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ICarbs*

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The cover illustration for this issue of *ICarbS* is from a map of "Mexico and Florida" by Peter Schenk of Amsterdam in 1700. The map is part of a collection of historical Mississippi Valley maps presented to Morris Library by the late Philip Sang.

The editors would like to add their thank you to Professor Lander MacClintock for presenting to SIU-C the remarkable photographs of the Dewey School which richly document an experiment that profoundly affected the course of education in America.

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Ulysses S. Grant and the Ship Railway

John Y. Simon

Chapman Grant of Escondido, California, sole surviving grandson of President Ulysses S. Grant, recently presented to Morris Library a collection of some sixty-five family letters and eighteen scrapbooks which illuminates the lives of three generations of his family. For many years Chapman Grant has been assembling these massive scrapbooks, which contain letters and clippings concerning his own career and the lives of his parents and grandparents. Now ninety years old, Grant retired from the U.S. Army more than forty years ago. An enthusiastic and versatile naturalist since youth, he is the author of many scientific papers. Born two years after his grandfather died, Grant received many of the letters included in the collection from his devoted grandmother, Julia Dent Grant, who lived until he was a teenager.

Chapman Grant's father, Jesse Root Grant, Jr., was born in 1858 in St. Louis County, the fourth and last child in the family. During the Civil War, Jesse, still too young for school, often spent time with his parents at army headquarters. Eleven years old when his family moved into the White House, the rambunctious Jesse delighted his parents—and much of the nation—with his pranks. After graduating from Cornell University as an engineer, Jesse engaged in many businesses, with his attention often drawn to Mexico.

One of the most interesting and important items in the collection is a letter in which Ulysses S. Grant gave detailed fatherly advice about a business venture to his son Jesse. An understanding of the letter involves exploring a nearly-forgotten alternative to the Panama Canal.

When the Panama Canal opened to ship traffic in 1914, Americans celebrated an engineering triumph achieved at great cost in money and human life, all the more impressive because of the

earlier failure of a French company to construct a canal. Discussion of a canal had dated back to the futile efforts of the earliest Spanish explorers to find a direct route from Europe to Asia and their frustration at discovering that the two great land masses obstructing passage were connected by a thin but unbroken land bridge through Central America.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, Americans had compelling reasons to favor a navigable route through Central America. The expansion of the United States to the Pacific Ocean, followed by the California gold rush and the subsequent settlement of the Pacific Coast, meant much traffic across the continent (hampered at first by the absence of railroads); long and arduous voyages around the tip of South America; or travel to the Isthmus of Panama by ship, across the Isthmus by railroad (completed in 1855), then shipboard travel again from the Pacific side—or a similar journey across Nicaragua.

Ulysses S. Grant had a special interest in the development of an inter-oceanic route, for in 1852 his regiment had been ordered from New York via the Isthmus to the Pacific Coast. Knowing the hazards, he left behind his pregnant wife and two-year-old son. The regiment traveled by railroad (then complete for about half the distance across the Isthmus), by boat up the Chagres River, then on foot or on mules to the Pacific. As regimental quartermaster, Grant found himself marooned at Cruces when a local contractor refused to furnish mules at the contract price. With him were the women and children accompanying the troops. Before Grant could make a new contract for mules at an exorbitant price, cholera had struck both troops and civilians. To make matters worse, the *Panama Herald*, unwilling to blame either the climate or local businessmen for the loss of life in the regiment, charged Grant with incompetence. Although his fellow officers indignantly denied the charge, Grant remembered the incident well enough to devote considerable space in his *Memoirs* to the crossing of the Isthmus.¹

In his first message to Congress in 1869, President Grant announced that the minister to Colombia had been instructed to arrange a survey leading to the construction of an interoceanic canal across the Isthmus of Darien (Panama).² But during the next decade, the presumption that Central America would be breached at its narrowest point received serious challenges. The results of the

Panama survey proved discouraging, and Congress appropriated money for surveys of Nicaragua and the Tehuantepec peninsula of Mexico. The Nicaraguan route offered the advantage of Lake Nicaragua, a large, deep body of water which considerably shortened the projected canal. The Tehuantepec route, though longer—some 130 miles—was so much closer to the United States that it promised special commercial advantage to North Americans.

During the Grant administration, numerous expeditions explored canal routes, reporting to an Interoceanic Canal Commission appointed by the president in 1872. Its report in 1876 unanimously favored Nicaragua. Although Grant had hoped to make the interoceanic canal an achievement of his presidency, the State Department failed to negotiate a treaty with Nicaragua. In disappointment, Grant concluded that this had happened because “I had not influence enough with the administration to make it an administration measure.”³ Grant’s Commission, however, had not resolved but only complicated the question of a canal site. In 1879, Ferdinand de Lesseps, whose completion of the Suez Canal a decade earlier gave him an unrivalled reputation, dominated an international congress in Paris which determined to construct a Panama canal. At about the same time, James B. Eads, famed for his construction of ironclad gunboats during the Civil War, his great bridge at St. Louis, and his channelization of the mouth of the Mississippi River, developed an ingenious new plan to utilize the Tehuantepec peninsula.

Instead of cutting a canal through Tehuantepec, Eads proposed to load ships on a giant railway car, or cradle, at one side of the peninsula, then pull them overland with locomotives. The weight of the ship would be evenly distributed on the cradle through hydraulic pressure, and the twelve rails would allow the use of as many as six locomotives. To avoid taking the ships around even the mildest curves of the route, Eads planned five floating turntables to shift direction. Having obtained concessions from the Mexican government, Eads stood to profit financially from the ship railway, but he argued in addition a broad benefit to American commerce by placing the point of interoceanic transit much closer to the United States, and especially to the mouth of the Mississippi. In arguing for the Tehuantepec route in 1872, Captain Robert W. Shufeldt of the U.S. Navy had asserted:

A canal through the Isthmus of Tehuantepec is an extension of the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean. It converts the Gulf of Mexico into an American lake. In time of war it closes that Gulf to all enemies. It is the only route which our Government can control. So to speak, it renders our own territory circumnavigable. It brings New Orleans 1,400 nautical miles nearer to San Francisco than a canal via Darien, and such is the character of the intervening waters, that it permits a canal-boat to load in Saint Louis and discharge her freight in California with but little more than the risk of inland navigation.⁴

Eads also used such arguments, buttressed by his solution to the questions raised about the practicability of the longer Tehuantepec route.

After his presidency, Grant still was regarded as a key figure in the dispute between the contending routes. At the Paris conference, de Lesseps proposed that Grant be appointed chairman of the American committee of the Panama Canal Company.⁵ Offered the position with a handsome salary equal to that paid de Lesseps, Grant turned it down immediately, believing that "subscribers would lose all they put in."⁶ Admiral Daniel Ammen, a childhood friend of Grant who served on the Interoceanic Canal Commission and became a staunch advocate of the Nicaragua route, persuaded the ex-president to write an article for the influential *North American Review* favoring the Nicaragua route and involved him with the corporation established to construct it.⁷ In his article, Grant concluded: "I commend an American canal, on American soil, to the American people, . . . which, if not accomplished by Americans, will undoubtedly be accomplished by some one of our rivals in power and influence."⁸ Believing so strongly in the importance of U.S. control, Grant would have been more inclined to favor Eads than de Lesseps. In 1881, Grant traveled in Mexico in connection with his presidency of Jay Gould's Mexican Southern Railroad Company. While there, Eads, whose gunboats had contributed much to Grant's early military victories, tried to interest him in the ship railway. Grant seems to have moved toward neutrality, while Eads had better success with Grant's son Jesse, who appears to have become an active participant.

Grant's attitude changed in January 1882, when Eads asked Congress for financial support for his project. Still committed to the Nicaragua route, Grant believed that Eads hoped to use the son to convert the father to a scheme of dubious honesty. The remarkable,

previously unpublished letter which follows (transcribed verbatim) is included in the Chapman Grant collection.

New York City
Jan.y 13th 1882

Dear Jesse;

I have seen Capt. Eads' Bill for his ship railway. It is not at all what he told me, and I shall feel compelled to oppose it, in its present form, with all my might. You should withdraw from all connection with it. It can not pass Congress, and-if it should I would much prefer seeing you loose all you have to making a profit out of such a swindle as I regard this. He has changed nearly all he professed to me to ask for. He said he asked only a guarantee of 3-pr. ct. upon \$50,000,000. of bonds, for twenty (may have said longer) years, and none of it until ten miles of road was completed, and a ship of a certain tonage, with cargo carried at a ten mile speed over it, and returned to the water safe and sound. Then \$5,000,000. was to be guaranteed. When ten additional miles should be completed and a vessel of larger tonnage, with her cargo, carried over at the same rate of speed, then another \$5,000,000 of bonds should be guaranteed. In like manner, with the completion of every section of ten miles of road, carrying at like speed, safely, vessels and cargoes of constantly increasing tonage an additional \$5,000,000 was to be given, until the whole amount should reach \$50,000,000. His bill now provides for a river, canal & rail-road transportation of ship, at six miles an hour, vessels and cargoes to weigh what was given as tonage before, and the guarantee to be three pr. ct. semi annually The guarantee is to be from ocean to ocean, \$5,000,000 for the first ten miles from either side, the balance of the distance to be divided into twenty equal divisions and \$2,000,000 bonds guaranteed for the completion of each of these sections. Now there is thirty miles of river, navigable for all the classes of vessels he proposes to transport, at the Easter end. There is a long distance of low marshy lands, easily canaled, before he comes to the foot hills. At the Western end there are Lagoons and low lands, easily canaled for say twenty or more miles. By this bill, if it becomes a law, he will secure \$30,000,000 of bonds before he enters at all upon the only problem there is in his enterprize. The work will not cost \$10,000,000 to this point.

Give it up by all means.

Yours Affectionat[ely,]
U. S. GRANT

On the same day he wrote his son, Grant wrote an even longer letter to Eads, carefully explaining his objections to the ship railway subsidy bill: "I feel it my duty to notify you that I shall oppose it in its present form with all my ability."⁹ Further correspondence between Eads and Grant on the ship railway matter is available only through Eads's account, which contains a letter from Eads to Grant of January 21, 1882, answering the criticisms.¹⁰ Despite Grant's letter to Jesse warning him against the ship railway, Jesse delivered

the Eads letter to his father, then wired Eads that the reply had met all the objections.¹¹ Despite his father's advice, Jesse appears to have remained allied with the ship railway scheme and to have countered his father's opposition. Grant's letter to Eads remained unpublished until 1886, when a copy was furnished to the *New York Herald* by opponents of the ship railway.¹² As mentioned, the letter of warning to his son has remained unpublished until now.

In 1883, without getting U.S. backing, Eads actually set a small group of laborers to clearing the route for the ship railway, thus satisfying the terms of the Mexican concession, which required work to begin within two years.¹³ Eads endeavored for four more years to gain congressional support and capital for his plans, but died in 1887 without making substantial progress. While the French were at work on a canal in Panama, another isthmian route hardly seemed worthwhile; when the Panama Company failed in 1889, American attention shifted to Nicaragua, since Eads was no longer around to argue for the ship railway. In fact, Americans generally expected any canal constructed by their government to traverse Nicaragua until Theodore Roosevelt engineered a dramatic reversal of policy in 1902.¹⁴ In time, the Tehuantepec ship railway faded to a position among other half-forgotten alternatives to the Panama Canal.

NOTES

1. *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (New York: Charles L. Webster & Company, 1885-1886), I, 194-98; "Grant's First Newspaper Controversy," *Ulysses S. Grant Association Newsletter*, 6 (1969), 11-16.

2. U.S. Congress, House, 41st Cong., 2d sess., Executive Document No. 1, Part I, p. viii.

3. John Russell Young, *Around the World with General Grant* (New York: American News Company, 1879), II, 157. See Jackson Crowell, "The United States and a Central American Canal, 1869-1877," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 49 (1969), 27-52.

4. U.S. Congress, Senate, 42d Cong., 2d sess., Executive Document No. 6, p. 20.

5. Gerstle Mack, *The Land Divided: A History of the Panama Canal and Other Isthmian Canal Projects* (New York: Knopf, 1944), p. 308.

6. Grant to Admiral Daniel Ammen, June 22, 1880, in *New York Times*, 15 Feb. 1888, p. 5, col. 2.

7. Nicaragua Canal Construction Company, *The Inter-Oceanic Canal of Nicaragua* (New York: n.p., 1891), pp. 10-11.

8. "The Nicaragua Canal," *North American Review*, 132 (1881), 116.

9. E. L. Corthell, *An Exposition of the Errors and Fallacies in Rear-Admiral Ammen's Pamphlet...* (Washington: Gibson Bros., 1886), pp. 41-44.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 47-49.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 49.

12. *New York Herald*, 5 March 1886, p. 6, col. 3.

13. The terms of the agreement between Mexico and Eads are printed in U.S. Congress, House, 49th Cong., 1st sess., Report 717, Part 2, pp. 1-7.

14. The complexities of this decision receive sprightly treatment in David McCullough, *The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal 1870-1914* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1977), pp. 245-328.

INCORPORATED STAGE SOCIETY, 36, SOUTHAMPTON STREET, STRAND, W.C.

CIRCULATION OF PLAY No. 279 to Reading Committee.

Name of Play Exiles

Author James Joyce

| Date of receipt. | Date of sending on. | NAMES OF MEMBERS. | Yes. | No. | Further Consideration |
|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|------|-----|-------------------------|
| | | Dr. Wheeler | | X | [Handwritten scribbles] |
| | | Mr. Kennedy. | | X | |
| | | Lee Mathews. | | X | |
| | | Hertz | | X | |
| | | Whelen | X | | |
| | | Sturge Moore. | X | | |

Remarks qualifying votes. (These should be very brief, and must be signed):—

I don't want the S.S. to play this and I have interest. Circulate it if you find out if Mr. Joyce has written any more plays certainly would be better more of Mr. Joyce and show side to see my other work or his (Hertz)

Reminiscence of Grandeur at his worst - Hertz
(Pinter)

This play I certainly think we ought to accept at once just the thing for the S.S. J.M.

Plays should never be kept longer than two clear days. If they cannot be read within that time, they should be sent on at once, and an explanatory note should be made of this paper.

Please send a post card giving your opinion on this Play, and date of sending on, to the Secretary, the day on which the Play is posted.

This seems to me the only kind of good play which the S.S. would be false to its best traditions in not producing J.S.M.

James Joyce's *Exiles* and the Incorporated Stage Society

John MacNicholas

Joyce's luck in securing an audience—either theatrical or literary—for his play *Exiles* was not much better than that which attended *Dubliners*. Even the zealously sympathetic Ezra Pound (just having read the conclusion of *A Portrait of the Artist* in typescript) wondered why Joyce would want to write for the stage.¹ Nevertheless Pound tried to help Joyce find a producer. Joyce and Pound agreed that the play should be published after production, and also after *Portrait* appeared in book form; only the latter hope was realized.

Pound was indeed instrumental in bringing *Exiles* to the attention of several prospective producers, including Granville Barker and the Incorporated Stage Society (I, 91). The Stage Society was certainly a likely prospect. A vanguard group in London theatre, its guiding principle was to produce plays of original artistic merit regardless of commercial value. On 5 February 1916, Joyce instructed his agent in London, J. B. Pinker, to submit *Exiles* to Allan Wade, Secretary of the Stage Society (II, 398, n.1). The Reading Committee then consisted of at least six people, virtually none of whom was otherwise professionally connected to theatre: a Dr. Wheeler, W. S. Kennedy (a barrister), Lee Mathews, H. A. Hertz, Frederick Whelen (a friend of Granville Barker), and T. Sturge Moore. Whelen, Mathews, and Hertz were among the original group of sponsors of the Stage Society, which was incorporated in 1904. Moore was also a very influential member of the Society. The Reading Committee voted against *Exiles* and returned the typescript to Pinker on 11 July 1916.

The Committee's ballot sheet, preserved in the Croessmann Joyce Collection at Morris Library, records a vote of four to two.² Wheeler, Kennedy, Mathews, and Hertz voted "no"; Whelen and Moore voted

“yes.” The ballot sheet also records their brief evaluations. Moore warmly supported the play: “This seems to me the only kind of good play which the S.S. would be false to its best tradition in not producing.” Mathews and Wheeler, though they voted negatively, still found Joyce intriguing. “It has interest,” Mathews wrote; “circulate it & find out if Mr Joyce has written any more.” Wheeler commented, “I certainly want to know more of Mr Joyce and should like to see any other work of his.” Hertz, however, did not appear eager to see any more of Joyce’s work: “Reminiscent of Strindberg at his worst. Putrid!” And finally, another member of the Stage Society, though not a voting member of the Reading Committee, expressed his opinion: “Just the thing for the S.S. G.B.S.” Although there is an unresolved controversy over whether Shaw attempted to prevent the production of *Exiles*, there is little reason to doubt that his comment on the ballot sheet represented his true opinion. More than three decades later Shaw added an interesting postscript to the Stage Society’s refusal to produce *Exiles*. He permitted the B.B.C., which was preparing a broadcast tribute to Joyce, to quote from his famous letter of 11 November 1921 to Sylvia Beach (in which he declined to subscribe to *Ulysses*). In an autograph note dated 22 January 1950 written at the bottom of this letter, Shaw stated that he “at once spotted a considerable talent” in *Exiles*; however, he requested that some “few words that were then tabooed as unmentionable, and still are” be blue-pencilled, “as it was necessary to combat the current notion that the Stage Society existed for the performance of indecent plays.”³ This note, then, strongly supports the view that Shaw approved production of *Exiles*, provided that a few words were deleted from it.

At Moore’s urging the Stage Society recalled *Exiles* on 1 April 1917. Joyce, isolated in Zurich by the slow and unreliable wartime mail and impatient for action on his play, instructed Pinker in July to withdraw the typescript from the Stage Society (II, 398). Having heard about Moore’s enthusiasm for *Exiles*, Joyce wrote directly to Moore on 26 October 1917 to request his aid in placing *Exiles* elsewhere, now that the Stage Society had refused it (I, 108). Moore replied that “when [*Exiles*] was withdrawn by your agent last July it was on our programme for the present [1917-1918] season . . . It had cost me some trouble to get a former unfavourable decision revoked and the play voted on a second time.”⁴ The information in

Moore’s letter varies somewhat from Ellmann’s account—namely, that the Stage Society had not decided on *Exiles* when Joyce withdrew it.⁵ But Joyce was as reluctant as Moore to give up. On 24 November 1917 Joyce wrote Pinker to return the typescript to the Stage Society immediately or to have Grant Richards, who had agreed to publish the play, send over a proof (II, 410-11).

How much trouble it had cost Moore to have the Reading Committee reverse itself may be easily inferred from the vote of five to four on the second ballot.⁶ Marked “later voting” and “please circulate quickly,” it reveals that Mathews and Wheeler switched their votes to join forces with Moore; also favoring production were F. H. Mitchell and Magdalen Ponsonby. Hertz and Kennedy again voted “no” and were supported by E. J. Horniman and Allan Wade. It seems evident that Moore and Hertz were the polarizing forces and that each did some canvassing both inside and outside the Reading Committee. Hertz’s opinion was, if possible, expressed even more vehemently than previously: “I should consider it an *evil* day for the S.S. if we decided to produce this play. Filth and disease!” (emphasis Hertz’s). Horniman, putting a marker beside the names of Mathews and Wheeler, wrote: “The change of opinion is curious;—morbid and unconvincing.” Although Moore still hoped that he could persuade the Society to put *Exiles* back on the program after Joyce’s withdrawal in July and after he had succeeded in getting a favorable vote out of the Committee, the Stage Society finally declined to produce *Exiles* for the 1918-1919 season.

Therefore *Exiles* was published in 1918, translated into German and produced in Munich the following year, and received its English language premiere in New York in 1925—all before it was staged in England. The play, like its name and author, was something of an exile from the United Kingdom.

The appearance of *Ulysses* in 1922 made Joyce a celebrity. Perhaps his formidable and growing reputation caused the Stage Society in 1925 to reverse its decision not to produce his play. Kennedy, now Chairman of the Stage Society, informed Joyce that *Exiles* had been accepted for the 1925-1926 season, and Joyce “willingly” sent his permission (III, 124). The ballot sheet of the 1925 voting has not been recovered. On 14 and 15 February 1926 the Stage Society’s production, directed by the experienced Irish actor and director W. G. Fay, was given at the Regent Theatre.

Ellmann states that "the audience was laudatory, especially for the first two acts, the third puzzling them perhaps by its ambiguous ending."⁷ The reviews were not at all favorable. Shaw, however, attended the production and also a public debate which the Stage Society's Council of Management held at the Galleries of the Royal Institute of British Architects on 18 February. At the debate Shaw "spoke favorably of Joyce's play."⁸

A prompt copy of the Stage Society's production in 1926 suggests which words Shaw had considered obscene. In the first act Robert lists what he considers as the most attractive qualities in a beautiful woman. Among other traits, he mentions the rapidity with which "she changes by digestion what she eats into—what shall be nameless."⁹ The prompt copy's text for this passage stops demurely with "eats." Other textual changes in the Stage Society's production have nothing to do with obscenity. Two in particular are noteworthy. Robert's "Prosit!" as he drinks whisky was altered to "slaunthee" (p. 41). This change implies that Fay wished to emphasize the Irish setting of the play, an emphasis Joyce pruned from his fair copy manuscript and which violates Robert's delight in European rather than native comforts. More crucially, Richard's climactic speech announcing doubt was severely reduced. The prompt copy reads:

I have wounded my soul for you. It is no[t] in the darkness of belief that I desire you

whereas in the published text one finds:

. . . for you—a deep wound of doubt which can never be healed. I can never know, never in this world. I do not wish to know or to believe. I do not care. It is not . . .

(p. 112)

In each instance the excised lines were crossed out—not simply omitted—from the prompt copy, proving that the alterations were directorial rather than the result of a typist's mistranscription.

No other significant production of *Exiles* (in English) occurred in Joyce's lifetime. The next production of note was Esmé Percy's, staged at the Q Theatre in London in May 1950. Percy's production copy also is preserved in the Croessmann Joyce Collection at Morris Library. Although this production did not receive wide notice it was

sympathetically reviewed. Harold Hobson wrote that it was "a civilized study of genius trying to free itself of jealousy." Its theme "is stated with a smooth intelligence that only just falls short of dramatic effectiveness."¹⁰ T. C. Worsley's long and probing notice of the Percy production argued that even though *Exiles* had flaws of construction, its language and nuance were of the first order: ". . . what a pleasurable change to have too much to pick up instead of too little and to feel from the start that every expression, every phrase, has been economically picked, not only for its immediate impact but for its long-term effect."¹¹

Percy's was the only significant production of *Exiles* in English for nearly fifty years after the Stage Society's. Some twenty-five years later, in 1970 and 1971, Harold Pinter attempted to provide Joyce's enigmatic play the taut edge it requires. In this aim he was apparently successful. Pinter's dramatic imagination, which had fashioned virtually a new theatrical sensibility out of thrust and counter-thrust issuing in no definite disclosure of fact, gave *Exiles* new authority as a theatrical, rather than strictly literary, piece. Since then it has had two runs in Dublin: at the Peacock in 1973 and in 1977 as the premiere production of the newly formed Stage 1 Theatre. Also in 1977 *Exiles* enjoyed a successful production at the Circle Repertory Theatre in New York. Perhaps audiences that have assimilated post-*Godot* drama can now accept the severely rendered skepticism and abstract language of Joyce's most personal work.

NOTES

1. *Letters of James Joyce*, ed. Richard Ellmann, II (New York: Viking, 1966), 365. This volume, and vol. I, ed. Stuart Gilbert (New York: Viking, 1957) and vol. III, ed. Richard Ellmann (New York: Viking, 1966) will hereafter be referred to parenthetically in the text.

2. I am grateful to Mr. Alan Cohn for bringing this ballot sheet to my attention and to Mr. Kenneth DucRett, Curator of Special Collections, for permission to use it in this essay.

3. Dan H. Laurence, comp., *Shaw: An Exhibit* (Austin: Humanities Research Center, 1977), item 612. For further comment see Robert H. Deming's *James Joyce: The Critical Heritage* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1970), I, 130-32; and *Letters*, II, 411, no. 1; and II, 460.

4. Moore's letter is in the Joyce Collection of the Cornell University Library; I am grateful for their permission to quote from it. Although undated, it must have been written between 26 October and 24 November 1917 (see *Letters*, I, 108 and II, 411).

5. Richard Ellmann, *James Joyce* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1959), p. 429.
6. The ballot sheet is in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University; I am grateful for their permission to quote from it.
7. *James Joyce*, p. 587.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 587-88. Ellmann does not specify his source for Shaw's remarks. Mr. Mathew Norgate, then Secretary for the Stage Society, has told me that Shaw was not present at the debate, of which there is not, to my knowledge, a published record or account.
9. See *Exiles* (New York: Viking, 1951), pp. 41-42. I am grateful to Mr. George W. Nash, Curator of the Enthoven Theatre Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum, for locating the Stage Society's prompt copy.
10. *Sunday Times* (London), 21 May 1950, p. 4.
11. *New Statesman and Nation*, 39 (27 May 1951), 602-03.

Francis Stuart From Laragh to Berlin

J. H. Natterstad

On the evening of 5 August 1942, Francis Stuart sat before a microphone in a small cubicle in Berlin's Rundfunkhaus and, as the red signal light flashed on, began his first broadcast to Ireland. The Germans, fearful that America's entry into the war would force Ireland out of its neutrality and into the Allied column, had asked Stuart, then on the faculty of the University of Berlin, to deliver a series of weekly talks whose underlying purpose would be to call for Ireland's continued nonalignment. These short broadcasts were made from Berlin until the spring of 1943 when radio operations were moved to Luxembourg to escape increasingly severe Allied bombing raids on the German capital; in Luxembourg, while on leave from his university post, Stuart continued to speak until early in 1944.

That he was willing to make such talks on behalf of a regime unsurpassed for its violence and hideous inhumanity is in itself enough to raise substantial moral and political questions concerning the man. In fact, his collaboration went beyond the broadcasts to Ireland. For even before these, indeed not long after he had left his home in Laragh, Glendalough, in January 1940, and assumed his post as lecturer in English and Irish literature at the University of Berlin, he accepted an invitation to write talks for William Joyce (Lord Haw Haw) and a bit later agreed to translate German news items to be broadcast in English. On the surface, such activities can lead to only one conclusion: Stuart was firmly committed to Hitler and the Nazi cause. This was, predictably, the interpretation made, and it is an interpretation that Stuart over the years has been unable to dispel, with the effect that his literary career has been deeply stained. In an interview with him in January 1975, I asked why recognition of his artistic achievement had been so long in developing, and he gave

several reasons, concluding with this observation: "And of course my war experiences—the fact that I was in Germany and so forth—were a great disadvantage . . . for my reputation. I think this question mark or shadow was over it, is still over it"¹

Stuart's complicity, while real and deserving of censure, was nonetheless considerably more complex than his actions alone would seem to indicate. Though the parallel with Ezra Pound is inescapable—and not entirely unfitting—Stuart's involvement with fascism was of a somewhat different order, if equally misguided. There was nothing of Pound's eccentric economic theories and nothing really comparable to his often virulent anti-Semitism. During the thirties Stuart's attitude toward the Jew was curiously ambivalent. On the one hand, he was capable of referring to a reviewer as "that Jewish scribbler"² and of creating in Sam Salmon, who appears in *In Search of Love* (1935), a caricature of the Jew as materialistic and manipulative. Yet at the same time there was something about this persecuted minority that drew Stuart to them, for both they and he found themselves among the outcasts of society. In *Julie* (1938) he describes the rebellious Goldberg as a man who possessed "an intensity of life . . . that most people lacked"³ and who was "lovable, courageous, and with certain childlike qualities" (p. 123). All in all, it seems unlikely that anti-Semitism played any significant part in shaping Stuart's view of the National Socialists. His pro-German sentiment derived largely from his intense dissatisfaction with the gray middle-class life he found entrenched in Ireland and in the West generally. In a society dominated by the values of the bourgeoisie, the writer's task, as he saw it, was to be a countercurrent to the underlying assumptions—whether moral, political, or sociological. The artist was consequently conceived of as a dissident; and unlike Yeats and Eliot, who were equally disturbed by the contemporary scene, Stuart carried his dissent well beyond his art.

At some points, it should be said at the beginning, his prewar views are virtually identical to those prevalent in Germany during the later 1930s. "Democracy," he wrote in his impressionistic autobiography *Things to Live For* (1934), "is the ideal of those whose lives as individuals are failures and who, feeling their own futility, take refuge in the mass and become arrogant in the herd."⁴ And much later, in a notebook he kept in 1960, he reflected on the

dangers of submitting to the will of the majority: "The great majority of Christ's contemporaries in Jerusalem wished his crucifixion. The great majority of the English people at the time of Dickens, say, saw nothing wrong with young children working in the mines. Yet at these times there was a small minority, I believe, of the wise, the true, the 'detached,' who saw things differently."⁵ Communism, too, came under attack. He dismissed it sarcastically in his 1933 novel *Glory* as "the great humanitarian society,"⁶ and without naming it directly, dismissed it also in *Pigeon Irish* (1932) and again in *The Angel of Pity* (1935) for its rationalism, materialism, and emotional barrenness. Certainly these attitudes, taken with his instinctive anti-intellectualism and his aristocratic leanings, make it difficult to explain his actions solely in terms of the anti-British sentiment common among the Irish, though such a sentiment is clearly present in him.⁷ It would be wrong, however, to make the all-too-natural assumption that because he deplored democracy and communism he must have considered fascism a worthy alternative. "If you dare say a word against democracy," Stuart wrote in 1960, "you're a fascist, you want a dictator! What, on the contrary, I want is that the voice of unself-seeking wisdom should not always be stifled and drowned in the roar of the easily swayed or easily indifferent mass."⁸ He was not being merely self-serving, I believe, when he remarked in 1975:

The fascist cause in its ideology always seemed to me, apart from whatever evil was in it, simply primitive and childish. . . . No serious writer of any complexity could ever, however perverse or mistaken his tendencies or views might be, really ally himself with or adapt to such completely oversimplified and naive philosophies. . . . Any of these mass movements are bound to be geared to extremely low intelligences.⁹

Stuart's anti-democratic spirit and his anti-communism were less a part of a coherent political philosophy than an expression of his hostility toward modern society, which, it seemed to him, had lost touch with its roots, particularly its emotional and spiritual roots, and which had forced the imaginative writer into the role of antagonist, even rebel. In a telling passage which Stuart carefully preserved in a notebook he kept in 1957 and 1958, French mystic and social philosopher Simone Weil is quoted: "If we know in what direction the scales of society are tilted we must do what we can to

add weight to the lighter side. Although the weight may be something evil, if we handle it with this motive we shall perhaps not be tainted by it."¹⁰ Stuart was acutely aware of how the scales of modern society were tilted. The world he saw about him, worshipping at the altar of commercialism, science, and technology, was bland and complacent, and hollow at the center. And so he portrayed it in a series of prewar novels, including *Pigeon Irish*, *The Coloured Dome* (1932), and *The White Hare* (1936). What the individual's response should be, given the prevailing hostile climate, is expressed perhaps most clearly by a character in *Glory*:

You've learnt to be an outcast, as your generation must learn, and when I say 'generation,' it may only be a handful, because it is only a handful in every generation who would mould thought, as they say. They will be outcast from the smug, the self-complacent, from the vast societies of organised benevolence, from the capitalists and the communists. (pp. 240-41)

The man who makes this observation, General Porteous, seems to embody Stuart's rather naive view of Hitler in 1934. The general works for Trans-Continental Aero-Routes, an international company far less interested in the transport of people than in world domination. Though primarily responsible for its strategy of expansion and conquest, he ironically has no use whatever for the organization (which allegorically represents capitalism). The company's financial motives are inimical to him, and he aligns himself with it solely to have control of its mechanized forces for the purpose of blind destruction—the destruction of a world that, as he puts it, is “going to become more and more self-complacent, more and more standardised, more and more benevolent on a large material scale. But cold and ruthless to those . . . who threaten its order and organisation. And it will be ruled by a Company” (pp. 140-41). A little later he adds that he hopes “to shatter the smugness of the world. All the cold smugness that believes in humanity, that believes in itself. . . . And I will use their own tools to do it. Their own machines” (p. 150). For the general, destruction is itself the only end, and the irony of using society's own means to accomplish this result is not lost on him. That Stuart indeed had Hitler in mind when drawing this portrait is borne out by a passage in his 1971 novel *Black List*, *Section H*, in which the central character H, the author's persona, reflects on his early conception of Hitler “as a

blind and infuriated Samson about to pull down the whole pretentious edifice.”¹¹

Stuart himself, however, is by no means a nihilist. While convinced of the need for the destruction of a diseased way of life, he did not see such destruction as an end; nor, it should be added, did he envision some dark fascist state as the end. Our materialistic, spiritually debilitated society had to be laid waste, he believed, in order to raise a social structure that would be emotionally and spiritually alive and one that would permit genuine individual freedom. In *Glory* it is not the nihilistic philosophy of General Porteous that offers final meaning. Stuart's inner vision is embodied in the young girl who follows the general for a time. At first caught up in the adventure and swayed by thoughts of personal glory, she eventually comes to realize the ultimate emptiness of his views and remembers that in death he found, in his words, “All there is; all there was” (p. 255). She is unable to accept this expression of the utter meaninglessness of existence and sets out to discover significance. In doing so, she turns away from the world, and in the short time she has yet to live, finds transfiguring peace in the life of the spirit.

The one facet of the general's personality that Stuart closely identified with was his deep sense of alienation, his belief that one must become an outcast. To Stuart, Hitler was just such an alienated figure; despised by respectable society as a madman or criminal (more often both), he stood apart and threatened to sweep away the decayed structure of a civilization. This view of the German leader as outcast is carried over to Stuart's early conception of the National Socialists as a whole. Only once is a Nazi dealt with directly in Stuart's prewar novels—in the 1933 book *Try the Sky*. Here the Irish narrator José and the girl he is with are staying at a Munich hotel. There are shots in the street, marking another of the frequent skirmishes between the Nazis and the Weimar government. Shortly afterward the door to their room flies open and a man rushes in wearing “a sort of uniform with a white circle on his arm and the swastika sign in black on the white.”¹² Breathless, blood running from beneath his sleeve, he asks for refuge and then, before he can go, José says, “No. That's all right. You stay here if they're after you” (p. 162). Then he thinks, “It all seemed a familiar business to me, as though I was back in the Ireland of a few years ago” (p. 162).

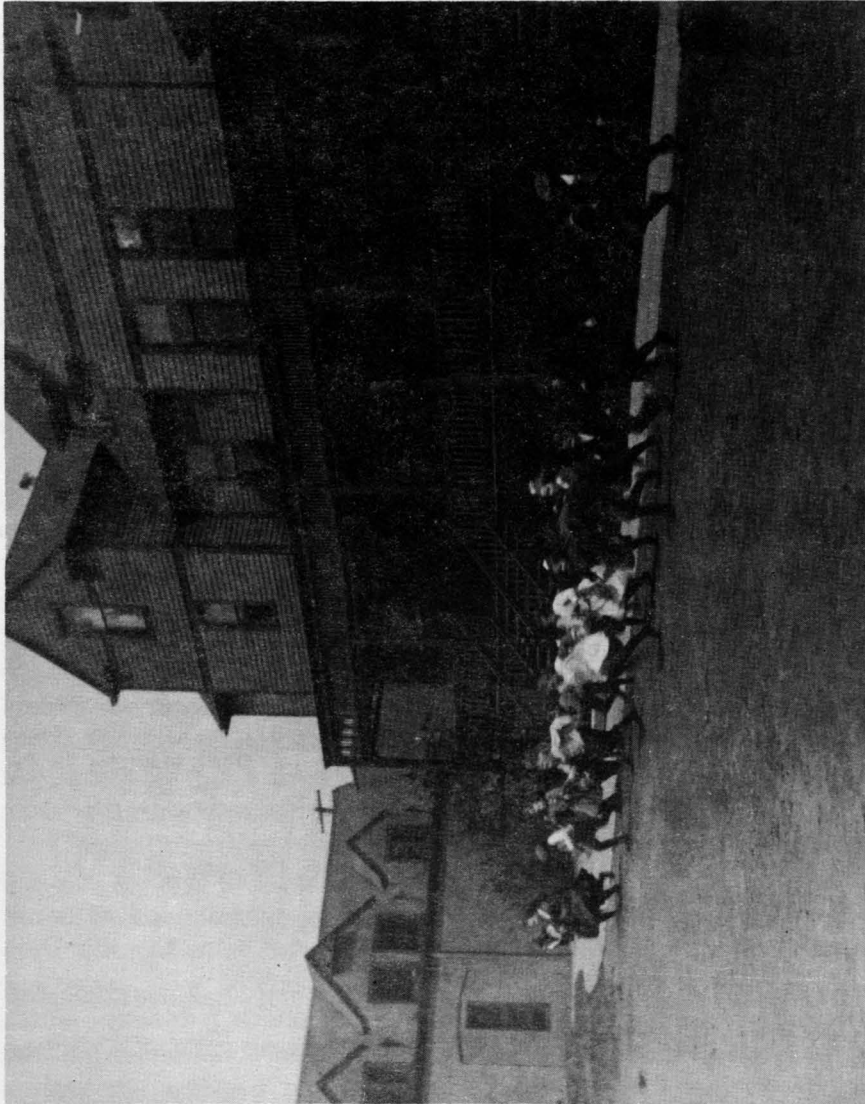
In this instance, Stuart's natural inclination to identify with a minority, particularly a vilified minority, led him to misjudge the character and motives of the emerging Nazi regime. Contributing to his error, one suspects, was the aura of mysticism that clung to the Nazis. Stuart had been deeply interested in Christian mysticism since the mid-twenties. In 1942 he wrote, "Mysticism was the life of the world and must be so again if the world is to have any life,"¹³ and in 1955 he observed, no doubt thinking of the direction his own work took, "All great novels (novelists) have been, to some degree, mystical."¹⁴ To anyone looking closely, the German mysticism of the period would have seemed patently empty—pseudo-messianic, pseudo-spiritual—indeed a mysticism in which elaborate ritual had completely replaced transcendence; but it is doubtful that Stuart was looking closely. It is significant that in *Try the Sky* he uses Munich as the origin of a flight made by a mysterious airplane allegorically named *The Spirit*. Munich, the scene of the 1923 Beer Hall Putsch, was of course where Hitler began his rise to power, and it seems that Stuart made this connection. The inventor of the plane with its stained glass windows is Dr. Graf, a former member of the Imperial German Air Force and now a Nazi sympathizer who was once arrested after a Nazi demonstration in 1932. The flight itself, however, is not intended to represent the "spiritual" side of the rise of fascism. Stuart makes clear that it symbolizes a transcendent human love; however, that he seems to have believed such a spiritual flight could originate in Germany is revealing, inasmuch as it suggests the extent of his misreading of the often bloody events in that country during the twenties and early thirties.

Clearly Stuart's perception of the Nazis was strongly colored by his own feelings of alienation and anger and led him to conceive of them as constituting a revolutionary movement intent on the destruction of what Pound had characterized as "an old bitch gone in the teeth, . . . a botched civilization."¹⁵ He hoped that out of the debris something would arise closer to his dreams, dreams that had nothing in common with a fascist police state. One cannot help sensing the personal truth of some lines that Stuart at one point considered using to describe the political motivation of H in *Black List*: "A Fascist? Had it been Africa that had risen up against the whole 'civilised' set-up (religious, political, cultural) in which H had lived he would have been as much a Mau Mau."¹⁶

While it is possible, and correct, to talk of other causes for his going to Germany (such as his unhappy marriage to Iseult Gonne, his declining literary fortunes, and his consequent financial need), these alone are merely contributing factors. Without his overwhelming sense of a world gone wrong, a world alien to a religious temperament like his own, a world in which the creative imagination is thought suspect, even dangerous, it is unlikely that Stuart would have naively transformed Hitler and his followers into a kind of perverse cleansing force; it is equally unlikely that he would have found himself in the darkened streets of wartime Berlin.

NOTES

1. "An Interview with Francis Stuart," *Journal of Irish Literature*, 5 (January 1976), 31.
2. Letter to Joseph O'Neill, 26 October [1934], Joseph O'Neill Papers, National Library of Ireland, Dublin.
3. *Julie* (New York: Knopf, 1938), p. 64.
4. *Things to Live For: Notes for an Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1934), p. 254.
5. "Notes B. July 1960-October 1960," MS, n. pag. Francis Stuart Papers, Morris Library, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale. Other workbooks cited below are also in this collection.
6. (London: Victor Gollancz, 1933), p. 139.
7. For evidence of Stuart's proximity to the Irish Republican Army view of England and Germany, see the conclusion of his *Der Fall Casement: Das Leben Sir Roger Casements und der Verleumdungsfeldzug des Secret Service*, trans. Ruth Weiland (Hamburg: Hanseatische, [1940]), p. 110. This work, published solely in the German translation, was his only book to appear during the war years.
8. "Notes B. July 1960-October 1960," Francis Stuart Papers.
9. "An Interview with Francis Stuart," p. 26.
10. "Notebook A. December 1957. July 1958-December 1958," MS, n. pag. Francis Stuart Papers.
11. *Black List, Section H* (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1971), p. 279.
12. *Try the Sky* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1933), p. 161.
13. "Selections from a Berlin Diary, 1942," ed. J. H. Natterstad, *Journal of Irish Literature*, 5 (January 1976), 76.
14. "Notes for Novel, September 1955. *Victors and Vanquished*," MS, n. pag. Francis Stuart Papers.
15. "Hugh Selwyn Mauberley," *The Selected Poems of Ezra Pound* (New York: New Directions, 1957), p. 64.
16. "November 1965. Notes I," MS, n. pag. Francis Stuart Papers.



Dewey School children at tag game. The last school building, 5412 Ellis Avenue.

The Dewey School Photographs

Ruth Bauner

When John Dewey became the chairman of the Departments of Philosophy, Psychology, and Pedagogy at the University of Chicago in 1894, one of his first goals was to establish a laboratory school where his educational theories and methods could be tested just as a scientist experiments and tests his theories. In his plan for organizing the school Dewey wrote:

The school is an institution in which the child is, for the time, to live—to be a member of a community life in which he feels that he participates, and to which he contributes. This fact requires such modification of existing methods as will insure that the school hours are regarded as much a part of the day's life as anything else, not something apart; and the school house, as for the time being, a home, and not simply a place to go in order to learn certain things. It requires also that the school work be so directed that the child shall realize its value for him at the time, and not simply as a preparation for something else, or for future life.¹

Thus, in January 1896, with twelve pupils, the Dewey School began. By October of the same year thirty-two pupils, ages six to twelve were enrolled. Within a few years the school had 100 pupils and a staff of twelve full time and seven part time teachers. As the enrollment increased, the school moved several times from its original location of 5714 Kimbark Avenue, finally locating in Emmons Blaine Hall at the University of Chicago.

It was the intention of both President William Rainey Harper and John Dewey “to relate the university to the lower schools in order to effect a better articulation between primary, secondary, and collegiate training.”² Turning away from the formal methods of the Herbartian followers, Dewey adapted the Froebel principles, based on educative activity, to his own methodology. He believed that the school should be an extension of the child's home experience and

that learning should take place informally as the child participated with his classmates in activities of his choice. Mayhew and Edwards write:

. . . the social phase of education was put first. This fact is contrary to an impression about the school which has prevailed since it was founded and which many visitors carried away with them at the time. It is the idea which has played a large part in progressive schools: namely, that they exist in order to give complete liberty to individuals, and that they are and must be 'child-centered' in a way which ignores, or at least makes little of, social relationships and responsibilities. In intent, whatever the failures in accomplishment, the school was 'community-centered.'³

The children, ranging in ages from four to fifteen, were not put into a graded system but were placed in eleven groups according to their ages. However, Dewey planned for as much mixing of ages as possible with the older children participating in hand work along with the younger children or spending some time each week in teaching the younger children. They were also brought together for weekly assemblies in which the various groups reported to the others concerning their activities. Activities of the children were many: constructing equipment for the school, making their own tools for school needs, cooking weekly lunches, preparing daily mid-morning snacks, going on field trips, gardening, role playing or dramatic play, spinning and weaving, story-telling, record or report writing, printing, speaking French, reading aloud, correcting body posture, constructing and furnishing a club house, singing and song writing. It was the task of the teachers to organize the activities of the children so that they had direction and were not haphazard. The teachers were to help the children work with purpose continuously and move from one activity to another. It was, of course, the responsibility of the teachers to use the activities for instructing the children informally in those subjects that they would have been taught by formal drill in the ordinary classroom. The teachers met weekly to keep each other informed about what their groups were doing and to discuss methods, successes, and problems. A very active Parents' Association gave support to the teachers and the school.

A series of events which led to conflict between Dewey and Harper caused Dewey to resign in 1904 and go to Columbia University to devote full time to the teaching and study of philosophy. Motivated by his interest in his own children and by the educational problems of his time to become active in the discipline

of education, he never again was directly involved with schools below the collegiate level. The legacy left behind when Dewey departed was "the idea that children need freedom to investigate, to experiment, to move about, to exchange ideas, and to challenge . . ."⁴

The photographs of the Dewey School are part of a collection belonging to Dr. Lander MacClintock, Professor Emeritus, Indiana University, who very generously donated them to SIU-C's Center for Dewey Studies. When presenting the photographs, Dr. MacClintock wrote:

My mother taught literature in the Dewey School and wrote a book about her theories and her experiences which was very widely used for several years and went through many editions. I and my brother and sisters all attended the Dewey School during the whole period of its existence. My father (who was a professor of English at the University of Chicago) and my mother were intimate friends of the Deweys while they were at the University of Chicago and were moving spirits in the school's establishment and conduct.

I personally was in the Laboratory School (now known as the Dewey School) from its beginning to its end, when it became the University of Chicago School, and I received my whole elementary school training there, as did my brother Paul MacClintock, a year my junior.⁵

Dewey was influenced by his contacts with professors in other disciplines and encouraged cross disciplinary courses. Wirth notes that the 1902 University of Chicago *Register* lists Advisory members (from the University faculty) of the School of Education, and among those listed is William D. MacClintock, Professor of English.⁶ Mayhew and Edwards record that "The school was indebted to numerous persons in other departments of the University especially to Mr. and Mrs. William D. MacClintock . . ."⁷

Some of the photographs in Dr. MacClintock's gift have been used previously as illustrations in Mayhew and Edwards's study and in that by DePencier. Offered here, then, is a selection, principally heretofore unpublished, which richly documents the broad range of activities in this pioneer experiment in education.

NOTES

1. From Dewey's *Plan of Organization of the University Primary School* n.p., n.d. Chicago, 1895(?) quoted in Arthur G. Wirth's *John Dewey as*

The Dewey School

Educator: His Design for Work in Education (1894-1904) (New York: John Wiley, 1966), p. 298.

2. Wirth, p. 46.

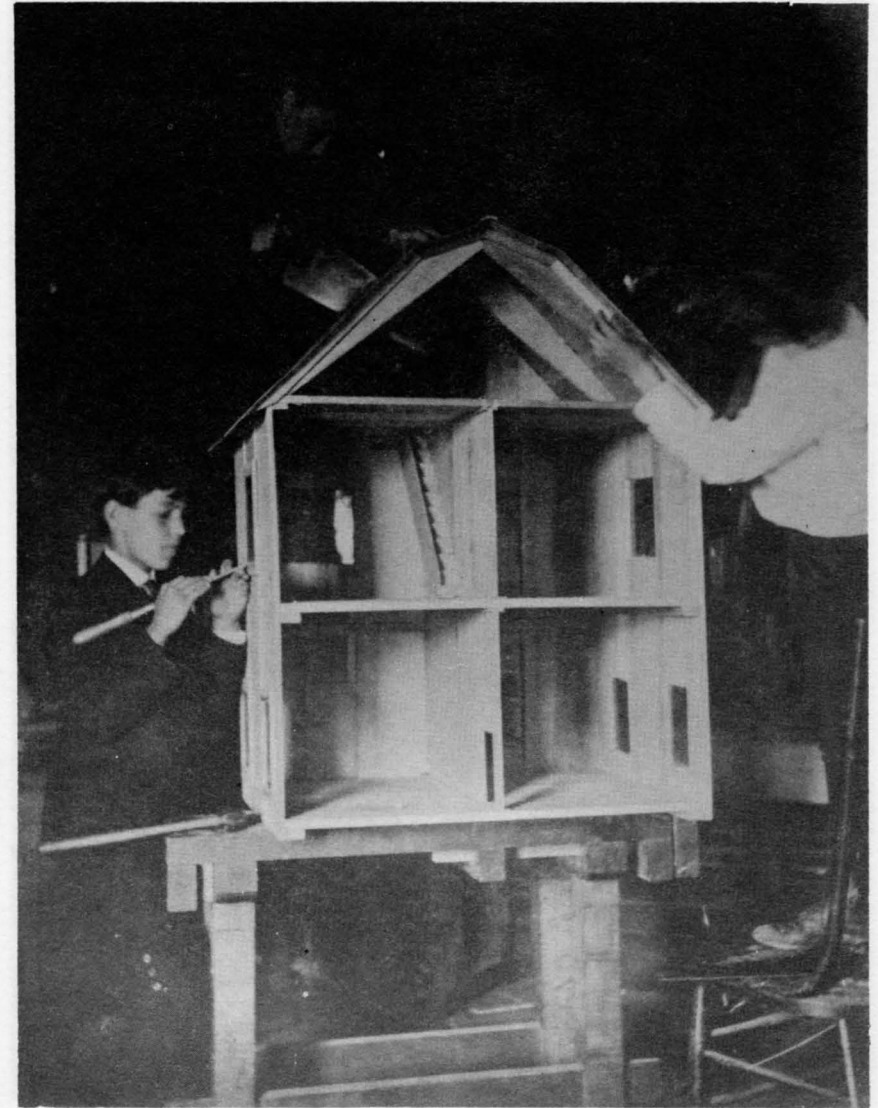
3. Katherine Camp Mayhew and Anna Camp Edwards, *The Dewey School; the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago, 1896-1903* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1936), p. 467.

4. Ida B. DePencier, *The History of the Laboratory Schools; the University of Chicago 1896-1965* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. 50.

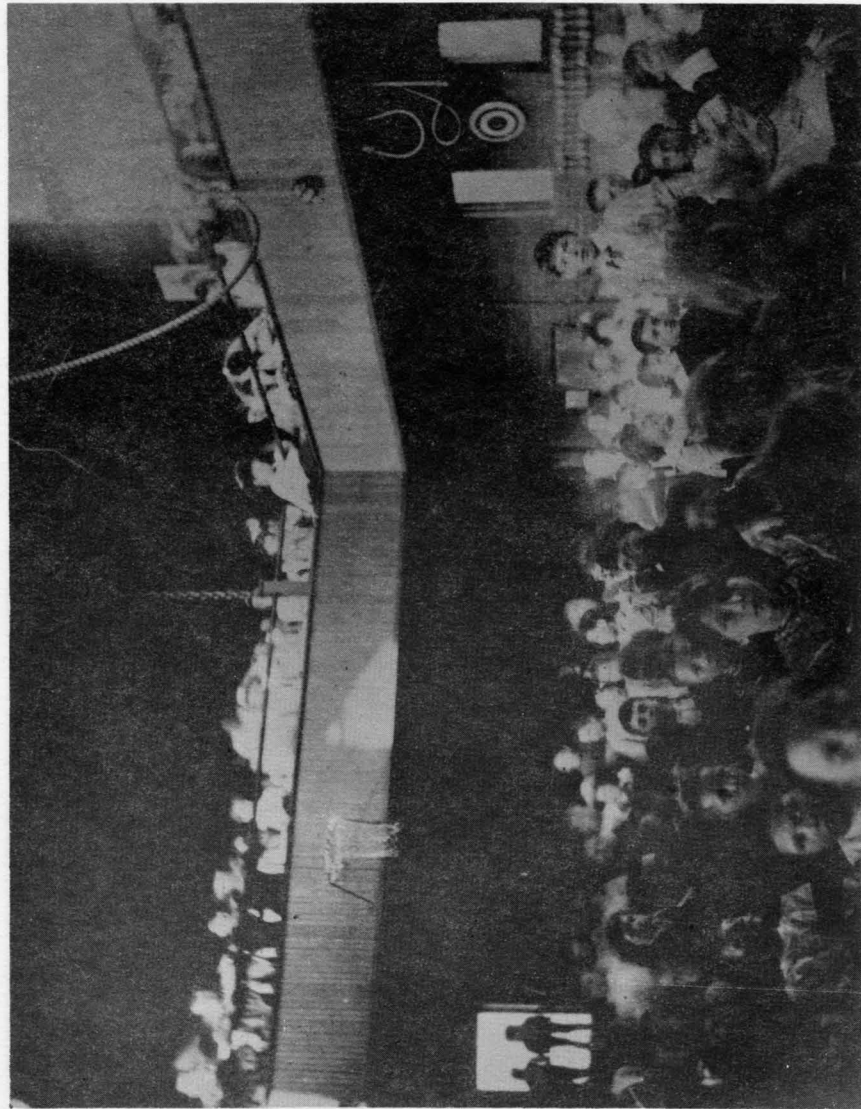
5. Letter from MacClintock to Darrell Jenkins (Library Affairs Administrative Assistant), 14 February 1978.

6. Wirth, pp. 51-52.

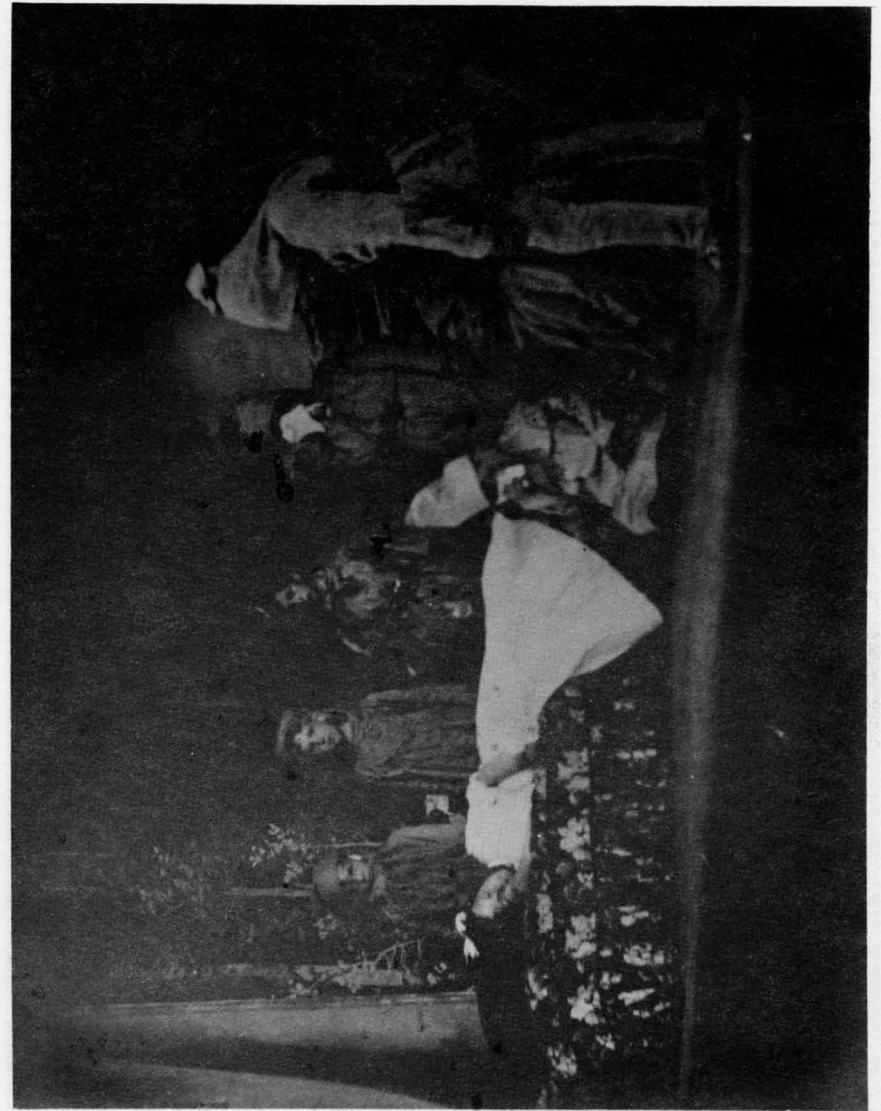
7. Mayhew and Edwards, p. 10.



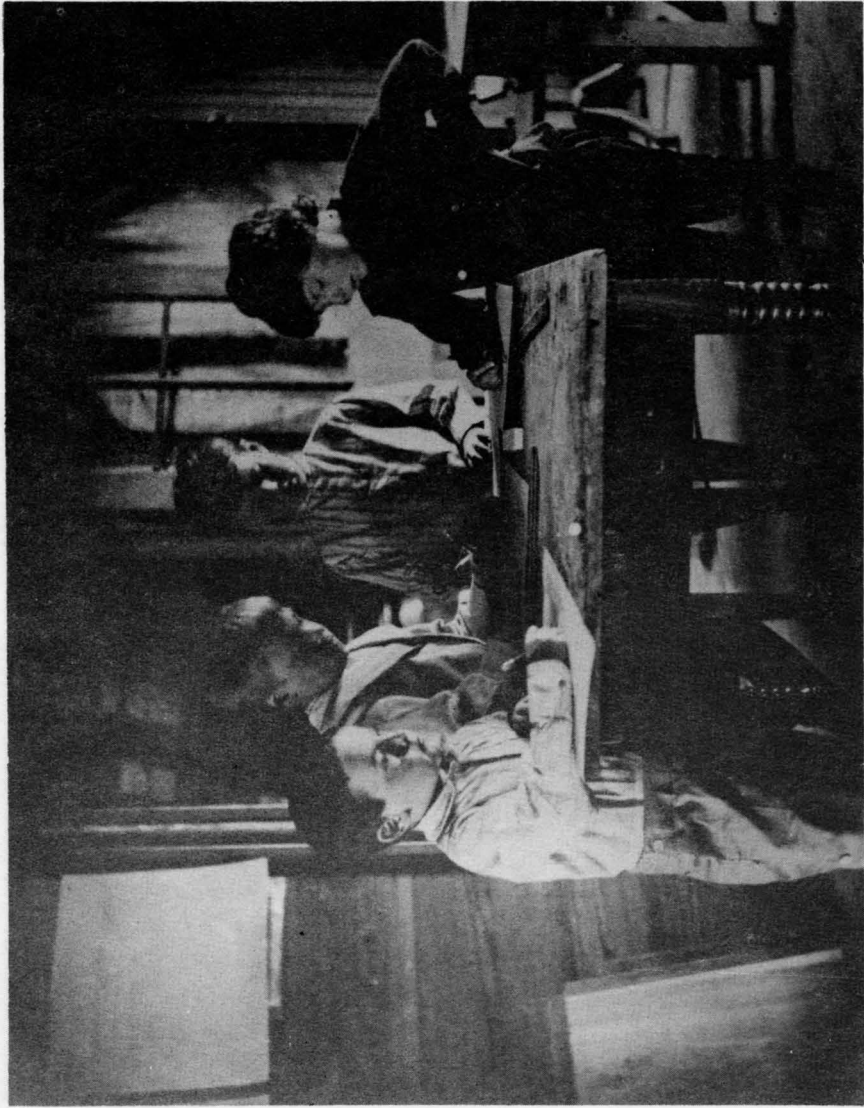
History, design, and wood-working were combined in this model house project.



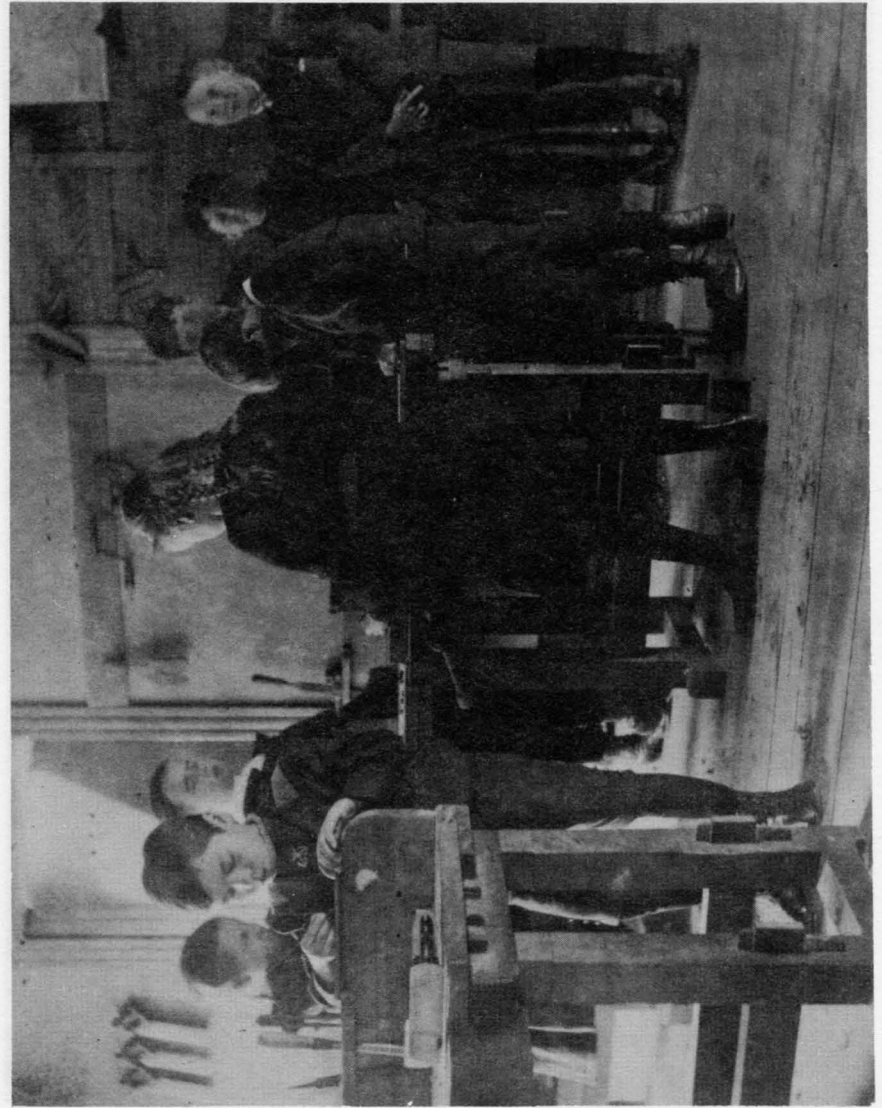
Students learned from the presentations of other students.



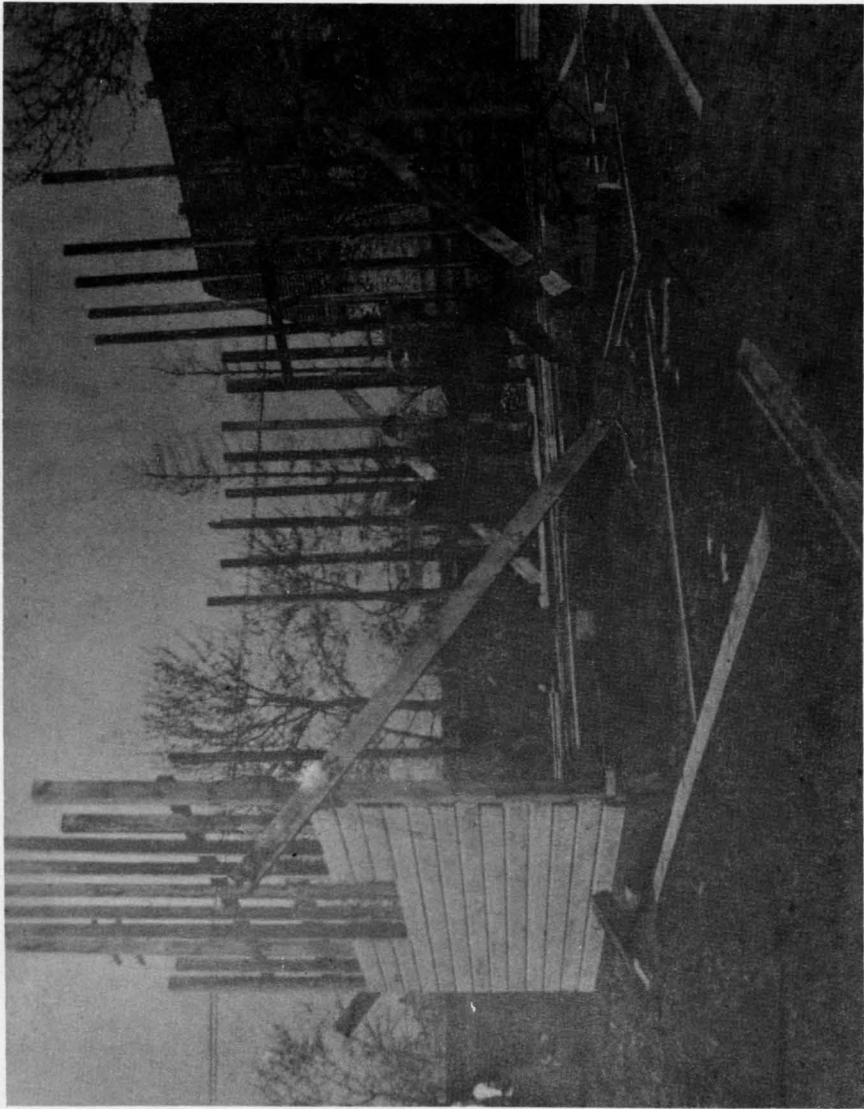
Dramatizations provided opportunities for set design and costume-making as well as drama.



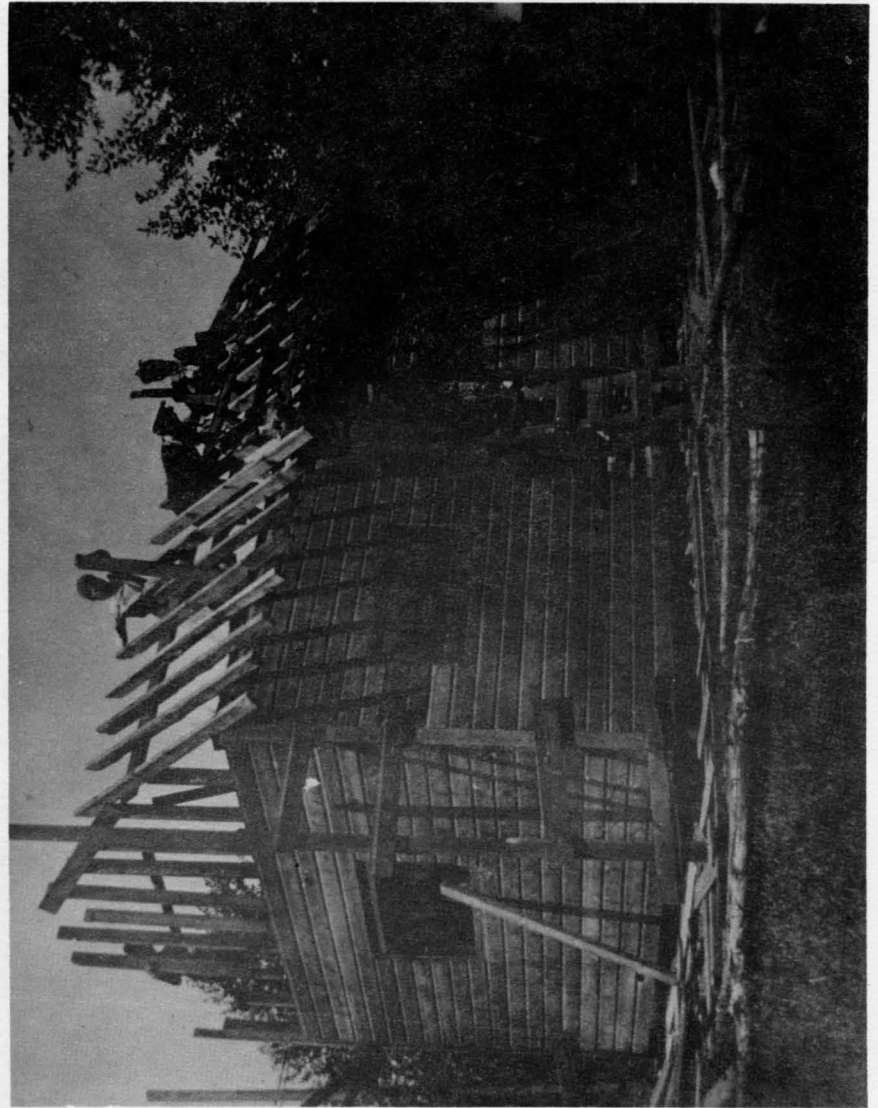
After studying early farming, students drew working plans for farm utensils.



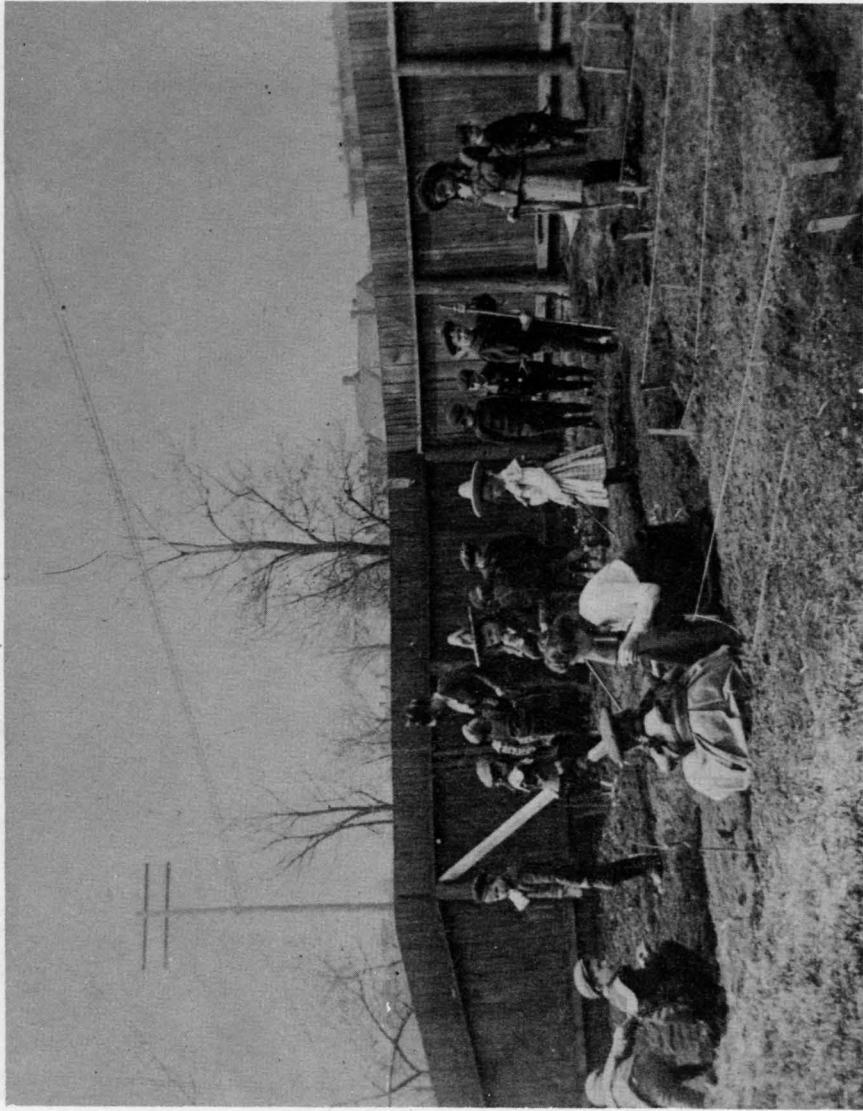
Carpentry class in barn studio.



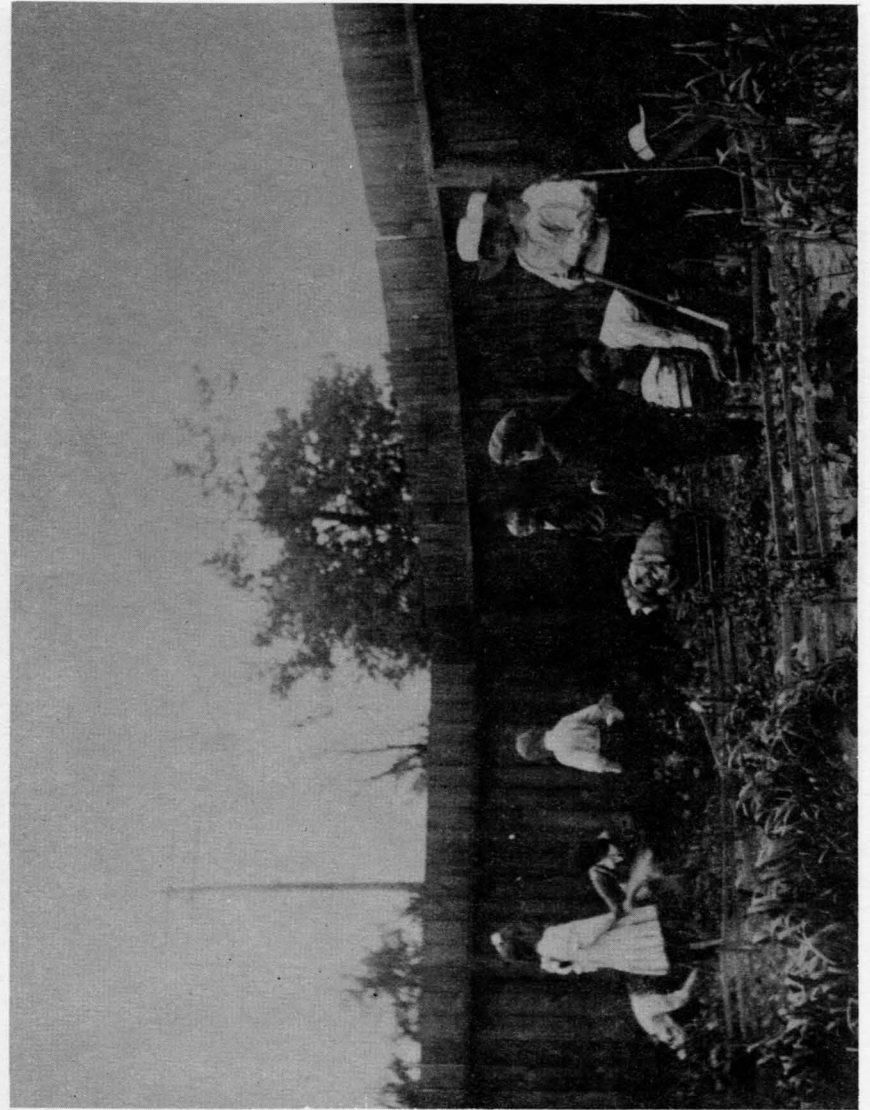
The beginnings of the Club House, an all-school project.



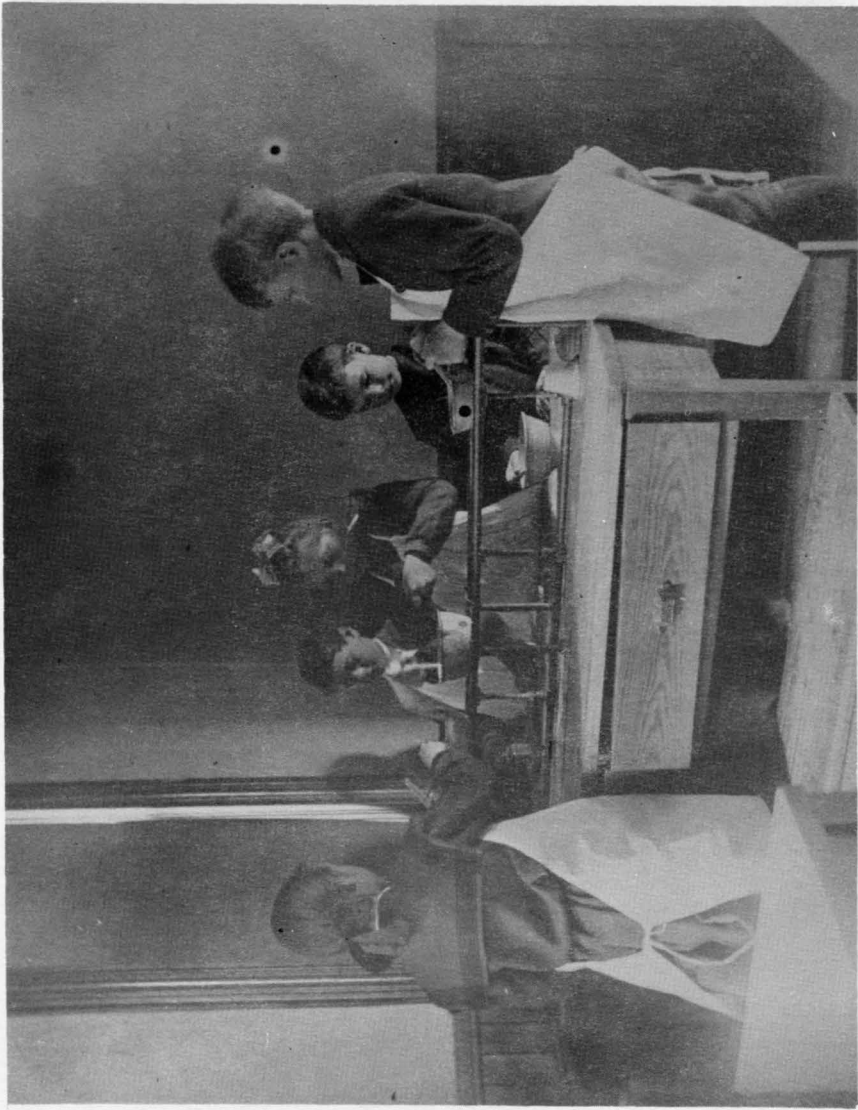
Girls (age 13) working on the Club House.



Spring planting for the younger students (ages six and seven).

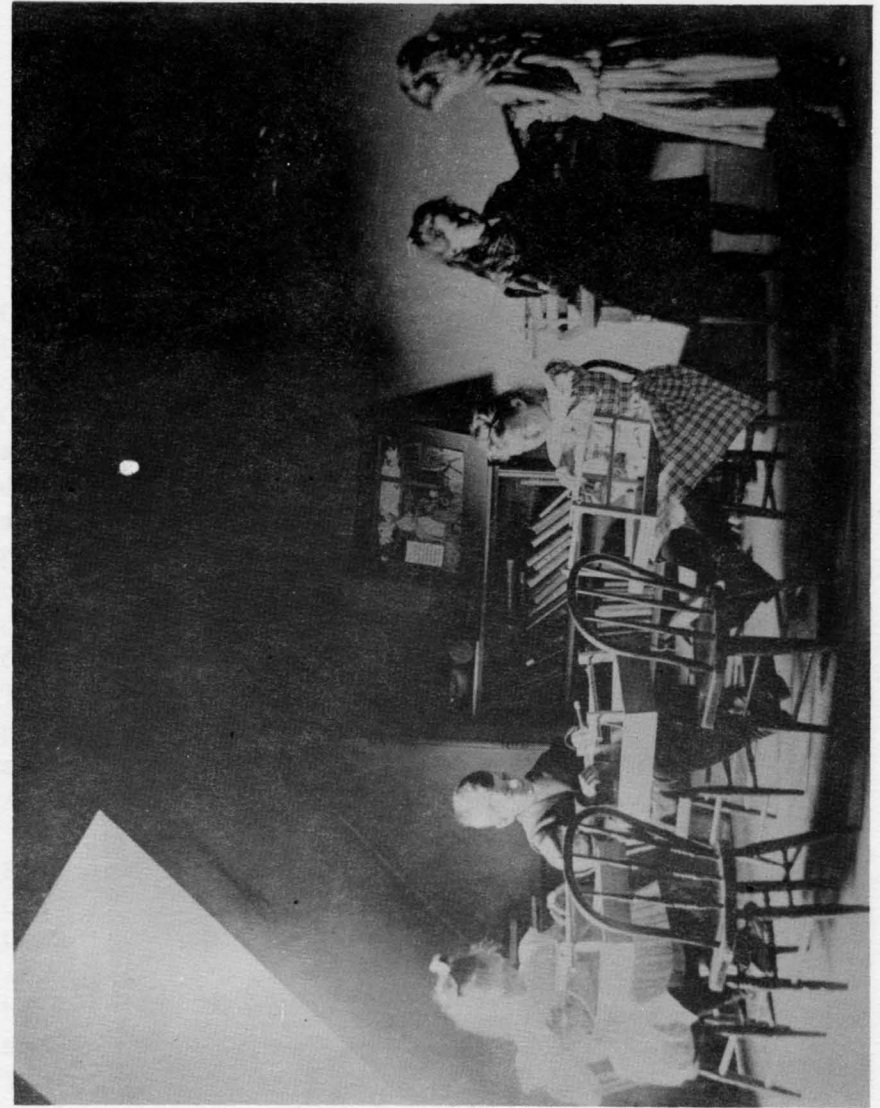


The garden grows. Students made many of the tools.

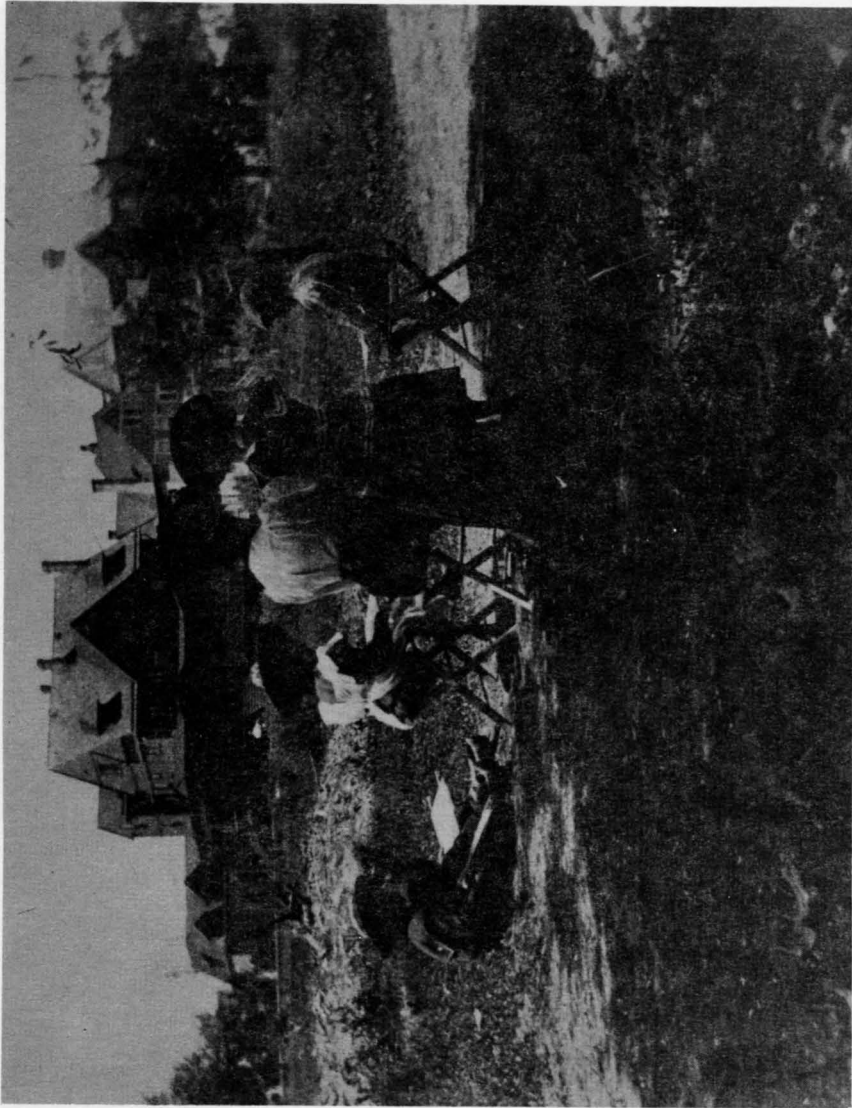


A cooking class for nine-year-olds. School garden foods were cooked, too.

The Martha Marshall
Collection



Weaving in the textile studio with material spun and dyed by the students as well.



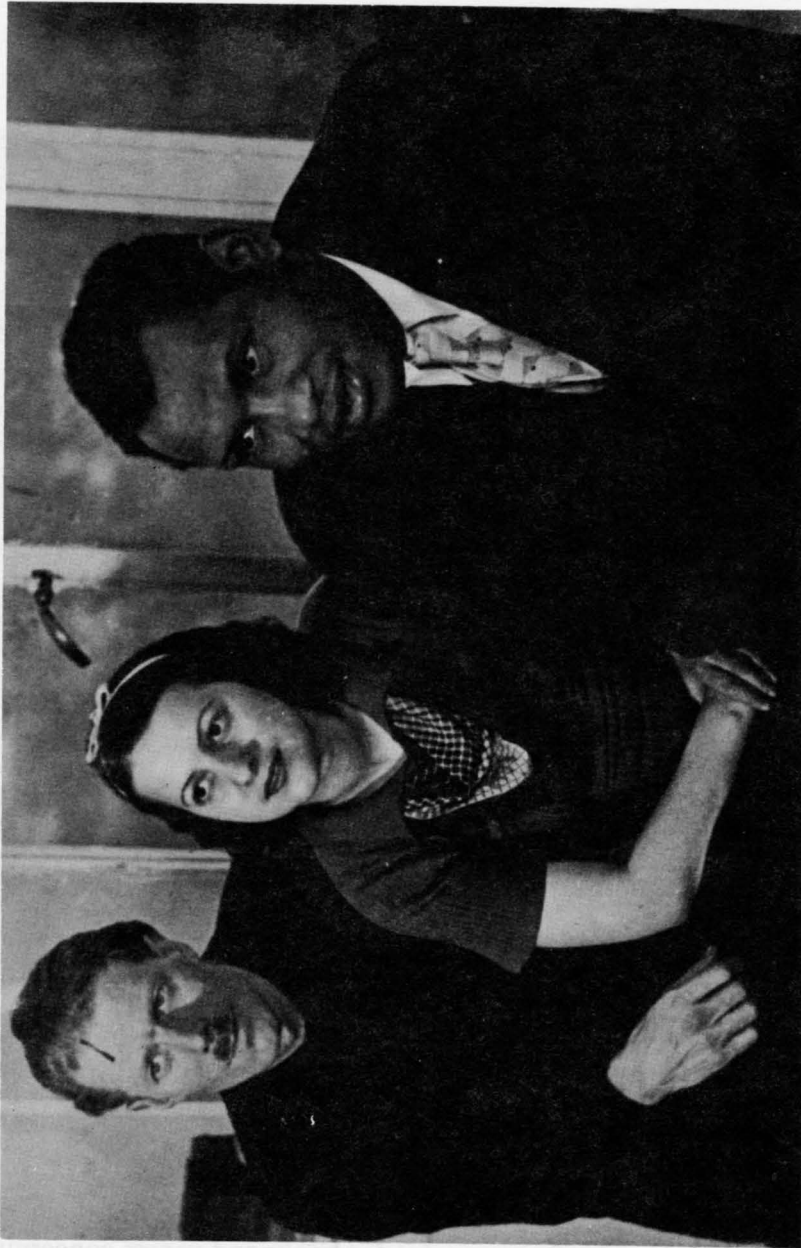
A sketching class with the Ellis Avenue school house in background.

The Herbert Marshall Collection

Susan Siebert

In 1966, Southern Illinois University invited Herbert Marshall to Carbondale as Distinguished Visiting Professor in the Theatre Department. As a director and designer, Marshall had begun his career in documentary films in 1929 as assistant director under John Grierson. He studied film making in Moscow under Sergei Eisenstein at the State Institute of Cinematography and during the war was a director of England's National Theatre the Old Vic, and later an advisor to the Ministry of Information. After the war he became a producer of documentary films in Eastern Europe. Invited to India by Prime Minister Nehru in 1951, he remained there for ten years, producing films (including the official *Life and Death of Mahatma Gandhi*) and plays and advising on the design of the National Theatres. Marshall has continued his career as a director and theatre planning advisor, as well as translator and author. Among his books are *Mayakovsky and his Poetry*, *Hamlet through the Ages*, and *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian*, co-authored with Mildred Stock.

While at SIU-C, Marshall has taught seminars on the history of Soviet theatre and cinema, the Stanislavsky method, and Indian and Oriental drama. In 1969, SIU-C President Delyte Morris established the Center for Soviet and East European Studies in the Performing Arts, with Marshall as its director. The intention of the Center has been to bring to SIU-C, and the general public, knowledge and appreciation of the cultures of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The Center has maintained a repository of information on these areas and has served as a collecting point for books and papers concerning people and aspects of the theatre with which Marshall has worked throughout the years. Papers and books of the Unity Theatre, Lionel Britton, Paul Robeson, Ira Aldridge, and Edward Gordon Craig have been presented to Morris Library as the Herbert Marshall Collection.



Herbert Marshall, Fredda Brilliant, and Paul Robeson, 1938.

Of particular interest among these segments of the Marshall collection are the papers of the Unity Theatre. Marshall was co-founder of Unity and director of some of its most acclaimed productions. The origins of Unity Theatre lie in the ventures in workers' theatre that began in London in the 1920s. In 1933 some British players at the First International Worker's Olympiad in Moscow were encouraged by Marshall, then studying film making in Russia, to establish a company. Soon after, Marshall returned to England to be the artistic director of the newly formed Unity Theatre, which opened in February 1936. Marshall directed Clifford Odets' *Waiting for Lefty* that year, probably the best known and most often repeated production of Unity Theatre. He also did *The Aristocrats* by Nikolai Pogodin in 1937 and Ben Bengal's *Plant in the Sun* with Paul Robeson in 1938. In 1939, he produced *Crisis*, Unity's second Living Newspaper production, based on the Nazi threat to Czechoslovakia. Marshall also was artistic director on several occasions between 1940 and 1955 and served as Principal of the Unity Theatre Training School.

The papers donated to SIU-C include correspondence, scripts, and other records of the Unity Theatre from 1936 to 1950, and personal correspondence and manuscripts of Marshall from 1950 through 1970. These include thirty-eight play and production manuscripts and fifty-seven miscellaneous scripts. (In the early years of the 1940s, the war almost destroyed the theatre, literally and figuratively. There are no production manuscripts from 1942, but there is correspondence. During this time Unity went into crowded bomb shelters to stage sketches and sing for the people.) In addition, the collection contains several boxes of publicity records, consisting of magazines, news clippings, playbills, and photographs, and a box of administrative and educational records. Marshall is now engaged in preparing a history of the Unity Theatre for publication.

References to Paul Robeson, the black actor and singer who promoted civil rights through his art, are in the Unity Theatre papers, too. Marshall first met Robeson backstage in 1930 when Robeson played Othello in London. They next met in Russia in 1934, when Robeson went there at the invitation of Eisenstein to discuss doing a film. He came to the Institute of Cinematography where Marshall was studying under Eisenstein, and they soon became friends. Three

W. 16.] **Theatre-Royal, Edinburgh.** [N. 40.**RESUMPTION OF THE OLD PRICES.**Boxes, First Price, 3s; Second Price, 2s.—Pit, First Price, 3s; Second Price, 2s.
Lower Gallery, 1s.—Upper Gallery, 6d., and no Second Price to the Galleries.

Doors open at seven—The Performances commence at Half-past seven—Second Price at nine o'clock.

First Appearance this Season of

MR IRA ALDRIDGE!**The Celebrated African Roscius,**

Who is Engaged to Perform for

TWELVE NIGHTS,

And who will this Evening appear in the Characters of

OTHELLO, and MUNGO in the Padlock.

As the AFRICAN ROSCIUS is the only actor of colour that was ever known, and probably the only instance that may occur, and having been acknowledged by the Press of England, Ireland, and Scotland, to possess histrionic talent of the highest order, the following sketch of his life may not be unacceptable.

The African's Progenitors down to the Grandfather of this memento were Princes of the Foulah Tribe, whose dominions were Senegal, on the banks of the river of that name. The Father of the present individual was sent for his education to Scherbrooke College, near New York, in the United States. Three days after his departure from his native shore, an insurrection broke out amongst the tribe, arising chiefly from a wish, on the part of their King, to exchange prisoners taken in battle, instead of adopting the usual barbarous custom of selling them for slaves. His humanity, however, interfered with an established prejudice long possessed by some of his principal Officers. The Grandfather of the present African Roscius, through their interested policy, fell a victim to his mercenary subjects. Deprived of the means of securing his birthright, and to a certain degree cast upon the world as a cosmopolite, the Father became a clergyman and officiate in New York. The subject of this memento was destined for the same profession, but preferring the rock and bosom, he departed from his father's roof, and wended his way to the shores of old England.

This Present Evening, MONDAY, February 19, 1849,

Will be Performed SHAKESPEARE'S Tragedy, in Five Acts, entitled

OTHELLO!
The Moor of Venice.

Othello by Mr IRA ALDRIDGE, the AFRICAN ROSCIUS.
Iago by Mr JAMES BENNETT—Rebanato by Mr T. KING—The Duke by Mr JOSEPH—Lodovico by Mr W. H. EBURNE.
Cassio by Mr WILKIN—Montano by Mr LYONS—Desdemona by Mr WYNDHAM—Roderigo by Mr VAUDREY.
Antonio by Mr S. LAKE—Messenger by Mr H. VIVASH—Sailor by Mr CARROLL—Officer by Mr KIMBER.
Dromio by Miss COVENEY—Emilia by Miss CLEAVER.

Pas de Trois des Garlandes by Mr A. Webster & Mdles. Les Sœurs St Louin.

In the course of the Evening the Orchestra will Perform the following Popular Music:—

“Dublin Waltz,” by Labitzky; “Carlinae Waltz,” by Bouisio; “Albert Waltz,” by Labitzky.
“Eugenian,” and “Fourbillon Galops,” by Labitzky; and the “Colombien Galop,” by Gungl.

Characteristic Pas de Trois by Mr A. Webster & Mdles. Les Sœurs St Louin

The whole to conclude with the Celebrated Operetta, entitled

THE PADLOCK!

Don Diego by Mr JOSEPH, in which character he will sing
BY SOME I AM TOLD I AM WRENCHED AND OLD.

Leone by Mr W. H. EBURNE, in which character he will sing
THE FAVOURITE BALLAD OF “THE THORN.”

Mungo, the Hero, with African Melodica, by Mr ALDRIDGE, universally acknowledged to be one of the most finished and perfectly natural
imitations of the true Negro Character on the Stage, and in which character he will sing
DEAR HEART, WHAT A TERRIBLE LIFE I AM LED—THE NEGRO BOY.

And the Lengthy Song of
OPOSSUM UP A GUM TREE.

Songster by Mr S. LAKE and Mr H. VIVASH.
Lesson by Miss COVENEY, in which character she will sing
SAY, LITTLE FOOLISH FLUTTERING THING.

Dance by Miss HOOE.

The Box-Pit is Exhibited at the Box-Office of the Theatre-Royal, Daily, from 11 till 4 o'clock.
THREE TICKETS AND PLACES FOR THE BOXES MAY BE TAKEN AT THE BOX DOOR-ENTRANCE.

To-morrow, First Time this Season, ONE, or THREE-FINGERED JACK—THE VIRGINIAN MUMMY, or THE ADVENTURES
OF GINGER BLUE.

The Characters of KARFA and GINGER BLUE by Mr IRA ALDRIDGE.

On Wednesday, the Musical Drama of

The Character of SAMBRA by Mr IRA ALDRIDGE.

AND THEATRE, BOTTLEMAN FLAG, HUNTERS.

years later they lived near each other in London and discussed possible projects together. During this time, Robeson was becoming more aware of social inequities, and he desired roles of social significance. Marshall introduced Robeson to the Unity Theatre and directed him in *Plant in the Sun* in 1938. At this time Robeson was dissatisfied with many of the scripts that were being offered him, and Marshall and his wife Fredda Brilliant wrote the screenplay for a film set in a Welsh mining community dealing with racial and social problems. Marshall directed Robeson in this film, *The Proud Valley*, which Robeson has been quoted as saying was the one film in which he could be proud of having played. During production, however, war broke out, ruining Marshall and Robeson's plans for collaboration on future films and plays. Robeson returned to the United States to fulfill other contracts and in 1943 played the role of Othello on Broadway, creating the longest run of that play in American theatre history.

Marshall has included in his collections at SIU-C items concerning Paul Robeson from his personal files and seventy volumes from Robeson's personal library, including Robeson's annotated copy of *Othello*. Also present are the musical score for *Showboat*, one of Robeson's most popular musical roles, and twelve other scripts of works which Robeson either acted in or considered and rejected. The material about Robeson includes several articles, one by Marshall, and a few letters. A number of broadsides and playbills also are part of the collection.

In 1956, as a result of his long time interest in black artists, and in particular Ira Aldridge, the black tragedian of the 1800s known as the “African Roscius,” Marshall founded the Ira Aldridge Society to disseminate information about Aldridge and to stir interest in black theatre. The society in turn founded the Ira Aldridge Players, for which Marshall did production, design, and direction. In 1959, Marshall in collaboration with Mildred Stock saw published a biography, *Ira Aldridge: The Negro Tragedian*. The material gathered for this book was subsequently given to SIU-C.

The Ira Aldridge materials include numerous broadsides dating from 1827 to 1865, mostly announcing his performances as Othello, but also including broadsides for *Oroonoko*, *The Slave*, *Mungo*, and other roles for which he became famous. There is a particularly nice group from the Theatre Royal in Edinburgh, dated

1849. In addition to this are photographs of Aldridge in several roles and copies of a song composed by Aldridge in 1859 titled "Luranah" after his daughter. There are transcripts and photostats of a group of Aldridge correspondence, including several letters to and from his second wife Amanda, dated 1864.

Most of the material, however, relates to Marshall and Stock's book. Included in this are about 650 pages of manuscript, some with editing remarks, and over 250 pages of reference notes, plus articles by others about Aldridge and black theatre. There is a folder of correspondence about the book, plus clippings and reviews. In addition to the book, Marshall and his wife wrote a screenplay on the life of Aldridge, in which Paul Robeson was to play the lead. Both an early draft and a completed typescript of this screenplay are included. Several folders of correspondence, accounts, and papers of the Ira Aldridge Society and information about the Ira Aldridge Players complete the Aldridge group. The Aldridge and Robeson materials considerably enhance Morris Library's special collections in the fields of theatre and black artists.

In his yet unpublished autobiography, Marshall recalls that his first meeting with Lionel Britton was at the Film Guild in London in 1929, where Britton, who had not yet published any work, pushed a manuscript into Marshall's hands, urging him to read it. Marshall reports that upon reading the manuscript he was astounded at Britton's unacknowledged genius. Thus began an intimate forty-year friendship between the two men. Britton's fame, however, came when he, on being introduced by Marshall to Shaw, thrust a manuscript into Shaw's hands with similar results. Shaw admitted that Britton could "deliver the goods" and helped him get a start in the literary world of London in the 1930s. Britton's play, *Brain*, became a hit in 1930 and was followed by a novel, *Hunger and Love*. Numerous other plays achieved modest success, and the friendship between Britton and Marshall flourished as Marshall continued to help Britton along. During World War II, even, Britton worked for Marshall translating Russian films for presentation in England.

Following Britton's fame in the 1930s, he soon was forgotten because nobody would publish his work. Britton would not allow a single comma to be altered from his original text and quarreled constantly with his publishers, who refused to publish his lengthy

works without editing. Britton did not, however, stop writing because he could not get published. He continued to be a prolific writer, and was encouraged by Marshall, who eventually became the literary executor of Britton's estate. Britton's original manuscripts and letters were acquired from 1969 through 1974 and constitute a voluminous set of papers. Included as well are photographs, theatre programs and newsletters, correspondence, press clippings, reference notes, columns, and manuscripts. Also included are three philosophical journals written by Britton's father and several boxes of material relating to Britton's attempt to publish his version of Shaw's last, unfinished play, "Why She Would Not."

With the exception of the journals kept by Britton's father, most of the material ranges from the 1930s on through the 1960s. Most of the important correspondence is from the 1930s and 1940s, when Britton's career was at its peak. During this time Britton corresponded with George Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, George Santayana, Upton Sinclair, Michael Redgrave, Nancy Cunard, and H. G. Wells.

The manuscripts include poems, nonfiction, and a novel, as well as numerous plays. Most representative of Britton's writings are plays—comedies, histories, and satires, and several strictly "political." There are manuscripts of twelve unpublished plays and six unpublished philosophical works. Britton's only known novel is *Hunger and Love*, published in 1931. There are several copies of the manuscript and the completed volume, plus a German translation and notes and manuscript for a Russian translation. In addition, there are translations that Britton did of three of Chekov's works and several copies of Britton's version of Shaw's unfinished "Why She Would Not," which include a lengthy introduction and comments and the original Shaw version, as well as Britton's much longer version.

The scrapbooks of press clippings are complete and inclusive on Britton's published works, *Brain*, *Hunger and Love*, *Spacetime Inn*, and *Animal Ideas*.

E. Gordon Craig, designer, director, actor, and writer, was born in England in 1872 and devoted his life to the theatre in his homeland, on the Continent, and in the United States. He was a Shakespearean actor while young and later was also an artist, doing

woodcuts and drawings. He founded numerous periodicals concerning the theatre, including *The Mask* in 1908. Throughout his life he published about twenty books on various aspects of the theatre, theatre people, and art. He and Marshall followed each other's work and cooperated on various efforts throughout the years. Marshall was his interpreter in Moscow in 1935.

The small group of Craig papers that Marshall donated to Special Collections reflects their collaboration during the 1940s, following the war, when Marshall was attempting to get more of Craig's works published. Besides theatre business, they discussed numerous other matters of theatre philosophy in this correspondence. In 1945, Marshall wrote an article about the later years and works of Craig, and there are two copies of this manuscript included.

In addition, Marshall has donated seventy-two volumes from Craig's library, including works by and about Craig and the theatre. Those by Craig include volumes about productions and scene design, as well as volumes of Craig's woodcuts and art and numerous issues of *The Mask*.

The Herbert Marshall Collection in its entirety is a significant contribution to Morris Library's Special Collections in the areas of theatre and drama. Chronologically, the papers span a period of theatre history from the early nineteenth century until the middle of this century. Most of the materials are concerned with theatre in England but are linked to that of the United States through Paul Robeson and Ira Aldridge. All of the people represented in these collections were concerned with the problems of social and racial inequity, and they expressed their ideals through their acting, writing, and directing. Scholars interested in the history of worker's theatre and those who devoted their lives to it will find the Herbert Marshall Collection at SIU-C to be a surprising storehouse of information.

Henry Blake Fuller and the *Bookman*

Lee Deckelnick

Many writers no doubt suffer in silence, wishing for the chance to upbraid critics who neglect or abuse their work but not wanting to alienate them in the process. Henry Blake Fuller, the American novelist, could not pass up such an opportunity when the Dodd, Mead publishing company asked him to comment on its magazine, the *Bookman*. Dodd, Mead planned to mark the seventh anniversary of the magazine's publication with a pamphlet including comments on the *Bookman* by several of its contributors, Fuller among them. Fuller was only too happy to have his say about the *Bookman*, whose editors had ignored his novel, *The Last Refuge* (1900), which had been a commercial failure.

The company's offer and the interesting exchange that followed are contained in a previously unexamined series of letters held in the Special Collections of Morris Library.¹ The first letter, dated 1 May 1901, asks Fuller to "write . . . a word or two, either of censure or of blame, giving us freely your opinion of the magazine."² The second piece, undated and unsigned, is a rough draft in Fuller's hand of the letter that he sent in reply. It complains about the *Bookman*'s neglect of his novel and about its attention to best sellers at the expense of more serious, less popular works. The third letter, dated 7 May 1901, is apparently a carbon copy of a brief and conciliatory answer from the *Bookman*'s publisher.

When Fuller received the initial letter, he was quite in the mood to give the *Bookman* all the criticism it could handle. Fuller made a promising start in 1890, but his literary career declined until it hit a low point in 1900 with the failure of *The Last Refuge*. His first two novels, *The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani* (1890) and *The Chatalaine of La Trinité* (1892), were European romances that succeeded critically and commercially. Fuller, however, became dissatisfied with the

romance and decided to write realistic novels of the type established in the seventies and eighties by William Dean Howells, Fuller's literary hero, and others. To this end he wrote *The Cliff-Dwellers* (1893) and *With the Procession* (1895), both of which studied the private and the public behavior of characters at various socioeconomic levels in Fuller's native Chicago. Although more carefully written than the romances, these novels sold poorly and received little critical support. Fuller reverted to the romance form in *The Last Refuge*, but he never regained his early popularity.³

Fuller apparently held the *Bookman* partially responsible for the failure of *The Last Refuge*. He made it clear in his letter that he took the magazine's oversight of the novel personally, writing that the work "was me, me—my thought, observations, travel, literary practice and all the rest of the past 20 years. The *Bookman* never gave it a word of comment."⁴ It is interesting that Fuller added the second "me" in revising. It gives the sentence a mock-melodramatic tone, deflating to some degree the seriousness of the protest and suggesting that Fuller was trying to disguise the depth of his concern. Perhaps he thought that restraint was politic under the circumstances, or perhaps he was simply more comfortable with the lighter tone. In either case, it is likely that he was more upset than his letter seems to indicate.

The motive that Fuller imputed to the *Bookman* to explain its lapse is tantamount to a damning criticism of its editorial policy. He argued that the editors had ignored his novel because they were interested only in best sellers. In fact, the *Bookman* followed the book trade closely and began the practice in America of polling book dealers in major cities to find out which new works were most popular. In 1897 the magazine began to publish a list of national best sellers, although never actually using the term. The *Bookman* also devoted long articles to the success of extraordinarily popular works.⁵

Fuller believed that this emphasis on trade matters led readers to evaluate books in terms of their commercial success. He charged that the editors of the magazine had ignored *The Last Refuge* in the expectation that it would not "sell beyond two or three thousand copies and was not worth the space that might be used in trumpeting the success of those books that had sold up to two or three hundred thousand copies." In a final blast he concluded that "The *Bookman*

is not a literary magazine but only a trade journal." Having begun the letter by saying that Dodd, Mead had given him "a poignard . . . to plunge" into the *Bookman's* breast, Fuller ended his attack in mock-delight: "Ha—ah! Do you writhe? I thought you would." He then offered a few compliments and suggestions for making the magazine more literary.

In reply Fuller received a letter which said, "We have received the thrust of the poignard full in the breast, where it deserves to be thrust, but you add to the wound such pleasant balm that we would gladly be thrust again."⁶ The sincerity of this act of contrition is suspect. The magazine's editorial policy, the real basis of Fuller's objection, did not change; moreover, the reply ignored the substance of Fuller's view. There is no evidence of ill will between Fuller and the *Bookman* after this exchange; however, it is interesting that twenty four years passed before Fuller appeared in the magazine again, contributing a review of Havelock Ellis's *Impressions and Comments*. This lapse of time may have been coincidental, but it would not be surprising to learn that Fuller felt estranged by the exchange.

Fuller's light tone in his letter to the *Bookman* belies the seriousness of his protest against commercialization. His essay, "Art in America" (1899), is perhaps a more accurate gauge of his attitude. Its nominal argument is that late nineteenth century America's obsession with commerce and its scientific spirit made it an unfit environment for art. He wrote that Americans cared for art only as a status symbol, the same point that Thorstein Veblen made in *The Theory of the Leisure Class*, published the same year. Fuller concluded by telling his American readers, "Let us not deplore our inaptitude for art, but let us put a stop to mistaken endeavour and call a halt on misapplied energy. We are under no obligation to create artificial needs and difficulties for ourselves Let us dispense with [art]; the less we trouble ourselves about it the happier we shall be."⁷

There is probably no better indication of Fuller's personal alienation from the commercial literary establishment than his coldly ironic tone in "Art in America." Throughout the essay Fuller remains ostensibly objective, like a social scientist who is personally disinterested in the status of art in America. Of course, he was very much interested, as his letter to Dodd, Mead proves, and the essay's

I am delighted to receive your letter of the first inst., and in reply to write a few words for the Bookman's anniversary booklet. I am more than delighted - I am filled to the brim with gladness, as the young man in the opera ^{express} puts it. For, after months of waiting, my chance has come. You remember that the program in my hand and here you own words to the contrary. How can I resist? I am going to plunge the affair into the affair of the Bookman, and then give it an airing after the manner of the book.

Has the Bookman ever heard of such a volume as The First Refuge? It was published in October 1900, by Houghton Mifflin and Co., and was written by me. It was ~~written~~ ^{dedicated} as an acknowledgment to Mason Keenels, Crossed and others for having found a place for me in the National Institute - it was my "accompanying price". It was ^{my} my thought, my writing, my travel, later my practice and all the rest for the past 20 years. The Bookman never gave it one word of comment. The Bookman was busy with David Hume and the flight into France and all the rest of that kind, and was putting long lengthened calculations of the "best selling works". Perhaps the Bookman had an intention then that The First Refuge was not likely to sell beyond two or three thousand copies and was not worth the space that might be used in transporting the masses of other books which had sold up to two or three hundred thousand copies. I feel myself justified, therefore, in declaring that -

The Bookman is not a literary publication, but only a trade journal.

How - ah! O, you write? I thought you would!

However, as you may have gathered, I am a regular reader of that journal, and I am highly pleased to point out when I judge things in more substantial grounds. I am willing to say, though without any sense of enthusiasm, that for a period

ical which deals in more literature the Bookman is notable for the scope and variety of its contents. It is, in fact, the best of all the ^{current} literary publications that do the monthly "Rundschau" act for cultivated people and give them what is most reliable in ^{art} drama, politics, and literature (with one-jotted and unappreciated exceptions). And I think it well to see that you are willing to understand the latter part. In a general way I really like the Bookman just now; and I am wondering why, after having pushed it so far ahead of most of its kind, you should not finally put it a little further and give yourself, as a firm, the same advantage that was enjoyed by Harper, Scribner and the Century Co. through the purchase of a well-planned monthly of a general character. It would help you very much, for on this I should say, in the knowledge of service - but your letter asks for "current" and "other", not for "other". I must I have given you what you ask for, and ~~with~~ hope that you may have seen some "first editions". I am

argument and conclusion must be taken as ironic. The essay may be read as Fuller's attempt to sting his readers into taking greater interest in the serious art and artists of their country or as a vitriolic expression of Fuller's bitterness and frustration over the collapse of his career.

Considering the subject matter and the tone of "Art in America," one can hardly help being struck by the ironic circumstances of its publication. Fuller sent it first to the *Critic*, at the editor's request, with an asking price of \$100. Finding this too high, the editor returned it. Fuller finally accepted an offer of only \$30 from another magazine. He knew that this sum was well below the standard fee for a piece of such length, but he wanted it published at any rate. The final irony of the affair seems too perfect: the magazine that made so small an offer—which Fuller reluctantly accepted—was the *Bookman*.

NOTES

1. The letters are in file VFM 403, which contains sixteen pieces, being mainly business letters to and from publishers and personal letters to Anna Morgan, Fuller's friend and patron.

2. I thank Dodd, Mead & Company for permission to quote from its letters to Fuller. I have not found any indication that the anniversary pamphlet was published, and Dodd, Mead has no record of it.

3. I have relied on Bernard R. Bowron, Jr., *Henry B. Fuller of Chicago*, Contributions to American Studies, 11 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974) for my biographical information. According to Bowron (pp. 66-67), Fuller once waited outside Howells' house just to get a glimpse of him returning home. Too shy to approach Howells then, Fuller met him years later and they became friends. Special Collections owns eleven letters from Howells to Fuller (VFM 441).

4. I thank Miss Helen Ranney and Ms. Diana Haskell, Curator of Modern Manuscripts at the Newberry Library, for permission to quote from Fuller's letter.

5. See Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines, 1885-1905*, IV (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1957), 432-441, for additional information about the *Bookman*.

6. Special Collection's copy bears the initials, "FWC." In all probability the letter was written by Frank (Francis Welch) Crowninshield, publisher of the magazine, although all the biographical sources I have checked indicate that Crowninshield left the *Bookman* in 1900. Either this date is incorrect or Crowninshield continued with Dodd, Mead in some capacity after he left the *Bookman*. It is very unlikely that the initials on the letter of 7 May 1901 are not his.

7. Fuller, "Art in America," *Bookman*, 10 (November 1899), 223-24.

Southern Illinois University Map Library

Jean M. Ray

One of the important developments in academic libraries during the post-World War II period has been the establishment and expansion of actively functioning map collections. In 1935, Louis Karpinski covered map collections in the United States and Canada in three pages, describing twelve in some detail and mentioning by name fourteen others (of which only five of the total were in universities).¹ By 1954, however, the directory of map collections of the Special Libraries Association Geography and Map Division included data on 527 map libraries, most of them academic,² while the second edition, issued in 1970, provides information on a total of 605 collections.³ Ironically, this spectacular increase has occurred during a time when geography departments have been discontinued in some of the universities (Harvard and Yale, for example) with the most notable map collections.

The beginnings of map compilation and preservation date back more than two hundred years on the North American continent and may be attributed to requirements of exploration, military operations, boundary establishment, and commerce in the new lands. A number of government agencies, such as the Coast and Geodetic Survey, General Land Office, and Topographical Bureau of the Army Engineers, have long been active in cartographic activities, but it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that a central map-collecting agency, the Map Division of the Library of Congress, was established. There were, however, significant early map collections assembled by learned societies and educational institutions, such as those of the American Geographical Society and Harvard University.⁴

Nevertheless, for many years maps were ignored by most public and academic libraries, or folded and inserted in small cases to be

handled like books whenever possible. Two world wars, however, aroused much general interest in cartographic materials, and donations through the Army Map Service College Depository Program gave impetus to founding or substantially increasing more than 150 map collections, mostly on college and university campuses. Some 20,000 maps were sent out to each recipient institution before the program was halted during the Korean War. Distribution was resumed in 1958 and is now being carried out by the successor Defense Mapping Agency through its Topographic, Hydrographic, and Aerospace centers.⁵

At about the time that the AMS College Depository Program was being launched in 1946, Thomas Frank Barton, then chairman of SIU-C's Department of Geography and Geology, acted to have the university included in the distribution. Barton felt such maps should be available for class use and research by all campus departments, and therefore persuaded librarian Howard E. Bosley that they should be housed in the basement of Wheeler Library. From then on the library also became the recipient of topographic quadrangles from the United States Geological Survey, although the flow of this material was interrupted for a period in the late 1940s because the library had difficulty providing space and personnel to cope with the flood of incoming maps.⁶ Moreover, there was at least an expectation that the library was to receive a substantial donation of aeronautical and hydrographic charts from government sources.⁷ By 1947 the desirability of cataloging the collection and the need for additional personnel were recognized in the library's annual report,⁸ and in 1949 an inquiry about processing maps was directed to the University of Wisconsin. Implementation, however, was to wait for several more years. Meanwhile, in 1952, a start was made in arranging and indexing the accumulated topographic quadrangles.⁹

A new impetus to organize, catalog, utilize, as well as augment the map collection came from Stanley E. Harris, then associate professor in the Department of Geography and Geology, beginning in 1949. A proposal submitted to the university vice-president in the fall of 1952 resulted in a small grant to prepare a bibliography of sources for maps relating to Southern Illinois. Space for the project was allotted on the second floor of Wheeler Library, a succession of students worked under Harris' direction, and some 1200 maps were acquired without charge through letters of inquiry sent out during

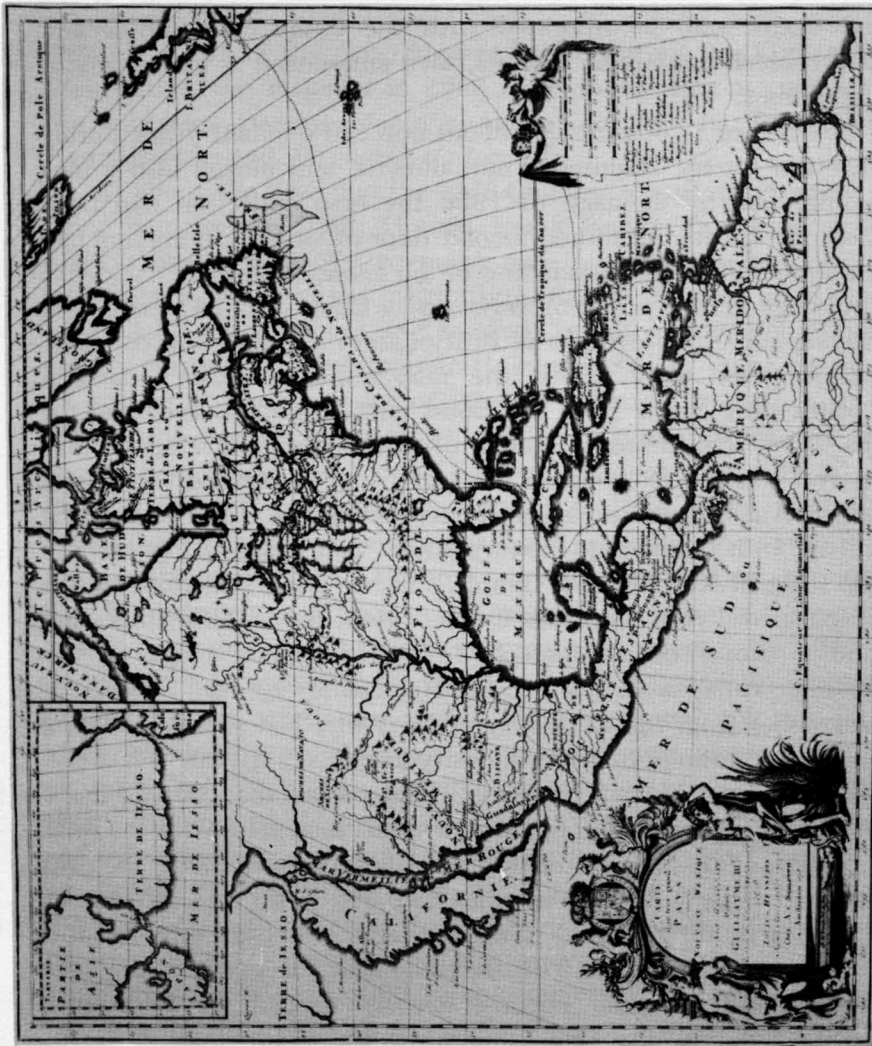
spring and summer 1953. Furthermore, the Graduate Council appropriated funds for purchase of aerial photographs of sixteen southern Illinois counties, which were received in early 1954. Responsibility for this collection also was assigned to the library, which had by then amassed a total of 1500 maps. Presumably at this point these were incorporated with the Army Map Service and topographical quadrangle receipts, then announced as amounting to 33,560 items.

The record is obscure for about one and one-half years, during which the library acquired a new director and moved into a new building, but by January of 1956 the map collection had been transferred to the unfinished second floor of Morris Library and had been placed under the jurisdiction of the science librarian.¹⁰ A count of holdings as of April 1959 registered a total of 62,582 maps, not including aerial photographs of thirty-two southern Illinois counties.

During the early 1960s the map collection also became a depository for charts from the Coast and Geodetic Survey and for maps from the Illinois Division of Highways. The Map Library moreover was the recipient in 1965 of a small but important gift of maps of America and especially of the Mississippi River area dating from the 16th to the 19th century. These were presented by the late Philip Sang of River Forest, Illinois, and had been assembled by the Chicago specialist in rare maps Kenneth Nebenzahl. During this same period a group of photographs of early French maps of the Mississippi Valley were given to the Map Library by Jean Gottmann, a geographer from the University of Paris who had served as visiting professor at Southern Illinois University the preceding year.

By this time the map collection had passed the 100,000 mark and was adding several thousand new items each year. With the final completion of the upper stories of Morris Library in 1971, the map collection, then consisting of some 140,000 items and growing at the rate of 6,000 to 8,000 items annually, was transferred to the fifth floor. In the fall of 1975, since the space occupied by the map collection had by then become acutely needed for additional periodical shelving, the Map Library was transplanted again, to the southwest corner of the sixth floor of Morris Library.

The Map Library now contains approximately 180,000 items arranged by area according to the Library of Congress classification system. Included in this total are 45,000 aerial photographs covering



A. Someren's map of "New Mexico," "Florida," and "New Spain", Amsterdam, 1698.

counties of southern Illinois from 1938 to 1971, as well as nearby areas in Indiana, Kentucky, and Missouri. The Map Library was the fortunate recipient of a grant from the Friends of Morris Library which provided funds needed to complete purchase of the 1971 series of photos of southern Illinois counties. There are also about 250 three-dimensional plastic relief maps and six globes. In addition, a book collection of some 1600 volumes is shelved in the Map Room. It consists of general and national atlases, gazetteers, geographical dictionaries and indexes, cartobibliographies, and books and periodicals on cartography.

The Map Library continues to serve as depository for topographic and geologic maps published by the U.S. Geological Survey, nautical and aeronautical maps from the National Ocean Survey, and a variety of cartographic material from the Defense Mapping Agency. Also received regularly are highway maps of Illinois counties and cities from the state Department of Transportation. In addition the library maintains a collection of plat books for all Illinois counties and a set of current gasoline-company road maps for all cities, states, and regions of the United States, as well as Canadian provinces. While the emphasis of the collection is on Illinois and especially southern Illinois, there is some coverage of all parts of the world and even the moon. Most of the maps have been issued in the past thirty-five years, the chief exception being the old and rare maps of the Sang Collection.

Beginning in June 1972, a study of Map Library circulation was initiated to identify who the borrowers were, what they charged out, and why maps were withdrawn.¹¹ Because two large research projects employing aerial photographs of southern Illinois caused considerable skewing of results for 1972/73, it was decided to continue tabulation of borrowers and material charged out during the next two years, 1973/74 and 1974/75, when circulation followed a more normal pattern, although information on purpose for withdrawal was no longer recorded.

This study shows that graduate students make up about one-quarter of the total borrowing group each year, while all four undergraduate classes constitute one-half, and faculty borrowers vary from 12 to 15 percent. On the other hand, graduate students account for about one-third of the number of maps charged out

(except in the unusual first-year total), and all undergraduates another third.

In each year there were more student and faculty borrowers from Forestry than from any other department. Also high in number of borrowers were Geology, Geography, Zoology, and Botany; borrowers from these five departments included about a third of all borrowers each year. The rest were dispersed through some eighty other SIU-C departments. Omitting the special research projects of 1972/73, items borrowed by personnel from the five departments highest on the list have constituted about one-half of all loans each year, with Geology alone accounting for 20 to 28 percent, but Forestry only 6 to 8 percent. When departments are grouped into broad subject fields it is noticeable that the number of borrowers in the Social Sciences becomes lower each year while the number in Sciences is growing. These Science borrowers have been responsible for one-third to one-half of each year's loans.

Maps were most frequently withdrawn for research (including theses and dissertations) and for class assignments, but recreation and travel were also important, especially for freshmen and sophomores. Some of the more interesting use stories include: the former design major who borrowed aerial photos to locate houses for a garbage collection route; the chemistry junior who took out the aerial photos that showed the farm of his fiancée's family; the sophomore in photography who was investigating caves to find a worm on which he was to report to the Smithsonian Institution; and the graduate student in art who used topographic and plastic relief maps to seek out natural gas sources for pottery-making in West Virginia. But maps were also borrowed to aid in preparing grant applications, to be used for illustrations in books and journal articles, to locate Indian flint quarries, to support Sierra Club wilderness proposals, to show countries where folk dances originated, and for archeological investigations, genealogical research, orienteering meets, auto club road rallies, and study of future job sites.

The geographical area of about one-half of the maps and aerial photos charged out (nearly three-quarters in 1972/73) is southern Illinois, broadly interpreted as the thirty-four counties south of Interstate 70. Such preponderance of local use is a characteristic finding of map use studies carried out elsewhere.

During the first year of the study, aerial photos, again largely of

southern Illinois, made up 64 percent of all items charged out, but in the two later years the percentages dropped down to slightly over one-third, almost exactly the same as the percentages for topographic maps both years. Other types of maps sought in much smaller quantities include general and political, road and street, geologic, and forestry and recreation.

Some conclusions to be drawn from the map use study are that borrowers are found in many university departments but are concentrated in a few departments in the sciences and social sciences, and that the further the student progresses in his university career the more likely he is to borrow maps. Only 2 percent of potential borrowers in the university community, however, are actually withdrawing material from the Map Library in any academic year, although a majority of the loans from the Map Library nevertheless promote the instructional mission of the university in that material is borrowed for many types of research and for preparation and/or illustration in many sorts of class assignments.

Now accepted as an essential element in Morris Library's services to the university community, the Map Library can continue to develop its services and holdings. The collection has a potential to justify a more generous budget to make possible increased levels of staffing, purchase of needed equipment, and wider selection of acquisitions.

Finally, the Map Library could be greatly aided by activities at a national and international level in the area of automated cataloging and retrieval for cartographic material. The Library of Congress' machine-readable cataloging tapes for maps will soon become available through OCLC terminals and prospects for almost incredible improvement in service seem possible in the decades ahead. The SIU-C Map Library should be in a position to take advantage of these new developments.¹²

NOTES

1. Louis C. Karpinski, "Cartographical Collections in America," *Imago Mundi*, 1 (1935), 62-64.
2. Special Libraries Association, Geography and Map Division, Map Resources Committee, *Map Collections in the United States and Canada, a Directory* (New York: Special Libraries Association, 1954), p. 1.
3. *Map Collections in the United States and Canada, a Directory*, 2d ed.

(New York: Special Libraries Association, 1970), p. xi.

4. For more complete information on the early history of cartographic activity and map collections in America see: Lynn S. Mullins, "Development of Map Libraries in Nineteenth Century America." (Typewritten paper dated May 1964, on file at American Geographical Society, New York.) A shortened version appeared in *Special Libraries Association, Geography and Map Division Bulletin*, no. 63 (March 1966), pp. 2-11; Herman R. Friis, "Highlights in the First Hundred Years of Surveying and Mapping and Geographical Exploration of the United States by the Federal Government, 1775-1880," *Surveying and Mapping*, 18 (April/June 1958), 186-206; Walter Thiele, *Official Map Publications* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1938); Walter W. Ristow, "Maps in Libraries, a Bibliographical Summary," *Library Journal*, 71 (1 September 1946), 1101-02.

5. Progress of map libraries in the past three decades is covered in Walter W. Ristow, "What about Maps?" *Library Trends*, 4 (October 1955), 123-39; his "The Emergence of Maps in Libraries," *Special Libraries*, 58 (July/August 1967), 400-19; and his "The Greening of Map Librarianship," *Special Libraries Association, Geography and Map Division Bulletin*, no. 111 (March 1978), pp. 2-9. The development of the Army Map Service College Depository Program is reported in Army Map Service, Department of Technical Services, Library Division, "Army Map Service College Depository Program, 1967"; Frank T. Nicoletti, "U.S. Army Topographic Command College Depository Program," *Special Libraries Association, Geography and Map Division Bulletin*, no. 86 (December 1971), pp. 2-8.

6. Thomas Frank Barton, letters to Jean M. Ray, 23 February and 2 March 1978.

7. Interview with Howard E. Bosley in *Egyptian* (Southern Illinois University, Carbondale), 15 November 1946, p. 1. This anticipated donation also is cited in Dolores M. Manfredini, "A History of Southern Illinois University Library, 1874-1950" (M.A. thesis, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, 1954), pp. 35-36. That such material was ever received, at least through the agency of the Library of Congress as suggested, appears highly improbable; it has not been possible either to confirm or disprove the assertion.

8. Southern Illinois University Libraries, *Annual Report*, 1947, pp. 9, 12.

9. Southern Illinois University Libraries, *Annual Report*, 1952, staff ed., p. D-1.

10. Harry Skallerup served as head science librarian from the fall of 1955 to December 1959. In August 1958 special responsibility for maps was assigned to Eugene Graziano, then assistant science librarian; he succeeded Skallerup as head of the division and continued in this latter capacity until June 1961. Finally in September 1961 a map librarian was designated, albeit on a part-time basis. This was Mary Galneder, who was also enrolled as a graduate student in the Geography Department, and who participated in the Library of Congress Map Division Summer Map Processing Project from 1961 to 1963 (thus obtaining numerous duplicate maps for SIU-C's collection). At the end of March 1962 she moved into a full-time appointment as map librarian in the Science Division, from which she resigned in August 1965. Her replacement, Janice Thompson, served three years until September 1968. Jean Ray then succeeded and has continued as map and assistant science librarian with one-third time devoted to science reference duties.

11. A complete report of the map use study appears as: Jean M. Ray, "Who Borrows Maps from a University Map Collection—and Why? Report II," *Special Libraries*, 69 (January 1978), 13-20.

12. Acknowledgement is made for information on the history of the SIU-C Map Room gathered in conversation with retired librarians Golda D. Hankla, Dorothy E. Heicke, Ruby Kerley, Grace E. Kite, and Nina Marie Morton; with retired geographer Floyd F. Cunningham; and with Stanley E. Harris, Jr., of the Department of Geology. Special thanks are also due to Professor Harris for the loan of his file on early Map Room documents.

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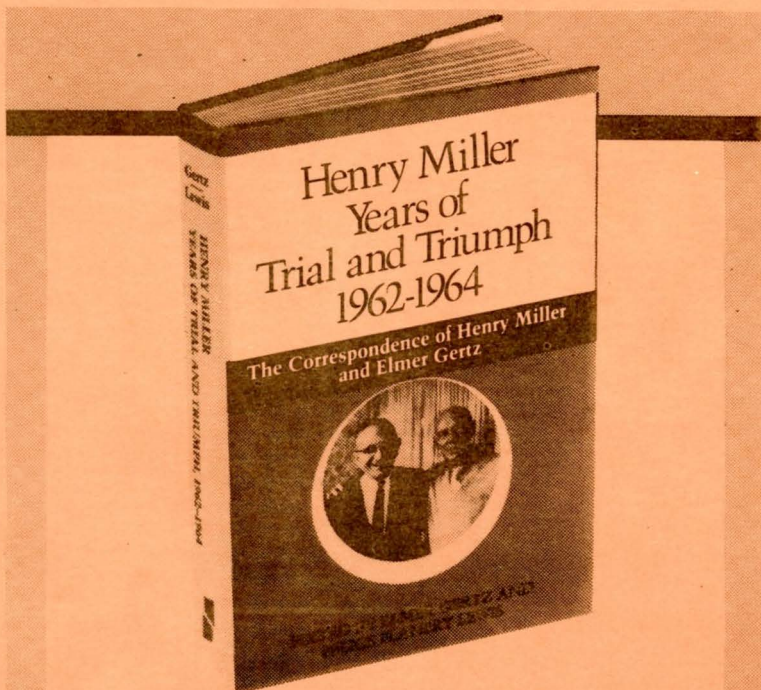
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