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The Scheide Library: A Centennial Tribute

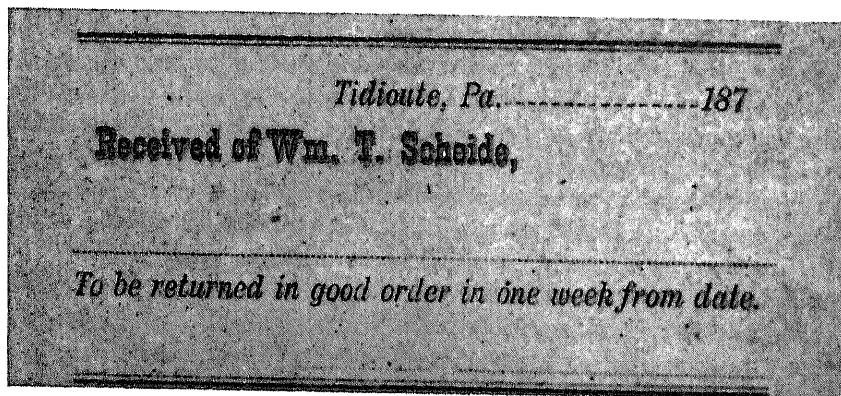
ONE hundred years ago William Taylor Scheide, a young man of twenty-seven but already beginning to make his mark in the new and boisterous oil fields of western Pennsylvania, compiled a manuscript catalogue of his personal library. He must have been acquiring books before he moved west from Philadelphia six years before, but 1874 is perhaps the first firm date in the annals of the Scheide Library. Mr. Scheide, a reader who was both omnivorous and systematic, owned by that time some 1500 volumes, obviously the beginning of a collection and not merely a casual accumulation of contemporary books. (Mina R. Bryan, the present Librarian of the Scheide Library, has discussed the 1874 collection, as well as later additions, in an article in *The Book Collector* for Winter, 1972, and Julian Boyd, former Librarian of Princeton University, has written more fully of the library and its builders in *The Scheide Library* [privately printed, 1947]).

He not only had assembled a collection which was obviously remarkable in the oil town of Tidioute, but he made it available to others. With the systematic approach which seems to have characterized all that he did, he had a supply of cards printed for the keeping of accurate records of volumes loaned.

This particular centennial of the Scheide Library thus seems worthy of note. The collection so ably begun by William Taylor Scheide and augmented by the princely additions of his son, John Hinsdale Scheide, and his grandson, William H. Scheide, remains in the possession of the latter. True to the generous instinct which moved his father and his grandfather to share, he has deposited the collection in the Princeton University Library, has allowed its catalogue to be integrated with that of the University Library, and permits the books and manuscripts to be used by scholars.

I doubt that there is in this country a private collection of equal distinction built up by three generations of a family, and I am certain that if there is, it is not made available so generously to scholars as is the Scheide Library. In this centennial year we pay tribute to its founder, his son, and his grandson.

WILLIAM S. DIX
LIBRARIAN



The Hall Handel Collection

BY J. MERRILL KNAPP

SOME years ago while working in London on Handel research (most of the primary sources are there), I kept hearing about a remarkable man, who was not a professional musician, scholar, or bibliographer, but a busy English doctor who had managed to form an important collection of his favorite composer during an active lifetime of professional practice.

Britain has always been rich in such individuals: solicitors who are lepidopterists, bankers that know fauna and flora, members of Parliament who are archaeologists in their spare time. Medicine and music also have had honorable links. But what was unusual in this case, friends said, was the extent of the collection and the fact that it had been gathered by a man of modest means, not a person of inherited wealth.

Since people with mutual interests in special fields have a habit of eventually meeting or at least corresponding, it was not long before a visit to Deal/Walmer, Kent, took place, and I had the great pleasure of spending a few days with Dr. James S. Hall and his charming family on the Channel coast, a few miles north from Dover. Dr. Hall's reputation as a Handel enthusiast and expert was not exaggerated. He knew his composer well, having performed many of his works with a local choral society which he founded and in the organ loft of St. Thomas's Church, Deal, where he had been organist and choirmaster for over forty years. His collection was impressive, taking up every nook and cranny of a not overly large library room in his house and spilling over into his surgery, where one presumably had the distinction of seeing handsome eighteenth-century buckram and gilt lettering on the shelves during a physical examination.

Perhaps the best way of describing Dr. Hall and his activities is through a thumbnail sketch, written by William C. Smith, his long-time friend and colleague, former head of the Music Room at the British Museum and eminent Handel bibliographer, who died in 1973 in his 93rd year:

Dr. James S. Hall, O.B.E., M.B., F.R.C.S., son of a surgeon, was born in Yardley, Birmingham, 20 March 1899. He settled

in Walmer as a doctor in 1925 . . . and founded the Deal and Walmer Handelian Society in 1946, with a performance of *Solomon*. Since then the Society has given over one hundred performances of Handel's oratorios etc. and of works by other composers.

He has one of the finest private collections of Handel and a vast lending library of Novello's vocal scores, without which many choral societies cannot give their performances.

He has done a great deal of original Handelian research, also work on Johann Christoph Schmidt, father, and son, John Christopher Smith, and on the important eighteenth-century music publishing firm of John Walsh.

Dr. Hall has been a frequent visitor to the Halle Handel Festivals, where under him his Handel Society gave performances of *L'Allegro ed Il Penseroso* in April, 1959, from the edition of this work, edited by him and his son, Martin V. Hall.

Not only for this Handel work is he honored but as a surgeon who did great service at sea with the "Walmer Lifeboat," especially during World War II. His book, *Sea Surgeon*, tells the fascinating story of this part of his active life. Such is the brief record of a great Handelian—a loved and respected physician.

These bare facts can only tell part of the story. In addition, one ought to give a description of Dr. Hall's qualities as a man; of his heroic service (over 300 mercy trips) up and down ship's ladders in all kinds of treacherous weather to perform emergency operations at sea in the Downs and Dover Straits, for which he received the O.B.E.; of his articles to medical journals on breast feeding and Caesarean operations; of his pioneer work on the Latin church music of Handel.

About five years ago, it became apparent that Dr. Hall's collection was one of the last of its kind available for sale, others in private hands having been dispersed, willed to institutions in England, or otherwise made unobtainable. Through a series of fortunate circumstances, Princeton was able to bid on the collection last year and its bid was accepted. The purchase was made possible through the generosity of Henry E. Gerstley '20, Carl Otto von Kienbusch '06, Professor and Mrs. J. Merrill Knapp, T. S. Matthews '22, Bernhard K. Schaefer '20, Frank E. Taplin '37, and Robert H. Taylor '30.

At the outset it must be made clear that the collection does not contain autograph manuscripts of the composer, i.e. so-called primary sources. Even if these were obtainable in quantity (which they are not), they would be far beyond the resources of a university library or even a Morgan Library. Practically all of Handel's original manuscripts were given to the English Royal family in the late eighteenth century and housed in Buckingham Palace during the nineteenth century. Only in the 1950's did they become the official property of the British Museum (now the British Library), although stored there from the early twentieth century.

The great value of the Hall Collection resides primarily in its large number of eighteenth-century printed editions of Handel's music. Practically everything of Handel that was ever printed at that time is included. Only the British Library, the Gerald Coke Collection in England, and the Schoelcher Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris rival this amount in sheer bulk. Although these editions are secondary sources for the music, they are very important for the scholar because they often tell what music in a opera, oratorio, or instrumental music was actually heard in a performance. In other words, they must be collated with manuscript material in order to arrive at a complete picture of the composer's work.

A further word of explanation may be in order. As is well known, Handel, though born a German (1685) and musically educated in Italy, came to England while still a young man (1711). Although nominally in the service of the Elector of Hanover from 1710 to 1714, he spent many months on leave in England during these years, writing assorted music for the stage and the nobility. When his monarch, George, became King George I of England on Queen Anne's death in 1714, Handel settled permanently in London, becoming an English citizen in 1727, and residing there until his death in 1759.

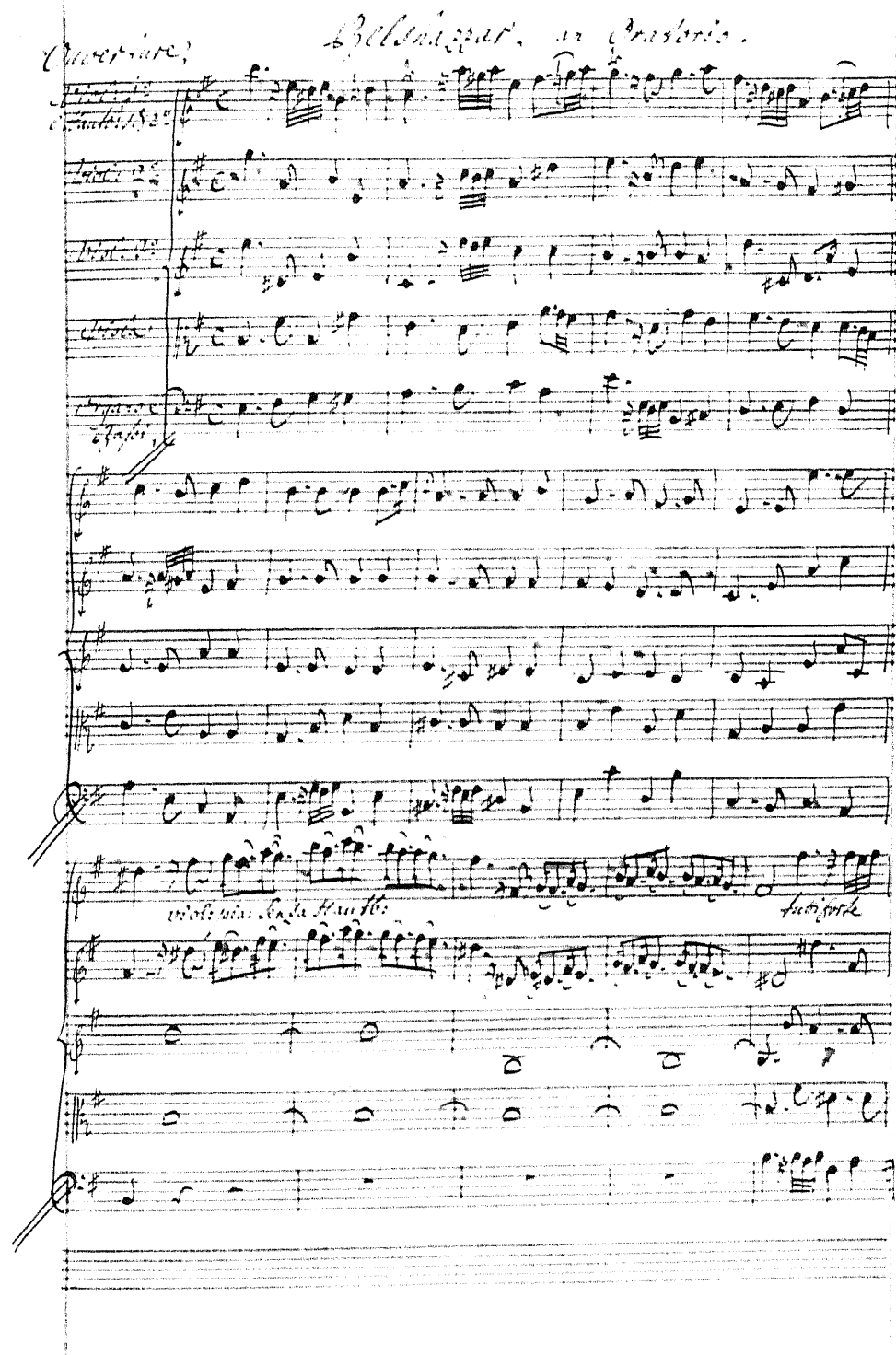
After his arrival in England, Handel was one of the first major composers to attempt to make a living by the performance and sale of his own works. Before that, in Germany and Italy, he had been dependent, as all other composers were, on patronage from the church, court, or nobility in order to survive. In London he soon became involved in a stock company enterprise to produce Italian opera. This involved others, and it had a certain amount of royal financial support, but it was a hazardous business at best. Although

he underwent many years of struggle and near-bankruptcy, Handel nevertheless managed to prosper. In the 1740's when he turned to oratorio in English and could count on a more regular audience, he finally achieved financial stability and a settled position. Although his chief source of income during these years was ticket sales and subscriptions for performances, he also depended on the sale of his music which was widely printed and distributed. Even from Handel's early days in England, publishers appreciated the value of his music and hastened to get it on the market as soon as possible after a performance (and even before one). In that non-copyright age, Handel probably only received an initial sum for the sale of his music to a publisher and no percentage thereafter, but evidence about these financial transactions is complicated and murky. There is, furthermore, no definite indication that Handel supervised the printing of his own music, although some publishers advertised this fact. At any rate, his music was widely circulated and bought, and also issued in arrangements for home performance on the recorder or flute. Of all the great eighteenth-century composers, Handel perhaps had more of his music published during his lifetime than any other musician, with the possible exception of Haydn later in the century. In that age, music still largely circulated in manuscript; printing was too expensive. This wholesale printing of Handel's music was a tribute to his popularity and acclaim at a time when Bach's music remained almost entirely in manuscript and was known to only a handful of connoisseurs in Germany and England.

The Hall Collection also contains a small but choice group of eighteenth-century musical manuscripts, mainly of Handel's music. A few of these are quite important and will be described in more detail later.

In addition, there are about forty eighteenth-century librettos of Handel's operas and oratorios, of which about half are contemporary with Handel, including the libretto for the last performance of *Messiah* to be led by the composer himself—on April 6, 1759, eight days before his death. These librettos have become increasingly important for the scholar because they verify textual variants, performance dates, casts, and other historical data, not easily obtainable elsewhere. They seldom come on the market and can only be found (if they exist) in a few libraries or private collections.

Various books, prints, and music are in the category of miscellaneous. They include Mainwaring's *Life* (1760), first editions of

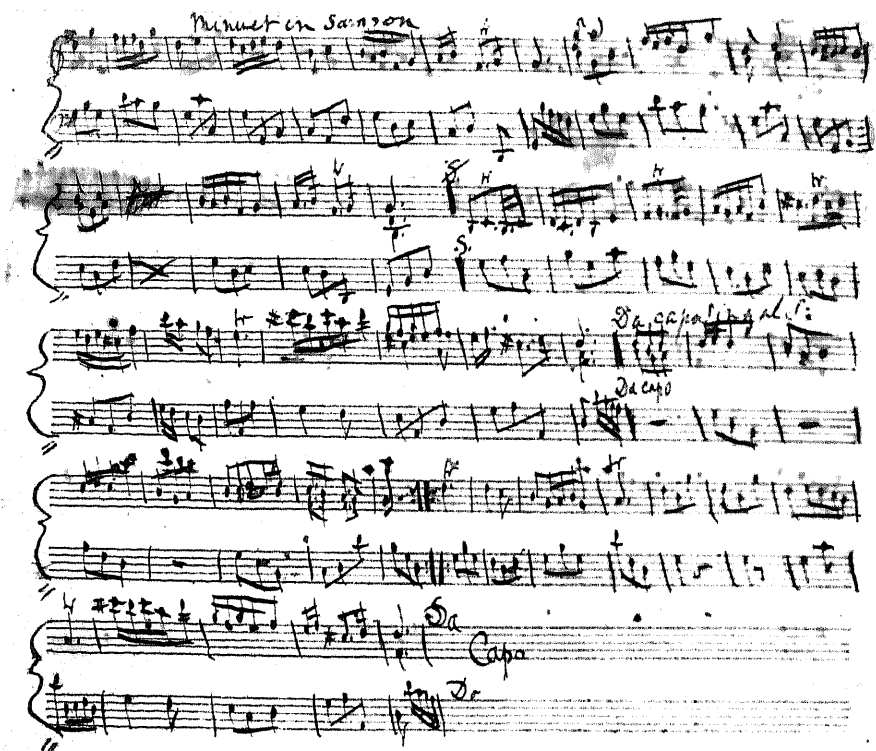


The opening page of Handel's *Belshazzar* in the manuscript score copied by John Christopher Smith for Frederick, Prince of Wales, about 1744.

The Hall Handel Collection

Purchased with the assistance of Henry E. Gerstley '20, Carl Otto von Kienbusch '06, Professor and Mrs. J. Merrill Knapp, T. S. Matthews '22, Bernhard K. Shaefer '20, Frank E. Taplin '37, and Robert H. Taylor '30.

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The Minuet from Handel's *Samson* in the manuscript of Le Tellier, copyist to Louis XVI.

The Hall Handel Collection

Purchased with the assistance of Henry E. Gerstley '20, Carl Otto von Kienbusch '06, Professor and Mrs. J. Merrill Knapp, T. S. Matthews '22, Bernhard K. Shaefer '20, Frank E. Taplin '37, and Robert H. Taylor '30.

M E S S I A H.

A N

O R A T O R I O.

As it is Perform'd at the

T H E A T R E - R O Y A L

I N

C O V E N T - G A R D E N.

Set to Musick by Mr. H A N D E L.

M A J O R A C A N A M U S.

And without Controversy, great is the Mystery of Godliness: God was manifested in the Flesh, justified by the Spirit, seen of Angels, preached among the Gentiles, believed on in the World, received up into Glory. In whom are hid all the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge.

L O N D O N:

Printed for J. W A T T S: And Sold by B. D O N at the *Bible* and
Key in *Ave-Mary-Lane* near *Stationers-Hall*. 1759.

[Price One Shilling.]

Burney's *Present State of Music*—France and Italy (1771) and Germany and the Netherlands (1773)—(3 vols.), Burney's *Commemoration of Handel* (1785), *Anecdotes of Handel and Smith* (1799), Busby's *Concert Room and Orchestra Anecdotes* (1825) (3 vols.), a small collection of eighteenth-century newspapers containing references to Handel, a volume of eighteenth-century single sheet songs (including two by Handel), a scrapbook of mainly nineteenth-century material, a water color of Covent Garden before its destruction in 1808, and various other prints, mainly of Handel.

Lastly, there are about twenty boxes of Hall correspondence (to and from Handelians all over the world). Besides letters, the boxes contain photostats, facsimiles, and memorabilia—all neatly arranged by categories. In the course of his study, Dr. Hall also compiled with painstaking care a number of typed catalogues for aid in his work. There are two detailed ones of the Fonds Schoelcher Handel Collection in the Paris Conservatoire (now Bibliothèque Nationale) and the former Newman Flower-Aylesford Collection, now the property of the Central Public Library of Manchester, England (recently supplemented but not superseded by a published catalogue, *Handel, The Newman Flower Collection*, compiled by Arthur D. Walker, Manchester Public Libraries, 1972). Also present are a catalogue of the Julian Marshall Handel Collection in the National Library of Scotland and alphabetical indices of all Italian and French titles in Handel's work. These compilations are of considerable value to the scholar.

To describe in detail all this material is not the purpose here. Rather it is to give interested persons an overview of the collection with some idea of its vastness and richness. Those who wish to probe more deeply will at least know where to turn at a later date.

First, the librettos. Operas were printed in Italian and English on opposite pages, much as they are done now in English-speaking countries. These eighteenth-century ones are in small quarto size and generally contain an "Argument" and a dedication to some royal patron by the impresario or would-be librettist in the hope of financial support. The oratorios were larger in size and only in English. Most of the original grey covers (paper) for these librettos and word books fell off or became tattered. In order to preserve the interior pages, the Hall librettos have been rebound in hard covers. There are editions of *Riccardo Primo* (1727), *Siroe* (1728), *Tolomeo* (2nd ed., 1730), *Partenope* (1730), *Poro* (1731), and *Sosarme* (1732); also photostats of three more operas from William Smith's collection (now Gerald Coke): *Radamisto* (Dec. 1720), *Rodelinda* (1725), and *Alcina* (1735). The oratorios include *Il Trionfo* (1737), *Samson* (1743), *L'Allegro and Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* (1744), *Samson* (1752, Worcester), *Alexander's Feast and Choice of Hercules* (1753), *Semele* (n.d.), *Acis and Galatea* (1753, Edinburgh), *Esther* (with new additions, 1757), *Triumph of Time and Truth* (1757), *Four Coronation Anthems* (n.d.).

A rare "libretto" for the Royal Fireworks (April 27, 1749) gives "A Description of the Machine of the Fireworks, With all its Orna-

ments and a Detail of the Manner in which they are to be exhibited in St. James Park, Thursday, April 27, 1749, on account of the GENERAL PEACE signed at Aix la Chapelle, October 7, 1748. After a grand Overture of Warlike Instruments composed by Mr. Handel, a Signal is given for the Commencement of the Firework, which is by a *Royal Salute* of 101 Brass Ordnance of the following Natures, viz: 6 Pounders—71; 12 Pounders—20; 24 Pounders—10." The pamphlet goes on to describe the rockets, pyramids, explosions, sheets of fire, and vertical suns which would appear. At the end a fixed sun on top was to be seen with "Vivat Rex" in bright fire at the center.

Altogether, there are some fifteen *Messiah* librettos, ranging in date from 1757 in Gloucester to a Deal and Walmer performance of 1952. The most important are three printed before 1759. Provincial librettos of *Messiah* are quite rare. They occur here from Salisbury (1762), Newcastle (1778), and York (1791), in addition to the Gloucester one. Three curious Handel pasticcios of the late eighteenth century, put together by John Christopher Smith, Jr. and Samuel Arnold—*Nabal* (1764), *Gideon* (1769), and *Omnipotence* (1774) are interesting oddities.

The most important items among the manuscripts are three volumes of *Belshazzar*, *Alexander Balus*, and *Joseph*, oratorios formerly belonging to the Prince of Wales. This Prince of Wales was Frederick, father of George III. He never ascended the throne because he died before his father, George II, did. Although Frederick was an original supporter of the Opera of the Nobility—an opera troupe formed in opposition to the Handel group in the 1730's, he evidently was an admirer of Handel's music. These volumes are labelled Vols. VIII, XIII and X, indicating other Handel works commissioned and copied for Frederick. A few of them are in the Royal Music Collection, British Library, but the whereabouts of the majority are unknown.

These volumes are bound in large folios of handsome red morocco, with tooling on the spine, gilt edging and inside covers of marbled paper, very similar to the autographs which, though, oblong folio, were later bound in very much the same manner for the Royal household.¹ Of the three copies, the nearest in relation to Handel is probably *Belshazzar*, since it is entirely in the hand of John Christopher Smith, Sr., Handel's chief copyist and aman-

¹ A. Hyatt King, *Handel and His Autographs* (London: British Museum, 1967), pp. 10-11.

uens. Dr. Hall has identified the watermark (fleur-de-lis with shield and LVG below; lines of the shield as a bend sinister) as probably paper of the early or mid 1740's, which suggests that the copy was made soon after the completion of the autograph in September, 1744.² In a comparison of this copy with that of Chrysander in the German Händelgesellschaft edition (1864)³ and by reference to Winton Dean's account of the sources of *Belshazzar*,⁴ several interesting differences come to light that suggest the copy was an intermediate step between the autograph⁵ and the first performing version. When a new edition is made for the Halle Händel Ausgabe, it should definitely be consulted. Aside from the addition of bass figures and libretto directions which are missing from most scores, Act I shows the omission of the Nitocris-Daniel recitative, "The fate of Babylon," and Daniel's air, "Lament not thus" (HG pp. 14-18; HG = Händelgesellschaft) as well as the further Gobrias-Cyrus plain and accompanied recitative, "Well may they laugh" (HG p. 27). Gobrias' following air, "Opprest with never-ceasing grief," is in E minor for tenor. There are differences in the recitative on HG pp. 38-39 and in Cyrus' recitative and aria, "Can you think it strange" and "Great God." In Act II, there is a good deal of extra accompanied recitative with a different text at the end of Scene 2 during the famous writing on the wall interpretation by Daniel ("Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin"). Even if the music is similar, the note pitches are often not the same. The final chorus of Act II, "Oh glorious Prince," is the shorter version, probably from the autograph. In Act III, "Alternate hopes and fears" is the first version as printed in Chrysander; and in the recitative preceding Daniel's "Can the black Aethiop change his skin?" which is in G major, only Nitocris sings. Of the different versions of the music that appear in Chrysander (HG), this score always gives the first version. At the end, the two adapted anthem choruses, taken from the *Chandos Anthems*, are not present but are referred to in writing. The music, then, corresponds generally to the late 1744 and 1745 performances and that used for the Walsh edition (i.e. the second state of the conducting score when John Beard sang Gobrias as well as Belshazzar). But curiously, all of Dan-

² For more information on copyists and watermarks, see Jens Peter Larsen, *Handel's Messiah*, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton Library, 1972), pp. 260-303.

³ *Belshazzar* (Vol. XIX).

⁴ *Handel's Dramatic Oratorios and Masques* (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 452-459.

⁵ Royal Music, British Museum, 20.d.10.

iel's part, which was transposed for a new singer in Walsh and other sources, remains here in the original keys written for Mrs. Cibber, who never sang in the original performances.

Alexander Balus (246 pp.) is in the hand of the copyist Larsen calls S5. It may date c. 1748 according to watermarks. The differences that appear in it may be less significant than those in *Belshazzar*, but they still need careful examination. In Act I, Aspasia's recitative, "Check not the pleasing accents of thy tongue," appears a tone higher than is printed in Chrysander, the final cadence being in E major not D. This makes more sense in leading to the following aria, "So shall the sweet attractive smile," which is in A major. Later on in the act, Alexander sings "Heroes may boast their mighty deeds" and not "Mighty Love," which comes at this position in most scores. "Mighty Love" is in Act II in its original place after the sycophant courtier comes in to accuse Jonathan of treachery. Toward the end of Act II, Jonathan's recitative, "Ye happy people," and the chorus, "Triumph, Hymen," are not present in this manuscript.

Joseph is also in the hand of S5. In a comparison with the Chrysander volume, all of the recitative and aria versions are the original ones (called Version A in HG). There is some doubt about where "Powerful guardians" goes in this score since it does not appear toward the end of Act I as sung by the High Priest. On the flyleaf of *Joseph*, the copyist left an account of his charge—£6/16s for 273 pages—an interesting note which is seldom found.

There is also in the collection a large folio copy of *Israel in Egypt* in various hands which may date from around 1760. Perhaps its most interesting feature is a set of separate trombone parts added at the end, which are quite rare. These parts have pencil marks on them and note clarifications throughout as if they had once been used. The pencil hand, however, seems to be a nineteenth-century one, although it is difficult to make any definite diagnosis.

The *Odes for St. Cecilia's Day* (1739) and *Queen Anne's Birthday* (1714) comprise another volume with pencilled corrections and the mark of several copyists, one of whom appears to be an amateur in the trade.

Another set of manuscripts bear the label of the Aylesford Collection. They are a second violin part for *Joshua* and a second violin and bass part for a collection of *Thirty Songs from the Operas* (mostly before 1724). Dr. Hall is careful to say on the front

cover that the attribution comes from Cecil Hopkinson of the First Edition Bookshop. There is some doubt about provenance here. Walker's catalogue lists a Violino Secondo part for *Joshua* already in Manchester in the Flower-Aylesford Collection. It does not seem likely that two sets of orchestral parts were made for Charles Jennens, the original owner. Nor is there an indication in Walker's Catalogue or Dr. Hall's Manuscript Catalogue that a collection of *Thirty Songs from the Operas* was part of the Aylesford set.⁶ Yet reference to the Catalogue of the Aylesford Collection sold by Messrs. Sotheby on May 13, 1918, when the collection was dispersed, may provide an answer to this problem. The question will remain in doubt until further study is undertaken.

An interesting volume of eighteenth-century operatic arias (folio, bound full calf, gold ornaments back and front, 12 stave paper, 276 pp.), probably dating from c. 1738 to 1743, contains music by Pescetti, Veracini, Leo (a cantata), and Handel. The Handel arias are all from *Rossane* (15 November 1743), a pasticcio mostly taken from a previous Handel opera, *Alessandro*, which was originally given in 1726. Three of these arias, all unpublished, are attributed to Handel. Their titles are "La gloria e la fortuna," "Son questi vaghi," and "Ah, no, non voler." A glance at their music, however, makes this attribution doubtful. They are probably by Lampugnani, an Italian composer who contributed other music to the pasticcio.

Another manuscript is a *Messiah* and *Coronation Anthems* part-book for a bass, whose name may have been William Thompson. The paper is Dutch and mid-eighteenth-century. These vocal part-books are surprisingly scarce because individuals either lost them or they were scattered after use. Little value was attached to them because people presumed there was always an original score which could be obtained if necessary. This one contains the bass part and continuo of choruses from *Messiah* in an arbitrary order and also the same for four *Coronation Anthems*. Staves left open above the bass part seem an unusual waste of space in an age when paper was not cheap. The *Messiah* choruses are cued in by previous text, so the singer knew where he was if he had to find his place in relation to the regular order.

⁶ Most of the songs in this set have been transposed from their original pitches to a key that is convenient for a mezzo-soprano or contralto range. Thus the volume was apparently copied for a special purpose which does not seem to fit with the other scores in the Flower-Aylesford collection.

An oblong folio manuscript book containing two Handel pieces with the rest being incidental recorder, keyboard, and vocal music is surprisingly of French origin. It is a book, according to a handwritten note, that formerly belonged to M. Le Tellier, copyist to Louis XVI. Inside the front cover is written: "Le Tellier copiste de musique au Grand Louis, Rue des Lombards vis-vis le Couchonnier." Included among the odds and ends are a flute part to "Fix'd in his everlasting Seat" from *Samson*; an *Ezio* duet (composer unknown) with the names of Guadagni and Glassi opposite the vocal parts; and a violin part to a late Haydn symphony.

Lastly, there is a photostat of a printed, not a manuscript original, of *Israel in Babylon* (1765), a pot-pourri of Handel's works, which some misguided individual put together mostly out of the composer's instrumental music and added words to it. Although all of the music is supposed to be Handel's, some of it is actually unidentified. The quality of the texts can be gleaned from the following gems: in the piece that is adapted from the Pastoral Symphony in *Messiah*, the first lines are: "On our Pastoral Mead, our fleecy Flocks shall feed" and for the famous Largo, "Ere the Orbs in Ether hung, Truth shone amid the heavenly Throng."

A great deal of the bibliographical information given above and that provided for the majority of the printed editions was brought together by Dr. Hall himself and typed neatly on pasted slips inside the front covers of each volume, giving the student and researcher invaluable aid in dating and cataloguing the material.

Finally, as already mentioned, the great bulk of the collection is about 425 volumes of printed music (with some duplicates), extending in time from 1714 up through the middle of the nineteenth century. By far the majority of this material is from the eighteenth century and to survey it is to see the composer not only in his lifetime but also for the immediate years following his death when his popularity in England was at its height.

If bibliographical aids were lacking, the task of cataloguing and assessing this vast amount of music would be a formidable one. Fortunately, there is a splendid catalogue by William C. Smith⁷ which makes the checking and description a relatively easy matter, although it will always be complicated because of Walsh's methods of printing. By reference to newspaper accounts and advertisements, Smith managed to date almost every print. Walsh and others

⁷ *Handel, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Early Editions*, 2nd ed. with Supplement (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970).

were careful never to put a date on any of theirs because they wanted to use the plates over and over again. (It is a little like the phonograph record companies today who do everything possible to prevent the buyer from knowing when a record was issued.) Smith also gives a description of the title page, libraries, and collections in England where copies may be found (American and other libraries abroad that have a number of individual copies are not included), the names of singers if they are mentioned, a summary of the contents and other explanatory material including odd paginations if they exist. Smith takes his list up through the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth. To have gone beyond that would have made the catalogue outsize and cumbersome to use. Also the later editions naturally have less value. Practically all the items in the Hall Collection can be accounted for by reference to the Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue*. Yet there are a number that fall outside of it—mostly later nineteenth-century editions and some eighteenth-century ones.

Reference should also be made to two other publications by Smith, which help to explain why so much music was published in the eighteenth century. They are: William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh, 1695-1720* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1948) and William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by the firm of John Walsh, 1721-1766* (London: The Bibliographical Society, 1968). In the prefaces to these two volumes, Smith explains the importance of John Walsh and his successors ("John Walsh in connection with John and Joseph Hare, Walsh's son John, and his successors Randall and Abell, William Randall, Elizabeth Randall, Wright and Co., and H. Wright") to music-publishing history and how they managed to become the first mass producers of music in the English-speaking world. Two factors helped more than anything else—the development in the eighteenth century of a popular press with facilities for continuous advertisement, and the use of engraved music plates (at first copper, later pewter ones), instead of type, for cheap and easy printing and reproduction over many years. Aside from the Walsh firm, there were also John Cluer and his successors; Richard Meares, older and younger; and Benjamin Cooke, who published most of Handel's works in the 1720's. From 1730 on, however, Walsh and Co. had almost a complete monopoly.

Although it belongs chronologically later in the eighteenth century and by no means contains all of Handel's works, mention should be made first of the 34 volumes of Dr. Samuel Arnold's edition (1787-1797).⁸ Arnold, a great admirer of Handel, was the first editor to attempt a complete printed edition of a major composer. Although he never completed this enterprise, his set does contain the first printed copies of some Handel operas and oratorios that Walsh and others had omitted, because they could not find the music or it had been written in Italy and was not a part of their concern. These works included the operas, *Agrippina* and *Teseo*, and the oratorio, *La Resurrezione*. Complete sets of Arnold are very rare (in 1947, there was only one in this country at Yale). This one seems to be complete; it has the numbers 1 to 180 that Arnold issued. It is handsomely bound (tooled spine with gold edging and lettering) and was formerly the property of James Weston Clayton and then Sir William Sterndale Bennett, his son, and grandson, Robert Sterndale Bennett. Further bibliographical examination will confirm or deny the hypothesis of completeness.

Returning to the Smith Catalogue, summaries of categories will help to give a general picture of what the Hall Collection contains. Of the operas, pasticcios, and other stage works (mostly issued by Walsh and others as "Songs," "Favourite Songs," "A Collection of Songs," i.e. primarily the arias only with some accompanied recitative but no plain recitative; final *coro* included), there are first editions of *Admeto*, *Alceste*, *Alessandro*, *Arbace*, *Arianna*, *Ariodante*, *Arminio*, *Atalanta*, *Berenice*, *Ezio*, *Faramondo*, *Flavio*, *Floridante*, *Giulio Cesare*, *Giustino*, *Lotario*, *Muzio Scevola*, *Orlando*, *Ormisda*, *Ottone*, *Partenope*, *Il Pastor Fido*, *Radamisto*, *Rodelinda*, *Scipione*, *Serse*, *Siroe*, and *Tamerlano*, as well as many second, third, and fourth editions of these works and other operas not included here, most of which are listed in Smith.

There are at least two or more editions of every English oratorio, ode, and masque—*Acis and Galatea*, *Alexander Balus*, *Alexander's Feast*, *L'Allegro*, *Athalia*, *Belshazzar*, *The Choice of Hercules*, *Deborah*, *Esther*, *Hercules*, *Israel in Egypt*, *Jephtha*, *Joseph and his Brethren*, *Joshua*, *Judas Maccabeus*, *Messiah*, *Occasional Oratorio*, *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day*, *Ode for Queen Anne's Birthday*, *Samson*,

⁸ Paul Hirsch, "Dr. Arnold's Handel Edition (1787-1797)," *Music Review* (May, 1947). J. M. Coopersmith, "The First Gesamtausgabe: Dr. Arnold's Edition of Handel's Works," *Music Library Association Notes* (June and Sept. 1947).

Saul, Semele, Solomon, Susanna, Theodora, and Triumph of Time and Truth.

A Walsh edition of *Alexander Balus* (Smith No. 2) is of particular interest because, according to notes by Dr. Hall and his son, Martin, the copy has the names of the characters written against the vocal lines in the hand of the senior John Christopher Smith. Moreover, there are corrections and additions in the music all the way through, which are made by a competent musician and one who presumably had a thorough knowledge of the autograph. On page 75, there is a good chance of a notation in the viola part by Handel himself. These four notes correspond to Handel's calligraphy (stems on the right of the notes particularly), and they differ in character from all the other corrections. It is difficult to make positive identification on such small evidence, but the Halls' supposition might well be true. They believe that the score might have been used by the composer himself for an abridged performance in a private home.

The number of *Songs from Messiah* and full scores of *Messiah* are a library in themselves. There are eight of the former, ranging in date from c. 1769 to 1786, and sixteen of the latter, beginning with a Randall and Abell large folio c. 1768. This score was the first to contain the Houbraken portrait of Handel after the publication of *Alexander's Feast* in 1738. Another full score is the first German edition of *Messiah* with the Mozart additions (not listed in Smith). This oblong folio volume, *Der Messias nach W.A. Mozart's Bearbeitung*, was published by Breitkopf und Härtel in 1803, reputedly from a manuscript (now lost) prepared by Mozart for a performance in Vienna in 1789, where no organ was available. Recent information makes this even more definite. The performance took place at the home of Johann Esterhazy in Vienna on 6 March 1789, and Mozart directed the orchestra.⁹ There are also a number of later nineteenth-century editions by Addison, Clarke, and Novello, which are interesting for historical purposes.

The sacred music is represented by the *Chandos Anthems*, the *Coronation Anthems*, the *Funeral Anthem for Queen Caroline*, the *Dettingen Te Deum*, and the *Utrecht Te Deum and Jubilate*. For each, there are several different editions, including a complete ar-

⁹ W. A. Mozart Gesamtausgabe, Serie X, Supplement, Abt. 1 (Band 2) *Bearbeitung von Handels Messias*, ed. Andreas Holschneider (Kassel: Bärenreiter, 1961), Introduction, p. viii.

ray of the twelve *Chandos Anthems* which are often not found in contemporary editions as a whole.

Among the miscellaneous vocal music, there are nine different volumes of *Apollo's Feast*, a compendium of Handel's opera and oratorio songs put out at different times from 1726 on. They are a valuable source for additional airs which were not included in the original manuscripts because Handel wrote the music after the work was first given and inserted them for new singers in the cast, or old singers who demanded something new to sing to create more novelty. Included also in this general category are various collections of Handel's Bass songs, Cantatas, Vocal Duets and Trios which the publishers compiled and printed to satisfy public demand. A series of *Pocket Companions for Gentlemen and Ladies* and *British Musical Miscellanies*, published in small quarto size for easy handling, are important not so much for the Handel items in them but for music by other eighteenth-century composers (particularly the early years) which are not easily found elsewhere.

When it comes to the instrumental music, the mind boggles slightly at the wealth of material. The *concerti grossi*—Op. 3, Op. 6, and others—as well as all the organ concertos are well represented, to say nothing of the Water Music (six editions), the keyboard suites and fugues, and the chamber sonatas for flute and violin. Included among these are many separate parts. Not all of these instrumental parts and sets are complete, but most of them are. Perhaps the most complete set anywhere of Handel's various opera and oratorio overtures which were printed singly and collectively innumerable times during the eighteenth century are found in the Hall Collection. An unrivalled view of this particular activity during Handel's lifetime is available to the student. These overtures were also arranged for the harpsichord, some by Handel, some by others, and there are altogether eighteen different editions of them (see Smith, pp. 280-287).

One set of the concertos—*A Third Set of Six Concertos for the Harpsichord or Organ. Compos'd by Mr. Handel*. H. Wright (c. 1785) (Smith, pp. 231-232)—may have considerable inherent value because there are contemporary manuscript insertions in Concertos 1, 2, and 3. These scraps of music paper are all marked "Ad lib" and seem to be written-out cadenzas and other solo passages for the keyboard which are left blank in the original. At these spots, the organist was expected to improvise or fill in by himself.

The manuscript portions may have significance for late eighteenth-century performance practice because they are seldom found written out this way. The keyboard player was supposed to have enough musical imagination to make the committal to paper unnecessary in that the passages might be improvised a different way each time it was played.

Another important volume is an instrumental bass part, with the bass figures both printed and written in by hand. It includes many of Handel's overtures; all Corelli's sonatas, Op. 1 through 4 (48 pieces); twelve sonatas by a J. S. Humphries and six by a Mr. Bowman, which are dated 1757. In the back are manuscript bassoon and bass parts of other works by Bowman.

Princeton is indeed fortunate to have obtained this bountiful collection. It will add considerably to rare book holdings in music. In combination with the primary Handel sources already on microfilm from England in the Princeton University Library, these volumes will make the University a center for early English eighteenth-century musical study. Tangential to this but no less important for an insight into the period is the Library's existing strength, through the Scheide Collection and general holdings, of Bach material. Princeton will have almost an American monopoly on these two giants of the eighteenth century who were exact contemporaries.

The Detective Story—How and Why

BY AARON MARC STEIN '27

This account of the development of detective fiction was given as an address at the Princeton Club of New York at one of the evening lectures sponsored by the Princeton Library in New York.—Eds.

IT is a young form of fiction and for at least a third of its history, the most recent third, it has persisted in the face of predictions of its impending death. It may be, however, that such predictions have been mistaking change for extinction and that, if the detective story does fade away, it will be only to the extent that it may no longer appear on publishers' lists and in book reviews as a separate category of fiction, but merge instead as yet another variant into that always various body, the novel.

It had its beginnings about the middle of the nineteenth century in the *Tales* of Edgar Allan Poe, but Poe in his own time was held in low esteem both in the United States, his own country, and in the rest of the English-speaking world. His work was dismissed on the grounds that it was over-preoccupied with death, therefore morbid, therefore unhealthy. Adjustment to this attitude was a major shaping force in the early post-Poe development of the detective story, and the interplay between the detective story and successive shifts in this attitude has ever since been an important determining factor in the development and metamorphoses of crime fiction.

Poe found his earliest admirers in France, and in the hands of French writers the detective story was kept alive and given an emphasis that before long made it more acceptable to the English-speaking world. It was certainly not that the French of Poe's time were less concerned about mental health than were the Americans and Britons. It may have been that the French defined it differently. Apart from that, however, there was a more positive reason for the quick French acceptance of Poe's new kind of story.

The French, even when they are at their most hysterical, are prone to think of themselves as the clear-eyed, clear-headed, relentlessly logical, and consummately rational sons of Diderot. Obviously the sons of Diderot would find irresistible these tales which

anchored their story lines firmly to a reasoned sequence and where each story came to a conclusion that was a neat and irrefutable *quod erat demonstrandum*.

The Poe *Tales* were a mix of blood-chilling thrill and reasoned line and the detective story ever since has been such a mix, changing in this respect only in the proportions of the mix. The French development leaned more heavily toward the reasoned line. This emphasis on the logical sequence automatically put the deaths at something of a remove from horror and began the process of reducing them to the bloodless elements in a puzzle game which they were to become in the fully developed classical whodunit.

Well before the end of the century the British took up the detective story and, once they had turned their hands to it, they pursued it with vigor and enthusiasm. Wilkie Collins in *The Woman in White* and *The Moonstone* gave it full-length-novel treatment. Charles Dickens put a detective character in *Bleak House* and was going all the way in his unfinished *The Mystery of Edwin Drood*. Arthur Conan-Doyle with the Sherlock Holmes stories exploded all national and linguistic barriers.

It is safe to say that wherever in the world there is a written language and people read it for enjoyment Holmes became and has remained a household word. Ever since, furthermore, the detective story has been read widely and avidly in many countries and in many languages; but with a relatively few relatively recent exceptions the tales that have been read are the translations of English-language originals.

I have every reason to believe that I am not the most widely translated of detective story writers, but my books do appear in French, German, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, Danish, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, and Japanese. Since there are readers in all these languages, it might be expected that there would be writers in these languages working to meet the demand. Why have they been so slow to emerge and why even now, in comparison with the great numbers of American, British, and British dominion detective-story writers are they still so few?

We have here a curious phenomenon which does much to explain what the detective story is. Shortly after British writers took it up, it reappeared in American fiction. About the same time, however, it faded out of French writing. French writers, much as they enjoyed working with the reasoned story line, found that, writing in a society that subscribed to the Code Napoleon, they were ham-

pered in plot invention. The full development of the whodunit form needed that lovely idiosyncrasy of Anglo-Saxon justice, the presumption of innocence. Guilty until proved innocent afforded insufficient elbow room for plot invention. Innocent until proved guilty lies at the heart of the whodunit.

In the recent stages of the development of the detective story in the English-speaking countries the form has produced variants. We have the suspense story, police procedural stories, spy stories, chase stories, and *verismo*. It would seem to be the appearance of these variant forms that has opened the doors to writers in other languages who through wide translation are beginning to receive attention commensurate with that heretofore enjoyed virtually exclusively by writers in English.

There is always the conspicuous exception and here we have the redoubtable Belgian, Georges Simenon. Simenon, it must be recognized, is a writer of such formidable gifts that he has surmounted with brilliance the limitations that hobbled other novelists. Simenon is, to my knowledge, the only writer of detective stories who has ever been formally nominated for the Nobel Prize in literature, and he has twice been so nominated. The Simenon brow, of course, has never been crowned with the Nobel laurels, but he stands in good company: Tolstoy, Proust, Joyce, Unamuno, Kazantzakis, Pound—add or subtract, as you will, for your own list of the great uncrowned.

But that is a digression. To understand the basic character of the detective story and of its place in the history of the novel it is useful to investigate the reasons why its origins should have been of such recent date. A search of pre-Poe literature for forerunners of the detective story does turn up stories in which detection plays a part and even stories which build their plots wholly on detection. None of them, however, is a detective story.

In Genesis the Cain and Abel story offers a brief passage of Q and A which displays a strong surface appearance of being detective story stuff. Even though there is only one question, one answer, and then prompt condemnation, the answer contains a device which detective story writers have incorporated into their dialogue again and again. Cain seeks to avoid responding to a discomfiting question by countering with a question of his own: "Am I my brother's keeper?" Despite that bit of strong detective story flavor, however, the Cain and Abel Q and A is not detective story stuff. The question is not investigatory. It is asked with no purpose of uncovering

a crime or placing the guilt. The questioner, it must be remembered, is omniscient. Omniscience, by definition, has no need for detection.

Sophocles in the *Electra* wrote a scene which must excite the envy of any detective story writer. Orestes after a long absence returns to home and homicide. He has been too long away for anyone to recognize him on sight and he wants to keep it that way until he has carried out his bloody purpose. There is, however, his sister, Electra. She has been keeping the home fires of hate smoldering against the day when they can be fanned into flame. She is his potential ally and to her Orestes does want to make himself known.

They meet and in a tense and edgy scene brother and sister feel each other out. Tossing out lines of the subtlest equivocation they circle one the other like a pair of strange dogs until they achieve a breakthrough to recognition. This recognition scene is detective story stuff and superbly done, but it is just the one scene. The play as a whole is not a tale of detection.

In *Oedipus Tyrannus*, however, Sophocles did do a tragedy that was a story of detection. A foundling has made himself a good life. He has risen all the way to the top. He is the king. He sits firmly on the throne. It is suggested to him that, should he choose to seek it out, he might learn something of his origins. He sets the investigation in motion but, before he has learned anything of his hidden past, he is advised to drop it. Ignorance is bliss. What you don't know can't hurt you. You don't need it. But Oedipus won't drop it. A man could never have made his kind of success if he had been the timid type who would leave unfinished any project he had once begun. Also he was a Greek. It may have been that he subscribed to the Socratic *gnothi seauton* and would permit nothing to turn him away from the quest for self-knowledge.

In any event it seemed to him that he had nothing to fear. Had he not led an exemplary life? In his youth, it is true, there had been that unfortunate episode at the crossroads. One of those traffic things, it had turned out badly. There had been a fight and Oedipus had killed the other man, but the other man's behavior had been outrageous. By all standards of his time and place Oedipus had handled himself properly in that encounter. The man had suffered nothing more than he deserved.

Apart from that, there might have been some who looked askance at Oedipus' marriage. He had taken to wife a woman

literally old enough to be his mother, but since they had made a success of it, stayed together, loved each other over the years, and produced a family of two sons and two daughters, even if people called it an odd mating, they could hardly say it had been wrong.

Oedipus persisted and Oedipus learned the truth of his origins and the learning destroyed him. That old justifiable homicide, since the victim was his father, was automatically converted into the unjustifiable crime of patricide. His marriage, since the lady was not merely old enough to be his mother but was indeed his mother, became the horror of incest.

A story of detection to be sure, but not a detective story. Why not? Because detective and criminal turn out to be one and the same? That is unusual but not impossible. It has been done successfully in a detective story. Because the purpose of the detection was not the uncovering of a crime or the identification of the criminal but merely the foundling's search for his origins? Many a detective story has begun in just that way. A foundling looks for his parents. An amnesiac seeks his lost memories. As a byproduct of the investigation the man uncovers a crime and either he himself or his nearest and dearest is the apparent criminal.

In a detective story it is probable that the protagonist will not, as did Oedipus, simply accept the verdict and allow it to destroy him. In a whodunit he may be expected to pursue the investigation further till he has cleared himself or his loved one by proving the crime on its true perpetrator. It is conceivable, however, that this is not necessary for a detective story.

What does rule *Oedipus Tyrannus* out is that it is an account only of the results of a process of detection. It does not build its story on the detection process. For a pre-Poe work, however, that does provide an account of its detection process we can go to Shakespeare.

In good detective story fashion an informant appears. He won't talk, but the people who witness his appearance have good reason to believe that he wants to talk, that he has something to reveal, and that if a meeting can be set up for him with the right man, he will talk. They go to our hero and tell him what they have seen. He agrees that he is probably the one person the informant wants to meet and he seeks a meeting.

Again in good detective story fashion he goes for this meeting to a remote and possibly dangerous place and he goes in that spooky

time between midnight and dawn. The informant appears but he is still not ready to talk. He must have his man alone. Our hero, unmindful of his own safety, follows the informant to an even more remote and more dangerous spot. There the informant opens up.

He tells our man that the recent demise of our hero's father, officially given out as a natural death, was in fact a murder. He gives a detailed circumstantial account of the murder and he fingers the killer. Following the standard operating procedure of his age, our hero might have been expected to take this intelligence to the legally constituted authority, the king. The accused would have been apprehended and, if not executed out of hand, would have been put to the torture till there had been wrung from him a confession or at least some damaging admission. He would then, if he had not already died under the torture, been executed.

Here, however, Shakespeare wrote into his plot a special circumstance that made the standard operating procedure impossible. The accused was the king himself. So then our man had another obvious course open to him, the course that would have been taken by any proper young red-blooded hero of his time. Undertaking the procedure followed by the protagonist of Mickey Spillane's *I, the Jury*, he would have set himself up as arresting officer, prosecutor, jury, judge, and executioner and gone straight out to kill the king with his own hands.

Shakespeare confronts us instead with another special circumstance. Our hero is a young man. He is a student, a lad of philosophical inclinations, a man of that strange breed that might permit thought and scruple to inhibit action. A young man of our own time, at the risk of being called a bleeding heart, would be likely to tell himself that he must not be hasty. He must recognize that the accused is a man he hates and despises. It is possible that he is not a proper judge of this accusation. He is in a position to profit greatly from the king's downfall. Can he be certain that he is not overprone to believe the accusation? Is he allowing wishful thinking to unseat reason?

Being a young man of another time, Shakespeare's hero put it differently. He asks himself whether he can be certain that the informant is what he appears to be. Might he not be an agent of the devil come to tempt our man into the commission of an act that will damn him forever? In any event the young man decides that he cannot act until he has some proof of the charge or at least something in the way of corroboration.

I have, of course, been submitting *Hamlet* to barbarous handling, stripping it down to the bare mechanics of its plot, but in those plot mechanics *Hamlet* is what would be known today as a suspense story. It is not a whodunit since at no point is the audience expected to have any doubt of Claudius's guilt. The suspense does not hang on waiting to learn who killed Hamlet's father. It hangs on the struggle between Hamlet and Claudius. Which of the two will survive? What people will fall along the way?

An attempt to shift the *Hamlet* plot to a whodunit shape is a further barbarism. I undertake it not with any delusion of trying to improve on Shakespeare but because the attempt can indicate much of the reason why the appearance and development of the detective story had to wait for the middle of the nineteenth century. A simple shift in the assumptions of what a ghost can know will give the plot a good whodunit beginning. The ghost of Hamlet's father knows after death what he could not have known while he was still man alive. He was sleeping. His murderer crept up behind him and killed him in his sleep. Everything he tells Hamlet he knows only through the postmortem intelligence he possesses now that he is a ghost.

Let us assume that a ghost's supernatural perceptions begin only at the point when death has parted spirit from body. These perceptions are not retroactive to the time when the ghost was still man alive. On such an assumption the ghost would tell Hamlet that he was napping in his garden. He was wakened by the feeling of a liquid that was running into his ear. He was aware that someone had crept up behind him and was bending over him. He felt the hot breath of the killer on his skin. He tried to open his eyes and turn his head. He tried to catch a glimpse of his poisoner, but even in that moment of wakening the poison had already begun to take effect. He was paralyzed. He couldn't turn his head. He couldn't even lift his eyelids.

So we have a whodunit opening for the story. What then? Hamlet, a good citizen, takes the information to the constituted authority, Uncle Claudius. We must keep Claudius in character. That means Claudius will be shocked and sympathetic. The foul deed will not go unpunished. This touches him as closely as it does Hamlet and, since Claudius is the king, the responsibility of dealing with this crime is his. He will leave no stone unturned.

And he leaves no stone unturned. He looks around the court for an undesirable he would like out of the way. He has the unfortu-

nate man seized and put to the torture. Not much of a story there, but there is another possibility we can try. Hamlet is no fool. He thinks before he takes his story to the king. He knew his father. Daddy was a good man and a good king. He had no enemies. Why would anyone murder him? There could be only one motive and that was ambition. So who profited? Uncle Claudius, and Hamlet needs proof, but we are back with the suspense story and Shakespeare did it better.

Before we leave Hamlet, however, let's look at the methods of detection he undertook. At no point is it suggested that he tried to turn up a witness who may have seen Claudius on his way to or from the garden at the strategic time. He makes no attempt to check on whether Claudius might have an alibi and, if so, how sound that alibi might be. He makes no effort to find the source of the poison. He doesn't question the local apothecary or his friendly neighborhood alchemist. He doesn't even question that most peculiar old crone down the lane, the one to whom everybody has been going for philters and potions. Within the limits of his situation he follows the mode of detection standard for his time. Obviously he cannot fasten King Claudius to the rack. He cannot clamp the thumbscrews on the royal fingers but, insofar as he can torture the accused, he tortures him, trying by mental torture to wring from him or shock out of him the confession or damaging admission, the telltale word or gesture.

There lies the answer. As long as the officially operated, publicly avowed and publicly accepted chief mode of detection was torture, the detective story was not possible. A whodunit writer of our day could, of course, do a detective story in historical setting. A murder has been done. The prime suspect is a good man blessed with brave, resourceful, and faithful friends. They whisk him into hiding. They must keep him out of the hands of constituted authority. If they fail in this and their man is apprehended, he will be put to the torture and, if he should be strong enough to hold out against making a false confession, he will die horribly under the torture. They must keep him hidden while they do the job of detection and until, by discovering the true criminal and proving the crime on him, they have cleared their man.

Such stories have been written in our time and to the mind of a reader in our time they might not seem incredible. They do, however, falsify history by giving to their detective characters modes of

thought that would almost certainly not have been natural to them. Hamlet was not an unskilled detective. He was, even though unusual, a man of his own time or, at the latest, of Shakespeare's time.

Let us assume, however, that such a story might have been written at some time during the pre-Poe centuries. Would it have found an audience? Would not readers have dismissed it as absurd, feeling that the detective characters were going about their tasks the hard way when surefire methods of obtaining confessions were available? So the suspect's friends weren't the law. Why didn't they fasten on their own suspect, kidnap him, and torture a confession out of him?

It is, moreover, doubtful that such a story would ever have reached an audience. It would have been a most likely candidate for censorship and suppression. Societies that suppressed Figaro because they could not tolerate the subversive suggestion of a barber who was mentally and morally superior to a Count could not have been expected to countenance a school of fiction that called into question the basis of their whole system of justice.

Only in the wake of a great social change did the whodunit detective story become possible. This change came as a result of the Eighteenth Century Enlightenment and the political philosophies of the American and French Revolutions. By the middle of the nineteenth century this changed thinking had seeped down into the popular mind. Torture had fallen into disfavor and not only on humane grounds. It came to be considered insufficiently effective, not good enough for men of the Age of Reason. It came to be recognized that torture gives society only a guarantee that punishment will follow crime. It does not guarantee that the punishment will fall on the criminal.

It is not possible to say that by the middle of the nineteenth century torture had disappeared or that it has disappeared even today. It does, however, no longer enjoy automatic acceptance. When it occurs, the torturers try to keep it secret. If they are found out, they feel that they must find excuses for it. For want of better methods, they say, we must use the methods available, arguing that the alternative would be to let crime run rampant.

Also torture, when and where it is practiced in our times, is done for purposes more limited than in earlier eras. Not even the torturers look on it now as a prime method of fixing guilt. They resort to it rather with the purpose of forcing a suspect into incriminating

his associates. They also consider it to be an instrument of crime prevention. If they are rough on suspects who fall into their hands, they might induce people to hold themselves aloof from even the appearance of criminal behavior, to stand at even that further remove from the commission of crime.

Although in the nineteenth century torture did not disappear, by midcentury it was generally expected that it would disappear. The nineteenth was a century of optimists. Nineteenth-century man conceived of himself as firmly set on a highway to utopia. In a world transformed by science, technology, and reason, both social conditions and the nature of man would be so much improved that crime would disappear. Consider, for example, that extreme of optimistic philosophy which predicted the fading away of even the ultimate criminal—government itself.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, likewise filtered down from the thinking of the philosophers of the Enlightenment, there appeared in the popular consciousness a new hero, the man of science. He would shape the great hypotheses. He would test them and prove them and on them he would build the technologies destined to produce, if not a new world, a radically revised world. In celebration of the new hero there emerged a new form of storytelling. It was science fiction.

Just as from the earliest beginnings of storytelling there had been tales of murder and its aftermath, so there had always been tales of magic and miracle. During the centuries the magic and miracle stories developed a subdivision, the alchemist story. With the appearance of the man of science, however, the alchemist story fell away into the department of historical romance and was otherwise displaced by science fiction.

Magic and miracle tales, of course, have persisted. We still have ghost stories. Relatively recently we have had what appears to be a revival of witchcraft stories. *Rosemary's Baby* placed a coven of witches in a fashionable apartment house on Central Park West at the very heart of Manhattan Island. Any day now we may expect a story in which the Central Park West witches may be locked in mortal combat with the muggers in the park across Eighth Avenue. The outcome perhaps will depend on which faction succeeds in forming an alliance with the dinosaurs in the American Museum of Natural History. In addition there appears to be a school of contemporary thought that, misreading McLuhan, has been turning to mediums in search of messages.

Quite apart from this, however, even in what appears to be science fiction there still is a considerable persistence of magic and miracle. Such characters as Superman, Wonderwoman, and Batman, whatever their overlay of pseudo-scientific gadgetry, are nothing more than old-fashioned miracle workers.

The authors of proper science fiction write from a different basis. They have a decent familiarity with the hypotheses that are under investigation by the scientists of their time. They also have a proper understanding of scientific method. Skipping the long and laborious processes of hypothesis testing and technological development, they assume that the hypotheses under consideration will prove out and they assume that the resultant technologies will be perfected. On the basis of the hypotheses and scientific method the science fiction writer fantasizes the technological possibilities and a world that they will produce. In such a world he sets his story.

There are other varieties of proper science fiction. Since they are not germane to a discussion of the detective story, we need not consider them here. Confining ourselves to these world-of-the-future stories, we can recognize that their writers have not been bad prophets. Men do live for extended periods of time in submarine environments. Men have walked on the moon and have returned safely to earth. The scifi predictions and the actual realizations do differ in many details. The astronauts did not make their journeys in top hats, morning coats, and striped trousers but to have visualized in detail what they did wear would have required not scientific competence but clairvoyance.

If we allow, then, that the writers were good enough prophets in creating their worlds of the future for the settings of their stories, we must also recognize that they didn't do badly in foreseeing the conflicts that would be natural to such worlds. The bad versus the good scientist? Actuality perhaps has brought us fewer mad scientists than the writers imagined but it is possible that they still lie in our future. Considered at the international level, however, we have seen the contest to produce horrors between our scientists (good) and their scientists (bad). The threat of raw nature as it might break through the barriers of science and fatally reclaim its own? We have had submarine disasters and brilliant rescue operations. Life threatened by a breakdown in gadgetry and life saved by a brilliant improvisation to meet the danger? No one could have forgotten the aborted mission to the moon and the superb improvisations that brought the men back to a precise earth landing on

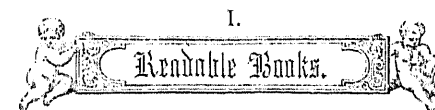
LEM power. The scientist saving humanity from the evil byproducts of technology? We have that one, too, now that ecology is a household word.

Confronted with the recognition that torture wouldn't do, the nineteenth century, even if sufficiently optimistic to believe that an improving world would eliminate crime, recognized that, even if only on an interim basis, there would have to be someone to replace the torturer. The inevitable answer was the new hero, the man of science. If he were to uncover the hidden secrets of the whole of nature, surely it would not be beyond his capacities, employing similar scientific method, to penetrate the relatively minor opacities of human ill nature.

The whodunit detective story, therefore, is another form of science fiction. It differs from the form we've been considering in that it does not create a future world as the setting for its stories. It has no need for doing this and there is every reason to believe that it would have been an unprofitable project. Science fiction writers who have considered crime in their worlds of the future have come up with discouraging conclusions for the whodunit writer. With Orwell we are back to Genesis. If Big Brother sees all and hears all and knows all, he has no need for detection. Nothing can hide away from omniscience. In Huxley's world it is genes. They are fiddled for prenatal elimination of all impulses to deviant behavior.

Neither scene is promising for a story of detection, but happily the detective story doesn't need it. The detective story is science fiction only in that it builds its story on scientific method. It is a fictionalization of the thought process that looks at the immediately available data, from that data forms a reasonable hypothesis, uses this hypothesis as a guide in the search for further data, employs the newly uncovered data for the testing of the original hypothesis, keeps revising the hypothesis to contain within it all new data that is developed, and finally arrives at the inevitable Q.E.D., that one hypothesis and the only one that can contain all the evidence.

Police detection over the years has developed technologies and detective story writers do use them in their stories. Fingerprint comparison, forensic medicine, chemical analysis, ballistics, electronic eavesdropping, the x-ray, the microscope—if a writer chooses to have his detective an expert in any of those techniques, he can go as far as he likes in describing the scientific processes, always assuming that he can handle it without losing the interest of his readers.



TALES OF MYSTERY, IMAGINATION, & HUMOUR; AND POEMS.

By EDGAR ALLAN POE.

ILLUSTRATED WITH TWENTY-SIX ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD.



The Gold-Beeble, page 22.

LONDON: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY
HENRY VIZETELLY, GOUGH SQUARE, FLEET STREET.
MDCCCLII.

The title page of the 1852 edition of Poe's detective fiction.
The gift of Willard Thorp



"THE HAND HOLDING THE DAMP CLOTH WITH WHICH SHE HAD BEEN CLEANING THE INSCRIPTION DROPPED TO HER SIDE; THE OTHER HAND GRASPED THE MARBLE CROSS," ETC.

An illustration by John McLenan for Wilkie Collins' *The Woman in White*,
New York, 1860.
Sinclair Hamilton Collection

He can use any and all of this and whodunit writers do but they don't need it. An early detective story might have its detective notice that a character's shoes are encrusted with mud of a peculiar color. He has observed mud of the same color at the scene of the crime and determines that this mud is peculiar to the one locality and occurs nowhere else within reach. The character says he has never been within miles of the scene of the crime. The detective then, having placed the character's shoes at the scene, need only place the character in his shoes at that time. "Aha, you lying knave . . ."

In a whodunit written a century later the detective takes into the murder room a vacuum cleaner and he sucks up into it every particle of dust. Examined under the microscope the dust shows up fibers of cashmere of a peculiar color. One of the characters has been wearing a sweater of this color and has not been seen in it since the time of the murder. When asked about it, he says he had tired of it. He threw it away. A search turns it up with blood stains on it. The microscope says the fibers of the sweater are identical with the fibers vacuumed from the scene of the crime. Blood typing says the blood stains are of the same type as the murder victim's blood. Confronted with the sweater, the character explains that he had a nose bleed and since, as he said before, he was tired of the sweater, he had not troubled to have it cleaned. He had thrown it away. "But the blood is not your blood type. It's the murdered man's. Aha, you lying knave . . ."

If we were to have the scientific genius of crime detection, however, we needed to pit against him a worthy antagonist. He might be a criminal of almost equal genius and equal or greater ferocity. He might be the nimbly elusive repeater who sets the genius detective the task of reasoning from the evidence to map the criminal's future moves and be upon him before he strikes again and again and again. Or he might be Mr. Big, the mastermind who sits at the center of a conspiracy or a gang operation. Our detective, to reach him, must reason his way past layer on layer of underlings who stand between the boss and detection.

We have recognized that the scifi writers who fantasized worlds of the future proved to be decent prophets. The whodunit writers have not. Out in the actual world that genius of scientific method who applies himself to crime detection has not appeared. Before we set this down to yet another failure of a faulty society, it is well to examine the actualities of crime and detection.

Consider a young person of impressive intellectual promise. He has, for the taking, a scholarship to a great university where he can work in mathematics and physics. Alternatively he can go to the Police Academy where he will be paid while he learns and he can work in crime detection. Obviously he will choose the university and the career in science. Because it carries more prestige than a police career? Hardly. A police career in which the detective practiced at the level of any of the great detectives of fiction might prove to be most prestigious. Our brilliant young person chooses the university because he can be certain that the discipline he undertakes there will for the rest of his life present him with a worthy and continuing challenge.

If he takes up crime detection, it is likely that he will go through a lifetime career without ever encountering a problem that could tax his mind. In the whodunit detective story the genius of crime detection uncovers by scientific method all the necessary evidence and again by scientific method he reasons from this evidence to irrefutable proof of guilt. His brilliance lies in his ability to piece together the evidence in the one pattern that will contain all the facts. In actual police work the best detectives are tenacious rather than brilliant. Patient and industrious, they persist doggedly in the search for evidence.

Such activity is all that actual crime requires of them. Actual crime does not provide the detective with those worthy antagonists that confront the fictional geniuses of crime detection. The criminals of actuality are stupid. Some of them may seem clever but at the most they are merely skilled technicians of crime. Confidence men are adept at playing on the greed of their victims. Pickpockets are dextrous and nimble. Hotel thieves are glib, but none of them are great brains. Of all criminals, furthermore, none are as stupid as the murderers. In those cases where a man of any intellectual capacity does commit murder you can be certain that in the commission of the crime he will be at least temporarily stupefied by the emotional impact of the act. He will be in no mental condition for the weaving of some tangled web that can be unraveled only by the full exercise of a detective genius's expertise in deduction.

I have known one man who had a career as a professional detective and who was possessed of the intellectual capacity characteristic of the whodunit detective. That was the late Dashiell Hammett. Before he took to writing the stories which in the thirties revolutionized the whodunit and gave it a new lease on life, he had

worked as a Pinkerton operative. He often perched for hours on the corner of my desk and reminisced about his Pinkerton days. His reminiscences were a delight. The criminal antagonists he'd encountered were variously pathetic, frightening, clownish, and blood-chilling, but one and all they had the one thing in common. They were, every one of them, inordinately stupid. That is not to say that they just fell short of being a match for the superior Hammett wit. They would never have been a match for even the dullest flatfoot on some force of fumbling dullards.

Consider the murders that actually confront the police detective. By a great margin most killings are family affairs. If the killer is not a relative of the victim, he is likely to be a close associate. Such murders are the open-and-shut cases. The murders that confront the police with any degree of difficulty are difficult not in the area of interpretation of the evidence but at the simple level of accumulating sufficient evidence or any evidence at all. The police officer who is good at detective work is good insofar as he is diligent in his search for evidence. Once the evidence becomes available, the case is likely to solve itself; and, in this process of uncovering the evidence, luck must always play a considerable part. In detective story plotting, however, luck must lie predominantly, if not wholly, on the side of the criminal. The criminal's lucky breaks may be yet another element over which the detective's brilliance must triumph. Give the breaks to the detective, however, and the story loses interest.

So far as we are aware of actual crime, it divides into the baffling cases and they baffle because they offer not enough evidence for forming any useful hypothesis, and the open-and-shut cases, which are the situations in which the evidence is available. In these there is no need for that detective story process of thinking through to the correct interpretation. The hypothesis leaps to the eye.

Every writer of detective stories must at least occasionally have the thought that these classifications of actual crime may not tell the whole story. Maybe there are out there, in addition to the crimes we know about, some perfect crimes, the mark of their perfection being the fact that they remain unknown. The murder rigged to look like a natural death is by a combination of skill and luck carried off successfully. If there are such crimes, they are still not actuality's equivalent of detective story killings. They are perfect because they offer no evidence. The detective story crime offers confusingly scrambled evidence the detective must sort out cor-

rectly. It is the difference between the jigsaw puzzle that can't be done because the pieces are missing and the difficult puzzle that is all there for the doing.

A New York City Police Department detective recently defined the difference. He said the storybook detective depends on clues. The police officer depends on informants. An examination of even a few examples of good actual detective work makes clear the difference. There is the case Truman Capote explored in his book, *In Cold Blood*. A pair of killers, just bright enough to time their arrival and departure in an early-to-bed-and-early-to-rise community at a time when it was most unlikely that anyone would be about to see them, lucky enough to have brought off this arrival and departure without running into that never-to-be-foreseen insomniac who might have been about, and ruthless enough in the commission of their crime to slaughter the whole family so that there would be no one left alive to bear witness against them, are long gone before anyone discovers their crime or its victims.

The local police officer takes the case in hand. He is a good man. He is intelligent, diligent, and dedicated. He makes all the proper moves. He searches the scene of the crime and finds nothing beyond determining that the killings had been horribly methodical and that, in addition to stealing whatever money had been in the house, the killers had taken a radio. He takes a hard look at all the local characters who by any stretch of the imagination could be thought to be violent or in any way suspect. He also looks at and questions the friends of the victims and people who worked for them. He does everything possible and on everything he comes up empty.

He has the possibility that the killers might try to dispose of the stolen radio. With the alarm he's put out they might be spotted if and when they should make such an attempt. He is, however, an old hand at police work and he knows that the chance of that is slim indeed. There is every indication that the profit from the crime was relatively small. The money taken was not likely to last long. It could be expected that some time in the not too distant future these killers would try again in some other place. He can only hope that they will be less lucky this next time and that they might be apprehended and, once caught, might confess to their whole series of crimes. That way he might one day be in a position to mark these killings a closed case.

In a prison half a continent away, however, there is a convict who hears of the crime with an individual horror. He was once in

the employ of the family that has been slaughtered. He knows that in the course of idle talk with other prisoners he had on occasion reminisced about the days he had worked on that place. He'd told of the fine house and the beautiful farm acreage around it, of the family's affluence, of their way of life. He knows that in this talk he probably exaggerated the amount of cash he believed was ordinarily kept in the house. He also knows that when he was guilty of all this loose talk, there had been one of his fellow prisoners—a conspicuously savage young man—who had displayed special curiosity about the place and the people. He remembers how this young man had again and again led him back to the subject of the house, the farm, the family, and the money.

The man takes his story to the prison authorities and they pass the information on to the responsible police officer. He checks the prison records and learns that the young man had been released from jail all too neatly in time to have gone west and committed the crime. He also learns from the prison records the man's home address. He goes to the suspect's home town where he learns that the man did drop by after his release from prison, that he'd had another young man with him, and that they had moved out still neatly in time to have been in the right place at the right time for the commission of the crime. He learns that they left in a motor car and he has the make, year, and registration number.

An alarm made up from all this information plus mug shots of the two men taken from prison records does result in their arrest and to the successful solution of the case. Not to denigrate the ability of the police officer and with all due admiration for the diligence, thoroughness, and intelligence with which he did everything available to him to do, we must still recognize that everything he did was well-executed routine. That process which is central to the detective story—examination of the available evidence and from it forming a useful hypothesis—insofar as it was done at all, was done by that prisoner who remembered that he had talked too much and certainly the thinking he did at that point required no genius. He had the available evidence. The hypothesis he formed jumped at him. For even the most consummate dullard it would have been unavoidable.

For an example of a reasonably close approach to whodunit-type detection out in the world of actual crime we have the Wiley-Hofert murders in Manhattan. Two young women who share an apartment are found murdered and their bodies mutilated. From the

nature of the mutilations the police conclude that the killings were the work of a sex-maniac. Arriving at such a conclusion was again no remarkable feat of ratiocination. Without being confronted with the gory details, you can be sure that the choice of organs for mutilation made it painfully obvious.

The police examined the premises and found nothing they could hope would lead to the killer. They rounded up all known sexual deviants they could find and they questioned them without result. They looked into friends and acquaintances of the two dead young women. They came on boyfriends whose hairlength or life style were not quite consonant with policemen's ideas of what might be suitable and they looked particularly closely at them. They pumped all their informants. On every side they were coming up empty.

Then over in Brooklyn a woman complained to the police that a youth in midmorning right out on a Brooklyn street had attempted to molest her. The police ranged the neighborhood and picked up a young man. Stupid, physically ill-favored, and unemployed, he could give no good account of his movements. For want of anything else to do, he had just been drifting around. The police set it up for the complainant to view this youth. The method used for this confrontation has since been called into serious question, but in any event the woman identified the young man as the one who had attempted the assault on her.

Since the Manhattan detectives were looking at all sexual deviants that turned up within their reach, an officer crossed the river from Manhattan for a look at this young man. Among the things the police had found in the youth's pockets had been a snapshot photograph of a young woman. The Manhattan detective looked at the photograph and to his eye it bore a strong resemblance to the late Eunice Wiley, one of the two young women whose murders he was investigating.

Since New York wanted the youth on the graver charge, Kings County turned him over to New York County. Questioned about the picture, the lad responded unconvincingly. He said it was a picture of his girl, but he refused to give the name of the girl or to tell where she might be found. He was held for the two murders and a court-appointed attorney was assigned to him. The attorney looked at the snapshot and to his eye it didn't bear any inescapable resemblance to the late Miss Wiley. He questioned his client about

it but he could elicit from the youth nothing better than the young man had been giving the police.

The attorney was a good man bent on doing his best for his client. He learned that the youth had not been long in Brooklyn prior to his arrest. He had come from a small place along the Jersey coast. The attorney went down there and, since it was a small place and since he was assiduous, he found the young woman of the photograph. She identified it as a picture of herself. She had never known the young man on whom it had been found. She had never even heard of him. She couldn't imagine how her picture could have come into his possession. She explained that she hadn't liked the picture. She considered it a poor likeness, felt that it did her no justice. She had thrown it into the trash.

The attorney scouted out the neighborhood where his client had lived. He found other young men there and they knew the unfortunate youth. They also knew the photograph. The young man had been carrying it for some time before he had moved out to Brooklyn, and he had told them the same story. It was a picture of his girl friend. They had never believed him. He was too stupid and too ugly for any girl to tolerate him and also he spent all his time scavenging on the town garbage dump, obviously no place to meet a pretty, clean, well-groomed, and well-dressed young woman.

Armed with the fruits of these researches the attorney returned to his client and confronted him with what he had learned. The young man broke down and told the attorney that he had never had a girl and that all the other fellows had girls and boasted of their amorous conquests. The poor lad had found the snapshot among the trash on the town dump and had pocketed it, using it thereafter in an effort to make himself one of the boys. He too had a girl friend. He too could boast.

The attorney brought this information to the prosecutor's office, but the charges against his client were not dropped. Under interrogation, the attorney was told, the young man had made admissions considered to be incriminating. That the attorney knew his client to be the sort of suspect who could be trapped into saying almost anything if the triggering questions were asked made no difference. They had a case against the youth even though they conceded that the item of the photograph had to be dropped out of the fabric of proof.

While the lad was still awaiting trial, however, an informant appeared. A dope addict came to the police to tell them that an-

other addict of his acquaintance had been talking and had boasted of having done the Wiley-Hoffert murders. This new suspect was picked up and charged with the killings. The poor young fellow who'd never had a girl was returned to Brooklyn to stand trial on the charges over there.

Any reader of whodunits will recognize that in this case it was the attorney who did the story-book type of detective work. He had functioned as a Perry Mason and a Paul Drake rolled into one. Perry Mason, of course, would have uncovered the truth about the snapshot but he would have gone on from there to that courtroom scene in which he would have cleared his client by proving the crime on its true perpetrator. It is no criticism of the good man's actual performance to observe that he had to stop where he did. The data to go on into the next stage was just not available to him and there was nothing he could have done to make it available.

For a killer equipped with talents that approach those of the whodunit villain we can go to London. London, at least since the appearance of the Sherlock Holmes stories, has seemed to be a great setting for interesting murder stories. In my own experience I can recall a bed-sitting room in Baker Street which was once my residence. Baker Street, of course, is the perfect address for a murder scene and that bed-sitter had more than an address. There was a bathtub, but it wasn't in anything that could be described as a bathroom. It was in a closet. It filled the closet completely, a wall-to-wall bathtub. One opened the closet door and stepped directly from bed-sitting room to bathtub. It was a constant astonishment to me that I would open the door to run a bath and find the tub unoccupied. It was the perfect place for the discovery of a corpse.

These lodgings, furthermore, had another feature that was admirably suited for use in a whodunit plot. At the head of the stairs which led up to the bed-sitting room there was an electric clock fixed to the wall. That clock told time that was never in agreement with Greenwich, but each time I passed it I found it at variance with the correct time by a different interval. It hardly seemed possible that it was constantly being reset from its wrong time to some other equally wrong time. After a few days I could no longer glance at the clock in passing and let it go at that. I stopped to study it and immediately discovered its secret. It was running counter-clockwise. Consider the possibilities of the confusion of alibi times a mathematical genius doing crime detection might undertake to untangle.

Despite the superb possibilities of the place, nothing ever happened there. It was in a proper hotel in South Kensington that I found myself at the scene of what had been the stamping ground of a notorious killer. It was a hotel in which many ladies of advanced age had taken permanent residence. They liked it for its bright and airy rooms, its unfailing central heating, the kind and thoughtful service that brought morning tea and proper English breakfasts to the rooms, the dining room where they were served good, no-nonsense, English food, and its comfortable lobby where one could watch the South Kensington world go by while one took one's tea, even if from a wheelchair.

Shortly after I took up residence in this hotel, I discovered that it had not many years earlier been the base of operations for a Mr. Haigh. A gentleman of middle-age, Mr. Haigh had been a great pet of the elderly ladies who were his fellow-residents. He was personable, kindly, and thoughtful, always ready to do the charming small services like holding the hank of wool while the lady rolled up her ball of yarn, like picking up the dropped knitting needle or fallen crocheting hook.

Most cleverly Mr. Haigh managed to set up with one of the ladies a more intimate relationship, achieving under all those watchful eyes what must have been the most difficult feat of keeping that relationship secret. No guest, no member of the staff ever had the faintest suspicion that this lady any more than anyone else around the hotel was Mr. Haigh's special friend.

He arranged with the lady for them to meet away from the hotel without her telling anyone where she was going or whom she was meeting. This must obviously have involved skillful maneuvering on Mr. Haigh's part, but it must be recognized that it also must have involved a considerable degree of luck. He could have had no guarantee against the possibility that without his knowledge the lady might have confided in some special crony, but his plan worked beautifully. She confided in no one.

They met and he took her to see his place in the country. There he murdered her, dissolved her in acid, and sent her gurgling down the drain. This process also called for great expertise. To dissolve as large a mass as a human body in acid is generally thought to be, if not impossible, at least a long, laborious, and messy task. Mr. Haigh, with a brilliance that easily rivalled the abilities of the most adroit detective-story villain, had made a scientific discovery. He had found a substance, innocent and easily acquired, which,

when added to the acid, served as a catalyst which made the solution of the body feasible. Since this lady was the eighth he had so disposed of, it may be assumed that all went smoothly and easily.

Mr. Haigh returned to the hotel. With the passage of time the ladies began to wonder about their missing member. It seemed strange to them that she should have gone off without a word to anyone, not even a word of farewell. Other times when she had gone away she had said goodbye. She had sent her friends picture postcards. This time there was nothing. The ladies began to worry.

Mr. Haigh, always kind and thoughtful, worked at setting their minds to rest. He suggested to the ladies that the very fact of the lady's having gone off without telling anyone of her plans might indicate that this was not like other times she had gone away. This would certainly be some special sort of holiday and the absence of picture postcards was further evidence that it was special. Writing postcards is a dull business, one of the things a lady might find to do to fill in the dull stretches of a dull holiday. He suggested that her friends might be pleased that this time the lady was enjoying herself so much and so incessantly that she had no time for writing cards.

For some time Mr. Haigh kept the ladies' worries under control. It was time enough in fact to permit Mr. Haigh to attend one of the literary luncheons run at the Dorchester Hotel by the management of Foyle's bookstore, to build another of his clandestine friendships with a lady he met at the luncheon, and to take her to see his place in the country. This lady became his ninth and last victim and his ninth and last solution.

Eventually, however, despite his best efforts the ladies at the hotel once more began to worry. They were not without experience of life and they knew that it was most unlikely that even the most successful holiday could go on for so extended a period of unremitting joy. For a lady in their own age bracket they knew that it would be impossible. They became more and more convinced that their friend had met with foul play.

One of their number, more than average intrepid, announced that the time was long past when the police should have been informed. She was going around to the police station and report the lady missing. Helpful Mr. Haigh, feeling that his image required it of him, shifted his ground. He conceded that it had been a long time. The ladies might be right in their fears. The police should be notified, but a lady could hardly go around to the police station

alone. It wouldn't be suitable. Mr. Haigh would escort her on this errand.

They went to the police and they made their report. The police noted all the information they were offering and promised to look into the matter. Mr. Haigh escorted the intrepid lady back to the hotel. He wasn't worried. He knew that the missing lady had been alone in the world. The police would look into the matter of her disappearance. There would be only the one place they could look, back at the hotel. They would question the other guests and they would quiz the staff and nobody would know anything. It was precisely because nobody knew anything that the problem had been taken to the police. Mr. Haigh had every reason to expect he would be all right.

At this point, however, luck turned against Mr. Haigh. Just at the time of his visit to the police station there came there another visitor. She was a police woman. She wasn't assigned there. She had merely stopped by on her time off for a bit of a chat with a friend of hers, a police officer assigned to that station. When Mr. Haigh and the lady he'd escorted finished their business at the station and left, the visiting police woman remarked to her friend that there was something familiar about that man. He was no one she knew but she had seen the face somewhere. She was inclined to think it might have been on a police-wanted flyer.

Following this lead, the police discovered that Mr. Haigh had indeed been wanted by their colleagues somewhere in the north of England. It had been a matter involving an elderly lady. Digging deeper, the police located Haigh's place in the country. Their search of the house uncovered small bits and pieces of the nine ladies, items which the acid had not dissolved—nine sets of dentures, nine sets of finger nails, nine sets of toe nails. Tried for murder, Mr. Haigh was convicted.

Mr. Haigh came close, but even he wouldn't stand up as a whodunit character. By keeping the dentures and the nails he made things too easy for the police. Having done all the difficult things, he had neglected to carry through on the easiest part, throwing away the remaining trifles. On the police side again there is to be found no prodigy of reasoning. Luck brought the visiting police woman to the station house at the time when Mr. Haigh made his appearance there. The rest was only the industrious following of routine to turn up the dentures and the nails which made the whole thing open-and-shut.

The question does arise. Why would Mr. Haigh have kept the dentures and nails? One can only speculate. Vanity? Did he hope that one day after his death they would be found and the world would know how brilliant he had been? Souvenirs? Had they served him as reminders of the happy times he had had playing with his lethal instruments and his chemistry set? Trophies of the hunt? Nails, it must be recognized, are the nearest approach to antlers to be found in the human anatomy.

A writer of whodunits could take any one of these examples of actual crime detection and manipulate it to make of it a contest between detective and criminal in which might be developed a pattern of move and countermove where the detective comes out the winner through that feat of logic that penetrates all the criminal's stratagems. Actuality, however, offers no such contests.

The detective story, therefore, is an artificial literary form. It presents the contest between killer and detective, but it also sets up another contest, the puzzle game played between the author and his readers. A good whodunit supplies the readers with all the evidence they need if they are to arrive at the correct solution. It sets them the problem of piecing together the evidence into the only pattern that can stand up as an incontrovertible proof.

There is that cliché of the playing fields that says it doesn't matter whether you win or lose. It's how you play the game. How true this may be on the playing fields might be open to question, but in the game played between whodunit writers and whodunit readers it is true. The aficionado's enjoyment doesn't depend on solving the puzzle before the author has handed him the solution. He enjoys losing so long as he can feel that the author won fairly. Equally he enjoys winning so long as he feels that the author has given him a contest that was an adequate challenge.

As the whodunit developed through the last years of the nineteenth century and the first third of this century, it moved, therefore, more and more toward an abstract form, only tenuously hooked to the actualities of crime and detection. It became a puzzle game for intellectuals, the relaxation of minds that could be held only by a problem in logic. In the whodunit they found such a problem that could relax them since it was taxing without being important.

If the public for the pure puzzle game could have been large enough to constitute a market that might have kept pace with the rising costs of publication, the whodunit may well have developed all the way to a totally abstract art form. It must be remembered

that it was during those same years—the close of the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth—that painting and sculpture made the revolutionary move from representation of the world as it appears to the construction of worlds as it doesn't appear.

Painting and sculpture, however, can survive on the patronage of a relatively limited group of buyers. Published material that doesn't reach a larger public cannot meet its publishing costs unless it is subsidized and nobody subsidizes entertainments. The whodunit, therefore, if it had developed only as the puzzle game for intellectuals, could never have survived in the face of rising publication costs. It needed a larger public, and it was not among its intellectual readers that it could find this larger public. Not all intellectuals were or are whodunit fans. By way of illustration there was the philosopher, Paul Elmer More, who was so much an aficionado that he was not only a reader but also a major collector of detective stories. In contrast Edmund Wilson, forcing himself to read some whodunits because they were the favorite diversion of many minds he respected and admired, could find nothing in them. Wilson could not be interested in any reading that did not offer him some degree of revelation. The whodunit offers only a good game. It provides no epiphanies.

Early in the present century, however, the ladies did show the way to a larger audience. They incorporated into the whodunit love interest and sentiment. The stories of Mary Roberts Rinehart opened the doors to larger sales. The intellectual addicts didn't mind the addition of love and sentiment so long as they were not permitted to interfere with the game. If A was at point X at ten o'clock and B was at point Y at eleven o'clock, they could concern themselves with the problem of which of the two could have reached point Z at midnight on a night when the road from point V to point W was washed out even if the author did make much of the fact that A kissed B when they later met at point U.

The puzzle addicts objected only when the kisses were permitted to dilute the puzzle element beyond the place where it could continue to engage them or when the suspense element was permitted to subvert the logic. There was, for example, the "had I but known" school.

"Had I but known," the heroine reflects, "that the message was not from whom I thought it was, I would never have gone into the

abandoned sawmill alone at four in the morning and none of this would have happened."

These were the idiot heroine stories, abhorred by all proper whodunit fans. The idiot heroine bounces from hazard to hazard and from lucky escape to lucky escape. If at any point in the story any of the characters did even a little elementary thinking, not only would the puzzle solve itself, but there would never have been a puzzle in the first place since the story presents a situation only an idiot could encounter.

A latter day example of this sort of storytelling which has little or no relation to the whodunit is 007. James Bond caroms from predicament to predicament, never taking the thought that could have avoided the dangers. Furthermore, it is by no exercise of wit that he escapes from his predicaments, but only through employing the magic of his miraculous gadgets. Among these miraculous, pseudo-scientific gadgets, by the way, surely must be included the James Bond genitalia. To the true whodunit fan 007 is a transvestite idiot heroine.

Throughout this time when the whodunit was developing there was a parallel development in crime fiction represented by the penny dreadfuls, the dime novels, and the pulp magazines. As the whodunits were puzzle books, these others were the thrillers, trafficking in the excitements and the violence disapproved then in respectable publishing. This was the time when respectable publishing was at its most genteel. Starting out of this genteel basis and moving toward abstract form, the whodunit, even in the face of the literary breakthroughs of the 1920s, remained genteel. Its major characters were almost invariably upper class. Its villains were paragons of morality and correct behavior. But for their unfortunate penchant for killing people, they were without vice. The unities of time and of place might have pleased Aristotle, but the settings and the characterization had become perfunctory and repetitious. We all know that country house that was the only habitation on that offshore island and the three-day tempest that, conveniently for the author, cut it off from all communication with the rest of the world.

It might have been expected that in those years of the twenties when other novels were breaking new ground the whodunits would have changed with the rest. This change did happen eventually but it came slowly. For years the whodunit persisted in its old ways, even in its outworn clichés, because in the twenties it acquired the

fresh influx of an additional group of readers. These were the people who came to the detective story largely because it was not moving with the times. They found other novels disturbing. They didn't want to be introduced to all that gritty stuff. The whodunit became for them a refuge from Dreiser, Fitzgerald, Hemingway, Faulkner et al., not to speak of the Joyce and Proust that were coming over from Europe.

By the 1930s, however, these refugees were shrinking in numbers and the whodunit was ready for Dashiell Hammett. His stories opened it out of its ingrown form, broadening its canvas and bringing it back into touch with actuality in its inscenation, characterization, and incident. The basic abstraction of form, the puzzle game, did, however, remain. Following Hammett, Raymond Chandler, shifted the mix of logic and thrill a little more toward an emphasis on thrill, a shift that could be made only at the cost of reason.

In the years since there has been a continuing increase in the thriller element. In the face of the steadily mounting costs of publication there has been the need for reaching out to an ever wider audience. The readers who used to go to the pulps and the penny dreadfuls have now been taken into the fold.

The detective story, however, is not alone in this reachout. What formerly was the sentimental sob stuff published in periodicals with names like *True Confessions* or *True Story* has not been completely surrendered to television for its soaps. It is also being offered in hard covers, expensively bidding for serious critical attention. Consider *Love Story* with a heroine who is Little Nell converted to a contemporary appearance by her dirty mouth and contending with a hero and a hero's father who, but for their thin contemporary surfacing of jock and ex-jock, are straight out of *La Traviata*.

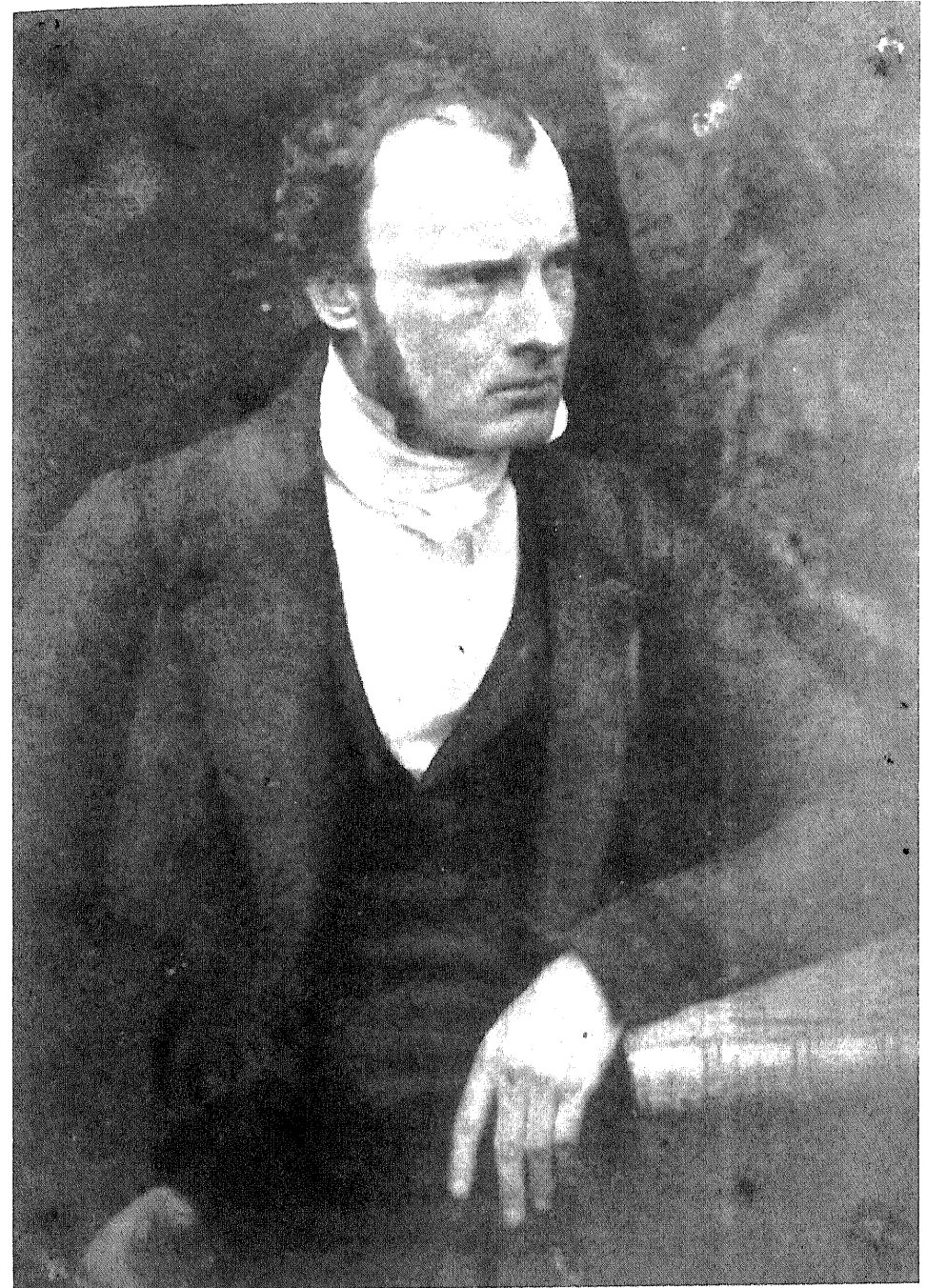
Since for its survival in an economic situation that demands a mass market, the detective story has had to increase its thrill element, the logical story line to a great extent has been loosened up to a point where ratiocination doesn't slow up the rapid movement of the story. If thought inhibited action, thought had to go.

The variant forms have in their various fashions taken care of this process. The suspense story, the chase story, the police procedural story can all make sense while whipping along without much stopping to think. Sex and violence have become major ingredients and not always to no more purpose than adding spice to the

mix. They are as well another area in which the detective story has come back into touch with actuality.

Within the last few years, however, there has been a marked pick-up in paperback reprinting of vintage whodunits, and among first books of new authors some have begun to appear that show a renewed emphasis on the reasoned line. It may be that the whodunit is on the way back and that the puzzle game crime book is to have a future as a separate category of the novel. Otherwise the murder story, insofar as it is not a puzzle game, seems well on the way toward being engulfed in the general mass of the novel.

In any event, crime stories will not disappear. William Butler Yeats once remarked that there were only two things that could interest the intelligent mind and that the two were sex and the dead. It must be remembered that Yeats lived in Ireland where he may have found too little of the one and too much of the other; but, whatever additions one might make to the list, sex and the dead are interesting. So long as they are, the detective story will not be without a future.



James McCosh as pastor at Brechin, photograph by David Octavius Hill.
The Graphic Arts Collection
The gift of David Hunter McAlpin, Jr.



Memorial bronze to James McCosh, by Augustus St. Gaudens. Presented by the Class of 1879 in 1889 and destroyed by fire when the Marquand Chapel burned in 1920. Only the bronze head survives. Princeton University Archives

James McCosh in Scotland

BY W. BRUCE LESLIE

THE formative years, by definition, shape our adult life. Men and women who came to the United States after reaching maturity in other societies must, therefore, be understood in the context of their earlier years. One of the more significant figures of nineteenth-century American society who came of age abroad was James McCosh who, at the age of 57, left the British Isles to become the President of the College of New Jersey, a post he held from 1868 to 1888. While presiding over the institution that was to be named Princeton University after his death, he was an important figure in American religious, educational, and intellectual circles. A careful examination of his four decades in Scotland should contribute to a deeper understanding of this energetic and controversial man who, unfortunately, has been relatively neglected by historians.¹

James McCosh spent his childhood in the attractive Ayrshire countryside in southwestern Scotland. Small dairy and sheep farming families had, with varying degrees of success, made their living for generations on the moors that rose gently eastward from the Irish Sea. The powerful landowners exerted a nearly feudal control over nineteenth-century Scottish rural areas. As the advantages of large farms became evident, proprietors evicted many of their tenants and forced them to migrate to Ireland, North America, and elsewhere. Some of the remaining farmers benefited from this policy by becoming the tenants for a number of the smaller farms. James McCosh's father was among the fortunate, overseeing about 1,000 acres by the time of the birth of his famous son in 1811.

The McCosh's farm, Carskeoch, overlooked the River Doon about fifteen miles from the Irish Sea. James spent his early years in the play and work associated with growing up on a farm, but

¹ Surprisingly there has been no major study of McCosh since the publication of his autobiographical notes shortly after his death. William M. Sloane, ed., *The Life of James McCosh* (New York: Chas. Scribner's, 1896), pp. 1-23. There is a brief but useful treatment of McCosh in the perspective of changes in American higher education in Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1965). His time as President of Princeton is outlined in Theodore D. Lockwood, "James McCosh: An Educator in an Age of Transition," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* XI (Spring, 1950), pp. 127-133.

his father was determined that the ministry, rather than agriculture, would be his son's career. Andrew McCosh was a pious man who led his family across four miles of moors each Sunday to the Straiton parish church where his family had worshipped for at least a century. He also conducted frequent evening services for his family and servants at Carskeoch. Thus the tone of the family life complemented Andrew's choice of a career for James.

James' pious upbringing was reinforced by Quentin Smith, the schoolmaster in the nearby town of Patna, to whom Andrew sent his nine-year-old son to learn Latin. Since Andrew died a few months later, Smith's presence was probably crucial in fulfilling the farmer's dream that James would serve the Church of Scotland. Smith provided both literary and spiritual stimulation and successfully prepared the boy to enter the University of Glasgow at age thirteen. McCosh later repaid the debt by loaning Smith money to emigrate to the United States where he participated in the evangelical revivals of the 1850's.²

Both his father and Quentin Smith seem to have built into James an evangelical fervor to do battle with those who were hostile to, or inadequately supportive of, piety. The influence of Robert Burns, who had immortalized the Ayrshire people and land in the latter part of the eighteenth century, was particularly repugnant to the pious. Nor did many of the clergy, then dominated by the relatively mild "Moderates" satisfy them. McCosh, probably influenced by Smith, developed the opinion that the two ministers who had charge of Straiton parish during his childhood were kindly and learned, but victims of the "lethargic influence" of Moderatism and unable to excite people. In later life he complained to Smith that the religious life in the area had always been weak and "I have not heard of any religious improvement among the people."³

When James McCosh left Carskeoch for Glasgow in 1824, he probably did not realize how completely he was breaking with his past. The industrial revolution had begun to affect the area. The construction of a railroad and iron works changed the village of Patna into a prosperous town and discolored the water of the once-picturesque Doon. The rest of the McCosh family remained in the area and were buried in the parish church. But increasing geo-

² Sloane, pp. 1-23; McCosh to Quentin Smith, April 25, 1842, January 10, 1859, and undated (1850's), James McCosh Papers, Princeton University Library. (Hereafter cited as "McCosh Papers.")

³ McCosh to Smith, January 10, 1859, McCosh Papers.

graphic mobility took its toll and most of the local farms soon changed hands. McCosh felt like a stranger in the area when, after his mother's death, he sold the family lands in the 1850's.⁴

At the age of thirteen James McCosh left Carskeoch for the mushrooming city of Glasgow, thirty miles to the north. The encounter of a rural boy from a religious home with a rough urban culture should provide a perfect historical vignette. Unfortunately the records of this period of his life are relatively sketchy. His mother entrusted him to the care of a cousin and James joined a preparatory class in November, 1824. The following year he officially matriculated into the ancient institution with the Latin registration "Jacobus McCosh, filius nat. max. Andreae, Agriculae, in cum. de Ayr."⁵

The five years in Glasgow were not particularly satisfying. The young Ayrshire student found his professors to be uninspiring and impersonal. Conversely, he did not attract the attention of any professors and spent the five years without personal involvement in the affairs of the institution. Fellowship with a small group of Ayrshire students provided his only social outlet.

However the religious life of the city provided more stimulation and sense of direction. Spurning the "Moderates" preaching at the University, McCosh visited the services of the more evangelical preachers, including Rev. David Welch who would become his mentor in Edinburgh. McCosh also no doubt heard of the exciting new force in the Church of Scotland, Thomas Chalmers, who left Glasgow the year McCosh arrived. The work of these men reinforced McCosh's interest in the ministry and he decided to enter Divinity Hall at the University of Edinburgh after finishing his four-year course in Glasgow.⁶

Thus in 1829 the eighteen-year-old student moved forty miles westward across the narrow neck of Scotland from Glasgow to the more glamorous capital city. Edinburgh, then nearing the end of its "golden age," offered a new cultural breadth for the recent Glasgow graduate. The University also offered him new stimulation. Sir William Hamilton's lectures on philosophy were far more sophisticated than any McCosh had encountered previously. He also attended lectures in natural history and geology that laid the

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ W. Innes Addison, *The Matriculation Albums of the University of Glasgow from 1728-1858* (Glasgow: Joseph Maclehose & Sons, 1913), p. 353.

⁶ Sloane, pp. 24-36.

foundation for his later writings on the relation of science and religion.

But most of his time and energy was focused upon Divinity Hall. Recent criticism by a Royal Commission on the training of clergy and the addition of new faculty, including Chalmers and Welch, helped create a stimulating atmosphere.⁷ Chalmers particularly set the tone, attacking the "Moderates" and urging his students to become more evangelical. He sent McCosh, among others, into lower class sections of Edinburgh as part of the Church extension work Chalmers had begun in Glasgow. Unlike his earlier schooling, McCosh found a total life at Divinity Hall, highlighted by frequent invitations to dine at the homes of professors, especially Chalmers and Welch.⁸

His attraction to the academic life created a dilemma for McCosh when he graduated in March, 1833. His degree essay on Stoic philosophy was highly praised by Hamilton and the young graduate was tempted to follow an academic career. He remained in Edinburgh attending lectures and reading for almost a year before deciding to become a practicing parish minister. He returned home and was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Ayrshire on March 26, 1834. After doing his probationary preaching, McCosh applied for a vacant position in the neighboring parish of Kirkmichael. Although a majority of the parishioners favored his election, McCosh fell victim to the patronage policy of the Church of Scotland by which the major landowners, or heritors, in conjunction with the government, selected the parish clergy. Finally, through the influence of a college friend, McCosh was "called" by a church to the north and left Ayrshire permanently.⁹

The Abbey Church, adjacent to the ruins of a medieval abbey, was one of three Established Churches in Arbroath, a small town on the North Sea fifty miles north of Edinburgh. The Presbytery of Arbroath had deposed the previous minister, apparently for drunkenness, and "called" the recent Edinburgh graduate in October, 1835. The next spring the Synod of Angus and Mearns learned that "Mr. James McCosh, Probationer, had been ordained and admitted to the Abbey Church and Parish . . ."¹⁰

⁷ Stewart Mechie, "Education for the Ministry in Scotland Since the Reformation," *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* (1958), pp. 161-168.

⁸ J. M. McBain, *Eminent Arbroathians* (Arbroath, 1897); Sloane, pp. 37-49.

⁹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, XXII (Supplement), 989-991; Sloane, pp. 50-55.

¹⁰ Synod of Angus and Mearns, Minutes (Scottish Record Office), April, 1836.

The young minister quickly established himself in local and national church affairs. McCosh sought to develop sermons that were appropriate to the lower middle class parishioners who made up most of his congregation. House visits, emergencies, a Sunday school, and trips to outlying farms took up much of his time. McCosh's contacts from Divinity Hall kept him involved with church leaders. The prominent young missionary, Robert M. McCheney, accepted an invitation to preach in Abbey Church at the beginning of Lent assuring his host that "our slight acquaintance in College is abundant introduction."¹¹ McCosh also retained contact with Chalmers. Shortly after assuming office the young pastor acknowledged his debt to his former teacher.

I cannot but express my deep sense of the obligations I lie under you intellectually and spiritually for the instructions I received in your class—and which I feel the full value now, when I am called in the Providence of God to dispense weekly ministrations to a large congregation.¹²

McCosh later arranged for Chalmers to address the Presbytery and people of Arbroath. Chalmers in turn urged McCosh to promote his "Church Extension Schemes."¹³ McCosh was also honored by election to chair the meetings of the Synod of Angus and Mearns.¹⁴

But perhaps the greatest honor was an invitation to preach in Edinburgh at the prestigious Old Grey Friars Church "with the view of filling up the present vacancy in that church."¹⁵ Although never reluctant to press his claims in later life in this instance he demurred and suggested Rev. Thomas Guthrie. His recommendation was effective as a friend wrote that he was

somewhat disappointed that you did not (give) the people here an opportunity of hearing you but I learn that your letter was much approved of and tended materially to secure Guthrie's name being put on the list.¹⁶

¹¹ Robert M. McCheney to McCosh, February 24, 1837, McCosh Papers.

¹² McCosh to Thomas Chalmers, March 1, 1836, Thomas Chalmers Papers, New College Library, Edinburgh. (Herein cited as "Chalmers Papers.")

¹³ *Ibid.*, September 20, 1838; Chalmers to McCosh, March 14, 1839, McCosh Papers.

¹⁴ Synod of Angus and Mearns, Minutes, October, 1837 and April, 1838.

¹⁵ I. O. Mach to McCosh, June 20, 1837, McCosh Papers.

¹⁶ Alexander Dunlop to McCosh, June 28, 1837, McCosh Papers.

Gutherie won election to the post and became one of the leading figures in mid-nineteenth century Scottish religious life. The favor may have also benefited McCosh who later courted and married Gutherie's niece Isabella.

Despite these signs of success, there was powerful opposition in Arbroath to the evangelicals. The main newspaper, *The Arbroath Journal*, was controlled by Lord Panmure and other gentry who were hostile to Church extension. The *Journal* went so far as to encourage a "Great Voluntary" meeting to attack Chalmers and his plans.¹⁷ Whether this opposition was a factor or not is unclear, but in late 1838 McCosh worked hard to secure a new position.¹⁸

Thirteen miles north of Arbroath, in the town of Brechin, six miles inland from the North Sea, a battle raged within the Old Church. This became one of a series of controversies and factional disputes that would plague McCosh for the rest of his time in Scotland. On October 25, 1837, the Synod dismissed the previous minister for plagiarizing sermons; embarrassingly McCosh was the Moderator (chairman) of the meeting.¹⁹ A few months later McCosh's credentials were presented to the Presbytery, which rejected them on a very close vote and elected Rev. Robert Inglis of Lochlee instead. McCosh's representative protested against Inglis having voted for himself and appealed to the Synod. In October, 1838 the Synod decided "that the Presbytery of Brechin ought not to have rejected the Certificate of qualification offered by McCosh" and reversed the case in his favor.²⁰ The Presbytery duly accepted the decision and issued the call to McCosh, giving notice that anyone objecting to his "life and doctrines" should come forth at a meeting scheduled for January 24, 1839.²¹ The opportunity was not ignored. Joseph Boss presented a petition signed by 85 parishioners objecting to the candidate on several points. They claimed that McCosh had played an unseemly and self-serving role in exposing the previous minister's plagiarism. He "thereby endeavoured to raise a spirit of opposition to Mr. Norval throughout the parish" and "used undue methods to procure a

¹⁷ *Arbroath Journal*, January 12, 1839; J. M. McBain, *Bibliography of Arbroath Periodical Literature* (Arbroath: Brodie & Simon, 1889), pp. 39-41.

¹⁸ Unfortunately the minutes of the Abbey Church and of the Presbytery for this period do not seem to have survived.

¹⁹ Synod of Angus and Mearns, Minutes, October 25, 1837.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, October, 1838. Also July 4, 24, and September 24, 1838.

²¹ Presbytery of Brechin, Minutes (Scottish Record Office), December 6, 1838 and January 8, 1839.

presentation and call to the Church of Brechin." Also McCosh was deemed physically unfit "being unable to make his voice heard." Finally they made the somewhat unbelievable charge that "Mr. McCosh speaks the name of 'God' and the title of 'Lord' in an irreverent and unbecoming manner."²² The majority of the Presbytery found these complaints irrelevant to the "life or doctrine" of the candidate, and therefore "frivolous." Their move to admit McCosh was then challenged by Reverend David Harris of Mearns who challenged the propriety of the proceedings. Although his objection was overruled and McCosh forthwith admitted, the Presbytery was sufficiently concerned to appoint a committee of three to answer Harris' objections.²³

With this controversial start McCosh began his ministry at the Old Church, Brechin. He again came into conflict with Lord Panmure, contesting him for possession of a house that had, until recently, been occupied by a minister but had fallen into the landlord's hands through government action. The Presbytery set up a committee to investigate; however it issued no recorded report and presumably preferred not to take up a fight with such an influential man. However, the seeds of conflict between McCosh and Panmure and McCosh's distaste for current governmental policy in the Church were certainly reinforced. Otherwise the next few years were calm and successful. McCosh was frequently elected moderator or clerk in the Presbytery and his congregation grew and prospered.²⁴

However, an ecclesiastical storm was brewing that was to buffet the Church of Scotland and McCosh for years to come. The government, in conjunction with the landed gentry, had increased their power over church affairs, especially the selection of the clergy, for several centuries. As happened to McCosh's supporters in Kirk-michael, congregations could have their choice rejected by the "patrons" and have another minister imposed upon them.

The government's refusal to support plans for expanding the Church's social and educational role further also frustrated the evangelicals. By 1842 McCosh was caught up in the ferment and was ready to take a drastic step, if necessary. He wrote to Chalmers that "we are all prepared in this quarter to declare to the government and the country that we are resolved to maintain our princi-

²² *Ibid.*, January 24, 1839.

²³ *Ibid.*, January 24, 1839 and April 2, 1839.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, April 2, 1839 through September 27, 1842.

ples even though we should be disestablished in consequence."²⁵ An Edinburgh friend agreed that soon "their brethren shall abandon their worldly goods for conscience sake."²⁶ McCosh carefully considered strategy feeling that "nothing could be so fatal to our cause as a few persons going out of the Establishment before the great body of the party are prepared to take this step."²⁷ The Courts proceeded to force the issue and bring matters to a head. When the General Assembly met and refused to challenge the Court actions, Chalmers and over one-third of the clergy dramatically walked out and reassembled to organize the Free Church of Scotland. A similar "disruption" occurred within the Brechin Presbytery in which six of the seventeen ministers resigned. On June 20, 1843 the clerk recorded that McCosh and the others "are no longer ministers of the Church of Scotland and that their charges are vacant from this date."²⁸

However, the town of Brechin was strongly in the hands of the newly formed Free Church, with all three local ministers and a majority of the congregations "coming out." Reverends McCosh, and A.L.R. Foote formed the West Free Church, Brechin, with most of their combined former congregations. Rev. Mungo Parker and most of his original congregation formed the East Parish and fortuitously maintained possession of their building.²⁹

On May 28 McCosh's and Foote's congregation met for the first time and, after services, selected a building committee. Funds were raised quickly and the new church opened for services on November 27, 1843. Over 1200 attended the morning and afternoon sessions while 1400 crowded in for the evening service which featured a guest preacher. The next day the elders established pew rents, with exemptions for the poor, and the church was off to a prosperous start.³⁰

But the Free Church's situation was much more difficult in the rest of the Presbytery. On June 7 the Free Church Presbytery of Brechin was created with Foote as moderator and McCosh as clerk. Its first task was to supply groups of Free Church supporters with

²⁵ McCosh to Chalmers, November 11, 1842, Chalmers Papers.

²⁶ Alexander Dunlop to McCosh, November 10, 1842, McCosh Papers.

²⁷ McCosh to Chalmers, November 11, 1842, Chalmers Papers.

²⁸ Presbytery of Brechin, Minutes, June 20, 1843.

²⁹ William Ewing, *Annals of the Free Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Clark, 1914), pp. 343-348.

³⁰ Free Church of Scotland, West Freekirk Session, Minutes (Scottish Records Office), May 28 through November 28, 1843.

pastors. Probationary preachers were appointed to preach to some congregations while others were supplied by stretching ministers over two parishes. The Presbytery instructed McCosh to take charge of organizing the congregation in a nearby village. The next month McCosh reported that "he had admitted a number of young communicants and dispensed the Lord's supper to upwards of 100 communicants in Menmuir. He further intimated that the preaching which had for some time had been on the roadside was now under a tent erected for the purpose."³¹ His efforts to procure full-time ministers for Menmuir and other areas were not immediately successful and McCosh continued to act as the "supply" in various villages for several years.³²

The Free Church General Assembly added to McCosh's duties by making him "convener of Supply" for Mearns and northeastern Forfarshire. He travelled throughout that area organizing congregations, building churches, and procuring clergy. Early meetings were frequently held in open fields, under tents, or in private houses. Landlords such as Panmure sought to obstruct this work, gaining McCosh's permanent animosity. Yet he remained on good terms with other proprietors, such as James Carnegie, despite their religious differences. They exchanged cordial letters shortly after the disruption and met to discuss poor relief. Carnegie even asked McCosh to help him fill a position in an Established Church since "almost all my old friends and the younger men I know most I suspect are gone with you."³³ McCosh also was sent on a delegation that winter to seek support from English non-conformists.

His service to poor rural parishes brought him into a disagreement with Chalmers which typified the conflict of interest between city and countryside within the Free Church. McCosh urged the adoption of a formal requirement that at least one-half of the funds raised by each church be sent to the central general fund, which would then be distributed more equitably.³⁴ Chalmers met with McCosh and despite words of sympathy for rural congregations, would not accept the idea of compulsion. But McCosh continued to argue that local desires to retain ministers and improve

³¹ Free Church of Scotland, Presbytery of Brechin, Minutes (Scottish Records Office), August 1, 1843; also June 7 and July 4, 1843.

³² For an example of his work see Alexander Keith to McCosh, August 15, 1843, McCosh Papers; Sloane, pp. 90-101.

³³ James Carnegie to McCosh, June 12, 1843, McCosh Papers; Sloane, pp. 92-101; James A. Wylie, *Disruption Worthies* (London, 1881).

³⁴ McCosh to Chalmers, August 31, 1843, Chalmers Papers.

buildings were stronger than concerns for the denomination as a whole. This, he maintained, would make the Free Church appear "weak and inefficient" as their rural pastors would continue to get seventy pounds per year while those of the established church received several times as much. McCosh warned Chalmers that if he would not support church legislation on this point then he would have "to plead the cause of *the country brethren*" continuously with the more affluent congregations.³⁵

James McCosh was also having problems in Brechin as he was embroiled, for the second time in five years, in a bitter fight for possession of a Brechin pulpit. Mungo Parker, minister of the East Parish Church, was in ill health and frequently had to ask his younger colleague from the West Freekirk to replace him. After several months the congregation deposed Parker and, in December, 1843, asked McCosh to assume the position permanently.³⁶ The West Freekirk membership resisted the transfer but McCosh defended it as unavoidable since the General Assembly of the Free Church was not likely to permit two ministers to continue in one parish while other pulpits remained vacant. Faced with the probability of his removal elsewhere, the congregation reluctantly acceded on the premise that it was preferable to keep him in Brechin.³⁷ But McCosh's new position was not as secure as he had expected and the dispute continued for seven years. A report from Church authorities in Edinburgh insisted that Parker be allowed to return when his health permitted. However, the Presbytery of Brechin gave McCosh the larger share of the salary and responsibilities on the strength of his selection by the congregation.³⁸ But neither could become sole minister and minutes disclose frequent friction. The stalemate continued until early 1851 when Parker was again removed after a long investigation.³⁹ Unlike the dispute that occurred when he first came to Brechin, the congregation supported McCosh fully. It voted 310 to 13 to remove Parker, and then expressed "their entire satisfaction with the manner in which he (McCosh) discharged his public and private ministrations."⁴⁰

³⁵ *Ibid.*, October 6, 1843.

³⁶ Free Church of Scotland, East Parish Church, Minutes (Scottish Record Office), March 9, 1842 through December 31, 1843.

³⁷ West Freekirk, Minutes, January 1, 1844.

³⁸ Free Church, Presbytery of Brechin, Minutes, January 3, 1844 and July 1, 1845.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, December 14, 1843—May 14, 1851; East Parish, Minutes, December 1, 1843—March 3, 1851.

⁴⁰ East Parish, Minutes, March 3, 1851; *The Brechin Advertiser*, April 29, 1851.

The parish minute books and local newspapers, combined with a few notes in his autobiography, provide a fairly detailed picture of James McCosh's ministry in Brechin. In addition to conducting services and visiting parishioners, ministers of the established Church of Scotland were expected to visit each family regularly, regardless of their religious affiliation. McCosh concentrated upon the townspeople in the winter and ventured into the outlying areas in the summer. The "disruption" put an end to the parochial system and, as we have seen, his time was shifted to the organizational problems of the Free Church. In both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church McCosh was responsible for discipline, which mainly concerned fornication, adultery, and illegitimacy. In these cases his normal procedure was to deliver several admonishments over a period of weeks before deciding whether the culprit should be allowed to return to the church. Modern observers would note that females bore the brunt of the Reverend's reprimands. A few intoxication cases constituted the remainder of the disciplinary actions. The congregation, under McCosh's direction, sent petitions to Parliament relating to legislation that had religious significance such as observance of the Sabbath. Business affairs occupied the rest of the parish committee's time.⁴¹

McCosh also participated in several educational and self-improvement schemes. Rev. Foote and he revived the Mechanics Institute in 1844. McCosh gave a number of addresses and served several terms as a director. He particularly worked to expand the Institute's appeal to the working classes which was probably partially motivated by a desire to undercut the radical appeal of the Chartist movement. The young minister was active in the affairs of the Mechanics Institute's Library, the Free Church Library and the Brechin District Book Club. McCosh and Foote were also expected to examine regularly the religious and moral tone of the schools run by the Free Church and the philanthropic New Educational Institute. The local ministers also gave public lectures or brought speakers to Brechin. McCosh contributed regularly on topics such as temperance and the work of the inter-denominational Evangelical Alliance. He also participated in occasional inter-denominational services and held religious meetings for young people.⁴²

⁴¹ West Freekirk, Minutes, July 31—October 30, 1843; East Parish, Minutes, March 9, 1842—January 2, 1852; Sloane, pp. 68-73.

⁴² *The Dundee Warder and Arbroath and Forfar Journal*, December 17, 1844;

Yet these activities were not as time consuming as the work in the first few years after the Disruption and he began to find time for reading and writing. In 1846 he published *Does the Established Church Acknowledge Christ as Its Head?*, a respected defense of the Free Church position.⁴³ A eulogy to Dr. Chalmers and a book of children's prayers followed shortly. But his major project was a book that would take him from Scotland and redirect his whole life. In 1849 the manuscript was circulated among clerical colleagues and received praise, even from the venerable William Hamilton, his former teacher at Edinburgh. On the strength of these recommendations an editor in Edinburgh agreed to publish *The Method of Divine Government, Physical and Moral* the following year.⁴⁴

The publication of this work, combined with fortuitous circumstances, gave James McCosh the opportunity to enter the academic life that had interested him two decades earlier. An old friend recommended McCosh for the chair of Logic and Metaphysics at Queen's, the new Protestant University in Belfast, using *Divine Government* as his major selling point. McCosh received the appointment in November, 1851, apparently as a complete surprise.⁴⁵ The congregation, having finally removed Parker just a month earlier and given McCosh a much improved position, was shocked and sought to retain their minister. However, the Presbytery overruled them and agreed "to loose him from his present pastoral charge."⁴⁶ Thus in January, 1852, James McCosh began a new career in northern Ireland.

Although the position at Queen's was an entrée into the academic world, his ambition was to return to a mainland university as a philosopher. He made three unsuccessful applications. Trying for a third time he confided to a correspondent that "my Free

Church friends will not aid me."⁴⁷ His friends in the Church did, however, wage a bitter fight to procure a position for him at Trinity College, Glasgow, the new Free Church seminary. Despite a very attractive offer that included an immediate sabbatical, McCosh declined, not wishing to leave philosophy for theology.⁴⁸ His personal and intellectual interest in Scotland continued. He returned frequently to his native land for vacations and research and later published a major work on *The Scottish Philosophy*.⁴⁹

Despite several significant publications he was unable to satisfy British academia and began to look to America as a possible escape from his professional cul-de-sac in Belfast. *Divine Government* had sold well in the United States,⁵⁰ having been published by Robert Carter's religious press in New York City. McCosh found the religious and intellectual trends in the United States to be quite congenial and felt that "the States have gone beyond Germany and Britain" philosophically.⁵¹ In retrospect it seems that Scottish Realism no longer was part of the European intellectual mainstream. His favorable impressions of the United States were reinforced during a visit in 1866 as a representative of the Evangelical Alliance. Conversely he impressed a number of Americans including Robert Carter, his American publisher. When Princeton's presidency became vacant two years later, Carter used his contacts there to initiate McCosh's candidacy. After their first selection declined, the Trustees elected McCosh, who promptly agreed to take the post 3000 miles from the British Isles.⁵²

His attitude toward Scotland in later years seemed to reflect a combination of nostalgia and disappointment. He maintained con-

Montrose, *Arbroath and Brechin Review*, January 5—December 20, 1844; *The Brechin Advertiser*, October 3, 1848—December 30, 1851.

⁴³ An earlier publication, *The Wheat and Chaff Gathered into Bundles*, has often been attributed to the subject of this article, but seems actually to have been written by another James McCosh, a pro-Free Church editor and publisher in Dundee.

⁴⁴ William Hamilton to McCosh, February 9 and no date, 1850, McCosh Papers; Hamilton to an editor, March 11, 1850, McCosh Papers; McCosh to William Hanna, May 21, 1849, Chalmers Papers. For Hamilton's later distaste for *Divine Government* see Hamilton to McCosh, August 13, 1855, McCosh Papers.

⁴⁵ East Parish, Minutes, November 12, 1851; Sloane, 108-111.

⁴⁶ Free Church, Presbytery of Brechin, Minutes, December 25, 1851; East Parish, Minutes, November 11 and 27, December 24, 1851.

⁴⁷ McCosh to Professor Blackie, January 27, 1860, Blackie Papers, National Library of Scotland; McCosh to Blackie, June 8, 1861, McCosh Papers; Colin McLaren to Bruce Leslie, June 20, 1972, personal letter in author's possession.

⁴⁸ William Hanna to McCosh, no date, Robert Candlish to McCosh, May 13, 1856, H. Wellwood—Moncrieff to McCosh, June 9, 1856, McCosh to Robert Carter, February 8, 1868, McCosh Papers; *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland* (1855), pp. 70, 163-184.

⁴⁹ McCosh to Blackie, June 8, 1861, McCosh Papers; McCosh to Burton, June 8, 1861, Burton Papers, National Library of Scotland.

⁵⁰ McCosh to "My Dear Uncle" (William Carson), January 1, 1854, McCosh Papers.

⁵¹ McCosh to Rev. W. Blackwood, June 23, 1854, McCosh Papers; *Dictionary of National Biography* XXII (Supplement), 990.

⁵² McCosh to Robert Carter, April 25 and June 25, 1866, January 22 and February 8, 1868, McCosh Papers; Carter to McCosh, June 17, 1868, McCosh Papers. For general description of the selection process see Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Princeton 1746-1896* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), pp. 290-291. See also Henry J. Cochran's description of Carter's relationship with McCosh in the McCosh Papers.

tact with British friends and returned at least twice. He endowed fellowships in Straiton and Brechin and took great pride in having a Highland coachman.⁵³ On the other hand he had been deeply disappointed by his unsuccessful quest for a university position in philosophy and became critical of Scottish academic practices.⁵⁴ Once in the United States he does not appear to have had any second thoughts about his migration to a country that offered him academic acclaim and a receptive audience for Scottish realism.

⁵³ William Arnot to McCosh, March 3, 1870, A. L. Hanna to McCosh, no date (probably 1875); Christian Mansel to McCosh, August 8, 1874, McCosh Papers.

⁵⁴ McCosh to D. Maclagan, July 10, 1879, McCosh Papers.

Library Notes

AN EXHIBITION OF THE ALBERT M. FRIEND, JR. COLLECTION OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY THEATER DRAWINGS

This remarkable collection of eighteenth-century theater drawings was first displayed in the former Princetoniana Room of Princeton University Library during the winter of 1952-53, when it was still in the ownership of Albert M. Friend, Jr. Although it was bequeathed to the Library upon the death of Professor Friend in 1956, until this summer it has only been exhibited in its entirety one other time, at Lawrence University in Wisconsin last January. Various parts of the Collection, especially the Bibiena and Platzer drawings, have been lent to other exhibitions frequently during the past two decades, however.

The drawings were acquired by Professor Friend between the late 1930's and the early 1950's, a time when it was more economically possible for a private collector to purchase such works than it would be today. It is unlikely that many such drawings would appear frequently in today's market.

Albert Mathias Friend, Jr. was a member of the Class of 1915 at Princeton University, and on its faculty as an art historian from 1921 until his death. In 1946 he was appointed to the Marquand Professorship of Art and Archaeology. Although academically he was a Medievalist, his interests were widespread and his legacy to Princeton includes the fine collection of stage designs which bears his name.

The Friend Collection is one of the major assemblages of eighteenth-century stage drawings in the United States. Basically Italian and Austrian, it represents well that century which saw European theatrical design move from Baroque to Neo-Classicism to Romanticism. One of the sketchbooks by Domenico Fossati further includes several Surrealistic fantasies, some of which are strongly influenced by Chinoiserie.

In stage design the Collection supports the growth during the eighteenth century of an attempt at creating mood by means of a

backdrop or an entire set; the earlier designs for the most part depict for the audience only a place, a geographical point, but not necessarily a particular location. The drawings are predominantly architectural, with only an occasional sylvan or rustic setting among them. Even so, the Friend Collection contains fewer rustic scenes than one might expect, for such settings were especially popular in the Germanic theater of the period.

Most of the architectural drawings have a common feature in the predominance of structural diagonals, which in addition to providing a perspective illusion affords a more interesting stage picture than if the architecture appeared to be constructed parallel to the proscenium arch, for example.

Because of the prominent artists represented—the Bibiena family, Domenico Fossati, Bernardino Galliari, Filippo Juvara, Josef Platzer, Lorenzo Sachetti—it is hoped that a large, detailed catalog of the Albert M. Friend, Jr. Collection of Eighteenth-Century Theater Drawings can be published in the foreseeable future. Meanwhile, a brochure was printed to accompany the exhibition and to make available a list of the holdings of the Collection, which was exhibited in the gallery of Firestone Library from mid-July until the first of October, 1974.

—MARY ANN JENSEN, Curator of the Theatre Collection

New & Notable

THE JOURNALS OF LEWIS FRENCH

Before the French and Indian wars a family named French came from "Wailes" to found Frenchtown, New Jersey. Later members moved to the "North River" now the Hudson, to Vermont and, in 1810, to the "Northwest Territory," now Ohio. Asa French, my great-great-grandfather, settled in the Miami valley; he took six children there and among others born after the move was my great-grandfather, Lewis French, born in 1814. Travel was mostly by foot or horse as roads were hardly fit for wagons. The land was covered with virgin forests which had to be cleared before planting could be done. Building, usually of wood, was done by the family and much of the farming as well as household chores by the women. In this backbreaking setting amusements were few; in fact they seem to have been procreation and religion. In her invaluable book *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (London and New York, 1832), Mrs. Trollope made many caustic comments on social life in cities as well as in rural regions. She spent more time in Cincinnati than elsewhere and concluded that the influence of the clergy on frontier daily life was due to the lack of other amusements such as cards, billiards, dancing and theatre which she said were illegal or not approved. Her descriptions of revival meetings held by itinerant preachers are horrifying but were then the major social events of the year. The contagious effects of these gatherings are apparent in Lewis French's journal where he says that at age thirteen he began to feel borne down by sin and guilt as others of his family went down into the water of baptism. At 18 he was baptized by total immersion and "felt saved."

Lewis left for Granville College when he was twenty, taking with him three dollars in cash and his father's blessing. With his brother David he built a two-room house and cellar in two weeks in which they lived while studying for the ministry. They raised their own vegetables, cooked their own "dodgers," worked on farms in summer and chopped cordwood to earn expenses. In five years he had graduated and was "engaged" to save souls by preaching in Rich-

land County, Ohio. With brethren Cosmer, Bloomer and Stewart, Lewis wrote: "Saints were revived, sinners convicted and converted and the publick servants of the Savior were much edified and strengthened."

By 1841, aged 27, Lewis accepted the call of the Fifth St. Regular Baptist Church in Cincinnati, then two months old and in "a blessed state of revival." He held Sunday services, prayer meetings four nights weekly and had charge of the Sawmill School, also met new friends, "especially ladies." In the same year he saw a balloon go up, it went off to the southeast, it moved slowly and was in sight for more than an hour. In July he proposed matrimony to a lady and was married in September to Maria Sargent. Other accounts of the Ohio River valley of the time describe epidemics of cholera, yellow fever, smallpox, dysentery and "black mouth." His first two wives each gave birth to three babies of which one son by each lived to manhood. Lewis himself had several bouts with one or another of these diseases but survived, concluding that God still had use for his services on earth.

In the 1840s Lewis had discussions with Adventists who proclaimed that the Second Coming was to be in 1843, with the sound of trumpets. His brother David wrote to ask his opinion of the Millerites, another sect expecting the imminent end of the world. To the latter Lewis wrote that the theory was not founded on scripture but had been advocated about the fourth "centaury" and that something like it had been up every "centaury" since. Cincinnati was then the only one of six major cities not on or close to the Atlantic coast but was asked to raise funds for sending a missionary to China, to which Lewis agreed.

His connection with the Fifth St. Baptist Church ended in his resignation due to financial difficulties, non-payment of church debts to him, and disagreement over theological points. Lewis disputed the infallibility of any one church, a point still under argument today. Without a Baptist church he continued itinerant preaching in Kentucky, Indiana and Ohio and taught school, where he said he taught "most of the higher branches." In these years current events and more worldly viewpoints take precedence over the religious soul-searching of his youth.

July 4th, 1846, Nothing of special interest occurred. Have seen the Ohio volunteers set out for the Rio Grand, Mexico. A hard commentary upon the effects of war! It would be among the

last places that I should want a son of mine to go, especially if yong, and character unestablished.

No comments on the Mexican war follow until July 3rd, 1847, when Lewis was at Covington, 32 miles from Rockville, Indiana, preaching.

A large procession was formed. Band of music, two light companies from Lafayette, ladies and gentlemen . . . marched out of town, received the company of return volunteers, marched back to the publick square and listened to an address by Rev. Mr. Reed . . . Thence to the canal where was the delivery of a beautiful flag, prepared by the ladies of Covington for the Company before their departure for the Rio Grand. The flag returned safely.

Thence to the dinner table where was the closing scenes of the occasion. The whole scene was disorderly and showed a want of system and management throughout. The dinner was scanty . . . the exercises were meagre. Thus passed the glorious 3rd of July, 1847, in the Hoosier state.

Lewis debated with himself on studying medicine or the law, deciding upon the latter. In 1849 a brother, Ezekiel, on his way to California, reported cholera raging among emigrants on the plains above the St. Joseph river on the upper Missouri. Another brother, Asa, left for California in 1850. Lewis commented:

I feel that his speculation is a very uncertain one, yet I do not senture him for going. . . . He has been unfortunate in business and lost all he ever had.

Of himself Lewis noted:

I am getting along pretty well [with his school] I have strong opposition because I am not a Methodist. But [their] influence is considerably on the wain . . . Money and whiskey are their strongest supports here.

By 1853 Lewis left his academy at Milford to return to Cincinnati to his own home. He received his diploma from the Cincinnati Law School soon after and was admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the First District of the State of Ohio. He was also elected "by a very large majority" to the city school board. His

remarks on that position might well be presented to school boards and teachers of today:

Thirty two men elected by 150,000 people [are] in charge of about 200 hundred teachers and 40,000 school children. They expend annually \$150,000. for the support of the schools.

Lewis joined the I.O.O.F., Lodge No. 189, noting: "Have already found some pecuniary benefits resulting therefrom. I see no reason why a Christian may not be an Odd Fellow."

He was then elected "by a large majority" to the city council, praying that God would preserve him from "that unprincipled course to which so many politicians give themselves up." As a lawyer he was asked to defend murderers which gave rise to soul searchings on crime, conscience and responsibilities of condemning anyone to death, despite the crime. As a councilman, Lewis had a resolution passed to entertain and welcome one John Mitchell, with one dissenting vote. Mitchell was a Protestant from North Ireland, a gentleman and a scholar, a patriot, etc., who did what he could to free his countrymen from the chains of tyranny. British courts sentenced him to Australia for life but he escaped to become a naturalized American citizen. Lewis went on to say that some office seekers took the occasion to stage a torch light procession during a council meeting and burn Lewis in effigy: "an honor . . . unsought and unexpected. I find myself classed with nearly all the great men of our country . . . whose names stand high upon the rolls of time."

Being again a widower Lewis proposed to Jane Mary Clarie, a step-daughter of the then mayor of Chillicothe, whom he describes in some detail as:

A lady of 32 years, never married but always admired. Fair complexion, bright blue eyes . . . below common height of ladies, beautiful brown hair, Roman nose, healthy appearance, delicate, tender, affectionate . . . loves hard and, I think, is a pious woman, weighs about 110 pounds. Her family respectable and highly cultivated. She is well educated . . . domestic . . . gay in dress and manner, easy in company and brilliant in conversation . . . She seems to be the lady for me though she has some objections in my eye, yet less than anyone I have ever seen.

On leaving for his wedding in Chillicothe the former revival, circuit-riding preacher noted that he would be gone for a month for a wedding tour and: "God alone only knows whether for *weal* or for *woe*!" What he did not put down I know from later family history, that Lewis had either joined the Episcopal Church or consented to be married in it.

As forests and prairies gave way to farms and towns and railroads Lewis was asked to visit his brother, David, at Blue Grass, Visalia County, Illinois, whose instructions on how to reach it ran:

Come directly to Lafayette, then take the Great Western railroad to Danville which is in this county and state. From there . . . travel by private conveyance. If you should call on Sheriff Parker, who is an old friend of mine, he would assist you in finding . . . a conveyance . . . or perhaps for a small compensation he would bring you himself most, if not all the way through.

The election of President Lincoln received a note as to the nation's future: "We are without doubt on the eve of a rebellion." In 1862 his eldest son, David Sargent, enrolled with the 110th Ohio Volunteers having dutifully asked for his father's permission at 18. David came safely home in 1865 with a First Lieutenant's commission, "the hero of thirty two battles." This David, my grand uncle, lived in St. Johns, Michigan, where he died in 1920.

In 1869 Lewis French had planned and built a home "on Grandview, Walnut Hills, Cincinnati" and moved into it in March. "It is large and showey, yet convenient and pleasant and in one of the best neighborhoods around the city, but its main fault is that it is too large, It has 18 rooms, two baths and cellar."

One imagines a luxuriant example of Greek revival—A. J. Downing's Country Houses plus a bit of neo-gothic, all of wood. A far cry from the two-room house that Lewis and David French built in two weeks for their student years at Granville College. The journals grew more sporadic and ended long before Lewis French died in 1885. His only son by his last wife, Morris Stroud French, my maternal grandfather, had studied medicine in Philadelphia and put out his shingle at the age of twenty-one. He had private practice and "charity ward" patients and was for some years surgeon for city police in mid-Philadelphia. This entailed a telephone in his home at 15th and Spruce Streets. My mother told me

that she was lifted to a chair to hear "Papa's voice" when he first called from the police office. When she heard him say "Hello Susie" she jumped off the chair and ran to the other side of the room wall to see "Papa." He was not there. When Morris French retired from the city police job my grandmother had the telephone removed as, then, it only connected with business or political offices.

Lewis French's journals span the extension of the frontier from the Northwest Territory to California, the progress from foot and horse travel to river boats and trains, the abandonment of pioneer farms for urban, white collar posts. Mrs. Trollope had left our states before he began his circuit-riding tours but her accounts of the uncouth and lascivious behavior of "sinners" and their "confessors" in tents in forest clearings may well describe his revival meetings which he noted as good or satisfactory. The far-flung French clan has materialized in many places. Some that I met in Newport, Rhode Island, of more or less notoriety, the sculptor Daniel Chester French whom I never met, and two distant members of the clan who now live in Santa Fe, one a daughter of an early New Mexico state highway engineer, another who edits a gossip magazine.

As of January 2d, 1974, the Astrolab Skynauts have just reported that their nearly two months in space and space walks lead them to think that they feel spiritual inasmuch as they sense that "human life" is on other planets; or do they feel lonely? As in the life time of Lewis French, God sent plagues and spared some. His third wife was sent to the insane asylum for a few months, with her spouse forbidden to visit her. One reads through Lewis's late notes and recognizes the menopause. Will astronauts and dedicated recorders of U.F.O.s bring us back to Circuit riders?

—E. BOYD

RECENT ACQUISITIONS—BOOKS

The following is a listing of significant additions to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections between July 1, 1973 and June 30, 1974:

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND AMERICANA

AMERICAN FICTION. A group of nineteenth-century novels and novelettes, including: *The Nymph of the Ocean*, by Benjamin

Barker (Boston: United States Pub. Co., 1846); *Lovell's Folly*, by Caroline Lee Hentz (Cincinnati: Hubbard and Edmands, 1833); *The Odd Fellow*, by Joseph H. Ingraham (Boston: United States Pub. Co., 1846); *The Buccaneers* [by Samuel B. H. Judah] (Boston: Munroe & Francis; New York: C. S. Francis, 1827); and *Fitzgerald and Hopkins*, by Horatio N. Moore (Philadelphia: S. G. Sherman, 1847). The gift of Willard Thorp.

AMERICAN HISTORY. A collection of approximately six hundred volumes, mainly in the field of American history and focusing on the American Revolution, the French in the United States, exploration, Indian captivities, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and Florida. Presented in memory of Alfred Goddard Kay '12.

CAROCHI, HORACIO. *Compendio del arte de la lengua mexicana*. Mexico: Bibliotheca Mexicana, 1759. Lathrop Colgate Harper, Litt.D., Memorial Fund.

CLASS OF 1917 COLLECTION. A collection of publications of the members of the Princeton Class of 1917 including book and periodical appearances of the writings of F. Scott Fitzgerald, John Peale Bishop, George R. Stewart, and numerous others; and consisting of approximately four hundred hard-bound books, one hundred paperback books, three hundred magazines and pamphlets, and some correspondence. The gift of Landon T. Raymond '17.

A collection of association books of American writers of the period, 1910-1930, including presentation copies from Hervey Allen, DuBose Heyward, Langston Hughes, Percy Mackaye, Gertrude Stein, and Thornton Wilder. The gift of Mrs. Irina A. Reed.

FITZGERALD, FRANCIS SCOTT KEY. One hundred eighty-one volumes of foreign language translations of his works. The gift of Mrs. C. Grove Smith.

HOLMES, OLIVER WENDELL. *The Benefactors of the Medical School of Harvard University*. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1850. BAL 8758. Presentation copy to Dr. Bigelow. John E. Annan, Class of 1855, Memorial Fund.

HORATIUS FLACCUS, QUINTUS. *Echoes from the Sabine Farm*, by Eugene and Roswell Martin Field. Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co., 1893. BAL 5754. No. 138 of 500 copies. With poems in the hand of both authors, a note by Francis Wilson, who helped in

the production of the book, and the autograph of M. L. Gray, to whom this edition of *Echoes* was dedicated. Robert K. Root Fund.

HUMPHREYS, DAVID. *A Poem on the Happiness of America; Addressed to the Citizens of the United States*. London Printed; Hartford: Re-printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1786. John E. Annan, Class of 1855, Memorial Fund.

KENOZA LAKE CLUB, HAVERHILL, MASS. *Proceedings at the Dedication of the Kenoza Club House, at Kenoza Lake, (Great Pond,) Wednesday Afternoon, August 31, 1859*. Haverhill: Z. E. Stone, 1859. Contains "Kenoza" by John Greenleaf Whittier. John E. Annan, Class of 1855, Memorial Fund.

LONG, JOHN. *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader, Describing the Manners and Customs of the North American Indians*. London: Printed for the Author, and Sold by Robson [etc., etc.] 1791. Friends of the Library Fund.

LONGFELLOW, HENRY WADSWORTH. *The Alarm-Bell of Atri*. Boston, 1871. BAL 12156, first printing. Willard and Margaret Thorp Fund.

MELVILLE, HERMAN. *White Jacket; or, The World in a Man-of-War*. London: R. Bentley, 1850. John E. Annan, Class of 1855, Memorial Fund.

MELVILLE, HERMAN. *White Jacket; or, The World in a Man-of-War*. London: R. Bentley, 1853. John E. Annan, Class of 1855, Memorial Fund.

The New-England Primer Improved. London, 1771. The gift of Mrs. William D. Barnes in memory of Wilhelmus Bogart Bryan, Class of 1877.

PITTSFIELD, MASS. RURAL CEMETERY. *An Address by Rev. Henry Neill, and A Poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Delivered at the Dedication of the Pittsfield (Rural) Cemetery, September 9th, 1850*. Pittsfield, Mass.: Axtel, Bull and Marsh, 1850. BAL 8756B. John E. Annan, Class of 1855, Memorial Fund.

PRINCE, THOMAS. *Christ Abolishing Death and Bringing Life and Immortality to Light in the Gospel: A Sermon Occasioned by the Death of . . . Mary Belcher . . .* (Boston: J. Draper, for D. Henchman, 1736). Inscribed: "J. Belcher. Mary Emelia Elizabeth Jenni-

son presented to her by her Honored Father—in the year 1775." Evans 4067. Bound with, as issued, Byles, Mather. *To His Excellency Governour Belcher on the Death of His Lady: An Epistle* ([Boston, 1736.]) Evans 3999. Bookplate of Jonathan Belcher. Presented by Michael Papantonio in memory of his wife Eleanor.

[TURNBULL, ROBERT JAMES.] *The Crisis; or, Essays on the Usurpations of the Federal Government*. Charleston [S. C.] A. E. Miller, 1827. Presentation copy to the *North American Review* by the author. Class of 1889 Fund for Books on American History and Politics.

CONTINENTAL BOOKS

ARIOSTO, LUDOVICO. *I Suppositi*. Vinegia: G. Giolito, 1551. Surdna Foundation Fund.

BELON, PIERRE. . . . *De Admirabili Operum Antiquorum et Rerum Suspiciendarum Praestantia*. Paris: E. Corrozet, 1553. One of the earliest works on petroleum. LeBrun Fund.

BIBLE. N.T. LATIN. 1584. *Novum Iesu Christi Testamentum*. Antwerpiae: Ex Officina C. Plantini, 1584. Junius S. Morgan '88 was almost expelled from Princeton when he was faced with a charge of hitting an unpopular professor with a rotten tomato. His classmate C. Alvin Smith vouched that Morgan did not hurl the object, and the true culprit was never discovered. In return for Smith's favor, Morgan gave him this book. Presented by Mrs. Frederick H. Biederstedt in memory of her father, Rev. Charles Alvin Smith '88.

BONARELLI DELLA ROVERE, GUIDUBALDO, conte. *Filli di Sciro, favola pastorale*. [Ferrara: V. Baldini, 1607.] The engraved title page incorporates a view of a handpress. Surdna Foundation Fund.

BRECHT, LIEVIN VAN. *Evripus, Tragoedia Christiana*. Coloniae: I. Gennepeus, 1555. Surdna Foundation Fund.

BURLEY, WALTER. *Das Büch von dem Leben und Sitten der heydnischen Maister*. Augsburg: A. Sorg, 1490. The lives of ancient philosophers translated from the Latin by the printer. Goff B-1328. Carl Otto von Kienbusch '06 Purchase.

CESARI, CESARE DE. *Cleopatra Tragedia*. Venetia: G. Griffio, 1552. Surdna Foundation Fund.

DESPORTES, PHILIPPE. *Les premières oeuvres*. Paris: M. Patisson au logis R. Estienne, 1583. LeBrun Fund.

DU BELLAY, JOACHIM. *Oeuvres*. Paris: C. Langelier, 1562. Surdna Foundation Fund.

FRENCH LITERATURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. One hundred sixty-two titles, including presentation copies of works by Balzac, Baudelaire, Dumas (père et fils), Flaubert, Gautier, Gerard de Nerval, Hugo, Mérimée, Musset, Verlaine, and Vigny. The collection will be the subject of a separate article in a forthcoming issue of the *Chronicle*. The gift of Mrs. Edward B. Meyer from the library of her late husband, a member of the Class of 1921.

FRIES, JOHANN JACOB. *Bibliotheca Philosophorum Classicorum Authorum Chronologica*. Tigvri: I. Wolphius, 1592. Surdna Foundation Fund.

FRISCHLIN, NICODEMUS. *Priscianus Vapulans*. Argentorati: B. Iobinus, 1580. Surdna Foundation Fund.

GIGANTI, ANTONIO. *Carmina*. Bononiae: I. Rosius, 1595. Surdna Foundation Fund.

GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON. Six works, including first editions of *Faust. Ein Fragment* (1790), *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774), and *Die Wahlverwandtschaften* (1809). The gift of Miss Caroline Newton.

HUYGENS, CONSTATIYN. *Heer van Zuilichem. Koren-Bloemen, nederlandsche Gedichten*. Graven-Hage: A. Vlack, 1658. This work contains the first translation into Dutch of nineteen poems by John Donne. Robert K. Root Fund.

JUSTINUS, MARCUS JUNIANUS. . . . *Historijs Externis Libri XLIII*. Lvgdvni: S. Gryphius, 1538. Lathrop Colgate Harper, Litt.D., Memorial Fund.

LE DUCHAT, LOUIS FRANÇOIS. *Praeludiorum Lib. III*. Parisiis: I. Caueiller, 1554. LeBrun Fund.

Libro de marchi de cavalli con li nomi de tutti li principi et privati signori che hanno razza di cavalli. Venice: N. Nelli, 1569. First edition of the first book of horse-brands. Friends of the Library Fund.

LUTHER, MARTIN. Additions to the Schaefer collection of Luther and his times, including: an indulgence of Didacus de Ribera, Bishop of Majorca, seeking financial aid for the war against the Moors (Majorca? 1509) and an anti-papal song in broadside-form consisting of twenty verses beginning "Der Luther hats nit woll besonne" (Wittenberg or Leipzig? 1520?). The gift of Bernhard K. Schaefer '20.

MICQUELLUS, JOANNES LUDOVICUS. *Avreliae Urbis Memorabilis ab Anglis Obsidio, Anno 1428*. Parisiis: A. Wechelus, 1560. Lebrun Fund.

MÜLLER, CHRISTOPH HEINRICH. *Samlung deutscher Gedichte aus dem XII. XIII. und XIV. Jahrhundert*. [n.p.] 1784-85. Included in this collection of medieval German poetry is the first edition of the *Nibelungenlied*. Carl Otto von Kienbusch '06 Purchase.

NATALE, ALFIO ROSARIO, comp. *Il museo diplomatico dell' Archivio di Stato di Milano*. Milano: Edito a Cura dell' Amministrazione Provinciale [1968?] William Watson Smith '92 Memorial Fund.

OPORINUS, JOANNES. *Dramata Sacra, Comœdiae atque Tragœdiae*. Basileae: [I. Oporinus, 1547.] Surdna Foundation Fund.

STILLWELL, MARGARET BINGHAM. *Gutenberg and the Catholicon of 1460: A Bibliographical Essay . . . Together with an Original Leaf of the Catholicon*. New York: E. B. Hackett, The Brick Row Book Shop, 1936. The gift of Miss Caroline Newton.

TASSO, TORQUATO. *Discorso della virtù femminile, e donnesca*. Venetia: B. Giunti, 1582. Surdna Foundation Fund.

TASSO, TORQUATO. *Gierusalemme liberata*. Ferrara [Heredi di F. de Rossi] 1581. Surdna Foundation Fund.

TASSO, TORQUATO. *Il Messaggiero*. Venetia: B. Giunti, 1582. Surdna Foundation Fund.

VERGILIUS MARO, PUBLIUS. *Virgilius cum Cōmentariis Quinque uidelicet, Seruii, Landini, Anto. Mancinelli, Donati, Domitii*. . . . Venice: P. Pincius, 5 Feb. 1499/1500. Goff V-194. Friends of the Library Fund.

VERGILIUS MARO, PUBLIUS. . . . *Opera*. Paris: J. LeMessier per P. Viart, 1520. Illustrated with thirty-one unsigned woodcuts, some

of which are repeated, and the device of Pierre Viart. Friends of the Library Fund.

VERGILIUS MARO, PUBLIUS. *L'Opere*. Vinegia: D. Farri [1568.] Surdna Foundation Fund.

EARLY ENGLISH BOOKS

ADDISON, LANCELOT. *The Present State of the Jews*. London: J.C. for W. Crooke and sold by J. Courtney, 1675. Wing A526. General Library Purchase.

[AULNOY, MARIE CATHERINE (JUMELLE DE BERNEVILLE) *comtesse d'*.] *The Novels of Elizabeth, Queen of England*. London: M. Pardoc, 1680. Wing A4221. The gift of Miss Caroline Newton.

BEAUMONT, FRANCIS. *Philaster; or, Love Lies a Bleeding*. . . The Authors Being Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher. The Fifth Impression. London: W. Leake, 1652. Wing B1598; Woodward and McManaway 60. Robert K. Root Fund.

BIBLE. N.T. ENGLISH. 1582. RHEIMS. *The New Testament of Iesus Christ*. Rhemes: I. Fogny, 1582. STC 2884. The first edition in English of the Roman Catholic translation. The gift of Lindley G. Miller '43.

BOTERO, GIOVANNI. *Relations of the Most Famous Kingdomes and Common-wealths Thorowout the World*. London: I. Haviland, and are to be sold by I. Partridge, 1630. STC 3404. Surdna Foundation Fund.

BRAHE, TYGE. . . . *Astronomical Coniectur*. London: B.A. and T. F. for M. and S. Nialand, 1632. STC 3538. Surdna Foundation Fund.

COKAYNE, SIR ASHTON, *bart.* *The Obstinate Lady: A New Comedy*. London: W. Godbid for I. Pridmore, 1657. Wing C4896; Woodward and McManaway 230. J. P. Kemble's copy. Friends of the Library Fund.

DRYDEN, JOHN. *Secret-Love; or, The Maiden-Queen*. London: H. Herringman, 1669. Wing D2354; Woodward and McManaway 447. Surdna Foundation Fund.

IMITATIO CHRISTI. ENGLISH. PARAPHRASES. MILBOURNE. *The Christian Pattern Paraphras'd; or, The Book of The Imitation of Christ*,

Commonly Ascrib'd to Thomas A Kempis, Made English by Luke Milbourne. London: A. Roper and R. Clavel, 1697. Wing M2030. With the poem "To Callidora" written out by the translator on the front endpaper. Charles Grosvenor Osgood Fund for Poetry and Prose of the English Renaissance.

NEWPORT, MAURICE. *Sereniss. Principi Carlo Secundo*. 3. ed. London, 1676. Wing N939B. Robert K. Root Fund.

QUAKER TRACTS. A pamphlet volume of twenty-five works printed in London between 1656 and 1663. Two of the items are known in only one other copy. The gift of Robert R. Porter '45.

SENECA, LUCIUS ANNAEUS. *Thyestes: A Tragedy*. London: T. R. and N. T. for A. Banks, 1674. Wing S2523; Woodward and McManaway 1018. Robert H. Taylor '30 Purchase.

TAUBMAN, MATTHEW. *Londons Great Jubilee Restor'd and Perform'd on Tuesday, October the 29th 1689*. London: L. Curtiss, 1689. Wing T242; Woodward and McManaway 1224. Surdna Foundation Fund.

ENGLISH BOOKS—EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

ARISTOTELES. . . . *De Poetica Liber*. Oxonii: E. Typ. Clarendoniano, 1794. Surdna Foundation Fund.

AUBIN, PENELOPE. *The Strange Adventures of the Count de Vinevil and His Family*. 2d ed. London: J. Darby, A. Bettesworth [etc., etc.] 1728. Robert K. Root Fund.

[BAYNARD, EDWARD.] *Health, A Poem. Shewing how to Procure, Preserve, and Restore it*. 2d ed., corr. London: J. Bettenham, 1719. Robert K. Root Fund.

[JENNER, CHARLES.] *Letters from Altamont in the Capital, to His Friends in the Country*. London: T. Becket and P.A. De Hondt, 1767. Robert K. Root Fund.

[JOHNSON, SAMUEL.] *The Idler*. 3d ed., with additional essays. London: T. Davies, J. Newbury, and T. Payne, 1767. Title page of v.1 inscribed: "The Gift of H:L: Thrale 1770." Presented in memory of Donald F. Hyde and in honor of Mary Hyde by Michael Papantonio.

The Life and Adventures of Mrs. Christian Davies, Commonly Call'd Mother Ross. London: R. Montagu, 1740. Attributed to Daniel Defoe. David Aiken Reed '00 Memorial Fund.

The Lounger's Miscellany; or, The Lucubrations of Abel Slug, Esq. London: J. Nichols, for T. and J. Egerton [etc.] 1789. Robert K. Root Fund.

PARSONS, ELIZA (PHELPS). *The History of Miss Meredith; A Novel.* London: Printed for the Author, and sold by T. Hookham, 1790. Robert K. Root Fund.

RICHARDSON, JONATHAN. *Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it Relates to Painting. . . . II. An Argument in Behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur. . . .* London: W. Churchill, 1719. Robert K. Root Fund.

RICHARDSON, SAMUEL. *The History of Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded.* Abridged. . . . Adorned with Copper Plates. London: F. Newbery, 1769. The six hand-colored plates are signed "J. Lodge." The gift of Miss Caroline Newton.

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM. *Othello, the Moor of Venice: A Tragedy.* London: R. Wellington, 1705. Friends of the Library Fund.

SHIRLEY, JOHN. *The Renowned History (or the Life and Death) of Guy, Earl of Warwick.* London: A. M. for C. Bates [17—?] Surdna Foundation Fund.

SILVESTER, TIPPING. *Original Poems and Translations.* London: J. Wilford, 1733. Robert K. Root Fund.

Tea, A Poem. London: A. Ward, 1743. Robert K. Root Fund.

The Theatre-Royal Turn'd into a Mountebank's Stage. In Some Remarks upon Mr. Cibber's Quack-Dramatical Performance, Called the Non-Juror. London: J. Morphew, 1718. Robert K. Root Fund.

ENGLISH BOOKS—NINETEENTH CENTURY AND TWENTIETH CENTURY

BLAKE, WILLIAM. *The Book of Ahania.* London: Trianon Press for the William Blake Trust, 1973. No. XIX of 32 copies "showing the progressive stages of the collotype and hand-stencil process and a guide-sheet and stencil." Robert K. Root Fund.

BYRON, GEORGE GORDON NOËL BYRON, 6th baron. *The Works.* London: J. Murray, 1815. The first collected edition, with twelve engravings after paintings by Thomas Stothard. Robert K. Root Fund.

[GROTE, GEORGE.] *Analysis of the Influence of Natural Religion on the Temporal Happiness of Mankind*, by Philip Beauchamp [pseud.] London: R. Carlile, 1822. Based on material gathered by Jeremy Bentham. Avalon Fund for the Humanities.

Harold the Exile. London, 1819. A three-decker satire on Byron, Caroline Lamb, and others, edited by A. W. Robert K. Root Fund.

HOPKINS, MANLEY. *Spicilegium Poeticum: A Gathering of Verses.* London: Leadenhall Press [1892?] Presentation copy to A. B. Goulden with inscription by the author, the father of Gerard Manley Hopkins. This copy also contains some manuscript corrections. Robert K. Root Fund.

MAGUIRE, JOHN FRANCIS. *The Next Generation.* London: Hurst and Blackett, 1871. Robert K. Root Fund.

MARRYAT, FREDERICK. *Masterman Ready; or, The Wreck of the Pacific.* London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans, 1841. Robert H. Taylor '30 Purchase.

MERLE, WILLIAM HENRY. *Costança: A Poem.* London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828. Presentation copy to George Cruikshank with inscription by the author. Signed and dated "1828" by Cruikshank. General Library Purchase.

ROBERT F. METZDORF COLLECTION OF VICTORIAN BOOKBINDINGS. Fifty-nine additions to the Collection. The gift of Robert F. Metzdorf.

SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD. *Back to Methuselah. A Metabiological Pentateuch.* London: Constable and Co., 1922. Presentation copy to Eleanor Woodruff (Mrs. Dorsey Richardson), who appeared in the play, with inscription by the author. The gift of Mr. and Mrs. Dorsey Richardson.

Stories of the Temple in Edinburgh. By an Acolyte. London: G. Vickers, 1862. Robert K. Root Fund.

GRAPHIC ARTS COLLECTION

FRASCONI, ANTONIO. *Oda a Lorca*. [Los Angeles: Tamarind Lithographic Workshop, 1962.] Sixteen lithographic poems and prints in a portfolio. No. 7 of 20 copies. The gift of Edward R. Schaible '34.

GÓNGORA Y ARGOTE, LUIS DE. *El romance de cuando estuvo en Cuenca*. Cuenca: Museo de Arte Abstracto Español, 1969. Six silk-screens and a series of progressive proofs by Eusebio Sempere, with typography by R. Giralte Miracle and Jaime Jorge Blassi. No. 9 of 100 copies. Elmer Adler Memorial Fund.

LIU-HSIANG. *Ryuko Retsujo-den*. Kyoto: U. Jiroemon, 1653-54. The first Japanese edition of his *Lives of Ancient Heroines*, with newly cut *sumizuri* illustrations. The gift of Peter A. Benoliel '53.

SAYRE, ELEANOR. *Late Caprichos of Goya*. New York: Philip Hofer Books, Walker and Company, in association with the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard College Library [1971.] Copy XIII with an extra suite of the etchings. The gift of Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert.

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM. *Titus Andronicus*. Northampton: Gehenna Press, 1973. Illustrated with etchings and wood engravings by Leonard Baskin. Elmer Adler Memorial Fund.

ILLUSTRATED BOOKS

BARBAULT, JEAN. *Les plus beaux monuments de Rome ancienne*. Rome: Bouchard & Gravier, 1761. David Aiken Reed '00 Memorial Fund.

BIDLOO, GOVARD. *Relation du voyage de Sa Majesté Britannique en Hollande*. La Haye: A. Leers, 1692. With engraved title, portrait, and fourteen plates, eleven of which are double-page, by Romein de Hooge. David Aiken Reed '00 Memorial Fund.

BLAKE, WILLIAM. . . . *Water-colour Designs for the Poems of Thomas Gray*. Introd. and Commentary by Geoffrey Keynes. [Paris] Trianon Press for the William Blake Trust, London, 1972. The gift of Herbert S. Bailey, Jr. '42.

BUNYAN, JOHN. *The Pilgrim's Progress*. With a Life of John Bunyan by Robert Southey. London: J. Murray and J. Major,

1830. Illustrated with two engravings after John Martin and thirty woodcuts by William Harvey. Robert K. Root Fund.

DALI, SALVADOR. *Métamorphose de Narcisse*. Paris: Éditions Sur-réaliste [1937.] Charles M. Cartwright '94 and Levering Cartwright '26 Fund.

JERROLD, DOUGLAS WILLIAM. *A Man Made of Money*. With Twelve Illustrations on Steel by John Leech. London: Punch Office, 1849. In six parts, each with wrappers by Leech. Robert K. Root Fund.

LE SAGE, ALAIN RENÉ. *Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane*. A Londres: Longman, Hurst, Rees, et Orme [etc.] 1809. Illustrated by Robert Smirke. Surdna Foundation Fund.

More than three hundred English, American, and French illustrated books chiefly of the period 1870 to 1940. From the library of James Brownlee Rankin '23, the gift of Mrs. Rankin.

POPE, ALEXANDER. *The Rape of the Lock*. Embroidered with Eleven Drawings by Aubrey Beardsley. London: L. Smithers, 1897. No. 3 of 50 copies on Japanese vellum. Presentation copy to Robert Underwood Johnson from Aubrey Beardsley. Also contains Johnson's bookplate designed by Timothy Cole. Surdna Foundation Fund.

Raggiunglio delle solenni esequie fatte celebrare in Roma nella Basilica di S. Clemente. Rome: G. M. Salvioni, 1733. Surdna Foundation Fund.

ROWLANDSON, THOMAS. *Fünfzig erotische Grotesken*. [Wien: Gesellschaft Österreichischer Bibliophilen, 1907.] Friends of the Library Fund.

SINCLAIR HAMILTON COLLECTION OF AMERICAN ILLUSTRATED BOOKS FROM 1670 TO 1870. Seventy-three additions to the Collection, including: *A Few Lines Composed on the Dark Days of May 19, 1780*. [Boston? 1780?] Evans 43859. An apparently unique copy with an illustration added to the top of the broadside; and *The Massachusetts Magazine; or, Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment* (Boston: I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews, 1788-96.) Evans 21955, etc. Several of the copperplates depict views of buildings and streets in Boston, Washington, and Philadelphia. The gift of Sinclair Hamilton '06.

SULLIVAN, WILLIAM FRANCIS. *Juvenile Sketches; or, The History of Mrs. Barton and Her Little Family*. London: Dean & Munday, 1818. The three engravings, dated Dec. 2, 1816, are signed by Isaac Cruikshank (d. 1811?) but were probably taken from some earlier work. From the library of George Cruikshank's bibliographer, Albert M. Cohn, who identifies the plates as the work of Robert Cruikshank, Isaac's son. Robert K. Root Fund.

MAP DIVISION

More than three hundred historical charts and maps and several atlases spanning a period of five centuries with several items from the sixteenth century. Geographical coverage is concentrated on North America, Europe, Africa, and the Middle East. Notable cartographers represented include Evans, Faden, the Homanns, Hondius, Jefferys, Moll, Ortelius, and others. Most of the maps are colored, some are relatively rare variants and states of more widely known works, the great majority are in unusually fine condition. From the estate of Noel Bleecker Fox '99.

Three framed and colored items as follows: (1) Oblique view of the city of Cairo, by M. Florini. (Sienna, circa 1600); (2) General map of Palestine from Abraham Ortelius' *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. (Antwerp, 1570); and (3) General map of the Turkish Empire, by Willem and Jan Blaeu. (Amsterdam, 1660?). These maps will be on permanent display in Jones Hall. Presented by Mrs. Bayard Dodge.

MUSIC

HANDEL, GEORG FRIEDRICH. The Dr. James S. Hall Handel Collection consisting of three hundred twenty-five contemporary music scores, forty librettos, and related material. The Collection is the subject of a separate article in this issue of the *Chronicle*. Acquired through the generosity of Henry E. Gerstley '20, Carl Otto von Kienbusch '06, Professor and Mrs. J. Merrill Knapp, T. S. Matthews '22, Bernhard K. Schaefer '20, Frank E. Taplin '37, and Robert H. Taylor '30.

PRIVATE PRESS BOOKS

BROWNE, SIR THOMAS. Four titles: *The Garden of Cyrus*, *Hydriothaphia: Urn-Burial*, *A Letter to a Friend*, and *Religio Medici*.

Waltham Saint Lawrence: Golden Cockerel Press [1923.] Robert K. Root Fund.

GIBBON, EDWARD. *The History of the Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire*. Illustrated from the Etchings by Gian Battista Piranesi. [New York] Limited Editions Club, 1946. Friends of the Library Fund.

LEICESTER, EARLS OF. LIBRARY (HOLKHAM HALL.) *The Holkham Library: Illuminations and Illustrations in the Manuscript Library of the Earl of Leicester*. Ed. by W. O. Hassall. Oxford: Roxburghe Club, 1970. Presented to the members of the Club of Thomas William Edward Coke, Fifth Earl of Leicester. Surdna Foundation Fund.

NAPOLÉON I, EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH. *Napoleon's Memoirs*. Ed. by Somerset De Chair. [London] Golden Cockerel Press, 1945. Charles F. Wells Library Fund.

SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

ADAMS, JOSEPH. *Observations on Morbid Poisons, Phagedaena, and Cancer*. London: J. Johnson, 1795. Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation Fund.

AUENBRUGGER, LEOPOLD. *Nouvelle méthode pour reconnaître les maladies internes*. . . . Paris: Migneret, 1808. Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation Fund.

BLAND, ROBERT. *Observations on Human and on Comparative Parturition*. London: J. Johnson, 1794. Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation Fund.

DEWEY, DELLON MARCUS. *The Specimen Book of Fruits, Flowers and Ornamental Trees*. Rochester, N. Y. [187-?] A sales catalogue used by itinerant nurserymen for displaying their stock. The gift of Robert A. Winters '35.

MORGAN, THOMAS. *Philosophical Principles of Medicine*. London: J. Darby and T. Browne [etc., etc.] 1725. Josiah Macy, Jr. Foundation Fund.

OPPENHEIMER, J. ROBERT. One hundred eighty-six association volumes from the late scientist's library, including: a presentation copy of *Report on the Atom*, by Gordon Dean, 2d. ed. (New York:

A. A. Knopf, 1957); *District of Columbia*, by John Dos Passos (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952) inscribed “. . . Don't feel you have to read it. Maybe this mastiff will end it.”; Oppenheimer's heavily annotated copy of *The Meaning of Relativity: Four Lectures Delivered at Princeton University, May, 1921*, by Albert Einstein (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1923); *The Cocktail Party: A Comedy*, by T. S. Eliot (London: Faber and Faber [1950]) inscribed “to J. Robert Oppenheimer from the author: this play incubated at the Institute. T. S. Eliot. 6.iii.50.”; and *Senator Joe McCarthy* [by] Richard H. Rovere (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co. [1959]) initialed “RO” on the recto of the front free endpaper. Charles F. Wells Library Fund.

Several volumes on magic, the occult, and astrology, including: *De l'imposture et tromperie des diables, devins, enchanteurs, sorciers . . .* par Pierre Massé (Paris: I. Poupy, 1579); *Of Credulity and Incredulity, in Things Natural, Civil, and Divine*, by Méric Casaubon (London: T. Garthwait, 1668) Wing C807; *A Theological Discourse of Angels, and Their Ministries . . .* by Benjamin Camfield (London: R. E. For H. Brome, 1678) Wing C388; *An Essay of the Nature and Actions of the Subterranean*, by Robert Kirk (Edinburgh: J. Ballantyne & Co. for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, London, 1815); and *The Astrologer of the Nineteenth Century; or, The Master Key of Futurity, and Guide to Ancient Mysteries* (London: Knight and Lacey [etc.] 1825). From the library of James Brownlee Rankin '23, the gift of Mrs. Rankin.

Friends of the Princeton University Library

ANNUAL MEETING AND DINNER

The annual meeting and dinner, attended by some 230 Friends, guests, and members of the Library staff, were held in the Firestone Library and in the former Chancellor Green Library on Saturday evening, May 11, 1974. An exhibition commemorating the centennial of the birth of Robert Frost, “Robert Frost 100,” was opened in the Exhibition Gallery that evening. Before the dinner entrance music was provided in Chancellor Green by an informal University woodwind quintet under the direction of Donald Greenfield. Following the dinner, Robert H. Taylor, Chairman of the Council, presided at the annual business meeting.

Mr. Taylor announced that the winners of the 49th annual Elmer Adler Undergraduate Book Collecting Contest were: Linda J. Tarver '77, First prize for a collection of T. E. Lawrence; Vernon A. Cassin, Jr. '74, Second prize for a collection on “Amateur and Professional Araneologists in Britain and the United States”; and Carole Grayson '74, Third prize for a collection of Chilean political books. Honorable mention was awarded to William E. Delamater '74 for a collection of late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions of British poets. The judges for the contest, which was held on May 8 in the Graphic Arts rooms of the Firestone Library, were Geoffrey Steele and Alexander P. Clark.

The Chairman reported that Alfred H. Howell '34 had accepted an invitation to serve on the Council, filling a vacancy in the Class of 1972-1975. Mrs. Mina R. Bryan, Chairman of the Committee on Nominations, submitted the list of proposed Council members for the Class of 1974-1977, and those named were unanimously elected by the members present.

The University Librarian, William S. Dix, was called on for brief remarks on the Robert Frost centennial exhibition. Mr. Tay-

lor then introduced Professor Richard M. Ludwig, who spoke on "The Poetry of Robert Frost" in terms of the poet's sense of humor, irony, and satire.

THE COUNCIL

At its meeting Saturday afternoon, May 11, 1974, the Council approved the transfer of \$5,000 from the Operating Account to the Acquisitions Committee Fund, with \$4,000 of this amount being for general purchases for the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections and \$1,000 for additions to the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists.

The report of Richard M. Huber, Chairman of the Membership Committee, showed that the membership of the Friends as of May 1, 1974 stood at 1,340, eighty less than the figure reported at the meeting of May 11, 1973.

At the Annual Meeting the following were elected members of the Council for the 1974-1977 term: Archibald S. Alexander '28, Dr. Howard T. Behrman, Nathaniel Burt '36, Levering Cartwright '26, Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06, Victor Lange, Daniel Maggin, Baldwin Maull '22, Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24, Kenneth H. Rockey '16, and Robert H. Taylor '30.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account for the year 1973-74:

RECEIPTS

Cash balance July 1, 1973	\$12,921	
Dues for 1973-74	31,070	
<i>Chronicle</i> subscriptions and sales	4,418	
Annual dinner, May 11, 1974	3,030	
Contributions	2,170	
Total		\$53,609

EXPENDITURES

Printing of <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XXXIV, No. 3	\$ 2,881	
Printing of <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XXXV, Nos. 1 and 2 (double issue)	10,628	
Postage and printing	2,069	
Membership drive	1,688	
Annual dinner, May 11, 1974	2,811	
Editor's salary	1,726	
Miscellaneous	292	
Transfers to Acquisitions Committee Fund	16,000	
Transfer to Lawrance Thompson Memorial Book Fund	250	
Total		\$38,345
Cash balance June 30, 1974		\$15,264

Contributions received from Friends during the year 1973-74 for current acquisitions totaled \$53,810.

PUBLICATION FUND

RECEIPTS

Balance July 1, 1973	\$ 4,799	
Sales	306	
Total		\$ 5,105

EXPENDITURES

Mailing	\$ 34	
Promotion	165	
Total		\$ 199
Balance June 30, 1974		\$ 4,906

FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1930, is an association of individuals interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other material which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to those subscribing annually fifteen dollars or more. Students may join for five dollars. Checks payable to Princeton University Library should be addressed to the Treasurer.

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

The Council

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1974-1977

ARCHIBALD S. ALEXANDER
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Chairmen will welcome inquiries and suggestions