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FOR BOOKMEN OF INDIANA
AND FOR FRIENDS OF THE UNIVERSITY

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EDWARD BONNEY, DETECTIVE

By DORIS M. REED

IN 1850, there appeared in Chicago a privately printed account of crime in the Mississippi Valley, which attained considerable popularity in the decade following its publication and continued to be reissued almost to the opening of World War I. The author was given as Edward Bonney. The title was *The Banditti of the Prairies, or, The Murderer's Doom!! A Tale of the Mississippi Valley*. The book purports to be a true account of robberies and murders committed by a gang of outlaws centered in the Mormon community at Nauvoo, Illinois, and the pursuit and capture of some of them by Bonney.

Nauvoo was one of the way stops of the members of the Church of the Latter-Day Saints in their trek across the continent in search of a site where they could practice their religion free from interference by unfriendly neighbors. Having been driven already from Ohio and Missouri, the Mormons purchased land in the vicinity of Commerce, Illinois, in 1839, renamed the town Nauvoo, and made it their headquarters until their expulsion from the state in 1846.

Initially, the Mormons were welcomed to Illinois particularly by the politicians, who, on the eve of a hotly contested presidential election, were quick to notice the voting strength of the newcomers. This fact was probably responsible for the extraordinary charter granted to Nauvoo by the state legislature in 1840. In effect, it created what was practically an autonomous state with power to pass any ordinances not in direct conflict with the state and federal

constitutions, with a municipal court which could issue writs of habeas corpus in cases involving local ordinances, and with its own militia, which, though subject to call by the governor of the state, was empowered to rule itself by its own courts-martial.

This charter, plus the town's rapid growth and constantly changing population, was admirably suited to making Nauvoo the headquarters of the criminal elements which infested the Mississippi Valley and spread through Illinois, Iowa, Missouri, and sections of Indiana, Ohio, and Kentucky. They were a part of the frontier life of the region where sparsely settled areas and slowness of communication made law enforcement difficult, and where the banks of the Mississippi River and its tributaries provided innumerable hiding places for the murderer, the robber, the counterfeiter, the horse thief. To what extent these outlaws of *The Banditti* were Mormons cannot be ascertained. Certainly some of them were, and some of them were not.

In dealing with a subject of this character, in which the reputations of many of the principals are at stake, it is peculiarly difficult to separate fact from rumor and conjecture. This is reflected in the available materials on Bonney as well as in those relating to the banditti and to the Mormon relationship to the criminals of Nauvoo. The most we can hope to do here is to bring together certain information and allegations from printed accounts supplemented by biographical data omitted in the printed version of *The Banditti* but given by Bonney in a preliminary manuscript draft in the Indiana University Library. At best, the truth remains clouded at many points.

The story told in *The Banditti* is definite. While a number of crimes are treated, the narrative is concerned

principally with two robberies and murders in which Bonney was active in tracking down the perpetrators, the Miller-Leicy case, and the Davenport case. In the former, the home of John Miller, a German who had recently emigrated to Iowa Territory from Ohio, was entered on the night of May 10, 1845, by three men bent on robbery. In the ensuing struggle, Miller was killed, and his son-in-law, Leicy, was fatally wounded. In this case, Bonney identified a cap found at the scene of the crime and was instrumental in the arrest of two of the criminals who were subsequently executed.

The major part of *The Banditti* relates to the murder of George Davenport, an Englishman who had come to America at an early age and acquired wealth as an Indian trader near Rock Island, Illinois. In 1833, he had built the home on Rock Island where he was murdered on July 4, 1845, by three men who came to rob him while his family was attending a celebration at the town of Rock Island on the Illinois mainland. Bonney undertook the pursuit and capture of the murderers. Posing as a counterfeiter in order to win the confidence of the suspected men and their friends, he followed the trail from Illinois to Missouri, then on to Indiana and Ohio. In the latter state, he brought about the arrest of three of the suspects and returned two of them to Rock Island. From information provided by him, five others were arrested as being involved in the crime. Friends of the accused men counterattacked by filing charges of counterfeiting against Bonney in the courts at Fort Madison, Iowa, and Springfield, Illinois. The case at the former place was dismissed since no witnesses appeared against Bonney. At Springfield, the supporters of the accusers were present in considerable strength, but Bonney was acquitted.

Edward Bonney was born in Essex County in northeastern New York state on August 26, 1807. He was the son of Jethro and Laurana Webster Bonney, who is said to have been a relative of Daniel Webster. On his father's side he was descended from Thomas Bonney, a shoemaker, who emigrated to America in the ship "Hercules" of Sandwich, England, in 1634, and settled in Duxbury, Massachusetts. The most illustrious American ancestor in the paternal line was James Bishop, Deputy Governor of Connecticut from 1683 until his death in 1691.

On January 17, 1832, Edward Bonney and Maria L. Van Frank were married in Homer, New York. Between the years 1832 and 1848, four daughters and one son were born to them. Just when Bonney left New York state and moved westward is not clear. That it was before 1843 appears from his own account in the preliminary manuscript draft of *The Banditti* in the Indiana University Library. In explaining his move to Illinois, he relates that in the early part of 1843 he was thinking of changing his location from Indiana, where he then lived, and settling somewhere along the Mississippi River. In March of that year, however, he was stricken with an eye inflammation which rendered him temporarily blind. By February, 1844, he had recovered sufficiently to be able to set off on horseback for the Mississippi, where he visited various towns before reaching Nauvoo. Impressed by its rapid growth and the business advantages growing out of its river location, he decided to settle there and engage in the mercantile business. He states that he knew nothing of the Mormons and that he was not "much of a religionist." Returning to Indiana about the first of April, 1844, he moved with his family to Nauvoo in the following May. In his absence, events in Nauvoo had affected its desirability as a place to

settle. Seeking a more satisfactory location, he visited Galena and other settlements, but concluded to remain in Nauvoo until the spring of 1845, taking a job in a store there for the winter. He says that in April, 1845, he purchased property in Montrose, Lee County, Iowa Territory, across the river from Nauvoo, moved there in the same month, and began "making arrangements for Building a Store house and Engaging in the mercanteel Business."

Contemporary opinion of Bonney at this period is reported in J. Monroe Reid's *Sketches and Anecdotes of the Old Settlers and Newcomers, the Mormon Bandits and Danite Band . . .* (Keokuk, Iowa, R. B. Ogden, 1876). Since various later writers have based their accounts of Bonney on Reid, usually without reference to the source of their information, it seems desirable to give his opinion in his own words. On page 36 of his book, he says:

Edward Bonney, more familiarly known as the man who created a great sensation as the author of a little book called the 'Banditti of the Prairies, or the Murderers Doom,' over thirty years ago, then lived at Montrose where he kept a livery stable. He was frequently at Nauvoo and traveled much on the river on steamboats and had an extensive acquaintance with all classes of people, knew in detail all the secret operations of 'Danites' and their confederates. Time has left little doubt but what he was an unmitigated scoundrel and the scheming projector of all the operations of the band, which resulted in getting money. Though not himself a Mormon, he knew them all, consulted with and advised the perpetrators of crime, and no doubt shared the proceeds of their villany. When they failed he pursued and arrested them to get the reward, and when they were hung or sent to the penitentiary their mouths were closed against him forever. Though not personally present at the perpetration of a crime, putting little facts and cir-

cumstances together, and still greater revelations which have since come to light; there is little doubt that he was an accessory generally before and always after the fact.

Speaking of the Miller-Leicy murders, Reid continues:

Bonney, who it will be seen, appeared as a witness on the indictment, and took an active part in having the murderers arrested and convicted, was heard to remark at West Point that he came up with them on the same boat from St. Louis, and that from their big German boxes and general surroundings that they were a better class of Germans than generally came to the country and *that they must have plenty of money!* He was no doubt on the look-out.

Reid goes on to relate (page 44) that at the time of the Davenport murder:

The murderers who had met at the hotel of one Loomis in Nauvoo, before they went to Davenport, asked Judge Edmunds, who was going over to Montrose to take a note to Bonney. On the way to the ferry he met Bonney and delivered the note.

Because of the unfavorableness of Reid's account, it may be of interest to know something of his qualifications for expressing an opinion. In the preface of his book, he states that the information included came "from tales of old settlers whom we have known personally." Reid was a Hoosier who had gone to Iowa to read law in the office of his brother, Hugh Thompson Reid, a graduate of Indiana University in the class of 1837, who defended Joseph Smith, the Mormon, when on trial in Carthage, Illinois, in 1844, and who became a brigadier general of volunteers in the Civil War.

J. Monroe Reid was admitted to the bar in Lee County, Iowa, served as soldier and officer in the Civil War, and

practiced law in Keokuk for many years. Edward H. Stiles, in his *Recollections and Sketches of Notable Lawyers and Public Men of Early Iowa . . .* (Des Moines, Homestead Publishing Company, 1916), says that Reid was an eccentric but interesting man familiar with the history of Keokuk and acquainted with nearly all the early inhabitants, that his anecdotes were real though expressed in plain language, and that some of his personal references were downright harsh.

At some time following his return from his search for the banditti late in September, 1845, Bonney moved to Rock Island, Illinois, for he was living there at the time of his trial for counterfeiting at Springfield in December, 1846. Little has been discovered of his later activities, though he could not have remained long in Rock Island. Alfred T. Andreas, in his *History of Chicago from the earliest period to the present time . . .* (Chicago, A. T. Andreas, publisher, 1884), volume I, page 503, reports that Bonney lived near Prospect Park in Du Page County, Illinois, at one time, and the fact that the "Illinois Election Returns," volume XLI, list an "Edward Bonny" as a defeated candidate for Justice of the Peace in Du Page County in an election of August 2, 1847, may indicate that he moved there from Rock Island.

It is known that Bonney lived for a time in Aurora, Kane County, Illinois. One of his neighbors there was William Beckman, a stage driver for the Frink and Walter Stage Company, who moved to California in 1852 and later became president of the People's Savings Bank of Sacramento. In a letter to Judge F. M. Annis of Aurora, written when Mr. Beckman was seventy-nine years old and published in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical*

Society, volume VII, page 131, April, 1914, Beckman recalls Bonney as

. . . one of our neighbors after he captured the bandits He used to come over, and I played checkers with him a great deal and I was intimately acquainted with him.

His house had wooden shutters at all the windows which were all closed as soon as night came, and he would not go out of the house after dark. The way I remember it was that when he captured these fellows he had to go among them and commit some depredations also, and after he exposed them and sent them to state's prison their friends swore vengeance against Bonney.

Bonney died in Chicago on February 4, 1864. A death notice, appearing in the *Chicago Tribune* of February 7, stated that the funeral would be from his late residence at the corner of Leavitt and Madison Streets, but gave no biographical information. Probably little would be known of him today if he had not written his *Banditti*. Before the 1850's were over, it had appeared in six printings. They are:

1. *The Banditti of the Prairies, or The Murderer's Doom!! A Tale of the Mississippi Valley*, by Edward Bonney. Chicago, Edward Bonney, Publisher, 1850. 2 p. l., [9]-196 pp., plates, port. 21½ cm. The cover carries the imprint, Chicago, W. W. Danenhower, 1850; below imprint: Chicago Democrat Steam Presses. Copies in the Library of Congress, the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library, the Illinois State Historical Society Library, and in the possession of Everett D. Graff of Winnetka, Illinois. The Illinois State Historical Society copy is imperfect, lacking the cover, the title page, the two preliminary leaves, pages [9]-10, and pages 187-196. That of the Wisconsin State Historical Society has been rebound, and the original covers have not been preserved.

2. *The Banditti of the Prairies, or The Murderer's Doom!! A Tale of the Mississippi Valley*, by Edward Bonney. Chicago, W. W. Danenhower, No. 123 Lake Street, 1853. 2 p. l., [9]-196 pp., plates, port. 21 cm. Copy in the Yale University Library.
3. *The Banditti of the Prairies, or, The Murderer's Doom. A Tale of Mississippi Valley and the Far West; an Authentic Narrative of Thrilling and Hair Breath Adventures in the Early Settlement of the Western Country*, by Edward Bonney. Embellished with Illustrative Engravings. Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 306 Chestnut Street. 224 pp. On the verso of the title page: Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1855, by — Cooke & Co. In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the Northern District of Illinois. Copies in the Library of the State Historical Society of Iowa and in the British Museum.
4. *The Banditti of the Prairies. A Tale of the Mississippi Valley; an Authentic Narrative of Thrilling Adventures in the Early Settlement of the Western Country*, by Edward Bonney. 25th thousand. Chicago, D. B. Cooke & Co., 1856. 2 p. l., [9]-196 pp., plates, port. 21½ cm. Copies in the Library of Congress, the Yale University Library, the Illinois State Historical Society Library, and the Chicago Historical Society Library. The copy in the Chicago Historical Society is imperfect.
5. *The Banditti of the Prairies. A Tale of the Mississippi Valley; an Authentic Narrative of Thrilling Adventures in the Early Settlement of the Western Country*. Chicago, D. B. Cooke & Co., 1857. No copy of this printing has been found. The authority for its existence is an entry on page 4 of the catalog of a sale at the Anderson Galleries in New York on April 9, 1929, of *Americana, Selections from the Library of Francis A. MacNutt, Bressanone, Italy, together with American Autographs, Americana, Maps, American Colored Views, etc. from Other Collections*.

6. *The Banditti of the Prairies. A Tale of the Mississippi Valley; an Authentic Narrative of Thrilling Adventures in the Early Settlement of the Western Country*, by Edward Bonney. *Fiftieth Thousand*. Chicago, D. B. Cooke & Co., Publishers, Portland Block, 1858. Paper cover, [5]-196 pp., 2 blank leaves at end. Copy in the Newberry Library of Chicago.

Following the 1858 printing, *The Banditti* does not appear to have been issued again until 1881, when Belford, Clarke & Company of Chicago published a 248-page edition, of which the New York Public Library has a copy. In the same library and in the Illinois State Historical Society Library, there are copies of an undated edition with a variant title: *The Prairie Bandits. A Tale of the Rock River Valley; an Authentic Narrative of Thrilling Adventures during the Early Settlement of Northern Illinois*, by Edward Bonney. Printed and published by the Register-Gazette Company, Rockford, Illinois, it has 89 pages and is printed in double columns. *The Banditti* ends on page 81, and the remaining pages are taken up with other reminiscences of early crime in the region. This edition was not for sale, but was given free to subscribers of *The Register-Gazette* and *The Farmers' Monthly*. Probably it was published at some time between 1891, when *The Register-Gazette* was founded, and 1895 when *The Farmers' Monthly* appears to have ceased publication. In 1893, Morrill, Higgins & Company of Chicago issued a 248-page printing, a copy of which is in the Ellison collection in the Indiana University Library. An undated printing of 248 pages by the Homewood Publishing Company of Chicago has been variously dated [1890] and [190-]. There are copies of it in the Library of Congress, the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, the Illinois State Historical Society

Library, the Chicago Historical Society Library, and the University of Minnesota Library. Another undated printing, 248 pages, was issued by the W. B. Conkey Company of Chicago. Copies are to be found in the Ellison collection in the Indiana University Library, the University of Washington Library, the Iowa State Department of History and Archives, and the University of Minnesota Library. *The Banditti* continued to be of enough interest to be run serially in the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield) from October 4, 1909, through January 17, 1910, in the *Freeport Journal* from November 17, 1909, to January 19, 1910, and in the *Aurora Beacon-News* shortly before World War I. The first two of these are in the Illinois State Library and the Illinois State Historical Society Library, respectively. The last is referred to in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, volume VII, page 129, April, 1914. No attempt has been made to locate all extant copies of the various printings of *The Banditti*, but an attempt has been made to find and obtain a description of at least one copy of each issue.

It is of interest to note that, of the early printings, those of 1850, 1853, 1856, and 1858, all of Chicago, each had 196 pages. Of the later ones, those of 1881, 1893, and the undated printings of the Homewood Publishing Company and the W. B. Conkey Company, again all of Chicago, each had 248 pages. The only different paging in the early period was the Philadelphia edition with 224 pages, and in the later period the undated Rockford, Illinois, edition with 89 pages and the serial printings. This would seem to indicate that in each period of its publication the Chicago issues of *The Banditti* were probably reprintings rather than resettings.

There are in the Indiana University Library two partial manuscript drafts of *The Banditti*. The earlier of the two consists of pages 1-24 and 30-[33]. It includes somewhat less than the first one sixth of the printed version. Pages 30-[33] are actually only notes in diary form. The later draft consists of 270 pages and is a complete draft, except that pages 157-160, inclusive, are lacking, and pages 1-4 are imperfect. Neither is the final draft from which the book was printed. Considerable rewriting, polishing, and condensation was done between the later draft and the printed version. The drafts contain names and dates not in the book, and the longer draft includes transcriptions of many letters and documents not included in the printed version. Some of these are merely mentioned in the book; others are paraphrased, usually briefly. In the accounts of the trial of the men accused of the murder of Colonel Davenport and of Bonney's defense against the charges brought against him by the gang, testimony, attorneys' speeches, and documents are much more fully given in the manuscript than in the printed version. In some places, names in the book differ from those in the manuscript in such a way as to make it appear that the differences are the result of typesetting or proofreading errors.

It has been suggested that Bonney was not the author of *The Banditti*. Alfred T. Andreas, in his *History of Chicago* . . . (volume I, page 503), definitely attributes the book to Henry A. Clark, a Chicago attorney, an occasional contributor to literary journals, and author of a novel, *The War Scout of Eighteen Hundred and Twelve*, published in Chicago in 1850 by W. W. Danenhower. Andreas notes that at the time of publication the authorship of *The Banditti* was credited to Edward Bonney, but that "later, however, it became well known that Mr. Clark was the author."

The *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, volume XXXIX, page 364, September, 1946, also suggests that *The Banditti* was possibly ghostwritten. The evidence presented for this conclusion is that a manuscript quite different from the printed version exists and that Bonney would have been expected to write another book after such a phenomenal success. Whether the manuscript referred to here is that now in the Indiana University Library is not known, but in any case it would seem that the evidence cited is not sufficient to warrant a conclusion that Edward Bonney was not the author.

The fact that the Indiana University Library manuscript drafts of *The Banditti* were found in the possession of a granddaughter of Bonney's may very well indicate that he was indeed the author of the book. Some other person, possibly Henry A. Clark, may have served in an editorial capacity, making the account more literate, polishing, correcting spelling, putting in punctuation and capital letters, and cutting. Certainly the manuscript at hand indicates the need of such editing.

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THE COLUMBIA CONSERVE COMPANY PAPERS

By ELFRIEDA LANG

Through the kindness of William Powers Hapgood of Indianapolis, the Indiana University Library has received the business archives of the Columbia Conserve Company, a cannery in Indianapolis. During the course of fifty years, this firm produced under buyers' labels twenty-seven varieties of condensed soups, twenty-one varieties of ready-to-serve soups, and sixteen varieties of fancy products, such as salad sprouts, tomato catsup, and boned chicken. Among the well-known brands were American Lady, Clover Farm, Edelweiss, Fairway, Hoosier Poet, Ko-We-Ba, None Such, Our Pride, Red and White, Red Label, Richelieu, and White Swan.

The origin of the company dates back to 1903, when Charles Hutchins Hapgood, a successful plow manufacturer, bought the controlling interest in a small canning plant on South Meridian Street in Indianapolis from the Mullen-Blackledge Company. His three sons, Norman, Hutchins, and William Powers, were each given a single share of stock to permit them to vote as stockholders. The latter, who had had nine years' experience with Franklin MacVeagh's Wholesale Grocery in Chicago, first as assistant shipping clerk and later as head of the manufacturing department, assumed the managerial responsibilities of the company.

In 1910, after losing the original investment as a result of added costs and insufficient sales, the company was re-organized and moved to Lebanon, Indiana, remaining there

until 1912, when a permanent location was found at 1735 Churchman Avenue in Indianapolis. On February 1, 1917, Charles Hutchins Hapgood died, and his stock was inherited by his widow, Mrs. Fanny Powers Hapgood. Increased sales had made the year 1916 the first successful one in the history of the company, and the time seemed favorable for entering upon an experiment in workers' ownership and management, in which the Hapgood brothers were interested. The proposal was announced by William P. Hapgood at the annual banquet of employees of the company on December 22, 1917. It provided for a profit-sharing plan and for a copartnership arrangement by which employees could purchase stock in Columbia. A workers' council through which employees could assume more responsibility in the running of the company was to be set up as of January 1, 1918.

The early years were ones of learning for the workers, inexperienced as they were in plant management, but, by 1925, William P. Hapgood felt that they were ready for another step toward real ownership. In that year, he led the stockholders to offer to employees a contract which would eventually give them a controlling interest in the company. This provided that, after certain deductions, the net profits would belong to the salaried workers. It was accepted on December 18, 1925. Three weeks later, a trust fund was set up among the employees with the provision that the legal title to the common stock acquired by the workers be vested in three trustees elected by the Council. Operating under this agreement, the employees had acquired 51 per cent of the common stock by the close of the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1930.

The real test of the experiment was still ahead. It had worked well enough in prosperous years, but with the

coming of the depression a struggle to survive began. Cutbacks were essential not only in salaries but also in some of the social benefits which had been adopted by the Council. It was also necessary for the company to borrow heavily to stay in business. The end of the depression found Columbia in serious difficulties. Its remaining years as a co-operative were troubled ones, marked by financial problems, reduced sales, and internal dissent.

Through the years, the question of unionizing had often been discussed in the Council. William P. Hapgood had favored it in the belief that a union might help the employees to express themselves more freely. As long as the workers enjoyed greater advantages than the unions had to offer, however, they showed little interest, although some of them felt that they should join in order to give the unions the benefit of their experience. Finally, at the instigation of William P. Hapgood, a local of the United Cannery, Agriculture, Packing, and Allied Workers of America, affiliated with the C.I.O., was established at the plant in April, 1938, but, in August, 1940, it came to an end for lack of interest.

Early in August, 1942, however, dissatisfaction among the employees had grown to such an extent that a local of the American Federation of Labor was formed. Demands were presented to the Board of Directors on August 14, 1942, and, when the Directors offered to adopt all except one providing for an increase in the wages of the worker-owners, a strike was called. It lasted from September 1 to 6, inclusive, and ended with an agreement to present the case to the National War Labor Board. Before a decision was rendered, however, a majority of the salaried employees, on December 30, 1942, filed suit for receivership against the company, claiming among other things that deferred

salaries had not been paid. Following a verdict in favor of Columbia, a countersuit was filed by the Trustees against all current and former employees to dissolve the trust of January, 1926. On July 3, 1943, Marion County Superior Judge, Hezzie B. Pike, handed down his verdict dissolving the trust and ordering that the shares of common stock owned collectively by the salaried employees should be distributed proportionately among all salaried workers who had been employed for a period of at least six months between January 1, 1925, and December 31, 1942. Two hundred and two persons shared in this stock distribution. For the next ten years, the company was again in private hands. Sixty-three per cent of the common stock had been divided among the workers, giving them still the controlling voice if they chose to act in concert. However, they did not vote as a unit, and control of the company was henceforth in the hands of William P. Hapgood through the stock held by his family. In 1953, the fixed assets of Columbia and its patent rights, discoveries, inventions, and practices were sold to John Sexton and Company of Chicago, who took possession on May 1. At the same time, the formulas and the private-label packing business were purchased by the Venice Maid Company of Vineland, New Jersey.

Through the years, Columbia had sold its products both under its own label and under wholesalers' labels. In the early years, the Columbia label had far outsold the private label business. This changed as time went on, and by 1930 the company was packing for 169 private labels distributed in 240 major cities, in 35 states, and in the District of Columbia. It had as its customers such firms as Altman's in New York; S. S. Pierce Company in Boston; L. Bamberger and Company in Newark, New Jersey; S. M. Flickinger

Company, with numerous branches in New York; John Sexton and Company, with many distributors throughout the United States; H. F. Behrhorst and Sons in Pittsburgh; L. H. Parke Company in Philadelphia; Waples Platter Grocery Company in Texas; General Grocery Company in St. Louis; National Co-operatives; Kothe, Wells, and Bauer, and M. O'Connor and Company, both in Indianapolis; and two Chicago firms, Sprague Warner and Company, and Durand-McNeil-Horner.

The fact that Columbia was one of the earliest companies in the United States to put into action a plan of workers' ownership and management makes the Council minutes covering the period of the experiment of unusual interest. Unfortunately the papers of the company contain no minutes prior to February 19, 1920, but there is in the Indiana University Library a complete file from that date to December 31, 1941, except for three meetings, August 11, November 14, and December 15, 1933. These minutes are very detailed. Often the discussion deviated from matters directly concerned with the production and sale of soup. One of the most frequent subjects was salaries. A major tenet was payment according to need instead of according to efficiency. In 1926, a marriage differential was established with added salary for each child up to three and under sixteen years of age. Women had all along been paid less than men, but in 1927 a plan was adopted by which a woman who was the head of a household as the chief support of a family received the same minimum salary as a married man. She was also eligible for child support. At the same time, it was decided that if both a husband and wife were employed, whether at Columbia or not, no child allowance was to be given. Additional pay was provided in the case of employees with parents to support.

Each case of need was handled individually. The Council had control over discharges, and there were a number of cases where it cut salaries of individuals for inefficient service.

One of the most revolutionary aspects of the company during the years of worker management was the adoption of many social benefits, commonplace today but practically unheard of at that time. Among the earliest of these was the establishment of guaranteed annual employment, in 1918. In this connection, it must be remembered that this was a highly seasonal industry. Up to this time it had depended mainly on tomato products, with a large temporary force during the tomato season and a skeleton staff the rest of the year. Various plans were devised to provide annual employment, the principal one being the broadening of the range of products to provide foods which could be canned in months other than the tomato season.

Among the fringe benefits provided for employees, one of the most important was the health program. In 1926, a doctor was engaged to visit the plant daily to check on illness and accidents. In the following year, a ruling was passed that the medical treatment of employees, whether at the plant, in a hospital, or at home, would be paid for by the company. This was extended, in 1929, to provide free medical, dental, and eye care to the dependents of salaried employees. Vacations with pay were established, and they became part of the health program by a ruling of the Council that they were to be granted on the basis of physical need, not as a reward for service rendered. In 1929, it was decided that older employees should be given shorter hours, and that they should not be required to work when they felt that they needed rest.

Pensions were granted, the amount to be governed by need, and it was voted that a deceased employee's pay should continue four weeks after death. In 1925, a credit union was established, and, in 1929, group life insurance adopted. In the latter year, a budget adviser was hired to assist the wives of employees in planning their household budgets.

Columbia entered upon its experiment in workers' management and ownership with a staff of employees who, in 1917, averaged less than a 4th grade education, and with but one high school graduate. In the light of this fact, it is remarkable that the experiment succeeded as well as it did. Education is one of the tenets of a truly co-operative enterprise, and the company proceeded to meet this need in various ways. It became the policy to promote workers as vacancies occurred, and to send such employees to school, at company expense, for necessary training in their new jobs. In addition, employees, usually from the younger group, were sent to summer schools with all expenses paid and spending money added. Daytime and evening classes were begun at the plant in 1927, but they were finally dropped for lack of interest. Workers were encouraged to attend conferences and conventions, whether sponsored by management or labor, at company expense. Unfortunately, however, the experiment was continually hampered by the lack of interest in its underlying principles. Throughout its existence, too many of the workers were concerned primarily only with immediate gain.

In addition to the Council minutes, the papers of Columbia in the Indiana University Library include the normal business records, company correspondence, financial, production, and sales records, publications of the company, advertising, and newspaper clippings and pamphlets relating

to Columbia. The papers are of value because the unique experiment in co-operative ownership and workers' management lasted for twenty-six years; they are the records of a contemporary and highly competitive industry; and they demonstrate how a great depression affected one kind of business.

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SOME NOTES ON THOMAS D. JONES, SCULPTOR OF LINCOLN

By CECIL K. BYRD

Most of the sculpture of Abraham Lincoln—portrait busts, statues, and equestrian statues—that exists in public parks, municipal buildings, state capitols, and museums throughout the north, from Massachusetts to California, was done after his death by sculptors who had no opportunity to observe or study the living person. These latter-day artists have been assisted in executing Lincoln by viewing such sources as the Volk "Life Mask," contemporary photographs, paintings and engravings, and from reading the literature that goes under the name of Lincolniana. Using these aids and their own imaginative talents as a foundation, Lincoln has been cast in bronze and carved in stone as "frontiersman," "soldier," "lawyer," "statesman," and "emancipator." Many of these pieces have been done as commissions for public authorities or patriotically inspired promotional groups, and the artistic quality ranges from excellent to a sugary sentimental or rather standarized version—a brooding, bent figure presumably representing a man of sorrow and loneliness—that has all the appearance of being the product of an unchangeable and uninspired master mold.

While Lincoln became a frequent subject for the painters from nomination until death (there are today in public and private collections more than a score of canvases reputedly done from life), evidence would seem to prove that he posed for only five sculptors; the claims made for a sixth are still unsupported by more than oral history.

These five were not artists of universal talent, and their busts and statues of him, judged solely as works of art, have only minor significance, but as social and historical documents, they are of unquestioned importance because they were modeled from life.

Leonard Wells Volk, who returned from study in Rome in 1857 and opened a studio in Chicago, was the first to sculpture Lincoln. Related by marriage to Stephen A. Douglas, Volk first met the future Civil War President in 1858, during the now famous senatorial campaign of that year, and asked him to sit for modeling. Lincoln apparently agreed, but it was almost two years before he was able to fulfill the promise. While in Chicago, in March, 1860, in connection with a lawsuit in the United States district court, he consented to pose. Volk cast the now famous "Life Mask," and started work on a bust which was completed a short time later. The artist presumably presented to Mary Lincoln a cabinet-sized replica of this bust soon after Lincoln's nomination. Shortly after this, he also made casts of Lincoln's hands.

From the one series of sittings, the "Life Mask" and photographs which he had taken for future reference, Volk was able to turn out several busts, as well as the full sculptured piece, "The Emancipator," now in the Illinois state capitol at Springfield, and the "Lincoln" atop the Soldiers and Sailors Monument in Washington Park, Rochester, New York. The artist applied for a patent on a "Hermes" bust of Lincoln, on May 17, 1860; the patent was issued June 12, 1860. Apparently he sold replicas of "Hermes" during the presidential campaign, for in a letter to James F. Babcock, dated at Springfield, September 13, 1860, referring to a photograph, presumably by Alexander Hesler, Lincoln mentioned Volk: "If your friend could procure one of the

'heads,' 'busts,' or whatever you call it, by Volk at Chicago, I should think it the thing for him."

Volk recorded his experience with Lincoln in *The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine*, December, 1881, under the title: "The Lincoln Life-Mask and How It Was Made." Though interesting, this account is generally regarded as pure reminiscence, and many of the details of the story are said to be unreliable.

Albert P. Henry, a Kentuckian, was another artist to sculpture Lincoln from life. Henry had no formal training, but displayed some native artistic talents from childhood. He served as an officer in the Union Army, but was captured in 1863 and imprisoned at Libby Prison for nine months. When released, his health was so debilitated that he surrendered his commission and went to Washington to recover and also to seek an opportunity to study and practice his art.

Lincoln became interested in his fellow Kentuckian and agreed to pose for him, making available rooms in the White House for work and modeling during the fall of 1864. The President became so impressed with Henry's ambition and desire for study abroad that he used his influence to get him a consulship at Ancona, Italy, which gave the artist ample opportunity for formal study. While there, Henry used his plaster bust, cast in Washington, as a model to carve a bust of Lincoln from Carrara marble, finishing it in 1866. This bust, probably the most inartistic of the sculpture done from life, was purchased by the Lincoln Monument Association and presented to the city of Louisville, in 1867. It presently is located in the library of the Federal Court in Louisville.

So far as is known, Henry left no personal written record of his association with Lincoln. Robert L. Kincaid

reminded us of this artist in an article, "Forgotten Bust of Lincoln," published in the *Lincoln Herald*, February, 1943.

William Marshall Swayne, a Pennsylvania artist in the employ of the government during the period of the Civil War, was commissioned to do a marble bust of Lincoln to be used in a fair sponsored by the Christian Commission in Philadelphia, in June, 1864. He had previously made busts of Seward and Chase, and secured from the latter a letter of introduction to Lincoln. Using space in the White House and the library of the Solicitor of the Treasury Department as a studio, Swayne received sittings from Lincoln at various times from March to May, 1864.

There is no evidence that Swayne ever started or completed work on a marble bust. A plaster bust coated with bronze, now in the Smithsonian Institution, a statue whose present location eluded us, and an article, "Reminiscences Concerning the Modeling of a Bust of Lincoln," which appeared in *The Federal Architect*, July, 1940, seem to be the entire record of this artist's contact with Lincoln.

Vinnie Ream appears to have been the only woman—we should say girl, for she was but sixteen—to have modeled Lincoln from life. Employed in the Post Office Department in Washington during the Civil War, she became interested in sculpturing under the tutelage of Clark Mills. Ambitious to do a portrait bust of the President, she was granted permission through the influence of Representative James S. Rollins of Missouri to model Lincoln at periodic intervals during the last five months of his life. The bust was completed before or shortly after the assassination.

When Congress decided to memorialize the Martyr President, the young Miss Ream was awarded the contract in 1866 to execute a life-sized statue. Using the bust as a model, she completed the statue which was placed and

dedicated in the rotunda of the Capitol in 1871. A brief account of Ream's impressions of Lincoln appeared in the form of an interview in the *Boston Post* of February 9, 1913, under the caption, "Personal Recollections of Lincoln by the Woman Who Posed Him for National Statue."

A small portrait bust by Martin Milmore, Irish-born sculptor who studied art at Lowell Institute and is remembered for his "Soldiers and Sailors Monument" on Boston Commons, was given to the Indiana University Library for the Lincoln collection, in 1949, by Chaplain and Mrs. Rowland C. Adams. The bust is inscribed: "M. Milmore 1865 Boston." It was given by Milmore to John Edward Henshaw, a student who studied with him, and passed from the Henshaw family to Adams, thence to Indiana. It has been said that this bust was done from life. Unfortunately, we have been unable to find contemporary evidence to support such claims.

Thomas D. Jones, the second artist to sculpture Lincoln, was the son of a stonecutter who followed the paternal craft for several years before turning, without formal training, to sculpturing. Born in Oneida County, New York, in 1811, he moved with his family to Granville, Ohio, in 1837, where he worked for a while on Ohio canals as a stonemason. In 1841, he was in Cincinnati employed as a marble cutter. Soon he began to execute portrait busts in wood, stone, and marble, and within a year was a full-time sculptor. For the next fifteen years, he had studios in Cincinnati; afterwards he established himself in the State House in Columbus, from which city he seems to have moved around wherever his work called him.

Jones and his fellow artists were in demand because of a vogue for sculpture which pervaded the country in the quarter-century before the Civil War. Statuary was con-

sidered fashionable; portrait busts, statues, statuettes, and plain and fancy ornaments of white Italian marble, executed by Americans of the "stonecutter" school or by foreign artists, were to be seen in the drawing rooms of the slavishly stylish. Even the homes of the humble were likely to contain plaster replicas, of very poor quality, turned out in mass fashion by the nineteenth-century "image cutters." This rage for sculpture seeped into political life and led to a close, and not wholly unnatural relationship, between art and politics. Party leaders were quick to see the potential in this development, and an effigy in any medium was considered an effective method of getting candidates and political newcomers before the "people."

Jones had executed several political commissions, including busts of Thomas Corwin and Zachary Taylor for the Whig Party of Ohio, in 1847 and 1848, and one of Lewis Cass for the Democrats of Louisiana, in 1848. He also did portrait busts of Thomas Ewing, Henry Clay, Salmon P. Chase, William Henry Harrison, Winfield Scott, and other prominent persons, in addition to other pieces of sculpture which attracted more than local attention.

After Lincoln's election, Jones was commissioned by a group of Ohio Republicans to go to Springfield and make a bust of the newly elected President. He wrote an account of his journey and experiences with Lincoln and Springfield society in later years, and published this in the *Cincinnati Commercial* of October 18, 1871, under the caption, "Recollections of Mr. Lincoln." Evidently this account was clipped and used by other newspapers, for Rufus Rockwell Wilson published the identical "Recollections" lifted from the *Sacramento Weekly Union*, November 4, 1871, in the form of a pamphlet, in 1934, using the title: *Memories of Lincoln by Thomas D. Jones*.

Two letters, written by Jones from Springfield while engaged in modeling Lincoln, were recently acquired for our Lincoln collection. They are of interest, because they give a close-up and very personal view of the President-elect in that critical period before his inauguration. The addressee is not named in the letters, the salutation consists of "My Dear Friend," but it is believed they were written to Thomas McMillan of Columbus. Judging from the tone in which they were pitched, McMillan was an intimate friend of Jones. They are long epistles and we quote below only those parts that pertain to Lincoln. The originals are faithfully transcribed without the use of *sic* to indicate ingrammaticisms:

St. Nicholas Hotel
Springfield Illinois Dec. 30/60.

Reached Springfield 6.0.clock Pm Chrismass day—Sent word to Mr Lincoln that I was in town, at the same time requesting him to say at what hour I could call on him—He named 9.0 clock the nex morning—I called, and was very cordially received—I presented Gov. Chase's letter first, for it was the first in order—after reading it, he remarked, "as strange as it may appear, I have never see Gov. Chase"—"I look upon him as the Moses that brought us out of the land of bondage, but he has not been as lucky as some of us in reaching the promised land." "I esteem him highly, very highly"—"be seated sir"—as much as I approved of his admiration of our friend, I was at the same time, to use the language of R. C. Parsons, of Cleveland, "I was astounded at the man's simplicity & modesty." In a few minutes, all arrangements were agreed upon about taking his bust, or at least, as far as the sittings were concerned—While conversing with him, he reminded me of Hallecks description of Connecticut—"It is a rough land of earth &c" To be brief, what little I have

seen of him, he will do to tie too—He is the man for the hour—and that includes *all* that can be said of any one—He reminds me of a rough block, of the old red primitive sand-stone—thoroughly tried by fire, and capable of enduring much more—The Union may be divided, before he is inaugurated, but he is the political Vulcan [?] that will weld it together again—at least, as far as I have been able to infer from his conversation,—his mind is fully made up on that point—He has all the *positive* qualities of a Statesman and Soldier, combined *with* the firmness of a Jackson, and the clear perception of a Clay—He will be president of thirty three States, and nothing less. That is *his* ultimatum, let demagogues wheedle one another as much as they may, What Lincoln swears to do, he will execute to the full letter of the law and the Constitution. After room hunting for several days, I was compelled to take a room in the St. Nicholas, a sort of Neil House on a small scale—It is the best, and cleanest House in town—I have made two studies of Mr Lincoln at my room—I will put up my clay on monday, or Newyears day—I want to make a thorough study of Mr Lincoln's head before I begin the clay model. I have a severe task before me. He is by far the most difficult subject that I have ever encountered—

St. Nicholas Hotel
Springfield Illinois
Feb. 11 1861

In reply to your question touching a foreign appointment, I spoke to Mr. Lincoln on the subject, and gave him a graphic description of your efforts in his cause &c—He replied that he would be happy to serve you, when applied to in the city of Washington, *where* (I know) he refers all of his friends. One of the strongest of Mr Lincoln's characteristics, is, his unfeigned gratitude to his friends, hence the great hold Gov. Chase has upon him, in consequence of his efforts in Lincoln's

behalf in 1858. If you are still on good terms with Gov. Chase, (which I sincerely hope you are) you can get almost anything you desire of Mr Lincoln through him. Do not fail to make *early* application—Do not write more than a page of this size to him—He hates long letters—long applications. He generally opened about seventy letters every morning in my room. He *read* all the *short* ones—laid all of the long ones aside. One morning he opened a letter of ten or twelve pages folio—he immediately returned it into the envelope—saying—“That man ought to be sent to the Penitentiary, or lunatic assylum”. When you write him, refer him to Gov. Chase and myself, and do not fail to call on him in Columbus—enquire after me—he may remember you from my description, but he will never forget you—a *young lady* on your arm at the same time will not harm you. I believe I have indicated the only true course to reach him, and he is approachable as a child—God bless him!—I hated to part with him this morning—I witnessed his shaking hands with his old friends and neighbors, for one half hour this morning—All he said to me was the *Point* of a good story I had told him last Wednesday—after he bid his wife and little boys “good-bye”. I saw Mrs Lincoln and her sons to the carriage that conveyed them back to the hotel. Mrs Lincoln remarked, “I regret we have not seen more of you this winter”, “but do not fail to come and see us, when you visit Washington.” Mrs Lincoln leaves this evening—you may see her in Columbus—She had intended to remain a week or so with us—but General Scott telegraphed last evening that she must accompany her husband for what reason, I Know not. I have spent some very happy hours with Mr. Lincoln. He is such a perfect child of nature—so fond of fun—tells the best stories in the world, and more of them than any man I have ever met—He retained his self possession until last Saturday, when the uncertain future seemed to absorb his whole being.—it took two of my best stories

to wake him up—when he became as genial again as a summers morn—The only quiet retreat he had for some time before he left, was my room, where he could write, and read his letters in peace. Parts of his inaugural address, were written in my room.—leggs crossed—using one knee as a writing table I will not be able to finish my bust of Mr Lincoln before the first of March next. Hitherto I have mostly devoted my attention to the face and expression—The hair, and draperies are all indicated and want much labor on them to make them what they should be. My bust of Ewing was a great success, but my bust of Lincoln is a triumph, considering all the surrounding difficulties, and the character of my subject. While Mr Ewing's bust is grand and even expressive in repose—Mr Lincoln's is hard, liney, and nothing in repose—Care worn, or rather *thought* worn, as the face of old Dante, but *when* it is illuminated with thoughts or emotions, it is everything one could desire—To produce that illumination of the face has been my *chief* study, to say nothing of pose and arrangement of drapeys. I believe I *have caught* the right expression or treatment of his face—at least all of his intimate friends say so, and that it is the only likeness ever made of him—Even the best Photographs of him, give you no idea of the *man*. You shall judge of my success when you see it.

We do not know exactly when Jones terminated work on the clay model. Apparently it was his intention to complete it in Springfield, for the *Illinois State Journal* (Springfield) commented favorably on his partially finished work, in an issue of January 29, 1861, adding, "When the Bust is furnished [i.e., finished], an opportunity will be afforded our citizens to see it." Soon after the clay model was molded to his satisfaction, it was Jones's practice to make a plaster model before the clay had an opportunity to contract. Once the plaster was complete, the clay model was destroyed.

Two plaster busts of Lincoln by Jones, both possibly cast from the original clay model, are in existence, one in the Ohio State Museum and the other in the New York Historical Society. Both are inscribed: "T. D. Jones, Sculptor 1861."

In addition to the plaster busts of Lincoln, two others by Jones are known. One is a marble bust that is part of the Civil War Memorial in the rotunda of the capitol at Columbus, Ohio. This memorial, executed for the Soldiers' Memorial Society, was dedicated in January, 1871, but the marble bust of Lincoln was done long before the dedication. A bronze bust reputed to have been modeled by Jones from life, in 1864, was formerly in the collection of William Randolph Hearst. We have not been able to uncover any evidence that Lincoln posed for Jones more than the one period, in 1860-61, in Springfield. Jones made no mention of a second series of sittings in his "Recollections of Mr. Lincoln." It is our considered guess that all of his sculptured works of Lincoln stemmed from the one clay model finished in Springfield in 1861.

Some of the information relating to Jones has been obtained for these notes from a pamphlet compiled by Samuel L. Leffingwell: *Sketch of the Life and Labors of Thomas D. Jones, Sculptor, together with a list of his works and the date of their execution* (Columbus, Ohio, 1871). Included in this pamphlet is a section written by Jones telling "How Statues Are Made," in which he outlines his method of work step by step: first a charcoal or chalk sketch on paper, then the clay model, followed by the plaster cast. "When all of the sections made in plaster from the clay model are neatly joined together, so as to look like a complete whole, the plaster model then is ready to be transferred to the foundry to be cast in bronze, or taken from the

studio into the carver's shop, where it is copied into stone or marble, by absolute measurements." Jones summarized what could be termed his artistic credo in this manner: "This much is certain. It requires a man of brains to give the impress of mind to matter—that is to the canvas and marble All great works are, more or less, the reproduction of the artist or poet's second self."

Through correspondence or the intermediation of a friend, one other contact between Jones and Lincoln is recorded. On March 6, 1865, Lincoln addressed a note to his Secretary of State, William H. Seward, saying: "I have some wish that Thomas D. Jones of Cincinnati, and John J. Piatt, now in this city, should have some of those moderate sized consulates which facilitate artists a little [in] their profession. Please watch for chances." It is not recorded that Jones ever received an appointment.

Probably Jones's chief claim to lasting fame will be the "Lincoln" in the Civil War monument at Columbus. Edna Maria Clark, in *Ohio Art and Artists*, adequately summed up his rank as a sculptor: "He was a man of positive talent and originality, but always shows the lack of education." Certainly his conception of art was largely conditioned by the tastes and styles of his contemporaries.

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REPORT OF THE RARE BOOK LIBRARIAN, JULY, 1956-JUNE, 1957

By DAVID A. RANDALL

Unusual opportunities in the market and gifts during the past year accounted for major acquisitions in English literature and history, American literature and Americana, printing, bibliography, medicine, and classical music.

Taken chronologically, our incunabula were strengthened by five additions; the most important, a fine St. Augustine *De civitate dei* (Jenson, Venice, 1475), one of the very earliest examples of his use of Gothic type, and the same work, Venice or Florence, A. Miscomini (1480?), in its first Italian edition. Of later presses, there is a fine copy of the first issue of Ben Franklin's printing of *Cato Major* (Philadelphia, 1744), admittedly the finest production of the Colonial press and a Baskerville Bible (Birmingham, 1763), in its correct state and in a handsome contemporary binding. Useful material in the form of a collection of some 336 Douglas McMurtrie reprints relating to printing and bibliography, and a notable lot of the works of the late British bibliophile, Holbrook Jackson, including letters and manuscripts and his own copy of his celebrated *Anatomy of Bibliomania* (London, 1931), 2 volumes, extensively annotated for a second edition which was never published, was obtained.

Americana are headed by the first newspaper appearance of the *Declaration of Independence*, printed in *The Pennsylvania Evening Post*, July 6, 1776. This was the only important contemporary printing lacking from the Lilly collection, and is particularly valuable, as it is the form in

which "we the people" were first enabled to read it. Very few copies appear on the market, and the present, when recently discovered, was the subject of an article in the *New York Times*. The first map printed in the state of Kentucky was Jared Brooks's *A map of the rapids of the Ohio River, and of the countries on each side thereof, so far as to include the routes contemplated for canal navigation . . .* printed in Frankfort in 1806. Our copy is possibly unique. One other copy has been reported, owned either by the Filson Club of Louisville, Kentucky, or the University of Chicago, but is now possessed by neither. The map was originally accompanied by printed text, which we hope to acquire eventually; meanwhile, we are of necessity contented with a photostat. The Lilly collection contained all contemporary editions of the *Travels* of the famous Belgian-born Franciscan friar, Louis Hennepin, who was chaplain of the exploring expedition of La Salle, except the first translation into Italian by Casimiro Freschot (Bologna, 1686). This has now been acquired.

Some good additions were made to our rapidly growing War of 1812 collection. Perhaps the chief item was a copy, in original condition, stitched as issued, of the *Answer tended to the District Court* (New Orleans, 1815), Andrew Jackson's famous reply to a writ of habeas corpus.

The Ellison collection of Western Americana was strengthened by the purchase of one of two recorded copies of a contemporary account of *A history of the murder of Colonel Davenport* (Galena, Illinois, 1845), Englishman, soldier, trader, and one of the founders of Davenport, Iowa, and by a manuscript draft of Edward Bonney's *The Banditti of the Prairies*, first published in Chicago in 1850. Bonney lived in Montrose, Iowa, just across the river from Nauvoo, the Mormon headquarters, prior to their expulsion and

move to Utah. The manuscript account, differing in respects from the printed version, describes the pursuit and capture of the murderers of Davenport, and gives the names and addresses not only of criminals under arrest but also of suspects. (See article by Doris M. Reed in this issue.) Another book of rarity which was secured was authored by Thomas J. Dimsdale, and printed at Virginia City, M.T., 1866. The title is sufficient description: *The Vigilantes of Montana, or, Popular justice in the Rocky Mountains. Being a correct and impartial narrative of the chase, trial, capture and execution of Henry Plummer's road agent band, together with accounts of the lives and crimes of many of the robbers and desperadoes, the whole being interspersed with sketches of life in the mining camps of the "Far West"; forming the only reliable work on the subject ever offered the public.*

In American literature, there were considerable additions to our holdings before 1850, the most important being H. H. Brackenridge's *Death of General Montgomery* . . . (Philadelphia, 1777), with the first state text and the first state portrait. Only two other copies thus are located by Jacob Blanck in his recent *Bibliography of American Literature*—at Brown University and Harvard. So, typical of many of our books in this field, this is the only copy not in an Eastern university. For the later nineteenth century, the most significant addition was a manuscript of General Lew Wallace's first book, *The Fair God*. It should comfort aspiring authors to know that, though not printed until 1873, it was begun as early as 1856.

An important scholarly lot acquired was one of some seventy-five very early letters of Theodore Dreiser, in the 1890-1900 period, written to the girl whom he later married. These have never been seen by biographers and derive

directly from the family. Negotiations for their purchase originated some years ago, but the owner refused to part with them because of their intimate nature. An appeal to Hoosier feelings, however, and a guarantee of their restricted access to qualified scholars secured them.

By far the most significant acquisition was the complete files, records, and manuscripts of Upton Sinclair. The collection is so vast that it will be some time until it can be sorted and assimilated. The following brief description, given as a press release in June, gives some extent of its magnitude:

The complete files of manuscripts and letters of Upton Sinclair and his wife, Mary Craig Sinclair, have been acquired by the Indiana University Library. The collection comprises a record that in length of time covered, variety, and fullness is unsurpassed by that of any figure of American literature and culture of any period.

When transported recently from California to Bloomington, the collection weighed 8 tons.

Beginning with scrapbooks in 1893, when his first printed efforts appeared in New York magazines—jokes sold at \$1 each—the tons of material acquired document Sinclair's long and varied life and writings to the present.

Sinclair probably is America's most widely translated living writer. His works, as represented by the collection, have appeared in about 1,000 titles in 60 languages in 55 countries.

Although he was successful in America, as evidenced by his selection for a Pulitzer Prize, his greater international reputation is attested to by the fact that his nomination for the Nobel Prize in 1932 originated in Europe and numbered among the foreign backers three former Nobel Prize winners and such people as Albert Einstein, Bertrand Russell, Romain Rolland, and George Bernard Shaw.

Sinclair's wide range of interest and extensive writings led Shaw to comment:

'When people ask me what happened in my long lifetime I do not refer them to newspaper files but to the novels of Upton Sinclair.'

The documentation of Sinclair's various crusading books—*The Jungle*, *The Goose-Step*, *The Brass Check*, *Oil*, *Boston*—has been preserved. Documents related to his famous Lanny Budd series include correspondence with such varied persons as Einstein, Mahatma Gandhi, Carl Jung, and Generals Douglas MacArthur and Leslie Grove.

Material in the family records extends back to Sinclair's great grandfather. Present is Arthur Sinclair's unpublished account of the Battle of Lake Huron, June 7, 1813, where he was in command, and records of his grandfather, who was with Perry in Japan. Other family items include records of uncles who served aboard the "Merrimac" and the "Alabama" in the Civil War and a few notes on his cousin, the Duchess of Windsor.

On his wife's side (nee Kimbrough) the records range from correspondence with the Jefferson Davises, the family intimates and neighbors, to hundreds of unpublished letters and manuscripts that she received from the California poet, George Sterling.

There are also all the records of her pioneering experiments in extrasensory perception with William McDougall and his famed successor, Dr. Joseph B. Rhine.

The letters alone, exclusive of all other material in the Sinclair collection, are estimated at around 250,000.

In addition to the above, Sinclair's library of many thousand volumes was secured, many of which will strengthen the general library's holdings.

In English literature, there were numerous additions to the Augustan and Defoe collections, including the rare first issue of the latter's *Conjugal Lewdness; or, Matri-*

monial Whoredom . . ., with the title page thus. The title apparently aroused comment, as later and commoner issues appear as: *A Treatise Concerning the Use and Abuse of the Marriage Bed . . .*. Both were issued in London, 1727, and dull reading they make. Additions were also made to the Wordsworth and Lake Poets holdings, including some letters and several presentation copies, and, most interesting, the original marble bust of William Wordsworth done by F. Chantrey in 1820.

The main acquisition in nineteenth-century English literature was the famed collection, the finest ever assembled, of the works of George Alfred Henty. Formed over many years by Pete Martin, *Saturday Evening Post* editor, there are many of Henty's own copies, mostly of the elusive "three-deckers"; all the English and American editions in their variant issues and pictorial bindings; files of newspapers to which he contributed when a war correspondent in the Crimea, Africa, and elsewhere; boys' magazines he edited; scrapbooks containing interviews with his remaining relatives, etc. Here, in short, is all the material for both a badly needed biography and bibliography of England's most popular writer of juveniles. *With Clive in India* and *With Lee in Virginia* may not be read much nowadays, more's the pity, but they are whacking good stories still, and form a nice counterpart to our extensive holdings of the "American Henty," Harry Castlemon, of *Frank Before Vicksburg*, etc., fame.

The main addition to twentieth-century English literature was the Joseph Conrad collection which is described in a later paragraph. But the collection of William Butler Yeats, formed by his bibliographer, Alan Wade, merits attention. Though by no means complete, it contains such rarities as the elusive pamphlets, *Is the Order of R.R. &*

A.C. to remain a Magical Order? and its *Postscript* (both London?, 1901). A good collection of T. S. Eliot contains, among presentation copies, etc., those rarities, *Poems* (Richmond, 1919), with the label in red; and the leaflet, *Bel Esprit*, sponsored by Ezra Pound and others (n.p., ca. 1922), "in order that T. S. Eliot may leave his work in Lloyd's Bank and devote his whole time to literature, we are raising a fund," etc. These form a solid base for future expansion. The purchase of the major portion of the surviving books of the late Montgomery Evans of New York, most of whose library went down, alas, with the "Athenia," brought us very full lots, mostly with association interest, letters, mss., etc., of some lesser twentieth-century writers—some of whom have already been mentioned. Others are Thomas Burke, Rhys Davies, David Garnett, L. A. G. Strong, and Liam O'Flaherty; and better known, Aldous Huxley, H. M. Tomlinson, and Norman Douglas, as well as the most complete collection on this side of the Atlantic of Evans' friend, that notable eccentric, mystic, mountain climber, and charlatan, Aleister Crowley, whose large output in small editions is not easily come by. And there is also Evans' autobiography, left unfinished by his sudden death, entitled *Around the World with a Thirst; or, Books, Bottles and Blondes*.

A choice lot of "Volume I, Number 1's" of Little and other magazines, formed by a bibliographer in New York, Raymond Roberts, nicely supplements our substantial Little Magazine files, while the bulk of the late Carroll Wilson's collections of "First appearances of familiar quotations" which we, or the Lilly collection, did not possess, fills out about as completely as can be expected this fascinating bypath of collecting. Some day it will form a stunning collection.

Other notable works acquired include the first printing of the Aitken Bible (Philadelphia, 1782). This is the original American Bible printed in English, and is quite rare. It was forbidden, before this time, to print the Bible in English in the colonies, as this was an English prerogative, and all Bibles had to be imported. Its printer, Robert Aitken, was a Scotsman who arrived in Philadelphia in 1769 and became a leading printer of the Revolutionary period. It is a small and unattractive volume, on bad paper with narrow margins, but it forever symbolizes one of the liberties we strove for. We also secured the New Testament of the first Catholic Bible in English (Rheims, 1582), completing our set. We already had the Catholic version of the Old Testament in English which was not printed until 1609. A major acquisition was the manuscript of the only known authentic certified copy of James II's Memoirs, the original of which was burned during the French Revolution. This is now in the process of being edited, and will be published shortly.

Among medical items, the rarest were the offprint from *The British Journal of Experimental Pathology*, containing the announcement by Fleming of his discovery of penicillium (London, 1929), and John Snow's classic *On the inhalation of the Vapour of Ether in Surgical Operations . . .* (London, 1847).

Our holdings in early editions of classical music are not strong, so an opportunity to secure a small choice collection of Beethoven, Brahms, Mozart, Schubert, etc., was welcome. Among the seventy-five or so items was some early American music of the War of 1812 period, but the best pieces include firsts of Handel's *Messiah* (London, 1767), Gounod's *Faust* (Paris, 1859), and the full scores of Cesar Franck's *Symphonie* (Paris, 1890), Mozart's *Così*

fan Tutte (Leipzig, 1810), and Wagner's *Parsifal* (Mainz, 1883).

The English, French, and other departments were constantly purchasing works with their departmental funds, which add greatly to our rare-book strength. Their cooperation and advice has been constantly sought and freely given. A great many of the relevant purchases by the Department of English center around the novel up to 1830, minor titles which supplement the major items already in the Lilly collection. Among acquisitions by the Department of French and Italian were some 300 manuscripts, letters, etc., of Alexandre Dumas, fils. Miscellaneous purchases included facsimiles of the Gutenberg Bible (Leipzig, 1914-1923) and *Codex Lindisfarnensis* as well as the long-sought Leonardo *Codice Atlantico* (Milano, 1894-1904).

The most important gift of the year was that of Fred Bates Johnson, I.U. 1902, now residing in Indianapolis, who gave his notable collection of first editions and other material of Joseph Conrad, together with funds for the eventual publication of a revised bibliography. The Johnson collection is considered one of the best in the country and is especially rich in the early magazine and other ephemeral material. This collection has already been strengthened by the purchase of one of the few Conrad manuscripts outside an institution, "Because of the Dollars," which first appeared, with omissions and changes, in his *Within the Tides* (London, 1915), and of several letters signed with his rarely used Polish signature, as well as an unusual group of early letters written to him by shipmates, some of whom figure as characters in his novels.

From Della J. Evans, I.U. 1897, we received a fine copy of the one-volume reprint, by Bein, of Audubon's

Birds of America (New York, 1860), which completes our holdings of all important editions of this famous work.

Five Arabic papyri of the eighth and ninth centuries and four Arabic manuscripts on paper of the ninth and tenth centuries were presented by Dr. Aziz Suryal Atiya, Patten lecturer at Indiana.

Graham A. Barringer, I.U. 1918, gave his collection of the Henry Smith Lane papers. Lane was a friend of and contemporary of Lincoln, and the autograph letters include one of Lincoln and others of Horace Greeley, Lew Wallace, and John Quincy Adams. Other gifts came from Hoagy Carmichael, I.U. 1926, and John Foster Dulles, who have continued depositing manuscripts and other material.

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