to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, 30 March 1959, Philip Evergood Papers, AAA.



Fig. 1. Philip Evergood and his wife Julia (1931).

Rebellion was part of his nature. His first serious artistic confrontation took place at the University of London's Slade School of Art, where his notions of appropriate subject matter and approach offended his instructors. In 1922 when he was supposed to graduate, his teaching certificate in drawing was held up, and it was only after one of his instructors spoke out on his behalf that the school reversed its decision. Subsequently, and throughout his career, he was at odds with the arts establishment, never gaining its complete acceptance. Even today, while some consider him one of the twentieth century's most original and profound artists, others dismiss his idiosyncratic and pseudo-primitive style as clumsy and uneven. His art has never possessed an easily defined quality and that has worked against him.

Evergood's early training at the Slade School was with Henry Tonks, a renowned draftsman under whom Evergood developed the sound drawing ability that underlies all his painting. Yet, though he could draw with the skill and precision of a Dürer, his interest was not only in recording physical impressions, but also in making a personal interpretation. "If you paint a picture of an old man," he said in a

1964 interview, “a beautiful old man with a beard and tired eyes, you’re painting something social”.³

The artist’s more natural inclination was towards a broad line, spontaneous and instinctively felt. Irregularities interested him most, and he sought a simple, natural approach in preference to an academic one. Especially impressed by Jules Pascin’s (1885–1930) feathery, wandering lines, suggestive of subtle variations in weight and volume, he chose like Pascin not to work out human proportions precisely. At the core of his line was the juxtaposition of opposites: of the bold against the uncertain, the well-defined against the vanishing. It was the combination of sharpness with softness that made a work exciting for him. Evergood considered the stylistic irregularities of his work a virtue in a world filled with swagger and self-assurance and felt it was the artist’s right to try all things, and to break established rules. In fact, Evergood regarded distortion, the discrepancy between ocular and optical reality and the artist’s conception of the reality, as interesting and valuable. He believed art was the most interesting when a few mistakes were purposely added. He was highly critical of those artists who took no chances with their work, people like Edward Hopper, who, he felt, “for all his beauty and honesty and depth of feeling and mastery of his simple technique and his one track mood and his *evenness* never quite stirred up any fever pitch of excitement”.⁴

Always experimenting with various approaches and techniques, Evergood painted not only what he saw, but also what he felt, often sacrificing formal balance for emotional impact. As the critic Elizabeth McCausland noted, nothing for Evergood was ever separate from the heart; he allowed his completed works to reflect the struggle that went into their creation. His was art too raw ever to be really fashionable, or as commercially successful as that of his contemporaries Jack Levine and Ben Shahn. With little entertainment value, it teetered continuously on the edge of excess. Nonetheless, although determined to follow his own artistic inclinations, Evergood also understood the difficulties of the path he had chosen. He told John Baur,

3. Interview with Philip Evergood by Forrest Selvig, December 1968, p. 51, transcript at AAA.

4. Philip Evergood to John Canaday, 22 February 1965, Philip Evergood Papers, box 4, AAA.

“My battle has always been to unite in my work the discipline, the order of tranquillity of the design with the excitement and impetuous statement I wanted to make”.⁵

Continuing throughout his career to pursue a unique style marked by irrational imagery, complicated handling of space, dramatic distortion and impressive spontaneity, Evergood also used highly emotive color to increase emotional tensions in the viewer. He believed that colors and forms could recreate emotional states and boldly applied colors in large areas incorporating raucous disharmonies of reds, oranges, and blues in his work. Similarly, he distorted forms and objects, relating them to one another according to a psychological perspective, making them large or small by virtue of their significance. It was all an intuitive process, especially the colors, and it came, he said, by closing his eyes and *feeling* the colors in his brain “a driving instinct at that moment for that piece of nasty green or clashing red”.⁶

Because the artist’s work was idiosyncratic in both approach and design, and frequently contained contemporary, topical images that Evergood often referred to as “tribal symbols”, many viewers have found his work difficult to interpret. Yet, while the public may not have wholeheartedly understood or embraced his work, fellow artists did. Many of his generation—Harry Gottlieb, Anton Refregier, Philip Reisman, Robert Gwathmey, among others—considered him to be one of its most talented members (fig. 2). He was also the most idealistic—this in an era when idealism evolved into “ideologism”.

Throughout its history the art world has abounded in isms—we are all familiar with them. A period noticeably lacking an appropriate designation, however, is the 1930s, when art and activism become synonymous for many, and artists become active in social issues and causes. And while the term “social realism” has been employed to define some individuals’ work from that period (including that of Philip Evergood), the term can correctly refer only to a very limited category of artists. “Social realism” emerged because the work it described expressed concern for society’s problems in a style literal enough to make the meaning clear. Artists such as William Gropper

5. Interview with Philip Evergood by John I. H. Baur, June 1959, p. 74, transcript at AAA.

6. *Ibid.*, 37.



Fig. 2. From left: Evergood, Anton Refregier, Juliana Force (Whitney Museum), Frank Kleinholz (Evergood's friend and lawyer), Robert Gwathmey, Yasio Kuniyoshi, in front of one of Refregier's Café Society murals (ca.1941).

and Ben Shahn fit well within that designation. Evergood less so. For while he is usually referred to as a social realist, his work has neither the agreeable form and easy-to-read qualities of Ben Shahn's art nor the literal subject matter of William Gropper's. A term that more accurately defines Evergood's work, as well as that of many of his contemporaries, might be the more precise designation "ideologism" from the word "ideology", meaning a systematic scheme of ideas full of visionary speculation about life. An ideologist, thus, would be a dreamer, or visionary, who advocates those ideas. Along with many other artists of his generation (people as diverse as Anton Refregier, Peter Blume, Walter Quirt, and O. Louis Guglielmi), Evergood can certainly be classified as such.

Ideologism, though not called that, was not a new concept in the 1930s. For centuries, European artists had used their art to vilify, ridicule, and protest against oppressive governments, corrupt religious orders, indifferent leaders, or the establishment in general.

Whether it was early artists such as Bosch, Brueghel, Holbein, and Cranach whose work criticized how life was, rather than presenting it as it should be, or twentieth-century masters like Picasso, Kollwitz, Grosz, and Beckman who illuminated and dissected corrupt forces in society, the blending of art and ideology has long been an inspiring and on-going endeavor.

It certainly appeared that way to a number of thirties artists who viewed themselves as the conscience of American society, and who banded together for common cause. A unique artistic period, the thirties became the "Golden Age" for many of these ideologists, when camaraderie was deep and intense, when there was total commitment to work at hand, and when the struggle to make a positive impact on society was the major goal. For many, nothing after ever matched up or seemed as valuable.

Their subjects, of course, differed in particulars from those of their predecessors: their work lamented the failure to bring black Americans fully into society, the exploitation of the working class, the effects of the Depression on the poor, the circumstances surrounding the Sacco and Vanzetti case, and the rise of Nazi Germany and world fascism. Peter Blume caricatured Mussolini, William Gropper did critical prints about sweat shops, Mitchell Siporin portrayed striking workers, Paul Cadmus drew lynchings, and Lynd Ward showed miners' lives in company towns with dead-end streets.

Evergood did it all, the titles of his canvases telling the story: *Mine Disaster*, *Lynching Party*, *American Tragedy*, *The Memorial Day Massacre*, *Fascist Company*; for him, ideologism was burden and banner. From his late twenties on, he saw himself primarily as an artist of ideas, focusing on the realities of contemporary life, communicating his vision about society's diminishment, and advocating its enlightenment.

He always viewed himself as an artist with an idea specific to each work. Underlying his art was the Zoroastrian premise that the universe is a battleground in which the negative forces of cold and darkness combat the positive forces of heat and light. Within this continuing battle, man, himself composed of both good and evil, is the deciding factor. Each of us must make the choice between life's forces.⁷

7. Evergood may have acquired this point of view from his mother, Flora, who was a serious student of philosophy in her twenties. It is reminiscent of the *Zend-Avesta*, according to which the world is a stage for unceasing conflict between the

Viewing the world as an ugly and violent place with man often the victim of circumstances and influences beyond his control, he painted his protagonists in a similar light—the disruptions in his art paralleling what he saw as the chaotic in life. “Life today is insecure and dangerous, so human character is uncertain and liable to malformation from social strain and stress. . . . Our workers are the hope of America, but they bear on their faces and bodies and in their souls the mark of the social distortion to which they have been subjected.”⁸

But Evergood clung to his belief that things could change for the better, and like Prospero in “The Tempest”, he argued that “the dreams of man and his imaginative concepts are a definite part of this life and man’s up-to-date reality. . . . If more people learned to accept reality and at the same time to accept the dreams, the world would be a happier, safer and more thrilling place to live in. The island in Shakespeare’s ‘Tempest’ holds no more dreams than our Coney Island if only you will look for them there.”⁹

The mission of the ideologist, then, was a serious one. Evergood felt that an artist hoping to make a contribution should be responsible for clarifying ideas in terms of the society of which he was a part. Specifically, a painter’s mission was to take sides in important world issues and to put across his view of them in the strongest and simplest way, with the greatest spontaneity of execution and freshness of color. Technical competence was “secondary to the fervor, the heat of desire to say something meaningful, strong, urgent and timely”.¹⁰

To chronicle the turbulent times in which he lived, Evergood filled his canvases with people who reflect its chaos. These awkward beings

powers of light and darkness, good and evil: it is man’s duty to assist the good power by resisting evil impulses in his own heart and by fighting injustice among men.

8. Philip Evergood, notes for his statement of artistic principle in conjunction with his exhibition at the American Contemporary Artists Gallery, Philip Evergood Papers, box 5, AAA. A revised version appears in *The Daily Worker* (New York), 2 November 1942, 4.

9. Philip Evergood quoted in “New Renaissance Forecast; Painter Hits Today’s Excesses”, *Daily Hampshire Gazette* (Northampton, Mass.), 3 May 1956. Unpaginated newsclipping from the artist’s scrapbook, Kendall Taylor Collection relating to Philip Evergood (hereafter abbreviated KTC), box 4, Syracuse University Library.

10. Philip Evergood, handwritten note, March 1966, unpublished, Philip Evergood Papers, box 6, file 7, AAA.



Fig. 3. Evergood in front of his Kalamazoo mural.

with their distorted faces and clumsy bodies represent the crises of life in twentieth-century America (fig. 3).

While he had always been interested in contemporary life as subject matter, it was the Depression that propelled Evergood from aesthetic questions towards a consideration of man's place in the social order. Prior to the Depression, social commentary in art had been confined to left-wing journals such as *The Masses* and *The Liberator*. But in the thirties, artists began to believe in their power as a social force and in their art as a vehicle for ideology. Along with other artists who used their art to effect social change, Evergood concentrated on significant moments in the lives of ordinary people, illustrating their life struggle and thus implicitly or explicitly criticizing the economic system. It was, in fact, this critical stance and the activist impulse inherent in their work that separated the ideologists and social realists from urban realists like Reginald Marsh. Marsh, although he captured the effect of the Depression on the unemployed and conveyed their hopelessness and despair, was more concerned with an abstract vision of urban life than with the individual's ex-

perience of it. His interest was in the spectacle; Evergood's was not. "When Marsh painted his Bowery bums," Evergood wrote, "he was seeing them through the eyes of a social observer and not through the eyes of a social thinker. Oh yes, Marsh saw the sadness and the unfairness and Marsh was sorry for the bums, but he accepted this state of society and this picturesque scene representing New York, as inevitable. Hence Marsh's bums are 'classical', 'acceptable' bums, acceptable as lost souls and classical in their tragic hopelessness. My bums, which I painted at the same time as Marsh, were dangerous bums, discontented bums, because mine had not accepted their lot. Mine were not congenital bums, but transient bums."¹¹

Claiming no originality for the differentiation, he classified all artists as either non-idea or idea artists. Constable and Pissarro, for example, he considered non-idea artists in that they did not value ideas as central to artistic expression. Instead, they received inspiration from visual sources; direct contact with nature evoked poetry and drama in their thinking. And it was out of these impressions that they conjured up the mysterious and exciting. The second group of artists, in which Evergood placed himself, drew inspiration from contemplating circumstances in which the underlying non-visual idea was the most critical element. "The painter of ideas", he noted, "does not have contempt for going to a leaf to study the intricacies of color or form, nor to a grand sweeping vista of fields and rivers. . . . It must mean that when the grand vista does not present itself, the idea artist has a little idea to play with and let his imagination work in and round out."¹²

Evergood's own ideologist works fall roughly into three categories. The first focuses on specific events or social issues in contemporary life, usually containing a condemnation of political systems and practices that victimize people and betray human potential. The second examines closely varied images of men and women self-diminished within a hostile environment. The third looks at all life as an endless cycle of trial and error, analyzing the human condition within a context of historical evolution.

11. Philip Evergood, "There Is A Difference in Bums", unpublished draft of an essay, undated, American Contemporary Artists Gallery Papers (hereafter abbreviated ACA Papers), roll D-304, frame 315, AAA.

12. Philip Evergood, handwritten note, untitled and undated, KTC, box 2.

Hoping that more intelligent and civilized life was extant on *other* planets, Evergood expressed his feelings about Earth's relation to the galaxy at large in a letter to Dr. Raymond Piper at Syracuse University. "There will always be," he wrote in November of 1959, "the heat of suns which will bring life and sustain it, and the thoughts of the 'good' generated out of this life or energy will tend to perpetuate light, life, and beauty. The negative forces—emptiness, cold, darkness—will always be present in nature and in man if the physical light or the mental light for any reason dims. Light, heat, growth, action, thought, creation, beauty, versus darkness, cold, death, frustration, destruction. Man has reached the point of discovering one or two important keys to the physical makeup of energy. He must decide now, today, whether he will use them to make for himself light or darkness."¹³

Evergood's spaceman in the Syracuse University-owned painting *Spaceman, Spaceman, Shining Bright* (1961), flying through the universe towards the unknown, perhaps has been propelled there by the artist to rendezvous with beings more intelligent than himself, those who have made the positive choice for light over darkness.

But whomever Evergood was interpreting and supporting, whether his bums during the thirties or the Spanish Republicans and the International Brigade he painted during the forties, he was sure to be on the side of the downtrodden and disenfranchised. Even as late as the 1960s he was still the outspoken rebel, criticizing the affluent who turned their attention away from the conflict in Southeast Asia, "escaping the horrors of war in Vietnam and elsewhere, hiding behind the barricade of suntan lotion, Puccini [sic] bikinis and rear-side uplift girdles while 98% of the Earth's population are living on a handful of rice a day, and rats are running all over the babies' cribs in Harlem and Kentucky".¹⁴ Always convinced of the futility of war, he continued to support anti-war groups throughout the crisis. Indeed, nowhere does his impatience with war-mongers and bureaucrats show itself more clearly than in his letters protesting the involvement in Vietnam. "The whole mess . . . is so revolting and

13. Philip Evergood to Dr. Raymond F. Piper of Syracuse University, 30 November 1959, Philip Evergood Papers, box 3, AAA.

14. Philip Evergood to Esther Aronson, 27 December 1965, Philip Evergood Papers, box 4, AAA.

gets worse by the hour and day. Protests don't seem to get through the barrier composed of concrete, red tape and manure. Those in the saddle ride rough-shod over all public opinion, and those opposed to these vile actions, the greatest percentage of people who hate the whole business, are too timid to speak out."¹⁵

With his ideologist leanings and his commitment to social criticism and commentary, came the danger of being too closely focused upon contemporary events. Yet Evergood was aware of the difference between being just a topical recorder of incidents and being a chronicler of his times, and he strove to develop what he called tribal symbols, symbols that would carry deep and enduring implications. For him, Chamberlain's umbrella had become a tribal symbol, as had tattered soldiers' boots and the white robes and masks of the Ku Klux Klan. Abstracting the topicality from these images, he adapted them to suggest the universal misery of mankind.

During the early thirties, Evergood's political stance brought him into contact with the American Contemporary Artists Gallery. The ACA pioneered the showing of socially-conscious art within an American context and quickly developed into a showcase for those artists whose views were sympathetic. Exhibiting the work of lesser-known artists and holding annual open competitions for unknowns, the gallery brought public recognition to Joe Jones, William Gropper, Robert Gwathmey, Moses Soyer, Anton Refregier, and David Burliuk, as well as Philip Evergood. Many of the ACA artists, particularly those born abroad or those who had studied in Europe, were familiar with and supported socialist and Marxist theory. Though Evergood generally thought of himself as a socialist, his was a belief uncomplicated by theory, based upon the moral rejection of any one class's exploiting another.

Evergood first joined the ACA roster in the spring of 1937, and his passion for mixing the aesthetically vital with the socially relevant brought him into a close and lasting friendship with the gallery's founder and director, Herman Baron (fig. 4). When Baron started the ACA in 1932, at 1269 Madison Avenue on the corner of 91st Street, it was to provide an office for his monthly trade paper *Glass Digest*, as well as a gallery. The first exhibition opened in August of

15. Philip Evergood to Alice and V. J. (no last name shown), 26 July, no year, Philip Evergood Papers, box 1, AAA.



Fig. 4. Herman Baron.

1932—a mere twelve paintings: works by Hy Cohen, Harry Lane, and Eleanor Blaisdel. Though the gallery also offered framing services, the exhibitions, concentrating on social realism, soon took precedence. Baron was encouraged in this socially concerned direction by one of his friends, a former fellow student at New York University, Harry Potamkin. A poet and movie critic, Potamkin introduced Baron to artists who were affiliated with the John Reed Club, an association of artists and writers that was a magnet for left-wing intellectuals during the early years of the Depression. For the most part in their twenties, these artists shared an interest in experimenting with new approaches and subject matter and in depicting subjects with proletarian and revolutionary themes. Generally, they found themselves unwelcome at the uptown galleries, which preferred works by more traditional artists. Until the ACA came on the scene, there had really been no commercial outlet for art that made a strong social comment, but it was exactly this kind of art that interested Baron. By exhibiting such works, Baron sought to involve his clients in the social causes as well, and he labored to attract people who had never before been to such a gallery. To attract the average wage-earner to contemporary art, he used a variety of methods. He sponsored benefits for causes, juried shows, auctions, opening celebrations, and music and street fairs—all to entice collectors, friends, and casual walkers-by to purchase the works of his young, socially committed artists.

Philip Evergood was one of the most outspoken of these artists, and certainly Baron's favorite. Steadfastly supportive, Baron not only served as Evergood's dealer, but also became his closest friend and reassurer. It was for Evergood's first one-man show, from 20 February through 6 March 1938, that Baron printed the ACA's first illustrated catalogue. The two saw each other frequently, often discussed subjects for canvases and corresponded regularly. Their letters, many of which are now at Syracuse University, indicate Baron's loyalty to artist over buyer. "[Harry] Abrams", Baron wrote, "came in and said he wanted to buy some of your paintings. . . . He asked me not to write you. He will try to get about two for as little as possible. See what you can do about keeping the price as high as possible."¹⁶ It is also clear, as one reads through what is at times a daily exchange of

16. Herman Baron to Philip Evergood, undated, Philip Evergood Papers, box 1, AAA.

letters, that Evergood both appreciated and greatly depended on the friendship of Herman Baron and his wife Ella. "What would a man do", he wrote, "without the inspiration of truly loyal friends such as you both. One can conquer the world if he has the kind of support and confidence in his little aims."¹⁷

Operating for some time as a cooperative, the ACA developed an annual tradition of inviting artists who had not had a one-man show in New York City to submit work for possible exhibition. Winners were selected and presented in a group show the following year. From this group show, one artist was chosen for a one-man exhibition the year after that. While Evergood had already enjoyed some degree of recognition before he arrived at the ACA, it was here that his work was first placed in a context in which he felt comfortable. By 1937, when Evergood came on board, the ACA had already moved downtown from 1269 Madison Avenue to a loft over the Village Barn at 52 West 8th Street in Greenwich Village, not far from Edith Halpert's Downtown Gallery and the old Whitney Museum. Evergood always recalled that location with fondness: "that rustic place of jollity, transient skullduggery and mayhem, where I had my first one-man shows, and the memory of which causes me to wake up from time to time in the dead of night—my head throbbing, my feet stomping—to the whine and hum of those hillbilly fiddles beneath the thin floor of 'our hallowed hall of art up there' ".¹⁸

Hallowed as well was the place Baron always held in Evergood's heart. The artist's closest relationship, outside that with his parents and his wife Julia, was with Herman Baron. Eight years older than Philip, Baron was friend, business manager, confidant, and dealer all in one. He was one of the few people Evergood totally trusted. When Philip's own father died, their friendship had matured to provide the attention and steadfast support that Philip, for all his "independence", so badly needed.

Baron, always totally loyal, placed Evergood's needs first, often refusing any commission for works sold, or advancing funds from his own pocket during low periods. "I have a feeling", he wrote in the mid-fifties, "that the extra money you had to pay for your car left

17. Philip Evergood to Herman Baron and his wife Ella, 17 September 1956, ACA Papers, roll D-304, AAA.

18. Philip Evergood, unpublished essay on Van Wyck Brooks, 11 February 1961, Philip Evergood Papers, box 5, AAA.

your bank balance a little less than respectable and so am enclosing \$200. Judging from what you told me you certainly will need money to see you through, so please let me know how much".¹⁹ Again some weeks later, "I hope I will see you before the week is out. It is a very long time since you've been in and when you're away that long I begin to wonder whether staying away from New York that long is good for you. Of course, we all have our ideas what is good for someone else and we are generally wrong about such things."²⁰

In 1941, when Philip developed intestinal cancer, Baron was the first to rally to his side, giving him continual encouragement and buoying his spirits by arranging for Juliana Force at the Whitney Museum to purchase *Lily and the Sparrows* for their permanent collection. This sale revived Evergood's interest in becoming well enough to resume painting.

During the fifties, when Evergood was living in Connecticut, he and Baron corresponded two or three times a week. Researchers will find the letters from this period, now at Syracuse, of particular interest. Essentially complete and very rich in information, they bring to light much detail about the New York City gallery business and the internal activities of the ACA. Besides letters from Baron to Evergood, the ACA material includes letters from Bella Fishko, Anton Refregier, and Dan Koerner concerning ACA business, minutes of ACA Gallery meetings, proposed ACA contracts between the gallery and its artists, and gallery press releases and exhibition catalogues. The material replaces an earlier ACA collection that came to the University through the efforts of Martin Bush in the 1960s and was transferred to the Archives of American Art in 1984.

The Baron–Evergood letters from Syracuse University's ACA collection testify that Baron frequently offered suggestions to the artist for compositions. The painting *Epitaph*, completed between 1953 and 1955, showing the Nazi's massacre of a village of Jews, resulted from one such letter. From his summer retreat, Baron had written to Philip: "In the country I have read a terrifying book, *Notes from the Warsaw Ghetto*. Last night I had a delayed nightmare. I dreamt that I saw a line of Jews—miles long, and they were being convoyed to a fiery furnace by a moving platform. As they reached the furnace they were

19. Herman Baron to Philip Evergood, undated, KTC, box 1.

20. Herman Baron to Philip Evergood, undated, KTC, box 1.

clubbed to unconsciousness or semi-unconsciousness. I heard groans as they were shoveled into the fiery furnace. This destruction of 6,000,000 people because they were Jews is almost forgotten. I hope you'll be able to do something with this slaughter of the innocent."²¹

Other letters kept the artist informed about gallery visitors and art purchases. Occasionally Baron would convince Evergood to accept a portrait commission. Although these assignments promised to provide much-needed additional income, they never seemed to work out. Inevitably, the sitters rejected the portraits, and ultimately Baron acknowledged the futility of the endeavor. "You can't be yourself", the artist complained. "There's someone standing back of you and advising you a little bit; it takes away the stamina and the staying power and the creativity."²²

Robert Gwathmey, Evergood's friend and fellow artist, recalled one such rejected portrait commission. Later retitled *Satisfaction in New Jersey*, the painting started out to be a family portrait of a doctor's daughter and her two sons, but was quickly refused. Gwathmey recalled how with "a minimum of repainting, adding some belching factories on the horizon, pumping some additional white corpuscles into the effeminate youths and making the mother-wife just a bit more of an ornament", Evergood transformed the portrait into a commentary on suburban life. Another rejected portrait commission is now in the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American Art under the title *Woman at the Piano*. It began as a painting of Bea Seitzman, the wife of one of Herman Baron's friends. As the work neared completion, Evergood began to doubt that the Seitzmans would like it. Writing Baron, he said, "I believe it to be a first-rate Evergood and it has all the subtleties of any of my best work—it is also very *like her* . . . they ought to be more than happy to have a major work for the small sum that [they] are paying. However, if they do not want it, I am sure it will stand up as good work of art anywhere, and will sell to someone just on its own artistic merits of a [sic] *Girl at a Piano*."²³

It was on Jack Baur's 1960 Whitney Museum retrospective exhibition of Evergood's work that Herman Baron's hopes rested for

21. Herman Baron to Philip Evergood, undated, KTC, box 1.

22. Jack Baur interview with Philip Evergood, op. cit., 8.

23. Philip Evergood to Herman Baron, 29 July 1953, ACA Papers, roll D-304, frame 84, AAA.

widespread recognition for his favorite artist. From the moment he heard that Baur, a former director of the Whitney, was going to curate the show, his correspondence with Philip was full of optimism. He wrote in July of 1958: "The news will be four or five days old, but I still find it thrilling. The invitation to you to show a retrospective exhibition is more than just recognition of your great talent. That, I am sure, was recognized by them several years ago, and you would have had the 'big' show then, had it not been for the fact that you are also the most articulated [sic] social artist and the climate has been inclement until now for them to venture forth with you. Now, evidently, they think it is safe; they have perfect barometers to catch the change or they wouldn't be where they are—which makes it good news generally. I almost feel like Noah must have felt when he saw the bird—was it a dove—he sent out bringing back the first inclination [sic] that the flood was subsiding."²⁴

But the exhibition did not bring the result both men had hoped for, and through correspondence Baron quickly tried to soothe the disappointment. "I have been thinking about our conversation", he wrote, "and I am inclined to believe that part of your tiredness, and mine too, for that matter, is the result of the reactions to the big event. No matter how good the results are—and the results have been very good—there is a feeling that things should have been more exciting. But if we consider the situation realistically, it couldn't have been. If you consider the biography and the reproductions, you are not only a social thinker but a fighter for social justice and this twin must retard your full acceptance; and if we add to that the terrific fight the non-objectivists are putting up to protect their investments and glory that is another hurdle to overcome. But, in having the retrospective exhibition you have achieved tremendous success; and the sales are very good and will be better, providing we continue our march upward steadily and soberly. The thousands who are seeing your exhibitions are a solid army and you can depend upon them to do missionary work."²⁵

Unfortunately, however, Baron's own tiredness was owing more to ill health than the anticipatory excitement and strain of the retro-

24. Herman Baron to Philip Evergood, 10 July 1958, written from Harbor Hill, Cold Springs, New York, KTC, box 1.

25. Herman Baron to Philip Evergood, undated, KTC, box 1.

spective, and in the months following it, his health steadily declined. On 21 January 1961 he succumbed to heart failure; he was sixty-eight, the same age Philip's father had been when he died, and Philip was badly shaken by his passing. With Baron's death, he lost an emotional and professional support he could not replace. Delivering the eulogy for his friend on 29 January 1961 at the Riverside Memorial Chapel, Evergood said:

I think there are many truths here expressed which have a bearing on our love for Herman Baron and on his character—human dignity, great warmth, fidelity to people and to ideals. His was a self-sustained sureness, a modesty, seeking no princely stature among his contemporaries, his fellow beings. When all the world was against him, against one of his artists, against one of his dear friends, he had a superb equanimity—in fact, he had a firmness of mind which was not easily disturbed either way—by prosperity or by adversity. To be near Baron—sick, failing even as he was during the last few months, was to be near strength, was to get nourishment, was to go away happy. I speak as I know I am speaking for all of you—his friends, his family, his artists—the people he loved. We have lost a dear, dear friend, and we weep today.²⁶

The Whitney retrospective was the high point of both men's careers. Baron's death marked the end of Philip Evergood's most artistically productive period—his years at the ACA.

THE KENDALL TAYLOR COLLECTION
RELATING TO PHILIP EVERGOOD

Size of collection: 8 linear feet
Inclusive dates: 1900–1988

The collection is focused on Philip Evergood (1901–1973), an American painter active from the 1930s through the 1960s, who is

26. Philip Evergood, ink draft of his memorial service for Herman Baron, 29 January 1961, KTC, box 1.

often associated with the “social realism” movement. These materials are particularly valuable in that they illuminate not only the life and work of the artist himself, but also American art and culture of the period. Acquired from Dr. Taylor by the George Arents Research Library in 1990, this collection complements the Evergood papers held by the Smithsonian Institution’s Archives of American Art in Washington, D.C. It includes some of the artist’s most personal items—those which during his lifetime he kept out of the public domain.

The collection is presently contained in seven boxes and two oversized packages. Boxes 1–3 and the packages contain Evergood primary materials—correspondence, drafts and recordings of speeches and essays, exhibition catalogues, reviews of his work, photographs, and personal memorabilia. Boxes 4–7 contain the materials of Kendall Taylor, the artist’s biographer, and drafts of her publications about Evergood, including her book, *Philip Evergood, Never Separate from the Heart*, a copy of which is in the Syracuse University Library. A more detailed inventory is available in the Arents Library.

A small amount of additional Evergood material may be found in the Philip Evergood Papers in the George Arents Research Library.

Artists' Papers in the George Arents Research Library: Sources for the Study of Twentieth-Century American Art

BY MARK F. WEIMER AND DONNA CAPELLE COOK

For nearly thirty years the George Arents Research Library for Special Collections at Syracuse University has actively acquired primary materials to support research and study in the field of art history including, as outlined in an internal collection development statement of 1961, "the papers of architects, artists, sculptors, industrial designers, cartoonists, photographers, art critics, educators, and the records of professional associations and galleries".

Beginning with the gift of the papers of sculptors James Earle Fraser, Laura Gardin Fraser, and Anna Hyatt Huntington in the 1960s, and continuing to the recent acquisition of collections relating to Diego Rivera and Philip Evergood, the Arents Library has played a leading role in documenting the work of twentieth-century artists. Sculptors, women artists, and emigré artists are particularly well represented. Over the past decade, the Library has actively cooperated with the Smithsonian Institution's Archives of American Art to consolidate and preserve artist collections by the preparation and distribution of microfilm copies of its holdings.

Original works by many of the artists listed below are held by the Syracuse University Art Collections which coordinated its acquisitions with those of the Arents Library throughout the 1960s, the period of greatest activity. In addition to the holdings of the University Art Collections, researchers should also consult the Syracuse University Archives for materials relating to faculty artists and educators and the records of art programs and special commissions at Syracuse University.

In addition to the personal papers of the artists listed here, the Arents Library holds a number of related collections, including the

records of a number of galleries (Associated American Artist Galleries, Grand Central Moderns, and ACA Gallery), professional organizations (National Association of Schools of Art, Art Libraries Society/North America), and art critics (John Canaday, Dudley Crafts Watson, and Émile Schaub-Koch).

This checklist is limited to materials of artists whose work was done primarily in this century. Collections in the field of architecture have been described in: Werner Seligmann, "A Brief Survey of Architectural Holdings at the Syracuse University Libraries", *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier* 19 (Spring 1984): 105–12. Future checklists will enumerate the Library's extensive holdings in such allied fields as cartoon art, photography, and industrial design.

- Alajalov, Constantin (1900–1987). Illustrator, painter.
Papers, 1929–1960. Correspondence, published illustrations, original drawings. .5 lin. ft.
- Artzybasheff, Boris (1899–1965). Illustrator, painter, engraver.
Correspondence, artwork, photographs. 2 lin. ft.
- Bacon, Peggy (1895–1987). Painter, illustrator, caricaturist.
Papers, 1893–1964. Correspondence, manuscripts, illustrations, writings, memorabilia. 3.5 lin. ft.
- Barnet, Will (b. 1911). Painter, printmaker.
Correspondence, manuscripts. 1 lin. ft.
- Bassford, Wallace (b. 1900). Painter.
Correspondence, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Bates, Gladys Edgerly (b. 1896). Sculptor.
Papers, 1913–1962. Correspondence, sketchbooks, photographs, scrapbooks, exhibition catalogues. 3.5 lin. ft.
- Blair, Robert Noel (b. 1912). Painter, sculptor.
Published materials, clippings. .5 lin. ft.
- Bohrod, Aaron (b. 1907). Painter.
Papers, 1932–1961. Correspondence, sketches, manuscripts, clippings. 4 lin. ft.
- Bolotowsky, Ilya (1907–1981). Painter.
Manuscripts. .5 lin. ft.
- Botkin, Henry Albert (1896–1983). Painter.
Correspondence, published materials, photographs. 1 lin. ft.
- Bourdelle, Pierre (1903?–1966). Painter, sculptor, muralist.

- Papers, 1938–1966. Correspondence, sketches, photographs, published materials. 34 lin. ft.
- Browning, Colleen (b. 1929). Painter.
Papers, 1957. Photographs, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Burliuk, David (1882–1967). Painter.
Papers, 1900–1969. Correspondence, diaries, scrapbooks, exhibition catalogues, published materials. 4.75 lin. ft.
- Caesar, Doris (1893–1971). Sculptor.
Papers, 1920–1965. Correspondence, scrapbooks, notes, photographs, published materials. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Calapai, Letterio (b. 1904). Painter, etcher, engraver, illustrator, muralist.
Correspondence, published materials, scrapbook, artwork. 1 lin. ft.
- Campbell, Jewett (b. 1912). Painter.
Papers, 1950–1964. Biographical materials, photographs, clippings. .5 lin. ft.
- Candell, Victor (1903–1977). Painter, illustrator.
Papers, 1928–1964. Correspondence, intaglio plates, linoleum cuts, sketchbook, manuscripts, published materials. 2 lin. ft.
- Caparn, Rhys (b. 1909). Sculptor.
Correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, published materials. 3 lin. ft.
- Carewe, Sylvia (1914–1981). Painter.
Papers, ca.1941–ca.1972. Correspondence, published materials, photographs, slides, memorabilia. 3 lin. ft.
- Chambers, Robert William (1865–1933). Magazine illustrator.
Correspondence, 1903–1932. 11 items.
- Charlot, Jean (1898–1979). Painter, lithographer, illustrator.
Papers, 1960–1962. Manuscripts, sketchbook. .5 lin. ft.
- Chen Chi (b. 1912). Painter.
Published materials, manuscripts. 1.5 lin. ft.
- Citron, Minna (b. 1896). Painter.
Correspondence, manuscripts, published materials, photographs. 1 lin. ft.
- Clark, Eliot Candee (1883–1980). Painter.
Correspondence, memorabilia, published materials, manuscripts. 1 lin. ft.
- Coiner, Charles (1898–1989). Painter.

- Papers, ca.1850–1960. Correspondence, published materials, memorabilia, photographs. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Coleman, Ralph Pallen (1892–1968). Illustrator, painter.
Correspondence, published materials, photographs, sketches. 1 lin. ft.
- Cook, Howard Norton (1901–1980). Painter, illustrator.
Papers, 1928–1972. Correspondence, business files, drawings, published materials. 9.5 lin. ft.
- Crampton, Rollin McNeil (1886–1970). Painter, sculptor.
Papers, 1945–1964. Correspondence, photographs, manuscripts, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Crimi, Alfred D. (b. 1900). Painter.
Papers, 1912–1935. Correspondence, blueprints, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Crisp, Arthur (b. 1881). Painter.
Manuscripts, published materials, photographs. 7 lin. ft.
- Cunningham, Benjamin Frazer (1904–1975). Painter, etcher.
Correspondence, published materials, artwork, manuscripts. .5 lin. ft.
- Dasburg, Andrew (1887–1979). Painter.
Papers, 1908–1981. Correspondence, photographs, exhibition catalogues, published materials. 3.8 lin. ft.
- Datz, A. Mark (1889–1969). Painter, etcher.
Papers, 1926–1965. Correspondence, published materials, photographs, exhibition catalogues. .5 lin. ft.
- De Lue, Donald (1897–1988). Sculptor.
Papers, 1941–1965. Correspondence, photographs, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- De Marco, Jean (b. 1898). Sculptor, engraver, craftsperson.
Correspondence, published materials, photographs, scrapbook. .5 lin. ft.
- DePol, John (b. 1913). Illustrator.
Photographs, published materials, artwork. 2 lin. ft.
- Derujinsky, Gleb W. (1888–1975). Sculptor, painter.
Papers, 1919–1964. Correspondence, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Dickinson, Edwin W. (1891–1978). Painter.
Journals. 3.5 lin. ft.
- Dlugosz, Louis Frank (b. 1915). Sculptor.

- Papers, 1955–1965. Correspondence, published materials, artwork. 1.25 lin. ft.
- Donnelly, Thomas (b. 1893). Painter.
Papers, 1921–1945. Correspondence, exhibition materials, published materials, photographs, scrapbooks. 1 lin. ft.
- Durchanek, Louis W. (b. 1902). Painter.
Sketches, 1951–1961. 200 items.
- Empie, Hal H. (b. 1909). Cartoonist, illustrator, painter, sculptor.
Photographs, drawings, lithographs. 2 lin. ft.
- Evergood, Philip (1901–1973). Painter, sculptor, illustrator.
Kendall Taylor Collection relating to Philip Evergood, 1900–1988. Research notes, exhibition catalogues, artwork, manuscripts, photographs, correspondence, published materials, memorabilia. 8 lin. ft.
Papers, 1960–1967. Exhibition catalogues, manuscripts, published materials. 9 items.
- Farnsworth, Jerry (1895–1982). Painter.
Papers, 1956–1962. Manuscripts, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Fasano, Clara (b. 1900). Sculptor.
Correspondence, photographs, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Fenton, Beatrice (1887–1983). Sculptor.
Papers, ca.1960–ca.1970. Correspondence, photographs, exhibition catalogues, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Ferren, John Millard (1905–1970). Painter, sculptor.
Papers, 1928–1964. Correspondence, exhibition materials, slides, manuscripts, sketchbooks, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Filmus, Tully (b. 1903). Portrait painter.
Correspondence, published materials, exhibition catalogues. 1.5 lin. ft.
- Floch, Joseph (1895–1977). Painter.
Papers, 1935–1960. Exhibition catalogues, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Florsheim, Richard A. (1916–1979). Painter, sculptor, etcher, lithographer.
Papers, 1927–1964. Correspondence, manuscripts, published materials, photographs. 6.5 lin. ft.
- Fraser, James Earle (1876–1953) and Laura Gardin Fraser (1889–1966). Sculptors.

AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS
WINDSOR. VERMONT.

July 26 1905.

Dear Fraser:-

When do you expect to come up? I need a shave
and a hair cut badly.

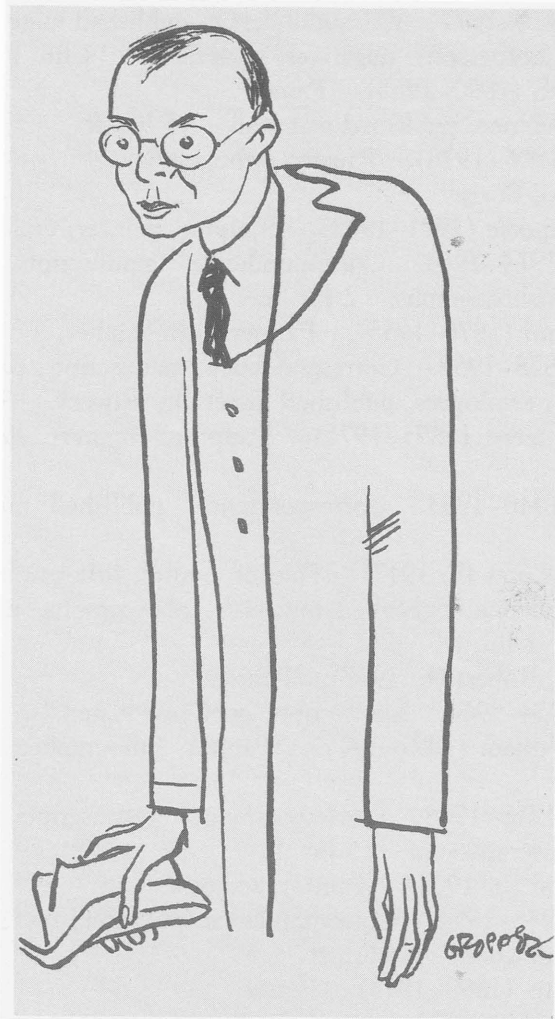
Any time between the
fifth and ~~eight~~^{ninth} of August we will be glad to see
you.

Mr. Earl Fraser,
3 Mac Dougal Alley,
New York City.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens to his protégé, James Earle Fraser, 26 July 1905.
James Earle Fraser Papers, Syracuse University Library.

Papers, 1872-1967. Correspondence, sketches, blueprints, photographs, memorabilia, manuscripts. 57 lin. ft.
Freund, Harry Louis (b. 1905). Painter, illustrator.
Correspondence, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
Frishmuth, Harriet Whitney (1880-1980). Sculptor.

- Papers, 1924–1977. Correspondence, published materials, memorabilia, photographs, negatives, sculptures. 14 lin. ft.
- Gatto, Joseph (1890–1965). Painter.
Correspondence, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Gelb, Jan (1906–1978). Painter, lithographer.
See Margo, Boris.
- Gershoy, Eugenie (1901–1983). Sculptor, painter, craftsperson.
Papers, 1914–1965. Correspondence, manuscripts, published materials, photographs. 2 lin. ft.
- Giles, Howard (1876–1955). Painter, lithographer.
Papers, 1878–1958. Correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, exhibition catalogues, published materials, artwork. 3 lin. ft.
- Glinsky, Vincent (1895–1975). Sculptor, engraver, lithographer, painter.
Papers, 1940–1963. Correspondence, published materials. 2 lin. ft.
- Goff, Lloyd Lozes (b. 1917). Painter, etcher, lithographer.
Correspondence, published materials, photographs, manuscripts, artwork. 2 lin. ft.
- Goodnough, Robert (b. 1917). Painter.
Papers, 1954–1964. Manuscripts, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Gropper, William (1897–1977). Painter, lithographer, cartoonist, illustrator.
Papers, 1918–1968. Correspondence, manuscripts, published materials, scrapbook. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Gross, Chaim (b. 1904). Painter, sculptor.
Papers, 1938–1964. Correspondence, published materials, exhibition catalogues. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Grotell, Maija (1899–1973). Potter.
Papers, 1923–1973. Correspondence, memorabilia, photographs. 2 lin. ft.
- Harbart, Gertrude Felton (b. 1908). Painter.
Correspondence. .5 lin. ft.
- Harris, Louis (1902–1970). Painter.
Clippings, photographs. .5 lin. ft.
- Harriton, Abraham (1893–1986). Painter.
Papers, 1915–1965. Correspondence, photographs, manuscripts, scrapbooks, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Hartigan, Grace (b. 1922). Painter.



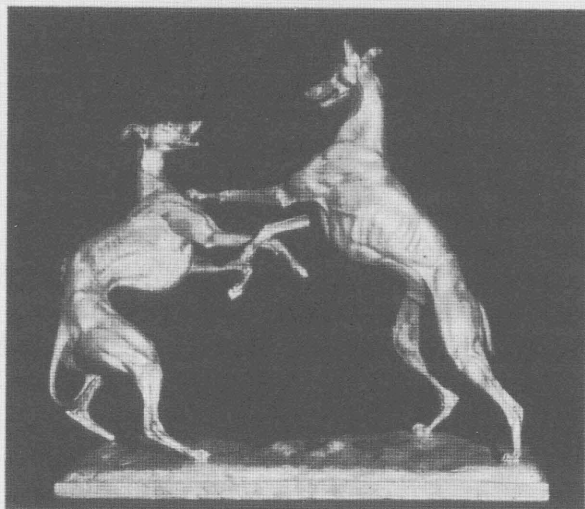
John Dos Passos, caricature by William Gropper (ca. 1922). First published in Carlo De Fornaro, "The Groping of Gropper", *Arts & Decoration* 18 (March 1923): 14-15, 95. William Gropper Papers, Syracuse University Library.

Correspondence, artwork, memorabilia, photographs, manuscripts. 3 lin. ft.

Hartl, Leon (1889-1973). Painter.

Published materials. .5 lin. ft.

- Hekking, William Mathews (1885–1970). Painter, etcher.
Correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, scrapbooks, published materials, reproductions of artwork. 3.5 lin. ft.
- Hoffman, Edward Fenno (b. 1916). Sculptor.
Correspondence, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- House, James Charles, Jr. (b. 1902). Sculptor.
Exhibition catalogues, photographs, manuscripts, published materials. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Huntington, Anna Hyatt (1876–1973). Sculptor.
Papers, 1887–1973. Correspondence, photographs, manuscripts, published materials. 82.5 lin. ft.
- Hyatt, Audella Beebe (1840–1932). Landscape painter.
Papers, 1858–1957. Correspondence, artwork, published materials. 8 lin. ft.
- Insley, Will (b. 1929). Painter, draftsman.
Correspondence. .5 lin. ft.
- Jackson, Lee (b. 1909). Painter.
Papers, 1915–1964. Correspondence, published materials, exhibition catalogues, photographs. .3 lin. ft.
- John, Augustus (1878–1961). Portrait painter.
Correspondence, 1933–1958. 8 items.
- Johnson, Benjamin Franklin (1902–1967). Painter.
Papers, 1951–1968. Correspondence, published materials, photographs, exhibition materials. 6 lin. ft.
- Jonson, Raymond (1891–1982). Painter.
Exhibition catalogues, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Josephu, Josef (1889–1971). Sculptor.
Papers, 1913–1964. Medallions, photographs, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Kappel, Philip (1901–1981). Etcher, painter, illustrator.
Published materials, memorabilia. 1 lin. ft.
- Kaz, Nathaniel (b. 1917). Sculptor.
Tape-recorded interview. .5 lin. ft.
- Kelly, Leon (1901–1982). Muralist.
Papers, 1882–1965. Correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, published materials. 2 lin. ft.
- Kent, Norman (1903–1972). Illustrator, engraver, painter.
Papers, 1942–1968. Correspondence, business records for *American Artist*. 9 lin. ft.



GREYHOUNDS PLAYING

CATALOGUE
EXHIBITION OF SCULPTURE
BY
ANNA HYATT HUNTINGTON

Society of Liberal Arts

JOSLYN MEMORIAL

OMAHA, NEBRASKA

JANUARY, 1938

Exhibition catalogue (1938). Anna Hyatt Huntington Papers,
Syracuse University Library.

- Kingman, Dong (b. 1911?). Painter.
Photographs. .5 lin. ft.
- Klitgaard, Georgina (b. 1893). Painter, etcher.
Correspondence, manuscripts, published materials, photographs. 1.5 lin. ft.
- Klitgaard, Kaj (1888–1953). Painter.
Papers, 1917–1966. Correspondence, sketches, photographs, manuscripts, published materials. 1.5 lin. ft.
- Koerner, W. H. D. [William Henry Dethlef] (1878–1938). Illustrator.
Correspondence, sketches, published materials, photographs. 2 lin. ft.
- Konzal, Joseph (b. 1905). Sculptor.
Papers, 1939–1962. Correspondence, artwork, photographs, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Kopman, Benjamin (1887–1965). Painter, lithographer, etcher, illustrator, sculptor.
Papers, 1911–1965. Correspondence, manuscripts, sketches, photographs. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Koppe, Richard (b. 1916). Painter, sculptor.
Papers, ca.1939–ca.1963.
Correspondence, exhibition materials, manuscripts, photographs, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Kuehne, Max (1880–1968). Etcher, painter.
Correspondence, photographs, manuscripts, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Kupferman, Lawrence (1909–1982). Etcher, painter.
Papers, ca.1947–1964. Correspondence, manuscripts, photographs, paintings. 1 lin. ft.
- Lasker, Joseph L. (b. 1919). Painter, illustrator, cartoonist.
Correspondence, published materials, manuscripts, artwork. 1.5 lin. ft.
- Lathrop, Gertrude K. (1896–1986). Sculptor.
Papers, 1928–1964. Exhibition catalogues, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Laufman, Sidney (1891–1985). Painter.
Correspondence, photographs, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Lawrence, Jacob (b. 1917). Painter, printer.
Papers, 1942–1963. Correspondence, slides, photographs, manuscripts, published materials, exhibition records. 3 lin. ft.

Feb 5, 65

Dear Jake & Gwen:

It was mighty good to learn to-day that Jake has been elected to the National Institute of Arts & Letters. I am so happy — the Institute needs ^{more} painters with some guts & imagination like you. Shahn wrote a beautiful tribute to you I thought, when he proposed you. The only way I could help was by voting for you. I'd have been honored if they'd asked me to second you.

Love to both

Philip

Philip Evergood to Jake and Gwen Lawrence, 5 February 1965.
Jacob Lawrence Papers, Syracuse University Library.

- Leake, Gerald (1885–1975). Painter.
Photographs, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Lebrun, Rico (1900–1964). Painter, sculptor.
Correspondence, published materials, exhibition catalogues. .5 lin. ft.
- Lee, Ruth Hudson (b. 1885). Painter.
Published materials, photographs. .5 lin. ft.
- Lehman, Irving G. (1900–1983). Painter, engraver.
Published materials, photographs. .5 lin. ft.
- Leich, Chester (b. 1889). Etcher, painter.
Correspondence, published materials, exhibition catalogues, photographs, artwork. .5 lin. ft.
- L'Engle, Lucy (b. 1889). Painter, graphic artist.
Artwork. .5 lin. ft.
- Lenski, Lois (1893–1974). Illustrator, painter.
Papers, 1927–1967. Correspondence, manuscripts, artwork, published materials. 8 lin. ft.
- Liberté, Lewis Jean (1896–1965). Painter.
Papers, 1924–1970. Correspondence, photographs, reproductions, memorabilia. 1.3 lin. ft.
- Lipman-Wulf, Peter (b. 1905). Sculptor, printmaker.
Papers, 1950–1955. Correspondence, manuscripts, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Lo Medico, Thomas Gaetano (1904–1985). Sculptor.
Photographs. .5 lin. ft.
- Lozowick, Louis (1892–1973). Lithographer, painter.
Papers, 1922–1973. Correspondence, published materials, exhibition catalogues, photographs, manuscripts, memorabilia. 4 lin. ft.
- Luce, Molly (b. 1896). Painter.
Papers, 1924–1967. Correspondence, exhibition catalogues, photographs, published materials, manuscripts. .5 lin. ft.
- Lucioni, Luigi (1900–1988). Painter.
Papers, 1927–1964. Correspondence, artwork, lithographic prints, published materials. 2 lin. ft.
- McGarrell, James (b. 1930). Painter.
Published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Maldarelli, Oronzio (1892–1963). Sculptor.
Photographs. .5 lin. ft.

- Malina, Frank J. (1912–1981). Painter.
Papers, 1953–1966. Published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Marans, Moissaye (1902–1977). Sculptor.
Papers, 1927–1965. Correspondence, published materials, art project papers. 1 lin. ft.
- Margo, Boris (b. 1902), and Gelb, Jan (1906–1978). Painters, printmakers.
Papers, 1930–1966. Correspondence, exhibition catalogues, manuscripts. 6 lin. ft.
- Martin, Keith Morrow (1911–1983). Painter.
Correspondence, published materials, photographs, exhibition catalogues. 3.5 lin. ft.
- Martinelli, Ezio (1913–1981). Painter.
Correspondence, published materials, scrapbooks, artwork. 8 lin. ft.
- Mattson, Henry Elis (1887–1971). Painter.
Correspondence, published materials, photographs, manuscripts. .5 lin. ft.
- Mayor, Harriet Randolph Hyatt (1868–1960). Painter, sculptor.
Papers, 1881–1962. Correspondence, manuscripts, sketchbooks, photographs. 15 lin. ft.
- Medellin, Octavio (b. 1908?). Painter, sculptor.
Papers, 1941–1963. Correspondence, published materials, manuscripts. 1.5 lin. ft.
- Millman, Edward (1907–1964). Painter, mural painter, lithographer.
Correspondence, photographs, manuscripts, sketches. 2 lin. ft.
- Miyashita, Tad (1922–1979). Painter.
Papers, 1952–1966. Correspondence, published materials, artwork, photographs. .5 lin. ft.
- Moffett, Ross E. (1888–1971). Painter.
Papers, 1921–1962. Correspondence, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Monj6, Enriqu6 (b. 1896). Sculptor.
Papers, 1944–1964. Photographs, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Mullican, Lee (b. 1919). Painter.
Papers, 1942–1966. Artwork, published materials. 1.5 lin. ft.

- Parker, Robert Andrew (b. 1927). Painter.
Correspondence, sketchbooks. 1 lin. ft.
- Peterdi, Gabor (b. 1915). Painter.
Exhibition catalogues, published materials, manuscripts. 1 lin. ft.
- Pittman, Hobson (1900–1972). Painter, block printer.
Papers, 1944–1963. Published materials, manuscripts. .5 lin. ft.
- Putnam, Brenda (1890–1975). Sculptor.
Correspondence, artwork, photographs, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Quattrocchi, Edmondo (1889–1966). Sculptor.
Papers, 1919–1962. Correspondence, photographs, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Reisman, Philip (b. 1904). Painter, etcher, illustrator.
Papers, 1931–1965. Correspondence, photographs, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Reynal, Jeanne (b. 1903). Mosaic artist.
Papers, 1963–1964. Correspondence, photographs, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Reynard, Grant T. (1887–1968). Etcher, lithographer, painter.
Papers, 1930–1966. Correspondence, published materials. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Richardson, Gerard. Naval illustrator.
Correspondence, published materials, photographs, 1 lin. ft.
- Riggs, Robert (1886–1970). Lithographer.
Published materials, photographs, manuscripts. .5 lin. ft.
- Rivera, Diego (1886–1957). Muralist.
Clifford Wight Collection relating to Diego Rivera, 1929–1941.
Correspondence, photographs, published materials, business records. 1.25 lin. ft.
- Rood, John (1902–1974). Sculptor, painter.
Papers, 1936–1969. Correspondence, photographs, published materials, scrapbooks. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Rosen, James Mahlon (b. 1933). Painter.
Correspondence, artwork. 4.5 lin. ft.
- Rosenthal, Doris (d. 1971). Painter, lithographer.
Papers, 1938–1971. Correspondence, manuscripts, memorabilia, photographs. 6 lin. ft.
- Rudy, Charles (b. 1904). Sculptor.



Diego Rivera at work on his murals for the Detroit Institute of Arts (ca. 1932).
Clifford Wight Collection relating to Diego Rivera, Syracuse University Library.

- Correspondence, photographs. .5 lin. ft.
- St. John, John Milton (b. 1911). Painter, muralist.
Papers, 1951–1966. Photographs, manuscripts, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Savage, Eugene F. (1883–1978). Painter, sculptor.
Papers, 1925–1966. Artwork, manuscripts. 1 lin. ft.
- Sawyer, Helen Alton (Mrs. Jerry Farnsworth). Painter, lithographer.
Papers, 1920–1964. Correspondence, published materials, manuscripts. .5 lin. ft.
- Scheler, Armin Alfred (b. 1901). Sculptor.
Papers, 1932–1965. Correspondence, photographs, published materials, manuscripts. 1 lin. ft.
- Schnier, Jacques (b. 1898). Sculptor.
Correspondence, manuscripts, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Serger, Frederick B. (1889–1965). Painter.
Correspondence, exhibition catalogues, published materials. 1 lin. ft.

- Shaw, Charles Green (1892–1974). Painter, illustrator.
Papers, 1916–1964. Correspondence, manuscripts, scrapbooks, published materials. 4.5 lin. ft.
- Smith, William Arthur (1918–1989). Illustrator, painter.
Papers, 1950–1959. Exhibition materials, photographs, published materials. .3 lin. ft.
- Speicher, Eugene E. (1883–1962). Painter.
Published materials, photographs. .5 lin. ft.
- Springweiler, Erwin Frederick (1896–1968). Sculptor, craftsman.
Papers, 1908–1971. Correspondence, photographs, published materials, scrapbooks, manuscripts. 4 lin. ft.
- Sutherland, Graham Vivian (1903–1980). Painter.
Manuscripts, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Tam, Reuben (b. 1916). Painter.
Papers, 1958–1966. Exhibition materials, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Toney, Anthony (b. 1913). Painter.
Papers, 1932–1969. Correspondence, artwork, published materials. 7.5 lin. ft.
- Tromka, Abram (1896–1954). Painter, etcher.
Papers, 1934–1961. Correspondence, manuscripts, sketchbook, photographs, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Turnball, Grace Hill (1880–1976). Sculptor, painter.
Papers, 1914–1960. Correspondence, manuscripts, artwork, photographs, published materials. 3 lin. ft.
- Van Leyden, Ernst Oscar Mauritz (b. 1892). Painter, sculptor.
Correspondence, manuscripts, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Vassos, John (1898–1985). Painter, illustrator.
Papers, 1928–1954. Correspondence, artwork, photographs. 9.3 lin. ft.
- Warneke, Heinz (1895–1983). Sculptor.
Papers, 1950–1963. Correspondence, exhibition materials, photographs. 1.5 lin. ft.
- Waugh, Coulton (1896–1973). Painter, illustrator, lithographer, engraver.
Papers, 1830–1971. Artwork, photographs, manuscripts. 9 lin. ft.
- Werner, Fritz (b. 1898). Portrait painter.
Papers, 1929–1965. Correspondence, published materials, photographs. 1 lin. ft.

- Weschler, Anita (b. 1903). Sculptor.
Papers, 1902–1978. Correspondence, manuscripts, exhibition catalogues, artwork, photographs, memorabilia. 30 lin. ft.
- Weston, Harold (1894–1972). Painter.
Papers, 1916–1971. Correspondence, manuscripts, memorabilia. 14.5 lin. ft.
- Wheat, John (b. 1920). Potter.
Photographs, artwork, lithograph prints, manuscripts. 1 lin. ft.
- Whitaker, Frederic (1891–1980). Painter.
Papers, 1964–1977. Correspondence, published materials, artwork. 7 lin. ft.
- Wickey, Harry (b. 1892). Etcher, lithographer.
Papers, 1928–1965. Correspondence, published materials, photographs. 2 lin. ft.
- Williams, Hiram Draper (b. 1917). Painter.
Manuscripts, photographs, published materials. 1 lin. ft.
- Williams, Wheeler (1897–1972). Sculptor, painter.
Published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Wilson, Edward A. (1886–1970). Etcher, illustrator, lithographer, painter, block printer.
Papers, 1919–1962. Correspondence, manuscripts, scrapbook, published materials. 2.5 lin. ft.
- Wuermer, Carl (1900–1983). Landscape painter, etcher.
Published materials, scrapbook, negatives. .5 lin. ft.
- Young, Joseph Louis (b. 1919). Sculptor, muralist.
Papers, 1957–1965. Exhibition catalogues, published materials. .5 lin. ft.
- Yunkers, Adja (1900–1983). Painter.
Correspondence, published materials, scrapbook. .5 lin. ft.

The Punctator's World: A Discursion

BY GWEN G. ROBINSON

Part Six

Era of Resolution: 1750 to 1800

This, the sixth part of a historical survey of the career of punctuation, attempts to describe a few vibrant decades when the mutual influence of punctuation and language brought to light many new ideas. After the publication of Ephraim Chambers' encyclopaedia and Samuel Johnson's dictionary, a prevailing passion for 'truth' put to rout the age-old, commonplace linguistic theories. A tremendous energy came to be applied towards resolving not only the exalted mysteries of the universe and the human mind, but also more homely problems—how to set up a power-driven loom, or breed a Hampshire pig, or even, how properly to insert into text a mark as simple as a comma.

By 1750 the British were no longer showing an enthusiasm for the establishment of a national academy to control the vagaries of their language. The drive towards the perfecting of English, however, was not abandoned. The effort simply shifted from forestalling aberrations that did not as yet exist, to emending those that did—thus, cure, not prevention. In his *Plan for a Dictionary of the English Language* (1747), Dr. Samuel Johnson followed the direction recommended by Boileau in his distinguished proposal to the French Academicians: “that they should review all their polite writers, and correct such impurities as might be found in them, that their authority might not contribute, at any distant time, to the depravation of the language”.¹ In 1755, and still unwavering, Johnson wrote in the preface

1. Samuel Johnson, *The Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* (London: J. and P. Knapton, T. Longman and T. Shewell, C. Hitch, A. Millar, and R. Dodsley, 1747), 5 and 29–30. Johnson recognized that the Academicians of France had endured some notable indecision. Rejecting terms of science in their

to his *Dictionary* that the expectation of success in establishing an English Academy was contrary both to reason and experience. As substitute, he advanced a policy of non-interference for “the liberty-loving Britons” and invited his public to “promulgate the decrees of custom”.²

Under this canopy of enlarging broadmindedness, eighteenth-century Britain indulged its compulsion for the laying down of rules. ‘Proper grammar’, being an indefinable discipline as well as a necessary one for social advancement, gave space to the exercise of strong opinion. The cultivated gentleman-grammarians could now complacently preside over his admirers—inhaling contentment; exhaling condescension. He saw himself as a sort of father-policeman-judge-and-savior, whose duty it was to protest what was abhorrent in everybody else’s language in order to rectify national behavior, for it was the opinion of the day that ‘good speech’ made an effective antidote to bad morals. A virtuous populace required its language to be purged of dialect, provincial idiom, idiosyncratic spellings, and eccentric verbal formations. Thus cleansed and shriven, it could better serve the accepted ‘propriety’. Outmoded entirely now was the reverence for rhetorical ploys, for mystical rhythms and the intuitive confluence of intended and understood meaning. The attitudes that fed this change informed most school grammars published after 1750, for at least a century.

Grammarians found it quite gratifying to bestow wisdom upon ordinary folk, the artisans and workers, the children of shopkeepers and clerks, for whom schoolmasters could not be afforded. These deferential aspirants made up a discipleship whose grammatical improvements infused pedagogues with evangelical ecstasy. Since lit-

first essay, they afterwards found it necessary to relax the rigor of their determination. As for spelling the words in the manner that they spoke them (cf. pp. 9–10), that controversy in France had led to unsteadiness of result, for do what you may, people tend to adhere to custom. Generally, then, the overriding British opinion was that neither the French nor the Italian academies had measured up to expectations, for in the end neither language had proved to be containable.

2. Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), Preface. Interestingly, the matter of non-interference has recently come up again in France, where the Académie after much change of mind decided that both the old and the new ways of spelling certain words would be acceptable for the time being, the winner (selected by public acceptance over time) to be officially adopted at a later date.

THE
P L A N
O F A
DICTIONARY
O F T H E
ENGLISH LANGUAGE;

Addressed to the Right Honourable

PHILIP DORMER,

Earl of *CHESTERFIELD*;

One of His MAJESTY'S Principal Secretaries
of State.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. and P. KNAPTON, T. LONGMAN and
T. SHEWELL, C. HITCH, A. MILLAR, and
R. DODSLEY. M DCCXLVII.

Title page from Dr. Samuel Johnson's *The Plan of a Dictionary*, second issue of the first quarto edition. This is the so-called "Non-Chesterfield" variant in which the words "To the Right Honourable Philip Dormer, Earl of Chesterfield . . ." are omitted before "My Lord" on page 1. In this issue, the whole of sheet A is from a different setting of type, and the error on page 34 is uncorrected. Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library.

erate communication used the language of London and the universities, it was impossible to acquire a facility in reading or writing without also absorbing the values and social attitudes of polite metropolitan culture. For the butcher's son and his cousins in the baking and candlestickmaking trades, it was a one-way, uphill street. Good literature did not include the rabble's chatter, and poets who reeked of the byre were not alluring to their colleagues in the drawing room. And so it came about that the printed word either educated an imitative audience to fashionable standards, or confirmed a nonparticipating audience in its position of cultural inferiority. "That is why some critics regard literacy as a means not of popular emancipation, but of upper-class hegemony and oppression." Along with all the benefits that literacy brought, it also consolidated the authority of privilege.³

The number of publications purporting to improve language usage grew with each decade, and the principles of English grammar, as they were picked apart under the fluorescent glare of reason, became better understood. By the middle of the eighteenth century, the analysis of simple and complex sentences at the school level had become a stereotyped exercise.⁴ In the dim yesteryears, word groups had been deemed sentences if they 'completed a meaning', clauses had been left abandoned to limbos of unexplained 'perfect' or 'imperfect', and rhythms needed for aural assimilation in reading aloud were undifferentiated from the syntactical signals helpful to visual intake. Now, scientific exactitude became the popular preference.

It is interesting what elements were brought to light as close-reasoned grammatical analysis ploughed its straight furrow across the hacked-up terrain of previous linguistic conviction. By the period under consideration here, the notion of a subject or predicate had more or less settled, and whole clauses (noun clauses) were understood to be able to govern a verb. That a clause should contain a verb, however, was not established to everyone's satisfaction until the nineteenth century. For the time being a clause was not much more than a group of words with an unspecified syntactic or semantic unity. Nor was grammatical jargon sufficiently developed to handle

3. Keith Thomas, "The Meaning of Literacy in Early Modern England" in *The Written Word*, ed. Gerd Baumann (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 121.

4. Ian Michael, *The Teaching of English from the Sixteenth Century to 1870* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), 332.

in simple terminology the notion of 'object': it was more likely to appear as "the substantive governed of the verb"; or "the Noun or Pronoun which receives the Force of the Active Verb". The concept of 'agent' (or 'subject', as we know it today) was confused.⁵ In general, grammatical explanations were longer, vaguer, more circuitously set forth, and the terms of description were both multifarious and difficult to assimilate.

From the time that printing first brought punctuation under everyman's eye, there had been two declared attitudes about its general importance. A person either became enthralled with the distinctions that could be achieved with it, or viewed it as a sort of cap to the wellspring of imagination, a nuisance to be relegated to one's secretary or corrector so that sublime inspiration might carry on unimpeded. While G. J. Vossius was soberly recommending the addition of the *semiperiodus* to the standard arsenal of stops, John Smith, the printer (see Part Five), was advising against punctating superfluities and 'affectations'.⁶ But Alexander Pope outdid them both by commemorating in a satiric couplet the whole tiresome subject.⁷

Commas and Points they set exactly right,
And 't were a sin to rob them of their mite.

It is useful to remember that even by the middle of the eighteenth century literacy was by no means total. Furthermore, not all those who could read could write. Learning to write was difficult. It involved the conquest of one or another specific script (and there were many), taught by a special teacher, who naturally charged as much as he could get and whose lessons would have included all the messy business of sharpening quills and mixing the ink.⁸ By comparison, learning to read, especially to read printed matter, was a piece of cake, not only cheaper (Auntie can teach you), but cleaner and requiring less effort. Although cultivated gentlemen were fully liter-

5. *Ibid.*, 333. The word "agent" was often used to denote the subject.

6. John Smith, *The Printer's Manual* (London: W. Owen and M. Cooper, 1755), 87. Some "would make an Erratum of a Comma which they fancy to bear the pause of a Semicolon, were the Printer to give way to such pretended accuracies".

7. Alexander Pope, lines 161–62 from the "Prologue" to his *Satires*. See *The Complete Poetical Works of Pope*, ed. Henry W. Boynton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1931), 178.

8. Thomas, "The Meaning of Literacy", 103.

ate in that they could read and write both Latin and English, the descending orders showed a decreased mastery of these abilities. In the 1740s, for example, out of a group of seventy-four Scots women, only eight could write, though all could read the Bible with ease and fluency.⁹

Commerce, nevertheless, was stimulating great changes. Training to become a scrivener—if you had the chance—or a secretary, or commercial clerk, was more and more viewed as a worthwhile ambition. Writing skills were needed to put together legal documents and to interpret them back again, to take down the dictations of the well-to-do, and to keep track of office business and accounts. With trade so dependent on keeping records, script necessarily standardized to a ‘round hand’ that was quick to write and simple to read back. Understandably, as more writers came aboard, there was an ever-growing volume of written material, not only commercial, but also domestic—correspondence, diaries, and household accounts. If no paper was handy, the skill might still be practised on the surfaces of desks, walls, and trees. So popular did the activity become and so intense the pleasure of seeing one’s personal statement displayed in public, that, in the words of one author, “All who come to [the] boghouse write”.¹⁰

Thus did full literacy come to be truly in reach of the populace and judged to be desirable. Whole armies of language ‘experts’—scholars, gentlemen, schoolmasters, clerics—now emerged onto the field of opportunity, all passionate in their beliefs about the written word and each bursting to say his piece. The latter half of the eighteenth century was a period when a great deal was thought and said about grammar, which was discovered at last to be fundamental to the oral rendering of text; about spelling (“Orthoggraphy iz dhe *just Picture* ov Speech”¹¹); about handwriting and ‘correct’ pronunciation. Standardization in all these areas was deemed to contribute to the strength, integrity, and decency of the nation. As for punctuation, strange things were occurring. For a number of decades elocu-

9. Thomas, “The Meaning of Literacy”, 100. The disparity in literacy between male and female being frequently enormous, one cannot help wondering what sort of rapport was possible between a highly cultivated husband and his semi-literate wife.

10. *Ibid.*, 112.

11. James Elphinston, *English Orthoggraphy Epitimized* (London, 1790), 1.

tionary currents flowed immiscibly with the strengthening grammatical ones—like the muddy Missouri at the side of the great Mississippi. A few grammarians (like Burrow, see below) wholly favored the aural pointing tradition. But the majority increasingly described the stops in syntactical terms, sometimes even in the very sentences that were propounding breath-pauses. After much grappling with the principles involved, the century came to a close with an established theoretical understanding of the separate needs of ear and eye. From that time on, intellectually responsible philosopher-grammarians acceded to the proposition that logical punctating, aligned to syntactical structure, was the best way to break up written text.¹²

Throughout the era under consideration, it was gradually accepted that there is a difference between the art of silent reading and reading aloud. Under grammatical analysis, the separate skills came to be differentiated and eventually redefined, each in its derivative relationship to natural speech. All three areas—reading aloud, reading in silence, and speech—demand an appropriate meting out of sentence segments. That is the heart of successful language usage, written or spoken. If it is to make sense to us, it must come in pieces, not in a long, undifferentiated effusion. Where, for the eye, it is necessary to denote the boundaries of grammatical pattern, a mark must be made on the page. Oral expression and aural intake, each with its own separate physiological constraints, demand their breaks of silence to delineate meaningful rhythmic motifs. The wants of eye and tongue-ear are duplicate to a large degree, but not entirely, and overlap and equality must be distinguished. Why it is that humans should require language to come in small installments of assimilable word groups is beyond the scope of this essay. But it is clear that they do, and accepting that will be enough for the moment.

The following pages present a chronological selection of grammarians and the treatises they wrote, in so far as they had some bearing on the development of punctuation. Whether they railed at or openly admired Samuel Johnson, they all seemed to gain speed after the publication of his great dictionary. As solutions to the problems of grammar and syntax, good style, consistent spelling, effective oral interpretation, and clarity of meaning bubbled forth, so a canon of

12. Park Honan, "Eighteenth and Nineteenth Century English Punctuation Theory", *English Studies* 41 (1960): 94.

teaching precepts began to take shape, in which punctuation, at first so much disdained, became at last a 'proper' consideration.

PROMINENT GRAMMARIANS OF THE THIRD QUARTER
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

JOHN WARD

John Ward, biographer and antiquarian, produced a work of grammatical importance to the eighteenth century. However, compared to the work of grammarians only a few years down the line, his *Four Essays Upon the English Language* (1758)¹³ seems today immensely archaic, both in concept and design. Barely preceding Priestley's more influential publications, the book might better have been delayed to learn from its successors. Ward's interests center on orthography (a major contemporary fascination), division of syllables, the use of articles, and the formation and analogy of English verbs with their Latin counterparts. He lists the verbs, having first forced them into four Latinate conjugations, in page after page of paradigmatic moods and tenses. Thus, from the second conjugation we find: I overcome, I did or had overcome, thou mayest, canst, shouldest, wouldest, couldest, wast, or hast been overcome, we shall or will be overcome, let us overcome and be overcome, would that they might have been overcome, and so on. Though he shows every passion for the analysis of language, this Mr. Ward (there will be another shortly) has scorned to discuss punctuation's role in the upper reaches of clear communication. This attitude should not surprise. We shall encounter it frequently in these early, status-conscious years, when earthbound practicalities are not yet the meat of high-flying philosophy.

JOSEPH PRIESTLEY

In 1761 Joseph Priestley wrote *The Rudiments of English Grammar*, a liberal book for the times, and stimulating even now for the sound reasoning behind the practice it advocates. We are not surprised to learn that Mr. Priestley was a scientist by profession as well as an

13. John Ward, *Four Essays Upon the English Language* (London: Printed for the Author, 1758; reprint, Menston, England: Scholar Press, 1967), *passim*.

eminent participant in all the philosophical controversies of his day, the well-being and durability of the English tongue being prominent amongst them. With Dr. Johnson, he helped lay to rest the idea of straightjacketing the national language. An academy, argued Priestley, is “unsuitable to the genius of a free nation”. To assure perfection, a better means is patience, for the “best forms of speech will in time establish themselves by their own superior excellence” and do so more effectively than the “hasty and injudicious manufacturings of a synod”.¹⁴ This commodious tenet is the one commonly exercised today. In the not-so-laid-back culture of mid-eighteenth-century England, however, Priestley’s voice rings out marvelously.

His *Rudiments*, a slim, so-called ‘teaching book’, was reprinted at least eight times before 1800. Though it rides ethereally over the specifics of punctuation, it is important to us for its overall common-sense. Here is a man of great influence, a thinker, who invites the world to use words to convey ideas as exactly as possible. “Words are crucial to our mental operations”, wrote Priestley, and written words must have an even “greater degree of precision and perspicuity . . . in order to record, extend, and perpetuate, useful knowledge”. Mr. Priestley shows a certain impatience with those who fuss and dither over mere literature, when Philosophy and Astronomy can so potently enlarge the human view and inspire sentiments more in keeping with “our station as rational creatures”.¹⁵

He takes us through all the parts of speech. Although he does not include parsing instructions, it seems likely that the dissection of sentences was a favorite personal hobby, for his absorption in the varying weights and shapes of syntactic structures, which are the very stuff of logical punctating, is manifest in all his publications. Every sentence, says Priestley, however “complex or encumbered with superfluous ornaments”, may be reducible to essential nouns connected by verbs. A sentence constructed “to cohere in a regular depend[en]ce of one word upon another may stand single in a composition, having a full pause both before and after it, if the nature of the discourse makes it requisite that the sentiment it contains be considered separately and attentively; as in strong passion, or close

14. Joseph Priestley, *The Rudiments of Grammar* (London: R. Griffiths, 1761; reprint, Menston, England: Scholar Press, 1969), vii.

15. *Ibid.*, 45–46, 60–63.

reason".¹⁶ This analysis of what makes a sentence complete goes strikingly beyond what had been set forth in previous popular classroom grammars.

In his *Language and Grammar* (1762), a more philosophical volume comprising general lectures on language, Priestley pursues his vision more expansively. Prose is his topic, for the connection of sentence units in prose is not so intricate as in verse. Poetry, relying on metrical punctuation to delineate its stanza and line shapes, does not demand the natural progression of phrases nor the guiding words of transition—the *thens*, *buts*, and *moreovers*—conventionally present in serious prose. In written discourse, the relationship of words within the syntax of the language is vital to comprehension, “for the sense of a sentence depends as much upon the connection of the words, as the meaning of them separately considered”.¹⁷ Indeed, it is the arrangement of integral word groups in accordance with their power to bind or subordinate that conveys meaning in any uninflected language.

Priestley’s important contribution to linguistic study was his scientific approach, his confident assumption, so appealing to our ancestors, that there is an order to the madness of language and that a cautious tweezing will disentangle it all. Although he does not even here deal specifically with the matter of points, he very definitely addresses the problems that underlie an elucidating usage of them. Always, the key to the meaning will lie in the relationships along the syntactical track. With the passing of each year, this message to would-be writers grew firmer. Before Priestley, the grammar books seem somehow chaotic, full of passionate cries about spelling, pronunciation, unsurely described parts of speech, and either confusion about or wonderment at the potentials of punctuation. After

16. Priestley, *Rudiments*, 48–49.

17. Joseph Priestley, *A Course of Lectures on the Theory of Language and Universal Grammar* (Warrington, England: W. Eyres, 1762; reprint, Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1970), 254. This expansive and ambitious book, in which English comes off not at all badly, deals with the potentials and failures of all languages. See page 8; and pp. 298–302, where he gives an interesting sketch of the universal language discussed by Dr. Wallis almost a century earlier. Interesting to note in this heyday of logic are the facts that Dr. Wallis was himself a mathematician, Mr. Priestley a student of natural science, and both were concerned to improve and perfect the English language.

him, the thin, tricky path through the thickets and briars of grammar seemed to open up onto green grass.

ROBERT LOWTH

Bishop Robert Lowth fashioned his *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1762) for the general public. Enthusiastically received, it went through twenty-two editions before 1800 to become the mandatory textbook for instruction in English, as well as the basis of numerous other grammars that followed after. For this *locus classicus* of grammatical counsel, the Bishop gathered all his considerable pastoral and pedagogical know-how to entice his audience to a seamliness both of expression *and* of behavior.

Mindful, no doubt, of the Boileau-Johnson proposal, the Bishop observes in his preface that even the best authors have often been unable to state with propriety and accuracy what they wished. And why? *For the want of grammatical rudiments.* To bear himself out, he appends to each account of his listed parts of speech, samples of error from all the greats that he can muster—and they are legion: Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Swift, and Pope, for a start—all of whom he diagnoses as wanting “a due knowledge of English grammar”. To think what the world might have enjoyed if the *Short Introduction* had reached these authors in time! Here is a slap on the wrist for Addison, who had written:¹⁸

“My paper is the *Ulysses his bow*, in which every man of wit or learning may try his strength.” Addison, *Guardian* N^o 98. [Upon which the Bishop comments as follows:] This is no slip of Mr. Addison’s pen: he gives us his opinion upon this point very explicitly in another place [where he says:] “The same single letter [s] on many occasions does the office of a whole word, and represents the *his* and *her* of our forefathers.” Addison, *Spect.* N^o 135. [The Bishop continues:] The latter instance might have shewn him how groundless this notion is: for it is not easy to conceive, how the letter *s* added to a Feminine Noun should represent the word *her*;

18. Robert Lowth, *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* (London: J. Hughs, 1762; reprint, Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1967), 26–27.

any more than it should the word *their*, added to a Plural Noun; as, “the *children’s* bread.” But the direct derivation of this Case from the Saxon Genitive Case is sufficient of itself to decide this matter.

There is no doubt in Lowth’s erudite mind about what is right and what is wrong. Given his influence (and his conviction), it is worth our while to look at his nineteen-page chapter on punctuation, in which he sensibly recognizes the inadequacy of a mere four puncts to direct perfectly a linguistic stream. Though the alphabet letters, he says, have a known and determinate power, yet the several pauses that break up the flow of written discourse are very imperfectly expressed by points. But especially interesting (for this is the era of coming to grips with all the incompatible factors of punctuating) is his attempt to yoke together the requisites for visual and aural comprehension of language. His advice for a good result from this historically and physiologically complicated pairing is speciously simple: One should speak in accordance with the comprehended grammatical structures, and point as one speaks. That way, speaking and writing (ear-tongue and eye) become essentially one. *If* the pronunciation is just and exact, you can’t go wrong. There you are, a perfect circle.¹⁹

Punctuation is the art of marking in writing the several pauses, or rests, between sentences, and the parts of sentences, according to their proper quantity or proportion, as they are expressed in a just and accurate pronunciation.

And what that might be he cannot quite bring himself to say.

[There is a great variety amongst] the different degrees of connexion between the several parts of sentences, and the different pauses in a just pronunciation, which express those degrees of connexion according to their proper value.

The mystery seems to lie in the connections of structures, for the points are designed “to express the Pauses, which [in turn] depend

19. Lowth, “Short Introduction”, 154–55.

on the . . . connexions between Sentences, and between their principal constructive parts". Thus, to know how to point (or how to read), we must know our grammar. We must know how to demark with a comma the imperfect phrase, or adjunct, which contains no assertion and hence does not amount to a proposition or sentence; and how to distinguish the propositions, those major chunks whose requisite subject and verb more or less tally with what modern grammar calls a "clause". All these bits and pieces must be separated and assessed before an appropriate punctuational decision can be made.²⁰

Though admitting that the comma, semicolon, colon, and period cannot illuminate all the subtleties of connection, subordination, and governance within a text, Bishop Lowth is content to manage with only this basic cadre. For if there were more (and some scholars were rumbling to conscript more), then the doctrine of them, he argued, would perplex and embarrass, rather than assist the reader. Better, therefore, to plump for simplicity. And with that settled, we plunge. A sentence is nothing more than "an assemblage of words, expressed in proper form, and ranged in proper order, and concurring to make a complete sense". Set into this apparatus, the colon is "a chief constructive part, or greater division, of a Sentence", of which the semicolon is itself a subdivision. The smaller segments are left to commas.²¹

But it was still a world of listeners gathered around to enjoy a text transformed into sound by a performing reader. Aural considerations being still necessary to the full realization of literature, a treatise purporting to deal comprehensively with grammatical rules could not sidestep rhetorical expectation. And so, we find, yet again, the familiar old drumbeat: A period's pause is equal to two for a colon; a colon's pause is equal to two for a semicolon; and a semicolon's is double the value of the comma. It is the relationship between them, however, that *really* matters, says our Bishop, not the actual time count. "The proportion of the several Points in respect to one another is rather to be regarded, than their supposed precise quantity, or proper office, when taken separately."²² No need, really, to tap our rulers on the desktop.

20. *Ibid.*, 159–61.

21. *Ibid.*, 95 and 157.

22. *Ibid.*, 158 and 171. With his remaining energies, Bishop Lowth attaches to the end of his volume (pp. 173–86) six verses from the New Testament, "A Praxis,

Refinements and examples follow each of the Bishop's definitions, and we wonder how any mere pupil will ever gain the confidence to handle all the variables about which he is here cautioned—the judgment, for example, to determine with true, clerical conviction whether a greater pause than a semicolon might on certain occasions be beneficial to comprehension. Although strains of autocratic assuredness imbue (and in some cases, saturate) the works of so many of the period's grammarians, we are, in the case of Bishop Lowth, quite pleasantly cajoled by reason. This gentleman is in dialogue with us, not bulldozing us around like so much rubble. We are flattered by his generous opinion of our judgment. He does not insist where he cannot justify. (And he is never at a loss to justify.) In a mode of moderation, he sums up the appropriate approach to the handling of points: All things in their due proportion. And how can one argue with that?

WILLIAM WARD

In 1765 William Ward introduced his *Essay on Grammar*, a comprehensive study of the English language, which enjoyed considerable acclaim and was reissued three times, in 1778, 1779, and 1788. This book clarified a number of uncertainties about the differences between clause and complete statement. But perhaps most helpful for an English audience was the author's discussion of the principle of the relative pronoun. Indebted to the Cartesian principles of the French Port Royal grammarians and to Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary*, he more or less answered the nagging questions about the constructions and hierarchies of 'incomplete' segments within sentences—features which so much govern the logical use of puncts. The voice we hear now is typically a very rational one.²³

Now the form of a complete sentence is necessary in language to express truth or falsehood; but is not necessary to

or Example of Grammatical Resolution", which he then analyzes in twelve additional pages, explaining in the manner, one supposes, of a model student, word by word: "In is a Preposition; the the Definite Article; *fifteenth*, an Adjective; *year*, a Substantive, or Noun, in the Objective Case governed by the Preposition in . . ." and so on, leaving very little to chance.

23. William Ward, *An Essay on Grammar* (London: Robert Horsfield, 1765), 135.

express either a conception which is merely that of a compleat object of the intellect, or a conception which must be made dependent on some other conception, and united with it, in order to become that of a compleat object of the intellect. [When the conception is to be dependent], some notice must be given of it [such as a “when”, a “who”, a “where”, a “some reason for which” etc.] for with out such notice, the grammatic form in which the words are drawn up would lead the hearer or reader to consider them, as a separate expression, of compleat truth or falsehood.

Like Priestley and Lowth, he accepts the necessity for each whole sentence to contain both a substantive and a verb—either explicit or understood. For the verb must be of a number (singular or plural) and of a person (first, second, third), and those selected numbers and persons demand something to show what they should be—namely, a subject. The verb unit must be completed by its complementary governing substantive subject before it can be applied to any sentential construction. A verb on the loose, unmoored and afloat on the tide, so to speak, is of no value to anyone. Since every speaker of a language knows the words of that language, no information is imparted by the simple announcement of a word out of context. A gesticulatory or verbal context must be built, in which relationships and connections and placements and order carry the weight. It is all complicated, yes, but newcomers to the craft of sentence-making will acquire the necessary confidence by learning the following simple verse.²⁴

In sentences at large used to declare,
The nominatives before the verbs appear.
But in question, wish, or a command,
The nom'natives behind their verbs must stand
Of ev'ry simple tense; but if complex,
After the signs we nom'natives annex.
And suppositions, not by if, receive,
After the verb or sign, a nom'native.

24. Ibid., 262, and 448–49.

Since Mr. Ward's expressed goal is "to explain the proceeding of the mind in forming the conceptions annexed to words, and in applying these conceptions by the means of words, so as to communicate the perceptions, thoughts, and purposes of one man to another", he does not directly address the stops, except to say that there are four, and that most nations tend to use them in order to separate the sentences and clauses of sentences. It is very surprising, given his interest in exactitude, that he fails to examine the subject beyond its aural aspects. He describes the stops as directing the pauses and breaks in continued speaking and suggests that they often give guidance to tonal qualities. He concludes:²⁵

But if any one has a clear conception of the meaning of what is written, he will easily perceive where the points are to be placed; and if he has observed good speakers or readers he will easily perceive what tones are to be used previous to each point.

Obviously, Mr. Ward himself found reading from text perfectly manageable, and not a topic, as it would soon be, worthy of grandiose analysis. The written line mirrored the spoken closely enough, in his opinion, to allow an intelligent, educated person to intuit, and adjust for, the areas of discrepancy.

It is interesting to notice the public's developing appetite for language dissection with all the ancillary detail. To delight and entice a nonspecialist (though Latin-familiar) audience, Mr. Ward listed in his table of contents the various topics that he had discussed within the text. Amongst the headings under adverbs, for example, we find: negative, redditive, relative, demonstrative, and conjunctive. For conjunctions the offering grows quite large: copulative, disjunctive, discretive, conditional, adversative or concessive, redditive, causal, illative, restrictive, and causal or sentential demonstrative. For verbs, which were his favorites, we do not have room.

Drawing from his own earlier materials, Mr. Ward published (ca. 1766) *A Practical Grammar of the English Language*, in which he explained—more tersely, for the intellectual commoner—the principle of binding words into series of meaningful connections. Since this

25. Ward, *Essay*, 9.

book was designed for teaching in the classroom, and devotedly applied to English all the attributes and distinctions pertaining to highly inflected Latin, where words are related by means of declension and conjugation and not by word order as in English, it is especially telling that he again fails to suggest an answer to the problem that so concerns us: how best to mark off clearly the conceptual unities in a linearly expressed statement. It was still, apparently, a subject too mundane for the true philosopher.

JAMES BUCHANAN

James Buchanan, whose confidence had already been fortified by the happy reception of his anonymously authored *British Grammar* (1762), came forth again in 1767 with *A Regular English Syntax*,²⁶ an austere octavo that belabors previous literary giants in accordance with the custom of the day. One is not surprised to learn that Mr. Buchanan was a Scots schoolmaster, for his chidings smack of a Caledonian cheerlessness. Authors today should feel rather relieved that they have postdated this disapproving censor. With typical obduracy, he says: "Considering the many grammatical Improperities to be found in our best Writers, such as Dryden, Swift, Addison, Pope [and by implication, others too numerous to name], a Systematical English Syntax is not beneath the Notice of the Learned themselves".²⁷ Within the syntax, we are informed, lie all the secrets of meaning. The words of a sentence must fit truly, one to the other, and the sentence itself unfold its parts in an orderly way, so as to yield a full comprehensibility. All of this is sound advice.

For keeping his students lively and alert, he adopts a catechizing format. "What is emphasis?" he asks. "What do you mean by cadence? . . . by a word? . . . by a sentence?" A well-reasoned response follows each peppery question. Sentence, for example, turns out to be "any Thought of the Mind, expressed by two or more

26. James Buchanan, *A Regular English Syntax* (London: J. Wren, 1767). Besides his *British Grammar*, Mr. Buchanan had built other monuments to his industry: in 1753 *The Complete English Scholar*; and in 1757 both *Linguae Britannicae vera pronuntiatio; or, A New English Dictionary* (wherein we are unceremoniously told that "Punctuation" is "The method of pointing or making stops in writing" and not a jot more) and *A New Pocketbook for Young Gentlemen and Ladies*.

27. Buchanan, *English Syntax*, vii, ix.

Words joined together in proper Order, and it is either simple or compound". We are told that words have no value unless connected and that the simple sentence must contain a verb and a noun, either explicit or understood. Like his compeers, he is very concerned with "false syntax", an ailment that blights the achievements of the most august writers; and to guard against it, he doles out rules. "This Bellows will not blow; . . . *that* Books are well bound", and the like, are examples of false syntax. Even the "scholar is often at a Loss concerning the Use and Order of *this* and *that*, and likewise their Plurals *these* and *those*".²⁸ It is very hard to be right in all these matters, but Mr. Buchanan assures us that we are safe in his hands. When he is finished with what he has to say, Dryden, Swift, Addison, and all that lot have been thoroughly drubbed.

After some two millennia of authorial autocracy, however, it is rather a treat to see the emergence of so dedicated an effort to extend solid, comprehensible sense to the laboring reader. Mr. Buchanan, in keeping with his era, is concerned that clarity be the goal of all writing. "In the Arrangement of a Period, the first and great Object is Perspicuity, which ought not to be sacrificed to any other Beauty. Ambiguities occasioned by a wrong Arrangement are of two Sorts; one where the Arrangement leads to a wrong Sense; and one where the Sense is left doubtful." He promptly turns on Bolingbroke (and quite rightly), to rebuke him for his meaningless sentence: "Sixtus the Fourth, was, if I mistake not, a great Collector of Books, at least". The "at least" belongs before "of books", which it is intended it should stress. In the matter of wrongly arranging words, we are told, Swift (sadly no longer alive to benefit from Buchanan's insights) was a major culprit.²⁹

A *Regular English Syntax*, being a 'teaching book', includes chapters of exercises, a praxis, and some thirteen pages on punctuation, which the author tackles with great resolve.³⁰ Writing "being the very Image of Speech", he begins, the points have a dual purpose: to prevent obscurity in the sense, and to mark the proper pauses for reading aloud. The correct arrangement of "Words and Members of a Period contribute to a Sense of Order, Elegance, and Perspicuity";

28. Buchanan, *English Syntax*, 10, 115.

29. *Ibid.*, 166–68.

30. *Ibid.*, 181–93.

whereas, as we have seen, “a wrong Arrangement, even when accurately pointed, will be always perplexing and disgusting”. Given a right arrangement, however, the four major stops are enough to distinguish the sense, though their number, we are told, “is defective with respect to the requisite Variety of Pause; and for directing to a just and well-regulated Pronunciation”.

There follow some two and a half pages on the issues raised by the comma. It is used to distinguish the smallest members of sentences: *The Lord God is merciful, long-suffering, slow to wrath*, etc.; and of lists: *The Enemy advance with Drums, Trumpets, Clarions, Fifes*, etc. Then rather strangely, since Mr. Buchanan (or his printer) does not himself follow his own rule in the ensuing sentence: “every Verb must have its Noun expressed or understood, and every Noun its Verb expressed or understood; and every distinct Verb or Noun, expressed or understood, must have a Comma to distinguish it”. His ambitions for the comma go on and on. It should be used “to distinguish Adverbs of a contrary Meaning”, and to indicate “Adjectives belonging to the same noun, except the last”; before “a copulative or disjunctive Conjunction in a compound Sentence”; but *not* used when two nouns or adjectives are “connected by a single Copulative or Disjunctive”. The comma is always placed after the relatives “who”, “which”, “whom”, etc. whenever a “Circumstance” is interjected. Aware at last that tedium is rising like dawn’s miasma from the village swamp, he brings it all to a finish, advising that when in doubt it is wise to resort to the Rules of Arrangement.

He is less prolix about the semicolon. He mentions its essential incomplete-sense feature (e.g., to be used when several “Nouns, with their different Epithets, equally relate to the same Verb”), and gives a few other ‘musts’ about its presence. The colon, of course, is brightly complete, marking “a perfect Sense; yet, so as to leave the Mind in Suspense and Expectation of what is to follow”. His line-dot period offers no surprises: it brings all to a close when the sense is “completely ended”. He rounds off his theory with a sample of “a Period containing all the foregoing Points”.

Many Ladies distinguish themselves by the Education of their Children, Care of their Families, and Love of their Husbands; which are the great Qualities and Atchievements of Woman kind: As, the making of War, the carrying on of

Traffic, the Administration of Justice, are those by which Men grow famous, and get themselves a Name.

Deaf to the groans of future feminists, Buchanan then whips out his pen and begins a practical analysis (he calls it “resolution”) of this sentence in terms of its nine distinct Members, “which are in effect so many Sentences”. One by one he sets them on the scales to weigh their importance and to justify the points that he has chosen to distinguish them. He concludes this exercise with a tip for new players: A sentence ought “to express one entire Thought or mental Proposition”. As for style (an increasingly popular subject in the manuals of the day), another grave wink: long periods make solemn impressions and ought to be variously relieved by short and lively ones. Further, one should show some concern for the recipient of a communication and refrain, for example, from introducing a lengthy period until the attention is sure to be fixed. With that in mind, he pronounces the following “Commencement of a Letter to a very young Lady on her Marriage” to be faulty:

Madam, the Hurry and Impertinence of receiving and paying Visits, on account of your Marriage, being now over, you are beginning to enter into a Course of Life, where you will want much Advice to divert you from falling into many Errors, Fopperies and Follies, to which your Sex is subject.

Which it is. Aye. Very.

Mr. Buchanan is still not quite finished. He wants to tell us about voice control, and we must let him, for the subject, as will soon be seen, is closely allied to ours. In general, he follows his predecessors in noting that the marks of interrogation and admiration demand a rise in the voice; whereas, the other four stops are sadly wanting in the guidance of vocal production needed to suggest the passions and emotions of the soul. A study of Nature, he eventually concludes, is the necessary prerequisite for accurate vocal reproduction in these exciting instances. The four points will tell only the length of the pause to be made (for Buchanan, rulers are a must): “A Comma stops the voice while we can tell one; the Semicolon two; the Colon three; and the Period four”. We are sorry to see this persistent for-

mula rear up yet again, but the reader will be happy to learn that, by now, it was already poised on the downhill slope to oblivion.

'Parenthesis' next becomes the topic. Buchanan slaps the Fielding wrist for over-use and misuse of parentheses in *Joseph Andrews*, and deals similarly with Dean Stanhope for parenthetical failures in his *Christian Directory*. Noting the rampant and unwarranted use of this device, he strikes it from the beginning of sentences and berates its tendency to include entire paragraphs. The dash, now a regular element on a page of print, is here called "a double Period because it denotes a Pause of two Periods; and indicates that the Sentence or Words after which it is marked, are worthy of Consideration". Once the scientific agenda is over, we are whisked back to the atmosphere of early-seventeenth-century grammatical exegeses and stunned to be informed that: a) a paragraph break (he does not discuss what the paragraph is) demands a count of eight; and b) the little upturned faces around the fireside are required to wait for the duration of sixteen counts (yes!), should a paragraph-break-plus-extra-blank-line appear in Father's reading selection for the evening.

Having seen Mr. Buchanan thus in action, it will come as no surprise to learn that he spent the final years of his life rearranging and repunctuating the first six books of *Paradise Lost*. He explains his purpose: "Milton's style is more violently inverted than that of any other English poet; And . . . every inverted sentence, especially in verse, becomes almost unintelligible to youth, and is obscure even to grown persons, who are not well acquainted with syntax". To make Milton more accessible to a young and ignorant public, Buchanan undertakes to render him up in a more relaxed language, one where "the words of a sentence naturally follow one another, in the same order with the conceptions of our minds".³¹ All sentences, even John Milton's, must have a subject and a verb, and all the "under parts" that qualify these capital parts must follow as the mind perceives them and must be so distinguished.

The subtitle of this famous exercise reads: "The Words of the Text being arranged, at the bottom of each Page, in the same natural Order with the Conceptions of the Mind; and the Ellipsis properly

31. James Buchanan, *The First Six Books of Milton's "Paradise Lost" Rendered into Grammatical Construction* (Edinburgh: A. Kincaid, W. Creech, and J. Balfour, 1773), 2.

supplied, without any Alteration in the Diction of the Poem".
Thereafter:³²

(Milton): Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
 Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
 Brought death into the world . . . ,
 Sing, heavenly muse, . . .

(Buchanan): O heavenly muse, sing of man's first
 disobedience, and of the fruit of that forbidden
 tree, . . .

James Buchanan died during the parturition of this ambitious project, and the book was brought out posthumously by an admiring friend. Mrs. Buchanan was vastly surprised to learn of her husband's final effort to straighten out the world, a fact suggesting the she-was-illiterate-but-I-loved-her-anyway sort of marriage, common to the times. The story has a happy ending, however, for we are told by the generous friend that the money brought in by the book was a godsend to the widow and the numerous Buchanan brood.

Mr. Buchanan, despite his harsh manner, commands our respect for the grave importance he attached to the matter of a clear communication. He is right about syntax, of course. No punctuation can mend where it goes wrong; and Milton might, after all, have conceded a little to youth's impatience.

JAMES BURROW

We now arrive at a landmark, the publication in 1771 of James Burrow's *De usu et ratione interpungendi: An Essay on the Use of Pointing, and Facility of Practising It*. As the title indicates, this is a book devoted entirely to the matter of punctuating, and the first notable one of this period to be so. In the preface Mr. Burrow states his goal to be the persuasion of his readers (by implication a sorry crowd) to *some* sort of punctuation. There is no reason, he says, to condemn or avoid it because of its difficulty (if you can *talk*, you can do it). He does not wish to lay down indisputable rules about point usage,

32. Buchanan, *First Six Books*, 19.

but merely to convince us that sensible usage will disambiguate our intended meaning and often prevent sheer error. Compare, he recommends, the nonsense of this simple, malpointed verse:³³

Every Lady in this Land
Hath *twenty* Nails upon *each* Hand;
Five and twenty on Hands *and feet*:
And this is *true*, without Deceit.

with the anatomical exactitude of the second:

Every Lady in this Land
Hath *twenty* Nails; upon each Hand
Five; and twenty on Hands *and Feet*;
And this is true, without Deceit.

Like Lowth (though more purely elocutionary), Burrow relates sensible punctuation to the sound of the voice in sensible pronunciation. Pauses, accents, emphases, tone—all can be indicated by punctuation. As a man knows how he pronounces, so what he expresses on paper may be made intelligible to another person. The pauses should be treated proportionately (Burrow is not a ruler-tapper) and “every artifice [including under-scoring] that can be invented should be used to lead the Reader’s Apprehension into the Track of the Writer’s meaning”. For proof of the unacceptable consequence of not doing so, he invites us to look up some old law reports, Year-books, Plowden, or Rolle and cast our wretched eyes over all that huddled text, so rebarbative and uninviting, with neither point nor paragraph to rescue comprehension.³⁴

Mr. Burrow gently urges the non-scholar and anti-punctator to shape up, for there is nothing to be afraid of in the friendly landscape of punctuation. A full sentence is merely a collection of constructive parts with their degrees of connection—all of which becomes immediately apparent upon reading aloud, though, alas, not necessarily conducive to “correct” pointing. For why should all men point alike

33. James Burrow, *De usu et ratione interpungendi* (London: J. Worrall and B. Tovey, 1771), 11.

34. *Ibid.*, 12.

when they do not speak alike? Mr. Burrow makes such comfortable company. But we soon see that he has given very deep thought to the matter and quietly developed some strong opinions. Cautioning that more help than he had hitherto suggested might be necessary to a just comprehension of serious, or abstruse, works, he turns his chatty but sensitive attention to the fine tuning of the four stops.

Following Lowth, he rejects the *semiperiodus* (that popular and overused letterwriter's device—a line dot followed by a lowercased continuation, denoting a stronger connection between the parts than a full period would indicate). He himself “always make[s] use of the semicolon” in those places where others use many colons in a sentence. He refers to Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* for a description of the points and promptly stumbles across a misplaced semicolon, which he pauses to dispute. It is a matter of clarification of grammar in this case, he says. Chambers had written:³⁵

The Discourse consisted of *two* Parts; In the *first*, was shewn the *Necessity* of fighting; in the *second*, the *Advantages* that would redound from it.

For the first semicolon, Burrow suggests that a colon would be more appropriate, and generally the modern eye is with him. But he cautions against a multitude of colons (*pace* Lowth, Ward, Manutius, and others), reasoning that as the *semiperiodus* is more or less the equivalent of the colon [which it is not: it is bigger and more powerful] and *semiperiodus* means ‘half a period’, it is nonsense to divide sentences into more than two of them. After this mathematical digression he slips on his rhetorical cap to discuss the delicate tone implications that a dash can conjure up. Listen. Hamlet is talking:³⁶

To die -- to sleep ----- to sleep? ---- perchance to
dream ---: For -- in that Sleep of Death, what Dreams
may come,

35. Burrow, *De usu*, 18–21.

36. *Ibid.*, 19.

The lengths of the dash can vary tellingly. And the ending comma is so much less slowing than the positive “?” that both Lowth and Ward preferred for this same passage.

William Ward, though refusing to describe the dirty details of pointing to his public, had nevertheless bestrewed his own writing with copious stops in order to maintain the symbiosis of voice with text. He rather grieved that there were not more guides to appropriate voice production for the multifarious flavors of the “!”. Admiration, Wishing, Grief, Pity, Indignation, Contempt, and Sneer made up his list, but one can always think up more. On the other hand, Bishop Lowth had felt it adequate merely to say that the “!” was to mark an elevation of the voice and that the reader should use his own good sense. Burrow barely touches upon the “!” and the “?”, though he digs busily into the matter of parenthesis, recommending it solidly for reasons of perspicuity. He encourages his followers to mark it off with points both before and after [thus: “Rhubarb, rhubarb, (blah-blah-blah), rhubarb, rhubarb”], if the flow of the syntax requires it. Overall, Mr. Burrow is aurally oriented, though versatile. He fields rhetorical and syntactical curves with agility, even charm, and is most refreshing company compared with his contemporaries. In general, he adopts the principles and attitudes of his mentor Lowth. If others of more drive and influence had had his grace, perhaps the subject of punctuation would not have acquired its deadening reputation.

SOME MANUSCRIPT SAMPLES FROM THIS PERIOD

Having reached the beginning of the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century, the half-way mark, so to speak, of today’s march through the annals of punctuational history, we will find it enlightening (we hope) to inspect some manuscripts of the period, over which the interpretive and interfering printer had no say. As will be seen, a great freedom rides with the hand-wielded pen, as though the voice itself were spilling out onto the page with all its customary exigency, hesitancy, and change of direction. The lack of formality, the assumption of familiar context and sympathetic reaction, all played a part in making it so, no doubt, just as they do today. The intimacy of the handwritten statement gives a candid view of what by way of

punctuation was deemed so many years ago to be crucial to the comprehension of the intended meaning.

The following example, a paragraph from Lawrence Sterne's holograph *The Bramine Journal* ("—tis a Diary of the miserable feeling of a person separated from a Lady for whose Society he languish'd—"), palpitates with the urgency and warmth of the writer's (feigned or not) emotion,³⁷ much aided by the use of his famous dash. It is dated June 10, 1767:

You are stretching over now in the Trade Winds from the Cape to Madrass—I hope—but I know it not. some friendly Ship you probably have met wth, and I never read an Acc^t of an India Man arrived—but I expect that it is the Messenger of the news my heart is upon the rack for. —I calculate, That you will arrive at Bombay by the beginning of October—by February, I shall surely hear from you thence—but from Madrass sooner. —I expect you Eliza in person, by September—& shall scarce go to London till March—for what have I to do there, when (except printing my Books) I have no Interest or Passion to gratify—

[British Library Ms. 34,527, f. 21]

More formal lines of 4 July 1776 from "The unanimous Declaration of the thirteen united States of America" read as follows:

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people. Nor have We been wanting in attentions to our British brethren.

37. Interestingly, on folio 43 of the same manuscript book, there is a scathing undated note written by William Makepeace Thackeray about the *Journal*. Thackeray is denouncing Stern's insincerity:

However on the day Sterne was writing to Lady P, and going to Miss ___'s benefit he is dying in his Journal to the Brahmine, can't eat, has the Doctor, and is in a dreadful way. He wasn't dying but lying I'm afraid—God help him—a falsar and wickeder man, its difficult to read of.

In the year 1784 Benjamin Franklin wrote from France in language very close to speech:

Dear Son,

I received your Letters of the 28th of August, and 10th of September, with the Newspapers by M. Saily, but they were very incompleat and broken Sets, many being omitted perhaps the most material, which is disagreeable to me who wish to be well inform'd of what is doing among you. . . . Benny continues well, and grows amazingly. He is a very sensible and a very good Lad, and I love him much. I had Thoughts of bringing him up under his Cousin, and fitting him for Public Business, thinking he might be of Service hereafter to his Country; but being now convinc'd that *Service is no Inheritance*, as the Proverb says, I have determin'd to give him a Trade that he may have something to depend on, and not be oblig'd to ask Favours or offices of anybody. . . .

[British Library Ms. Stowe 755, f. 39]

On 30 June 1788, Edward Gibbon wrote to his Aunt Hester—a delicate letter. The arrangement of clause and phrase, successfully marshalled by points and signaling words, indicates the attention that Gibbon expended on his necessarily cunning argument.³⁸

38. In letterwriting, where one's words often land on the page before their sequence is fully developed in the mind (this being particularly noticeable in cases where a complex statement is in progress), the introductory lines are often profusely demarked by points, whereas the resolving ones are often entirely without any breaks at all. The pausal frequency is evidence of the hesitation that precedes an established and confident flow. Gibbons is a counter example to this generality. About his own prose style Edward Gibbon wrote in his *Memoirs of My Life* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1984), 161:

It has always been my practice to cast a long paragraph in a single mould, to try it by my ear, to deposit it in my memory, but to suspend the action of the pen till I had given the last polish to my work.

Another controlled pen was Samuel Johnson's. Says Boswell of Johnson's composing technique (cf. James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, [Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1948], 137):

Dear Madam.

I was truly disappointed that you could not admit my visit this spring and still more concerned at the motive of your refusal. Yet I was glad to hear of your indisposition from your own pen; the firmness of the hand and style gave me the most pleasing assurances of your strength; and I most sincerely hope that your recovery will be completed and established by the return of summer. I am now preparing, by a last visit to Lord and Lady Sheffield, for my departure to the Continent, and feel as I ought your kind anxiety at my leaving England, but you will not disapprove my chusing the place most agreeable to my circumstances and temper, and I need not remind you that all countries are under the care of the same providence. Your good wishes and advice will not, I trust, be thrown away on a barren soil; and whatever you may have been told of my opinions, I can assure you with truth, that I consider Religion as the best guide of youth and the best support of old age: that I firmly believe there is less real happiness in the business and pleasures of the World, than in the life, which you have chosen, of devotion and retirement. . . .

[British Library Ms. 34,486, f. 31]

For a whiff of the American woods, we turn now to the opening lines of a letter written by a Mr. A. Barkus to Peter Smith (the father of Gerrit Smith) from Geneva, New York, on 20 June 1792.

Dear Sir

Mr. Latta informs me that Norris left with you a pack of furs through mistake that did not belong to him & by the discription it must be mine There was if I am not mistaken

Sir Joshua Reynolds once asked Dr. Johnson by what means he had attained his extraordinary accuracy and flow of language. He told him that he had early laid it down as a fixed rule to do his best on every occasion, and in every company; to impart whatever he knew in the most forcible language he could put it in; and that by constant practice, and never suffering any careless expressions to escape him, or attempting to deliver his thoughts without arranging them in the clearest manner, it became habitual to him.

Geneva the 20 of June 1792

Dear Sir

Mr Lette informs me that Horns left
with you a pack of furs through mistake that did not
belong to him & by the description it must be mine
There was if I am not mistaken twenty three Otter one was
a remarkable long-necked skin; and there was another re-
markable for being a very large one and all the way of a
width almost. There was some very fine Fishers & I think
three Foxes and three muskats that might have pack'd in
the cask with the others. I think they were pack'd in
a blanket & then another put over the three and the rope
put through the holes in the edge of the skins & laid up
I sent a bill in a letter to my uncle & the other I have left
so that that is the best description I can at present give
Wish you without fail to send me a bill of the purchase
receipts. If it is mine it will be a large disappointment to
me I should by no means have sold them either to you
or in N.Y. knowing the fall to be so great that I should
have money by them at that or what. Am very sorry you
sent them away, but I must come up for Mr Horns for
satisfaction. I have not seen Horns to know whether he sent
on the other packs but suppose they were either left at Geneva
or New York, wish if you have an opportunity you would
write to the lad in your store in Delaware to see if they are
gone to N.Y. & if they are not let him forward them to my
father in Crown Street No. 12 & I will make satisfaction

A punctual answer will confer an obligation on

N. P. Mr Henderson is down to observe your friend and
Tada & Swigg if the bears arrive here ~~by~~ ^{your friend and}
w^{ch} had you would send information by ^{himself} about
him he sent in the last that coming I wish
if not please to embrace the earliest opportunity
Trinity

[A. Barkus]

Mr. Barkus's pen strokes are superior to his punctuation. Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library.

twenty three Otters one was a remarkable long-stretcht skin; and there was another remarkable for being a very large one and all the way of a width almost. There was some very fine Fishers and I think three Foxes and three muskrats that missed being packed in the casks with the other—I think they were packed in a bear-skin & then another put over the them [sic] and the rope put through the holes in the edge of the skin & laced up

[Peter Smith Papers, Syracuse University Library]

PROMINENT GRAMMARIANS OF THE LAST QUARTER
OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THOMAS SHERIDAN

It was during the last quarter of the eighteenth century that the more exceptional grammarians arrived at some understanding of the complications caused by the breakaway of the written language from the spoken and the reapplication of spoken to written through the art form of reading aloud from text. The mix of such ideas was intellectually new, as well as difficult. While some scholars were evaluating the structural stops for the page, others were carrying on similar researches in the area of elocution. It was here, with the spoken word, that the activity brought to light so many fresh and useful insights.

Thomas Sheridan, actor, father of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and an eminent grammarian and dictionary compiler during the period under our inspection, put out in 1781 *A Rhetorical Grammar*, a textbook that enjoyed considerable popularity on both sides of the Atlantic. The author, centering his attention on the proper pronunciation of English, quite rightly includes a chapter entitled “Pauses or Stops”, and there he has much to say that will be of interest to us.³⁹ He begins by accounting for the arbitrariness of punctating rules.

39. Thomas Sheridan, *A Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language* (Dublin: Messrs. Price, W. and H. Whitestone, Sleater, Sheppard, G. Burnet, R. Cross, Flin, Stewart, Mills, Wilkinson, Exshaw, Perrin, Byrne, 1781; reprint, Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1969), 103. For this book Sheridan revised and corrected the introductory materials to *A General Dictionary*, which he had published the year before, in 1780. These two works, along with his *British Education* (1756) for philosopher-

Nobody seems to understand them, he says. He connects this failure to the fact that the art of punctuation is too closely allied to grammar, and hence, disregarding of the needs of speech, where the pauses group the units of words differently. With this demure observation, Mr. Sheridan has put his finger absolutely and unerringly on the problem, a problem that still plagues schoolchildren, not to mention teachers, editors, writers, psychologists, linguists, philosophers—indeed, everybody who thinks about putting his thoughts on paper. What is the relationship of grammatical units to spoken word groups? And why, after all these centuries of misfit and puzzlement, has no satisfactory resolution presented itself?

Mr. Sheridan does not attempt an answer. His attention is fixed on the oral-aural side of the net: how best to lay out one's pauses in the action of reading aloud. The key, he says, is emphasis. "Emphasis is the link which connects words together, and forms them into sentences, or into members of sentences."⁴⁰ And at the end of each emphasis, lies the proper seat of the pause. Thus in a sentence we have not only the light ripple of word accents, but also the rolling swells of emphasized groups. Sheridan deplors the artificiality of the count-to-four system, in which a mere handful of stops rigidifies all subtlety of tone and cadence. But even in writing, the stops annoy him, since they invite pauses that do not coincide with the natural train of our ideas. More is needed to what they provide, and to this end he proposes the following method of dealing with materials that are to be read aloud. But before beginning, he asks that we first erase all the standard punctuation from the page, and then regroup for action.⁴¹

For the shortest pause insert a small inclined line, thus: '

For the second, double the time of the former, two: ''

For a full stop, three: '''

For a longer pause still: =

(Emphasized words or syllables will be marked "by placing

statesmen and *Elements of English* (1786) for the elementary classroom, were to exercise a profound influence on writers and educational methods for fifty years. Like so many of the language experts of his time, Mr. Sheridan tends to treat rhetorical and grammatical aspects of punctuation without differentiation.

40. Sheridan, *Rhetorical Grammar*, 103.

41. *Ibid.*, 109.

a sloping line inclining to the right, over the accented letter".)

Thus:

D 'early belo `ved brethren = The scripture moveth us' in su `ndry places' to acknow `lege and confe `ss our manifold sins and wickedness'' and that we should not disse `mble' nor clo `ke them' before the face of Almighty God' our Hea `venly Father'' . . .

Having exposed the incompatibility between grammar-based punctuation and that necessary for a good oral rendition, Mr. Sheridan has completed what he has to say to us. But it is interesting to see how he has punctuated his own treatise for the printer. A sample sentence, the breathless opener for his chapter on pointing, is as follows:⁴²

Stopping, like spelling, has, at different periods of time, and by different persons, been considered, in a great measure, as arbitrary, and has had its different fashions; nor are there at this day any sure general rules established for the practice of that art.

Like so many authors who must rally their wits to begin their theses, he soon tires of those short, nervous demarcations, and reels out the final clause without inhibition.

JOHN WALKER

The year 1781 proved a good one for the advancement of language understanding. John Walker, who lectured extensively at Oxford on rhetorical subjects, was a tremendous influence in the field, and we owe to a statement in his prestigious *Elements of Elocution*, one of the classic treatises published during the eighteenth century, the first clear presentation of the Gordian knot that now importunately demands resolution.⁴³

42. Sheridan, *Rhetorical Grammar*, 103.

43. John Walker, *Elements of Elocution*, 2 vols. (London: Printed for the Author, 1781; reprint, Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1969), 1:4.

In order, therefore, to have as clear an idea of punctuation as possible, it will be necessary to consider it as related to grammar and rhetoric distinctly; it will not be easy to say any thing new on punctuation, as it relates to grammar, but it will not be difficult to shew, what perplexity it is involved in when reduced to enunciation; and how necessary it is to understand distinctly the rhetorical as well as grammatical division of a sentence, if we would wish to arrive at precision and accuracy in reading and speaking: . . . and as the basis of rhetoric and oratory is grammar, it will be absolutely necessary to consider punctuation as it relates precisely to the sense, before it is viewed as it relates to the force, beauty, and harmony of language.

Mr. Walker then recounts the general principles of grammatical punctuation, listing the four stops with their accepted counts, as well as the interrogation mark, the exclamation mark, and the parenthesis (now fully fledged), making reference to the opinions of both Lowth and Burrow. It is not his intention, he says, to disturb the present practice of punctuation, but only to add such aids as are actually made use of by the best readers and speakers. In a long sentence, a reader will be well accommodated if the stops demark the major divisions of the sentence. But a judicious speaker will wish to pause much more frequently. Lowth has said that no commas are wanted in a simple sentence, for example: "The passion for praise produces excellent effects in women of sense". Ha! says Walker, what about "A violent passion for universal admiration produces the most ridiculous circumstances in the general behaviour of women of the most excellent understandings"? That simple sentence is far too long to handle gracefully in a single breath, and it certainly admits (perhaps even requires) pauses when spoken aloud.⁴⁴

One could object that the admission of commas between grammatically connected words would overturn all rules for punctuation. Such an objection would have weight, if the eye were the sole judge of the sense of composition. But it is not. The ear is the perfect judge of all that is spoken, and its criteria are quite different from those of the eye. In short, the stops that satisfy the eye and the ear are different, and sometimes at variance. While the eye deals with

44. *Ibid.*, 1:18–26.

pauses between regiment-sized syntactical arrangements, the ear and tongue are busy, indeed very busy, regathering the material into mini-idea word-platoons, in order to pronounce them easily and forcibly. Here, Walker notes that the ear, though it is often far more lax than the eye, has its own fierce restrictions against particular separations of word units. For example, the ear would not enjoy tracking this verbalization: “A violent passion for universal, admiration produces the most ridiculous, consequences in the general, behaviour of women of the most excellent understandings”; for the pauses in this version destroy aural assimilation. But, interestingly, if one speaks out this sentence in a natural manner, pausing wherever the sense allows, a fine dramatic effect is achieved without stress to the lungs. That being true, says Walker, it is not surprising to see how few are the grammatical connections that absolutely refuse a suspension of pronunciation. If the voice were permitted to stop only where the written points allowed for pause, many an able oral-reader would expire gasping. The common basic rule for both writing and speaking should be to convey ideas distinctly, by separating or uniting as meaning dictates. Words that should not be separated will be determined by their sense and by the closeness of the sense attachment to the word on either side.⁴⁵

To demonstrate further instances of the incompatibility of aural with visual renderings of text, Mr. Walker offers the following sentence:⁴⁶

Riches, pleasure, and health become evils to the generality
of mankind.

There are few readers, he notes, who would not put in a longer pause between “health” and “become”, than between “Riches” and “pleasure”; and yet there are few writers or printers who would not insert a pause after the two first nouns and omit it after the third. Their practice must arise from the perception of the peculiar bond between subject and verb, a relationship that emerges sharply out of the flattened contours of the written line, making a writer loath to violate it. An oral reader, pressed in the heat of performance by a choice of effects, has not the time to be so syntactically alert.

45. Walker, *Elements*, 34–35, 47.

46. *Ibid.*, 29–30.

But it is well, Mr. Walker continues, that the speaking voice know the secrets of syntax, so that it may better judge the relationships of hierarchies and the fit of modifications. Essentially, sentences can be divided into three types. There is the tight period, wherein each member is unable to stand alone. There is a looser period, wherein the first member can stand alone, but the intended meaning is incomplete because of the qualification offered in the second member. And there is the 'loose' statement, which is a conglomerate of independent ideas, or *sententiole*, in the manner of Sir Thomas Browne, for example (see Part Four). The pauses that divide the severally membered sentences will be various and indefinite. Although the comma, semicolon, colon, and period conventionally maintain the pleasing proportions of 1, 2, 4, 8, such rigidity is useless. Everyone can feel a difference between a greater and smaller pause. Rules for further refinement only confuse. Therefore, Mr. Walker recommends that only three stops be used to control the gush of wordage. The smaller pause will remain the comma; the greater will be the combination of semicolon and colon; and the greatest will be the period. The ancients were satisfied with three. Therefore, three will do, since they "answer every useful purpose in writing and reading".⁴⁷

The greater break, Mr. Walker concludes, will be used when it is necessary to divide the period into two major constructive parts: at that point where the expectation begins to be answered, or where one part of the sentence begins to modify the other, or in cases of inversion. It will also be used in "loose periods", where a modifying additional member continues on after the period has reached a point where it contains a perfect sense and is structurally complete. Its presence at this juncture is so necessary to the reader that it is most forcefully recommended to all correctors of the press that they honor its importance by the placement of a greater point (a semicolon or

47. *Ibid.*, 62–69. Later in *The Rhetorical Grammar* (London: Printed for the Author, 1785; reprint, Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1971), J. Walker would simplify his division of sentence types. He remained adamant, however, about the pitfalls to an oral reader of the "loose" sentence. This kind of sentence had been described authoritatively by George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, 2 vols. (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776), 1:339–347, as being a whole period with an attachment at the end, the first portion of which will actually complete a perfect sentence, but not necessarily all the aspects of it that the author had in mind.

colon) to mark it. The smaller pause is used merely to mark off subordinate phrases and short qualifying adjuncts, depending on the complexity and length of the total period. So that the basic structure of the sentence may be clear, the comma should not participate in marking the major divisions, those little sentences or *sententiolae*, where the sense has been completed.⁴⁸

With all these things laid out to his satisfaction, Mr. Walker begins to prescribe particular subrules. After a nominative consisting of more than one word, we are told that there must be a pause. Material intervening between the verb and its accusative case must be considered parenthetical and so distinguished by short pauses. Words intervening between the principal verb and an infinitive must be marked off. "That" used as a causal conjunction must be preceded by a short pause. This section, which contains so much that strikes the modern punctator as old-fashioned and strictured, is followed by a careful study of the voice inflexions that should accompany such pauses. Here, one is reminded strongly of the principles of Gregorian chant, where the unities of sense are indicated by drops and rises in pitch (see Part Two). Walker recommends that the greater pause dividing the principal parts of a period be preceded by a rising inflexion and that the members of complete sense be preceded by a falling, or disjunctive inflection, and so on, with citations of numerous exceptions and special cases. This is a man who thinks of everything.

But there is more. He wonders whether printers are too pedantic in setting question marks after rhetorical questions, whether an exclamation mark ought to accompany *all* the subtleties of emotion, or whether new signals should be devised for greater explicitness. Does "How mysterious are the ways of Providence!" merely register the impatience of disappointment? Or is some metaphysical inquiry actually in progress? And how shall we mark an exclamation where question is intermingled, and how speak what we have marked? As for the parenthesis: there is no point, he says, in attempting to review here what Mr. Lowth failed to do justice to in his "so few words". (Walker is always after our Bishop for wrapping it up too soon.) Walker's list of the delightful aspects of the parenthesis—its suggestion of casualness, of luxuriance of mind, of passionate outburst smack in the middle of pure calm—is too detailed for inclusion

48. Walker, *Elements*, 1:184.

in this discursive survey.⁴⁹ Suffice it to say that Mr. Walker relished the rumination of each and every one.

The second volume of *The Elements of Elocution* discusses the punctuation of poetry and the silliness of those well-entrenched rules that put capital pauses regularly at the end of each line and at the caesura; that insert subordinate pauses on either side of the caesura according to syllable count and regardless of sense or even whether such breaks might split a word. Arguing against the predilections of Sheridan, who championed keeping poetry markedly different from prose, Walker, as always, pleads on behalf of undistorted meaning. The chopping of verse lines into four portions with caesuras and demi-caesuras, is not always an effective ploy. As for the pause at the end of each line:⁵⁰

Why is a reader to do that which his author has neglected to do, and indeed seems to have forbidden by the very nature of the composition? . . . For in all pronunciation, whether prosaic or poetic, at the beginning of every fresh portion, the mind must necessarily have the pause of the sense in view, and this prospect of the sense must regulate the voice for that portion, to the entire neglect of any length in the verse: as an attention to this must necessarily interrupt that flow or current in the pronunciation, which the sense demands.

Following this innovative opinion, Mr. Walker reverts to quaintness and tosses into his pot a few of the too-familiar, antediluvian bones. Along with voice inflection, gestures and demeanor must be added to the recipe for a better rendition of meaning. Each of the passions, we are told, demands a special handling. Violent ones call for a bracing of the sinews; grief for the relaxation of the frame.

49. *Ibid.*, 320–50. The parenthesis was variously maligned and admired during this period. Mr. Walker adds a small complication to its multifarious activities: It should be pronounced in a lower tone of voice, “and conclude with the same pause and inflexion which terminate the member that immediately precedes it” —all of which calls for rather a lot of quick thinking on the part of the oral reader. This attitude might account for the scrupulous punctuist’s (Walker’s term) desire to enclose, as Burrow suggested, the parenthetical insert not only with the usual parentheses marks but also with points.

50. *Ibid.*, 2:202–15.

Tranquillity may be conveyed by the composure of the countenance.
But⁵¹

when joy arises from ludicrous or fugitive amusements, . . . it is called merriment or mirth. Mirth opens the mouth horizontally, raises the cheeks high, lessens the aperture of the eyes, and when violent, shakes and convulses the whole frame, fills the eyes with tears, and occasions holding the sides from the pain the convulsive laughter gives them.

Is this the way one dealt with amusing trivia at the Walker dinner table? It is odd, yet so typical of his time, that Mr. Walker can reason his way free of prescription in some areas, and in others revert eagerly to the haven it offers.

Mr. Walker's *Rhetorical Grammar* was published in 1785 and thereafter nine times up to 1823 (twice at Boston, in 1814 and 1822). Essentially, it is a single-volume reworking of all that had been formulated in his earlier *Elements*, with the advantage of four years' worth of more hard thought. A few valuable details stand out and should be touched upon.

Mr. Walker now speaks of only two sentence types—the compact and the loose; and his discussion of the appropriate points to accompany them is crisp and assured. The confirming convention obliges him here to accept the inevitability of there being two “greater” stops—the semicolon and colon; but he still protests the ambiguities they seemed determined to churn up. These two “fallacious guides” would be improved, he feels, by the annexation of a small mark (without time value: no ruler) to indicate whether they signified “the completeness or incompleteness of the sense”, one of the great *desiderata* of punctuation being a method to clarify definitively the completeness of meaning.⁵²

The intention of the points is, in the first place, to fix and determine the sense when it might otherwise be doubtful; and, in the next place, to apprise the reader of the sense of part of a sentence before he has seen the whole. A mark,

51. Walker, *Elements*, 2:282–94.

52. Walker, *Rhetorical Grammar*, 34–35, 41, 45, and 75–76.

therefore, which accomplishes this purpose, must unquestionably be of the utmost importance to the art of reading.

When all is said and done, Mr. Walker has made the startling submission that there are *three* applications for punctuation; indeed, three art forms to cope with: speaking (oral-aural, the mother source of language); writing (visual, derived from speaking but to be practised in silence); and reading aloud (visual and oral-aural). Reading aloud is, of course, hazardously complicated since the tongue is activated by the eye's course along the written line (which itself is a modification of speech) and must adopt as natural a speaking air as will be compatible with the text. Free, discursive speech applies its own battery of pauses, emphases, and intonations. Writing, to conjure up the same ideas in a meaningful way, reframes the words syntactically to expose the sentential structures. Reading aloud must handle both operations with minimal error. And to do that it needs a differently oriented punctuation—something aural-oral in addition to grammatical-visual. Mr. Walker modifies his thinking about these complications throughout his successive writings.

In *Melody of Speaking* (1787), Mr. Walker presents his final and most influential statement on the topic. This is a small book, designed for the practising oral reader, in which two extracts of the same passage are laid out side by side, the verso additionally pointed with the author's newly devised elocutionary punctuation. Thus, the elocutionary side of the page is both syntactically pointed, and marked with insertions of vertical lines (indicating pause) between word groups, as well as grave and acute accents (indicating, respectively, a decline or rise of voice). Italicized parentheses, interposed when they are deemed crucial to a just and spirited delivery, instruct the accompanying demeanor. The following has been transcribed from the verso of "Mr. Pitt's Answer to Mr. H. Walpole":⁵³

(*Contempt.*) In the first sense, Sir, | the charge is tòo |
trifling | to be confuted, | and deserves ònly | to be
mèntioned | that it may be despised. | (*Modest confidence.*) I

53. John Walker, *The Melody of Speaking* (London: Printed for the Author, 1787), 22. It is interesting to notice what methods Mr. Walker decided *not* to use in his search for optimal elocutionary punctating. One discard was the gathering together of whole word units into single words (intosinglewords). Another was hyphenating

am at líberty, | like every other màn, | to use my own
 lánguage, | and though I may perhaps have sóme ambition |
 to please thís gentleman, | I sháll not | lày myself | under
 àny | restráint, | nor véry | solícitously | copy (*Sneer*) hís
 diction | or hís mien, | however matùred | by áge, | or
 módelled | by expèrience. |

For punctators John Walker’s analysis of the dual contributions of eye and ear to the speak/write/read-aloud process represents a sparkling moment in our long archival history. Linguistic scholars who were to follow him would be deflected from these ideas by excitements in the historical areas of their field—language origin and etymology—and less impelled to gyre about in Walkerian ethers. Though they showed signs of having seen the great vision themselves, they were not keen to enforce the finicky specifics of his system in their own rule books nor to instil in their pupils a sense of the chase. Thus, though a significant mystery had been sighted, it was allowed to vanish. Grammarians were becoming practical. Being too bound up in social climbing and bread winning to continue the pursuit of a supreme understanding of punctuation, they turned their energies to hounding the stragglers—the young, the ignorant, women, and foreigners.

NOAH WEBSTER

For the title page of his *Grammatical Institute* in three parts (Part I published in 1783), Noah Webster borrowed the Ciceronian *Usus est Norma Loquendi* (Custom is the rule of speaking). The dictum foreshadows an iconoclastic intent, which indeed manifests itself on the opening page of the introduction. No longer will America preserve its unshaken attachment to all the values of Great Britain, hitherto “implicitly supposed to be the *best* on earth”. That nation, we are told, must herewith be viewed with abhorrence, pity, and contempt. With a frisson of suspense, we turn the page to read:⁵⁴

(into-single-words). Neither would have proved to be as effective as his choice of the simple bar (|) with accompanying accents for rise and fall of the voice.

54. Noah Webster, *A Grammatical Institute of the English Lanuage*, 3 pts. (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1783–1800), 1:4.

While the Americans stand astonished at their former delusion and enjoy the pleasure of a final separation from their insolent sovereigns, it becomes their duty to attend to the arts of peace, and particularly to the interests of literature. . . . We find Englishmen practising upon very erroneous maxims in politics and religion; and possibly we shall find, upon careful examination, that their methods of education are equally erroneous and defective.

And indeed, we do.

The tone thus set, our feisty compatriot next turns on the British for their “clamour of pedantry in favour of Greek and Latin . . . and the modern French and Italian, . . . while a grammatical study of their own language, has, till very lately, been totally neglected”. He deplores the dearth of rules that govern our language, and the abundant corruptions allowed through ignorance and caprice. Since the “principal part of instructors are illiterate people”, standards must be set up to prevent the perpetual fluctuation of American English. By page six of the first volume we realize that here is a very angry man, who intends to speak out “with that plainness that is due to truth”. Mr. Webster now levels his sights at a certain deficient Mr. Dilworth—who, though he pronounces his “t” in “whistle” and his “b” in “subtle”, has somehow managed to sell his acclaimed *New Guide* to American school children—and pulls the trigger. A *New Guide to the English Tongue*, we are told, abounds in gross error. Who, in America, needs a detailed list of British towns and boroughs with instruction for pronunciation (E’ver-shot, O’ving-ham, Tow-ce’ster)? or to be wrongly shown a double accent mark after short-voweled syllables of words (“clus”ter”, instead of “clu-ster”)? Now that Mr. Webster has entered the fray, children in all the states and counties of America may rejoice to have workable word divisions upon which to base their pronunciations. Away with Dilworthian nonsense! Let words be divided as they ought to be pronounced. Mr. Webster ends his introductory diatribe with an exhortation to readers not to be frightened at the novelty of his ideas:⁵⁵

55. Webster, *Grammatical Institute*, 1:13. Thomas Dilworth’s *A New Guide to the English Tongue* was first published in England in 1740, though no copy exists now before the fifth edition of 1744. Because of the simplicity of its fare and the nonsense delivery, it became the most popular and most frequently reprinted of the



Frontispiece to Thomas Dilworth's *A New Guide to the English Tongue*, 96th ed. (Burlington, N.J.: Isaac Collins, 1774). This is the only recorded copy of this handy, popular, and obviously much-used edition. Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library.

Those who rail so much at *new things* ought to consider, that every improvement in life was once *new*; the reformation by Luther was once *new*; the Christian religion was once *new*; nay their favourite Dilworth was once a *new thing*: And had *these* and other *new things* never been introduced, we should have all, this moment, been pagans and savages.

And bumpkins. Like Dilworth. Here endeth the apology for the first book of the *Institute*. The author now focuses his cooling passion on the problems of orthography.

In the introduction to *Part II* (1784), though a whole year has intervened, he is still after poor Dilworth, calling his book “A mere Latin Grammar, very indifferently translated”. Webster is particularly annoyed at Dilworth’s following along in the classic path of forcing English into Latin molds. The stupidity of trying to teach the English tongue through a system of rules that are totally irrelevant to it comes straight from England, and that it should still have advocates “can be resolved into no cause but the amazing influence of habit upon the human mind”.⁵⁶ He praises both Lowth and Buchanan for understanding the genius of the language and for their judicious remarks on matters of sentence construction. But arriving at the verbs, he discovers them both “exceedingly defective”. Nevertheless, his tone has mellowed. He refers to these predecessors with respect, and where he must part company with them, he does so with reluctance and “the fullest persuasion that I was warranted [so

many school spelling books produced in England during the eighteenth century. Its success in America was equally impressive. In total, the more than one hundred editions of it printed before 1800 are estimated to have produced some million and a half copies. To give an idea of its archaic flavor: Mr. Dilworth instructs his pupils on the handling of the points as follows: for comma, say One; for semicolon (described in terms of “middle breathing between comma and colon”), say One, One; for colon, say One, One, One; for period, say One, One, One, One (*New Guide*, 13th ed. [London: Henry Kent, 1751; reprint, Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1967], 92–94). Mr. Webster is merely being rather nasty when he says that Mr. D. pronounced his “t” in “whistle” and his “b” in “subtle”. What Mr. Dilworth actually says (86–87) is: “T is sounded like s, in *Whistle*, and b is sounded like t, in *Subtil*”, a statement that would more fairly be viewed as a teaching ploy than the barbarism that Webster implies that it is.

56. Webster, *Grammatical Institute*, 2:3.

to do] by the nature and idiom of the language”. His goal is “to throw the principles of our language into a style and method suited to the most ordinary [Dilworthian?] capacities”. Thereupon, he launches into a catechetical treatment of the parts of speech, the largest section having to do with verbs and all the succinct modes and auxiliaries that so refine meaning for us and baffle the foreigner. He handles it all with clarity and directness, adding at the end a parsing praxis about the virtues of educated women. (Praxes are often about women; but the idea of educating them makes a pleasant change.) If men could only stop degrading themselves in order to please women, this one reads, “the two sexes, instead of corrupting each other, would be rivals in the race of virtue”. This delightful idea is then analyzed in the following way:⁵⁷

<i>in</i>	A preposition.
<i>the</i>	As before.
<i>race</i>	A noun, singular, governed of <i>in</i> , by rule 11 [which reads, “Prepositions govern an objective case or word”].
<i>of</i>	As before.
<i>virtue</i>	A noun singular, governed by <i>of</i> , by rule 11.

With all this tucked under our caps, we can now direct our gaze towards punctuation.

Although Mr. Webster has taken pains to praise clarity, not only by comment but by his own example, he is not up to fresh excitements in the field of punctuation. Instead, he offers an abridgement of Bishop Lowth’s essay on the subject. This two-page précis arrives on our laps, reduced by a ratio of seven to one—scarcely the weight of a feather. The borrowing author has deleted obscurity by deleting text (often a good way) and then clinched his point with an excellent praxis using quotations from literature. In these he assesses the groupings of words and categorizes them in terms of their importance within the sentence so that appropriate punctuation can be applied to bring out their relationships, and hence their meanings. As terseness appears to be his brief, nothing conceptually revelatory is pre-

57. Webster, *Grammatical Institute*, 2:88, 94.

sented, barring a grant to the parenthesis sign of a “pause greater than a comma”.⁵⁸

Part II of the *Grammatical Institute* failed to equal the popular success of his Part I. Part III (1800) is essentially a gathering of readings—the selections for which, Mr. Webster was especially “attentive to the political interest of America”. Before beginning his patriotic mission, however, he grinds out a few general directions about elocution in general, and among these few pages we find a rule for the “Pauses and Stops”:⁵⁹

The characters we use as stops are extremely arbitrary; and do not always mark a suspension of the voice. On the contrary, they are often employed to separate the several members of a period, and show the grammatical construction. Nor when they are designed to mark pauses, do they always determine the length of those pauses; for this depends much on the sense and nature of the subject. A semicolon, for example, requires a longer pause in a grave discourse, than in a lively and spirited declamation.

Along the way we are also advised that when quipping upon the podium, we must open our mouths, crisp our noses, lessen the aperture of our eyes, and shake our whole frames. Such clues will conduct an audience to the wanted response.

Five years after the publication of Part II of his practical *Institute* handbooks, and showing yet no signs of fatigue or confusion, Mr.

58. The contemptible Dilworth, meanwhile, had written a four-page catechism on the subject of punctuation, all formidably archaic in its assignments of middle breathing and long breathing to semicolon and colon. However, most interestingly, he includes a few lines under the heading “Of Books”, wherein he defines segments that should interest the punctator. Chapters, for example, “contain the principal Heads, Subject, or Argument of a Book”. Paragraphs, we are told, “are certain large Members or Divisions of a *Chapter*, or of a *Section*; containing a perfect Sense of the Subject treated of, and calculated for the Advantage of the *Reader*; because at the End thereof he may make a larger Pause than usual at the End of a *Period*”. See Dilworth, *New Guide*, 92–96.

59. Noah Webster, *An American Selection of Lessons in Reading and Speaking, being The Third Part of a Grammatical Institute of the English Language*, 15th ed. (Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin, 1800), 3.

Webster came out with a longer, more philosophical treatise, a collection of lectures entitled *Dissertations on the English Language* (1789),⁶⁰ to which, delightfully, he appends not only his own essay in favor of “rendering the orthography of words correspondent to the pronunciation”, but also Benjamin Franklin’s defensive response. The book is a register of Mr. Webster’s growth of opinion and confidence. He is now critical of both Bishop Lowth and Dr. Johnson (to whom in less presumptuous years he had paid tribute, but whose pedantry he now finds to have “corrupted the purity of our language”). Within these self-assured pages we are told that Edward Gibbon was too elaborate in his diction. His *Decline and Fall* might better have been titled: “A Display of Words”. Mr. Webster’s acerbic tongue is still active, though it has nothing new to say about our favorite topic.

In his fifth dissertation, which deals with prosody and the construction of verse, he speaks briefly about punctuation in verse. He tells us that poetry has two kinds of pauses: the caesural pause and the final pause, both of which are to be considered musical, “for their sole end is the melody of verse”. The ends of lines are understood to induce a break, whether there is a pause in the sense or not. Thus, St. Jerome’s *per cola et commata* method (see Part One), somewhat misapplied, lingers on. But there are also, says Webster, sentential pauses (for sense) that fall within the framework of poetry, and these are the same as are used for prose, i.e., the comma, the semicolon, the colon, and the period. They, too, indicate the need for a brief silence. Adherence to this Websterian prescription, which was a standard one for his times, would appear to bring on more pauses than verse. But in those days, there was always plenty of time.

JOSEPH ROBERTSON

By the 1780s punctuation had been thoroughly accepted as a subject worthy of intellectual exertion, and its practicalities and shortcomings were enthusiastically discussed by the sophisticates, if not quite understood by the rabble. Joseph Robertson in his *Essay on Punctuation* (1785), the earliest systematic (*pace* Burrow) survey of English punctuation, sums up the norm for the era. In this popular

60. Noah Webster, *Dissertations on the English Language* (Boston: Isaiah Thomas, 1789), xi, and 299–300.

book, which was reprinted frequently both in England and in America, the punctating art is proclaimed to be of “infinite consequence in writing; as it contributes to the perspicuity, and consequently to the beauty, of every composition”. With this remark we have reached, in some sense, a plateau. After centuries of beauty being anything but clarity (an attitude with overtones not very respectful of human thinking), the mind is at last pronounced pure, and a clear view of its contents deemed a desirable goal in writing.

Mr. Robertson is aware of the inefficiency of a single style of punctuation in guiding both eye and tongue-ear around the pitfalls of text. Following Walker, he touches upon the irony that even the pointed divisions of compounded sentences do not exactly coincide with the needs of the speaking reader, since “many pauses are necessary in reading, where no point is inserted by the printer”. In the manner of Thomas Sheridan he forestalls *viva voce* error in his own works by comma-ing off every conceivable word group, and thereby manages to yoke syntactical-visual and rhetorical-aural needs.

After a short historical discourse to account for the development of the puncts, he notes that “all European writers” of his time make use of the marks of division, of which there are now a full-fledged eight. To the four major stops, the interrogation and exclamation marks, he has added both the parenthesis and dash.⁶¹ That settled, he proceeds to analyse them all with scientific fervor, describing and giving examples. His book ends with an appendix discussion of useful textual marks (carets, apostrophes, etc.) and abbreviations.

Having first suggested that examination of the structure of a compound sentence will discover the spots where the stops and pauses must lie, he turns his attention to the comma, for which he bravely develops forty rules. Thirty-eight of these are unprecedentedly rooted in syntax; the last two succumb to the problems of breathing. We forgive him for this, for where the demands of respiration or ‘good taste’ do not intervene, he is definitely a syntax man, and one experiences a number of insights in reading his handy, rational treatise. Throughout the sweep of his *Essay*, he endeavors to muster good reasons for this or that recommendation—something not many of his fellow pedagogues were thoughtful enough to do. For instance, he tells us (whether right or wrong, at least it is something to chew on)

61. Joseph Robertson, *An Essay on Punctuation* (London: J. Walter, 1785), 19.

ADVERTISEMENT.

“**Y**OUNG people should be early taught to distinguish the stops, commas, accents, and other gramatical marks, in which the correctness of writing consists ; and it would be proper to begin with explaining to them their nature and use *.”

* ROLLIN on the Belles Letters, b. i. c. 1.

The Advertisement, title page verso, from the first American edition of Joseph Robertson's *An Essay on Punctuation* (Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph James, 1789). Courtesy of the Syracuse University Library.

why three or more substantives together should be separated by commas. It is, commonsensically, because each word exhibits a distinct picture, which is better served by being “distinguished from the rest in writing and reading, as it is in nature”.⁶²

Mr. Robertson is quite verbose about the ‘clause’, a term that he applies to segments of a sentence that may or may not contain a verb. Although his explanation assumes the favored laboratory precision, we can see how he is not yet fully conditioned to reasoning out some of the applications that he urges upon us. “A participle, with a clause depending on it, is generally separated from the rest of the sentence by a comma”, he says. To the modern reader, expecting quite another incarnation, the offered example is not helpful. “The fear of death is one of the strongest passions, *implanted* in human nature.” If there is to be any syntactical justification whatsoever for the separating of “passions” from “implanted”, it must be to alert the reader to the writer’s special intention of uniting “fear of death”, and “fear of death” only, with the final “implanted” phrase.⁶³ The positioning of the comma as it is here, with the established relationship making no sense, is extremely disconcerting.

The Robertsonian semicolon is our old familiar semicolon—a little more demanding of perfection than the comma, and a little less squeamish than the colon. Mr. Robertson rather plumes himself on the aphoristic astuteness of his examples. If not always memorable for guiding the punct to its proper seat, they do at least help us through life’s little predicaments. For the semicolon he offers: “Loquacity storms the ear; but modesty gains the affections”. True, too true. For the colon, described as being followed by “some additional remark or illustration, naturally arising from the foregoing member, and immediately depending on it in sense though not in syntax”, we are presented with: “Rebuke thy son in private: public reproof hardens the heart”.⁶⁴ Thus, the punctator proceeds through the book, basket in hand, gathering up the various punctuational fungi as well as a few sticks and stones to throw at Life Itself. If not too distracted by all the advisements for seemly behavior, he may notice with some satisfaction that the idea of the semicolon marking contrasting ideas

62. *Ibid.*, 24. See also Honan, “English Punctuation Theory”, 96.

63. Robertson, *Punctuation*, 39–40.

64. *Ibid.*, 72, 78.

linked by a conjunction that signals a dependence (for example, “but”) is enduring the tests of time. The resumptive nature of the colon, first fully discussed and illustrated by Aldus Manutius II, has also weathered the centuries.

Mr. Robertson does not develop his reasons for lowercasing all the capital letters that the sight of a noun induced into the texts of his forebears, just as his forebears did not develop their reasons for having put them there in the first place.⁶⁵ As for the use of quotation marks, he does not have anything very specific to say either. However, he strongly urges against the constant use of the parenthesis, a ploy so popular in his times. The elegant writer, he advises, will endeavor (must endeavor!) to avoid it.

Mr. Robertson presents a full statement, however, on the now highly popular dash. “The dash is frequently used by hasty and incoherent writers, in a very capricious and arbitrary manner, instead of the regular point.” The proper use of the dash is “where the sentence breaks abruptly; where the sense is suspended; where a significant pause is required; or where there is an unexpected turn in the sentiment”.⁶⁶ No wonder this delightful device was so much in evidence. Indeed, all these uses are valid today.

DAVID STEEL

Punctuation was now a topic of general relevance and a good ground for the exercise of gentlemanly wits and for that warm after-glow associated with published authorship. Earnestness abounded, and in the quick turnaround of a single year we find Mr. Robertson meeting his comeuppance. For though he had made more progress in elucidating the doctrine of points than anyone before had attempted, David Steel, printer and writer on naval history and engineering, regretfully discovered not a few defects in the rigging of Robertson’s rules. Mr.

65. Simeon Daines, who makes several pages of announcements on the topic, is no exception. He discusses the standard uses of the capital to begin “every sentence, or clause”, proper and geographical names, titles, etc.; but alas, while his own remarks on the subject are being put here and there into caps by his printer, no rationale is discussed. See Daines’ *Orthoepia* (London: Printed by Robert Young and Richard Badger for the Company of Stationers, 1640; reprint, Menston, England: Scolar Press, 1967), 76–77.

66. Robertson, *Punctuation*, 129.

Steel's *Elements of Punctuation* (1786) begins its courtly attack by reproducing Robertson's entire *Essay* on the verso and addressing particular, 'not quite right' elements of it on the recto of each matching page. The tone of Steel's commentary is throughout wellbred and self-effacing. "I rather think . . ." he observes quietly. "It seems better that . . ." To Robertson's rejection of additional pointing around the parentheses, our mild new friend prefers to think that a parenthesis should be indicative only of a drop in voice:⁶⁷

I confess myself to be one of those who contend that a parenthesis demands every point which the sense would require, if the parenthesis were omitted, except when the parenthesis is interrogative, or exclamatory.

He continues in this pleasant, abstracted way to move us all towards a proper reverence for the connections between subjects and verbs, verbs and objects, relatives and antecedents, though how we are to do it remains rather mysterious: "A nice acquaintance with punctuation" being unattainable by rules and procured only "by a kind of internal conviction" that grammar must never be violated. Whenever Mr. Steel himself felt doubtful if the sentence would "admit a comma", he generally ended his hesitation "by inserting it, provided it do not militate against grammar". The enthusiasm of both Robertson and Steel for the comma generated a huge wave of admiration for the supposed elegance it lent to text. By 1800, and until printerly fatigue put an end to it, the comma was profusely, feverishly, and often fancifully sprinkled over the printed page. As for the colon and semicolon, Mr. Steel was against their intervening in a grammatical construction. Their purpose is to mark the degree of the connection, he felt, and that, it turns out, is a thing which can be variously felt by different people.⁶⁸

67. David Steel, *Elements of Punctuation* (London: Printed for the Author, 1786), 126. This delightful respite from Mr. Steel's other bibliographic entries in the *British Museum Catalogue*, all of which expound naval practicalities and bear titles such as *Seamanship*, *The Ship-Master's Assistant*, *Steel's Elements of Mastmaking*, and *Sailmaking and Rigging*, offers useful proof of punctuation's pervasive and magnetic charm.

68. Steel, *Elements*, 32–34. See also Honan, "English Punctuation Theory", 97.

Punctuation should lead to the sense; the sense will guide to modulation and emphasis. When punctuation performs its office thus, it will point out likewise the grammatical construction; for the sense of a passage and its grammatical construction are inseparable.

With this statement we see Lowth's circle opening up. Though grammar is too subtle to be usefully represented even by copious rules, it is there, definitely alive in the human mind, and punctuation *must* tango with it. A clear pronunciation, which is naturally guided by a knowledge of the grammatical basics, will follow the contours of syntactical patterns with or without Robertson's forty rules for the comma. In repeated editions, Steel's positive pro-grammar stance will influence the doings of language analysis for the next fifty years. His polite adjustments to Robertsonian decree represent the closest that the eighteenth century came to destroying the classical concept of punctuation as a guide to oral expression.

To demonstrate how he would do it, Mr. Steel seizes upon a variety of complicated sentences from literature (of which there suddenly seem to be myriads) and proceeds to punctuate them. For example, from David Hume's *English History* he selects the sentence: "To deny the reality of the plot was to be an accomplice; to hesitate was criminal: royalist, republican, churchman, secretary, courtier, patriot, all parties concurred in the delusion".⁶⁹ The comment, in footnote beneath (Mr. Steel's unaggressive format) was:

In the edition of Hume, 1782, I find this passage pointed thus: "royalist, republican; churchman, secretary; courtier, patriot; all parties concurred in the delusion." This method . . . undoubtedly marks the antitheses, by separating them with semi-colons, but it leads from grammatical construction. . . . Nouns royalist, republican, etc. are all nominative to verb concurred and should not be so disconnected from it.

In the final ten or so pages of offered rules for punctuating English text (this, in exact imitation of Robertson), we are invited to check

69. Steel, *Elements*, 51.

worrisome uncertainties against the Latin, to seek out the prepositional and gerundival sources of English expression that will qualify us to plant our points with greater assurance.

LINDLEY MURRAY

Lindley Murray's *English Grammar*, first published in 1795, was far and away the most popular and frequently reprinted grammar during the nineteenth century. Its some three hundred editions were as popular in England, where Murray passed the latter half of his life, as in his native America. Drawing heavily on previous grammars, particularly that of Bishop Lowth, his book seemed to bring to culmination the art for all men. Mr. Murray himself showed no ambition to do battle with the insights of his predecessors. Instead of stirring up new quarrels, he wisely sidestepped the bogs where controversy had already sucked so many under. He seemed content with his role as explicator par excellence.⁷⁰

Little can be expected from a new compilation, besides a careful selection of the most useful matter, and some degree of improvement in the mode of adapting it to the understanding, and the gradual progress of learners. . . . The compiler of this work, at the same time that he has endeavoured to avoid a plan, either too concise or too extensive, has studied to render his subject sufficiently easy, intelligible, . . . comprehensive, . . . and best adapted to young minds.

With a goal so worthy and so lucidly set forth, we are not surprised to learn of his enormous success. His audience was ready and the material developed; it was a matter of moving in to coordinate the two and seize the prize. Clarity and restraint are Mr. Murray's very special virtues. He is courteous from head to toe. Phrasing his rules with simple and memorable directness, he invites us onto the field of orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody (the so-called four parts to grammar) with the air of a host: 'There they are, please help yourself'. The ruler-rapping, battle-commander grammarian has

70. Lindley Murray, *English Grammar* (York: Wilson, Spence, and Mawman, 1795), iii and iv.

transmogrified into the gentlest of gentleman teachers, and life in the classroom is at last bearable, if not quite yet the 'fun' that it is today. Mr. Murray's reasonable tone, his middle-class and pedagogical (as opposed to aristocratic and philosophical) assuredness is prophetic of nineteenth-century attitudes. Each given rule is followed by samples and explanations. In a book of only two hundred twenty pages, the author devotes nearly seventeen to the matter of punctuation and textual marks and another dozen or so in the appendix to matters of lucidity and precision.

Mr. Murray's opening lines on punctuation tell us that reading aloud was still crucially important to the society in which he expected his book to hold sway. Punctuation, in such an atmosphere, was quite adequately described as being:⁷¹

the art of dividing a written composition into sentences, or parts of sentences, by points or stops, for the purpose of marking the different pauses which the sense, and an accurate pronunciation [in that order], require.

Mr. Murray is being slippery here. Like Lowth, he has encircled with a single fling of his net the dual duties of the overburdened punct. Using the word "pause" for both visual and oral stops, he simply slides away from the complications that so transfixed Mr. Walker, and keeps himself more or less immune to philosophical problems by failing to mention that there might be some. Having described, for example, a simple sentence as one where, in general, "no points are requisite", he then tells us that if it is lengthened by adjuncts inseparable to the subject (he calls it "nominative case" and does not say how long those inseparable adjuncts can be), then a "pause" (indicated by a comma) may be admitted immediately before the verb. Such a way of dealing with the grammatical specifics betrays an uninquiring audience. Clearly, the author is not engaged in debating minutiae with fellow philosophers, but in straightening out, as best he can, the season's cull of deficients. Although Mr. Murray does not specifically say so, he suggests that it is the length of sentences that must have the preponderant vote in deciding the use of

71. Murray, *English Grammar*, 159.

the comma. Whether that has to do with physiological requirements is not touched upon, for this is a book of action, not theory, and where the two cannot agree, silence is destined to prevail.

There are nineteen rules for the comma in the *English Grammar*, each succinctly stated and followed by brief commentary with example. Let us listen to what is being said about comma-ing off the relative pronoun:⁷²

RULE XV. Relative pronouns are connective words, and generally admit a comma before them; as, "He preaches sublimely, *who* lives a sober, righteous, and pious life;" "There is no charm in the female sex, *which* can supply the place of virtue."

But when two members are closely connected by a relative, restraining the general notion of the antecedent to a particular sense, the comma should be omitted; as, "A man who is of a detracting spirit, will misconstrue the most innocent words that can be put together."

In this example, the assertion is not of "a man in general," but of "a man who is of a detracting spirit;" and therefore they should not be separated.

The reader is urged to inspect Mr. Murray's own commas, particularly the one before "restraining".

The practical Mr. Murray manifests a sensible unwillingness to propound on the "loose" sentence and its requirements for the elusive semicolon. Having assessed the likely intellects and attention spans of his audience, he simply presents a "loose" sentence without calling it anything, applies the necessary stops, and moves on to the colon. This, too, he swallows very quickly. There is no mention in his rules about the semicolon or colon demanding beats of one, two, three, etc. (though later, quite casually, he refers to interrogation and exclamation points as being "indeterminate as to quantity of time"). Sense is the measure of what is owed. And so, he reasons about the relationships from a grammatical point of view—in terms

72. *Ibid.*, 164.

of dependency and the now generally understood incomplete/complete factor—and leaves the rhetorical reproduction to the intelligence and good taste of the reader-aloud. The assumption, as we see, was that anybody who could read what an author had written could successfully handle an oral rendition on his own, without the over-explicit, incessant, orchestral conducting that had tended in earlier years to conjure up marionettes instead of real people.

Mr. Murray touched upon some matters that had not been definitively dealt with before and did so with such expertness that we are all quite comfortable even today adhering to his suggestions. “A period may sometimes be admitted between two sentences, though they are joined by a disjunctive or copulative conjunction.”⁷³ So he advises, *allowing* us to do what we do when we begin our sentences with a ‘but’ or a ‘for’. Murray’s statement testifies to the breaking up of the long, alembicated sentences that had clogged the texts of previous decades. Writing, as it became more common, became more natural. From a history of arch stiffness, it now sought truly to shadow the directness of speech.

Mr. Murray accepts the dash—along with the parenthesis, exclamation, and question mark—as a fully fledged stop, bringing the total to an enduring eight. He discusses the paragraph, a major instrument in the breaking up of text, and though the subject was not new to the classroom (some thanks owed here to Dilworth), he is the first popular grammatical sophisticate to promote an understanding of its characteristics. A device for dividing and subdividing text by coherence of topic is certainly relevant to logical exposition, and hence to improved comprehension.

With his splendid appendix on “Perspicuity”, Mr. Murray brings our century to a close. With him, we may justly say that the latter half of the eighteenth century brought the English language into its current form, a form such that readers now are able to absorb *easily* what was written two centuries ago. For the considerable progress in language theory and the role of punctuation therein, we owe thanks to Mr. Murray and all those strong grammatical shoulders upon which he stood.

73. Murray, *English Grammar*, 168, 173–74.

POSTSCRIPT

Sadly, not everyone agreed that the progress made was so desirable. A strange, if not quite delightful, example of resistance to the newly accepted wisdom was the self-appointed Lord Timothy Dexter (1743–1806) of Newburyport, Massachusetts. A man of exuberance and imagination, he made his fortune by selling oddities (mittens and warming pans) in unexpected places (the West Indies) and surpassed even that in siring two children by a wife he insisted was a ghost.⁷⁴ He did not by habit withhold his opinions. His enormously popular and much derided *A Pickle for the Knowing Ones* runs along more or less as it opens, with spunky appraisals of whatever catches his eye.⁷⁵

To mankind at Large the time is Com at Last the grat day of
Regoising what is that whye I will tell you thous three kings
is Rased Rased you meane shoud know Rased on the first
Royel Arch in the world olmost. . . . Whereas many phi-
losphers has judged or guessed at many things about the world,
and so on. Now I suppose I may guess as it is guessing times.
I guess the world is one very large living creature, and always
was and always will be without any end from everlasting to
everlasting, and no end.

A lovely book, as is plain to see, but rather heartlessly received by those against whom it had been propelled, i.e., the knowing ones, who satirized his punctuation and spelling (not to mention the content) with maleficent glee. Apparently, Lord Timothy did not take well to criticism of his publications, for at the finish of the second edition (1805) of *A Pickle for the Knowing Ones*, he appended the following irate note to the printer about punctuation. In short, he was sick of it. By this time, quite wondrously eccentric, he was no-body to tangle with.⁷⁶

74. John P. Marquand, *Lord Timothy Dexter* (New York: Minton, Balch and Co., 1925), passim.

75. Timothy Dexter, *A Pickle for the Knowing Ones; or, Plain Truths in a Homespun Dress* (Salem, Mass., Printed for the Author, 1802), 3.

76. Timothy Dexter, *A Pickle for the Knowing Ones* (Boston: Otis, Broaders and Co., 1838), 42.

News of the Library and the Library Associates

RECENT ACQUISITIONS

The following represent selected additions to the Library's special collections made during the academic year 1990–91.

Belluschi, Pietro

Architectural records (1974–86), including correspondence, project files, and drawings (50 linear feet) supplementing previous gifts made in 1964 and 1973. *Gift of Pietro Belluschi.*

Civil War Letters

Collection of forty letters (1863–64) written by Union soldier Hervey Lane Howe (1833–1864) to his brother, Judson, of McDonough, New York. Howe joined the 89th Regiment, New York Volunteers (Infantry) in 1863 and many of the letters recount his life and the work of his regiment during the siege of Fort Sumter and Fort Moultrie. *Gift of Richard D. Howe.*

Coalition of Adult Education Organizations

Records (1970s–1988) including reports, minutes, memoranda, and correspondence (12 linear ft.). *Gift of Coalition of Adult Education Organizations.*

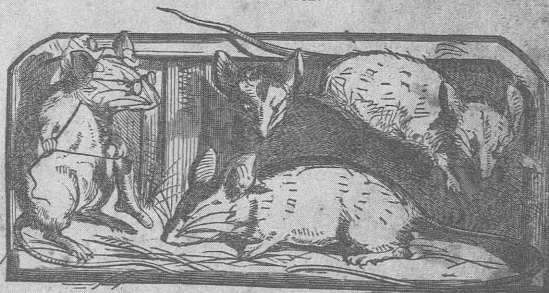
Homer, Winslow

Eventful History of Three Little Mice and How They Became Blind. (Boston: E. O. Libby, 1858). Considered for years to be the first book illustrated by Winslow Homer, this work contains three full-page illustrations and fourteen textual drawings, many signed by the artist. Although this is unquestionably one of Homer's earliest

EVENTFUL
HISTORY
of
THREE LITTLE MICE

And how they became Blind.

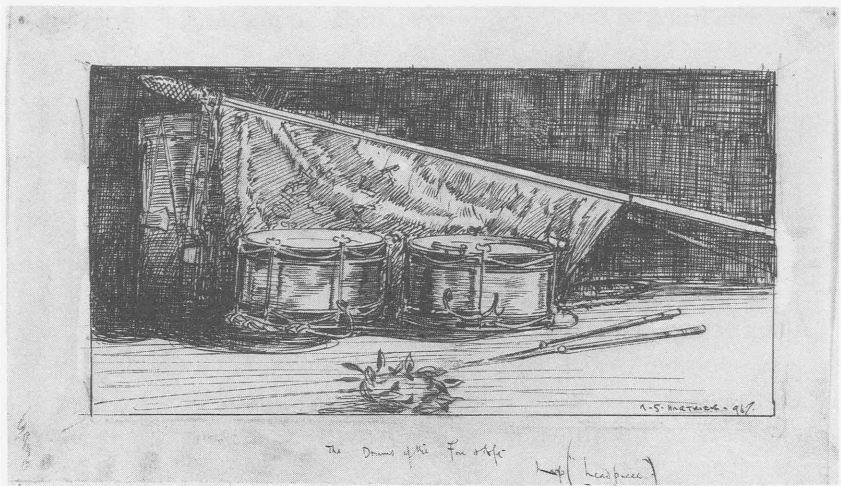
THREE BLIND MICE,
SEE HOW THEY RUN.
THEY ALL RUN AFTER THE FARMER'S WIFE,
SHE CUT OFF THEIR TAILS WITH A CARVING KNIFE;
DID YOU EVER SEE SUCH A SIGHT IN YOUR LIFE,
AS THREE BLIND MICE.



E. O. LIBBY & CO., 76 and 78 WASHINGTON STREET, BOSTON.

Title page, *Eventful History of Three Little Mice and How They Became Blind*.
Illustration by Winslow Homer.

published works, executed when he was twenty-two years old, current research by the donor has identified even earlier examples of his woodcut book illustrations. *Gift of David Tatham.*



Head-piece by A. S. Hartrick for Kipling's *Drums of the Fore and Aft*.

Kipling, Rudyard

Twenty-one original drawings and thirteen head- and tail-pieces by A. S. Hartrick (1864–1950) created as illustrations for Kipling's *Soldier Tales* (London: Macmillan, 1896). Gift of William P. Tolley.

Collection of letters (1899–1929) to various recipients including seven to attorney Augustus T. Gurlitz dealing with Kipling's problem with pirated editions of his works. Kipling's demands to the publishers of unauthorized editions are outlined in an autograph document sent to Gurlitz. Included in this collection are also twenty-two letters from Caroline Kipling to Gurlitz and related correspondence from A. P. Watt, John Lockwood Kipling, and George A. MacDonald. Gift of William P. Tolley.

Munsell Collection

Fourteen books printed by Albany printer Joel Munsell added to the New York Collection established in 1984 by the donor in memory of Olive M. Bannister. Included in these most recent additions are Charles Wooley's *A Two Years Journal in New York* (New York, 1860); *Ward's Statue in the Central Park, New York* (1873); *Orderly Book of the Northern Army, at Ticonderoga and Mt.*

Independence, 1776–1777 (1859); and a number of genealogical works and New England town histories. Gift of Henry S. Bannister.

Ranke, Leopold von

Zur Geschichte der italienischen Poesie. (Berlin: Duncker und Humblot, 1837). First separate edition. Originally published in *Abhandlungen der Königlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin* (1835). This work includes biographical and critical comments on the writings of Matteo Maria Boiardo, Luigi Pulci, Bernardo Tasso, Luigi Alamanni, and Torquato Tasso. Ranke's Italian studies were made possible by the patronage of Metternich. He introduced Ranke to the most important libraries in Italy, and helped defray the expenses of his three years' stay, 1828–31. Purchased by Library Associates.

Rogers, Bruce

Kenyon, Frederic G. *Ancient Books and Modern Discoveries* (Chicago: The Caxton Club, 1927). A masterpiece of typography designed and printed by Bruce Rogers and produced by William Edwin Rudge in an edition of 350 copies with collotype plates by Emery Walker. Presented to the Library by University College's Humanistic Studies Center in honor of Professor Emerita Antje B. Lemke.

Schweitzer, Albert

Schweitzer's original working copy of his book *The Forest Hospital at Lambarene* (New York: Holt, 1931) consisting of pages from the London edition of the same work issued under the title *More from the Primeval Forest* (1931). Annotated throughout by Schweitzer and the Reverend Karl Reiland, author of the foreword for the American edition, with numerous inserted photographs. Purchased by Library Associates with additional support from Mrs. Dorothy Witherrill.

Thompson, Dorothy

Collection of fifty letters (1923–28) from Thompson to her first husband, Hungarian journalist Josef Bard, documenting the later years of their marriage and providing a record of her travel in the United States, Britain, and Europe. The collection, sold by the estate of Bard's second wife, artist Eileen Agar, also includes eleven

photographs of Thompson and a 1928 letter from her second husband, Sinclair Lewis. *Purchased by Library Associates with additional support from Elaine and Joseph Spector.*

Waugh, Evelyn

Collection of first editions of twenty-one novels, as well as the first English edition of *Labels, a Mediterranean Journal* (London: Duckworth, 1930) and the American edition entitled *A Bachelor Abroad, a Mediterranean Journal* (New York: Jonathan Cape, 1930). Also included in the collection is the scarce Catholic Book Club edition of *Robbery under Law: the Mexican Object-Lesson* (London, 1940). *Gift of David Tatham.*

Mark F. Weimer
Curator of Special Collections



Vernon F. Snow.

POST-STANDARD AWARD CITATION, 1991,
FOR VERNON F. SNOW

Vernon F. Snow, teacher, historian, foundation president, and devoted friend of the Syracuse University Library, we honor you for unselfish service, generous gifts in support of the Library's collections, and your personal advocacy on behalf of the Library and Library Associates.

Graduate of Wheaton College, the University of Chicago, and the University of Wisconsin, you began your career in higher education teaching at the University of Oregon. You divided your time between teaching and administration over several decades at the Universities of Montana, Nebraska, Wisconsin, and in 1974, joined the Syracuse University faculty as professor of English history.

You have served Syracuse University Library Associates as a member of its Board of Trustees since 1979, acting as valuable adviser, active seeker of support, and special friend. By example and persuasion you have unearthed critical resources for library collections and projects with remarkable success. Of particular note is the generous financial support you secured for the Belfer Audio Archives, the Leopold von Ranke Reading Room, the Ranke Library Cataloguing Project, and the Library internship program for graduates and undergraduates from the School of Information Studies.

You are a truly three-dimensional man: you have given the length of service, the breadth of scholarship, and the depth of wisdom and concern that knows no bounds.

In recognition of your achievements and invaluable support, and with deep gratitude for your leadership and friendship, we are delighted to present to you the 1991 Post-Standard Award for Distinguished Service to the Syracuse University Library.

PROGRAM FOR 1991-92

The Syracuse University Library Associates program for the academic year 1991-92 will be as follows:

- | | |
|---|--|
| September 19, 1991
Thursday, 4 p.m.
304 Schine Student Center | Deborah Willis
Curator of Photography, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York Public Library
BLACK WOMEN PHOTOGRAPHERS |
| October 16, 1991
Wednesday, 4 p.m.
1916 Room, Bird Library | Jeff Weber, bookseller
THE HISTORY OF FORE-EDGE PAINTING |
| October 31 & November 1, 1991
1916 Room, Bird Library | Book Sale
co-sponsored by the Library Associates and the Syracuse University Library |
| November 15, 1991
Friday, 4 p.m.
Kilian Room
500 Hall of Languages | J. B. Harley
Professor of Geography
University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee
REREADING THE MAPS OF THE COLUMBIAN ENCOUNTER
co-sponsored by the Library Associates and the Department of Geography |
| December 5, 1991
Thursday, 4 p.m.
1916 Room, Bird Library | Vicki Goldberg, biographer of Margaret Bourke-White
THE POWER OF PHOTOGRAPHY: HOW PHOTOGRAPHS CHANGED OUR LIVES |
| December 13, 1991
Friday, 5 p.m.
300 Comstock Avenue | Chancellor's Holiday Reception |

January 28, 1992
Tuesday, 4 p.m.
1916 Room, Bird Library

Murray Tinkelman
Professor of Visual Communication
Syracuse University
HISTORY OF AMERICAN ILLUSTRATION:
1900-1950

March 5, 1992
Thursday, 4 p.m.
1916 Room, Bird Library

Peter Kurth, biographer of Dorothy Thompson
DOROTHY THOMPSON: A MODEL FOR
WOMEN IN JOURNALISM

March 26, 1992
Thursday, 4 p.m.
1916 Room, Bird Library

Isabelle Hyman
Professor of Art History
New York University
MARCEL BREUER, ARCHITECT: PROFILE OF A CAREER

April 24, 1992
Friday, 12 noon
Goldstein Student Center
South Campus

Spring Luncheon and Annual Meeting

All lectures are free and open to the public.
For further information call (315) 443-9763.

THE SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATES, founded in 1953, is a society whose efforts are devoted to the enrichment of the Syracuse University Libraries and especially the rare book and manuscript collections. The Associates' interests lie in strengthening these collections through the acquisition of unusual books, manuscripts, and other research materials which are rare and often of such value that the Libraries would not otherwise be able to acquire them.

The Associates welcome anyone to join whose interests incline in the direction of book collecting or the graphic arts. The prerequisites of membership include borrowing privileges and general use of the Syracuse University Libraries' facilities and resources, as well as invitations to exhibitions, Associates-sponsored lectures, and special events of the University Libraries. In addition, members will receive our incidental publications, typographic keepsakes, and the *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier*, a semiannual publication which contains articles related to unusual and interesting aspects of the Libraries' holdings and, in particular, to the holdings of the George Arents Research Library for Special Collections.

SUGGESTED MEMBERSHIP CONTRIBUTIONS are as follows: Benefactor, \$500; Sustaining member, \$200; Patron, \$100; Individual member, \$50; Faculty and staff of Syracuse University, \$35; Senior citizen, \$25; Student, \$15. Checks, made payable to Syracuse University Library Associates, should be sent to the Secretary, 100 E. S. Bird Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13244-2010. For further information about the programs and activities of the Library Associates, telephone (315) 423-2585.

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

Antje B. Lemke, Chairman
Stanton L. Catlin
Edward Lyon
Arpena S. Mesrobian
Walter E. Sutton
Mark F. Weimer

