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Peter Van Schaack, founder of one of the first American law schools: portrait by an unidentified artist, ca. 1820–40, copied from lost original by John Trumbull. (New-York Historical Society)
When New York's Lawyers Took Post-Graduate Studies

RICHARD B. MORRIS

The current movement for periodic recertification of physicians, lawyers, and other professionals may find a model, so far as lawyers are concerned, in a recent gift to the Rare Book and Manuscript Library made by Dr. John J. DuBois. This unique item comprises a set of minutes and rules of a New York club of lawyers called the Moot, which describes how the lawyers of this city, in the five years immediately preceding the American Revolution, worked out a program for continued study after admission to the Bar.

These minutes of the Moot are one of four known copies. An original set of Moot minutes, the first two pages of which containing the rules of the Moot are tattered, is owned by the New-York Historical Society, which also owns a contemporary transcript along with a copy of that transcript. The DuBois gift is a contemporary transcript of the original minutes. The making of this kind of material by contemporaries was by no means unusual. In the days before there were abundant law books or full sets of reported cases, law students customarily abridged judicial decisions reported by others, and prepared commonplace books—memoranda on writs and remedies—as well as books on proce-
dure. The Columbia Law School Library possesses a splendid example of the latter attributed to Joseph Murray, a New York lawyer of the 1730s and 1740s. Such famous Patriot lawyers as Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, and John Jay all kept commonplace books, and Alexander Hamilton’s practice manual in printed form served succeeding generations of lawyers.

It must be remembered that on the eve of the Revolution there was no place where one could undertake the systematic study of the common law. Englishmen and some affluent Americans might attend the Inns of Court in London, but the quality of instruction in those institutions had sadly declined by the eighteenth century, and their advantages were perhaps more social than intellectual. Few New York families, including the Jays, who however did investigate the possibility, could afford the expense of maintaining a son for five years at one of the Inns of Court. At least £400 a year might be involved. Most New York attorneys secured their training in local law offices, where their parents paid the practitioner a handsome fee for virtually ignoring their offspring. Since law office training in the pre-xerox era involved laborious copying of writs and pleadings, of wills and deeds, and lacked systematic or comprehensive guidance, it is understandable that, following admission to the Bar, some intellectually alert lawyers would organize a project for what we would today call post-graduate education.

That need was behind the organization of the Moot, whose first session, according to the minutes, was held on November 23, 1770. It is at this meeting that the society framed its by-laws. Modeled after the Moot of Gray’s Inn, London, its rules barred social events, an implied criticism of the largely social functions that characterized contemporary English law societies. Of the seventy some lawyers then practicing at the New York City Bar, the eighteen charter members of the Moot constituted a close-knit elite of older established lawyers and a number of young lawyers who had been accepted into the fold, all admitted to practice at
the Supreme Court Bar, and principally graduates of King's College (Columbia), Yale, and the College of New Jersey (Princeton). With the coming of the Revolution, some dozen of them espoused the Patriot cause; the remainder took the Loyalist side.

Consider some of the famous Patriots. William Livingston, first president of the Moot, was shortly to become Revolutionary war governor of New Jersey. Within less than four years John Jay was to become his son-in-law. Jay (King's College, A.B., 1764; A.M., 1767), elected secretary of the Moot in 1771, was to write New York State's first Constitution, and was to be New York State's first Chief Justice, aside from other state and national posts he would hold. Another member, Richard Morris, succeeded Jay as New York's Chief Justice in 1779. John Morin Scott, a celebrated radical politician and a highly successful lawyer, was to become a brigadier-general in the Revolution. James Duane, who served as a delegate to the Continental Congress during the latter days of the Moot, was the first mayor of New York City after the British army evacuated that post. Robert R. Livingston (King's College, A.B., 1765; A.M., 1768), who for a time was Jay's law partner,
Richard B. Morris

was to double in the posts of New York State’s Chancellor and first Secretary for Foreign Affairs under Congress. Gouverneur Morris (King’s College, A.B., 1768; A.M., 1771), who was a member of the committee that drafted the first New York State Constitution, served as well on the Committee on Style and Arrangements in 1787 that drafted the Federal Constitution in its final form. Egbert Benson (King’s College, A.B., 1765; A.M., 1768), a close friend of John Jay and an executor of Jay’s father’s estate, was to become Attorney General of the new Revolutionary state.

Among the Loyalists joining the Moot sessions was David Matthews, Tory Mayor of New York at the start of the Revolution. Believed implicated in some way in the plot to kidnap General George Washington, Matthews was imprisoned in 1776 for “treasonable practices” by the Patriot forces but he later escaped. John Tabor Kempe, who had been a King’s College Governor, was at the time of the Moot sessions the Attorney General of the province, while Rudolph Ritzema (King’s College, ’58) and Stephen De Lancey were to join the armed forces fighting against the Patriots. Peter Van Schaack, (King’s College, A.B., 1768; A.M., 1773) was to be banished from New York by the Revolutionary state government’s Committee for Detecting Conspiracies, in which John Jay played a central role. Jay recognized that his good friend was a man of conscience and later arranged for his return to America, where Van Schaaack founded one of the first two law schools in the United States at Kinderhook, New York. William Smith, Jr., moved from the radical to the conservative side with the coming of the Revolution. One of the triumvirate of “Liberty Boys,” along with John Morin Scott and William Livingston, whose law partner he became, he was banished to British-occupied New York City when he refused to take the Test Oath to support the Patriot cause. He left with the British in 1783 and was to become Chief Justice of Canada in 1785.

The rules or by-laws in the DuBois gift provided for evening meetings on the first Friday of every month, the choosing of offi-
and the members, present, considering it to be a matter of great difficulty, it was ordered to be reconsidered at the next meeting.

At the Moot, the 2d April 1774

The question put at the last meeting was received over for this evening was further debated, the Members present being:

- Mr. Van Wart
- Mr. Livingston
- Jones
- De Lancy
- Jay
- Van Schlear

After a long debate Mr. Livingston was inclined to be of opinion that a lunatic may be sued and sued in any other person in defense of whom he assigned the following reasons:

1. "Because every wrong has a remedy which being a maxim of law the Plaintiff shall not be obliged to seek that remedy in any Court but a Court of Law"

2. "Because a Court of Law cannot know that he is a lunatic committed"

3. "Because there are no precedents which those would have been of the mode of process had been different from the manner of"
cers by ballot, and for having questions proposed at one meeting and adopted by a plurality of the vote, and then to be debated at the following meeting. Party politics were taboo. Unanimous consent was required for the admission of new members—of which there were two, Gouverneur Morris and John Watts (King's College, A.M., 1769)—and attendance was taken care of by charging each member his share of the evening's bill whether he attended or not. Should a member be absent for three successive meetings, he would be "absolutely expelled." The axe fell on Whitehead Hicks, whose duties as mayor during stormy pre-Revolutionary days may have prevented his attendance on March 4, 1774, which was Hicks' third successive absence. The by-laws were no respecter of persons!

The idea of a moot was not original among New York's lawyers. It can be traced to early modern times in England. Students preparing to be barristers attended independent legal societies in London known as Inns of Court, where arguments over cases and statutes were conducted in pseudo courts. Counsel were designated to articulate opposing views of a legal issue at the moot, and senior barristers acted as judges. Normally conducted after supper, these moots stressed the practical, the argumentative, and the procedural side of the law, often at the expense of the theoretical. The value of mooting is attested to by modern law schools, where the system is well established and has provided students with a practical outlet for their studies of cases.

The DuBois minutes of the Moot also constitute a valuable supplement to the great collection owned by Columbia of the John Jay Papers, which are housed in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library. The minutes disclose that John Jay and his fellow members debated such legal questions as the manner an executor should plead to avoid payment of testator's book debts, various issues of intercolony comity and conflict of laws, the precise words in a devise which constitute a fee tail, the authority of inferior courts of the province to grant new trials, and whether the English Statute
of Frauds extended to the colony of New York—the subject of a learned opinion in the twentieth century by Chief Judge Benjamin N. Cardozo of the New York State Court of Appeals. Other problems thrashed out included the rights of holders of bills of exchange and the mystical distinction in real property law between seizin and possession.

Among more serious duties, members of the Moot could be assigned “to take notes of all queries of Law that may be agitated in the Supreme Court during the succeeding Term.” For instance, in April 1773, James Duane, Samuel Jones, and John Jay were so designated to attend the Supreme Court to “make Reports thereof, and produce them to the moot with all convenient speed.” Regrettably, these notes were not preserved in the form of a series of law reports, none of which have come down to us for the pre-Revolutionary years in New York. In addition, the Moot assumed something of the character of a bar association, even determining what share of court fees lawyers were to receive and advising sheriffs to collect their own fees for services rendered litigants.

Almost to the very outbreak of the war the Moot continued its monthly meetings. The last recorded session of the Moot was held on April 7, 1775. By this date war preparations were in the air. Only twelve days later fighting erupted at Lexington and Concord, and Loyalist and Whig members went their separate ways, never again to convene for an evening of professional argumentation and discourse in the law society known as the Moot.
The Daily Diaries of Hester Lynch Piozzi

JAMES L. CLIFFORD

ESTER LYNCH SALUSBURY, later the wife of Henry Thrale and Gabriel Piozzi, is remembered largely because of her close friendship with Samuel Johnson. For about eighteen years Johnson spent at least half his time living with the Thrales, and in her remarkable journals kept at this time—"The Children's Book, or Rather Family Book," recently edited by Mary Hyde, and in Thraliana, edited by Katharine Balderston in 1942—there is much valuable evidence about the great man. After her second marriage—to the Italian musician, Gabriel Piozzi—and Johnson's death in 1784, Mrs. Piozzi published a volume of anecdotes about him and an edition of his letters to her, as well as a delightful account of her travels on the Continent, and other books. These are what established her reputation as a bluestocking writer of the late eighteenth century.

In her later life she also turned into an avid daily diarist, regularly setting down each day some description of her social life and activities. This was normally written in small yearly pocket books, two of them in the series under the titles of The Daily Journal and The Ladies Own Memorandum Book, which allowed only about three-quarters of an inch for each day's entry. None of hers has ever been published because the subject matter is not very exciting and the friends she saw constantly were not important people. If only she had kept a detailed daily journal and account book during the 1760s and 1770s! Nevertheless, because a few of these later diaries are now at Columbia University it does appear worthwhile to sum up briefly what we know about their history and what they are like.

As a young woman and later as a busy wife and mother, Hester
The Daily Diaries of Hester Lynch Piozzi

had no time to keep regular daily diaries, though there are a few note books containing some personal entries and financial details. For example, *The Daily Journals* for 1757 and 1761, and *The Ladies Own Memorandum Book* for 1773 have survived and are at

Mrs. Piozzi on her 80th birthday, January 27, 1820: after the painting by Hopwood, engraved by James Thomson.

the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England, but they contain practically nothing of any importance. The latter is largely a memorandum book with numerous notes about clients of the Thrale brewery, at a time when Mrs. Thrale had thrown herself into efforts to bring it out of a financial crisis.

After her marriage to Piozzi and their return to London in 1787 she did make some jottings in daily diaries, for the most part merely
names of people who came to see them or whom they visited, or lists of those who were invited to their concerts. Although most of Hester Piozzi's Johnsonian friends had written her off, and her daughters were not too friendly, the couple built up an interesting new group, the central figure being the celebrated actress Mrs. Siddons. Music and the theater became the Piozzis' primary interests. As a sample of the kind of entries she made during these years, consider the second week of March, 1789. From her *Daily Journal*, now at Columbia, we can see that the Piozzis had Mrs. Siddons and her husband to supper, went to Drury Lane, sitting in Mrs. Garrick's box, and saw various other people. But she made no critical comments. Only the first half of this note book for 1789 was used. Occasionally there were long lists of people invited to concerts in their home. For instance, in May they once had about twenty-five guests, among them Mrs. Byron, the poet's grandmother, General Paoli, the Corsican patriot, the Kembsles, Lord Huntington, and the Bishop of Killaloe.

Later, when Piozzi's health began to deteriorate, they built a charming house called Brynbella in Flintshire, and largely divided their time between Bath and northern Wales. Her only daily diaries that have survived for these years are those of 1800 and 1802 (at Rylands). For some of these years her husband kept the daily accounts, briefly listing what they were doing, whom they saw, letters received, what food they were eating, and expenses. These were scrupulously kept, with few gaps, except occasionally when he came down with severe gout. But there is never anything witty or sardonic in the entries, and for twentieth-century readers they are deadly dull. Those that have survived are either at the National Library of Wales at Aberystwyth (1797, 1801 and 1802) or at Columbia (1803 and 1806).

It was not until about the time of Piozzi's death in 1809 that his wife took over the job of filling the annual pocket books with entries. From 1809 until her own death in 1821, in her 81st year, she rarely missed a day recording what she did. The entries reflect
The state of Mrs. Piozzi's health is recorded by her husband, Gabriel Piozzi, in his diary entries for the week beginning March 21, 1803.
James L. Clifford

her ebullient spirit, and are more entertaining than those of her husband. For these thirteen years all but two of the yearly note books have survived: those for 1808, 1809, 1811 and 1812 at the National Library in Aberystwyth; those for 1810, 1817, 1818, 1819 and 1821 at the Rylands Library; and until recently those of 1815, 1816 and 1820 in the present writer's collection (1816 and 1820, now at Columbia University). Those for 1813 and 1814 have never turned up, or at least I do not know where they are. In the Rylands collection there are also nine small almanacks, 1812–1820, but these contain only occasional jottings, and no regular entries.

Even though the people she was seeing all the time were not as well known to us as her friends during the Johnson period, skimming through Mrs. Piozzi's late diaries can be very entertaining. Her character and wit come through even in the brief entries. Every Monday she had to pay her bills, and depending on how much she paid she would write some descriptive adjective in large letters: “Grey,” “Light Grey,” “Very Dark,” “Black,” “Coal Black,” or “Lily White.” Sometimes she becomes explosive, as when she writes “Black Monday dreadful!” or “Grey, indeed, Black rather,” or “Ocean roaring, People raving, H.L.P. paying away her money.”

On Sunday she was fond of attending Laura Chapel in Bath, and there was almost always some lively comment on the sermon or the preacher, ranging from the highest praise, such as “Excellent,” “Admirable,” “Inimitable Grinfield” (the preacher), to such remarks as “a dull sermon,” “a string of commonplaces saucily delivered,” “a Preacher one could not hear,” or “some Doctor drowsy I know not who.”

The state of her own emotional involvement is clearly shown in the varying size of the entries. When her steward, Alexander Leak (she once referred to his wife as “the female Leak”), came to Bath in June 1816 to give a report and discuss business matters, he suddenly became ill. In less than a week he was dead. His prog-
The Daily Diaries of Hester Lynch Piozzi

ress was recorded day by day in entries of varying size. The one recording his death was in very large black letters. Then she added "very dreadful indeed! but the People very kind. Mrs. Thomas, Mrs. Gibbes, Mrs. Fellowes, Miss Williams all asking me to go to

their Houses, and not live here with a Corpse. I don't stir." Nothing would ever keep her down for long.

Historic events in Europe seldom produced an echo in her jottings, though in 1815 the battle of Waterloo received a brief notice. Nor is there much about literature of the time. Of Wordsworth and Coleridge she seemed altogether oblivious.

Her own health was important to be recorded. When she picked up a cold (apparently a regular occurrence) there were daily comments: "Sate at home & coughed all Day long," "Spasms last night," "Pain in the Throat & Neck Continue," "Swell'd face,"
The progressive illness and death of Mrs. Piozzi's steward, Alexander Leak, is recorded in her diary entries for the week beginning June 17, 1816.
“very sick,” “toothache all night,” “I am dead lame.” Occasionally in order to get some sleep she took laudanum (the 18th century’s aspirin). And she once ironically wrote: “I begin to think now that I shall see out this tedious year 1816. I think I shall.” Actually she had more than four more years to live.

Generally her comments merely described what she did and whom she saw, but occasionally she could not resist inserting what somebody else said. Once she noted, “a droll Irish Lady laughed at us for regretting her, & said surely at 74 years old, one may take leave without an Apology.” And Mrs. Piozzi clearly showed how she felt. Here are some samples: “Dinner at the Lutwiches—grand but dull,” “I went but could not shine at all,” “Sate at home sullen, & pouted for want of a Letter,” “Visited every body—found no Body but Mrs. Glover and Mrs. George Mathew,” “Went visiting and spitting Cards all Morning in a Chair.” Her occasional boredom when in Wales showed: “No Newspapers, & no Company; no Books and no Conversation. Sun never shines.” Once she noted: “a dull Morning—read old Chambers’ Dictionary—could not bear to write or work—or any thing.”

Once in a while she would jot down some of her purchases, such as current jelly, slops, and bath water. She even wondered if she was being too social. When Sir James Fellowes suggested as much, she noted: “I begin to be of his Mind—that I do see too much Company—they half distract me.”

Even though most of the names which are mentioned mean nothing to us today, occasionally some are familiar. On July 13, 1816, she noted: “Madame D’Arblay & her Son came in the Evening, extremely agreeable both.” Another time there was, “Madame D’Arblay sends every day.” And once “saw a whole race of Burneys.”

Despite all the trivia, reading Mrs. Piozzi’s daily diaries can be fun. Moreover, for scholars interested in life at Bath in the second decade of the nineteenth century the experience can be very useful. In their own way these diaries have a genuine historical value.
A Unique American Apostate

BENNY KRAUT

In an article entitled “The Christmas Tree,” published by the Jewish Times, December 31, 1869, Felix Adler, an outraged Jewish young man, lashed out against the custom which had arisen among some New York Jews to bring a Christmas tree into their homes during the Yuletide season. With unrestrained anger, he remarked,

To celebrate a day which has cost us so much pain, so much blood, so many sorrowful experiences with joy and merriment—is this not a bitter and cruel mockery? However much we may esteem our Christian neighbors, however highly we may honor their institutions, we are Jews and we have our own history, our own remembrances of the past.

By the fall of 1876, however, Adler’s religious self-perception had markedly changed. He no longer railed against Jews who adopted alien religious symbols, for he himself had inspired the creation of a universal, social and religious fellowship transcending all doctrinal differences—the New York Society for Ethical Culture. Dedicated to the pursuit of social justice, the implementation of proper moral relations between people, and the elevation of the human spirit, this Society, under Adler’s leadership, sought to unite in a common bond all those searching for a spiritual approach to life more in consonance with the temper of the modern, secular and industrial age. Years later, with a family of his own, Felix Adler even came to hold regular Christmas parties in his home featuring a Christmas tree and an exchange of gifts, while the hope for a “Merry Christmas” often concluded many of his personal letters to his family. To be sure, he rejected the Christian meaning of the day and understood Christmas only in a symbolic sense as a festival of light and hope. Nevertheless, it is clear that in the course of time, Adler had undergone a decisive religious
transformation which saw him depart from the Jewish religious tradition and the community in which he was reared.

Born in 1851 in Alzey, a small town in Rhenish Hesse, Southwest Germany, Felix Adler was the son of Samuel Adler, a very prominent Reform rabbi in Western Europe. Felix’s childhood years in Germany were brief, for in 1857 Samuel Adler accepted the prestigious pulpit of Temple Emanu-El in New York, and the Adler family immigrated to America.

A strong and vital spiritual atmosphere pervaded the Adler home. By personal example, family ritual observances, and religious instruction, Samuel inculcated his son with the values and principles of Reform Judaism. Young Felix adopted his father’s fundamental theological ideas, including the belief that a religious mission to teach ethical monotheism to mankind had been bestowed on Jews by God, and that they had been set apart in order to fulfill that mission.

The teachings and activities of Felix’ parents also greatly nourished his innate social conscience which later blossomed into the intense social passion and consuming ethical idealism for which he became famous. His mother, Henrietta, regularly took him to New York’s tenements to distribute baskets of food to the poor. His father Samuel not only consistently steered his temple on a charitable course, but taught that charitable and ethical behavior were among the noblest manifestations of the Jew’s religious life. Indeed, young Felix found Judaism especially appealing because of his father’s stress on the significance of its moral dimension. The idea that religion was the ground for morality and thus the indispensable source of human happiness struck a responsive chord in Felix and won his ready assent.

But in his late adolescent years, young Adler experienced grave religious tensions. Intellectually oriented and introspective, he took his religious faith seriously and subjected it to constant reexamination and critical judgment. In 1868, in particular, while a junior at Columbia College, Adler began to reevaluate his fundamental
Temple Emanu-El (now demolished) on Fifth Avenue at 43rd Street shortly after its completion in 1868. Felix Adler’s father, Samuel Adler, served as rabbi of its congregation from 1857 to 1874.
A Unique American Apostle

religious assumptions. Introduced to the formal study of natural science for the first time and ever cognizant of the wretched squalor in which New York's urban poor were living, the idealistic Felix began to doubt the existence of a Providence which intervened in the regular operation of the universe for the benefit of mankind. And, during the next few years, his educational experiences deepened his religious disquiet, ultimately revolutionizing his religious outlook.

Hoping that one day Felix would succeed his father as rabbi of Temple Emanu-El, the Adler family encouraged him to pursue rabbinical studies at the Hochschule für die Wissenschaft des Judentums in Berlin and to obtain a doctorate in a cognate field from a German university. Upon his graduation from Columbia in the spring of 1870, he therefore returned to Germany for a three year period of study. Adler did obtain a Ph.D. in semitics, summa cum laude, from the University of Heidelberg in 1873, but he did not receive rabbinic ordination. Confronted with the scholarly disciplines of Bible criticism, anthropology, and comparative religion, he found his religious faith radically challenged; the new knowledge precipitated an inner struggle which shook him to his roots. "I look back with dread to that time when everything seemed sinking around me," he wrote in later years, "when the cherished faith which seemed at one time dearer than life itself was going to pieces under me, and it seemed that I could save nothing out of the wreck of all that seemed holiest to me."

By the time of his return to New York in September, 1873, Felix Adler's faith in the cardinal tenets of Reform Judaism had been shattered. He had fully imbibed the modern scientific investigations into religion and religious literature and applied their conclusions rigorously to Judaism. He rejected monotheism—the cornerstone of Jewish theology—and came to regard the notion of a providential supernatural deity as but a projection of human imagination. He further rejected as untenable Reform Judaism's stress on the Jewish mission, since he viewed the Bible, from which
source this theory was ultimately derived, to be but a humanly authored text. He, therefore, could not accept the Jewish mission as a divinely ordained mandate binding on all future Jewish generations. The human origin of the Bible also undermined for him the absolute authority of Prophetic ethics, thus invalidating the Biblical text as the authoritative basis for moral action. Finally, Adler could not assent to Judaism’s claim of religious singularity, for he now believed that the religious impulse was a universal historical phenomenon rooted in the human need to understand the world and its mysteries. All religions emanated from a common motivational base, Adler contended, their singular forms reflecting only the different stages of mankind’s intellectual, psychological, and cultural growth. Judaism, even its Reform variety, was not ‘special,’ but represented only one particular expression of the universal phenomenon of religious faith.

What meaning could Adler’s affirmation of his Jewishness now have for him? Regretfully, and even painfully, Adler realized that he could find none. The repudiation of Reform Jewish theology destroyed for him the intellectual basis for his continued existence as a Jew, since his very raison d’être as a Jew hinged on the affirmation of certain theological beliefs which he now denied. And without the belief in monotheism and in the Jewish mission idea, there seemed to him to be no viable rationale for continued separate Jewish existence. Secular concepts of Jewishness did not satisfy his idealism. In his own words, he felt compelled to fulfill his “unquenchable thirst for the Infinite.” Further, Jewish nationalism was not yet a factor in the 1870’s, nor would it have attracted a young man brought up in a staunchly anti-Jewish-nationalist home of a classical Reform Jewish family. An intellectually probing individual wedded to modern liberal religious ideas, Felix Adler sought an intellectually acceptable spiritual outlook that would serve as the basis for human ethical behavior. Judaism, grounded as it was in anachronous theological ideas according to Adler, could not suffice.
Between 1873–1876, Adler maintained a conspicuous silence on his religious convictions. Few people sensed his profound religious change and Adler was perceived by most everybody to be a scholarly young man who would yet make valuable contributions to the Jewish community. Soon after the inauguration of his Sunday lecture movement in the fall of 1876, however, Adler began publicly to criticize Jewish ritual practices and theological beliefs. And with the formal incorporation of this Sunday association as
the New York Society for Ethical Culture in February, 1877, the die had been cast. For the next three years, Adler became embroiled in unceasing controversies and acrimonious polemics with leaders of the American Jewish community. He was denounced by the New York Jewish press and some rabbis, Kaufmann Kohler of Chicago in particular. He was labelled traitor, opportunist, plagiarist, demagogue, and atheist, a "radical of the deepest dye, a defamer of revelation, a bitter reviler of his brethen, an enemy to all recognized faiths." His "rehash of the most vulgar outcroppings of Voltaireanism" were said to lead to "moral corruption." Because Adler attracted overflow crowds, predominantly Jewish, to his Sunday talks, contrasting sharply with the empty synagogue pews on Saturdays, Jewish communal leaders greatly feared him to be an ominous and grave threat to the future of American Judaism. They were also increasingly alarmed at the dangerous impression he was creating among some non-Jews who felt that he was a typical product of and spokesman for Judaism. Thus, when the New York World suggested that Adler was a "representative Jew," the Jewish Messenger quickly and vigorously disclaimed his Jewishness and Jewish affiliation.

From the 1880's on the polemics between Adler and American Jewry for the most part ceased. The problems of resettling the vast influx of immigrant East European Jews streaming into the country over the next forty years helped to deflect American Jewry's concern away from ideologically-rooted problems and from Adler. Also, the Ethical Culture Society in New York stopped expanding and was no longer taken to be the threat it once was. But even more significantly, as Adler began to implement some of the concrete social reforms which had been merely the subjects of sermons in previous years, as the sincerity of his booming proclamations for social justice could no longer be doubted, and as some Jews became beneficiaries of his endeavors in slum clearance and tenement-house reforms, even some of his staunchest Jewish antagonists had to applaud. They ignored Ad-
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Adler’s religious ideology and considered it a failure, but they warmly praised his practical achievements. In 1882, for example, he was called a true “philanthropist” by the American Israelite, “deserving of the love and admiration of mankind.” In 1885, Rabbi Kohler conceded that “a great deal of good is accomplished” by Adler’s Ethical Culture Society.

For his part, though having broken with Judaism, Adler was not totally separated from Jewish concerns. He consistently spoke out against all forms of anti-Semitism in both Eastern and Western Europe. In fact, shortly before his death, he sent a message to the Madison Square Garden rally on March 27, 1933, protesting the early anti-Jewish outbreaks of the Hitler regime. He also attempted to relieve the burden of Americanization confronting European immigrants, including Russian Jews. He tried to estab-
lish classes in English for these Jews in 1882 and, during the next two decades, he kept abreast of all problems and achievements of the settlement houses, so important to immigrant Jews residing in New York's Lower East Side.

Adler also maintained a life-long scholarly interest in Judaism and Jewish history. An extensive list of his books, included in the Felix Adler Papers now at Columbia, indicates that Adler's voluminous library contained some of the most prominent contemporary Jewish and non-Jewish works in the field of Jewish history and religion, such as Simon Dubnow's *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland*, Louis Ginzberg's *Legends of the Jews*, George F. Moore's *Judaism* and Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* to name but a few. Then, too, he kept up close friendships with such Reform Jewish leaders as Rabbis Bernhard Felsenthal, Emil Hirsch, and Samuel Sale. Certainly, the force of his moral idealism left an indelible impression on some Jews, especially on Abraham Cronbach, Stephen S. Wise, and Samuel Schulman. Ironically, both Wise and Schulman credited Adler—the Jew who had left Judaism, the Jewish community, and who had rejected the rabbinate—with having helped to channel them into rabbinical careers. And, with Adler's passing in April, 1933, many Jews mourned his death. Perhaps Rabbi Schulman of Temple Emanu-El best reflected the sentiments of Jewish mourners when he noted that “though profoundly differing from him in my religious outlook, I have always revered him as a master... [He was a] great ethical leader and one of the greatest quickening spirits for the ethical life in the world. He has stood out as an apostle to mankind of pure idealism.”

In a very real sense, Adler may well represent a new paradigm of Jewish apostasy in modern history: the intellectual Jew passing out of his socio-religious group on intellectual grounds, without malice, but with pride in his ethnic-racial origin. Though he found Judaism to be wanting intellectually, over the years he harbored an abiding reverence both for Judaism and his Jewish roots, a
"filial piety" which he publicly acknowledged. He described himself as "a religious emigrant who has left the old country in religion . . . [but who] thinks lovingly of the mother-land." He suggested that "it is a part of self-respect not to cut off one's memory, not to wish to bury the past out of sight—and it is part of the best kind of spiritual development to know the fountain out of which one has been drawn." Unlike the traditional vindictiveness of Jewish apostates, Adler did not revile his Jewish origin, but acknowledged its impact on him. He appreciated the positive contributions of his religious tradition and, with historical perspective understood its shortcomings for the present day. Perhaps Felix Adler, best remembered as an ardent social critic and spearhead for civic and educational reform, may also serve as a constructive model for anyone feeling it necessary to leave his religious tradition and social fellowship.
Our Growing Collections

KENNETH A. LOHF

Gifts

Armstrong Foundation gift. The officers and directors of the Armstrong Memorial Research Foundation have presented the professional files of Edwin Howard Armstrong (E.E., 1913; Sc.D., 1929), inventor in the field of radio and Professor of Electrical Engineering at Columbia from 1934 until his death in 1954. Included among the approximately two hundred thousand pieces are his correspondence, research notes and diagrams, lectures, articles and legal papers. Of Dr. Armstrong’s many inventions and researches documented in the collection the most important are: the regenerative or feedback circuit (1912), the first amplified radio reception; the superheterodyne circuit (1918), the basis of modern radio and radar; superregeneration (1922), a simple high-power receiver now used in emergency mobile service; and frequency modulation, FM (1933), static-free radio reception of high fidelity. A considerable portion of the collection concerns Armstrong’s lawsuits, primarily with RCA, over infringement of his patents. The correspondence, with friends and colleagues working in the field, include letters from Lee De Forest, Enrico Fermi, Herbert C. Hoover, Guglielmo Marconi, William S. Paley, Michael I. Pupin, David Sarnoff, Leopold Stokowski and Arthur Hays Sulzberger.

Barzun gift. Professor Jacques Barzun (A.B., 1927; Ph.D., 1932) has donated a group of musical and literary works, including a series of scores for string quartettes by Bernard van Dieren and an American first edition of H. G. Wells’s story for children, The Adventures of Tommy, 1935, illustrated with the author’s colored drawings.
Blow gift. Mr. George Blow has presented thirty-six World War II posters for addition to the collection donated last year. His recent gift includes handsome examples, all in pristine condition, of posters issued by Philco Corporation, Abbott Laboratories, the Office of War Information and the United States Government Printing Office. Among the artists represented are Rube Goldberg, Herbert Johnson and Arthur Szyk.

Bonnell gift. Miss Alice H. Bonnell (B.S., 1940) has presented the copy of the first edition of Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant, New York, 1885, in two volumes, which was owned by her grandfather, General Henry Harrison Boyce, who served under Grant during the Civil War. General Boyce subscribed to this first edition, and his book labels are on the inside front covers of both volumes.

Chilton Book Company gift. From the Chilton Book Company of Philadelphia we have received the editorial, production and publicity files of Greenberg: Publisher, founded in 1924 by Jacob W. Greenberg (B.Lit., 1914) and his brother, David B. Greenberg (A.B., 1913), and acquired by Chilton in 1958. Numbering more than 46,000 items, the papers document the publication of specialized works in many fields, including “how to” books, westerns, cooking books and health guides. Among the authors represented in the files are Lucius Beebe, Louis Bromfield, Kenneth Burke, Howard Dietz, Theodore Dreiser, Karen Horney, William Inge, Christopher Isherwood, Alfred Kinsey, Amy Loveman, Arthur Miller, Ashley Montagu, William Saroyan and José Gracia Villa.

Cluett gift. Mrs. E. Harold Cluett has presented the series of 83 autograph letters written by Nicholas Murray Butler, from 1884 to 1896, to her mother, Alice Haven (later Mrs. Requa). This early and important correspondence begins when Butler and Miss Haven were part of an American student group in Berlin, where he had gone to do research for his Columbia doctoral dissertation,
and continues through his first marriage and the beginning of his career on Columbia's faculty. Many of these long personal letters shed considerable light on Butler's interests and ambitions as a young man.

_Coggeshall gift._ Mrs. Susanna W. Coggeshall has presented, for inclusion in the papers of her mother, the late Frances Perkins, a group of ten pieces of correspondence written by President Franklin D. Roosevelt from 1934 to 1941 to Miss Perkins, who at the time was serving as Secretary of Labor. The letters and memoranda, all written at the White House, deal with committee appointments, Labor Department matters and the Social Security Act. The most unusual among them is a handwritten diagram of the proposed organization of the Treasury Department, drawn by the President on January 9, 1934, and authenticated by Miss Perkins on the lower margin.

_Cowan family gift._ The family of the late Louis G. Cowan has presented, in his memory, the collection of 45 Soviet World War II posters that he formed during the last several years of his life. Called "Okno Tass," or "Tass Windows," these propaganda posters were produced for the Soviet Telegraph Agency by contemporary artists and writers. The first was issued at the time of Germany's attack on Russia in 1941, and they continued to appear throughout the war in limited issues—striking, colorful and satirical. Mr. Cowan's sons and daughters responsible for this important gift are Mr. Paul Cowan, Miss Liza Cowan, Mr. Geoffrey Cowan and Mrs. Holly Cowan Shulman.

_Cranmer gift._ Mrs. Helen Worden Cranmer has presented, for addition to the John Erskine Collection, twenty-eight first editions of the late Professor Erskine's books of poetry, fiction and critical writings, as well as twenty-four volumes of translations of his works into western languages. Many of the volumes bear inscriptions to Professor Erskine's friends, Lloyd Morris and Fulton Oursler.
Franklin D. Roosevelt's handwritten diagram of proposed organization of the Treasury Department, authenticated by Frances Perkins on the lower margin. (Coggeshall gift)

Du Bois gift. Dr. John J. Du Bois has presented two manuscripts for inclusion in the John Jay Collection. The first is the autograph manuscript entitled “The Establishment and Rules of the Club called the Moot,” written ca. 1775 on 31 pages. The Moot was an influential coterie of lawyers in colonial New York, and its members included, among others, Stephen Delancey, Richard Morris, William Livingston, William Smith and James Duane. The larger part of this important manuscript is devoted to a summary of the minutes of the meetings of the Moot from November 23, 1770 to January 6, 1775. The second manuscript donated by Dr. Du Bois is Peter Augustus Jay’s handwritten notes on John Jay’s deliberations regarding the Spanish Treaty of 1789. These notes are written on sixteen folio pages and are dated April 27, 1835.

Edelman gift. Mr. Beril Edelman (A.B., 1924; M.S., 1926, E.), consulting specialist in management and educational systems, has established a collection of his papers with a gift of approximately four thousand items of correspondence, memoranda and reports relating to the National Security Industrial Association, the National Defense Education Institute, the Electronic Industries Association and other industrial concerns and government agencies.

Gellhorn gift. To the collection of his papers, established in the Libraries in 1963, University Professor Emeritus Walter Gellhorn (LL.B., 1931; LL.D., 1976) has recently added his personal and professional files for the period, 1932–1977, comprising correspondence, memoranda, reports and case studies, as well as the manuscripts and proofs for his books, *Ombudsmen and Others,*
Our Growing Collections

The States and Subversion, When Americans Complain, Security, Loyalty, and Science and Individual Freedom and Governmental Restraints. There are also papers in the gift relating to Professor Gellhorn's associations with Amherst College, Association of American Law Schools, Fordham University and Columbia University Law School.

Gutmann gift. Professor James Gutmann (A.B., 1918; A.M., 1919; Ph.D., 1936) has added to the collection of his papers more than five hundred letters, which he received over the years from his Columbia colleagues, philosophers throughout the country, and writers and poets. Among the correspondents are Felix Adler, Babette Deutsch, John Dewey, Irwin Edman, Felix Frankfurter, Horace Friess, Gilbert Highet, John H. Randall, Jr., May Sarton and Lionel Trilling.

Jaffin gift. Mr. George M. Jaffin (A.B., 1924; LL.B., 1926) continues to add important editions of Arthur Rackham's books hitherto lacking from our extensive collection. He has recently donated a copy of the first German language edition of Dickens's A Christmas Carol, with colored illustrations after Rackham's watercolor drawings. Entitled Der Weihnachtsabend, the edition was published in Zurich in 1918.

Kempner gift. Mr. Alan H. Kempner (A.B., 1917) has presented a handsomely illustrated manuscript heraldry book, done in France in the late eighteenth century. On sixty-two pages are depicted devices and portraits in color, chiefly of saints and popes, as well as coats of arms of the princes of the Church.

Lamont gift. Dr. Corliss Lamont (Ph.D., 1932), whose gifts over the years have been largely responsible for the Libraries' collection of manuscripts and letters by John Masefield, has recently presented a series of nineteen letters written by the English poet, from the late 1930s to the 1950s, to Rufus Noel-Buxton, Lord Buxton, who at the time was writing and publishing his own poetry. Lord
Etched copper plate (with cancel line) prepared by Pablo Picasso for an illustration in the Limited Editions Club’s edition of *Lysistrata*. (Macy gift)
Buxton had sent his poems and books to Masefield, and the Poet Laureate responded in these letters with his criticism and his advice for their publication.

*Macy gift.* In 1976 Mrs. Helen Macy presented the engraved plates prepared by Henri Matisse for his illustrations to the Limited Editions Club edition of James Joyce’s *Ulysses*. To this unique and important resource in the book arts Mrs. Macy has now added an etched copper plate prepared by, or under the supervision of, Pablo Picasso for an illustration in the Club’s edition of *Lysistrata*, by Aristophanes, published in 1934. In this illustration, appearing on p. 90 in the edition, Picasso depicts one of the climaxes of the play, a touching family scene in which Kinesias, his wife Myrrhina and their child are re-united after their separation brought about by the boycott of the wives of Athens against their husbands.

*Mansfield gift.* Dr. Harvey Claflin Mansfield (Ph.D., 1932), Professor Emeritus of Public Law and Government, has presented approximately 2,500 items of correspondence, memoranda and printed materials documenting his work as an officer of the United States Office of Price Administration, which governed rationing programs during World War II, 1942–1945, and later as the Office’s historian, 1946–1947.

*Meyer gift.* Mr. Gerard Previn Meyer (A.B., 1930; A.M., 1931), knowing of our extensive holdings of materials relating to the theatre, has donated David Belasco’s copy of Lawrence Barrett’s biography of the actor Edwin Forrest, published in Boston in 1882. Laid in the volume are letters from the author and William Macready.

*Myers gift.* Professor Andrew B. Myers (A.M., 1947; Ph.D., 1964) has presented, in memory of Roland O. Baughman, a group of nine letters written by Fanny Kemble, a distinguished actress on the English and American stage during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The letters, whose recipients include William
Wetmore Story and his wife, Emelyn Eldredge Story, discuss Miss Kemble’s play, *The Star of Seville*, her public readings, and portraits and engravings of her.

*O’Brien gift.* Mrs. Justin O’Brien has presented, for addition to the papers of her late husband, Professor Justin O’Brien, the bound manuscript of Professor O’Brien’s unpublished translations done in 1930 of three short stories by Valéry Larbaud, the French critic and writer who was a long-time friend of the translator. The most important story in the volume, “Lovers, Happy Lovers,” is interleaved with Larbaud’s extensive notes pertaining to the meanings of French words and phrases. The other two stories, “Beauty, My Lovely Care” and “My Most Secret Council,” also bear Larbaud’s occasional notes.

*Schang gift.* Mr. Frederick C. Schang (B.Litt., 1915) has donated a copy of the definitive work on Italian visiting cards, *Il Biglietto di Visita Italiano*, by Achille Bertarelli and Henry Prior, and published in Bergamo in 1911 by the Istituto Italiano d’Arti Grafiche. The handsome folio is profusely illustrated with 670 facsimiles in full color.

*Van Doren gift.* The papers of the late Professor Mark Van Doren (Ph.D., 1921) have been strengthened and enriched by Mrs. Van Doren’s recent gift of the files relating to virtually all of her husband’s book publications, beginning with his biography of Henry David Thoreau, published in 1916. Numbering more than five thousand items, the files include reviews, press releases and extensive correspondence from readers and fellow writers, among whom are Leonie Adams, William Stanley Braithwaite, E. E. Cummings, Herbert Gold, Alfred Kreymborg, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Harry Mark Petrakis, John Crowe Ransom, Delmore Schwartz, Allen Tate, Oscar Williams and Yvor Winters.

*Widenmann gift.* Miss Elizabeth A. Widenmann (M.S., 1969; Certificate, African Institute, 1970) has presented the first editions
of the three Princeton University Triangle Club’s musical comedies with lyrics by F. Scott Fitzgerald: *Fie! Fie! Fi-Fi!,* New York, 1914; *The Evil Eye,* New York, 1915; and *Safety First,* New York, 1916. The plot of *The Evil Eye* was written by Fitzgerald’s fellow Princetonian, Edmund Wilson. Each of the volumes in Miss Widenmann’s gift is in the original pictorial boards.
Wittkower gift. With her recent gift of approximately 19,000 manuscript and printed items, Mrs. Rudolph J. Wittkower has greatly strengthened the research importance of the papers of her late husband, the distinguished art critic, Rudolph Wittkower, which collection she established in the Libraries in 1974. Her recent gift includes Professor Wittkower’s working files dealing with his writings on Baroque and Renaissance painting, sculpture and architecture, as well as the artists, Bernini, Bramante, Carracci, Michelangelo and Raphael.

Recent Notable Purchases

Engel Fund. Two author’s first books have been acquired this year on the Solton and Julian Engel Fund. The first of these is Robert Louis Stevenson’s The Pentland Rising: A Page of History, 1666, published in Edinburgh in 1866 when the author was only sixteen years old. This historical work on religious suppression in Scotland was issued in a small edition, most of which was bought up by Stevenson’s father, and in a short time the pamphlet became exceedingly scarce. The second, The Sombrero, issued by the Junior Class of the University of Nebraska, contains Willa Cather’s first appearance in book form. The volume includes a football story, “The Fear that Walks by Noonday,” a poem, “Anacreon,” and a photograph of her as a member of the board of editors.

Mixer Fund. By means of the bequest received from the estate of the late Charles W. Mixer, an endowed fund was established, the income from which will be used to acquire important first editions in English and American literature and drama. The initial acquisition was the monumental folio, Negro Anthology, edited by Nancy Cunard and published in London in 1934. Important as the first anthology devoted to black culture, the work comprises fiction, poetry, music, photographs and essays by, and relating to blacks in America and countries throughout the world. It includes
Etched portrait of the French revolutionary leader, the Comte de Mirabeau, by Thomas Cornell from the Gehenna Press edition of *The Defense of Gracchus Babeuf Before the High Court of Vendome*. (Ulmann Fund)

_Ulmann Fund_. A group of fourteen productions of modern presses have been acquired this year on the Ulmann Fund, endowed by Mrs. Ruth U. Samuel in memory of her father, the late Albert Ulmann. These include books printed at The Janus Press, Bird & Bull Press, The Gehenna Press and the Raamin-Presse of Hamburg. The Gehenna Press of Northampton, Massachusetts, is represented by _The Defense of Gracchus Babeuf Before the High Court of Vendome_, printed in 1964 in an edition of three hundred copies. Issued in six unbound signatures, laid in a full morocco portfolio, the work, edited by John Anthony Scott, is illustrated with twenty-one etched portraits by Thomas Cornell of the leaders and precursors of the French revolution.

Another of the works acquired on the Ulmann Fund deserving of special mention is Henry de Montherlant’s _La Relève du Matin_, illustrated with ten lithographs by Robert Delaunay. Published in Paris in 1928, the work is the second of Delaunay’s two books to contain original illustrations. The Ulmann copy of _La Relève du Matin_ is printed on vélin pur fil, and is uncut and unopened in the original wrappers.
Corliss Lamont (left), Helen MacLachlan and President William J. McGill at the opening of the John Masefield Centenary Exhibition in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library on Thursday afternoon, February 2.
Activities of the Friends

Bancroft Awards Dinner. The annual Bancroft Awards Dinner, sponsored by the Friends, was held in the Rotunda of Low Memorial Library on Thursday evening, April 6. Dr. Gordon N. Ray, Chairman of the Friends, presided.

President William J. McGill announced the winners of the 1978 awards for books published in 1977 which a jury deemed of exceptional merit and distinction in the fields of American history and diplomacy. Awards were presented for the following: The Transformation of American Law, 1780–1860, by Morton J. Horowitz; and The Visible Hand: The Managerial Revolution in American Business, by Alfred D. Chandler, Jr. Both of the award winning books were published by the Harvard University Press. The President presented to the author of each book a $4,000 award from funds provided by the Edgar A. and Frederic Bancroft Foundation, and Dr. Ray presented citations to the Director of the Harvard University Press, Arthur J. Rosenthal.

Future Meetings. Meetings of the Friends during 1977–1978 have been scheduled for the following dates: Fall Meeting, Thursday evening, October 26; Winter Exhibition Opening, Thursday afternoon, February 1; and the Bancroft Awards Dinner, Thursday evening, April 5.
THE CENTENARY OF JOHN MASEFIELD'S BIRTH

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