

Syracuse University

**SURFACE**

---

The Courier

Libraries

---

Fall 1992

## Courier, Volume XXVII, Number 2, Fall 1992

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 XXVII, Number 2, Fall 1992" (1992). *The Courier*. 275.

<https://surface.syr.edu/libassoc/275>

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](mailto:surface@syr.edu).

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY ASSOCIATES  
C O U R I E R



VOLUME XXVII, NUMBER 2, FALL 1992



SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY  
LIBRARY ASSOCIATES  
COURIER

VOLUME XXVII

NUMBER TWO

FALL 1992

---

- A Dominican Gradual of Saints, circa 1500  
By George Catalano, Musicologist,  
Brandeis University 3
- Stephen Crane at Claverack College:  
A New Reading  
By Thomas A. Gullason, Professor of English,  
University of Rhode Island 33
- Fenimore Cooper's Libel Suits  
By Constantine Evans, Instructor in English,  
Syracuse University 47
- The Kipling Collection at Syracuse  
By Thomas Pinney, Professor of English,  
Pomona College 75
- Fore-edge Paintings at Syracuse University  
By Jeff Weber, Bookseller,  
Glendale, California 89
- News of the Syracuse University Library and the  
Library Associates 115

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 Gwen G. Robinson, 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

ASSISTANT EDITORS

Edward Lyon

Mary Beth Hinton

ON THE COVER: A portion of a folio from a manuscript volume of ecclesiastical chant in the George Arents Research Library for Special Collections. The volume has been identified as a Dominican Gradual of Saints, circa 1500. Photograph by David Broda.

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 1993 by Syracuse University Library Associates

Printed by The Stinehour Press

# A Dominican Gradual of Saints, circa 1500

BY GEORGE CATALANO

## I. THE MANUSCRIPT

LATE IN 1989 the Syracuse University Library received a manuscript volume of ecclesiastical chant (Syracuse University Library, Ms. 11) as part of a bequest from Barbara Weiss of Detroit, Michigan. No information about its history accompanied it. The purpose of this paper is to provide an introduction to this important addition to the rare books and manuscript collections of Syracuse University's George Arents Research Library.<sup>1</sup>

During the Middle Ages and Renaissance there were many kinds of chant books, such as Antiphonals and Graduals<sup>2</sup> (which contain

1. There are many people who made my work possible. I owe many thanks to Professor George Nugent of Syracuse University, who made me aware of the acquisition of the manuscript. I am grateful also to Professors Tom Ward of the University of Illinois and Margot Fassler of Brandeis University, who made valuable criticisms and suggestions regarding the work while it was in progress. Sister Augustine and the Dominican Sisters of Syracuse kindly provided me with a Dominican Gradual to work with. I would like to thank Peter Berg, Curator of Michigan State University at East Lansing's special collections for making F  ret's work on Dominican heraldry available to me. Finally, I would like to thank Mark Weimer and the staff of Syracuse University's George Arents Research Library for consistently making my work easier.

This article is a synopsis of my master's thesis for the University of Illinois at Urbana, "A Dominican Gradual of Saints in the George Arents Research Library of Syracuse University" (1992), a copy of which has been given to the Arents Library.

2. Graduals normally consisted of several sections. Proper chants (for the parts of the Mass that may vary) were provided for the two major cycles of the liturgical year: (1) the Temporale chants for the feasts of the Lord—Advent, Christmas, Epiphany, Lent, Easter, Pentecost, and all Sundays (because of Easter, many of these dates were moveable); and by (2) the Sanctorale chants for the celebration of saints' feasts, which almost invariably followed calendric assignments (for example, St. Andrew = 2 December). Other sections customarily included in complete Graduals were the Commons (containing chants with texts pertaining not



the chants used throughout the year in celebrating, respectively, the Divine Office and the Mass). This particular manuscript at Syracuse University contains the equivalent of what came to be known during the sixteenth century as a Gradual of Saints, which provides Mass chants used in celebrating saints' feasts and other holidays of the church calendar. This form of choir book came into use after the advent of printing,<sup>3</sup> so that finding a manuscript version is somewhat unusual. However, the most unusual aspect of this manuscript, as I will show, is the age of the chant tradition it preserves: a Dominican tradition, which predates that religious order's reform, finalized in 1256 under the supervision of Humbert of Romans.

### *A. Physical Characteristics*

The binding, which shows evidence of several series of repairs, is in fine condition (see figure 1). Although not this manuscript's original binding,<sup>4</sup> it is at least as old as the manuscript and probably older. The boards, which are covered with undyed or limed vellum, measure 62 x 40.5 cm. The spine, covered with suede, appears to have been mended at a later date. The binding's hardware consists of clasps, corner guards, and raised round ornaments (upon

---

to particular saints but to generic categories of saints, such as "martyr" or "confessor"), the Kyriale, a Prosarium (with collections of sequences), and Votive Masses (with chants for masses dedicated to special devotions, such as the Angels or the Five Wounds of Christ). For a more thorough introduction to the form and content of Graduals, see *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, s.v. "Liturgical books".

When saints were important enough in a certain place or time, they would generally have pieces pertaining to them alone. Normally the saint would be named in the text (these specific chants are found in the Sanctorale itself); if not, the Sanctorale would prescribe the incipit of a chant that could be found in the Commons.

3. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Liturgical books" and "Gradual".

4. It is apparent that the pages of Ms. 11 have been trimmed to fit this binding. Also, the pastedown on the inside rear cover, which appears to be original to the binding, picked up the impression of the chant that originally faced it. This impression matches none of the pages presently at the rear of the manuscript.

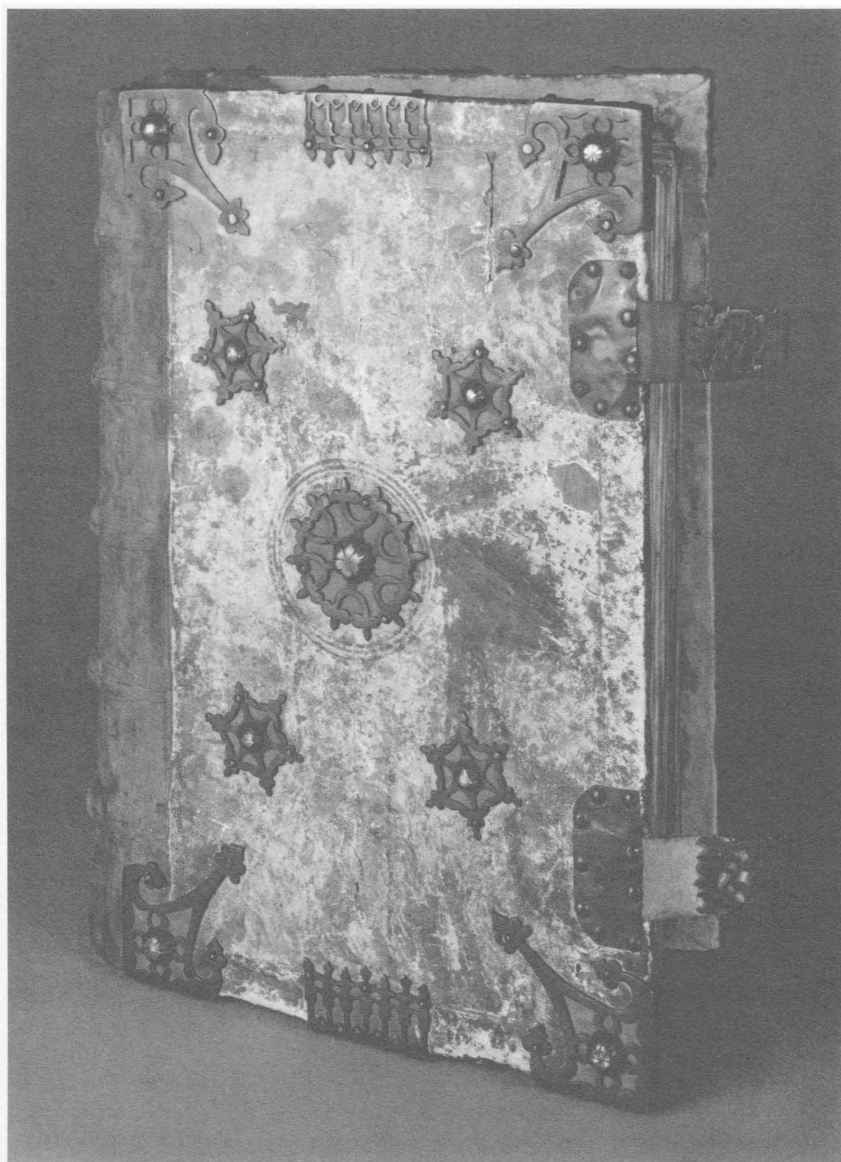


Fig. 1. Syracuse University Library, Ms. 11.

which the manuscript rests)—all of cast bronze. A diversity of styles, especially between the clasps and the other pieces, indicates that various of them found their way individually onto the binding at

different times. The inscribed concentric circles in the vellum that surround the central ornament appear to be original to the binding, as, by extension, does the ornament itself. Paper that was apparently intended to match the (now faded) suede of the spine has been attached beneath the open work of the bronze corner pieces. Two plates of brass have been nailed on with tacks to attach the clasps' bands to the binding—obviously a late repair.

The manuscript consists of 156 parchment leaves and two paper leaves. Excepting later additions, the manuscript is built uniformly of quaternions<sup>5</sup> that, in their present trimmed state, measure 55 x 39 cm with a single column, six-staff text block of 42.25 x 25.75 cm, ruled in lead, with double verticals. The quires, or sets of gathered leaves, from folio cxxi up to, but not including, the added leaves at the end (which have single vertical rulings) are a later re-manufacture.<sup>6</sup> There are three added leaves at the beginning, seven at the end.

The first added folio is actually part of a bifolio. The first half was used as a paste-down on the inside front cover of the binding, the second as a flyleaf onto which the processional antiphon *Ave stella matutina* was later copied. This bifolio measures 54 x 39 cm. The paper bifolio that follows measures 43.5 x 39 cm. The last seven folios conform to the dimensions of the main section of the manuscript.<sup>7</sup>

Excepting the added leaves, the manuscript is foliated in lower-case roman numerals. Foliation begins with i on the actual folio 4 (after the three leaves added at the beginning) and proceeds through lxxii (actual folio 75), where two unnumbered folios in-

5. A *quaternion* is a gathering of four leaves created by folding a sheet of parchment in quarters, then cutting them into separate leaves. A leaf is the same as a *folio*, which, in modern terminology, comprises two pages (front and back). A *bifolio* is one sheet of parchment folded into halves to create two leaves. A bifolio is therefore equal to half a quaternion.

6. A bifolio, contemporaneous with the remanufactured portion, was added between lxxii and lxxiii to provide Ordinary chants (those chants that are not specific to a particular Sunday or saint's feast) for the Mass of the Dead.

7. For a complete codicological description, see Catalano, "A Dominican Gradual of Saints".



tervene (see footnote 6); it then resumes with lxxiii and continues regularly through cxlvi. The foliation hand does not appear to be the same as the text hand and, because the foliation begins with i on a folio not originally at the beginning of the Gradual, it is probable that the foliation and the cross-indexing<sup>8</sup> (customarily done by the same scribe) are contemporaneous with the rebinding of the manuscript.<sup>9</sup>

The decoration of the folios is fairly simple; the illumination includes no historiation, no gold leaf, nor any other characteristics of deluxe manuscripts. The first page of each liturgical division of the manuscript is ornamented by blue and red painted, interlaced patterns with intricate in-filling (see plate 1). The capitals on these pages are twice as large (two staves high) as any that appear elsewhere in the original portion of the manuscript. The letter bodies of these initials are elaborately divided, red and blue, and in-filled with pen flourishes. In the interlaces that occupy the margins are roundels into which coats of arms have been painted. Such decorations occur at the opening of the Sanctoriale and between the Sanctoriale and the Commons. Similar treatment is given to the feast of St. Dominic, the import of which will be discussed below.

Apart from these ornamental introductory pages, the illumination in the Sanctoriale reflects the hierarchy of feasts by the degree of ornamentation used for their one-staff initials: some have red and blue letter bodies with in-filling, set in a square frame with marginal flourishes; some lack the flourishes, but retain the frame; others are given only solid letter bodies with no frame or flourish; while yet others receive calligraphic initials in black ink. Some feasts are merely recorded in long series of rubrics.<sup>10</sup>

8. When only a textual incipit is given, the roman numeral for the folio on which the chant is found is written into the space above the incipit.

9. That is, into this binding (see footnote 4).

10. These were presumably the less important of the saints' feasts for a given institution; the rubrics refer the user to the generic chants in the Commons (see footnote 2).

## B. Type of Book

It seems that Ms. 11 was not originally intended to be a Gradual of Saints. As originally manufactured, Ms. 11 was part of a complete Gradual, which, unlike a Gradual of Saints, contains a Temporale, with chants for celebrating feasts of the Lord, such as Easter and all Sundays. As we have noted, the manuscript is not in its original binding; quite likely, the one-volume complete Gradual was rebound into two smaller volumes, the first part of the original book, the Temporale, receiving a binding of its own. The trimming of folio i supports this hypothesis.

Liturgical divisions are marked in this manuscript by rubrics in the bottom margins of recto pages, stating that a new division begins with the next (verso) page. Folio i (no longer the first actual folio because of additions) has been radically trimmed, which fact suggests that it was once the last (blank) page of a division from which the original rubric was removed. Onto this trimmed page additional music was copied, and folio i became the first page of the following division. Given the rise of the printed liturgical book shortly after the production of this manuscript, it may be that the one-volume Gradual was divided to emulate its later, similarly divided, printed counterpart. My phrase “shortly after the production of the manuscript” presumes a date. But before the question of date can be broached, the liturgy to which the manuscript and its chant belong must be identified.

## C. Institution

There is abundant evidence that this manuscript was produced for a Dominican institution. A coat of arms that appears three times in the manuscript is a variant of the coat of the Dominican order.<sup>11</sup> Also, the feast of St. Dominic, more elaborately illuminated than any other, receives the same attention as the major liturgical divisions of the manuscript (see plate 2), and in it the phrase *pater noster* is used in reference to Dominic. Liturgically, a decided Dominican emphasis is reflected in the choice of saints to be commemorated in the Sanctorale, and this bias continues with the saints added in the

11. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Heraldry” (see illustrations).

margins. Included in the *Sanctorale* are the feast of Dominic and the feast of the translation of Dominic,<sup>12</sup> as well as the feasts of Thomas Aquinas, Peter Martyr, Vincent Ferrer, and Catherine of Siena. Added to the manuscript are the feast for the translation of Aquinas, and the feasts of Antoninus and Rose of Lima. The manuscript identifies a feast in mid-December as the “Conception of Mary”. While other orders, and the Catholic church generally, had long since adopted the phrase “Immaculate Conception” for this feast,<sup>13</sup> the Dominicans persisted in using the phrase “Conception of Mary” because the dogma of immaculate conception contradicted the teaching of the order’s greatest theologian, Thomas Aquinas.<sup>14</sup> The musical notation in which the chant is recorded throughout lacks basic features of Roman/Gregorian notation, such as *quilismas*,<sup>15</sup> which were excised from Dominican chant in the reforms of the thirteenth century;<sup>16</sup> furthermore, many chants included in the manuscript that differ from Roman/Gregorian readings correspond exactly to Dominican variants.

#### D. Date

In dating liturgical books, liturgical changes with known dates of origin or adoption are useful guides.<sup>17</sup> By noting which changes in the liturgy were incorporated into a manuscript and which were not, historical boundaries between which the manuscript was produced can be surmised. On the one hand, Ms. 11 could not have

12. A translation is the removal of the relics of a saint from one location to another. Translations of the relics of important saints were often commemorated by feasts in the *Sanctorale*, especially for saints such as Dominic, who were important in the religious order of a particular institution.

13. William F. Bonniwell, *A History of the Dominican Liturgy* (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, 1944). According to Bonniwell, this had been the case since the mid-fourteenth century.

14. *Ibid.*, 212ff.

15. A specialized neume (notational symbol), perhaps suggesting a detail of performance practice; cf. *New Harvard Dictionary of Music*, s.v. “Neume” (see table on p. 538).

16. *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Dominican chant”.

17. This is particularly so in the case of the Dominican Order, which adopted certain feasts into its liturgy at different times than other orders.





Plate 1. Syracuse University Library, Ms. 11,  
opening of the Sanctorale (folio iii<sup>v</sup>).



tea ut celesti are gna be  
 Cō. Tu es petrus.  
 Scti stephani ppe  
 et miris of. Sacer  
 tis. dotes cr. Aua. v.  
 Amavit eū. cō. Dñe quiqz. In inuētiōe  
 scti stephi prothomis. Offin. Aua. r cōi  
 Et in alio festo eiusdē. f. vi. In festo be  
 atissimi dominici patris nri. Officiū.

In medio eccle  
 sie aperuit os e  
 ius et imple uite uo

Plate 2. Syracuse University Library, Ms. 11,  
 Feast of St. Dominic, with coats of arms (folio lv<sup>r</sup>).

been produced before 1484, when the Dominican order approved the celebration for the feast of St. Leonard de Noblac, which is included in the manuscript.<sup>18</sup> On the other hand, Ms. 11 must have been produced before the canonization of St Antoninus in 1524. The feast of this Dominican saint does not appear in an original hand, but was later added in the margin.<sup>19</sup> Although a saint's feast is not always adopted immediately after canonization, it is reasonable to assume that it was in this case, given the Dominican bias evident in the choice of saints in the *Sanctorale*. With all these things taken into account, we may safely assume that the manuscript was produced between 1484 and ca. 1524.

The date of the manuscript can be further refined by reference to the history of printed liturgical books. One of the first patrons of the art of printing was the Catholic church, and foremost among its Catholic supporters was the Dominican order, which saw printed books as a way of ensuring uniform liturgical practice.<sup>20</sup> A Spanish Dominican cardinal, named Juan de Torquemada, installed a press at Subiaco in 1464. The earliest record of a printed Dominican liturgical book is the 1473 edition of the Breviary printed at Milan. By the 1490s the Dominicans were producing a steady stream of printed liturgical books. Given their early and rapid adoption of the

18. Bonniwell, *History*, 238–39. Also to be noted is the fact that the rubric recording this feast betrays the newness of the feast by its unusual use of the word *Beatus* rather than *Sanctus* for Leonard de Noblac. The rubric prescribes the chants for this feast by referring the user to the chants of the feast of John the Baptist; this wholesale borrowing of the feast's chants may further indicate its recent adoption.

19. *Butler's Lives of the Saints*, May 10.

20. A uniform liturgy was an early concern of the Dominican order. After an initial period, ca. 1220–36, known as the “Period of Great Diversity”, when the order adopted and adapted local usages for its purposes, several reforms of the Order's liturgy and chant were carried out, concluding with the reform of 1256, overseen by Humbert of Romans. Humbert's revision, which drew strongly on Cistercian reforms, retained its status as the official version of the Dominican liturgy into the twentieth century. The form and chant of the original Dominican liturgy has long been debated, as has the problem of whether Cistercian influence was present from the outset or belonged more specifically to Humbert's work. The Syracuse Gradual, as will be shown, offers new evidence on this subject.



press, it is unlikely that the Syracuse Ms. 11 dates from after the turn of the century.<sup>21</sup>

### *E. Provenance*

The manuscript's origin and use can be determined in several ways. The manuscript's coat of arms provides evidence of Spanish origin. While the basic coat—the black and white gyronny of eight with a cross flory—is representative of the order as a whole,<sup>22</sup> the coat in this manuscript adds a bordure upon which appear eight estoiles, symbols of Dominic himself.<sup>23</sup> Such charged bordures are typical of Spanish heraldic practice.<sup>24</sup>

Furthermore, the presence in the Sanctoreale of St. Leander, who helped stem the tide of Arianism in seventh-century Spain, places the manuscript, as it now stands, definitively within Spanish borders. Leander had been a bishop of Seville, and only in Spain was he revered as a doctor of the church along with his more famous brother, Isidore. His place in this manuscript corresponds with the celebration of his feast on 13 March,<sup>25</sup> a date not consistent with

21. Bonniwell, *History*, 269–72. This date is further supported by Féret's approximate dating of the coat of arms to the first quarter of the sixteenth century (see footnote 22), and by the nature of the rubric for the feast of St. Leonard (see footnote 18).

22. H.-M. Féret, O.P., "Les Armoiries ou Blason de l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs", *Archives d'Histoire Dominicain* 1 (Paris, 1946): 224–29. According to Féret, there were two basic Dominican coats of arms, one known as the "Blason du XVe siècle", the other as "Le Blason de la Minerve à Rome". The coat in the Syracuse manuscript is the same as the Minerva, named after its earliest appearance on the 1453 facade of the church of the same name, where it is accompanied by the inscription "Ordinis Praedicatorum insignia haec sunt". Féret equivocates about the date of this coat: "L'ensemble date, semble-t-il, du premier quart du XVIe siècle, car il ne semble pas qu'il faille en faire remonter la composition jusqu'en 1453; date de la construction de la façade par François Orsini".

23. See Catalano, "A Dominican Gradual of Saints", for a complete treatment of the geographic distribution of charged bordures.

24. Thomas Woodcock and John Martin Robinson, *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1990), 24.

25. This manuscript is not accompanied by a calendar. However, a reconstruction of the calendar, based upon the sequence of saints in the Sanctoreale, is included in Catalano, "A Dominican Gradual of Saints", 43–60.

the Roman calendar, but with Mozarabic usage.<sup>26</sup> The conformity with the Mozarabic rite is one of the more interesting aspects of this manuscript insofar as it seems to contradict the Dominican ideal of uniform liturgical practice.

Through the similarities of their styles, a mid-sixteenth-century Spanish chant manuscript sold at Sotheby's in 1980 (see figure 2) provides ample art-historical evidence for the Spanish origin of the Syracuse volume.<sup>27</sup>

The continued use in Spain of the present manuscript can also be shown. First and most obvious are the marginal additions to the manuscript, along with the running headlines in Spanish. Second, letter fragments used to patch worn corners deal with Spanish subject matter, *apud hispaniarum* and *civitate Leonensis* being two phrases that appear in their texts.

Within Spain, certain areas can be circumstantially ruled out as the manuscript's place of origin. It seems not to be from Seville because Leander, who was greatly revered there, occupies the lowest rank in the original *Sanctorale*<sup>28</sup> (which can be deduced from the manuscript's hierarchy of decoration). The fact that Isidore was excluded from the original *Sanctorale* and added as a marginal addition also supports the hypothesis that the manuscript was not produced in Seville. Isidore's late addition also seems to rule out the area of the city of Léon, where Isidore's remains were translated when the Spaniards conquered Seville in 1248. As a result of receiving his relics, a large cult formed around the saint there. If the manuscript had originated in Léon or Seville, these feasts, especially Isidore's, would almost certainly have received greater attention. A comparison with the elaborate decoration of St. James' feast in the Sotheby's manuscript suggests that Syracuse Ms. 11, which includes James at the same low rank as Leander, did not originate in Galicia or on the pilgrim route to Compostela, where James' relics were venerated. Given these considerations and the relative size of the

26. *Biblioteca Sanctorum*, s.v. "Leandro".

27. Christopher de Hamel, *A History of Illuminated Manuscripts* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1986), 209, 214.

28. The original *Sanctorale* is taken to be that part of the present *Sanctorale* copied by the original scribes.

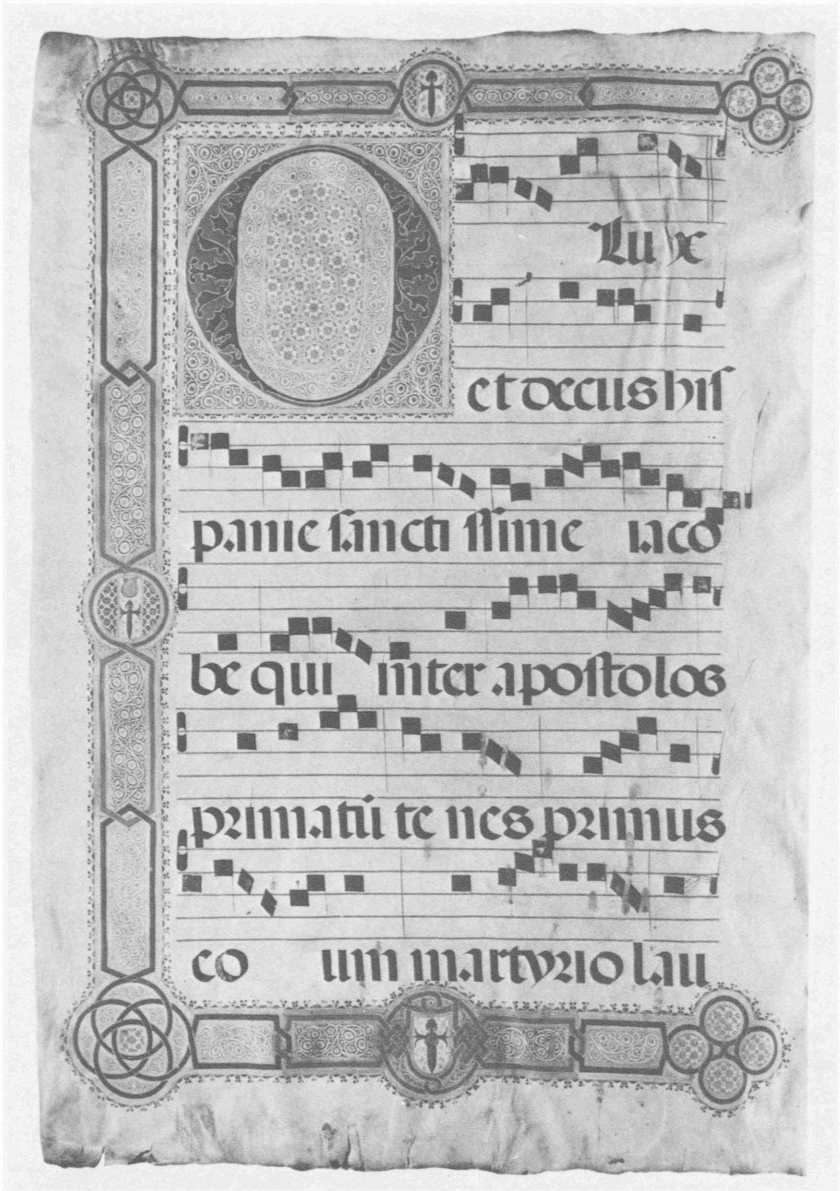


Fig. 2. Spanish mid-16th-century antiphonal sold at Sotheby's, London, 1980.

provinces of Spain not excluded by them, the most likely candidate for geographic origin is Castile, which occupied the middle of the Iberian peninsula and was the largest of the Spanish provinces.

In summary, this manuscript was originally produced between 1484 and 1524, probably before 1500, as a full Gradual. It was made for a Spanish Dominican institution, probably in Castile. At some point after its production, it was divided into separate volumes. The present volume is similar, either purposely or coincidentally, to a Gradual of Saints.

## II. THE LITURGY

### *A. Dominican Liturgical Ideals*

The identification of Ms. 11 as Dominican is crucial to understanding its importance as a historical document. The Dominican order, from as early as the 1240s, was very proud of the degree of uniformity achieved in its liturgical practices and very careful to preserve it. The reform<sup>29</sup> carried to completion under the supervision of Humbert of Romans was enforced upon the order by legislation, and further additions to the order's liturgy were strictly forbidden.<sup>30</sup> Exemplars, or *correctaria*, from which new liturgical books were to be copied, were placed at Paris, Rome, and Salamanca; each house's liturgical books were to be inspected and corrected annually by comparison with an exemplar to ensure conformity with the reformed liturgy.<sup>31</sup> Ideally, through this system it was hoped that the Dominican liturgy would become fixed and impervious to change.

The liturgy of Ms. 11, however, shows evidence that liturgical practices at its home institution departed from the Dominican ideal of uniformity. Liturgical practices from various sources—Early Do-

29. A complete review was made of the chant repertory to be used by the Dominican order. Many revisions were borrowed from an earlier reform carried out by the Cistercian order, as Dominique Delalande has shown in "Vers la version authentique du Graduel Gregorien: Le Graduel des Prêcheurs", *Bibl. d'Histoire Dominicaine* 2 (1949). A prototype was assembled and approved as part of the reform. This exemplar still exists and has served as the basis for all subsequent editions of the Dominican liturgy into the present century. Early Dominican chant, however, is free of Cistercian influence and, in the period between the foundation and this reform, experienced a "Period of Great Diversity", during which local customs were adopted into each house's liturgy.

30. Bonniwell, *History*, chap. 9.

31. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Gradual", [section] 4.

minican,<sup>32</sup> Roman/Gregorian, and Mozarabic—can be traced in its pages, where they intrude upon prescribed usage. The chants of the Syracuse version also diverge from the chants prescribed and codified during the Humbertian reform of 1256.

The reforms of the thirteenth century were focused on a goal that cannot be understood apart from its historical context. Dominic de Guzman founded the Order of Friars Preachers in 1214 in Toulouse.<sup>33</sup> The order's function was to battle against the so-called Cathar heresy then flourishing in the area.<sup>34</sup> Though public preaching was the means by which they carried out their mission, these canons regular also lived a quasi-monastic life according to the Rule of St. Augustine. During the initial period, when all the members of the order resided at Toulouse with Dominic, it is generally assumed that they followed a uniform liturgy. What this liturgy was and what reforms were carried out during this early stage of the order's development have long been debated. One highly respected theory is that offered by William F. Bonniwell, who maintained that the order adopted a local version of the Roman/Gregorian liturgy.<sup>35</sup> Several more-recent studies of Pre-Humbertian Dominican chant manuscripts have reinforced Bonniwell's conclusion that Dominican chant was originally a var-

32. Between the founding of the order in 1214 and the completion of Humbert's reform in 1256, the Dominican liturgy underwent many changes. During the "Period of Great Diversity", various Dominican liturgies absorbed customs from local practices, such as the Mozarabic rite. Also several reform efforts pre-date Humbert's.

33. Dominic had been active in preaching against the Cathars since 1206, but as part of a loosely organized mission. That is, there was no thought of founding an order until they established a house at Toulouse, which, even at its founding, lacked papal approval.

34. The Cathars were a twelfth-century heretical sect centered on Albi and Toulouse in southwestern France. The founding of the Dominican order was only one approach to solving the problems presented to the Roman Catholic Church by this sect; the Albigensian Crusade was another. See *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, s.v. "Cathar".

35. That this theory has been generally accepted is shown by Richard W. Pfaff's inclusion of the Dominican liturgy under the heading "Friars and 'Modern Roman' Liturgies", in *Medieval Latin Liturgy; A Select Bibliography* (Toronto, 1982), 100.

iant of the Gregorian<sup>36</sup> and that there was little evidence of Cistercian influence.<sup>37</sup>

In 1217 Dominic dispersed his preachers from Toulouse to found further houses; he sent seven to Spain, seven to Paris, and two (Dominic himself and Jordan of Saxony) to Rome to seek papal approval for the new order. The original liturgy observed at Toulouse presumably accompanied the friars, who, in order to gain acceptance for the order, willingly adapted it to local customs wherever they went.<sup>38</sup> This era of uncontrolled adaptation (1217 to ca. 1234?) is now known as the “Period of Great Diversity”. It has been surmised that the proliferation of variation quickly made the original Toulousian liturgy unrecognizable and made regional and chapter meetings difficult because of the variety of liturgical customs. The Dominicans wanted to arrange their liturgy so that it would remain recognizable despite geography, and thus promote the order’s sense of identity and render chapter meetings more practicable.

### *B. Liturgical Deviations*

Syracuse Ms. 11 demonstrates a continuing divergence between Dominican liturgical ideals and the practices of at least one Spanish Dominican institution. There are three types of deviations from the Dominican rite as reformed by Humbert that appear in this liturgy: first, elements corresponding to Mozarabic usage; second, certain elements relevant to the Roman/Gregorian origin of the Dominican rite; and third, Dominican elements surviving from Pre-Humbertian times (that is, Early Dominican). All of these deviations may in fact be vestiges of the period before 1256, when the Dominican liturgy was in a state of flux, partially reformed, partially Roman/Gregorian, and partially adapted to local usages.

The native liturgies of the Iberian peninsula, the Mozarabic rites, which date from at least the seventh century, were used in Spain

36. For example, Robert Haller, “Early Dominican Mass Chants: A Witness to Thirteenth Century Chant Style”, Ph.D. diss., Catholic University of America, 1986. Haller provides an ample bibliography of similar studies.

37. See footnote 20 above.

38. Bonniwell, *History*, chaps. 1–3.

until 1085 when Pope Gregory VII ordered their official suppression in favor of the Roman/Gregorian rite. The history of these rites after their suppression is a matter about which little is known. It is on that account quite surprising to find Mozarabic influence in a Dominican manuscript from ca. 1500. As noted above, the date on which St. Leander's feast falls in Ms. 11's *Sanctorale* conforms with the date of Mozarabic usage. Ideally, this should not have occurred: first, because Leander was not included in Humbert's calendar;<sup>39</sup> second, because the Dominican liturgy, based on the Roman/Gregorian, should have adopted the Roman date for the feast. In what seems an effort to localize an imported liturgy, the date was borrowed from local custom.<sup>40</sup>

Another feature of this liturgy that fails to conform to Dominican norms is the inclusion of three fathers of the Greek church: Saints Athanasius, John Chryostom, and Basil the Great. Although these saints were usual enough in the Roman/Gregorian calendar, they were not approved for celebration by the Dominican order until the liturgical revision of Salamanca in 1551.<sup>41</sup> Their presence in this manuscript before that date suggests a motivation for their adoption at the chapter of Salamanca.<sup>42</sup> Given that the

39. Bonniwell, *History*, chap. 10.

40. The Mozarabic rites survived in corrupt—but identifiably non-Roman—form throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance, particularly in the city of Toledo (situated in the center of the province of Castile, which I have ventured to assert as Ms. 11's place of origin). There were two Mozarabic traditions: one allegedly originated with St. Leander, the other with his brother, Isidore of Seville. The presence of Leander, celebrated on the Mozarabic date, and the absence of Isidore (in short, the exclusion of one of Spain's most illustrious saints in a Spanish manuscript), suggests that the Mozarabic influence on this manuscript's institution can be attributed to Leander.

41. Bonniwell, *History*, chap. 19.

42. The chapter that met at Salamanca was poorly attended. Eleven out of twenty-two delegates were absent, giving the Spanish delegates who were present disproportionate power. The addition of these three saints contradicts the goal of the revision, which was to trim the liturgy. However, if the institution that owned this manuscript was not the only one celebrating these feasts prior to their official sanction, an explanation presents itself: the Spanish delegates used the poor attendance at Salamanca to impose a Spanish custom upon the Order as a whole. See Bonniwell, *History*, chap. 19.



Greek fathers had always been celebrated in the Roman rite, two hypotheses may explain their inclusion in the liturgy of Ms. 11 before the order's official sanction: (1) they are a remnant of the Early Dominican liturgy, or (2) they were borrowed from the Roman/Gregorian rite during a resurgence of their popularity in the West during the late fifteenth century, as discussed by Bonniwell. Although the first seems more likely, the second cannot be ruled out at present.

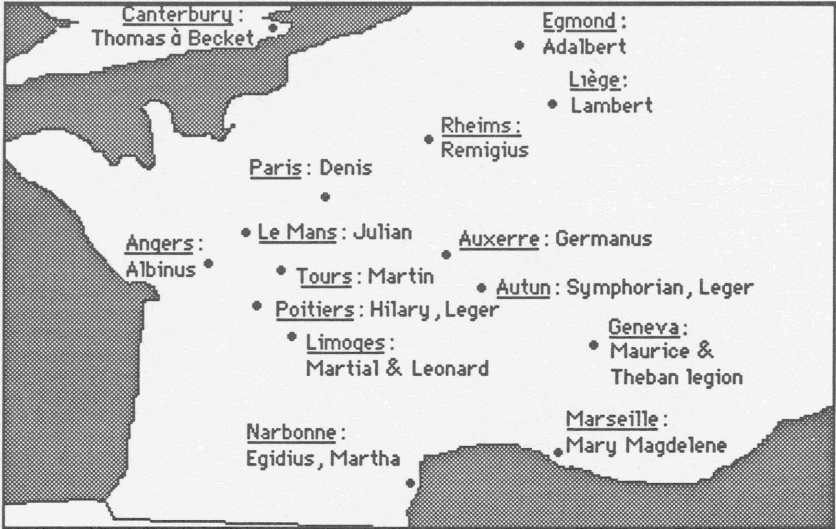
The discrepancy between Dominican prescriptions and the practices of the institution for which Ms. 11 was made is shown most clearly in the calendar. Bonniwell, discussing the Dominican calendar as established by Humbert in 1256, makes the following remark:

The Order had every reason to be proud of the work [Humbert's revised calendar]. Not only did it conform to the highest liturgical ideals in assigning a predominant and inviolable place to the Temporale,<sup>43</sup> but it was a most successful effort to impart to the Roman calendar that attribute of internationality which Rome herself was to adopt. . . . [S]o favorable an impression did it create that it was adopted almost bodily in some places, and with local modifications in many others. In this way, the Dominican Order contributed in no small measure in bringing about throughout the entire Latin Church the abandonment of local calendars and the general adoption of a modern, universal, and Roman calendar.<sup>44</sup>

This planned universality would seem to preclude radical localization of post-Humbertian Dominican calendars. The calendar of saints used in Ms. 11, however, does seem to have a regional focus. What makes this observation problematic is that the region with which this set of saints would be consistent is not the Iberian peninsula. Only two (three, counting Dominic) Hispanic saints are included in the original cycle: Vincent of Saragossa and Leander,

43. See footnote 2.

44. Bonniwell, *History*, 117.



The specialized focus, regarding region and religious order, of Ms. 11's liturgy becomes more apparent if one considers the dearth of saints from other regions and orders. As shown in Table 1, even additions made during the three centuries between the adoption of the model liturgy and the copying of Ms. 11 do not obscure the southern French regional bias. As noted above and shown below, the additions magnify the bias in favor of Dominican saints. Even without taking into account the celebrations of the translations of the relics of several of these saints, this bias is apparent.

bishop of Seville. Vincent had long been recorded in the Roman martyrology,<sup>45</sup> and Leander, as we have pointed out, was adopted into this liturgy from the Mozarabic rite; but the localization achieved by Leander's inclusion was imposed on an imported liturgy that already had its own regional focus. Again, the absence of Isidore of Seville suggests an origin outside Spain. As the map above reveals, a large number of the saints chosen for inclusion have connections with the south of France. There are representa-

45. A martyrology is a list, arranged by the days of the year, of saints' feasts. Each day lists several saints in order of importance and gives a hagiographical sketch of each. Orders differed in the importance they assigned to the various saints. Franciscans, for instance, placed at the top of their list saints belonging to their own order, as did the Dominicans. The choice, in Ms. 11, to give high priority to several saints from the south of France and the north of Italy was likely to have been based on regional considerations.

French		Germanic		Mendicant
N. France	S. France	Empire	England	Dominican
Louis, king	Hilary	Lambert	Thomas	Dominic
Remigius	Maurus	Wenceslaus	Edward III	Thomas Aquinas
Denis & co.	Julian	Elizabeth		Vincent Ferrer
Crispin & Crisp.	Albinus	Adalbert		Peter, Martyr
	Martial			Catherine of Siena
	Germanus			Antoninus
	Leonard de Noblac			Rose of Lima
	Egidius			
	Maurice & companions			<u>Franciscan</u>
	Leger			Francis
	Martin			Anthony
	Martha			
	Mary Magdelene			
	Symphorian			
	Rufinus of Padua			

Saints whose origin indicates a southern French regional focus in Ms. 11's model liturgy.

tives from the coast of Provence at Narbonne and Marseille; there are groups from the Loire valley, from the Dijon area, from Limoges, and from Toulouse, a center of Dominic's cult and influence.

This regional focus becomes more apparent if one considers the saints represented in Ms. 11 who are from other countries and orders, as shown in the table above.

That the French emphasis is also a southern emphasis becomes even more apparent when we consider the northern French saints included in Humbert's Dominican calendar who are *not* represented here; for instance, Saints Quentin, Eligius, and Vedastus (whose cults thrived in the north of France, in Paris, and in England) are absent from this Sanctore. The only saints from the North are Louis, who was probably added for political reasons, and Denis, who was the patron of all France. Of the two Saints Germanus, that "of Auxerre" is present, while that "of Paris" is not, and certainly the latter was the more popular saint.

Furthermore, only among the saints of the southern region are calendar choices not taken from the first few positions of the Roman martyrology. Rufinus,<sup>46</sup> from Padua, is listed ninth out of

46. Ms. 11 gives the name *Rufine* between those of Saints Bartholomew (24 August) and Louis (King of France, 25 August). There is only one female saint

eleven; Albinus is listed ninth of nine; Germanus of Auxerre is listed sixth out of eight.<sup>47</sup> Given this fact, it is almost certain that the decisions to include these saints were based on local considerations.

We are left with the question, Why should a manuscript dating from the late fifteenth century not conform to the calendar established by Humbert over two centuries earlier? And why should this variance focus so surely on the south of France?

### *C. Hypothetical Explanation of Observed Liturgical Deviations*

The southern French regional focus of the Ms. 11 calendar of saints might be explained as follows: the friars who were sent to Spain in 1217 established a liturgy that incorporated some local elements, such as Leander's feast, and their successors lagged in conforming with the later revisions of Humbert. In this way a calendar with Aquitanian features was perpetuated among certain of the Spanish Dominicans.

In support of this hypothesis, there is another aspect of the Sanctortale that does not conform with Humbert's revised liturgy. In his revised *Ordinarium* (ca. 1245), Humbert, regarding octaves,<sup>48</sup> states:

The feasts of Saints with octaves are: Andrew, Stephen, John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, John the Baptist, the Apostles Peter and Paul, Dominic, Lawrence, Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, Augustine, Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, and Martin. Apart from these, there are to be no other octaves, either of the patron saint of a church, or of any other saint whatever.<sup>49</sup>

---

named *Rufina* (the genitive for which would be *Rufine*), but she is normally paired with her co-martyr *Secunda*, whose name does not appear in this manuscript. Furthermore, the feast of Rufina and Secunda was usually celebrated on 10 July. The placement of the name Rufine in Ms. 11 corresponds most closely to that of Rufinus of Padua, whose feast was celebrated on 27 August.

47. It should be noted that Newman's *Martyrology*, translated by Bonniwell, includes many modern saints, and it usually lists them first to give them greater prominence. Apart from this, however, the order of the older saints is preserved.

48. The term octave refers to the eighth day after a feast on which certain observances commemorate the feast; the octave of Christmas, for instance, would be 1 January.

49. *Ordinarium*, cap. "De octavis sanctorum", col. xxvi.

The liturgy of Syracuse Ms. 11 is more spare than that approved by Humbert. Of the octaves approved by Humbert, those of John the Evangelist, Holy Innocents, Dominic, the Assumption of Mary, Nativity of Mary, and Martin are missing. As self-imposed reform and austerity were not notable tendencies of the church in the Middle Ages,<sup>50</sup> it is improbable that such divergence resulted from dropping feasts from the calendar; more likely, they were never added, a possibility that leads one to believe that the liturgy preserved herein is the perpetuation of a liturgy that predated and never fully adopted Humbert's revision. As the Toulouse-oriented version of the Dominican liturgy reached Spain in 1217, it had nearly thirty years to become established before Humbert's reform. In Spain, somewhat removed from the mainstream of the order's affairs, it is possible that this earlier liturgy was held to, perhaps out of deference to Dominic, a native son, while the revisions made in far-off Paris and Rome were adopted only selectively.<sup>51</sup>

#### *D. The Evidence of the Chant*

The body of chant preserved in Ms. 11 may also indicate the pre-Humbertian origins of the liturgy. Many of the chants borrowed from the Roman/Gregorian corpus, which do not appear in the Dominican canon of later periods, may be relics of the Roman/Dominican liturgy used at Toulouse. Furthermore, a number of texts that were not used by either the Roman/Gregorian or the reformed Dominican rites, but were present in the Mozarabic rite, are found in Ms. 11. These may be accretions from the "Period of Great Diversity", which followed the "Dispersion of the Friars" in 1217.<sup>52</sup>

50. Addition, not subtraction, was the normal tendency in medieval liturgy, and this impulse is attested to in Ms. 11 by the introduction of several contrafacts of Dominican chants. Normally, institutional reforms (e.g., Cistercian, Dominican, and Tridentine) were aimed at stripping away these liturgical accretions.

51. For example, the octave for All Saints, which was approved in 1423.

52. These texts follow the Vulgate rather than the Mozarabic Psalter, so there is little reason to believe that they may be genuine Mozarabic chants; I have checked the melodies against the Mozarabic neumations and find no conclusive relationships. Rather, these pieces may represent the new Order's gesture of reverence to an older, local tradition.

The music of Ms. 11 also demonstrates the book's early history. Material from the pre-Humbertian Dominican period is evident in those chants that were corrected to correspond to Humbertian Dominican chant variants. Eight chants in this manuscript have been emended by pasting strips of blank parchment over portions of their melodies.<sup>53</sup> Such emendations are in keeping with the Dominican system of annual comparison with the official *correctarium*. Under examination, the "corrections" reveal two things: first, that several of the chants had conformed to Roman/Gregorian usage before their revision; and second, that the purpose of the revisions was to bring the chants into conformity, or into closer conformity, with the Humbertian Dominican liturgy. The correction of the chants at such a late date (ca. 1500) demonstrates that the manuscript preserves traces of a liturgy that predates the Humbertian reform and upon which Dominican standards were being imposed. Also, it demonstrates the wide gap between Dominican liturgical ideals and practices, and the lenitude with which reforms were enforced.

For our first example, let us look at the emendation of *Etenim sederunt principes*, the introit for the feast of St. Stephen (26 December). In all three of the following musical examples, the Dominican (Humbertian) versions are from the Codex Humberti: Rome, Archivum generale O. P. XIV L 1; and the Roman/Gregorian (labeled "Gregorian") versions are from the *Graduale Triplex* (Belgium: Solesmes, 1979).

As we see from the comparative score, the beginning of the Humbertian version of the chant is musically identical with the Roman/Gregorian. Textually, however, the opening word of the Roman/Gregorian version, *Etenim*, was dropped from the text, and the same notes were reassigned to the first syllable of *Se—derunt*. Ms. 11 was originally identical to the Roman/Gregorian version in all particulars. A paper patch was pasted over the notes of the word *Etenim*, so that that word would not be sung. The result is a performance that conformed musically to neither version, but corresponded textually to the Dominican. The presence of the word

53. A number of additional chants show evidence, by glue marks, that they too had been emended. The strips, however, have come unglued and been lost.

## Example 1: Introit, *Etenim sederunt principes*

The image shows three staves of musical notation for the Introit 'Etenim sederunt principes'. The top staff is labeled 'Syracuse version; fol. VI recto.' and features a double-bordered box around the first few notes. The middle staff is labeled 'Gregorian version' and the bottom staff is labeled 'Dominican (Humbertian) version'. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words connected by dashed lines to indicate syllable boundaries.

Syracuse version; fol. VI recto.  
 Et --- e --- nim se ----- de ----- runt prin -- ci -- pes et ad --- ver --- sum me

Gregorian version  
 Et --- e --- nim se ----- de ----- runt

Dominican (Humbertian) version  
 Se ----- de ----- runt

In this and the following two examples, boxes with double borders (found only in the Syracuse versions) represent the actual patches of parchment or paper found in Ms. 11. The notes within the boxes (detected with the aid of a flashlight) lie underneath those patches. Boxes with single borders (found only in the Syracuse and Humbertian versions) represent excisions intended to eliminate passages that were considered too elaborate. Thus, single boxes do not contain notation. The text of the chants is given throughout for the Syracuse version, but it is given for the other versions only when they vary from the Syracuse version, so as to highlight these variants. Ligations and slurs have been eliminated because their presence would render melodic comparison more complicated than necessary. However, ligatures are indicated by notes grouped more closely together.

*Etenim* identifies the chant unequivocally as being originally Roman/Gregorian; its revision, though imperfectly executed, moves it in the direction of the Dominican reform.

The second example, also for the feast of Saint Stephen, is the communion *Video celos apertos*.

In the earlier parts of the chant, it would seem that the Syracuse version bears a closer resemblance to the Humbertian version than to the Roman/Gregorian, as is illustrated by many of the syllables being set with more than one note. The end of the chant, however, reveals a strong connection to the Roman/Gregorian version and identifies the Syracuse version as a product of some intermediate stage of reform.

Once again, we see that the patches added to the Syracuse version conceal elements that indicate Roman/Gregorian origins. The ending of *Video celos apertos* shows that the Humbertian reform excised the phrase *Quia ne sciunt quid faciunt* from the end of the chant,



## Example 2: Communion, Video celos abiertos

Syracuse version; fol VII verso

Vi ----- de --- o ce -- los a --- per -- tos et ie ---- sum stan - tem a dex -- tris vir ---

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

Syracuse version; fol VII verso

-tu ----- tis de ----- i : do ---- mi ----- ne ie --- su, ac -- ci --- pe spi -- ri ----- tum

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

Syracuse version; fol VII verso

me ----- um et ne sta --- tu --- as il --- lis hoc pec -- ca ----- tum

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

Syracuse version; fol VII verso

Qui --- a ne sci ----- unt quid fa ---- ci ----- unt

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

pec ---- ca ----- tum

but retained the melodic termination of the chant by assigning the notes of *faciunt* in the Roman/Gregorian version to the word *peccatum*. The Syracuse version, retaining (under the patch) the phrase *Quia ne sciunt quid faciunt*, excluded by Humbert, demonstrates that it predates his reform. The melodic similarities between the Syracuse and Humbertian versions show that they both postdate the original Roman/Gregorian *Video celos apertos*. In short, the original (Gregorian) chant had already been “reformed” before the Humbertian reform; the Syracuse version represents an intermediate stage. Humbert’s version is a revision of a revision. The earlier reforms (of which the Syracuse version bears witness) made the melodic changes; the Humbertian reform carried these changes over and, in addition, excised the *Quia ne sciunt quid faciunt* phrase. This accounts for the text discrepancy between the original Syracuse reading and the Humbertian version, and it also explains the correction to the Syracuse version. This development is summarized in the table below:

Roman/Gregorian version	= original chant
Syracuse version	= original chant + melodic changes
Humbertian version	= original chant + melodic changes + textual change

Like the introit, the “corrected” version of Syracuse’s *Video celos apertos* does not conform exactly to the Humbertian reading. By retaining the original notes to the final word *peccatum*, the melodic cadence is changed; but it is evident that the purpose of the patch was to bring the chant into agreement, if a somewhat imperfect agreement, with the Humbertian version.

A third example, *Iustus ut palma*, also shows the transitional character of the Syracuse manuscript’s “corrupt” readings.

The alignment of the words *et sicut* in the phrase *et sicut cedrus multiplicabitur* reveals a connection between the Syracuse version and the Roman/Gregorian version that was changed in the course of the Humbertian reform. The remainder of the phrase, however, shows a close relationship between the Syracuse and Humbertian versions with similar melodic excisions and agreement in the text disposition of the word *multiplicabitur*. The only logical conclusion

to be drawn from this is, once again, that the Humbertian version is a later revision of an earlier Dominican reform that was adopted by the institution for which Ms. 11 was produced; Humbert's version adopted the revision made by the previous reform and added new ones. The Syracuse version, then, represents an intermediate stage of reform between the original Roman/Gregorian tradition and the final revision adopted by Humbert de Romans.

These three musical examples show clear discrepancies between the music in Ms. 11 and the Dominican order's liturgical ideals; for, despite the manuscript's late date, the liturgy preserved therein predates the Humbertian revision, adopted by the order as its official, universal liturgy in 1256.

### *E. Conclusion*

The theory that best accounts for the many deviations in Ms. 11 from the Humbertian-Dominican liturgy is that it represents a late-surviving, much revised form of the Dominican liturgy that was introduced into Spain following the dispersion of the friars from Toulouse in 1217. It is in this period that a liturgy with all these elements could most plausibly have been assembled. To begin with, in light of the proliferation of octaves between the 13th and 15th centuries, the presence of fewer octaves in Ms. 11 certainly indicates an early origin. The regional focus of the calendar is explained by the fact that the original Dominican liturgy reflected the customs of Toulouse. The Roman/Gregorian elements of the chant and the inclusion of the Greek fathers are explained by the original Toulousian liturgy having been Roman/Gregorian. The Mozarabic influence can be understood as localizing adaptations made while the order was establishing itself in Spain.

Given how rapidly the order rose and how decisively it favored central control, the argument that these elements of the liturgy crept in slowly, one by one, is implausible. It is far more probable that they were there from the beginning, that Humbert's revisions were never adopted outright, and that reform efforts never caught up with all the manuscript's discrepancies. Indeed, we see the process still in action during the sixteenth century in the revision of

### Example 3: Alleluia, Iustus ut palma

The image displays three systems of musical notation for the Alleluia 'Iustus ut palma'. Each system compares three versions: Syracuse, Gregorian, and Dominican (Humbertian). The lyrics are written below the notes.

**System 1:** Syracuse version, fol lxxxviii verso. Lyrics: Hal-le ----- lu ----- ia.

**System 2:** Syracuse version. Lyrics: lus --- tus ut pal --- ma flo ----- re ----- bit.

**System 3:** Lyrics: et sic -ut ce ----- et sic -ut ce ----- sic ----- ut ce -----.

the chants. If revisions took two hundred fifty years to impose themselves on these chants, it is unlikely that the liturgical discrepancies were purged at a much faster rate.

Though further work is necessary before a definite conclusion can be drawn, the musical and liturgical evidence reviewed here supports the hypothesis that Syracuse University's Ms. 11 represents a late survival of Early Dominican liturgy and chant.

### Example 3—continued

The image displays three systems of musical notation, each with three staves. The first system is labeled "Syracuse version" and shows a vocal line with lyrics "drus mul - ti --- pli --- ca". The second system is labeled "Gregorian version" and shows a vocal line with lyrics "drus mul - ti ----- pli -- ca ----- bi --- tur". The third system is labeled "Dominican (Humbertian) version" and shows a vocal line with lyrics "----bi ---- tur". Each system includes a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The lyrics are written below the notes, with dashed lines indicating syllable placement and phrasing.

Syracuse version

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

Syracuse version

Gregorian version

Dominican (Humbertian) version

# Stephen Crane at Claverack College: A New Reading

BY THOMAS A. GULLASON

BEFORE HIS ONE-YEAR STINT as a college student—first at Lafayette College (September to December 1890), then at Syracuse University (January to June 1891)—Stephen Crane attended two coeducational preparatory schools with strong Methodist ties: Pennington Seminary (September 1885 to December 1887), and Claverack College and Hudson River Institute (January 1888 to June 1890).<sup>1</sup> Both schools were to play key roles in young Crane's literary, cultural, and intellectual life. The new evidence offered in this essay corrects long-held positions regarding why Stephen left Pennington for Claverack and the "diminished" reputation of Claverack as a preparatory school.

For almost a hundred years now, it has been assumed that Stephen Crane left Pennington Seminary without graduating and transferred to Claverack College solely for its military training program. According to his sister-in-law, Mrs. George Crane, his "fondness for everything military induced the mother [Mrs. Mary Helen Peck Crane] to send him to the Claverack Military Acad-

Note: I wish to express my thanks to those who have been helpful in the past: Mrs. Harriet Crego (Claverack Public Library), Mrs. Millicent L. Clawson (Port Jervis Public Library), and the staff of the Hudson Public Library. Special thanks in the present go to Mrs. Vicki Burnett, Head of the Interlibrary Loan Department at the University of Rhode Island, for collecting important background material.

I owe much to Mrs. Gwen G. Robinson, Editor of the *Courier*, for her valuable questions and suggestions.

Most of all I thank my dear wife Betty and my son Edward, who helped locate several historical tracts and essays.

1. Pennington Seminary—now The Pennington School—is located seven miles north of Trenton, New Jersey. Claverack College and Hudson River Institute—no longer in existence—was located three miles east of Hudson, New York.

emy”.<sup>2</sup> Yet the rumor (it persisted for many years) that Stephen had run away from Pennington and later returned suggested that mysterious and more complex reasons might have been involved in his transfer to Claverack.<sup>3</sup>

I recently discovered an article, “Reminiscences of Stephen Crane”, written by Stephen’s older brother Wilbur F. Crane in his hometown newspaper, the *Binghamton* [New York] *Chronicle*, in which he explained why his youngest brother left Pennington for Claverack.<sup>4</sup> Stephen, accused of hazing, had actually left the school in protest of the charge leveled against him. This dark episode was an almost fatalistic prelude to a similar one at Lafayette College, where Stephen himself became a hazing victim.<sup>5</sup> Of the episode at Pennington, Wilbur wrote:

While at Pennington seminary some hazing was done which one of the professors charged to Stephen. He denied any knowledge of it, and when the professor told him he lied, Stephen went to his room, packed his trunk and went home to Asbury Park where he told his story, adding that “as the Professor called me a liar, there was no room in Pennington for us both, so I came home.” Nothing would induce him to return to the seminary.

Stephen’s mother acted almost at once to defuse a potentially traumatic situation. She sent Stephen to Claverack to mollify his outrage and soothe his wounded psyche by appealing to his “fondness for everything military”. This must have been a heart-breaking ordeal for her as well as for her son, who was forsaking the school that his father, the Reverend Jonathan Townley Crane, had not only saved from near closure but rebuilt into a competitive and

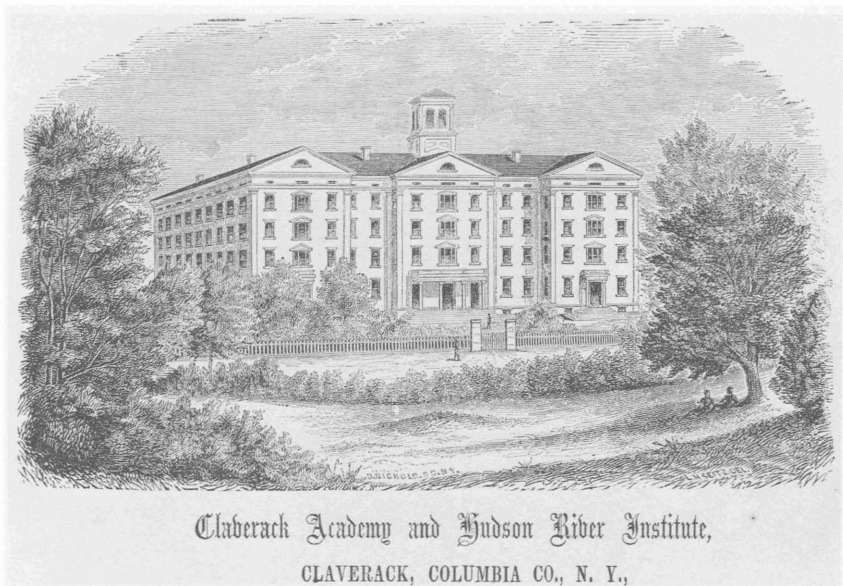
2. *New York World*, 10 June 1900, sec. E., p. 3.

3. See Thomas A. Gullason, “The Cranes at Pennington Seminary”, *American Literature* 39 (January 1968): 531.

4. See *Binghamton* [New York] *Chronicle*, 15 December 1900, p. 3. Only a few months separated the different “readings” by family members of Stephen’s transfer to Claverack. One can conjecture that Wilbur wrote this reminiscence, in part, to rebut Mrs. George Crane’s position.

5. The hazing episode at Lafayette was described by Col. Ernest G. Smith, Class of 1894, in *The Lafayette Alumnus* 2 (February 1932): 6.





Top portion of illustrated lettersheet (ca. 1850).  
Stephen Crane Collection, Syracuse University Library.

financially sound institution during his nine-year tenure as its principal (1849–58). Young Crane revered the memory of his father, but he found his “status” at Pennington intolerable. Claverack, however, made an acceptable substitute.

On 23 December 1887, the same day the first term ended at Pennington (where Stephen had officially registered for his third year in September), Mrs. Crane began a correspondence with the Reverend Arthur H. Flack, president of Claverack College. Except for its military training department, Claverack was similar to Pennington—Methodist, with ministerial atmosphere and compulsory chapel attendance, as well as strict rules against tobacco, alcohol, gaming, and profanity.

On 26 December, the Reverend Flack responded to Mrs. Crane’s inquiry concerning financial arrangements for the offspring of Methodist clergy: “In reply we would quote you the following terms for board and tuition which are to ministers of the M. E. Church. If your son is over 15 years of age \$160—per year for all mentioned under \$225 in our catalogue . . .” He did not forget

to assure her: “Should you place your son under our care we would do our best to give him a thorough college preparation and at the same time make for him a pleasant Christian school home”.

Mrs. Crane suggested, in her 30 December letter, extreme caution in assigning a roommate for her son—presumably, she wanted someone who would be a good influence by inspiring him to take formal education more seriously, also helping him avoid anything resembling the hazing experience at Pennington. In his letter the next day the Reverend Flack sought to allay her fears: “We note what you say with regard to room-mate and course of study for your son and will carry out your instructions carefully”. On 12 April 1888, following her letter of 9 April, the Reverend summarized Stephen’s progress at Claverack: “His last report is better than the one before it and is high in all classes except grammar”. He noted further: “Punctuality is low—that should not be—I will stir him up on it and it will be well for you to call his attention to that point also”. In a postscript he wrote: “We will excuse him from declaiming but dont [*sic*] like to do so”. (In one of his later short stories, “Making an Orator”, Stephen Crane would describe the tortures of declaiming.)

As late as 20 September 1888, Mrs. Crane, still the anxious parent, was trying to arrange for Stephen’s every comfort, even to his favorite pastime at home, horseback riding. In a letter posted the following day, the Reverend Flack replied that he could not meet that particular request: “One of our regulations is that students shall not hire horses. The livery is connected with the hotel and we do not wish that the students shall have any business there at all. On that account I would not favor the horse-back riding. Stephen is very much interested in base ball and tennis and seems to take all the exercise he has time for out of study hours in that way.”<sup>6</sup>

6. The correspondence between Mrs. Crane and the Reverend Arthur H. Flack was first printed in: Joseph Katz, “Stephen Crane at Claverack College and Hudson River Institute”, *Stephen Crane Newsletter* 2 (Summer 1968): 2–5. Katz misquotes the Reverend’s letter of 21 September 1888 (p. 4), so that “hire horses” becomes “have horses”. R. W. Stallman claimed that Stephen took his pony Pudgy “with him to the Claverack military school”. See his *Stephen Crane: A Biography* (New York: George Braziller, 1968), 9.

The Reverend Flack became especially aware of young Crane's presence, not simply due to his extensive correspondence with Mrs. Crane, but because of Stephen's quick progress and success in the military department. The Reverend was not only the president of the school, he was professor of military science as well and headed the military department as colonel. Stephen's comrade-in-arms Harvey Wickham, in his colorful yet partly unreliable reminiscence of Claverack College, captured his classmate's zeal and pride of accomplishment in military drill: "When I arrived at Claverack he [Stephen] was already a first lieutenant, with enough of the true officer in him to have a perfectly hen-like attitude toward the rank and file. Well do I remember the anguish I caused him by dropping my gun during a prize-drill!"<sup>7</sup>

Stephen rose in rank very rapidly, first to captain, then to adjutant—which was really far more remarkable than his promotion to captain—a post directly beneath Colonel Flack and Major Joseph P. Hines.<sup>8</sup> The four companies of the school's military department were under their command. This should have been incentive enough for Stephen to return to Claverack in the fall and attempt to realize a dream: to enter West Point. In all probability, he read the essay "West Point" in the January 1890 issue of the school magazine, *The Vidette*, where the procedures to enter the military academy were outlined.<sup>9</sup> But by September 1890 Stephen had reluctantly transferred to Lafayette College, at the urging of his

7. Harvey Wickham, "Stephen Crane at College", *The American Mercury* 7 (March 1926): 294.

8. This information is drawn from the *Thirty-Sixth Annual Catalogue of Claverack College and Hudson River Institute* (Hudson, New York, 1890), p. 14; hereafter cited as *Claverack Catalogue*. Lyndon U. Pratt stated that Crane's "acting as the Colonel's adjutant seems no less remarkable than his being singled out in June for one of the next year's captaincies". See his "A Possible Source of *The Red Badge of Courage*", *American Literature* 11 (March 1939): 2.

9. The procedures appeared in *The Vidette* 1 (January 1890): 3. "In order to enter West Point the candidate must have a thorough knowledge of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and United States history; he must be of good character, between the ages of seventeen and twenty-two years; he must also be over five feet in height, and stand a rigid physical examination. After having passed the required examination satisfactorily, and having promised to serve

lawyer-brother William, to do something that was more stable and more financially rewarding, like mining engineering.

Though his time at Claverack was only two and a half years, Crane's experience there was rich in other, non-military respects as well. Besides sports—he was a star on the baseball team—it offered an array of intellectual and artistic opportunities. As Professor William McAfee, who taught Greek and Latin at the school, said: “Following the ministerial and military professions we have the twin arts of painting and music which contribute so much pleasure to our lives and the brightening of our homes”. Indeed, the concerts and lectures on music and painting, along with the “Art Notes” and “Musical Notes” columns in the monthly issues of *The Vidette*, were as appealing to Stephen as military drill and baseball.

It is known from his letters as well as from Harvey Wickham's reminiscence that Stephen had become attracted to three coeds—Jennie Pierce, Harriet Mattison, and Phebe (also Phoebe) English—all of whom were enrolled in the departments of art and music. Two of them were mentioned several times in the pages of *The Vidette* for their achievements: Harriet for her music and Phebe for her painting. No references were found relating to Jennie's efforts, though she was listed once in “The Roll of Honor”.<sup>10</sup>

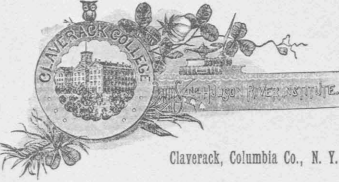
Stephen was at home among girls with cultured interests. The three coeds may have reminded him of his own accomplished and versatile sisters. One sister, Mary Helen (named after her mother, who was herself known for her pen-and-ink drawings, her wax figures, and her good singing voice), was an artist and the winner of several painting competitions; she ran her own art studio in Asbury Park during the 1890s. It is not generally known that she was also a

---

in the army for eight years, he is immediately admitted to the Academy and his pay of five hundred and forty dollars a year commences. The cadet graduates from West Point as Second Lieutenant, with a salary of fifteen hundred dollars.”

10. See *Claverack Catalogue*, p. 12 (for Mattison), p. 13 (for English). Jesselyn (Jennie) Pierce was listed in the *Thirty-Seventh Annual Catalogue* (Hudson, New York, 1891), pp. 6, 7, 11, 13. For more on Mattison and Stephen, see Wickham, “Crane at College”, pp. 292–93. For Pierce and English, see *The Correspondence of Stephen Crane*, vol. 1, ed. Stanley Wertheim and Paul Sorrentino (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1988), p. 212 (on Pierce), p. 35 (on English).

Claverack College  
AND  
Hudson \* River \* Institute.



Claverack, Columbia Co., N. Y.

Affords superior advantages for thorough and systematic education to young men and women.

UNRIVALLED FOR HEALTHFULNESS AND BEAUTY OF LOCATION.  
Large and commodious buildings, recently improved and re-fitted.

A STRONG FACULTY OF EXPERIENCED PROFESSORS AND TEACHERS.  
Careful attention given to social, moral, and physical culture. Graduating courses in Collegiate, Academic, College Preparatory, Latin, Scientific, Commercial, Oratorical, Music and Art Department. CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC AND ART. Courses in Piano and Voice Culture, Organ, Violin, Cornet, Harmony and Counterpoint. Normal Course for Music Teachers. Portrait and Figure Painting from life or photographs, in Oil or Water Color. Landscape, fruit and flowers. Modeling in Clay, Crayoning, Pastelle and Charcoal Sketches. Architectural, Mechanical and Free-hand Drawing, and Drawing in India Ink are thoroughly developed by the most modern theories of teaching.

Diplomas and Degrees Conferred. Send for Illustrated Catalogue

Rev. A. H. FLACK, A. M., President.

An advertisement from a copy of *The Vidette* of February 1890.  
Stephen Crane Collection, Syracuse University Library.

highly skilled pianist. Another sister, Agnes—who acted as Stephen’s surrogate mother while Mrs. Crane was attending local and national meetings and making speeches on behalf of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union—was also artistically and musically talented. She could sing well and even composed a playful pseudo-oratorio, “Jonah”.<sup>11</sup>

Stephen himself was musically inclined; he had a pleasant tenor voice. He also had a painter’s eye. It was really not surprising to find in an inventory of items from his New York City apartment, besides two pen-and-ink Civil War pictures, two plaques—of Beethoven and Mozart.<sup>12</sup> Music, in addition to painting, became integral to his writing. In his early *Sullivan County Sketches* (1892), for example, he made facile use of musical terms like “nocturne” (“The Octopush”), and referred to Wagner (“The Cry of a Huckleberry Pudding”); he employed musical motifs and played with the art of verbal counterpoint. His first fiction, “The King’s Favor”, published by the Syracuse University’s *University Herald*, had as its hero Albert G. Thies, the well-known tenor, who had per-

11. See Carl F. Price, “Stephen Crane: A Genius Born in a Methodist Parsonage”, *The Christian Advocate* (13 July 1922), 867.

12. A copy of this inventory is in my possession.

formed with the soprano Louise Gerard at Claverack. Stephen was to mention them both in his later news reports, not simply in the style of a practicing journalist, but as a developing connoisseur of music.<sup>13</sup>

In all likelihood, Stephen attended the concerts given at Claverack by Harriet Mattison. She was singled out for praise in the first issue of *The Vidette* (December 1889): “Miss . . . Mattison shows an uncommon musical ability and is a talented performer”. In the annual Thanksgiving musical the “special features . . . were Miss Mattison’s novelette, by Schumann, and the overture [Rossini’s “Tancred”], four hands, by Mrs. Lewis and Miss Mattison”. At the Commencement Concert for June 1890, she “gave three selections from the Classics, and gave them an interpretation equal to that of many artists of renown. Her touch is a model of perfection in its crisp clearness and quality of tone, full of emotional beauty and effectiveness.” Harriet Mattison was attractive to Stephen for another reason too. As an associate editor of *The Vidette*, she was a budding newspaperwoman.<sup>14</sup> (During the summer months, beginning as early as 1887, Stephen had himself been a shore correspondent at Asbury Park.)

Phebe English, enrolled in both music and art, had her greatest success as an artist. She gave several of her canvases to Stephen, who displayed them in his New York City apartment in the 1890s. Two of the subjects of her work were described in the “Art Notes” columns of *The Vidette*. (Both anticipate the theme and art of *The Red Badge of Courage*.) One dealt with the theme of war: “Miss Phebe English has a patriotic canvas entitled ‘War and Peace.’ A

13. It was not accidental when Crane subtitled “The Octopush” as “A Sullivan County Nocturne”. At Claverack, in a musical program, he could learn of “the Nocturne by Chopin. In night pieces Chopin easily excelled” (*The Vidette* 1 [January 1890]: 10). Both Albert Thies and Louise Gerard were part of the Lecture Course at Claverack, for 1 March 1890 (*Claverack Catalogue*, p. 29).

For an early discussion of music in Crane’s stories, see my essay, “Stephen Crane’s Short Stories: The True Road”, in *Stephen Crane’s Career: Perspectives and Evaluations*, ed. Thomas A. Gullason (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1972), 472.

14. Mattison’s achievements were noted in *The Vidette* 1 (December 1889): 3–4; 1 (June 1890): 3; and 2 (November 1890): 22.

gun is in a restful pose by the Star Spangled Banner, which floats around it, and not far distant a military cap and glove painted with realistic effect.” The other painting was impressionistic: “Two panels entitled ‘Sunshine and Shadow,’ one a dreamy, moonlit sky gleaming over the hills, the other a bright noon-day scene. (In combination a perfect whole.)”. Like Harriet, Phebe was also a hard-working newspaperwoman, and as of January 1890 was listed on the masthead of *The Vidette* as a “special correspondent”.<sup>15</sup>

There were many other things available at Claverack that were conducive to young Crane’s education, for the cultural-intellectual climate was stimulating and varied. Lectures were delivered by members of the faculty on such topics as history, etiquette, business and social principles, and laws of health. Other lectures were delivered by guest speakers (for example: C. E. Bolton, “The Lands of the Midnight Sun”; the Rev. Elias Osborn, “A Yankee’s Impressions of England”; Chancellor Charles N. Sims [of Syracuse University], “Neglected Life Lessons”; Mrs. Emily Burgess, “Peace and Arbitration”; and the Hon. Will Cumback, “Christianity as a Civilizing Force”). Concerts were given by celebrated performers such as Albert Thies, Louise Gerard, May L. Smith (flutist), and E. Goodrich Smith (violinist). Campus activities included Bible classes held every Sabbath afternoon. Social religious meetings, held twice weekly, included the Society of Christian Endeavor and the Temperance and Anti-Tobacco Society, among others.

Probably the cultural activities most appealing to Stephen were the four literary societies for men and three for women (both with faculty advisors), along with *The Vidette*, which was organized by four students and published monthly during the school year (presumably with no faculty supervision). On the editorial page of *The Vidette* the staff announced: “[F]rom the large number of essays and orations which are delivered here, we shall select as far as possible the best for our columns”.<sup>16</sup>

15. The references to the two pieces of English’s art work were recorded in *The Vidette* 1 (January 1890): 11; and 1 (June 1890): 10. A valuable background on English’s relationship with Crane is in Joseph J. Kwiat, “Stephen Crane and Painting”, *American Quarterly* 4 (Winter 1952): 331–38.

16. *The Vidette* 1 (December 1889): 6.



During Stephen's tenure at Claverack, *Vidette* editors selected student essays on poets ("Robert Browning" by Harvey Wickham), on military leaders ("Washington Versus Grant"), on military institutions ("West Point"), on an inventor ("Edison and His Inventions"), and on a recent hero ("Henry M. Stanley" by Stephen Crane). They also published one alumnus who wrote on drama ("Illustrations of Aristotle's Definition of Tragedy in Macbeth"), and another alumnus (by then a Syracuse University student) who wrote on up-and-coming colleges and universities ("Syracuse University"). In addition, there was an occasional faculty contribution, such as an extensive piece on a historic native landscape ("The Catskill Mountains"). Two essays were anonymous ("The Philosophy of Taste in Art" and "Italy Lies Over the Alps"). Some of these very topics, genres, and locales would be useful to Stephen's later writings.<sup>17</sup>

One special feature in *The Vidette*, inspired by Professor McAfee, was a four-sided written debate; each side had six members. While there is no proof, Stephen may have contributed to one of the debates—"Fiction vs. Poetry, Biography, and History"—because of his early attraction to fiction.<sup>18</sup> The other three debates were signed by individual students: "Biography vs. Fiction, Poetry and History" (J. Hall Jones); "History vs. Poetry, Fiction and Biography" (Frank L. Walsh); and "Poetry vs. History, Biography and Fiction" (George T. Fabricius).

Other regular features in *The Vidette* included traditional poems,

17. A locale, the Catskill Mountains, and topics like German Sirens and "The Invisible Some People", in *The Vidette* 1 (April 1890): 1-3; and 1 (February 1890): 5, 10, reflected the legendary, the mythic, the gothic, and the supernatural. Stephen drew on these when writing his series of comic grotesques, *The Sullivan County Sketches* (1892).

18. Crane may have participated in writing the following passage. If so, it reflects his growing interest in fiction: "Comparing history with fiction cannot one readily see that it displays deeper thought and employs higher talent to put before the people works that have to be entirely original, and have all the characters coincide and blend into one harmonious whole, than simply to record that which is known to have occurred, or in other words a history of the past. . . . And there is no one that will deny that 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' produced far greater results, and that its influence was four fold more towards the extermination of

some by students, others by well-known poets (selections by William Cullen Bryant; a poem by Thomas Bailey Aldrich, reprinted from *The Century*, in the November 1890 issue). Although Stephen Crane did not publish any poems in *The Vidette*, one should not minimize the impact of this poetically active environment on his imagination.

The subject with which young Crane would always be identified—war, with its heroes and heroism—filled the pages of *The Vidette*. At least four available covers of the magazine (this may have been true of the other covers as well) had a sketch of a soldier in dress uniform. The title of the magazine itself reflected the image of war: “As the military spirit here is very prominent, we decided on choosing that name [Vidette], its meaning being a mounted sentinel”. An imposing figure, who was already an institution at the school before Stephen’s arrival, was General John B. Van Petten, professor of history and elocution. For the Thanksgiving Day celebration in 1889, according to *The Vidette*, he was toasted by Captain Herbert A. Puzey of the military department before giving a speech. Young Crane, reading of the event or possibly in actual attendance, would have been duly impressed by Captain Puzey’s remarks about the general, “a member of The Grand Army of the Republic; an organization whose name implies patriotism, bravery, and indomitable energy. . . . One, who in the service of his country, has stood before the cannon’s mouth . . .” The closing words of the recorded tribute to the general might have reminded Stephen of his own summary view of the hero in the essay “Henry M. Stanley”: “A brave soldier, a true Christian . . .”<sup>19</sup>

---

slavery, than volumes of history describing the horrors of slavery and the fact that it existed and ought to be blotted out.” (*The Vidette* 1 [April 1890]: 5–6.)

19. Of the many references to General John B. Van Petten in *The Vidette*, this one (1 [September 1889]: 8) stands out. The Thanksgiving toast was first noted by Pratt, “A Possible Source of *The Red Badge of Courage*”: 2–3. The influence of the General on Crane was further expanded and elaborated in Thomas F. O’Donnell, “John B. Van Petten: Stephen Crane’s History Teacher”, *American Literature* 27 (May 1955): 196–202.

Crane’s similar praise of Stanley is in *The Vidette* 1 (February 1890): 9. He published two other pieces in *The Vidette*: “Base Ball” (1 [May 1890]: 11) and “Battalion Notes” (1 [June 1890]: 12).

Amongst the *Vidette* essays of Crane's period one finds more or less constant reference to talk of war. In the essay "Washington Versus Grant", for example, the battles of the American Revolution (Trenton, Princeton, Monmouth, Yorktown) and the Civil War (Appomattox) were spoken of, along with heroic figures (Anthony Wayne, Nathaniel Greene, George Meade, and Philip Sheridan). In "West Point" references were made to Bunker Hill, the Mexican War, Washington, Kosciuszko, Custer, Benedict Arnold, and Major André. The poem "Washington" paid homage to the president as a great soldier and statesman. "A Visit to Washington's Headquarters, Newburgh, N.Y." described historic relics, Lafayette's muskets, and Aaron Burr's sword. The editorial (February 1890) reinforced the image of Washington as "our nation's greatest general, warrior and statesman . . ." Another editorial (January 1890) supported the value of military drill at Claverack: "One of the greatest advantages of drill in student life is that it affords an exercise which is most essential in the physical development of the body". A regular feature in *The Vidette* was the column "Battalion Notes". A poem on the tragic cost of the Civil War, "Over Their Graves", was reprinted from *The Century*.<sup>20</sup>

Not all of young Crane's time at Claverack was uplifting to him. Nevertheless, some of his more unpleasant experiences fortified his critical arsenal. For example, he regarded with hostility Frances E. Willard, "the president of the W.C.T.U. [Woman's Christian Temperance Union] of America. One to whose praise will be added the plaudits of generations to come".<sup>21</sup> Miss Willard's philosophy and image were represented in the pages of *The Vidette*; and Stephen later was to quarrel, not with her position on the evils of saloons and intemperance, but with her "fanaticism", which he satirized in his early novels *Maggie* (1893) and *George's Mother* (1896).

The "Baccalaureate Sermon" (June 1890), by the Reverend Charles Payne, which Stephen heard or read (or both), did not have the desired effect on his sensibility. His nihilistic volume of

20. See *The Vidette* I (December 1889): 11; I (January 1890): 1-3; and I (February 1890): 1-4.

21. *The Vidette* I (December 1889): 10.

poetry, *The Black Riders* (1895), was a reverse response to the Reverend Payne's call for faith:

I have spoken of losing faith in yourselves and humanity, in high ideals and standards. Beware of losing faith in God. There is a God, otherwise this universe is a contradiction, a riddle more perplexing than the Sphinx, and if human nature can't solve it, it must be smitten into annihilation. There is no reason in anything else. I warn you against losing faith in God. Who will deny the fact that the literature of the day is permeated with unbelief. The most popular phase of it is philosophical agnosticism.<sup>22</sup>

Claverack did not forget Stephen when he left for Lafayette College in September 1890. His subsequent literary successes were closely monitored. Besides the reference to the publication of *The Red Badge of Courage, a Tale of the Cruel [sic] War in The Vidette*,<sup>23</sup> there was also an extended review (unknown to Crane scholarship) of the 1896 *Maggie*.<sup>24</sup> A half-column was devoted to "Another Book by Mr. Crane".

*Maggie* was introduced with this paragraph: "The New York Times says of the work: 'Mr. Crane cannot have seen all that he describes, and yet the reader feels that he must have seen it all.' This is certainly high praise for the book, and suggests the wonderful and vivid powers of the author, of which the following [four quotations from the novel] are illustrations. . . ."

Young Crane did not forget Claverack. He had such fond memories of the school that he made a special two-day visit in January 1891, prior to returning to Lafayette, where he was enrolled for the spring term. In *The Vidette* "Personals" column (January 1891) there was this item: "Stephen Crane of '90, spent Tuesday and Wednesday, Jan. 6th and 7th, with his friends and classmates at

22. *The Vidette* I (June 1890): 2.

23. In his ground-breaking essay, "The Formal Education of Stephen Crane", *American Literature* 10 (January 1939): 460–71, Lyndon U. Pratt was the first to note (p. 466) the reference to *The Red Badge* in *The Vidette*. The correct subtitle of *The Red Badge of Courage* is *An Episode of the American Civil War*.

24. *The Vidette* I (June 1896): 100.

Claverack. . . . [D]uring the summer and fall he has been doing newspaper work. . . . Mr. Crane is missed very much on our ball team, but his friends . . . will join in wishing with *The Vidette*—“Success to you Stephen!”<sup>25</sup>

It seems apparent that, in addition to the spirit of camaraderie, Claverack College did provide Stephen Crane with a lively social, literary, cultural, and intellectual environment—an environment that can scarcely be deemed to tally with Harvey Wickham’s negative remark: “[T]he high reputation once enjoyed by the school was wholly in the past, and no longer survived save among the uninformed”.<sup>26</sup> Wickham’s view of Claverack during Stephen Crane’s time, suggesting as it does poor standards and an uninspiring curriculum, has unfairly persisted to this day.

Instead of returning to Lafayette for the spring term of 1891, Stephen Crane went instead to Syracuse University. There young Crane revisited and extended his almost idyllic experiences at Claverack College: played on the baseball team, socialized as a member of the Delta Upsilon fraternity, and wrote an early draft of his avant-garde novel, *Maggie*. This, however, was to be Stephen Crane’s last hurrah to school and college life.

25. *The Vidette* 2 (January 1891): 43.

26. Wickham, “Crane at College”, 291. A member of the academic department and a student of the conservatory of music where he showed “promise of making one of the leading musicians of the country” (*The Vidette*, 1 [December 1889]: 3), Harvey Wickham was unduly critical of Claverack as an institution. In fact, as we have seen, the school’s offerings were balanced and substantial: with classical and academic departments, a commercial department, departments of music and art, and a military department. The department of natural and physical science included astronomy, botany, chemistry, geology, meteorology, physical geography, physiology and hygiene, and physics. Greek and Latin were taught in the classical course, French and German as the modern languages. In addition, there was a department of oratory and elocution. The equivalent of freshman English was “taught by the oldest and most experienced of the teachers”.

# Fenimore Cooper's Libel Suits

BY CONSTANTINE EVANS

## I

ON 5 AUGUST 1832 James Fenimore Cooper began a letter in Spa, Belgium, to his nephew Richard Cooper, a lawyer in Coopers-town, New York. At one point in this chatty letter he asks Richard to look into the ownership of the Gilbert Stuart portrait of his father, William Cooper. It interests him, he tells Richard, because "I am getting to be a collector". The letter breaks off with a synopsis of European affairs:

Europe is in a very unquiet state. The governments hope to crush the spirit of the people, and the people begin to see the means of extricating themselves from the grasp of their taskmasters. . . . They are all struggling to imitate us, and no country is so often quoted as authority, now, as our own.

Cooper resumed the letter, this time from Switzerland, on 21 September. After updating Richard with more family gossip, he mentions that he intends to return to America (thus concluding the Cooper family's seven-year stay in Europe). "Now for a little *private* business", he adds.

He asks Richard to look into the possibility of purchasing his father's former residence. The house had been sold in 1823, the symbolic finale to the dissolution of much of his father's estate. The new owner of the Hall was William Holt Averell, a wealthy Cooperstown lawyer. Strangely enough, Averell did nothing with the Hall, leaving it unoccupied and unmaintained, which in any case is why Cooper asked Richard to determine "the exact condition of the Mansion House, and if it is on the market, is [it] capable of being repaired". Caution was urged; Cooper didn't know Averell personally. For that reason Richard was to sound out, in effect, whether the asking price might be increased if Cooper's name were used. The letter concludes, "A speedy answer is desirable, as we

shall soon have need of a residence. If we can succeed in this purchase . . . dear Dick, . . . your name will occupy its old station in Otsego.”<sup>1</sup>

The letter to Richard reveals Cooper’s desire to possess what his father’s portrait and house represented: the “old station in Otsego”, which meant simply the Cooper family’s former social position, once validated by William Cooper’s person. James Fenimore Cooper’s wish for his nephew and himself was to reclaim what he saw as his birthright. His return to his father’s house, the symbolic locus of the Cooper name and social identity, would reinstate the family’s former social supremacy.

Another side of Cooper becomes apparent in the passage about Europe’s political climate when he speaks of “the spirit of the people”. Cooper’s egalitarianism co-exists with his social elitism: a seemingly paradoxical position baffling to his contemporaries. Five years later, when he was firmly settled in Cooperstown and in the refurbished Hall, Cooper would find occasion, in the unquiet political climate of Jacksonian America, to defend his patriotism and his character in courts of law.

Retrospectively considered, then, Cooper’s letter to Richard yields a text in which a sense of destiny gathers about the image of the Hall itself. Averell, for whatever reason, had not turned the Hall to immediate profit. It had remained empty for fourteen years and so had never been lived in except by Coopers. In this Averell seemed to serve Cooper and his attachment to the Hall very well.<sup>2</sup> However, as matters turned out, Averell would play a minor but eager role in the Whig press’s attempt to ruin Cooper.

1. *The Letters and Journals of James Fenimore Cooper*, ed. James Franklin Beard (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, Belknap Press, 1960), 2:294–96.

2. A receipt dated 23 October 1832 from The Albany Insurance Co., sent to me in photocopy by the New York State Historical Association, states that William Averell paid “five dollars forty cents for the purpose of insuring on the Old Mansion of the late Judge Cooper or in other words ‘Templeton Hall’ . . .” The document further states that one Moses Davis would use the mansion “as Dwelling and in part as a place of Meeting for Public Worship”. Nothing, however, seems to have come of this venture.



William Holt Averell (1794–1878) was born in Cooperstown. His father, James Averell, Jr., had purchased farm land from Judge William Cooper when the Judge began profitably parceling off his extensive holdings for settlement in 1786. Like William Cooper, the elder Averell had had dynastic ambitions, which meant that money, land, social prestige, and a large family were required. To that end, he invested in manufactory and real estate, had himself appointed coroner, organized the county Bible society, and fathered eight children. The result was that while the Averell family “never reached the level of national importance, James Averell, Jr. and his son, William Holt Averell, had a tremendous impact on the economic and community life in Cooperstown and in Otsego County through much of the nineteenth century”.<sup>3</sup>

William Averell contributed to the realization of his father’s ambition by participating in the family enterprises, and eventually by his own investments in manufactories, mills, and land holdings. By 1830 he would found and be first president of the Otsego County Bank. His civic career would have him engaged in local political activities, in Christ Church as a vestryman, and in the volunteer fire department. After graduating from Union College in Schenectady in 1816, he studied law. In 1819 he received his law license, became involved with the settlement of William Cooper’s estate, and “made a fortune, first and last, by buying Cooper properties as they came into the market”.<sup>4</sup> Cooper, the sole surviving male heir to his father’s disintegrating estate, was at this time living on land provided for him by his in-laws in Scarsdale and only beginning to stumble into his career as a novelist.

The year 1819 was significant to another resident of Cooperstown. Seventeen-year-old James Watson Webb (1802–1884) chose that year to part company from his guardian in Cooperstown to

3. The biographical material on William Averell and the Averell family derive, unless otherwise stated, from a “Biographical Note” generously supplied by the New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown, New York, which owns the Averell papers.

4. Henry Walcott Boyton, *James Fenimore Cooper* (New York: Century Co., 1931), 71.

join the army. Webb had been orphaned early and placed in charge of his brother-in-law. His father, Samuel Blatchley Webb, had been a Revolutionary War general and aide to George Washington. Using his family connections to advantage, Webb presented a letter of identification from Governor DeWitt Clinton to Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, who was eventually persuaded to grant Webb a second lieutenant's commission.<sup>5</sup>

Such resourcefulness in a boy of seventeen is perhaps unusual; but Webb throughout his long life was headstrong, enterprising, and to a degree, dangerous. His military career was relatively brief, but highlighted by an episode that might have come out of a Cooper novel: while tracked by hostile Indians, he crossed, in the depth of winter, the wilderness area of Illinois to alert Fort Armstrong on the Mississippi of a possible attack on Fort Snelling, Minnesota. Also in keeping with his aggressive character was the manner in which his military career ended: a proposed duel with his commanding officer. Webb's first publication seems to have been a pamphlet in 1827, in which he justified his resignation to his fellow officers.

Webb quickly found a home in journalism. He had married well. In 1827 his wealthy father-in-law purchased a share in the *New York Morning Courier*, making Webb editor and proprietor. Two years later the *Courier* merged with the *New-York Enquirer*, to become, by its short title, the *Courier and Enquirer*. Dynamic editorship and innovative news-gathering strategies, in what has been called "The Dark Ages of Partisan Journalism", gave the twenty-five-year-old, volatile Webb almost meteoric fame. Although there would eventually be an actual duel to fight (which would gain him a bullet in the leg), Webb preferred the verbal dueling among rival editors characteristic of the period. Some of the invectives that Webb and the other editors used to voice their political

5. The biographical material on James Watson Webb derives from James L. Crouthamel, *James Watson Webb: A Biography* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan Univ. Press, 1969) and from the *Dictionary of American Biography*, s.v. "Webb, James Watson". How much significance can be attached to the fact that Webb's guardian, George Morell, was a friend of Cooper cannot be determined (*Letters and Journals* 3:352-53).

biases and defend their professional integrity were: “Obscene vagabond”, ‘Loathsome and leperous slanderer and libeler’, ‘Unprincipled conductor’, ‘Rascal’, ‘Rogue’, ‘Cheat’, ‘Veteran blackguard’, ‘Habitual Liar’, ‘Polluted wretch’, ‘Foreign vagabond’, ‘Foreign impostor’, ‘Monster’, ‘Daring infidel’, ‘Pestilential scoundrel’, and ‘Venomous reptile’”.<sup>6</sup> Physical assaults on each other were not uncommon and could supply the participants with a colorful paragraph for the next day’s edition. Webb, comfortable in this fraternity, proclaimed himself the “best abused” editor of them all. It should be noted here that such exchanges mark the unstable political atmosphere of the Jacksonian era and beyond.

Webb was a favorite of the Averell clan, and maintained a warm relationship with them. His sister, Jane Hogeboom Webb, had married William Averell’s brother Horatio, while Averell’s own wife, Jane Maria Russell, was Webb’s cousin.<sup>7</sup> As a consequence of these connections, Webb had been aware of Cooper’s rise to fame almost from the beginning of Cooper’s literary career. In 1822, while still in the army, Webb received a letter from a relative of Averell’s wife telling of the stir in Cooperstown caused by the appearance, and celebrity, of Cooper’s first two novels, *Precaution* (1819) and *The Spy* (1822), and the announcement of a third, *The Pioneers* (1823). Not everyone was pleased. An element within Cooperstown thought that James Cooper had more “vanity to father than wit to write a novel” and hinted that the novels were the

6. James Melvin Lee, *History of American Journalism* (Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1923), 198; and Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*, rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1950), 260–61. Webb received his wound in a duel with a Kentucky congressman in 1842. For violating New York’s anti-dueling law, Webb was sentenced to two years in Sing Sing, but a pardon by Governor Seward, after whom Webb would name one of his sons, kept Webb out of the penitentiary (Mott, *American Journalism*, 261).

7. Detailed genealogical data on the Averell and the Webb families obtained from Clara Avery, *The Averell-Averill-Avery Family* (Cleveland: Evangelical Publishing House, n.d.); and Reynold Webb, *Wilcox, Wilcoxson-Wilcox, Webb and Meigs Families* (New York: National Historical Society, 1938). Jane Marie Russell and Webb shared the same maternal grandfather, Judge Steven Hogaboom (sometimes rendered Hogeboom). As a measure of their devotion, Horatio and Jane Averell named their only son James Watson Webb.

collaborative product of his wife and a family friend—a view tacitly endorsed by the correspondent.<sup>8</sup>

Whatever latent sympathy Webb may have felt with the Cooper detractors in Cooperstown found its dramatic outlet a decade later. Webb's decisive shift of the previously pro-Jackson *Courier and Enquirer* away from "King Andrew" (23 August 1834),<sup>9</sup> whom Cooper had championed in print, automatically turned Cooper into a public enemy. The heated political atmosphere (inflamed by Jackson's removal of funds from the Bank of the United States),<sup>10</sup> the consolidation of anti-Jackson forces that had emerged in 1834 as the Whig party, as well as the tradition of personal journalism with its standardized vocabulary for expressing abuse—all pre-established the manner in which the attack on Cooper would be

8. Letter from Rensselaer W. Russell to Lt. J. W. Webb, 11 February, 1822, James Watson Webb Collection, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University. See also Constantine Evans, "James Fenimore Cooper: Young Man to Author", *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier* 22 (Spring 1988): 76–77. Editor's note: The Averell and Russell letters cited in this paper were until recently in the George Arents Research Library. They were transferred to Yale University in 1992 to unite with the extensive James Watson Webb personal and family papers held there. James Watson Webb Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

9. Philip Hone, *The Diary of Philip Hone, 1828–1851*, ed. Allan Nevins (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1970), 72–73. Hone records, "The Bank veto is the principal ostensible reason for his [Webb's] defection. Other faults of the President are incidentally mentioned, but he has so often defended and justified them that it would hardly do to handle them too roughly at first" (73). Similarly, Webb "had been lavish in his praise of Cooper, a fellow Democrat", before the break with Jackson (Crouthamel, *Webb*, 76). Webb's enemies profited by Webb's switch in allegiance by noting that Webb had borrowed \$52,000 from the Bank of the United States (Mott, *American Journalism*, 182–83).

10. James Roger Sharp writes, "[I]t was the banking issue that became the crucible of the Jacksonian democracy. . . . In Jackson's opinion the charter for the bank violated [the principle of equal protection by the government] because it extended special privileges to a small select group of men". Sharp also comments that "Americans who supported the banks looked to the future with optimism, welcomed change, and celebrated the transformation of an agricultural, mercantile, and rural America into an industrial, highly commercial, and urban society". See "Jacksonian Democracy", in *Encyclopedia of American Political History*, ed. Jack P. Greene (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1985), 669.

conducted. Indeed, with the very formation of the Whig party (Webb is sometimes credited with creating its name), the *Courier and Enquirer* and the other papers acting as its organ had a sort of ideological platform and hence a solid front from which to concentrate their fire on Cooper.

But Webb was to be, in Horace Greeley's doubtlessly ironic phrase, "the greatest sinner of the lot".<sup>11</sup> When in 1837 Cooper began an ever-expanding series of libel suits against the Whig editors, the most serious of these charges was against Webb. Here, the charge was criminal libel, which if proven could send Webb to jail.

### III

That Cooper invited attack by the Whig press when he defended Andrew Jackson is clear; but that he engaged in political controversy at all requires, and has drawn, a more complex analysis. According to one critic, "Cooper thought of himself, not as a writer of adventure romances, nor as a political analyst, but as a man of letters, a gentleman whose pen was in his nation's service".<sup>12</sup> The fact remains, however, that the large readership he had single-handedly created for his novels thought of him as a writer of adventure romances. He had, after all, fulfilled the early expectation as to what American literature should do: namely, "elucidate the history, manners, usages, and scenery" of America.<sup>13</sup> His doing just that was the source of his remarkable achievement and fame. But in creating an American literature and an audience for it, Cooper was also creating himself: his "willed creation of a role as a medium for the articulation of American culture informs his early

11. Ethel R. Outland, *The "Effingham" Libels on Cooper*, University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, no. 28 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1929), 69. Although Greeley and Webb abused each other in print, they disliked Cooper more. See Lee, *History of American Journalism*, 213-14.

12. John P. McWilliams, Jr., *Political Justice in a Republic: James Fenimore Cooper's America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 1.

13. James Fenimore Cooper, *Notions of the Americans Picked Up by a Travelling Bachelor*, 2 vols. (1828; reprint, with introduction by Robert E. Spiller, New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1963), 1:254. See also Robert E. Streeter, "Association Psychology and Literary Nationalism in the *North American Review*, 1815-1825", *American Literature* 17 (1945): 143.

novels of the frontier and of the American Revolution. This conception of self . . . not only endured but deepened during his stay in Europe.”<sup>14</sup>

His mission was clear: “[America’s] mental independence is my object”<sup>15</sup>—and in the 1820s, especially, this meant the ending of America’s lingering cultural vassalage to England, its habitual deference to British thought in matters of art and government. He was encouraged in this role by his close friend, the venerable General Lafayette, who in 1828 urged him to write a book about contemporary America.

The book was *Notions of the Americans* (1828), a semi-fictional travel book (with autobiographical echoes) designed to offset the flood of English travel books ridiculing America. Cooper would afterwards date his fall in popularity from the appearance of this book. More immediately apparent to Cooper was that the book had a limited sale and that hostile British reviews were dutifully and deferentially reprinted in American publications without comment (it was not until the beginning of Jackson’s second term, in 1833, that Cooper’s praise of the president, in *Notions*, would take on dramatic significance). The didactic purpose of the book had been defeated at home.

Then three years later, after publishing two historical romances, there followed another failure to instruct America, his European trilogy, *The Bravo* (1831), *The Heidenmauer* (1832), and *The Headsman* (1833)—historical romances designed to expose the dangers of non-republican governments and which grew out of his seeing the seeming rise of liberal movements in Europe countered by a repressive conservative reaction.<sup>16</sup> A tempered view of the series’

14. Charles Hansford Adams, “*The Guardian of the Law*”: *Authority and Identity in James Fenimore Cooper* (University Park and London: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press, 1990), 114.

15. *Letters and Journals* 2:84.

16. John P. McWilliams writes that “the three European novels were all completed at a time when Cooper was beginning to doubt the power of popular revolt to resist the entrenched aristocratic oligarchies which were everywhere ruling Europe” (*Political Justice*, 144). The letter to Richard Cooper, quoted at the beginning, catches Cooper in a more optimistic mood.

failure suggests that his general readers and the literary journals regretted that the novels were set in Europe, were too imitative of Scott, were too political, and to them were not very good. The aesthetic theories of the day, furthermore, found no place for politics in art; the explicit intrusion of current political issues disrupting a historical romance was deplored by the reviewers and Cooper's general readers. A story-teller had no business meddling in politics.<sup>17</sup>

The Whig press, for different motives, felt the same way. *The Bravo*, the only success of the trilogy, was, after an initial favorable reception in the press, made the means to attack Cooper through a remarkably imperceptive, personally abusive, and politically motivated review of the book (June 1832, in the *Whig New York American*), signed with the pseudonym "Cassio".<sup>18</sup> The cause of this attack seems to have been related to Cooper's personal intrusion into real-life politics, in the so-called French Financial Controversy. Very briefly, at the urgent request of Lafayette, Cooper had somewhat reluctantly written a pamphlet, *A Letter of J. Fenimore Cooper, to Lafayette* (25 November 1831), a statistical account demonstrating the economic advantages of a republican form of government—a topic much debated in the changing political organization of France at the time. For his efforts the press at home accused him of meddling in foreign affairs. To Cooper all this betrayed an American press still far too subservient to foreign, espe-

17. George Dekker and John P. McWilliams, eds., *Fenimore Cooper: The Critical Heritage* (London and Boston: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1973), 15. The editors point out that "it is crucial to distinguish newspaper reviews, inspired by party, from journal reviews which, with few exceptions, remained apolitical" (15). Stephen Railton, in *Fenimore Cooper: A Study of His Life and Imagination*, cites a narrative-halting passage from *The Headsman* as signaling Cooper's war with his countrymen; there Cooper sternly laments the deference to foreign opinion, which "possesses some such share of true modesty and diffidence, as the footman is apt to exhibit when exulting in the renown of his master" (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1978), 139.

18. See Dorothy Waples, *The Whig Myth of James Fenimore Cooper* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1938), 90–110; and James Grossman, *James Fenimore Cooper* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1967 reissue), 87–93.



cial British, opinion, and a persistent, politically dangerous provinciality at home.<sup>19</sup>

As recent scholarship has made clear, it became characteristic of Cooper from this point on to confuse Whig editors' abusive opposition to his self-appointed role of spokesman for republican principles with his country's voice. One critic summarizes as follows: "[Cooper's] anger had been aroused by the failure of American reviewers to endorse his vindication of democratic principles by sufficiently praising his [recent] books or American readers to do so by eagerly buying them".<sup>20</sup>

#### IV

At first Cooper was baffled and then nearly unnerved by the preliminary attacks as they came to his notice while in Europe. He wrote, on 16 March 1832, from Paris to a correspondent in New York:

I know not why it is so, but all that I see and hear gives me reason to believe that there is a great falling off in popular favor at home. I rarely see my name mentioned even with respect in any American publication, and in some I see it coupled with impertinences that I cannot think the writer would indulge in were I at home though their insignificance would in truth be their shield, were I at their elbow.<sup>21</sup>

Cooper stopped short of explicitly adding that his feelings had brought him to the point where he would quit novel-writing altogether.

Cooper did in fact reach this point about a year later. Soon after he had returned to America he issued on 14 January 1834 a pamphlet, *A Letter To His Countrymen*, in which he announced his retirement to the regret of his publishers and the delight of the Whig press. In the valedictory passage Cooper wrote:

19. For an analysis of Cooper's filial relationship with Lafayette, see Railton, *Fenimore Cooper*, 141.

20. *Ibid.*, 139–40.

21. *Letters and Journals* 2:237.

The American who wishes to illustrate and enforce the peculiar principles of his own country, by the agency of polite literature [i.e., novels], will, for a long time to come, I fear, find that his constituency, as to all purposes of distinctive thought, is still too much under the influence of foreign theories, to receive him with favor. It is under this conviction that I lay aside the pen. I am told that this step will be attributed to the language of the journals, and some of my friends are disposed to flatter me with the belief that the journals misrepresent the public sentiment. . . . I am quite unconscious of giving any undue weight to the crudities of the daily press, and as to the press of this county in particular, a good portion of the hostility it has manifested to myself, is so plainly stamped with its origin, that it never gave me any other uneasiness, than that which belongs to the certainly that it must be backed by a strong public opinion, or men of this description would never have presumed to utter what they have.<sup>22</sup>

Among the “men of this description” Cooper had earlier, in *A Letter*, singled out Webb as the author of a condescending but not libelous editorial in the *Courier and Enquirer* (15 June 1833). The point again to be noted here is how Cooper defined the Whig press as the voice of his misguided countrymen. As much fantasy as fact, and vanity as honesty, lies in Cooper’s fusion of partisan politics with personal issues—a fusion that finds its parallel in his foes’ own perception of self and duty.

v

Cooper did not stop writing altogether. He finished up a Swiftian political allegory, *The Monikins* (1834), which he thought would make a tremendous impact but which instead became an object of ridicule, and also, over the next three years, a series of travel books that rehearsed political issues amid descriptions of people and places Cooper had known and seen. These too failed to

22. James Fenimore Cooper, *A Letter to His Countrymen* (New York: John Wiley, 1834), 98–99.

find a popular audience, although some were used to show how Cooper had traduced his own country's scenery to favor Italy's and insulted the British by criticizing their system of government and their table manners. Cooper's acerbic review of Lockhart's life of Walter Scott created another furor. Meanwhile, Cooper was also contributing a series of letters to the Democratic *Evening Post* (1834–36), wisely signing them A.B.C., in order to comment on the political events of the moment.<sup>23</sup>

But all of this was minor skirmishing: as one critic notes, “[Cooper] needed a forum to reestablish his authority, to reassert his threatened identity, and in 1837 he found it”.<sup>24</sup> Confidently believing that the law of the land would certify both his personal integrity and his authority to speak for America, Cooper chose the law courts to be his forum. Psychological criticism, moreover, suggests that the law courts, with their aura of paternal authority, invoked for him the memory and prestige of his father. More specifically, another critic asserts that the judges from whom Cooper sought vindication were, for him, ultimately surrogates of Judge Cooper. From this viewpoint, Cooper's letter to his nephew, quoted earlier, about the Cooper name “occupying its old station” gains additional significance. International fame did not erase the fact that Cooper left Cooperstown in 1819 because he had failed to maintain the primacy of the Cooper family in the town his father had founded.<sup>25</sup> William Averell would soon remind him of this fact in a Cooperstown courtroom, as would the editorials of Webb.

23. *Letters and Journals* 3:61–64 *passim*. Beard notes that “the pseudonym provided a mask by which Cooper could escape the too self-conscious and, at times, querulous tone that mars much of his controversial writing” (64). See also Waples, *Whig Myth*, 157–85.

24. Adams, *Guardian*, 121.

25. Railton, *Fenimore Cooper*, 230–31; also cited by Adams (*Guardian*, 123). Adams follows Railton, while arguing that Cooper's recourse to the courts was part of “the national tendency to look to the law for a sense of individual and social identity” (Adams, *Guardian*, 123). Mark Patterson adds a valuable extension to Railton's analysis: “Cooper's obvious fascination with fathers [in his novels] is ultimately tied to his sense of historical change so that the issue of patriarchal authority must be seen not only as Freudian dissent but as part of a larger concern with the transmission of the father's virtues and authority and the ability of suc-

The Cooper family had returned to America on 5 November 1833, but it wasn't until 28 August 1834 that Cooper concluded arrangements with Averell to buy the Hall. The long-abandoned Hall required much refurbishing, and Cooper also made extensive design modifications, adding, among other things, ornamental Gothic windows. Although originally intended as a summer residence, financial constraints had the Coopers in full-time residence in 1837.

Complementing the restoration of the Hall was the re-establishment of the Coopers "as the first family in the village".<sup>26</sup> But the Coopers' architectural and social feats were not received with joy by all the villagers, who were largely transplanted Yankees. These people resented what seemed to them the aristocratic bearing of the Hall and its residents. An unfortunate situation arose, for in "the sharp confrontation between the provinciality of an essentially country town and the cosmopolitanism of a widely travelled family [neither] group was really able to make allowances for the other".<sup>27</sup> One of the allowances Cooper refused to make was further use of Three-Mile Point, on the western shore of Otsego Lake, by tradition a long-favored picnic area of the town, but legally Cooper family property. When Cooper, executor of his father's estate since 1834, published a notice in the *Democratic Freeman's Journal* on 31 July 1837, forbidding further use of the Point, outraged elements of the town immediately held a public meeting denouncing him and defying his prohibition. The occasion of the notice, originally

---

ceeding generations to possess or imitate those values. *Descent* may appear as *dis-sent*, but the more powerful conflict in Cooper's work is between historical change—the movement away from an origin—and the possibility of permanence—the presence of that origin in succeeding generations" (*Authority, Autonomy, and Representation in American Literature, 1776–1865* [Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1988], 86). My own debt to Adams and especially to Railton is pervasive.

26. *Letters and Journals* 3:214.

27. *Ibid.*

intended as a warning against vandalism, was damage done to a tree “that had a peculiar association with my father”.<sup>28</sup>

The newspaper notice gave the event a publicity beyond the village. In Norwich, New York, a small Whig paper, the *Chenango Telegraph*, edited by Elius Pellet, picked up the story: “Cooper—The Novelist—This gentleman, not satisfied with having drawn upon his head universal contempt from abroad, has done the same thing for himself at Cooperstown, where he resides”. A brief account of the Three-Mile Point episode followed, with remarks about the “littleness of the act complained of”. Pellet concluded:

The Cooperstown papers are silent on the subject. Will not the Republican [a Whig organ] give all the facts to the public? If not, perhaps Mr J. Fenimore Cooper himself will find the occasion a good one for addressing another edition of “Letters to his Countrymen?” At any rate, we think a full history of the affair would make an appropriate Appendix to the edition already published.<sup>29</sup>

Andrew Barber, a young newcomer to Cooperstown who edited the *Otsego Republican*, saw fit to reprint Pellet’s article, adding his own commentary. Meanwhile, the much more influential *Albany Journal*, edited by the formidable Whig power broker and kingmaker Thurlow Weed, had on 12 August also reprinted Pellet’s article. Apparently Cooper was not ready to take on Weed, but in September Cooper filed suit against Pellet and Barber for libel, demanding a retraction.<sup>30</sup> But he did not push the suit; instead, he had published by a local printer a short history of Cooperstown and a political treatise (*The American Democrat*, 1838). Of greater immediate significance, he returned to novel-writing with the sequenced novels *Homeward Bound* and *Home as Found* (1838). The latter novel gave the Whig press its own forum, for Webb’s review of

28. *Letters and Journals* 4:271.

29. Quoted in Outland, “Effingham” Libels, 42–43.

30. *Ibid.*, 14. For an account of Weed’s career, see John M. Taylor, *William Henry Seward: Lincoln’s Right Hand* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991), 23, *passim*.

the novel brought the entire Whig enclave down upon Cooper; and then Cooper acted.

VII

Writing *Home as Found* (1838) clearly served profound personal needs for Cooper,<sup>31</sup> but what will be emphasized here is how the book was read by Webb, who set the tone for the entire Whig campaign. Webb's response was—predictably enough—explosive, comprehensive, and ultimately irrational. However, his reaction could not have been as violent as it was had it not been possible to read the book autobiographically.

This was easily done. *Home as Found* was, first of all, something of a sequel to *The Pioneers* (1823), which was always viewed as having strong autobiographical elements. Templeton, the setting for both novels, was obviously Cooperstown, complete with Otsego Lake; furthermore, in *The Pioneers*, Judge Temple was modeled after Cooper's father, Judge William Cooper—a fact that in 1823 was easily apparent to the adult population of Cooperstown. Such was the force of the identification of the Temple family with the Cooper family that Otsego Hall was locally styled “Templeton Hall”, after the fictive Judge Temple's residence. But there were no grounds for equating Cooper with the young hero, Edward Effingham, who would marry Elizabeth Temple, the Judge's daughter. It was thought, however, that Elizabeth was an idealized rendering of Cooper's beloved older sister Hannah, tragically lost early in life.

The autobiographical elements read into *The Pioneers* confirmed those of *Home as Found*. Briefly, the descendants of Edward and Elizabeth Effingham—a widower also named Edward Effingham, his daughter Eve, and his cousin John Effingham—were introduced as having just returned, like the Coopers, from a long European sojourn. The social order envisioned in *The Pioneers*, set in 1793, was

31. In addition to the extended studies of Cooper already cited, two other influential treatments of the Home novels are found in Marvin Meyers, *The Jacksonian Persuasion* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1957), 42–75; and Eric J. Sundquist, *Home as Found: Authority and Genealogy in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1979), 1–40.

altogether different from the one described in *Home as Found*, set ca. 1838. The earlier Effinghams were to be the exemplars of a landed gentry who would set the tone and manners of a social order based on an agrarian polity sustained by a sturdy yeomanry—all blossoming out of the wilderness. In the later novel, *Home as Found*, the same sensibilities of the Effinghams, now enriched by a European experience, continue to be present in their descendants. They remain the cultured elite, the all too apparent arbiters of taste and political judgments. However, the sturdy yeomanry had in the passing years been replaced by a greedy, spiteful people—a populace infected by an emerging “go-ahead”, money-worshipping, commercial culture. Among the exemplars of the new order are a cowardly and prying newspaper editor, Steadfast Dodge, and an opportunistic land agent and social vulgarian, Aristabulus Bragg. Standing in heroic contrast to these dire cultural trends are the Effinghams, particularly the father, Edward, who is described in such terms as “handsome”, “thoughtful”, “mild”, “philosophical”, “upright”, “clear-headed”, “just-minded”, and “liberal”.<sup>32</sup>

All this, together with the tactless inclusion of the Three-Mile Point episode into the drama, was too much for Webb. The “handsome Mr. Effingham” was clearly James Fenimore Cooper himself. Webb’s duty was equally clear: to expose Cooper’s mad and egotistical projection of himself in Edward Effingham. On 22 November 1838 Webb published, in the *Courier and Enquirer*, a long review of *Home as Found* to do just that. The most pertinent sections read as follows:

We may in truth say, that we have never read an American Book with the same feelings of regret, pity, contempt, and anger, as the last work of Mr. COOPER; and never have we

32. The list is Webb’s, from his 22 November 1838 editorial; quoted in *Letters and Journals* 3:273. Steadfast Dodge is clearly a caricature of a Whig journalist. In his biography of Webb, Crouthamel quotes Marvin Meyers’ apt description of Dodge (“a shapeless mass of ignorance, arrogance, cowardice, avarice, envy, vanity, and servility, mixed with a certain low cunning”) then remarks: “Few Whig editors, and certainly not Webb, would be able to shrug off such a picture of themselves” (*Webb*, 780). Crouthamel cites *Jacksonian Persuasion*, page 63, as his source for the Meyers quotation.



entered upon so disagreeable a task as reviewing this publication of a countryman, who, forgetful of the kindness with which his earlier works were received, and unmindful of his duty to his native land, has basely and meanly devoted his talents to catering for the gross appetite which unfortunately exists in Europe, for every thing calculated to bring the customs, manners, and habits of Americans, into disrepute. . . . *We* . . . do know him as a base minded caitiff, who has traduced his country for filthy lucre and from low born *spleen*; but time only, can render harmless abroad, the envenomed barb of *slanderer*, who is in fact a traitor to national pride and national character. . . . it is certainly a matter of no importance to the public to know who Mr. Cooper's father was; but inasmuch as he has endeavored to deceive them, and in doing so has exhibited both weakness and a want of proper respect for the *truth*, we take the liberty of saying that Mr. C. is the son of a highly respectable WHEELWRIGHT of *New Jersey*, who has frequently been heard to declare that he was proud of his occupation and only regretted that while he labored at it, he was unable to manufacture as good *waggon*s as his brothers in the trade. He, at least had not false pride, and little dreamt that his son would ever lay claim to be descended from a noble English family instead of a respectable, hard-working Jersey mechanic. . . . Another object of this selfish book is to enable Mr. Cooper to abuse the public for having laughed at his political address [*A Letter To His Countrymen*] to the people in behalf of General JACKSON, when he hoped to be appointed Secretary of the Navy. . . .<sup>33</sup>

33. Quoted in Outland, "*Effingham*" *Libels*, 69–77. Cooper's response to Webb's review appeared later the same day in the *Democratic Evening Post*; in the concluding passages Cooper notes, "The editor of the *Courier & Enquirer* writes as if we were well acquainted. This I deny; he is my junior, and I knew him slightly as a boy, and slightly when a young man. I do not think I have spoken to him, on five different occasions, in fifteen years. As the libels of the article will be made the subject of a legal investigation, I shall say no more" (*Letters and Journals* 3:351).

These passages expose some of the claims Webb would reiterate and refashion in subsequent editorials: that Cooper abused American culture in order to regain the British audience that he had lost through his political writings; that he was humbly-born and obsessed with money; and that, typical of the followers of Jackson, he was a political sycophant and false patriot. Webb's attack was quickly taken up by other Whig papers.<sup>34</sup>

The battle was now joined. Cooper pressed his suit against Pellet and Barber, and in February 1839 a grand jury in Cooperstown returned an indictment against Webb. Not content to let matters alone, Webb published another attack on 24 May (for which Cooper brought a second charge of libel), stating that Cooper had stacked the jury with "Loco Focos"—a radical wing of the Democratic party. What interests us here are the tactical maneuvering of Webb and the counter-strategies of Cooper.

Cooper somehow learned of the defense Webb would in fact subsequently make. He wrote his American publisher, Isaac Lea, on 11 August 1839, that Webb would claim that Cooper wrote the "Home" novels for money. Cooper then asked if Lea would appear as a witness, as it was too late to obtain a "commission", or deposition, from Lea refuting the charge.<sup>35</sup> Meanwhile, on 26 August 1839, Horatio Averell, Webb's brother-in-law, wrote to Webb regarding the preparations for the trial:

Since I came here I have had some conversation with Mr. Walworth who has charge of your Cooper libel. He is decidedly of [the?] opinion that it will be best for you to postpone the trial and to be tried before the *court of General-Sessions*. He thinks that before that court you will have allowed to you a much wider range in your defense. Will not be so strictly confined to legal rules etc and of course if you

34. Besides Webb, Pellet, Barber, and Weed, Cooper sued William Leete Stone (*Commercial Advertiser*), Park Benjamin (*Evening Signal* and *New World*), and Horace Greeley (*New York Tribune*). Cooper sued some of the offenders repeatedly, as the editors reprinted each other, or offended anew. It is probably significant that Stone and Weed were once brief residents of Cooperstown (Outland, "Effingham" Libels, 38). Cooper's suit against Greeley was never resolved.

35. *Letters and Journals* 3:420–21.

have any desire to make Mr. C. ridiculous in the trial or in a *report* of the trial that you will have [a?] much better chance to do so at the Sessions than at the Circuit. I know Gridley the Judge of the Circuit well & I think you have much to fear from his bias and prejudice both in the trial of the cause and also in the infliction of a heavy fine if a Jury should determine that you are guilty of *technical* libel. It is thought that the Judges composing the Court of Session will be rather in your favor as against Cooper if they have any bias on either side and that they would not under any circumstances probably inflict more than a nominal fine. The Jury for this circuit court *are drawn* and unfortunately there are upon it no men of character to be relied upon by you. They are mixed politically, but are all supposed to be men of but little independence & men who would in making up their verdict be very much governed by the charge of the Judge. They would want nerve to resist an adverse judicial charge even if their impressions on the trial were favorable to you. Mr. Walworth thinks there will be no difficulty in putting the matter over to the Sessions if on the whole you shall think best. But it will be necessary probably for you to come up at the Circuit as an affidavit may be called for from you. It will not be necessary to bring with you counsel if on reflection you shall think best to postpone the trial. On the whole the matter will be for you to determine whether to go to trial now or not. Your counsel in N.Y. may have advised you that there is no danger of conviction & it may be there is none. But you should consider well whether it is best to try it with the chances more against you now than they may be hereafter. Should you conclude to go to trial now your friends here will do all they can. My brother Wm. has within the last hour returned from the East he called at the Courier Office to see you on Saturday but you were out of the city. He says I must say to you that when you come up you must come directly to his house & make it your quarters while you stay here. He says if you do not he will abandon you on the trial. The Court of Sessions will

sit on the 2d Monday of Oct. next. Write me at Troy on recpt of this whether you will go to trial now or have it postponed. If it will not be too much trouble it might be well to come with at least one counsellor upon whom you can rely on the trial & then be governed by your own opinion after you arrive as to the policy of going to trial. Write me.

Truly yours

H. Averell<sup>36</sup>

Webb's subsequent version, in his *Courier and Enquirer*, of the trial on 9 September 1839, makes clear that he anticipated skullduggery in the Otsego County venue (which had always voted Democrat). Averell, who appeared as one of Webb's attorneys, stated in court that Cooper had in his pay the District Attorney's law partner, Browne, who was charged with the task of obtaining the original grand jury indictment. Webb transcribed and published the following exchange in which he intended to expose the shallow trickery afoot:

The Court instantly called upon Mr. AVERELL to abstain from all remarks of a personal character.

Mr. Browne. (Shaking his fist at Mr. Averell). You must retract that speech Sir, on the instant, or when you leave this room, I'll compel you to do so.

Mr. Averell. If I have said ought disrespectful to the Court I certainly regret it, and will most cheerfully make any explanations that may be necessary; but I have no explanation to give the counsel opposite.

Mr. Browne. I confess to the Court that when I first heard the insulting remark of Mr. AVERELL, I felt considerably wiled; but I am quite cool now, and as Mr. A. is universally known in this county, I shall take no further notice

36. Letter (transcript copy) from Horatio Averell to James Watson Webb, 26 August 1839, James Watson Webb Collection, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University. See note 8.

of him!!! I will take this occasion to say that I never spoke with Mr. COOPER on the subject until after it was found by the Grand Jury.<sup>37</sup>

In the event Webb did secure a postponement until the next year, pleading that it was impossible for him to have all his lawyers present. Meanwhile, Webb's friends were at work in another way. Webb, as the next letter from William Averell reveals, was aware of arrangements to have copies of Park Benjamin's *New World*, containing defamatory material about Cooper (possibly composed in part by Webb), circulated among the prospective jurors in Cooperstown. The ploy failed, for next year Webb had to secure another postponement after Cooper obtained a change of venue from Otsego County.

On 3 September 1840 William Holt Averell, apparently reminding Webb of their previously formulated defense strategies, wrote from Cooperstown:

My Dear Webb: I think it important to show from Cooper's works that in his opinion no work on America will sell *well* in Europe, particularly in England, unless spiced with abuse of the country, its people and institutions. Now I am quite sure such an opinion has been expressed by him in more than one instance in his work, but where to look for it I do not know, and to search his works for it is not possible here, as there is no one out of his family that has the series of his publications. Have some one search his works thro, or the reviews, and if the passages are found bring the work or works containing them up with you. You charge that he wrote for filthy lucre. We will show that he published in Europe, and if we can show from his own former publications that to secure a sale in Europe, it was necessary to abuse the country, we make a *strong point*. Bring with you a copy of *Homeward Bound* and *Home as*

37. Quoted in Outland, "*Effingham*" *Libels*, 236. Crouthamel writes, "[Webb] considered himself an expert in almost every field of human endeavor. . . . He stated his positions with a dogmatic certainty, and he regarded any challenge to them as a personal affront deserving of punishment" (*Webb*, 71).

*Found*—a perfect copy—not the mutilated one. Say nothing to anyone, at no time or place, of any agency in the review in the New World, or of your knowledge of its appearance before published, etc. See that the manuscript is destroyed, or at least take it into *your own possession*.

Make no admission [*sic*] nor permit Snowden or any in your office to make any declarations, as to the authorship of the articles on which the indictments have been found, if they or any of them are subpoenaed, see that they do not come. Say nothing to them yourself, but have it brought about thro another, etc.

In haste, yours,

W. H. Averell.

Write me advising on what day you will be here and who in company with you, also what counsell [*sic*] you can rely on.<sup>38</sup>

On 14 April 1841 Webb wrote another long editorial (dispensing this time with the pretense of a book review) that began “*The Handsome Mr. Effingham*” and attacked Cooper for ruining Barber, and, in his recent history of the United States Navy, slandering Commodore Perry. As the following excerpt shows, Webb’s rhetorical strategy is to speak boldly for the people of Cooperstown, who were defenseless against Cooper’s antics:

What a spectacle does this present of the doings, the character, and the position of Mr. J. FENNIMORE COOPER, in the place of his birth, and his present residence, where he is surrounded by all the associates of his boyhood—the very persons among whom his whole life, with the exception of a few brief years, has been spent! He returns from Europe full of false pride, and utterly forgetful of his humble origin; establishes himself in the home of his fathers, which had passed into the hands of strangers, but which a connection

38. Letter from William H. Averell to James Watson Webb, 3 September 1840, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University.

of ours [William Averell] partaking of the general good feeling existing towards him, kindly replaces in his possession; he then seeks to mold the society and feelings of all about him to suit his newly acquired ideas of importance; and when he fails, quarrels with his neighbors, is sued in the courts as a *petty slanderer* of honest men's reputation, forbids the people to visit a certain quarter-acre of land and occupied from time immemorial as a Fishing Point, is foiled in his attempt to enforce his prohibition, writes a Book and abuses all who have thwarted him, and in the Book describes himself as one "handsome and dignified Mr. Effingham," whose quarrel with his neighbors in regard to this very Fishing Point, is so minutely set forth, as even to copy verbatim the notice of the public meeting denouncing *J. Fennimore Cooper!* . . . We exposed his ridiculous attempts to impress upon the people of Europe the idea of his being nobly born—descended from a family knighted in 1601; and we show that his father was a highly respectable but coarse and uneducated *waggon-maker*, and his mother the daughter of a notorious Huckster woman, who for a quarter of a century was known in the Philadelphia Market as the very best *pedlar of green vegetables* in the best of Markets. . . .<sup>39</sup>

On 19 November 1841 Webb was tried for criminal libel, but the jury failed to reach an agreement. Webb, however, retracted his 24 May 1839 article, which was the basis of the second charge. On 10 May 1843, Webb was tried a second time, and again the jury failed to agree. Finally, in a third trial on 23 November 1843, Webb was found not guilty of criminal libel.

Judges and juries became a third factor in the conflict between

39. Quoted in Outland, "*Effingham*" *Libels*, 221–22. Webb, in the 22 November 1838 editorial, wrote that Cooper "from a desire to impress foreigners, at least . . . that he is of a far nobler descent than most of his countrymen" has Eve Effingham boast of a heritage older than Sir George Templemore (a British friend of the Effinghams whose title dates from 1701). Webb's date of 1601 is apparently his interpolation. For the passage in question see Outland, "*Effingham*" *Libels*, 75–76.



Cooper and Webb (as well as Cooper's other litigants). As one critic notes, Cooper, in his civil libel suits, had the law on his side. A jury was impaneled, but the verdict issued from the judge, who interpreted the law and simply instructed the jury with assessing the amounts owed for compensation; these amounts were always small. However, in a case of criminal libel, a jury acts as interpreter of the law: "The statutes might be clear that whoever libeled another was responsible to society and should be punished, but the juries, acting for the moment as society, were equally clear that they were not interested in holding an editor to his responsibilities by sending him to jail as a criminal".<sup>40</sup>

Some critics have viewed Webb's exoneration as a major defeat for Cooper. In a way it was: the sale of Cooper's books was no doubt injured by the newspapers' refusing to review them. But the point is, Cooper *did* produce books. The lawsuits had in fact liberated a burst of creative energy that he sustained for the rest of his life. During the period of the lawsuits alone (1837-45), ten novels and a naval history came from his pen. With their publication his authority was reestablished.

#### VIII

Critics have amply demonstrated the profound emotional bond with his father that Cooper maintained, struggled against, and finally capitulated to; but it also seems that Judge Cooper had a potent hold on other sons in Cooperstown: William Averell and James Watson Webb. The violence of Webb's attack on Cooper and the Averells' zealous encouragement of it can reasonably be explained if one recalls the dominating influence of Cooper's father, the old judge, who now seemed less a ghost in the image of his son. While there is scholarly agreement that Webb's target was as much Jackson as Cooper, this third figure—a rebarbative figure—must be considered: namely, the founder of Cooperstown, Judge William Cooper.

Webb, in his editorials, constructs Judge Cooper's image as a

40. James Grossman, "Cooper and the Responsibility of the Press", in *James Fenimore Cooper: A Reappraisal*, ed. Mary E. Cunningham (Cooperstown: New York State Historical Association, 1954), 511-12.

humble, self-effacing artisan. This was not the Judge Cooper anyone knew in life, as Webb must have known. Judge Cooper was a formidable personality, rich and politically powerful—not the benign, modest ex-wagonmaker Webb created; he was instead “the mirror of partisan perfection as a Federalist squire”, proud that there were “40,000 souls holding land directly or indirectly” under him.<sup>41</sup> For nine years he had been judge of Otsego County and had also served two terms in Congress. Jealous of his power, he could be autocratic and violent. Insisting that “government had better be left to gentlemen, and that simple folk should vote as they were told”,<sup>42</sup> he had on one occasion threatened with ruin debtor tenants who wouldn’t vote as he directed. In an abortive 1792 impeachment proceeding, one debtor-tenant testified: “Judge Cooper said to me ‘[W]hat, then, young man, you will not vote as I would have you—you are a fool, young man, for you cannot know how to vote as well as I can direct you, for I am in public office.’”<sup>43</sup>

The question is, why did Webb, even given his practice of random statements, create this wildly false figure? First of all, of course, Webb meant to explode Cooper’s pretension to a distinguished heritage, dating from 1601—which, as noted before, is what Webb’s eccentric reading obtained by insisting that *Home as Found* was autobiography. More pointedly, Webb’s benign image of William Cooper served a strategic purpose: by reducing William Cooper (along with his wife) to ordinariness, Webb eliminated the Judge’s authority, and the authority claimed by his son, James Fenimore Cooper. Webb’s sentimental regard for Cooperstown also effectively erases the presence of Judge Cooper. In all of this Webb was being emotionally consistent. Webb, as a boy, had walked away from the control of his guardian in Cooperstown, and thereafter more openly defied a series of authority-figures: his commanding officer in the army, rival editors, President Jackson, and eventually, the world-famous James Fenimore Cooper. Webb’s

41. Dixon Ryan Fox, *The Decline of Aristocracy in the Politics of New York* (1919; reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1976), 136.

42. *Ibid.*, 137.

43. *Ibid.*, 140–41.

emotional ties with the Averell family, moreover, added a further dimension to his own conflict with authority by adapting their particular situation to his own purposes.

The Averells had their own stand to make against the Coopers, and *Home as Found* provides us with an interpretive method for exposing the Averell animus. In chapter twelve, Cooper describes the evolution of a community out of the wilderness as presenting three distinct stages: the first stage, clearing the land, is the happiest, for then the community is united by mutual interests and hazards.

The great cares of life are so engrossing and serious that small vexations are overlooked, and the petty grievances that would make us seriously uncomfortable in a more regular state of society, are taken as matters of course . . . Good-will abounds.

But once the hardships of the initial stage are surmounted, the community reshapes itself in a less pleasant form:

Now it is that we see the struggle for place, the heart-burnings and jealousies of contending families, and the influence of mere money. Circumstances have probably established the local superiority of a few beyond all question, and the condition of these serves as a goal for the rest to aim at. The learned professions . . . take precedence, as a matter of course—next to wealth, however, when wealth is at all supported by appearances. Then commences those gradations of social station that set institutions at defiance, and which as necessarily follow civilization, as tastes and habits are a consequence of indulgence.

The third and final stage brings a state of society in which “men and things come within the control of more general and regular laws”.<sup>44</sup> Cooper’s schema is general and idealized; nevertheless, the second-stage mentality aptly fits the Averells’ situation. Their fortune was linked to Judge Cooper, who sold James Averell Jr.’s land;

44. James Fenimore Cooper, *Home as Found* (New York: Capricorn Books, 1961), 163.

but when Cooper, his older four older brothers having mismanaged their father's estate before themselves dying, was driven into a type of exile in Scarsdale, William Averell, as noted earlier, eagerly gathered up Cooper properties. Symbolically, with their purchases—especially that of the Hall—the Averell clan also took possession of the Coopers' place in the community. Finally, since the children of James Averell chose to stay in the Cooperstown area and to do what the Cooper children did not do—that is, make a go of it—pride of place doubtlessly became a significant factor in their conflict with Cooper.

Thus, William Averell was willing to profit by Cooper's return by unloading the Hall at a good price. But as soon as Cooper asserted himself, the Averell prestige diminished and time seemed to go backwards. Fortunately for their cause, the Averells had Webb to lead the way and to provide a vehicle for their resentment of James Fenimore Cooper, who returned to his father's house and supplanted his father at some level of their consciousness as well as Cooper's. For the Averells and Webb—and Cooper—it was as if he had never left.

## IX

Cooper died on 14 September 1851; he did not live to see the great changes in the culture produced by the Civil War. Perhaps had he lived to a very old age he would have written, as a retired Harvard professor did in 1889, "that the Civil War had created a 'great gulf between what happened before in our century and what has happened since, or what is likely to happen hereafter. It does not seem to me as if I were living in the country in which I was born.'"<sup>45</sup>

Webb lived almost thirty-three years longer than Cooper and not only lived to see the changes but also to play a minor role in their evolution. He sold the *Courier* in 1861 to move in the exalted circles of national service as minister to Brazil. The *Dictionary of*

45. George Ticknor, quoted in James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1988), 861. McPherson gives as his source for the Ticknor quote Morton Keller, *Affairs of State: Public Life in Late Nineteenth Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1977), 2.

*American Biography* states that “the record of his eight strenuous years in Brazil is marked by an alert patriotism and a bold energy verging on rashness”. An earlier appointment to Austria had to be withdrawn, but not before the title of general was conferred on Webb. He retired from diplomatic service in 1869, traveled for two years in Europe, and then lived the last fifteen years of his life in quiet retirement.

In his private life, two marriages brought Webb ten children who lived to maturity. His son Alexander Stewart Webb served with distinction in the Civil War, rising himself to the rank of general. Thus, James Watson Webb was able, like his father, to contribute to the well-being of his country through government service and through his son to duplicate the honored military career of his father, an aide to Washington. Two years before his death on 7 June 1884, Webb published *Reminiscences of General Samuel B. Webb*—an act suggesting that Webb, like Cooper, had a powerful father to struggle against, to justify himself to, and finally, through his biography, to come home to.

# The Kipling Collection at Syracuse

BY THOMAS PINNEY

*The following is an edited transcript of the talk given by Professor Pinney to the Syracuse University Library Associates on 25 September 1992. Professor Pinney is the editor of The Letters of Rudyard Kipling.*<sup>1</sup>

THOUGH KIPLING is known to have visited New York State, it is unlikely that he ever saw the streets of Syracuse. However, he is notably present in the city now through the large, important, and growing collection of his letters and printed works assembled here in the George Arents Research Library for Special Collections.<sup>2</sup> There are other important Kipling collections in the United States. Kipling's great popularity in this country meant that his work, and everything connected with it, was eagerly sought after from the beginning of his career. As a result, considerable collections are now to be found in libraries throughout the country—in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, the Ransom Library of the University of Texas, and the Bancroft Library of the University of California, to name only a few. But the Syracuse collection is not only the peer of these rivals, it is the most actively growing of them all.

Of course it has some of those *rarissima* that every Kipling collector strives to acquire: a copy of the privately-printed *Schoolboy Lyrics*, for example, Kipling's first book, printed in Lahore by his parents while Kipling was yet a schoolboy in England; or the rare pamphlet texts of his stories printed in tiny editions of twenty or twenty-five copies in the United States in order to secure American copyright.

Kipling was an exceedingly polymorphic literary creature; and almost all of his forms are exhibited in the Syracuse collection. It

1. Thomas Pinney, *The Letters of Rudyard Kipling*, 2 vols. (Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1990).

2. It was Chancellor William P. Tolley who started and sustained the Kipling collection with his generous gifts.

has been said that no other English author presents so large and complicated a bibliographic tangle as Kipling does, and I can well believe it. For more than forty years he was a world-famous writer of almost unparalleled popularity. He wrote at a time when the commerce of literature had become truly international, so that his work was published in a bewildering variety of English, American, and Imperial editions, not to speak of translations into an uncounted number of foreign languages. (Flora Livingston's compilation made in 1938 lists 35 different languages, including Catalonian, Esperanto, Latvian, and Yiddish, and her list makes no pretense to completeness.)<sup>3</sup> Kipling himself was shrewdly aware of the value of special editions and of limited printings, and so his work abounds in items of that kind as well. In her recent bibliographical study, Barbara Rosenberg estimates that some 6000 distinct editions of Kipling's work have already been produced.<sup>4</sup> Also to be remembered is his copious output as a young journalist in India, so much of which, both verse and prose, appeared anonymously. The effort of identifying it has been in progress for a long time and will no doubt continue for a longer time yet.

Manuscripts are a different question. Up to the time of his marriage to an American woman in 1892 Kipling was careless of his manuscripts; most of them before that date seem simply to have disappeared. His wife, however, was a jealous guardian of his work in all its forms, and she made it a rule that no manuscript of his stories and poems should ever leave the house. Everything for editor and printer was typed by a secretary. The manuscript itself was then richly bound in green leather by Maggs Brothers and carefully stored away lest profane hands acquire it and put it up for sale. Only one major manuscript seems to have escaped: the manuscript of *Captains Courageous* was given to Kipling's Vermont friend, Dr. James Conland, to whom the book is dedicated, and was later acquired by the Morgan Library in New York City, where it now is.

3. Flora V. Livingston, *Supplement to the Bibliography of the Works of Rudyard Kipling* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1938). Her *Bibliography of the Works of Rudyard Kipling* was published in 1927 (New York: Edgar H. Wells and Co.).

4. Barbara Rosenberg and Pamela White, *The Index of English Literary Manuscripts 1800-1900*, vol. 4, pt. 2 (London and New York: Mansell, 1990).



All of the others—from the *Jungle Book* of 1894 to *Debits and Credits* in 1926—were kept as I have described.

Beginning about 1925, Kipling and his wife started a series of formal presentations of his manuscripts to a carefully selected list of libraries: either they went to national institutions, such as the British Library in England, or to the National Library of Australia; or they were bestowed on institutions from which Kipling had received honorary degrees: Cambridge, Oxford, Edinburgh, St. Andrews, and McGill, for example. Each of the manuscripts was accompanied by a solemn injunction from the author: the manuscript must never be used “for purposes of collation”—and so far, none has been, though I imagine that the prohibition will not be maintained forever. Although Syracuse has no bound Kipling manuscript, it does have the page proofs, corrected by the author, for his last volume of short stories, the *Limits and Renewals* volume of 1932, for which the manuscript seems to have disappeared, so in this case Syracuse has the closest thing to the manuscript itself.

For the most part, then, the manuscripts of the stories and poems are not accessible to the builders of collections. There is, however, another form of Kipling manuscript which *is* still to be found in the marketplace: his letters. The Syracuse collection has 700 of them. Kipling was an excellent letter writer by any standard. The energy, the imagination, the vivid expressiveness that one admires in his fiction and poetry come through in his letters, so that in addition to documenting his life and work with unparalleled detail and authority, they are good reading and a real contribution to the canon of a great author’s work. The letters reveal the variety of Kipling’s experience—the many places he knew, the wide range of people with whom he was connected, and his multifarious activities.

The collection of his letters effectively begins in 1890, the year in which Kipling, only recently returned to London, suddenly became famous through the publication of *Barrack-Room Ballads* and through the discovery by the English public of the Indian work that already lay behind him—such collections as *Soldiers Three*, *In Black and White*, *The Phantom Rickshaw*, and *Wee Willie Winkie*. This unlooked-for success made Kipling one of the most hunted lions in London, and to find peace he had to take defensive mea-

tures. The first of these was to declare his allegiance to the Imperial, English-rooted side of English letters symbolized by W. E. Henley, in opposition to the French-imported aesthetic side symbolized by Oscar Wilde, just then rising into the ascendant. This measure put him out of fashion in the London salons, though it did not affect his popularity among readers. The letters to Henley from Kipling at Syracuse provide a clear record of this commitment. The second defensive measure was to get an agent, which Kipling did almost as soon as he arrived in London. The literary agent was then a new and suspicious thing: there was much arguing about what an agent did or did not do and whether what he did was worth it. Kipling, having no doubt in the matter, put his affairs in the hands of one of the very earliest agents, the firm of A. P. Watt, which is still active today. Kipling stayed with the firm to the day of his death some forty-six years later.

The years just after Kipling's return to London are meagerly documented. Syracuse's few letters to Watt are important in that they help to establish the context of the young Kipling's life and work in the London of the 1890s. Among other letters from this period there are, for example, one to the editor of the *Athenaeum*, the venerable literary weekly for which Kipling wrote a little; and another to Edmund Gosse, the well known man of letters and literary gossip, who was always on the lookout for rising young talent and who took a special interest in Kipling.

The next phase in Kipling's life began with his marriage to Caroline Balestier, of Brattleboro, Vermont, and his move to Brattleboro, where he lived from 1892 to 1896, where he built a house, and where the first two of his three children were born.<sup>5</sup> During these years he produced some of the stories of *Many Inventions*, the first and second *Jungle Books*,<sup>6</sup> many of the poems in *The Seven Seas*,

5. The house was purchased by the English Landmark Trust in 1992—almost a hundred years since Kipling built it. The furnishings that Kipling provided are no longer there, but the house is structurally unaltered. The plans of the trust have not yet been made public.

6. The fact that Kipling never saw a jungle in India and that he wrote the *Jungle Books* with four feet of snow outside his Vermont window is one of my favorite literary circumstances.

and the better part of *Captains Courageous*. The Syracuse collection includes, from these American years, Kipling's letters to Mary Mapes Dodge, the editor of *St. Nicholas* magazine, for which many of the stories in the *Jungle Books* were written. (Later, Kipling would send some of the *Just So Stories* to Mrs. Dodge for publication in *St. Nicholas*.) As evidence of his busy career, there are letters to his several publishers and editors: H. H. McClure of the McClure syndicate and magazine, the most energetic and persuasive editor of his day; to Richard Watson Gilder of the *Century Magazine*; and to Edward Bok, the Dutch-born editor of the *Ladies Home Journal*, who published some of Kipling's most interesting stories and remained a friend for life.

A few of the letters from this era remind us that Kipling was now a householder as well as a famous writer: a letter to the firm of Messrs. Smith & Winchester, for example, inquiring about a new pump for his unsatisfactory water system; or a note to his Vermont neighbor and sometime handyman, old Mr. Nourse, whom Kipling treated with great respect. In 1895 he writes: "If you have nothing else to do, can you come over tomorrow morning and take a look round at our road and help us to decide what is to be done about our garden and so on?" One of the most interesting of Kipling's correspondents from this period is represented at Syracuse, the American teacher and writer Edward Lucas White. So far as is known the two men never met, but the correspondence they began in 1893 continued until 1927 and is notable for its concentration on literary matters. I will give you just a brief sample. Kipling writes to White in 1893:

I've been scandalously neglecting my duties to follow—Euterpe, I think, but it is one anyway of the nine harlots—these few weeks past experimenting with divers metres and various rhymes. The results serve excellent well to light fires<sup>7</sup> and the work amuses one while it goes on. There's a heap in verse though apt to get out of hand—some of it—very. Do you know to the extent you ought the

7. Kipling, who wrote copiously and for pleasure at all times of his life, destroyed by far the greater part of what he produced.

poems of Donne who was Browning's great-great-grandfather? I've been reading him again for the health of my spirit and—he is no small singer. Must have been a haughty and proud stomached individual in his life—with Robert Browning's temperament for turning his mind clean upside down as it were a full bottle and letting the ideas get out as they best could. He is not very accessible—all of him—by reason of his statements which are occasionally free. There were giants in those days and it is profitable to read 'em.<sup>8</sup>

Kipling left the United States in 1896 for complicated domestic and public reasons. After his return to England he enjoyed what were perhaps the peak years of his fame, just before and after the turn of the century, years that culminated in the publication of *Kim* in 1901. In those years he was of course in touch with a wide mix of correspondents from around the world, a mix that is richly illustrated in the Syracuse collection. He was also engaged in fierce quarrels with the American publishers who had pirated his work before the days of international copyright and who still persisted in doing so. Kipling spent large sums of money and inordinate amounts of time in vain suits against the pirates, a campaign that is fully illustrated at Syracuse not only by Kipling's letters on the subject but by those of his wife, who was an active partner in the fight, to the New York lawyer who represented Kipling in the American courts.

Two correspondents figure prominently among the post-American letters in the Syracuse collection. In 1900 Kipling revisited South Africa, where he had once been briefly early in the 1890s. The moment was crucial: the Boer War had just begun, the English armies had suffered a humiliating series of defeats, and the prestige of the Empire was very much at stake. The return to South Africa was deeply exciting to Kipling. There he became acquainted with Cecil Rhodes, and Rhodes' lieutenant, Dr. Jameson, and the whole set of Gold Bugs and Rand Lords whose great material interests in South Africa had done so much to set off the war. He also came to know Lord Milner, the German-born English high commissioner

8. *Letters* 2:115.

of South Africa, whose policies had led directly to the war. Kipling at once fell under the spell of these men and of their high imperial plans for Africa; he was especially under the spell of Lord Milner. His admiring correspondence with Milner is now in the Bodleian Library, but the Syracuse collection shows another connection that grew out of Kipling's South African experience. Among the fashionable and interesting English people who had come to the Cape to be en scène during the war was Lady Edward Cecil, the daughter-in-law of Lord Salisbury, the great Tory prime minister. Lady Cecil's husband happened to be shut up in the town of Mafeking while the Boers besieged the place; meantime Lady Cecil lived at Rhodes' house outside Cape Town, while Rhodes himself was also shut up by the Boers in the besieged town of Kimberley. Lady Cecil, alone in Cape Town, had occasion to improve her acquaintance with Lord Milner, the British pro-consul. Sixteen years later, on the death of her husband, Lady Cecil married Milner and ended her days, at a good age, in 1958, as the Countess Milner.

Kipling made Lady Cecil's acquaintance in the first days of the Boer War, and so was brought into the world of high politics and aristocratic splendor to which she belonged: besides being a member of the family of Cecil, she was a part of Milner's circle; her brother edited the prominent Tory journal, the *National Review*; and she herself was a close friend of Clemenceau, the French statesman, to whom she introduced Kipling. Kipling's correspondence with Lady Cecil, running from 1902 to 1933, is now at Syracuse, and though it is as much domestic as political, it is none the less interesting for that.

The other prominent correspondent of Kipling's later years presents a side of Kipling that those who know him only remotely or superficially would not perhaps expect. In 1902 Kipling moved into a house near Burwash, Sussex. He would live there for the next thirty-four years, until his death in 1936. On the same day that Kipling moved to his new house, another gentleman moved into a house that he had just inherited in the same village of Burwash. This was a Colonel Henry Wemyss Feilden, who was born in 1838 and was therefore about the same age as Kipling's father. Feilden does not figure in any account of the important people of his time,

but he had had an eventful and varied life and he was, from all reports, a cultivated and experienced man. He had, for example, served in the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and then in China; on leaving the army, he went to South Africa, where he had property and then, on the outbreak of the American Civil War, offered his services to the South. He became one of General Lee's aides-de-camp, and he married a southerner as the Confederacy was collapsing. He was also a distinguished explorer and had taken part in the British arctic expedition of 1875-76. An ornithologist and expert hunter, he had pursued his quarry into remote and difficult places around the world.

Throughout his life Kipling sought the friendship of older men. Perhaps this was because he had been deprived of his own father's presence from the time that his parents sent him off to England to school. As a young man growing famous in London he had depended heavily on Sir Walter Besant, then the leading figure of the literary establishment in London (there is a letter to Besant at Syracuse). In his American years, he had paid eager and respectful attention to Charles Eliot Norton, the distinguished Harvard professor who was perhaps the last of the great Boston Brahmins. During many years of close acquaintance and correspondence, Kipling continued to call Norton either "Mr. Norton" or "Sir". Again in South Africa, Kipling had magnified another older man, Lord Milner, and adopted Milner's causes as his own. Now, in his late thirties, a writer of almost unrivaled world fame, a family man, a wealthy man, a man sought after on every side and praised beyond measure, Kipling enjoyed making himself the humble and admiring servant of Colonel Henry Feilden.

Kipling's letters to Feilden, now gathered at Syracuse, run from 1904 until the Colonel's death in 1921. They are open and unrestrained to a degree quite unusual in Kipling's mature correspondence, and they show Kipling in a most attractive light: eager, observant, attentive to his correspondent's interests, always seeking to please in any way he can. Kipling always addressed the Colonel ceremoniously, mostly as "Colonel Sahib", but sometimes as "Honoured One" or by some other lofty epithet. There was nothing ironic in this: the elder man's qualities and achievements were such

as Kipling genuinely delighted to honor. He consulted the Colonel on details of local politics, on points of natural history, on the manners of the past, and on anything else that might come up and for which a wise experience was needed.

In his later years, after a life of strenuous travel, the Colonel was compelled by age to remain at home. Kipling, knowing this, served as the Colonel's eyes and ears on his own frequent travels. Following are some excerpts from a letter that Kipling wrote to the Colonel from Algeria in March of 1921, the last year of Feilden's life, which will suggest the character of their correspondence. At the time Kipling himself was far from well. He was already suffering from the undiagnosed ulcer that would ultimately kill him and, in their helpless groping about for the cause of his suffering, the doctors had just had all of Kipling's teeth pulled! It was thus in pain and depression that Kipling had gone off to Algeria in search of the sun. Nothing of that, however, gets into the letters to Feilden.

He begins by thanking the Colonel for keeping an eye on the Kipling house:

Many thanks for your tour of inspection. . . . It warms me to think that you found good places along the brook for future fly work. Allah being good to us, we will have some fun along it this summer. A camp-stool, which *I* will provide, and some whiskey, which *you* will provide, shall cheer us from the Black Bridge by the Seven Acre, even unto the Brick Bridge below Dudwell.

He next describes a tour he has just made into the countryside, a description presented in a way that might interest a country man like the Colonel:

The whole littoral, below the forest, when we reached it at last, was one vast market garden, of beans, tomatoes, artichokes, onions, spinach and every early market fruit you ever heard of all grown on what seemed pure sea sand and each little bed protected by reed fences from two to four foot high. Behind the market gardens stretched solid vineyards—all exactly like the South of France, in every detail.



HOTEL ST-GEORGE

MUSTAPHA-SUPERIEUR

ALGER

March. 5. 1921.

Honoured one -

Yours of the 26th Feb come in a day or two ago, with the sad news about Bennett which grieves me a great deal, because he was really getting on and had his career made. Does it mean that his case is hopeless: or is there a chance of full recovery afterwards? It's a queer disease to get a foothold among whites: though, I am told, it is one of the many mysterious variants of cerebro-spinal meningitis.

Many thanks for your tower of inspection. C. said grumpily: - "But there ought to have been more than two fields scouted." I expect that Sands, like the bees, rejoiced in the fine weather - but, unlike them, "did no manner of work." It warms me to think that you found good places along the coast for future fly work. Allah being good to us, we will have some fun along it this summer. A camp stool, which I will provide, and some whiskey, which you will

The first two pages of a letter from Rudyard Kipling to Colonel Henry Wemyss Feilden, dated 5 March 1921. Rudyard Kipling Collection, Syracuse University Library.

provide, shall cheer us from the Black Bridge by the Seven Here, even unto the Black Bridge below Dudwell.

Did I tell you how on Tuesday, misled by the evening sun, we went a two hour motor trip to Bouzarea and Sidi-Farukh, a seaside plage where the French landed in 1830.<sup>2</sup> The wind was like an assortment of lancets, and C. went down with laryngitis on her return. She is better now, but not yet recovered. It is a Hell's own climate in respect of sun and cold together. The Sun lures you out and the cold lays you out. Our road lay at 1200 feet for some miles through a well kept, well cut, cedar forest, on the shoulders of hills that dipped sheer, it seemed, to the sea. Thus:-



There was no guard on the precipice side of a drop of anything you please; the turns here were short and sharp and the car's bonnet seemed to poke out into space for the most part but it was a most glorious drive - que drive.

He then defers to the Colonel's superior experience:

You know better than I how geologically and botanically Europe runs on up to the Sahara. I was not prepared for the extreme Mediterraneanism of the fringe of coast. The

olives and the vines make the likeness, together with the rich vineyard earth. . . . The local colonist (generally a South of France man) is a darker and hairier person, so it seems to me, than his pure French brother. He has the same low birthrate as the Frenchman: and, when he can he gets the Spaniard or the Italian to work for him. The Arab does not love work.

Then Kipling turns to the city:

The ex-mayor of Algiers took me round the native city on Wednesday. It is all built in steps, like Clovelly. No street is more than eight feet wide and the houses all but meet overhead. For beauty of color, mystery, darkness, blazing white minars and gaily tiled mosque fronts it was indescribable. I rejoiced in every minute of it but was dead-tired afterwards. All the same I am picking up and have much less pain every day. [We know that was not true: he was in much pain throughout the Algiers visit.] I only wish I had *your* physique. Apropos of that, St. Saens the musician dines at the next table to me. I know now why he does not carry himself as well as you. *If* he ate all his life as he eats now he is a miracle. I never saw such dejeunerers as he puts down. *Per contra* he walks with difficulty.

The letter then quietly concludes:

It has come on to rain—a soft warm rain with promise of more behind it. Damn these “blue sky” countries anyhow! A hot wind comes off the Sahara and condenses moisture. It’s all good for the crops but bad for the tourist. We all send you our love and I am

Ever affectionately,  
Rudyard Kipling.

In a note accompanying Kipling’s letters written to him on this trip, Colonel Feilden himself has set down the following statement:

These are a series of charming letters, written to me during the months of February, March and April 1921 by that most

kind and sympathetic of men, Rudyard Kipling, from Algiers and the south of France. He knew I was ill and depressed, and has done his *best* to cheer me up. That is saying a great deal.

I agree with the Colonel: that *is* saying a great deal.

# Fore-edge Paintings at Syracuse University

BY JEFF WEBER

MANY PEOPLE, EVEN BOOK collectors, have never seen or heard of fore-edge paintings,<sup>1</sup> though such paintings have embellished books for more than four centuries. The art form originated in sixteenth-century Italy. Fore-edge paintings appeared in England during the mid-seventeenth-century and were produced for about forty years (1651–ca. 1690). They reappeared in 1785 with the firm of Edwards of Halifax. Since then, many thousands of books have received fore-edge paintings and, contrary to popular opinion, the great majority of them are products of the twentieth century. Indeed, probably ninety percent of fore-edges available for sale today were painted during the last ten years. An old look to an edge painting does not necessarily indicate its age.

The present article, after some discussion of fore-edge painting history, will feature a recent major gift to the Syracuse University Library from Dr. David L. Poushter and his wife, Phyllis Freeman Poushter. The Poushter collection adds to the small group of examples previously acquired by Syracuse University. My research interests in the history of fore-edge painting center on the important issues of date, artist identification or classification, and provenance.

The only substantial monograph on fore-edge painting was written by Professor Carl J. Weber, my paternal grandfather. His

Jeff Weber is owner of Jeff Weber Rare Books, Glendale, California. The firm specializes in rare books in the history of science and medicine, as well as fore-edge paintings and bibliography.

1. Fore-edge paintings (sometimes called *fore-edges* or *edge paintings*) are water-color scenes painted by hand onto the fanned fore-edge of a book—the side of the book opposite the spine. Occasionally both the top and bottom edges of these books are painted—these are called triple edges. If a book has been fanned both to the front and back and painted on all sides, it would be said to have a six-way fore-edge painting. All three edges of fore-edge painted books are usually gilded.

book, entitled *A Thousand and One Fore-edge Paintings*, was published in 1949 by the Colby College Press in an edition of 1000 copies. Beautifully designed and printed by Fred Anthoensen of the Southworth-Anthoensen Press in Portland, Maine, the book features the Estelle Doheny collection of fore-edge paintings and a list of 1001 examples from the most notable collections in America. Mrs. Doheny's collection (now dispersed) was widely regarded as the most important and largest fore-edge collection ever assembled. A second edition, entitled *Fore-edge Paintings: A Historical Survey of a Curious Art*, was issued in 1966. The publisher, Zola Harvey, was himself a fore-edge collector; he had a special interest in the new edition since it both describes and illustrates his own collection. Other than these two books, there is little to be found on the topic of fore-edge paintings beyond a number of newspaper and journal articles, brief treatments in English bookbinding histories, and bookseller or auction catalogues offering occasional examples for sale.

Although Professor Weber's book offers the best source for a traditional history on fore-edge paintings, one must reach beyond his book to achieve a better understanding of the history. The most solid work has been done by English bookbinding historians, including Howard Nixon, the former curator of the Westminster Library, and Mirjam Foot, a bookbinding historian of the British Library. These scholars have closely studied specific binding tools, materials, and designs. Their efforts have resulted in a number of important resources for bookbinding description and history, which occasionally deal with edge paintings.

My own qualifications for discussing the subject include my extensive studies of the history of fore-edge painting, especially in England and the United States. I have catalogued and collected the records of over 20,000 examples, personally examining numerous collections in the process. I have documented the complete history of the artist Vera Dutter, as well as written and lectured on the general topic of fore-edge painting. Further, I have also written and published four bookseller's catalogues devoted exclusively to this art form.

It is important to note that bookbinding scholars have dealt only

with early fore-edge paintings done by certain binders—not with paintings added to books after their binding. However, bookbinders have tended not to paint on the fore-edges of their own books, the most famous and important exception being Edwards of Halifax. Other notable binders who made fore-edges include Faza-kerley of Liverpool, Rivière (for Henry Sotheran, London), Zahnsdorf, and possibly Taylor & Hessey. Typically, fore-edge artists work independently of binders. Most edge paintings are unsigned and virtually none were done by artists with published biographies. Unsigned and undated, these works offer little evidence to clarify their own past and, despite the existence of many thousand fore-edge paintings, little is known about the people who made them.

The history of the art is also shrouded in the mysteries of the antiquarian book trade, a factor that Professor Weber's book fails to stress. Booksellers keep a number of crucial facts secret, such as the names of clients, sources of supply (books, binders, even fore-edge artists), costs of merchandise, and profit margins. Dealers decide what to buy based on what sells and what is available to them. During the nineteenth century, many gift books and literary works were bound in leather. These books, some of which had fallen out of fashion, entered the secondhand trade in great numbers. I would submit that the nineteenth-century proliferation of leather bindings resulted in a glut on the market by the early twentieth century. This excess of old leather bindings allowed English dealers to supply an increasing demand by American consumers for fore-edge paintings.

Today it is less easy to find old books that are leather bound with gilded edges, especially those with the kind of rag paper that a fore-edge artist would prefer. Machine-made and thick rag papers are difficult both to fan and to paint. (The very resourceful Martin Frost is one artist who has learned to gild the edges of old books that previously lacked any gilt edges.)

Among the twelve fore-edge paintings that were in the Syracuse University Library before the Poushter gift is a nicely bound set of Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*, published in London in 1812. The two-volume set was from the C. H. St. John Hornby li-



brary and still shows his bookplate. Hornby was the famous master printer at the Ashdene Press. The Tasso, most likely painted after Hornby sold his library, now bears two fine fore-edge paintings of High Street in Whitechapel and the Bank of England.

In addition, Syracuse University already had a copy of the *The Book of Ballads* by “Bon Gaultier”, with illustrations by Doyle, Leech and Crowquill (see plate 1). “Bon Gaultier” is a pseudonym for Theodore Martin and W. E. Aytoun, who were jointly responsible for this book. Published in Edinburgh and London, the book went through many editions. The University’s copy, published in 1877, received a fore-edge painting circa 1930 by an unnamed artist who frequently painted scenes of the white cliffs and harbor of Dover. For this reason I call the artist the “Dover painter”. About 300 examples of the Dover painter’s work found their way to the Estelle Doheny Library from Dawson’s Book Shop, and J. W. Robinson’s Company, Los Angeles. Whereas all of the Dover painter examples in the Doheny Library were single paintings, the Syracuse double fore-edge painting is the first double by this artist that I have seen. My own research indicates that double fore-edges were first painted at some point between 1910 and 1925. The Dover painter was active just after 1927, a fact that supports the theory that double paintings date from this century and not earlier. This artist filled every “canvas” of fanned paper with accurately detailed buildings or landscapes extending from the top of the edge to the bottom. I have enjoyed every example of the Dover artist’s work and prize each one for its fine quality.

The recent gift of the Poushters to Syracuse University made the Library’s collection of fore-edge paintings one of the most notable in the United States.<sup>2</sup> The gift added 87 titles, including some multi-volume works, or a total of 132 volumes containing 176

2. A complete list of the fore-edge painted books in Syracuse University’s collection follows this article. Among the other collections of fore-edge paintings in the eastern United States, one might visit the Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, the University of Virginia, Loyola-Notre Dame Library in Baltimore, and the Margaret Woodbury Strong Museum in Rochester. In the West, visits to Stanford University, the Huntington Library, and the University of Colorado would be rewarding.

paintings. Forty-four volumes have double fore-edge paintings. Normally less than ten percent of all fore-edge paintings are doubles. The reason for the high number in the Poushters' collection is that they acquired many pieces by the same artist: the "Thistle painter", as I call the artist, who produced about four doubles for every one single.<sup>3</sup>

The Thistle painter's work, typified by minute detail, great beauty, and originality of design, is of superb quality (see plates 2 and 3). It can be identified by several features: a unique method of labeling the scenes, using the wording "foredge", "1st side", and "reverse", and the word "surround" to designate ornate borders, a frequent feature. The name "Thistle painter" is apt for this artist, whose unique borders often include thistle flowers, sycamore, oak leaves and acorns, laburnum, dog roses, foxgloves, strawberries, and even the London Arms. These works are datable to the period 1950 to 1956. Such dating is accomplished by tracking the appearance of examples of a specific artist's work on the market, recording their dates, and noting the first year of their appearance. I have observed that nearly every sale of the Thistle painter's work came from Inman's Book Shop in New York City. A few pieces found their way to the Doheny collection, but not before 1954.

The earliest and most important fore-edge painting in the Poushter collection is on Samuel Johnson's *The History of Rasselas* (London, 1801), (see plate 4) which was painted and bound in the original Etruscan calf by Edwards of Halifax. This piece is significant as an example of fore-edge painting during the neo-classic period of 1785 to 1800, a period that experienced the revival of fore-edge painting in England, beginning with Edwards of Halifax. The view, typical of Edwards, represents an English manor estate,

3. The following books in Syracuse University's fore-edge painting collection contain examples of the Thistle painter's work: *The Book of Common Prayer* (1794) [see Church of England]; *The Book of Common Prayer* (1796) [see Church of England]; Bullock's *A Companion to the London Museum* (1813); Byron's *Life* (1838); Hemans' *The Forest Sanctuary* (1829); Junius' *Stat Nominus Umbra* (1797-99); Milton's *Paradise Regained* (1817); Milton's *The Poetical Works* (1826); Raphael's *The Familiar Astrologer* (1837) [see Smith, Robert Cross]; Scott's, *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1809); Scott's *The Lord of the Isles* (1815); Southey's *Madoc* (1815).

not unlike the one depicted in the frontispiece of Carl J. Weber's *A Thousand and One Fore-edge Paintings* (1949). This well-preserved book even has the very rare, flexible paper slipcase that was issued with the book.

One of the strengths of the Poushter collection is an assortment of signed or initialed fore-edge paintings that identify the bindery or artist responsible for the work. However, a name by itself tells us little about the artist or the work. That is why the identification or grouping of an artist's work is important as a basis for developing a proper history of fore-edge painting. The first artist actually to sign his work was John T. Beer (fl. ca. 1890), who painted on books from his own library. He also had his own bookplate, which makes it possible to identify books from his library. Beer is described as an amateur because he did not sell his work. Nevertheless his paintings are full of detail; the scenes he painted are unique and differ from the landscape views other artists have copied repeatedly. It is not until the twentieth century that we find more artists signing their work. Claire Wain, a name I came across recently, is an artist who had her name—as well as the date “1928”—stamped on a binding by Zaehnsdorf. Wain is not important for the quantity of her paintings, but for the fact that she (along with another artist described below) was among the first to leave her identifying mark on a fore-edge painting.

A far more important artist is Miss C. B. Currie. The Poushters acquired two fore-edge paintings signed by this artist. She was the first to sign and—what is more unique—to number her paintings. Collectors associate her name not only with fore-edge paintings, but with another form of book embellishment: her extraordinary Cosway-style ivory paintings, which were mounted on the covers of beautifully bound volumes. For both forms of miniature painting, she worked with the Rivière Bindery on special commission from the renowned booksellers Henry Sotheran in London; every example of her work is found on books bound by Rivière and stamped with Sotheran's name as well. The arrangement between bookseller, binder, and artist is unclear and most likely will remain so, because Sotheran's files were destroyed during the Second World War.

Unlike the products of most fore-edge artists, Miss Currie's works can be dated, based on publication dates of the dealer catalogues in which the pieces are listed. Sotheran's sale catalogues feature her work, and they no doubt published each piece soon after its completion. The earliest Cosway bindings mentioning Miss Currie are dated 1911. Her name appears in Sotheran's catalogue 727, item 155 (1912). By 1930 Sotheran had commissioned 900 examples of Cosway bindings (catalogue 821), but production slackened thereafter and ceased with Miss Currie's death (ca. 1940?). According to Howard Nixon, her earliest fore-edge painting dates from 1923 (Sotheran catalogue 788). However, I note that Anderson Gallery auction catalogue 1019, item 44 (19–20 February 1914), describes a Miss Currie fore-edge painting as number 11 of her fore-edge painted books. Numbers 71 to 81 date from 1926. The highest-numbered specimen recorded in a Sotheran catalogue is 164, in Galsworthy's *The Forsyte Saga* (1929), catalogue 824, item 257 (1931). Howard Nixon states that Miss Currie painted nearly 200 fore-edges. And yet, with all this information, we still have no substantial biographical data on this accomplished artist.

In the Syracuse collection is Maria Webb's *The Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century* (1867), which is number 95 of Miss Currie's books with fore-edge paintings and dates from 1926. The book is cited in Sotheran's catalogue 93, item 621 (1926). Sotheran's item 620 was another copy of the same book with a similar painting; another (a third copy?) citation for this title with a Currie painting dates from a Stan Henkels (auctioneer, Philadelphia) sale catalogue 1417, item 329 from 26 June to 28 July 1928. So, there are at least two copies of this book, and perhaps more, that have a fore-edge painting by Miss Currie, but all are datable to 1926 or thereabouts. Another book at Syracuse that is painted by Miss Currie is Clement Shorter's *Highways and Byways in Buckinghamshire* (London, 1910) (see plate 5). The piece is labeled "Stoke Place", and is number 77 of Miss Currie's fore-edge paintings.

Among the other signed fore-edges from the Poushters are: Aguilar's *The Vale of Cedars* (1856), signed with the monogram "MP", and Milton's *The Poetical Works* (1853), signed "mf", which is the monogram of Martin Frost, a young and very talented fore-

edge painter living near Bristol, England. A prolific artist, he dominates the market of choice, new, fore-edge paintings. His colleague Don Noble, who does not sign his work, was also prolific, but I believe no longer produces the large number of fore-edges he made in the last fifteen or twenty years. Noble seems to have been responsible for *New Week's Preparation* (1818–19), Pollock's *The Course of Time* (1841), and Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1859) with its unusual and appealing fore-edge painting of golfing in Scotland. Noble's work is identifiable by his frequent use of bright colors, especially yellows and oranges. He also sometimes paints a simple colored border around his scenes. Scott's *The Abbot* (1822) is signed "PP", but I do not know anything about this artist.

Thomson's *The Seasons* (1842) and Virgil's *Bucolica* (1800) were painted by one unknown but highly prolific artist who worked from about 1948 to 1956. The work is typified by quickly painted scenes showing no detail, and lots of dark colors and greens. This artist is the same one who painted in the late 1940s, initialing his paintings "JE" to suggest the work had been done by James Edward, thus fraudulently representing the paintings as being worth a great deal more than they were.<sup>4</sup> Edwards' artists never signed their names to any book. One last group of paintings belongs together: the 1830 *Bible*, Kelly's *Memoirs and Wonderful Achievements of Wellington* (1852), Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* (1856) (a double fore-edge), Rogers' *Poems* (1834), and Scott's *Poetical Works* (1866). The edge paintings on these five books are stylistically the same, which suggests to me that they were all done by the same person.

Of binders who may have made fore-edge paintings in their shops, one can study names other than Edwards of Halifax. The Syracuse University Library owns a couple of signed bindings, one by Gosden, on a copy of Walton's *The Compleat Angler* (1810) (see plate 6), and the other a Taylor & Hessey binding on Campbell's *The Pleasures of Hope* (1815). These books may have received fore-edge paintings later, although both Gosden and Taylor & Hessey were among the few binders who did paint their books. The Liver-

4. Jeff Weber Rare Books catalogues refer to this artist as "Stevens".

pool firm of Fazakerley, whose bindings all date from the second half of the nineteenth century, also signed their work, and they certainly did paint fore-edges. Their paintings are very unusual and beautiful. A typical decoration is a triptych of landscape vignettes painted on the closed edge of the book, the gilt edges heavily blind stamped with a pattern of vines. The Syracuse University Library does not presently have an example of a Fazakerley fore-edge painting.

The origins and development of fore-edge painting remain obscure. Unsigned and undated, the paintings, although an important part of book history, are often overlooked by qualified historians. However, I have suggested that there are systematic methods available to judge issues of date, identification, and provenance. Histories of particular binders, artists, and paintings can be developed. Of course, access to significant fore-edge painting collections helps make such research possible. The Poushter gift to the Syracuse University Library has lifted this fore-edge collection to the upper ranks of institutional collections. For those who want to examine a fine selection of quality pieces, a visit to Syracuse would be well worthwhile.



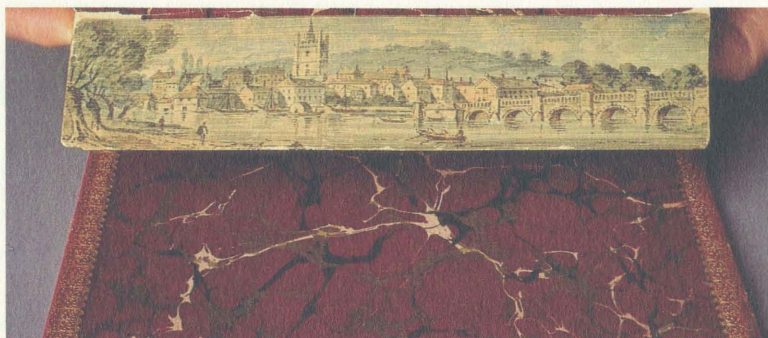


Plate 1. View of Henley-on-Thames on *The Book of Ballads*, by “Bon Gaultier” (pseudonym for Theodore Martin and William Edmondstoune Aytoun). All fore-edge paintings shown here are from the Syracuse University Library.

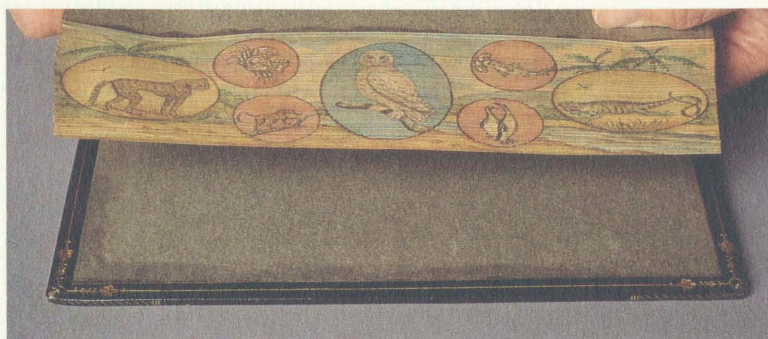


Plate 2. Various animals, painted by the “Thistle painter”, on *A Companion to the London Museum*, by William Bullock.



Plate 3. View of Scotland Yard, painted by the “Thistle painter”, on volume six of *The Poetical Works* (1826), by Milton.





Plate 4. Landscape with manor house, on *The History of Rasselas*, by Samuel Johnson.

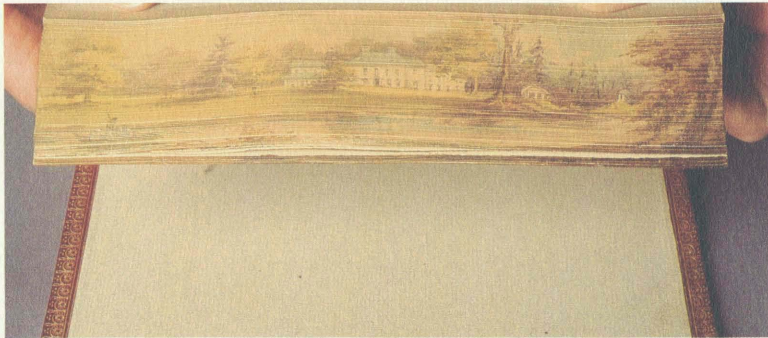


Plate 5. View of Stoke Place, painted by Miss C. B. Currie, on *Highways and Byways in Buckinghamshire*, by Clement Shorter.

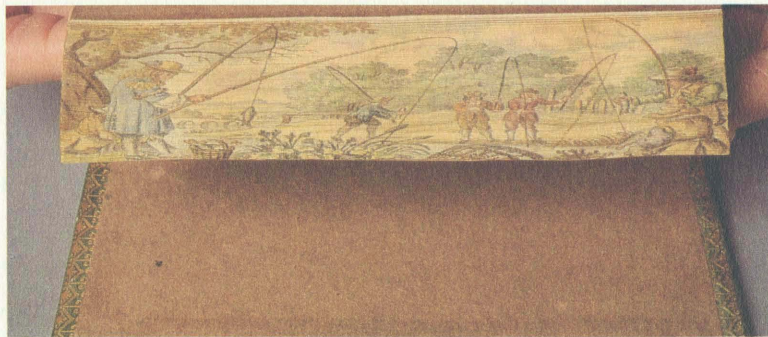


Plate 6. Angling scene, on *The Compleat Angler*, by Izaak Walton.



## The Syracuse University Library Fore-edge Painting Collection\*

Aguilar, Grace. *The Vale of Cedars; or The Martyr* . . . 5th ed., ill. London: Groombridge, 1856.

Binding: red morocco, gilt, by Hayday.

Provenance: Geoffrey de Nevers; Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting: landscape signed "MP".

Anacreon. *The Works of Anacreon, Sappho, and Musæus*. London: Whittingham, 1810. Bound with vol. 1 of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (London: Stanhope Press, 1812).

Binding: red straight-grain morocco, gilt, with spine title: *British Poets and Translations*.

Provenance: Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting: Wood End, Yorkshire.

Aytoun, William Edmondstone. *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers and Other Poems*. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1881.

Binding: red morocco, gilt borders, royal crown and rampant lion on upper corner.

Provenance: Agnes Jordan Crewse; Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting: Holyrood Palace, Edinburgh, showing Arthur's Seat and Salisbury Crags.

Bacon, Francis. *The Essays or Counsels Civil and Moral and Wisdom of the Ancients* . . . London: Pickering, 1836.

Binding: vellum, with views of Oldbury Park, Surrey, and Beddington Park, Surrey, under transparent vellum in the style of Edwards of Halifax, gilt, by Hering.

Provenance: Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting: Ham House, Surrey.

Beckford, Peter. *Thoughts on Hunting in a Series of Familiar Letters to a Friend*. London: Sherwood, Neely, and Jones [ca. 1820].

\*This list, initially prepared by Jeff Weber for use by Syracuse University Library staff, has been adapted by Mark Weimer for the convenient reference of library researchers. The scenes depicted in the fore-edge paintings are rarely identified in the volumes themselves, and identification made by former owners or book-sellers is often vague or inaccurate. Every effort has been made to verify whatever information has been given.

Binding: navy blue morocco, gilt.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Double fore-edge painting: hunting scenes.

*Bible* . . . 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1817.

Binding: maroon straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
Provenance: E. R. Marker; Thomas Pitt; Wilhelmina Pitt; Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge paintings: (v. 1) Cheapside; (v. 2) St. Paul's from Chelsea; (v. 3) Westminster Bridge; (v. 4) Charing Cross; (v. 5) Old London Bridge after Dodd.

*Bible* . . . Cambridge: Smith, 1825.

Binding: red straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
Provenance: W. Leak; Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: Salisbury.

*Bible* . . . 3 vols. Cambridge: University Press, 1830.

Binding: red morocco, gilt.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge paintings: churches: (v. 1) Bristol; (v. 2) Henley; (v. 3) Maidstone.

Blair, Robert. *The Grave*. Chiswick: Whittingham, 1823. Bound with Shaw's *The Poetical Works* . . . (London: Stanhope Press, 1807).

Binding: red straight-grain morocco, gilt, with spine title: *British Poets and Translations*.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: Edinburgh.

*The Book of British Ballads*. London: Bohn, 1853.

Binding: green morocco, gilt.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: Windsor Castle.

*The Book of Gems: the Modern Poets and Artists of Great Britain*. London: Bohn, 1853.

Binding: green morocco, gilt.  
Provenance: William H. C. Hamilton; Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: Windsor Castle.

*The Book of Gems: the Poets and Artists of Great Britain*. 2 vols. London and Paris: Fisher, 1844. Library holds vol. 2 only.

Binding: red morocco, gilt.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: Tower of London and the Thames.

- Bullock, William. *A Companion to the London Museum and Pantherion* . . . 15th ed. London: Whittingham and Rowland, 1813.  
 Binding: navy blue straight-grain, blind stamped, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter"): (a) hunting leopard/crab/pigmy lemur/great snowy owl/hammer headed shark/Patagonian penguins/American iguana; (b) Bullocks Museum, Piccadilly, London.
- Byron, George Gordon. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. London: Murray, 1841.  
 Binding: dark green morocco, gilt, by Skeffington.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Newstead Abbey.
- Byron, George Gordon. *Life, Letters, and Journals* . . . London: Murray, 1838.  
 Binding: red morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter"): (a) scenes from "Manfred", and "Bride of Abydos"/Venice/Aberdeen; (b) scenes from "Thyrza" and "Don Juan"/Corinth/Isola Bella, Lago Maggiore.
- Byron, George Gordon. *The Poetical Works*. Edinburgh: Gall & Inglis [1857].  
 Binding: pebble-grain morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: John S. Mayfield; Syracuse University Library.  
 Fore-edge painting (ca. 1950?): Newstead Abbey.
- Campbell, Thomas. *The Pleasures of Hope, with Other Poems*. London: Longmans, 1815.  
 Binding: dark green straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt, by Taylor and Hessey.  
 Provenance: Miss Babson; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: pastoral scene with thatched cottage.
- Cats, Jacob. *Moral Emblems, with Aphorisms, Adages and Proverbs, of All Ages and Nations* . . . London: Longmans, 1860.  
 Binding: brown morocco, blind stamped in dark brown, by Hayday.  
 Provenance: J. J. F.; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Tower of London from Thames.
- Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de. *The Life and Exploits of the Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote de la Mancha* . . . 4 vols. London: Miller, 1801.

- Binding: maroon straight-grain morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge paintings: (v. 1) Don Quixote's birthplace at Valladolid/Don Quixote; (v. 2) The Alcanza/Lope De Vega/Bridge at Salamanca; (v. 3) Naples/Don John of Austria/Mosque of Sidi-El-Raman; (v. 4) Philip II/statue of Don Quixote and Sancho in Madrid.
- Christian Keepsake and Missionary Annual . . . 1837.* London, Paris, and America: Fisher, 1837.  
 Binding: tan morocco.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: hunting scene.
- Church of England. *The Book Of Common Prayer . . . 2 vols in 1.* London: Ritchie, 1794.  
 Binding: red straight-grain morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter", ca. 1950): The adoration of the shepherds, after Louis Le Nain (French School 1593-1648).
- Church of England. *The Book of Common Prayer.* Cambridge: Burges, 1796.  
 Binding: red straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter", ca. 1950): The adoration of the shepherds, after Gerard van Honthorst.
- Church of England. *The Book of Common Prayer.* Stereotype ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1815.  
 Binding: navy blue morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Oxford.
- Coleridge, Samuel Taylor. *The Poetical and Dramatic Works.* New ed. London: Daly, [n.d.].  
 Binding: dark brown, blind stamped morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Highgate, London.
- Cottin, Marie (Risteau), called Sophie. *Elisabeth; ou Les Exilés en Sibérie.* Paris: Janet et Cotelle, 1823.  
 Binding: dark green straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt, by Klinkert.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Pont Neuf, Paris.

- Cowper, William. *Poems*. New ed. 2 vols. London: Johnson, 1799.  
 Binding: navy straight-grain morocco.  
 Provenance: Juliana Caroline Jacke; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge paintings: (v. 1) Weston Lodge; (v. 2) Olney Bridge.
- Cowper, William. *Poems*. 2 vols. London: Lewis, 1820.  
 Binding: deep green straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge paintings (by the “Thistle painter”): (v. 1a) Ramsgate Marine Parade (v. 1b) Old Westminster Bridge; (v. 2a) Yarmouth, Norfolk; (v. 2b) The first steeple chase on record, after Sidney Cooper.
- Cowper, William. *The Poetical Works*. New ed. London: Tegg, 1850.  
 Binding: maroon morocco, gilt, with binder’s label: Calder.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Vertical fore-edge painting: Magdalen College, Oxford.
- Dante, Alighieri. *La Divina Commedia*. Florence: Barbèra [1860].  
 Binding: vellum, gilt, all edges gaufered, by Mudie.  
 Provenance: S. E. Stevens; Howard Nixon; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: unidentified city view from river.
- Davidson, Samuel. *The Ecclesiastical Polity of the New Testament Unfolded* . . . 2d ed. London: Jackson and Walford, 1854.  
 Binding: black morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting (ca. 1945–50): (a) Vera Cruz; (b) Havana Harbor.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus. *De structura orationis* . . . London: Knaplock, 1728.  
 Binding: red straight-grain morocco, by C. Hering.  
 Provenance: G. Hawtayne; Henry Drury; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Blackfriar’s Bridge and St. Paul’s.
- Eliot, George. *Works*. Warwick ed. Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1907–12. Library holds: (vol. 1) *Adam Bede*; (vol. 4) *Romola*; (vol. 5) *Scenes from Clerical Life*; (vol. 6) *Silas Marner*.  
 Binding: blue flexible-leather.  
 Provenance: Susie E. Reid; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge paintings: (v. 1) Hereford Cathedral; (v. 4) Worcester Cathedral; (v. 5) Herstmonceux Castle, Sussex; (v. 6) Brighton Pavilion.
- Eucharistica: Meditations and Prayers on the Most Holy Eucharist* . . . London: Suttaby; Oxford: Parker, 1856.

- Binding: brown pebble-grain morocco.  
 Provenance: A. E. W. Mayer; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: "Barque 'C J. Borgstede'". (See also fore-edge painting on Falconer's *The Shipwreck* by the same artist.)
- Evelyn, John. *The Life of Margaret Godolphin*. London: Moring, 1904.  
 Binding: red morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Marylebone, London.
- Falconer, William. *The Shipwreck, a Poem*. New ed. London: Miller, 1811.  
 Binding: maroon morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
 Provenance: John E. Parr; E. H. Viech; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: sailing vessel. (See also fore-edge painting on *Eucharistica* by the same artist.)
- Farrar, Frederic William. *The Life of Christ*. 28th ed. 2 vols. London, Paris, and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin [1874?].  
 Binding: light maroon, diced calf, gilt, by J. C. Wilbee, Harrow.  
 Provenance: Henry E. Caldecott; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge paintings (ca. 1965): (v. 1) children playing with a top; (v. 2) children playing marbles.
- Goldsmith, Oliver. *The Poetical and Prose Works . . .* London and Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, [n.d.].  
 Binding: red morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: "Mr. Burchall rescuing Sophia Primrose from 'Vicar of Wakefield' chapter 3, p. 206".
- Hemans, Felicia Dorothea Browne. *The Forest Sanctuary: with Other Poems*. 2d ed., with additions. Edinburgh: Blackwood; London: Cadell, 1829.  
 Binding: green straight-grain morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter", ca. 1950): (a) Felicia Dorothea Hemans with view of Lord Street, Liverpool with St. George's Church in the distance; (b) William Wordsworth/Great Rydal Lake, Westmoreland.
- Ingoldsby, Thomas. *The Ingoldsby Legends . . .* London: Bentley, 1864.  
 Binding: dark green morocco, gilt.

Provenance: Gerald Smith; Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting (signed "M. A."): witches' frolic.

Johnson, Samuel. *The History of Rasselas . . .* London: Whittingham, 1801.

Binding: Etruscan calf, by Edwards of Halifax.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: landscape with manor house.

Johnson, Samuel. *Works*. 13 vols. London: Buckland [and others] 1787.

Binding: red straight-grain morocco.  
Provenance: Mary Harcourt; Poushter Collection.  
Double fore-edge paintings: (v. 1a) Samuel Johnson and view of Lombard Street; (v. 1b) Oliver Goldsmith/Rockingham, Ireland; (v. 2a) John Dryden/Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire; (v. 2b) Edmund Waller/Eton College Chapel; (v. 3a) Richard Savage/Bristol; (v. 3b) John Gay/Plympton, Devonshire; (v. 4a) James Thomson/Edinburgh; (v. 4b) Sir Francis Drake/Brixham, Devon; (v. 5a) Bust of Homer/Parthenon; (v. 5b) Horace/Rome; (v. 6a) John Milton/Venice; (v. 6b) John Dryden/Great Fire of London, 1666; (v. 7a) Abraham Cowley/Kew Bridge, Surrey; (v. 7b) Joseph Addison/Bradford, Wiltshire; (v. 8a) Thomas Akenside/Newcastle-upon-Tyne; (v. 8b) Thomas Gray/Tower of London; (v. 9a) The Earl of Chesterfield/St. Paul's Cathedral; (v. 9b) Shakespeare/Compton Verney, Warwickshire; (v. 10a) James Boswell/St. Andrews; (v. 10b) Hector Boece/Aberdeen; (v. 11a) David Garrick/New Drury Lane Theater; (v. 11b) William Hogarth/Chiswick; (v. 12a) Sir Robert Walpole/St. James's Street; (v. 12b) Sir John Barnard/Whitehall; (v. 13a) The Duke of Bedford/Woburn Abbey; (v. 13b) The Duke of Newcastle/Margaret St., Westminster.

Junius. *Stat Nominus Umbra*. 2 vols. London: Bensley, 1797-99.

Binding: navy blue straight-grain morocco, gilt.  
Provenance: Alfred Goodman; Poushter Collection.  
Double fore-edge paintings (by the "Thistle painter"): (v. 1a) The Earl of Chatham and view of London from Greenwich; (v. 1b) Lord Bute/Isle of Arran; (v. 2a) The Duke of Bedford/Woburn Abbey; (v. 2b) The Rt. Honorable Edmund Burke/Limerick, Ireland.

Kelly, Christopher. *Memoirs and Wonderful Achievements of Wellington . . .* London: Kelly, 1852.

Binding: black calf, upper and lower covers diced.  
Provenance: T. E. H. Davis; Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: Dangan Castle, birthplace of Wellington.

- Lacy, Edmund. *Liber Pontificalis*. Exeter: Roberts, 1847.  
 Binding: navy blue morocco, gilt by Clarke & Bedford.  
 Provenance: Charles W. G. Howard; Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting: (a) Natter Bridge, Cornwall; (b) Dartmouth Castle, Devon.
- Lays of the Holy Land From Ancient and Modern Times*. London: Nisbet, [n.d.].  
 Binding: violet morocco, stamped in gilt and black, by Seton and Mackenzie.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: walled city scene in Mid-East.
- Lockhart, John Gibson. *Ancient Spanish Ballads* . . . New ed., rev. London: Murray, 1856.  
 Binding: elaborately tooled, dark brown morocco, stamped in gilt and black, onlay of reddish-brown morocco on cover centers.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting: (a) dancing scene in Granada; (b) Granada Moorish Gate.
- Lucretius. *De rerum natura* . . . Birmingham: Baskerville, 1772.  
 Binding: red morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Henry Raikes; George L. Lincoln; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Audley End.
- Lucretius. *De rerum natura* . . . New ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1807.  
 Binding: dark blue straight-grain morocco, gilt, by T. Ingaltou.  
 Provenance: A. Herbert; Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting: (a) pair of setters; (b) hunting scene.
- Martin, Theodore and William Edmondstoune Aytoun (Bon Gaultier, joint pseud.) *The Book of Ballads*. 13th ed. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1877.  
 Binding: red morocco with blue inlays, gilt.  
 Provenance: Syracuse University Library.  
 Double fore-edge painting (by the "Dover painter", ca. 1930): (a) Henley-on-Thames; (b) Abingdon.
- Milman, Henry Hart. *The Fall of Jerusalem, a Dramatic Poem*. New ed. London: Murray, 1820.  
 Binding: maroon straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Jerusalem.



Milton, John. *Paradise Lost* . . . London: Pickering, 1873.

Binding: maroon calf, upper and lower covers diced.

Provenance: J. A. Hardcastle; Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting: Windsor Castle.

Milton, John. *Paradise Regained* . . . London: Sharpe, 1817.

Binding: black calf, by W. Bailey.

Provenance: William Howitt; Poushter Collection.

Double Fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter"): (a) John Milton/cottage at Chalfont St. Giles; (b) Andrew Marvell/Hull.

Milton, John. *The Poetical Works*. 6 vols. London: Rivington, 1826.

Binding: red straight-grain morocco.

Provenance: Poushter Collection.

Double fore-edge paintings (by the "Thistle painter"): (v. 1a) Cheapside, London; (v. 1b) Old St. Paul's School and Christchurch, Cambridge; (v. 2a) Harefield Place; (v. 2b) Paris; (v. 3a) Bridge and Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome; (v. 3b) Florence; (v. 4a) Santa Lucia, Naples; (v. 4b) Santa Maria della Salute, Venice; (v. 5a) Geneva; (v. 5b) Westgate, Canterbury; (v. 6a) Scotland Yard, ca. 1720; (v. 6b) St. James Park, ca. 1680.

Milton, John. *The Poetical Works*. London and Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, [n.d.].

Binding: brown morocco, gilt.

Provenance: Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting (ca. 1965): horse-drawn coach with title "A fine turn out".

Milton, John. *The Poetical Works*. New ed. London: Tegg, 1853.

Binding: Trinity College Dublin prize binding in navy blue morocco, blind stamped, gilt.

Provenance: William Edward O'Brien; Poushter Collection.

Vertical fore-edge painting (signed "mf" for Martin Frost): John Milton.

Moore, Thomas. *Irish Melodies*. London: Longmans, 1850.

Binding: red morocco, blind stamped, gilt.

Provenance: M. A. Filleul; Poushter Collection.

Double fore-edge painting: (a) New College of Physicians; (b) Royal College of Surgeons.

Moore, Thomas. *Songs, Ballads, and Sacred Songs*. London: Longmans, 1852.

Binding: green morocco, gilt.

- Provenance: H. Slater; Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: Bantry Bay.
- Neale, Erskine. *The Old Minor Canon; or A Life Struggle* . . . London: Low, 1854.  
Binding: black embossed morocco.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: village scene with arched stone bridge and mill.
- New Week's Preparation for a Worthy Receiving of the Lord's Supper* . . . 2 vols. in 1. London: Bent, 1818–19.  
Binding: red straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Double fore-edge painting (possibly by Don Noble): (a) Chelmsford Church, Essex; (b) Thaxted Church, Essex.
- Ovid. *Metamorphoses*. London: Stanhope Press, 1812. 3 vols. in 2 (vol. 1 bound with Anacreon: *The Works of Anacreon*).  
Binding: red straight-grain morocco, gilt, with spine title: *British Poets and Translations*.  
Provenance: Margaret Manning Couzens; Mrs. James Couzens; Detroit Public Library; Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge paintings: (v. 1) Wood End, Yorkshire; (v. 2–3) Sprotburgh, Yorkshire.
- The Pictorial Book of Ancient Ballad Poetry of Great Britain*. New ed. London: Bell and Daldy, 1860.  
Binding: dark brown morocco, gilt.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: St. Paul's Church from the Thames.
- Pollock, Robert. *The Course of Time, a Poem*. 11th ed. Edinburgh: Blackwood; London: Cadell, 1832.  
Binding: olive green calf, blind stamped, gilt.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Fore-edge painting: Thames River.
- Pollock, Robert. *The Course of Time, a Poem*. 16th ed. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1841.  
Binding: brown calf.  
Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
Double fore-edge painting (possibly by Don Noble): (a) Melrose Abbey; (b) Netley Abbey, Hampshire.

- Ramsay, Edward Bannerman. *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*. 26th ed., enl. London and Edinburgh: Gall and Inglis, [n.d.].  
 Binding: dark red morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Edinburgh.
- Rogers, Samuel. *Poems*. London: Cadell and Moxon, 1834.  
 Binding: red morocco, gilt, by Anthony Birdsall.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Venice.
- Scott, Walter. *The Lay of the Last Minstrel, a Poem*. 10th ed. London: Longmans, 1809.  
 Binding: Etruscan calf, by Edwards of Halifax.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter"): Edinburgh.
- Scott, Walter. *The Lay of the Last Minstrel, a Poem*. 13th ed. London: Longmans, 1812.  
 Binding: tan calf, blind stamped, gilt, with mss. label: E. Maberly.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Berwick-upon-Tweed.
- Scott, Walter. *The Lord of the Isles; a Poem*. 4th ed. Edinburgh: Constable, 1815.  
 Binding: red straight-grain morocco, blind stamped and gilt.  
 Provenance: John L. Paisley; Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter"): (a) Loch Leven from Ballahulish Ferry, Argyleshire; (b) Bridge of Doune, Ayrshire.
- Scott, Walter. *Marmion*. 5th ed. London: McCreery, 1810.  
 Binding: pale green straight-grain morocco with spine title: Scott's Works.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: White House, Washington, D.C.
- Scott, Walter. [*Waverley Novels*]. 41 vols. Edinburgh: Constable, 1822.  
 Library holds vol. 1–2, *Waverley*; vol. 3, *Guy Mannering*; vol. 4, *The Abbot*.  
 Binding: maroon straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
 Provenance: James H. Byles; Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge paintings: (v. 1a) Sir Walter Scott and view of Edinburgh Castle from the Grass Market; (v. 1b) Carlisle city; (v. 2a) Edinburgh from Craigmillar Castle; (v. 2b) Abbotsford; (v. 3a) Jedburgh Abbey; (v. 3b)

Berwick-upon-Tweed; (signed "pp") (v. 4a) Haravore, Yorkshire; (v. 4b) Kirklees House, Yorkshire.

Scott, Walter. *Poetical Works*. Edinburgh: Black, 1866.

Binding: blue morocco, gilt.

Provenance: Elizabeth Burrell; Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting: Abbotsford.

Shakespeare, William. *The Dramatic Works*. London: Tegg, 1831.

Binding: maroon morocco, gilt-edge border, by John Aston

Provenance: Thomas Newsted; Poushter Collection.

Panoramic fore-edge painting: Globe Theater.

Shaw, Cuthbert. *The Poetical Works . . .* London: Stanhope Press, 1807.

Bound with Blair's *The Grave* (Chiswick: Whittingham, 1823).

Binding: red straight-grain morocco, gilt, with spine title: *British Poets and Translations*.

Provenance: Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting: Edinburgh.

Shelley, Percy Bysshe. *The Poetical Works*. 3 vols. London and Edinburgh: Moxon, 1853.

Binding: maroon morocco.

Provenance: Gertrude Boulton; Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge paintings (by Miss C. B. Currie, ca. 1950): (v. 1) Full cry; (v. 2) An awkward dilemma; (v. 3) The waterfall.

Shorter, Clement King. *Highways and Byways in Buckinghamshire . . .* London: Macmillan, 1910.

Binding: red morocco, gilt, by H. Sotheran.

Provenance: Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting (no. 77 signed by Miss C. B. Currie): Stoke Place.

[Smith, Robert Cross] *The Familiar Astrologer; an Easy Guide To Fate, Destiny, and Foreknowledge by Raphael . . .* London: Bennett, 1837.

Binding: black morocco, gilt.

Provenance: Ellen O'Neil Logan; Poushter Collection.

Double fore-edge painting (by the "Thistle painter"): (a) Mars and Venus, after Botticelli; (b) Venus blindfolding Cupid, after Titian.

Southey, Robert. *Madoc*. 4th ed. 2 vols. London: Longmans, 1815.

Binding: red straight-grain morocco, blind stamped, gilt.

Provenance: Henry Tusnell; Poushter Collection.

- Double fore-edge paintings (by the “Thistle painter”): (v. 1a) R. Southey with a view of Carnarvon, North Wales; (v. 1b) Samuel Taylor Coleridge/Bal-liol College, Oxford; (v. 2a) William Wordsworth/Snowden, North Wales; (v. 2b) Thomas De Quincey/New Bailey Bridge, Manchester.
- Tasso, Torquato. *L’Aminta e L’Amor fuggitivo* . . . Firenze: Ciardetti, 1824.  
 Binding: painted vellum with views of the Piazza di Spagna as seen from the corner of the vie Sistina & Gregoriana (front cover) and of the temples of Saturn and Vespasian (back cover).  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Entry into the Forum/Colosseum/Temple of Venus/Capitol/Titus Arch/Constantine Arch.
- Tasso, Torquato. *Gerusalemme liberata*. 2 vols. London: Zotti, 1812.  
 Binding: blue morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: Charles Harry St. John Hornby; Syracuse University Library.  
 Fore-edge paintings: (v. 1) High Street, Whitechapel; (v. 2) Bank of England.
- Tennyson, Alfred. *Idylls of The King*. London: Moxon, 1859.  
 Binding: brown morocco, stamped in black.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting (possibly by Don Noble): Scottish golfers.
- Tennyson, Alfred. *In Memoriam*. 14th ed. London: Moxon, 1863.  
 Binding: red morocco, blind stamped rules.  
 Provenance: E. Horsley; Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting (ca. 1950): angling scenes.
- Thomson, James. *The Seasons*. London: Chiswick Press, 1818.  
 Binding: contemporary calf, gilt.  
 Provenance: David A. Fraser.  
 Fore-edge painting: hunting scene.
- Thomson, James. *The Seasons*. London: Longmans, 1842.  
 Binding: brick red morocco, gilt, by Hayday.  
 Provenance: Sonneborn Sale, Sotheby-Parke-Bernet; Poushter Collection.  
 Double fore-edge painting (possibly by Stevens): (a) cricket match; (b) skating on ice.
- Victoria, Queen of Great Britain. *More Leaves From the Journal of a Life in the Highlands* . . . London: Smith, Elder, 1884.  
 Binding: dark brown morocco; monogram with crown and lion.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Balmoral Castle.

- Virgil. *Bucolica, Georgica, et Aeneis*. 2 vols. London: Dulau, 1800.  
 Binding: red straight-grain morocco.  
 Provenance: George L. Lincoln; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting (possibly by Stevens, ca. 1947): seascape.
- Virgil. *Varietate lectionis et perpetua adnotatione* . . . 6 vols. Leipzig: Fritsch, 1800.  
 Binding: contemporary roan, gilt.  
 Provenance: Sir Robert Peel, Syracuse University Library.  
 Fore-edge paintings (ca. 1950): (v. 1) Westminster; (v. 2) Lambeth Palace; (v. 3) Chelsea Hospital; (v. 4) London; (v. 5) Fountain Court, The Temple; (v. 6) Putney Bridge.
- Vox Stellarum; or, A Loyal Almanack* . . . for the Year 1850 . . . 3 vols. in 1. London Company of Stationers, 1850.  
 Binding: red straight-grain morocco.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: Cricket at Rugby.
- Walpole, Horace. 5 vols. *A Catalogue of the Royal & Noble Authors of England, Scotland and Ireland* . . . London: Scott, 1806.  
 Binding: navy blue morocco, blind stamped, gilt.  
 Provenance: George Call; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge paintings: (v. 1) Anne Hathaway's Cottage, Stratford-on-Avon; (v. 2) Lichfield Cathedral; (v. 3) The Old Mill and Church, Olney; (v. 4) Theater Royal, Bristol; (v. 5) Abbotsford.
- Walton, Izaak. *The Compleat Angler* . . . London: Bagster, 1810.  
 Binding: green straight-grain morocco, gilt, by Gosden.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: angling scene.
- Webb, Maria. *The Penns and Peningtons of the Seventeenth Century* . . . London: Kitto, 1867.  
 Binding: navy blue morocco, blind stamped, gilt, by H. Sotheran.  
 Provenance: Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting (no. 95 signed by Miss C. B. Currie): Philadelphia, showing the old oak tree at Kensington, where Penn signed the treaty with the Indians.
- Wesley, John. *A Collection of Hymns* . . . London: Mason, [n.d.].  
 Binding: brown pebble-grain morocco, gilt.  
 Provenance: A. H. Hunt; Poushter Collection.  
 Fore-edge painting: building (probably in London).

White, Gilbert. *The Natural History of Selbourne*. London: Bohn, 1851.

Binding: green morocco, gilt.

Provenance: Poushter Collection.

Fore-edge painting: Selbourne, Hampshire, birthplace of the Rev. Gilbert White.

# News of the Library and the Library Associates

RECENT ACQUISITIONS, FALL 1992

71125: *Fifty Years of Silence* and B 11226: *Fifty Years of Silence, Artists' Books on the Holocaust*. Purchased with funds from the Jerome and Arlene Gerber Endowment Fund.

The Library recently acquired two limited-edition artists' books in which Holocaust survivors Eva and Eugene Kellner recall their experiences in Nazi concentration camps. The books were designed and printed by their daughter Tatana, who is artistic director of the Women's Studio Workshop in Rosendale, New York.

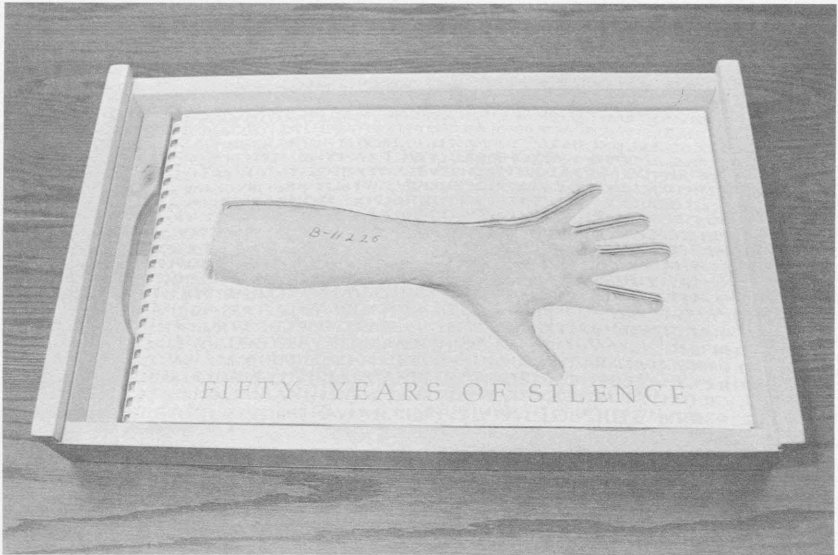
Lying across each 12" x 20" book is an embedded three-dimensional arm with identifying tattoo—cast in handmade paper from Eva and Eugene Kellner's own arms—around which the pages have been cut. The Kellners' recollections, handwritten in their native Czech against a shadowy background of old family photographs, alternate with English translations and concentration camp images. On some pages it seems as though the hands have gouged into the happy faces of an earlier time.

As her parents grew older, Tatana Kellner felt an urgency to preserve some record of their wartime experiences. She said, "There is a lot of information about the Holocaust, but as time goes on it becomes less and less real to succeeding generations. I wanted to make it real for readers, to bring it back to a vivid reality".\* Eva Kellner died in early 1992, and Eugene the following December.

Spafford, Horatio Gates. *A Pocket Guide for the Tourist and Traveller, along the Line of the Canals, and the Interior Commerce of the State of New York* (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1824). Purchased with Library Associates funds.

\*Quoted in Kevin Morrow, "University Acquires Holocaust Stories", *The Syracuse Record*, vol 23, no. 17 (19 January 1993), 1, 5.





An artist's book on the Holocaust, by Tatana Kellner.  
Syracuse University Library.

This work, which appeared just one year before the final western section of the Erie Canal opened, was the first published travel guide to the canal known as "Clinton's Ditch". Spafford, a geographer and author of the first gazetteer of New York (1813), provided essential information to those traveling the Hudson River, the Champlain Canal, and the Erie Canal. He included schedules of steamboats and packet boats, fares, timetables for connecting stagecoach lines, distances between locks and villages, and recommended hostelries. Describing the packet boats on the Erie Canal he writes:

These Packets are drawn by 3 horses, having relays every 8, 10, 12 miles, and travel day and night, making about 80 miles every 24 hours. They are ingeniously and well constructed, (though there is yet room for some improvement,) have accommodations for about 30 passengers, furnish good tables, and a wholesome and rich fare, and have very attentive, civil, and obliging captains and crews. It is a very pleasant, cheap, and expeditious mode of travelling, where

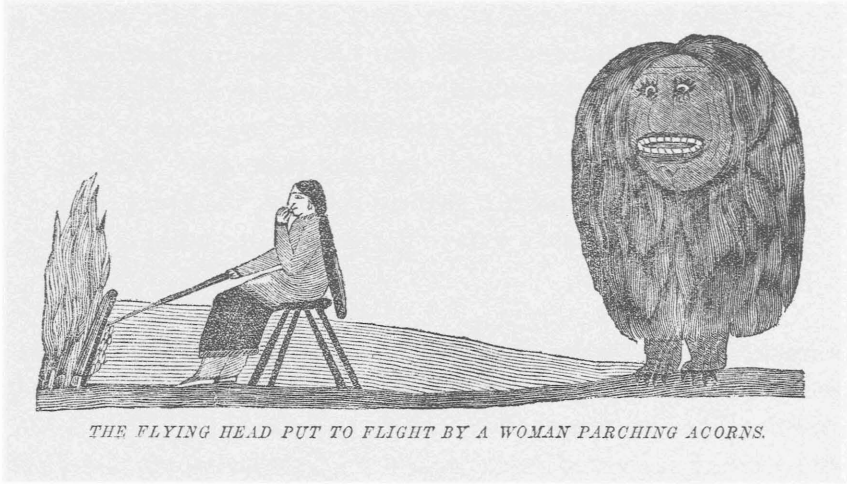
you have regular meals, pretty quiet rest, after a little experience, say of the first night; and find the time pleasantly employed, in conversation, and the variety of incidents, new topics, stories, and the constantly varying scenery. The bustle of new comers, and departing passengers, with all the greetings and adieus, help to diversify the scene, and to make most persons *seem* to get along quite as fast as was anticipated.

Cusick, David. *Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations, Comprising First—A Tale of the Foundation of the Great Island, (Now North America,) the Two Infants Born, and the Creation of the Universe. Second—A Real Account of the Early Settlers of North America, and Their Dissensions. Third—Origin of the Kingdom of the Five Nations, Which was Called a Long House: the Wars, Fierce Animals, &c.* (Lockport, N.Y.: Turner & McCollum, 1848). *Purchased with Library Associates Funds.*

According to Joseph Sabin, compiler of an important bibliography of Americana, Cusick (d. ca. 1840), a Tuscarora Indian, published in 1825 at Tuscarora Village the first edition, without illustrations, of this history of the Iroquois (Lewiston, Niagara County, N.Y.); however, no copy of that edition can be located. There survives an 1827 edition, also without illustrations, and a “second edition of 7000 copies” (containing two woodcut illustrations), which appeared the following year. The 1848 edition, sometimes identified as the “third edition”, was issued at Lockport and includes two woodcuts by the author: “Stonish giants” and “The Flying Head put to flight by a woman parching acorns”. There are two additional illustrations, also by Cusick, entitled: “Atotarho, a famous war chief, resided at Onondaga” and “A war dance”.

Cusick’s account of the legend of the Flying Heads (see illustration) follows:

About one hundred winters since the people left the mountain,—the five families were increased, and made some villages in the country. The Holder of the Heavens was absent from the country, which was destitute of the



*THE FLYING HEAD PUT TO FLIGHT BY A WOMAN PARCHING ACORNS.*

An illustration from David Cusick's nineteenth-century history of the Iroquois. Syracuse University Library.

visits of the Governor of the Universe. The reason produced the occasion that they were invaded by the monsters called Ko-nea-rau-neh-neh, i.e. Flying Heads, which devoured several people of the country. The Flying Heads made invasions in the night; but the people were attentive to escape by leaving their huts and concealing themselves in other huts prepared for that purpose. An instance:—there was an old woman which resided at Onondaga; she was left alone in the hut at evening, while others deserted. She was setting near the fire parching some acorns when the monstrous Head made its appearance at the door: while viewing the woman it was amazed that she eat the coals of fire, by which the monsters were put to flight, and ever since the Heads disappeared and were supposed concealed in the earth.

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

Those with an interest in history, literature, book collecting, and the graphic arts are welcome to join the Associates. Perquisites of membership include general use of the Syracuse University Library's facilities, as well as invitations to exhibitions, Associates-sponsored lectures, and special events of the University Library. Members at the patron level may borrow books. In addition, all members will receive our incidental publications, typographic keepsakes, and the *Syracuse University Library Associates Courier*, a semiannual publication that contains articles related to unusual and interesting aspects of the Library's holdings and, in particular, to rare books, manuscripts, and archival collections in the George Arnts Research Library.

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; Students, \$15. Checks, made payable to Syracuse University Library Associates, should be sent to the Secretary, 600 E. S. Bird Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. 13244-2010. For further information about the programs and activities of the Library Associates, telephone (315) 443-2697.

#### PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

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

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATES

OFFICERS

Dorothea Nelson, *President*  
David H. Stam, *Executive Director*  
Mark F. Weimer, *Secretary*  
Diane M. Casey, *Treasurer*

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

*Through 1993*

Richard G. Case	Frank P. Piskor
Daniel W. Casey	Arnold Poltenson
William C. Fleming	David L. Poushter
Betty L. Levy	Chester Soling
Albert Ornstein	Sidney Wechter

*Through 1994*

Sarah K. Auchincloss	Dorothea Nelson
Henry S. Bannister	William L. Pollard
Diane M. Casey	Vernon F. Snow
Antje B. Lemke	Walter Sutton
Arpena S. Mesrobian	Bruce Yenawine

*Through 1995*

Paul J. Archambault	Joseph M. Levine
Stanton L. Catlin	Judith C. Mower
Arthur D. Ecker	Robert Phillips
Jerome R. Gerber	Mary Ann Shaw
Elizabeth M. Henes	David Tatham
Paul Willette	

*Honorary Trustees*

David A. Fraser	Metod M. Milač
Mary H. Marshall	William P. Tolley
Dorothy Witherill	

*Ex-Officio*

Kenneth A. Shaw, *Chancellor*  
Gershon Vincow, *Vice-Chancellor*

