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Gouverneur Morris in Paris in 1789, drawn by Edmé Quénédey and engraved by Gilles-Louis Chrétien, inventor of the Physiono-trace, a machine invented to take portraits in profile from life
Gouverneur Morris’s French Connections

ENE SIRVET

The Rare Book and Manuscript Library has recently acquired a series of eight letters, written in 1805–1806, all from New York City’s leading commercial house, LeRoy Bayard & McEvers, to Gouverneur Morris at his estate in the Bronx. They deal with land transactions that Morris helped arrange when he was in Europe between 1788 and 1798. The letters focus on American lands owned by the celebrated writer and intellectual Madame de Staël, her late father, the Swiss-born French finance minister and reformer Jacques Necker, as well as the French aristocrat LeRay de Chaumont.

Morris (1752–1816), a member of one of New York’s great patroon families and a 1768 graduate of King’s College, was one of the small group of men who created the American republic between 1774 and 1809. His distinctive first name was his mother’s maiden name, chosen to honor her Huguenot ancestry. The precocious Gouverneur entered King’s College at the age of thirteen. At his graduation he gave an oration on wit and beauty, and, along with his B.A. degree, was awarded a silver medal by the College’s literary society. After the usual three-year apprenticeship, Morris was admitted to the bar in 1771. Like most colleges in the colonial and Revolutionary periods, King’s College conferred M.A. degrees on alumni who became lawyers; in 1771, Morris accepted his degree with an oration on love. (The manuscripts of these commencement speeches are among the Gouverneur Morris Papers held by the Rare Book and Manuscript Library.)

Morris served in the New York and the American governments in the 1770s. Although the youngest delegate to the New York Convention, he served—along with his friends and fellow King’s College alumni John Jay and Robert R. Livingston—on the committee that drafted the pioneering New York State Constitution of 1777. As a New York member of the Continental Congress, he signed the Articles of Confederation in 1777. Thereafter, he was
the innovative assistant to the Confederation's Superintendent of Finance, Robert Morris.

Gouverneur Morris is best remembered, however, as one of the principal delegates at the Federal Convention of 1787. Representing Pennsylvania in the Convention, he spoke most often of any of the delegates and was respected for his learning, eloquence, and irreverent wit. As a member of the Convention's Committee of Style and Arrangement, he drew up the final version of the proposed Constitution. His colleagues on the committee deferred to Morris in this task and were impressed by the final result, written with restraint and power. Morris's finest work of constitutional draftsmanship was the stirring Preamble, eloquently setting forth the purposes of the Constitution and establishing that it was the handiwork of "We the People of the United States."

Following the Federal Convention, Morris concerned himself with renovating Morrisania, his ancestral estate, and in business
activities, in which he manifested a keen sense. In late 1788, he sailed to France to manage the tobacco contract with the Farmers-General for his partner Robert Morris, to look into purchasing the American war debt to France, to sell lands he owned in America, and to seek other profitable investments.

At this time Morris was still a bachelor, and he had such a reputation as a womanizer that many contemporaries questioned his morals. Back in 1780, when his left leg had been mutilated in a carriage accident and was amputated, it was cause for off-color remarks even by his sympathetic best friends; the sedate John Jay wrote from Paris to Robert Morris: “Gouverneur’s leg has been a Tax on my Heart. I am almost tempted to wish he had lost something else.”

Gouverneur Morris acknowledged he had “a natural taste for pleasure,” so it follows that he also had amorous French connections. For more than three years he carried on a love affair with a married woman, Adélaïde-Émilie Filleul, comtesse de Flahaut de la Billarderie (1761–1836), wife of Alexandre-Sébastien, comte de Flahaut, born in 1715 and guillotined in 1793. At the same time that the comtesse was dallying with Morris, she was also the mistress of the Bishop of Autun, the famed, elegant, and licentious Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord (1754–1838), just elected a deputy of the clergy to the Estates General. Talleyrand had a lame left leg, caused by a fall in infancy, an accident that changed the course of his life. Morris’s left peg leg, however, caused no problems for its wearer.

Morris’s life in Paris was crowded with other activities besides amorous intrigues. Tall, handsome, charming, witty, “peculiarly gifted with fancy and judgment” (as Jefferson noted), and knowledgeable in French, Morris mingled in the salons with the elite and in the social, political, and business circles of Paris. There he visited the Bois de Boulogne, the Tuileries, the Hôtel des Invalides, the crown collection at the Louvre, the Bastille, and the Palais Royal; he saw Molière’s School for Husbands at the Comédie Française and had an audience with the king and queen at Versailles obtained by Madame de Flahaut. Most important of all for later scholars, Morris
was an eyewitness to the opening stages of the French Revolution. He was a keen observer, in his life and his great diary and letters, skillfully interweaving social life with politics and intrigue.

Adélaïde-Émilie, comtesse de Flahaut, mistress to Gouverneur Morris and to Talleyrand, with her son fathered by Talleyrand; painting by Adélaïde-Labille-Guiard, 1785

Morris began his days in Paris by tackling business, diplomacy, and politics at his quarters in the rue de Richelieu, as these typical diary entries attest:

Spent this Morning in Examination of Accounts but with sundry Interruptions.
Agree . . . that the Profits of the present Tontine and all subsequent Negotiations in the funded Debt of the United States shall be
... three fifths for D[ian]e P[arker] and G[ouverneur] M[orris] and those whom they represent.

This Morning immediately after Breakfast I go to see one of Ramsey's Machines lately invented for the Application of Water to Mills by creating first a perpendicular Motion and generating afterwards from thence a rotary Motion.

After he [comte de Luxembourg] leaves me I go to Madame de Stael's. The Bishop d'Autun is here, and I fix with him to dine at Madame de Flahaut's with the Marquis de Montesquieu next Friday, for the purpose of discussing M. Necker's plan of finance, which is then to be proposed.

In the period before the Terror, Morris drew up a mémoire to Marie-Antoinette "on the attitude to adopt" and addressed other proposals to foreign minister Montmorin, suggesting changes in the government and in the proper provisioning of Paris with supplies. He wrote a speech for the king with observations on the Constitution and drew up a plan for his escape from Paris. Louis XVI entrusted his money to Morris, who delivered the final balance to the king's heirs in 1796 in Vienna.

Morris's political philosophy was conservative. He favored a strong executive serving for life, urged property qualifications for voting, and distrusted the masses. He considered a constitutional monarchy the best government for France. However, his views on individual human rights were ahead of his time, and his advocacy of the abolition of slavery was well known.

In October 1789, at President Washington's request, Morris served as an unofficial agent to Great Britain. In 1792 the President, although aware of congressional opposition to Morris, appointed him minister to France; the Senate confirmed him by a vote of 16 to 11. By that date, France was at war with Austria; and the French Revolution had succumbed to the Terror, which Morris had earlier predicted: "France is on the high road to despotism. They have made the common mistake that to enjoy liberty it is necessary only to abolish authority." Diplomatic missions in Paris were shut down, but Morris remained at his post, providing refuge for all who asked. He helped many aristocrats to flee, including Adélaïde de Flahaut. Morris continued to correspond with officials and friends in
America and with United States consuls and agents abroad, and defended American neutrality rights on the high seas. A *persona non grata* to the revolutionary French government, Morris's activities hastened his recall in 1794.

On October 12 he left Paris. He traveled to Switzerland and met with Madame de Staël and her father, Jacques Necker, at the latter's baronial estate, Coppet, on Lake Geneva. Morris had first met Anne-Louise-Germaine Necker, baronne de Staël (1766–1817) at her parents' Paris salon within a month of his arrival. At twenty-three, the Swiss-born wife of the Swedish ambassador to France was already renowned as a thinker and writer. Morris described her in his diary: "She seems to be a woman of sense and somewhat masculine in her character, but has very much the appearance of a chambermaid." To President Washington he wrote that she was "a
woman of wonderful wit, and above vulgar prejudices of every kind. Her house is a kind of Temple of Apollo where the Men of Wit and Fashion are collected twice a Week at Supper and once at Dinner, and sometimes more frequently.” At first, Morris found the “conversation too brilliant” for him.

On New Year’s Day 1790 Morris recommended to Madame de Staël that the United States was an excellent place to invest her “surplus.” According to his diary, when he arrived at Coppet in 1794 Morris learned that one of his business associates, LeRay de Chaumont, had been dealing with Necker. The letters just acquired by Columbia cast new light on the complex web of dealings between the firm, Necker, Madame de Staël, LeRay, and Morris, and illustrate the importance of land transactions and investment and speculation in the history of the early republic. They also exemplify the transatlantic business dealings that were an important, though unofficial, complement to the formal relations between nations in this period. Written a decade after the transactions, a year after the death of Necker, and during the exile of Madame de Staël from France ordered by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1803, half the letters deal with de Staël, half with LeRay.

James LeRay de Chaumont (1760–1840) was a French aristocrat, son of an early supporter of the American cause. LeRay came to America in 1785 to try to collect the war debt owed his father, married a New Jerseyite, and became an American citizen. He speculated in northern New York State lands and pioneered in developing settlements there, hoping to attract French emigrés as settlers and purchasers. LeRay’s schemes were part of the general fever of land speculation created by the postwar land policies of the states to encourage settlement. In New York State in 1787, for example, public sales were held of St. Lawrence River lands in the northern section of the state, in which Morris and LeRay had invested.

The LeRay letters show that Morris served as LeRay’s banker in America for monies advanced to him and shipments purchased abroad. For example, the firm of LeRoy Bayard & McEvers asked Morris for reimbursement of $314.10 for purchases LeRay had
made and shipped from France and for $4,444.48 that the firm had advanced to LeRay. As was customary in his dealings with the firm, Morris complied promptly.

The de Staël letters reveal that Morris and LeRay were agents in the 1794 Necker transaction for land in northern New York State. "Will not this acquisition of Louisiana diminish the number of purchasers of your northern lands?" asked Necker of Morris in 1803. The latter replied, "rather useful than injurious," but Necker's apprehensions were correct. Inaccessible land in northern New York was not the goal of pioneers, and Necker's 23,000 acres in St. Lawrence County yielded no return. In these 1805-1806 letters via LeRoy Bayard & McEvers, Madame de Staël asked to be released from her late father's land contract, intended for subdivision, because the contract was incomplete, as some of the land had already been sold to Judge William Cooper, a partner of Morris's and one of the largest landholders in New York State.

LeRoy Bayard & McEvers wrote on February 8, 1806, to Morris:

[I]t now seems to us that it will be right that Judge Cooper should give an indemnification to Madam Staal that she shall not be incommomed by any Contracts he may have entered into with regard to Sales.

You are much better acquainted with this Subject than we are and in all respects better qualified to direct what is proper to be done for the Security of Madam Staal. We therefore take the liberty to request of you to furnish us with such minutes as you may Judge proper, and we will immediately have the necessary papers drawn up in conformity with your Minutes.

As usual, Morris complied. In the last of the letters, dated March 27, 1806, the firm stated that if Morris "approves" the enclosed instrument, it "shall be executed." Madame de Staël herself in 1794, and thereafter, purchased land in Pennsylvania and in northern New York, and it appears that after her death these investments were sold by her heirs. Madame de Staël and Morris continued to correspond, and she entertained visiting America, where, she confessed to LeRay, "our friend Morris will remind us of Paris."
While laying the groundwork for his business dealings with LeRay, Necker, and Madame de Staël chronicled in these letters,

Morris traveled for four years in Germany, England, Scotland, and Austria, where he succeeded in getting Lafayette out of Olmütz prison. He sailed to America from Hamburg, arriving in December
1798. He served part of a term (1800–1801) in the U.S. Senate and then retired from politics. An inveterate Federalist, he viewed with apprehension the democratic upsurge under the Jeffersonians. He busied himself with friends and further business ventures, including helping to sponsor the Erie Canal. In 1809, to the surprise of his friends, he married Ann Cary Randolph (1775–1837) of Virginia, and they lived happily in Morrisania until his death in 1816. A son was born to them in 1813, named Gouverneur.
In the early 1960s, the Japanese Nobel laureate in literature, Kawabata Yasunari, traveled to England where he visited the great scholar of Japanese and Chinese literature Arthur Waley. Kawabata had intended to present Waley with two small notebooks written by Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904). Hearn had made a name for himself in the latter part of the nineteenth century as a journalist in the United States, particularly in Cincinnati and in New Orleans. He lived for a time in the French West Indies, about which he wrote as well. His published works include novels as well as journalism, essays, and even a cookbook.

Hearn traveled to Japan in 1890 and spent the rest of his life there; he married a Japanese woman, became a Japanese citizen, and wrote a great deal about Japan that was eagerly read and widely admired. In Japan, where he is known as Koizumi Yakumo, he is still widely admired. Hearn was no scholar, however, and the eminently scholarly Arthur Waley had little regard for his work. In his meeting with Kawabata, Waley indeed made some disparaging remark about Hearn, fortunately before Kawabata presented the notebooks. Kawabata returned the little volumes to his pocket, and, shortly afterward, offered them to Professor Donald Keene for the Columbia University Libraries, where they were gratefully accepted.

In August 1990, a large conference celebrating the hundredth anniversary of Hearn’s arrival in Japan, in conjunction with the annual conference of the Japan Comparative Literature Association, was held in the old city of Matsue on Japan’s northwest coast, where Hearn taught English in a middle school and met the woman of the Koizumi family he was to marry. Hearn scholars and librarians representing collections of Hearn materials conferred for four festive days; this article is based on my talk to the conference about Columbia’s holdings.

The Columbia Libraries have hundreds of volumes of Hearn’s work, from editions acquired when they first appeared to recent
Lafcadio Hearn with his wife, Setsu Koizumi, and son Kazuo, 1895
reprints, and from collected works in Japanese to anthologies in English. In addition, the Rare Book and Manuscript Library has a variety of Hearn documents: contracts for his works, *Chita: a Memory of Last Island, Youma*, and *West-Indian Sketches*; the receipt for payment for his translation of *The Crime of Sylvestre Bonnard* by Anatole France; letters to his publisher; letters to friends such as Basil Hall Chamberlain, Harriet Gould, George Gould, and others. These papers, too, have valuable information for the literary biographer or historian.

But the two small notebooks, with their marbleized covers and cheap paper, are the richest source of information about Hearn, in a form I think he himself would have appreciated—for what they suggest rather than what they state. They present, with their multiple drafts of an essay, their jotted notes and little sketches, a rich field for the study of his use of language and of his response to Japan, and so ultimately of Hearn as both a man and a writer. I have only begun to explore their suggestiveness, so I will focus on some avenues of exploration rather than specific destinations.

The notebooks are, respectively, 12 x 8 cm and 13 x 9 1/2 cm. The paper is coarse newsprint-quality, such as art students use for charcoal sketches; Hearn wrote mostly in pencil, and most of that is smudged. His handwriting is small and somewhat difficult to decipher, and the difficulty is compounded by the smudges, the overwriting and corrections, and the lines through material he no longer needed.

The larger of the two notebooks, for example, has several draft versions of a sketch about the sea:

"Under the star sprinkled night the sea rippled in fire to the hori-
zon. The light seemed to me strange, though I had seen many a phosphorescent sea; but there were two [permutations?] about this spectacle of a somewhat rare kind. Only the ripples were luminous—
the intervals remaining black as Acheron; and the light of the ripples
was very bright, and of different colors. I know not how to describe
the appearance better than as an infinite swarming of snakes of fire
over the surface of an absolute black flood; there was an infernal
beauty in the vision,—not merely the beauty of serpentine motion;
but the beauty of shifting color. Most of the ripples were visible as
undulations of yellow light; but there were ripples also of blue, of rich green, of crimson, and of purple.

All this was life—palpitating into sudden luminous birth—and as quickly extinguishing into the coldness of a black sea—life immeasurable, incalculable,—shining out and dying over the whole infinities of waters far extending to the skyline,—above which other countless lights—lights of innumerable suns—were also shining with the same colors of yellow and [violet?] and red, of violet and of emerald.

Life making color, making light, everywhere throughout the universe—above in the uttermost bright suns glowing with the fusion of the life that was with the vapour of the life that is to be;—below in the black flood, also life,—tiny, tiny suns of ephemeral being, burning with the desire born out of nothingness.
(Out of nothingness? Is anything born out of nothingness? All that is has been and will be for infinite time.) They color the sea....

This comprises the first four pages of the draft, which continues for eleven more pages. From the evidence of the handwriting, Hearn apparently stopped in the middle and took it up again at a later time. It is followed by a little drawing of a grave, and inscriptions of kaimyo (posthumous Buddhist names), and it is faced by practice writing hiragana, one of the two Japanese phonetic scripts.

The other draft begins at the other end of the notebook, and is in
places overwritten by practice writing *katakana*, the second of the two phonetic scripts:

Under the starred night the sea was rippling fire to the horizon. Only the ripples were luminous; the deep itself was black as Erebus/Acheron; and these fiery undulations were very bright, and of different colors,—yellow, crimson, blue, green, orange. There was an infernal beauty to this vision,—not merely a beauty of serpentine motion, but also the beauty of changing colors. Most of the ripplings were of warm yellow light—like the light of a candle.....

This draft continues, as do the other versions, into questions of birth, life, death, and mystery, for fourteen little scrawled pages. It includes the sentence, "Then I looked at the light that was mine; and I saw that my own thoughts changed the color of that light." It is followed by yet another draft:

Under the black starred night the black sea was rippling in fire to the horizon. I know not to what this spectacle could be compared. It
was like an infinite swarming [?] and wiggling of snakes of fire over a flood of ink. For only the ripples were luminous; between them the sea was black as Erebus (Acheron?). There was an infernal beauty in the spectacle—not only the beauty of serpentine motion, but the beauty of color. . . .

All these drafts are scored through, and a final version, entitled "Noctilucae," in the section entitled "Fantasies" in Shadowings, was published in 1900. In its entirety, the published version is shorter than any of the three drafts. It begins:

The moon had not yet risen; but the vast of the night was all seething with stars, and bridged by a Milky Way of extraordinary brightness. There was no wind; but the sea, far as sight could reach, was running in ripples of fire—a vision of infernal beauty. Only the ripples were radiant (between them was blackness absolute);—and the luminosity was amazing. Most of the undulations were yellow like candle-flame; but there were crimson lampings also—and azure, and orange, and emerald. And the sinuous flickering of all seemed, not a pulsing of many waters, but a laboring of many wills—a wretching conscious and monstrous—a writhing and a swarming incalculable, as of dragon-life in some depth of Erebus. . . .

Watching, I wondered and I dreamed. I thought of the Ultimate Ghost revealed in that scintillation tremendous of Night and Sea;—quickening above me, in systems aglow with awful fusion of the past dissolved, with vapor of the life again to be;—quickening also beneath me, in meteor-gushings and constellations and nebulousities of colder fire—till I found myself doubting whether the million ages of the sun-star could really signify, in the flux of perpetual dissolution, anything more than the momentary sparkle of one expiring noctiluca.

By the evidence of Hearn's published works, his literary voice became more refined and simplified over the years. The thick atmosphere of American slaughterhouses, the rich riots of West Indian colors and aromas, are replaced by the subtler landscape of Japan, the content of his work in part dictating a change in the form. No longer working as a journalist, he had, and took, the time to revise, and so to tighten his prose.

Furthermore, the juxtaposition of these drafts of richly descriptive prose with the simple declarative sentences of his Japanese language practice is suggestive to me. This writing is mostly katakana
(shown in small capitals) with some simple kanji (Chinese characters, shown in bold letters):

KONO KAWA NO FUCHI NI ISHI GA ARIMASU. KAWA NO NAKA NI MO ISHI GA ARIMASU. MUKAFU NO YAMA WA MASSHIRO NI NARIMASHITA. KESA NO SAMUSA WA YOHODO TSUYOU GOZARIMASU.

[On the bank of this river there are rocks. There are also rocks in the middle of the river. The mountains in the distance have become completely white. It is extremely cold this morning.]

Or:

YUFUBE WA YUKI GA FURIMASHITA. MUKAFU NO YAMA WA MASSHIRO NI NARIMASHITA. NIWA NO ISHIYAMA MO MASSHIRO NI NARIMASHITA. KESA

Hearn in 1889, the year before he left the United States for Japan

NO SAMUSA WA YOHODO TSUYOU GOZAIMASU. IKE NO MIZU [MIZU] GA Koorimashita...

[It snowed yesterday evening. The mountains in the distance turned completely white. The mounds of rocks in the garden also turned completely white. It is extremely cold this morning. The water of the pond has frozen.]
There is also some Japanese in romanized form, such as:

"Botchan—ashi ga itai kara, Karashishi-San ogamu to jiki naorimasu." ['"The Boy: When I pray to Karashishi because my feet hurt, they immediately get better."] I wonder if the necessary simplicity of his use of Japanese, which he only began to learn at the age of forty, might have given him, at some level, conscious or not, a sense of the power of that simplicity to communicate. These are suggestions, inclinations, raised by the nature of the notebooks, and there are others. For example, it would be interesting to speculate on why and when he chose to use French in his notebooks.

Lafcadio Hearn was the son of an illiterate Greek woman and a British foreign service officer of Irish descent, who were divorced after very few years of marriage; both remarried and essentially abandoned the young Lafcadio, whose education was overseen by his father's aunt. Hearn spent a year or so at a French Catholic boarding school when he was twelve or thirteen, and later in life he spent several years in New Orleans and the French West Indies. He became a respected translator of such major French authors as Flaubert, Zola, and de Maupassant.

The differences between the French of his childhood and the French dialects of North America fascinated him; his book "Gombo Zhebes": A Little Dictionary of Creole Proverbs, Selected from Six Creole Dialects, bears witness to this fascination. However, the reasons that prompted him to choose French rather than English to record impressions in his notebook, as in the following, remain unclear:


[The house, tiny tiny—two stories—55 a month. Below, so few things in the two minuscule rooms—some indispensable furniture—a chest of drawers—a tea tray—and a Buddhist altar with mortuary tablets of the ancestors, and a shrine to ancient gods . . .]

Certainly Hearn's interest in different languages, and indeed in different cultures, reflects his feelings of always being an outsider: in Ireland where his father's family did not particularly want him; in
France and in England at schools where he tended to be rebellious; in America, where he was sent in his late teens to make his own way in the world.

Finally, it would be fascinating to date these notebooks by internal evidence. There are, for example, samples of practice writing his Japanese name in characters in the notebooks. It was fairly common, and still occasionally occurs, for a family without a male heir to adopt a son-in-law into the family. This was the case with Lafcadio Hearn, who became Koizumi Yakumo, and whose descendants still bear the Koizumi name. (His great-grandson, Koizumi Bon, is curator of the Lafcadio Hearn Memorial Museum in Matsue.) The characters of his Japanese name sprinkled throughout the notebooks are reminiscent of the familiar image of a young woman about to be married trying out on paper how her married name will look. These kanji suggest that the notebooks may date either from the early days in Matsue when Hearn was first married, or from later, in 1896, when he was teaching in Tokyo and about to become a Japanese citizen, which required assuming officially a Japanese name.

In any event, the notebooks provide a glimpse of a man concerned with flux and transformations, which are representative in many ways of his life. He was a man without a sense of country, of belonging, of home, always fascinated by the exotic with which he identified, from his early days as a dark-skinned Mediterranean child with gold earrings relocated to a proper Irish Catholic home until his last years as a Westerner in Japan. The processes by which he invented his world and himself are apparent in the notebooks.
A Medieval Palmistry

ERIKO AMINO

Through the ages there have been persistent attempts to penetrate the mystery of the future. These attempts have taken any number of different forms, in particular, the study of subjects that hold the promise of keys to prognostication. Astrology, perhaps the most complex of these subjects, has been pursued and debated from antiquity to the present day, both on a highly sophisticated level, as in the writings of Saint Augustine, Saint Thomas Aquinas, and Albertus Magnus, and also on a much more mundane level, as part of a popular tradition of fortune-tellers and gypsies that continues into the present day. Physiognomy, another of these subjects also dating back to classical authors such as Aristotle and Pliny, is the science of learning to read the features of the human face and understanding the implications of various traits. The descendants of such studies are apparent in the "how to" books and manuals that flood the popular marketplace of contemporary society, for example, in interpretations of the stars and studies of body language.

As we look at the development of the line of inquiry concerning the art of reading the signs of man's personality or nature and how these signs may influence his fate, we can see that palmistry or chiromancy, the art of reading hands, falls directly within the parameters of this search. Unlike astronomy and physiognomy, however, palmistry, which claims to go back to antiquity, cannot be traced directly to any substantive writings of the ancients. We find a few brief sentences in Aristotle's *Historia Animalium* where he speaks of long-lived persons having one or two lines running across the hand and short-lived persons having two lines that do not extend across the palm; Pliny in his *Natural History* also has a short reference to broken lines in the hand indicating a short life. But aside from these, there is little to aid us in discovering the roots of this discipline.

How then did the expanded art of reading hands for divinatory purposes come about? The first actual texts we have are in Latin,
dating from the Middle Ages, no earlier than the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. These treatises all discuss the art of palmistry as if it had already been long extant and well established, and they cite a long list of authorities, including Hippocrates, Galen, Aristotle, Pliny, and Arabic commentators among others. Since many of the authors cited are the same ones mentioned in the genealogies of the medieval physiognomies, one wonders if the authors of the palmistries borrowed some of the "references" of this related discipline in order to help their own credibility, but it is impossible
to know with any certainty. Perhaps there was already a popular tradition of palm reading that later on in its development adopted a genealogy by which to make itself more legitimate; or the popular forms of palmistry may in fact truly have evolved from a more scholarly Latin tradition of treatises which then moved through the vehicle of translation into the vernacular, thereby reaching an educated lay audience, proceeding from there through the masses to the itinerant fortune-tellers and gypsies.

While it is difficult to sort out the threads of this history, it is clear that during the Middle Ages, especially in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there was a significant increase both in the number of treatises on palmistry produced in Latin and, starting slightly later, in the number of translations into Middle English made from these treatises. In addition, there are works in Middle English without identifiable Latin sources, although they fall within the type of certain extant Latin models. Thus it can be said, on the basis of the number of documents alone, that it was during this time that the study of hands passed from the strictly scholarly and religious to the educated lay person. This proliferation of Middle English texts and translations also occurs for other disciplines of fortune-telling, such as physiognomy, as well as for the arts used to read different signs in the elements, such as geomancy (for signs in the earth), hydro-mancy (in water), aeromancy (in air), and pyromancy (in fire). So a greater amount of material explaining the nature of man and the universe was becoming available to an increasingly large audience of readers, albeit the literate population in the medieval world was still minute.

Although one cannot really know the future, we nevertheless continue to try to discern it with whatever tools can be mustered, be they the arts of palmistry, physiognomy, astrology, or others. However, in the medieval period, the powerful influence of the Church demanded that Christians not prognosticate or practice divination at all. Rather, any such arts were condemned as magic or black magic, and the work of the devil. While astrology met with continual opposition and dispute, and divination through geomancy,
hydromancy, aeromancy, and pyromancy were directly condemned, palmistry seemed with a few exceptions (notably John of Salisbury, in his *Polycraticus*, twelfth century) to have escaped the explicit condemnation of the Church fathers or later authorities.

There is even evidence that palmistry claimed scriptural sanction from certain Biblical passages (e.g. Job 37:7, “He sealeth up the hand of all men, that everyone may know his works,” and Proverbs
3:16, "Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left hand riches and glory.") Still, the close affiliation between these sciences and the awareness that the authors of treatises on palmistry certainly had of the Church’s tendency to condemn such divinatory arts led to a tendency for justification on the part of these authors. Often, along with the history of palmistry, the writer included a defense, explaining to the reader why palmistry is a legitimate Christian discipline and worthy of study.

Let us examine a specific example of a Middle English palmistry. Housed in the George Arthur Plimpton Collection at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library is a mid-fifteenth-century Middle English manuscript (Plimpton Manuscript 260), a small volume measuring approximately 13 x 9 cm, and containing several scientific texts, among them a palmistry, a physiognomy, and a work on astrology. The palmistry by an unknown author, comprising folios 33r–57v, begins with a standard opening, "Here begins the Book of Palmistry, brought into English . . .," and then proceeds to define and defend the art as follows (I translate loosely from the Middle English and Latin):

In the first chapter you will understand how this craft is lawfully done. It is divination, for chiromancy is to say cyros, that is Hebrew, manus, that is Latin, a hand in English; Mancia, Hebrew, divinacio in Latin, to divine in English. Chiromancy then is divination of the hand. But every divination is forbidden by the law, for thus it is written: "Thou shalt not permit sorcerers and diviners in your house." Wherefore it may seem that this is no more lawful than pyromancy, which is divination in fire, or geomancy, which is divination by pricks and points in the earth, or hydromancy, which is divination in water. To these and all such objections I answer: divination is to tell of various adventures by signs and tokens found in diverse creatures. And thus it is lawful by astrology to judge by tokens in the firmament, and geomancy in earth and pyromancy in fire and chiromancy in hands, and physiognomy in face and so forth for all others that are by nature or through accident. But when you make any tokens or circles of crosses in the earth or board or parchment, or any other characters in water or fire, all these are superstitions and forbidden. But the tokens in man’s hand are tokens of nature or accident, and not of man’s making, wherefore it is lawful to judge by them. Then you shall judge in this way, that this man is inclined and
disposed to these vices or virtues, traits or manners—not that it must happen in this way. For so should a man’s free will be taken away from him. All the things that lie in a man’s free will and in his own power he may withstand, therefore you shall not judge with certainty, but disposition and natural inclination. But there are some things that are not within man’s power, like the shortening or the lengthening of life, you may judge more surely, and also of sickness and many other things.

Interestingly, our author distinguishes between the kind of divination that involves reading signs made by man, such as those made in the earth, fire, or water, and divination that reads the signs that are not of man’s making, such as the tokens in man’s hand. It is this distinction between the signs made by man and those already existing in him (i.e., made by God) that makes palmistry, since it deals with the latter type, a lawful kind of divination. Even so, we are cautioned that we are not to make definitive judgments from this data, only to understand a “natural inclination” toward certain proclivities.

What actual information might the educated medieval lay person hope to learn when he sat down with his manual to read about palmistry and perhaps examine his own hands? Matters of health, finances, and the heart, then, as now, reign supreme, and come up repeatedly in different places. The treatises are generally organized systematically, and the Plimpton manuscript follows a common model. First, the author gives instruction as to the washing of the hand and details the best possible conditions for palm reading. These differ in accordance with the sex of the subject and the season of the year: it is always best to read a man’s right hand and most favorable to do so during the summer, whereas it is best to read a woman’s left hand, and the appropriate season for this is the winter (f.34v). There follows the definition, location, and significance of the four principal lines in the palm. The first of these lines is the line of life, or linea vite, which forms the right side of what is called the “triangle” of the hand, and the line of life corresponds to the heart. The second principal line is called linea mensalis or linea moralis, and is the line of man’s behavior or morals. It runs across the palm above
Diagram of the palm in Plimpton Manuscript 260 illustrating the four principal lines of the hand, their properties, and their relationship to parts of the body
the triangle and corresponds to the kidneys and the genitals. The third line, *linea tabularis*, or *linea mediana*, forms the left side of the triangle and corresponds to the brain, and the fourth line, *linea prosperitatis*, forms the base of the triangle and corresponds to the liver. These lines are subject to standard variations which are outlined for the reader in the subsequent commentary. These variations indicate different character traits and various prognostications, for example, the following passage pertaining to the length of life and *linea vite*:

Now the signification of the line of life is this. When the line of life is well colored and without interception—that is to say, without severing or breaking... this is a token of long life and one without great sickness; and if it be short, it is the reverse. Also, if it is redder above than below, it betokens sickness of the head... but if it is redder beneath, it signifies sickness of the womb or the nether parts. Or if it is broader above, it betokens a bastard. Also if an *o* appears in *linea vite*, he shall lose an eye, and if there are two *o*’s, he shall lose two eyes. Also, if there appear many lines cutting the line of life, it betokens that there are many diverse countries to be seen, or else,... it betokens many sundry sicknesses.

There follows in most cases an illustration of several hands to show the exact nature and placement of the lines and signs under discussion. Here is another example pertaining to prosperity, other character traits, and the line of life:

Also, when the token *V* appears in the end of *linea vite*, if the opening be towards the thumb, it is a token of increase of wealth and of dignity, especially if there are many. And if the opening be towards the other side of the hand it is a token of misfortune, damage and disease. And if in the root of *linea vite* appear many lines crossed together with a round *o*, it is a token of a good end and shrift before death. But when there is a cross at the beginning of *linea vite*, it betokens great worship. Also when pricks or dots as red as blood appear in *linea vite*, it is an open sign of lechery. Also when there are branches in *linea vite* branching up... it is a sign of riches, worship and prosperity. And if they draw downwards, it is a sign of poverty...

While he offers us considerable information and detail, the author does not synthesize this information nor does he offer us any analysis: he simply continues to add to his data, in a list form, using the words "and" and "also." Therefore, the reader, assuming he might transfer the knowledge from reading to practical experience (which
in the Middle Ages is always in question), could learn something of his future in terms of the length of his life, possible illnesses in various parts of the body, various vices, as well as issues of marriage, number and sex of possible offspring, religious calling, and perhaps even the method of his own demise.

Both the composition and the transmission of this palmistry must be taken in the context of the medieval Christian world, in which

The attempt to know the future by studying astrology and palmistry continued past the middle ages; "The Fortune-Teller," possibly painted by the sixteenth-century painter Caravaggio.

the life on earth was still secondary to the life in the hereafter; even so, texts such as these palmistries do make the unreadable mysteries of one's relationship to the world seem more familiar and more accessible. A double process of learning and expansion was taking place: the expansion of the audience to include the reader of the vernacular, so that medieval scientific texts were available to a larger audience, and at the same time, the nature of the world was being
somewhat demystified. These texts provided an avenue into the hitherto unseen and unknown—they are, and their various descendants continue to be, our keys to untold fortunes.
Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Abrahamsen gift. Dr. David Abrahamsen has presented the archive of research papers pertaining to the famous Jack the Ripper murder case of 1888–89 which he collected in connection with the writing of his book, *Murder and Madness: The Secret Life of Jack the Ripper*. In addition to the manuscript and research papers relating to the book, the gift includes an important collection of copies of documents from Scotland Yard and the various hospitals and institutions in England that participated in the original case, the group comprising more than 1,600 pages of contemporary police reports, testimony, and forensic evidence. Dr. Abrahamsen’s gift also includes books dealing with the famous series of gruesome murders, as well as a set of Moses Mendelsohn’s *Philosophischen schriften*, Vienna, 1783, in two volumes.

Butcher gift. In a recent gift Professor Philip Butcher (Ph.D., 1956) has added to the collection of his papers eleven printed items and approximately seventy-five letters and other pieces of correspondence pertaining to his research on black writers and his associations with professional organizations.

Caldwell gift. Professor Patricia Lee Caldwell has presented, for addition to the Ellery Queen Collection, thirty-five volumes of the Queen novels by her late father, Manfred B. Lee, which he co-authored with Frederic Dannay. Twenty-six of the volumes presented are inscribed by Manfred Lee to members of his family, and they include the following rare and scarce first editions: *The Roman Hat Mystery*, 1929; *The Dutch Shoe Mystery*, 1931; *The Tragedy of X: A Drury Lane Mystery*, 1932; *The Chinese Orange Mystery*, 1934; *The Spanish Cape Mystery*, 1935; *The Four of Hearts*, 1938; *Calamity Town*, 1942; *There Was an Old Woman*, 1943; *The Murderer Is a Fox*, 1945; *Ten Days’ Wonder*, 1948; and *Cat of Many Tales*, 1949. Later novels in the gift are: *Double, Double: A New Novel of Wrightsville*, 33
1950; *The King is Dead*, 1952; *The Scarlet Letters*, 1953; *The Glass Village*, 1954; *Inspector Queen’s Own Case: November Song*, 1956; *The Finishing Stroke*, 1958; *The Player on the Other Side*, 1963; And

*on the Eighth Day*, 1964; and six additional novels published in the 1960s and in 1970. The gift also includes a Manfred Lee typescript, entitled “Wheels,” which is not an Ellery Queen work but is most likely a film treatment of a story written in the 1930s or 1940s.
Carnegie Foundation gift. In conjunction with the Carnegie Corporation's gift of its records, another Andrew Carnegie trust, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (CFAT), has also donated its papers along with an endowment of $105,000 to provide for the arrangement and description of the collection. Among the 250,000 items in the papers that document the Foundation's history from its inception in 1905 through 1979 are files of correspondence, annual reports, ledgers, minute books, and photographs, as well as published bulletins, pamphlets, and books. Included in the archives is information about CFAT's establishment of a pension system for college teachers, the precursor of TIAA/CREF, which was the first of its kind and an enormous influence on later welfare systems such as Social Security. Of special importance in the collection are the numerous reports sponsored by CFAT on such subjects as academic tenure, student activism, college athletics, educational discrimination, and the federal role in education; these reports were written by educational leaders, and their recommendations often had a profound effect on the American educational system. Perhaps the most famous of the reports in the collection is Abraham Flexner's 1910 report on medical education which led to sweeping reforms in the curricula and to the shutting down of nearly half of the medical schools in the United States.

Carr gift. A group of five books and pamphlets published by the Plain Wrapper Press in Verona, Italy, has been donated by Professor Emeritus Arthur Carr, among which is Andrea Zanzotto's *Circhi & Cene/Circuses and Suppers*, 1979, with two etchings by Joe Tilson, one of 150 copies signed by the author and artist. Professor Carr's gift also includes a collection of thirty-four letters and cards written to him by Robert Indiana from 1952 to 1988 concerning his travels, current exhibitions of his art work, work in progress, and mutual friends.

Dzierbicki gift. Mr. Ronald L. Dzierbicki has presented, in memory of Marguerite Cohn, a collection of rare editions. Of special impor-
tance in the gift are: a mock-up salesman’s dummy for the historic 1934 Random House edition of James Joyce’s *Ulysses*, with type on only eleven pages of preliminaries and through six pages of text; the rare first French edition of James Joyce’s *Dubliners*, titled *Gens de Dublin*, issued in wrappers in Paris in 1926 with an introduction by Valery Larbaud, an “exemplaire de l’édition originale” on alfa paper; and the revised edition of St.-John Perse’s *Anabase*, Paris, 1948, one of twenty numbered copies in wrappers, this copy autographed by the author in New York in 1950. Mr. Dzierbicki’s gift also includes first editions, most of which are inscribed, of works by Anthony Burgess, Truman Capote, Lawrence Durrell, William Golding, Graham Greene, Compton Mackenzie, and J. B. Priestley.

*Hays gift.* To the papers of the late Professor Paul R. Hays (A.B., 1925; A.M., 1927; LL.B., 1933), Judge of the New York Circuit Court of Appeals, Mrs. Hays has added in a recent gift approximately one hundred items, including: fifty photographs of Professor Hays and his family and friends; ten photographs of Leon Trotsky, Diego Rivera, and John Dewey, taken in Mexico, ca. 1935; eight letters written by Irwin Edman to Mrs. Hays, 1927–29; a letter written to Professor Hays by Mayor Robert F. Wagner, dated November 27, 1957; and several miscellaneous family letters and manuscripts.

*Hornick gift.* The papers of Mrs. Lita Hornick (A.B., 1948, B.; A.M., 1949; Ph.D., 1958) have been enriched by her recent gift of 140 letters sent to her by poets and novelists pertaining to her numerous writings and publications, from her critical studies of Dorothy Richardson and Dylan Thomas to her recent autobiography. The gift includes a long letter from Dorothy Richardson concerning the donor’s master’s essay on the novelist, and letters relating to the Dylan Thomas book from Roy Campbell, William Empson, Richard Eberhart, and Vernon Watkins. There is also correspondence with Merce Cunningham, Gerard Malanga, Diane
De Prima, Robert Duncan, Michael McClure, Ron Padget, Rochelle Owens, George Economu, Charles Henri Ford, and John Ashbery, among others.

*Lieberman gift.* Dr. E. James Lieberman has presented a number of important Otto Rank documents which he received from the estate of the late Estelle Buel Rank Simon: Otto Rank’s last manuscript, the typescript, with his corrections in ink, of the preface to *Beyond Psychology*, as well as a carbon copy of the final typescript and several additional pages in the hand of Rank’s biographer, Jessie Taft; the military identification card with Rank’s photograph and official stamps, dated Cracow, January 30, 1918; the well-known photograph of Rank in his Paris office by Studio Harcourt, ca. 1926, showing Freud’s portrait and Rank’s bookplate artwork in the background; a carbon copy of the account and itemization of
Rank's estate, New York County Surrogate Court, March 27, 1941, including a listing of Rank's entire library at the time of his death; and a file of approximately twenty-five letters written by Jessie Taft, Virginia Robinson, and others to Ethel Wannemacher Seidenman, a prominent social worker trained at the Pennsylvania School of Social Work who was a student and analysand of Rank's.

Lyman gift. Mr. Henry Lyman has donated, for inclusion in the William Bronk Collection, two letters written by the poet to him and his wife, Noëlle Sandoz. Dated January 26, 1983, and August 5, 1985, the letters relate to tapes of radio talks and readings that Bronk made at the time for broadcast by stations in Massachusetts.


Rothkopf gift. An especially fine copy of Ezra Pound's important pamphlet, *Antheil and the Treatise on Harmony*, published in Paris by the Three Mountains Press in 1924, has been presented by Mrs. Carol Z. Rothkopf (A.M., 1952). In addition, she has also donated four first editions and three advance proof copies of books by Anita Brookner, including an autographed copy of the 1990 novel, *Brief Lives*, as well as first editions by Simon Brett, Reginald Hill, Ruth Rendell, and Dorothy B. Sayers.
Our Growing Collections

Schaefler gift. Drs. Sam and Katalin Schaefler have continued their annual benefactions with the recent gift of inscribed and rare editions, early American and European documents, posters, and prints. Most important among their recent gift are: inscribed and autographed copies of Rabindranath Tagore’s *The Hungry Stones*, 1916, Christopher Morley’s *Thunder on the Left*, 1925, and George Russell’s *Voices of the Stones*, 1925; the autograph manuscript of an abolitionist poem by Ann Stephenson, “The Negro Hymn,” dated November 26, 1792; a three-page folio manuscript of an illustrated rebus, dated 1734, beginning “Dear Nose...”; a bond of the City of New York, dated 1789, signed by Mayor James Duane, among the earliest bonds issued by the City of New York; four vellum documents relating to the sale at public auction in 1800 of land and buildings belonging to John Lamb in settlement of a debt to the United States government of $127,953; watercolors by Frank
Tinsley, ca. 1950, illustrating Korean War subjects drawn for the magazine *Mechanix Illustrated*; a 1913 art nouveau poster, lithographed by Lanhout in Delft, Holland, advertising a Persian Carnival; and a photograph by the noted photographer Berenice Abbott of the fire house at Park Avenue and 135th Street in New York.

*Schapiro gift.* A collection of materials relating to the Moscow "purge" trials of the late 1930s has been donated by University Professor Emeritus Meyer Schapiro (A.B., 1924; A.M., 1926; Ph.D., 1929). Numbering some 125 items, the collection is comprised of printed periodicals and pamphlets, typewritten and mimeographed letters and statements, posters, and clippings.

*Steegmuller gift.* Mr. Francis Steegmuller (A.B., 1927; A.M., 1928) has donated a collection of sixty-seven volumes relating to his
Our Growing Collections

research and publications on Mme. Louise-Florence d'Epinay and abbé Ferdinand Galiani, with whom she corresponded from 1769 until her death in 1783.

Sykes gift. Mrs. Claire Sykes has presented a group of 101 letters and cards written to her late husband, the author Gerald Sykes, including correspondence from artists, writers, directors, and composers, including Harold Clurman, Aaron Copland, David Diamond, Lawrence Durrell, Granville Hicks, Christopher Isherwood, Elia Kazan, Stanley Kunitz, Marshall McLuhan, Henry Miller, Czeslaw Milosz, and Georgia O'Keeffe. In addition, the files contain carbon copies of Sykes's side of the correspondence, and there is also a photograph of Sykes with Karl Jung in Ascona, Switzerland, dated March 1955.

Trilling gift. Mrs. Diana Trilling has donated, for inclusion in the papers of her late husband, Professor Lionel Trilling (A.B., 1925; A.M., 1926; Ph.D., 1938), three signed portrait photographs of Professor Trilling taken by Cecil Beaton and three unsigned photographs of him by Walker Evans. Mrs. Trilling's gift also includes ninety-seven offprints inscribed to the late Professor Trilling by numerous colleagues, among them Paul Fussell, Jr., Helen Gardner, Northrop Frye, Richard Ellman, Harry Levin, René Wellek, and Robert Merton; and a collection of newspaper and magazine clippings on various subjects kept by Professor Trilling.

Weil gift. Mr. James L. Weil, in honor of Professor Jack Stillinger, has presented a collection of twenty-five fine press books and association copies of books by and about John Keats. Among the press books are splendid copies of printings of various poems by Keats: the Kelmscott Press Poems, Hammersmith, 1894, bound in full limp vellum; Three Essays, London, 1889, printed for private distribution at the Chiswick Press, one of fifty copies in the rare dust jacket; The Eve of Saint Agnes, London, 1900, printed on vellum at The Essex House Press, with hand-illuminated initials and capitals throughout; La Belle Dame Sans Merci, Hammersmith, 1906,
designed and printed at The Eragny Press by E. and L. Pissarro; *The Eve of Saint Agnes*, River Forest, Illinois, 1896, printed at

Printed in red and black, the title page for this edition, published in River Forest, Illinois, was designed by Frank Lloyd Wright. (Weil gift)

The Auvergne Press with a title page in red and black designed by Frank Lloyd Wright; and an edition of the poems printed in 1914

Mr. James L. Weil has also presented a collection of thirteen matted and framed copperplate etchings executed by the artist Eugene Canadé to illustrate the limited editions of volumes of poetry published by Mr. Weil. Printed in small editions of between thirty and forty copies, each etching is two by three inches and bears the artist's inscription in pencil, "Shell Composition," signed by the artist and followed by the number of the strike and the edition; each etching is further inscribed to Mr. Weil and his wife, Gloria, on the mat.

Yerushalmi gift. Professor Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi (A.M., 1961; Ph.D., 1966) has donated a rare edition of Moses ben Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, the most important compendia of Jewish law of all ages. The set of five folio volumes, bound in full leather, was published in Vilnius, Lithuania, in 1928.
Activities of the Friends

Winter Reception. Nearly two hundred Friends and their guests, members of the Hornick family, and poets and artists attended the reception on March 6 to open the exhibition “Kulchur Queen and Kulchur Books: Lita Hornick and the Poets She Published.” The first editions, manuscripts, and photographs in the exhibition were selected from the extensive collection presented by Mrs. Hornick; also on view are drawings and photographs, some lent by Mrs. Hornick, including work by artists Joe Brainard, Alex Katz, Les Levine, Gerard Malanga, Paula North, and Andy Warhol. In addition to Mrs. Hornick’s own books, there are in the exhibition first editions of books of poetry by Helen Adam, Ted Berrigan, Tom Clark, Charles Henri Ford, John Giorno, Kenneth Koch, Richard Kostelanetz, Rochelle Owens, Aram Saroyan, and Anne Waldman, among others. The exhibition will remain on display through June 28.


Future Meetings. The fall exhibition reception will be held on Wednesday afternoon, December 4; the winter exhibition reception will be held on March 4, 1992; and the Bancroft Awards Dinner is scheduled for April 1, 1992.
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