

J. K. LILLY JR.

Bibliophile



THE LILLY LIBRARY • INDIANA UNIVERSITY

J. K. Lilly, Jr., Bibliophile

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BY
JOEL SILVER

THE LILLY LIBRARY • INDIANA UNIVERSITY
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Introduction

JOSIAH KIRBY LILLY, JR., was born a century ago, on September 25, 1893, in Indianapolis, Indiana. He attended the Hill School in Pottstown, Pennsylvania, and in 1914 graduated from the University of Michigan School of Pharmacy. In that same eventful year, he married Ruth Brinkmeyer of Indianapolis, and then began work at Eli Lilly & Company, the pharmaceutical firm founded in 1876 by his grandfather, Colonel Eli Lilly. Lilly remained with the firm for the rest of his life, becoming president in 1948, and serving as chairman of the board of directors from 1953 until his death on May 5, 1966.

J. K. Lilly, Jr., was a collector most of his life. From the mid-1920s until his death, Lilly devoted a great deal of his leisure time to building his collections of books and manuscripts, works of art, coins, stamps, military miniatures, firearms and edged weapons, and nautical models. Lilly's collection of more than 6,000 gold coins, from the time of the Greeks to the twentieth century, is among the most treasured of the numismatic holdings of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C. His collection of stamps, numbering more than 77,000, was dispersed at auction in 1967 and 1968, and examples from the Lilly collection now constitute the highlights of many of the most important philatelic collections throughout the world. Most of the military collections passed to Lilly's son, Josiah K. Lilly III, and are on display at Heritage Plantation, in Sandwich, Massachusetts, while the nautical models were donated to the library and museum at Mystic Seaport in Mystic, Connecticut. J. K. Lilly's collections of books and manuscripts, totalling more than 20,000 books and 17,000 manuscripts, together with more than fifty oil paintings and 300 prints, were given by the collector to Indiana University between 1954 and 1957, and today form the foundation of the rare book and manuscript collections of The Lilly Library, on the campus of Indiana University in Bloomington.

In a letter to David Randall, one of Lilly's longtime booksellers and the first Librarian of The Lilly Library, Lilly recalled that he began collecting rare books in 1925 or 1926. Correspondence in The Lilly Library shows that, like many collectors, Lilly began in a tentative manner, buying leatherbound sets of the works of a number of authors, and some popular color-plate books (which he soon disposed of), but he was also learning the fundamentals of book collecting quickly and moving rapidly into the world of the serious collector. From the very early stages, however, Lilly had a strong disposition toward excellence in the condition of his acquisitions, and this became a hallmark in all of the collections that he formed. Lilly's emphasis on condition carried over into the housing and presentation of his books and manuscripts, and custom-made protective cases were ordered for his new purchases as a matter of course. De-

spite the volume of his purchases, Lilly chose his books and manuscripts personally, and he checked and collated them as they arrived. Lilly's growing library was housed initially at his home in Indianapolis, but was moved in 1936 to "Eagle Crest Library," constructed to Lilly's specifications on property that he had purchased in the country, northwest of Indianapolis. There it remained until it was transported, two decades later, to Indiana University.

Lilly followed no path in his collecting but his own. He sought advice when he chose to, followed trends when he pleased, and turned down far more than he purchased, even from his favorite dealers. He bought a book or manuscript only when he found pleasure in it, and rejected anything about which he could not muster "enthusiasm." Illuminated manuscripts did not appeal to him, nor did most illustrated books, and he acquired incunabula only when the book fit into one of his subject fields. He was patient in his collecting, and if he did accept a book in less than ideal condition, it was usually with the proviso that it could be returned if a better copy appeared. He never found a Gutenberg Bible that met his standards, rejecting on the ground of condition the incomplete Shuckburgh copy offered by Randall in 1951. Lilly's budget was flexible, but it was also finite. He was one of the underbidders, rather than the purchaser, of the Crowninshield-Stevens-Brinley-Vanderbilt-Whitney copy of the Bay Psalm Book that reached \$151,000 at auction in 1947, and is now at Yale. The money not spent on these stellar volumes allowed Lilly to achieve greater depth and breadth in his literature holdings, and to collect more intensively in Americana, science, and medicine. Lilly's range of interests, and the extent to which he realized his collecting goals, were summed up succinctly by Frederick B. Adams, Jr., at the dedication of The Lilly Library, named for the Lilly family, on October 3, 1960:

Mr. Lilly's books cover so many fields that it is difficult to believe that any one man's enthusiasm could encompass them all. It is equally astounding that he was able to acquire so many books of such scarcity and quality in the short space of 30 years. Money alone isn't the answer; diligence, courage, and imagination were also essential. The famous books in English and American literature, the books most influential in American life, the great works in the history of science and ideas—all these are among the 20,000 Lilly books in this building.

Above all, Lilly derived great fulfillment from his books and manuscripts, and he was said to have regarded the gift of his collection to Indiana University as "the most satisfactory thing he ever did." This catalogue, and the exhibition it describes, are attempts to make better known some of the remarkable books and manuscripts gathered by J. K. Lilly, Jr., once collected for his private use, and now enjoyed and studied by so many, and also to provide a glimpse of the collector himself, whose taste, knowledge, and diligence brought together one of the finest groups of books and manuscripts assembled in this century.



J. K. Lilly, Jr.

J. K. Lilly, Jr., Bibliophile

American Literature

J. K. LILLY, JR., began his book collecting with American literature. Beginning with an interest in the works of the most prominent Hoosier authors, Lilly soon expanded his collecting to include the publications of Mark Twain, Edgar Allan Poe, and finally, the whole of American literature to the end of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth. He started buying American literature in 1925 or 1926, and continued to do so throughout his collecting career. Except for books about the sea, it was probably the most personal of his book collecting interests, and the many thousands of books and manuscripts that he gathered in the field certainly constituted the largest section of his library.

Ranging from early editions of Anne Bradstreet and Cotton Mather, to a manuscript of *Spoon River Anthology* by Edgar Lee Masters, Lilly's American literature demonstrates the results of his three decades of collecting. Building on strong holdings of nearly every major nineteenth-century author, including Cooper, Poe, Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, Longfellow, Whitman, Melville, and Twain, Lilly added regional fiction, juvenile literature, and popular poetry. The American literature was gathered from a wide variety of sources. Much was obtained from Drake, Goodspeed's, and Scribner's, but Howard S. Mott, Jr., John S. Van E. Kohn, and Michael Papanonio supplied a vast amount of material and were instrumental in building the collection. Lilly was also able to buy a great deal locally, both privately and from The Meridian Bookshop and The Hoosier Bookshop in Indianapolis.

Lilly also chose American literature as the appropriate area in which to focus his financial support, through the Lilly Endowment, of bibliographical projects which he felt filled a gap in the reference literature. Beginning in 1938 with a grant to the Library of Congress for work on the bibliography of juvenile authors, Lilly's philanthropy eventually included the Indiana Historical Society's series of bibliographies of Hoosier authors, the catalogue of the library of Thomas Jefferson published by the Library of Congress, and the *Bibliography of American Literature*, edited by Jacob Blanck.

I

MARK TWAIN. *The Quaker City Holy Land Excursion*. Autograph manuscript, 1867. Purchased in February 1928, from the Aldus Book Company.

The Adventures of Tom Sawyer. Hartford, Chicago, Cincinnati: The American Publishing Company; San Francisco: A. Roman & Co., 1876. Inscribed by Twain to C. W. Stoddard, and dated 1877. Purchased in May 1930, from James F. Drake.

The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn (Tom Sawyer's Comrade). New York: Charles L. Webster and Company, 1885. Inscribed by Twain to Oscar Marshall, and dated March 21, 1885. Purchased in October 1941, from The Scribner Book Store.

Mark Twain was the first author that J. K. Lilly collected in depth. With the exception of Edgar Allan Poe, the boys' book author Harry Castlemon, and the Hoosier poet James Whitcomb Riley, Lilly pursued Twain with more fervor than any other author or subject. Beginning about 1926, Lilly requested stock lists and purchased Twain books and manuscripts from several sources, with Goodspeed's and Drake being the chief suppliers. Within a few years, he had built up a collection of Twain materials that included first editions of most of Twain's writings published during and after his lifetime, with several containing presentation inscriptions or tipped-in letters and notes. Lilly also acquired a manuscript chapter of *The Gilded Age*, an eight-page manuscript section that had been excised from the published version of *Following the Equator*, and the unfinished play, *The Quaker City Holy Land Excursion*. This play was based on Twain's participation in an 1867 pleasure excursion to the Holy Land on the ship *Quaker City*. Twain's adventures on this trip provided the subject matter for his 1869 book, *The Innocents Abroad*. With the manuscript of the play was Twain's letter to the publisher Charles Webb, explaining that he had been so busy since his return that the play remained unfinished: "I send the inclosed [the partial manuscript of the play] to show you that I had the *will* to do that thing—but I haven't the time." The manuscript and letter remained with the Webb family until 1927, when they were sold to Max Harzof, of the New York bookselling firm G. A. Baker. Harzof published an edition of the play later that year, but Lilly purchased the manuscript the following year from another New York bookseller, Travers S. Browne of the Aldus Book Company. Lilly continued to buy occasional Twain pieces and upgrade his copies at least through 1941, when he purchased from Randall this presentation copy of *Huckleberry Finn* dated shortly after the book's publication.

EDGAR ALLAN POE. *Tamerlane and Other Poems*. Boston: Calvin F. S. Thomas... Printer, 1827. Purchased in September 1928, from Goodspeed's Bookshop.

Autograph letter to Sarah Helen Whitman. October 1, 1848. Purchased in September 1930, from G. A. Baker & Company.

J. K. Lilly's initial intensive pursuit of the books and manuscripts of Mark Twain was accompanied by a focus of concentration on Edgar Allan Poe. David Randall described this aspect of Lilly's collecting in detail in *The J. K. Lilly Collection of Edgar Allan Poe: An Account of Its Formation*, published by The Lilly Library in 1964. Randall summarized Lilly's achievement in his first paragraph: "In 1927 Lilly became enamored with the idea of forming a collection of Edgar Allan Poe.... Poe was, and is, the glamor boy of the American collecting scene. The decision was an audacious one, considering the youth and inexperience of the collector, the times, and the competition to be faced. Yet in the short space of about seven years he was able to bring together one of the finest Poe collections ever assembled...." Eventually encompassing numerous editions of Poe's books, runs of magazines and newspapers with Poe contributions, well over a dozen letters, signed legal documents, artwork related to Poe, and a mass of critical material, the Poe collection demonstrates Lilly's enthusiasm, diligence, and resources brought to bear on a difficult collecting subject.

The highlight of the books in the Poe collection is *Tamerlane*, the small pamphlet that is Poe's first published book. The discovery of any copy of this book was big news, and there was some publicity surrounding Lilly's purchase for more than \$20,000 of a previously unrecorded copy of *Tamerlane* from Charles Goodspeed in 1928. This led to a large number of letters to Lilly offering a variety of books, documents, and miscellaneous items. The most memorable offer was contained in a handwritten note that said: "If you will put ten thousand dollars (\$10,000) under the big white stone under the west end of the Eagle Creek Bridge just east of the Insane Asylum at midnight Nov. 18th just one night later at same time and place you will find the original copy of the Ten Comandments [*sic*]."

Perhaps the most important manuscript pieces in the Poe collection are the letters that Poe wrote to Sarah Helen Whitman, the woman to whom he was engaged following the death of his wife, Virginia. Lilly purchased these letters, still in the original envelopes and with the tin box in which Sarah Helen Whitman had housed them, from Max Harzof of the firm of G. A. Baker. Among the other items included in the lot were locks of Poe's hair; a copy of *Eureka*, published in 1848, inscribed by Poe to Mrs. Whitman; and a full-length daguerreotype of Poe.

In 1938, when Lilly was reviewing his collecting activities, he had second thoughts about the more than \$100,000 that he had spent on Edgar Allan Poe. With a view to

redefining his direction of collecting, he explored with Randall the possibility of selling the Poe collection. In the end, faced with a decision brought about by Randall's success in finding an interested customer, Lilly could not part with the collection. He wrote to Randall: "If I must plead guilty to being slightly balmy I think you will simply have to consider my condition as one general to all book collectors—otherwise they wouldn't be book collectors! Really, when it comes right down to turning the green go-sign on Mr. Poe and his works, I can't bring myself to do it at this time." The time never did come for Lilly to separate his Poes from the rest of his library, and the magnificent Poe collection that Randall described remained intact to become part of The Lilly Library.

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A. EDWARD NEWTON. *This Book-Collecting Game*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1928. One of 990 copies, signed by Newton. Purchased in October 1928, from James F. Drake.

The collector and author, A. Edward Newton (1864-1940), inspired a generation of book collectors with his infectious series of memoirs and commentaries on the world of rare books. Lilly came under Newton's spell early in his collecting career, and purchased and avidly read most of Newton's books. As Lilly expressed it in his foreword, dated May 1, 1929, to his *Fifth List* of books: "This 'foreword' must not be closed without calling attention to the titles given under the authorship of A. Edward Newton who, starting with his 'Amenities,' has led so many of his fellow countrymen similarly inclined, down the delightful (though ruinous!) road of book-collecting. A word of warning—If you do *not* wish to become a 'blithering bibliomaniac,' do *not* peruse Newton's 'The Amenities of Book-Collecting,' 'A Magnificent Farce,' and 'The Greatest Book in the World.' I speak advisedly."

Although *This Book-Collecting Game* had been issued only the year before Lilly wrote, and was not mentioned by him in his foreword, it was to become an influential guide to an area of his collecting. The last chapter in Newton's book was entitled "One Hundred Good Novels," and contained one hundred novels written in English published between the eighteenth and the twentieth centuries. Lilly liked lists of "best books," and though he definitely made up his own mind about additions to his library, he also appreciated the overall frame of reference that these lists could provide. Lilly did not proceed as actively toward the completion of Newton's list as he did on some others, but he was able to acquire first editions of ninety-nine of Newton's one hundred novels, failing only to find the 1865 first edition of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*. Lilly also seemed, more than many collectors, to have heeded Newton's words of advice given at the end of *This Book-Collecting Game* and at the height of the ex-

plosion in the 1920s of the popularity of book collecting: "One final word to collectors: avoid artificial rarities, most private press books, masterpieces of printing, reprints of famous books in expensive and limited editions. Stick to first editions; don't be afraid to pay a good price, a high price, for a fine copy of any important book, but be sure that it is important. The better the book, the higher the price, the better the bargain. And a good rule for a beginner is to read every book he buys: this will slow down his purchases somewhat, but will make him a better collector in the end."

J. K. LILLY, JR. *A List of One Hundred Books Selected from the Collection Now in the Library of Josiah Kirby Lilly, Jr.* Indianapolis: Privately Printed, 1928.

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This illustrated and annotated list of one hundred books and manuscripts from J. K. Lilly's growing collection was the first of ten such lists that Lilly produced during the year following Christmas Day of 1928. Well-designed by William Crooks and printed at the Hollenbeck Press, this first list was limited to two hundred fifty copies, while the remaining lists all had a smaller limitation of one hundred copies each. The production of such keepsakes based on one's book collection was not new, and Lilly was by no means alone among the generation of collectors influenced by A. Edward Newton in issuing these publications.

While others have written about Lilly's collections, and Lilly himself left ample evidence of his collecting philosophy in his letters, these lists are the only publications in which he revealed his tastes and ideas to a larger audience. In addition to the annotations accompanying many of the items, each list included a foreword written by Lilly describing the most important books and manuscripts. The foreword to this first list, dated December 25, 1928, also provided a personal introduction:

From an amateur book collector of several years' standing, the writer of these lines is in a fair way of becoming a bibliomaniac and a bankrupt. Certain kind friends, whose hobbies range from aeroplanes and race horses to various types of indoor sports, feel, I am sure, that a particular individual of their acquaintance is headed for an Institution.

Be that as it may, so far the butcher, the baker, and the candlestick maker have not complained, and, even more encouraging, the immediate family has not addressed the probate court looking to the appointment of a guardian. For all of which I am profoundly grateful.

In the adoption of book collecting as an avocation, I have no defense to make and no apology to offer. On the contrary, I recommend this intensely interesting

and absorbing pursuit to all who harbour the slightest inkling that it might prove pleasurable.

To the true bibliophile, many “mistakes” will appear in the following pages. The acquisition of certain titles which he may consider of secondary importance, repugnance to extra-illustrated books, disapproval of certain items not in the original bindings as issued, and various other errors in judgment may be brought forward. To him I would say that while we live we learn, and that all things must have a beginning.

Lilly’s beginning, as documented here, included Poe’s *Tamerlane* and Hawthorne’s *Fanshawe*, as well as a Shakespeare Fourth Folio and Gray’s *Elegy*. Nine more lists followed, containing Mark Twain manuscripts, Kelmscott Press books, treasures of English and American literature, nineteenth-century color-plate books, a wide variety of the works of Hoosier authors, standard sets, nautical history, and books about books. In the foreword to the final list, dated December 25, 1929, Lilly brought the series to a close: “And so ends, on this Christmas Day, Book List Number Ten comprising the last contingent of one hundred books in the regiment of one thousand such, now duly docketed and described in the writer’s Book Lists, Number One-to-Ten (inclusive), in which, at high noon today, are found the ‘High Lights’ in the library of the ‘Busted Bibliophile of the Wabash.’”

5

JAMES WHITCOMB RILEY. Painted Wooden Patent Medicine Sign, for “McCrillus Tonic,” ca. 1873(?). Purchased in 1935, from Marcus Dickey.

“Leonainie.” Autograph manuscript, written in 1877, on the rear paste-down endpaper of: Thomas Morell. *An Abridgment of Ainsworth’s Dictionary, English and Latin, designed for the use of Schools*. Philadelphia: Uriah Hunt & Son, 1845(?). Purchased at auction in January 1940, through The Scribner Book Store.

This original patent medicine sign painted by Riley, and the manuscript of “Leonainie,” represent the more than 12,000 pieces in J. K. Lilly’s Riley collection. Numbering more than 1,500 autograph manuscripts by Riley, thousands of letters to and from the poet, hundreds of published editions and annotated proofs, original illustrations, and an astonishing variety of miscellaneous items, the Riley collection was by far the largest author collection in J. K. Lilly’s library. Most of the manuscript material and a large number of the books were acquired by Lilly in the mid-1930s from

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death by ~~the~~ the tomahawk
to the lingering torture of
wearing out his life ^{carrying} ~~by~~
a bullet in board on his back.

M. T. - Maggie Mitchell.

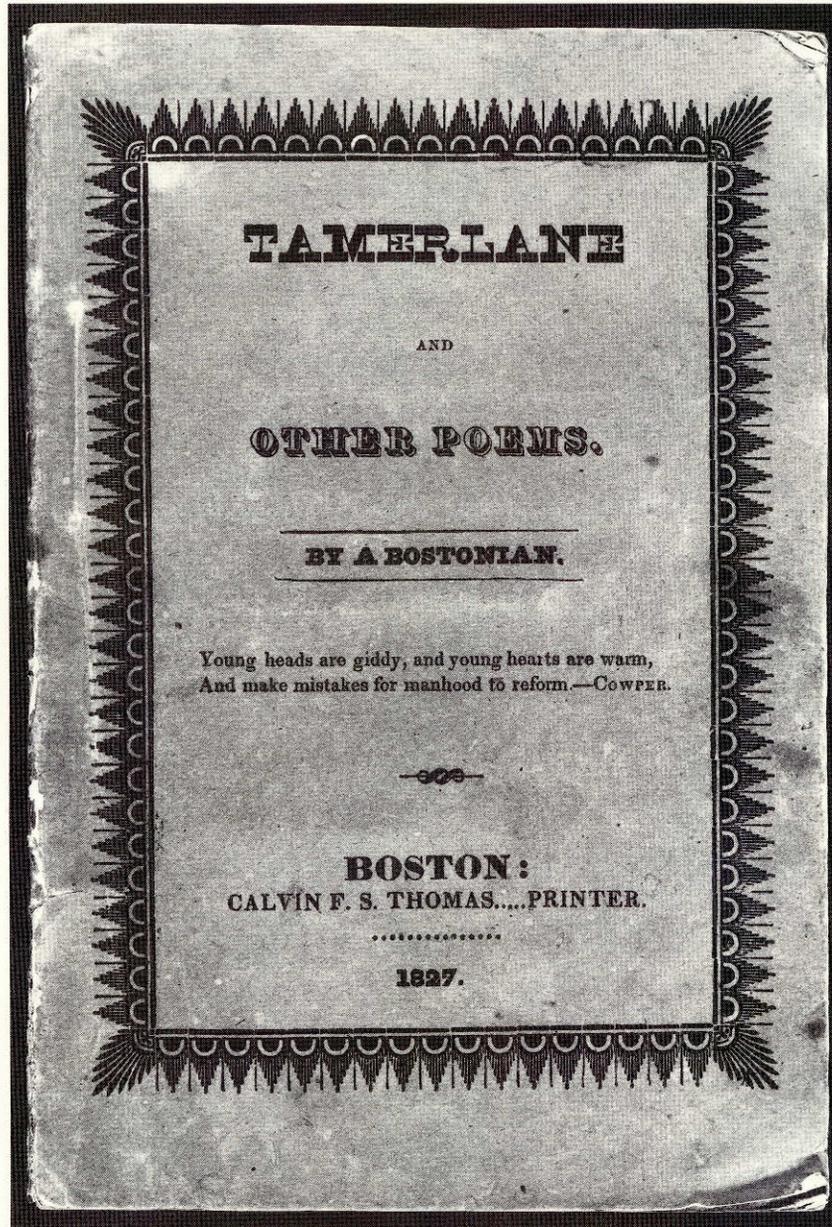
S. - She died of ad-
vertising, too. Human
nature couldn't stand this
infernal advertising!

[+ Pause.]

M. T. - Well, did you bring
your share of the programme
list of books for the ship's library?

S. - What is that?

M. T. - Tent life in the Holy
Land, Pilgrim's Progress &
Other Travels, Shepherd
of Salisbury Plain, Thomp-
son's Whale Duty of Man, Mother
Goose's Melodies -



No. 2 Edgar Allan Poe

Marcus Dickey, Riley's biographer, with supplementary additions from other sources, including Riley's nephew, Edmund Eitel. Lilly's massive collection was used as the basic bibliographical reference source for Anthony J. and Dorothy R. Russo's *Bibliography of James Whitcomb Riley*, published in 1944.

This patent medicine sign for McCrillus Tonic, which claimed to be a blood purifier, is a survival from Riley's early days as a sign painter. Marcus Dickey described it in an accompanying note:

A rare relic of our Hoosier Poet's signpainting days. A half century ago it was painted for Doctor S. B. McCrillus of Anderson, Indiana, who was then traveling through the country in a medicine wagon, advertising and selling his "Popular Standard Remedies." Our Poet, then a young man in his twenties, accompanied the Doctor on the weekly excursions. "I was a veritable Tom Pinch seeking my fortune," said he; "drifting on and on over hill and dale like a wisp of thistledown." The sign was displayed at night on the side of the wagon, where the glare of two torchlights made it particularly interesting to spectators. Later zinc etchings were made from it for use in printing labels and advertising in county papers. The Poet designed it one night after a successful day in the rural districts of Delaware and Henry counties.

"Leonainie" was a hoax perpetrated by James Whitcomb Riley, in an attempt to obtain greater recognition for his work. He wrote this four-stanza poem in imitation of the style of Edgar Allan Poe, and it was copied by Riley's friend, Samuel Richards, imitating Poe's handwriting, onto the rear endpaper of this abridgment of Ainsworth's *Dictionary*. David Randall related the subsequent events in his 1964 Lilly Library Christmas Keepsake, *The J. K. Lilly Collection of Edgar Allan Poe*:

Riley then "discovered" the poem, and it was printed August 21, 1877, in the *Kokomo, Indiana Dispatch* by arrangement with the proprietor. The hoax was tremendously successful. "Leonainie" was widely acclaimed as a major Poe poem, both in England and America. The eminent Edmund Clarence Stedman was enthralled—so much so that when Riley claimed authorship Stedman steadfastly maintained the work was by Poe. James Whitcomb Riley was on his way.

JOAQUIN MILLER. *Specimens*. Canyon City, Oregon: 1868. Purchased in July 1938, from Collectors' Bookshop.

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J. K. Lilly enjoyed a long and fruitful relationship with the bookseller John S. Van E. Kohn, first associated with Collectors' Bookshop in New York, and later a co-propri-

etor of Seven Gables Bookshop. Kohn was courteous, copious, and prompt in his correspondence, and above all, extremely knowledgeable in American literature. Typical of Kohn's attention to his clients was a letter to Lilly in June 1939:

What follows is in the nature of a minor confession. When I first visited you in Indianapolis in late July of 1937, you were kind enough to purchase three books from among those that I had shown.... One of the three was an immaculate copy of Ollivant's *Bob Son of Battle*. It is bound in original dark blue cloth stamped in gold. Only a few months after that, I learned that this is not the earliest binding for that book. It should be in olive green cloth, stamped with light green, yellow, and gold. Ever since that time I have been keeping my eyes peeled for a copy of the book in the earlier binding that was the equal for condition to the one you purchased; but although I have seen several copies in that period, they have all been in inadequate condition. This afternoon, however, I received a thrill to find a superb copy that is right, and we wish to substitute it for the one you have.

As Lilly noted to Kohn, "If it is true that an honest confession is good for the soul, you have come through handsomely!"

Shortly after this exchange, Kohn offered Lilly a copy of *Specimens*, the scarce first book of Joaquin Miller, the poet of the Sierras, together with an autograph letter by Miller mentioning the book. Lilly had a particular interest in acquiring all of the works of this Liberty, Indiana, native, whose name was Cincinnatus Hiner Miller until he moved west. In keeping with Kohn's attention to detail, which appealed to Lilly's sense of bibliographical precision, Kohn enclosed with his description of the book copies of correspondence with all known owners of the first edition, in which they described their copies and how they came to acquire them. Lilly continued to look to Kohn for the next fifteen years as one of his best sources for American literature.

7

LEW WALLACE. *Ben-Hur*. Original autograph manuscript, 669 leaves. Crawfordsville, Indiana, 1880. Purchased in October 1940, from Lew Wallace, Jr.

The career of the Indiana author Lew Wallace was varied and colorful. Wallace saw military service in both the Mexican War and the Civil War, rising to the rank of General. He held the posts of territorial governor of New Mexico, and minister to Turkey, and he found time to write several novels, including *The Fair God*, *The Prince of India*, and by far his most popular work, *Ben-Hur*. From General Lew Wallace's grandson, Lew Wallace, Jr., and from several antiquarian booksellers, J. K. Lilly acquired an excellent collection of the printed editions of Wallace's works, and the vast majority of

Wallace's surviving literary manuscripts. The centerpiece of the collection is this manuscript of *Ben-Hur*.

Lew Wallace, Jr., first approached J. K. Lilly about the *Ben-Hur* manuscript in October 1940. Wallace, who had known Lilly years before, had visited the Eagle Crest Library in 1938 and had seen Lilly's books and manuscripts. Although Wallace was turning over the General's house to the City of Crawfordsville, he felt that the manuscripts would be more appropriate in a collection such as Lilly's. Wallace wrote that the manuscript of *Ben-Hur* was "in perfect condition, is the only one in existence and complete." The two met again in Indianapolis on October 4, 1940, and the manuscript, which was assumed to be complete, changed hands. There was an unpleasant surprise when Lilly collated the manuscript and found a number of missing leaves, and he immediately wrote to Wallace:

...With the exception of Book Eight which is complete, the missing pages...occur in the main at the beginning and end of each book....The thing that intrigues me is why the pages missing as indicated above should have occurred as outlined. Do you suppose that Harper [Wallace's publisher] has the last and first few pages of text of Books One, Two, Three, Four, Five, Six, and Seven? It is altogether a very puzzling deficiency.

Lilly estimated that the missing text would occupy twenty-eight and one-quarter manuscript pages. Wallace contacted Harper's, which found nothing except some old correspondence and contracts, although there remained the possibility that the manuscripts might be in some crates containing older records of the firm. There the matter rested. Although Lilly searched the market himself and alerted booksellers to the missing pages, nothing turned up by 1956 when *Ben-Hur* came to Indiana University as part of Lilly's collection.

When The Lilly Library was dedicated on October 3, 1960, nearly twenty years to the day after Lilly acquired the manuscript, the main speaker on the occasion was Frederick B. Adams, Jr., director of the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Departing from his prepared address, Adams summarized the history of the manuscript of *Ben-Hur*, and noted Lilly's efforts to locate the missing leaves. Adams then surprised the audience by revealing that the missing leaves, actually totalling twenty-seven in number, had been located in the Morgan Library, and had come as part of the Harper & Brothers archives donated to the library only the year before. Lilly's original supposition had indeed been correct, and on behalf of the Morgan Library, Adams donated the missing leaves to Indiana University, "where they belong," and where they are now permanently reunited with the rest of the manuscript.

HARRY CASTLEMON. *Frank in the Woods*. Cincinnati: R.W. Carroll & Co., 1866. Purchased in May 1941, from The Scribner Book Store.

JACOB BLANCK. *Harry Castlemon, Boys' Own Author: Appreciation and Bibliography*. New York: R. R. Bowker, 1941.

Lilly's favorite juvenile book author was Harry Castlemon, the pseudonym of the prolific Charles Austin Fosdick (1842-1915). Through more than fifty books, Castlemon described the exploits of his boy heroes in over a dozen series, including "The Gun-Boat Series," the "Boy Trapper Series," "The Rocky Mountain Series," the "Forest and Stream Series," and "The Sportsman's Club Series." Lilly collected Castlemon avidly, and his interest in the subject extended to other nineteenth-century American juvenile books. Realizing that little bibliographical data had been gathered in this field, in October 1938 Lilly approached V. Valta Parma, Curator of the Rare Book Collection at the Library of Congress, about the possibility of a funded research project. Lilly wanted to know whether the Library of Congress would be willing to "receive a fund annually for the purpose of special researches in bibliography which could be applied for the time being toward...research...and toward defraying expenses incurred in connection with assigned work. If American Juvenalia (including Castlemon!) could be one of the first items on the program, this would be very pleasing also." Together with his brother Eli, J. K. Lilly had recently established the Lilly Endowment, Inc., and he proposed to fund the project through this organization.

The Library of Congress project was the first of several bibliographical projects initiated by Lilly and funded through the Lilly Endowment, and in some ways, it was the most difficult. The majority of the funds were spent initially on acquisitions of books rather than on the bibliographical research that Lilly had specified, and there were a variety of escalating personnel problems in the Rare Book Room at the Library of Congress. These eventually involved the attention of two Librarians of Congress, Herbert Putnam and Archibald MacLeish, and resulted in the dismissal of Gustav Davidson (the project bibliographer) and the forced resignation of V. Valta Parma. When Jacob Blanck, a trained bibliographer with extensive experience in the field, joined the project in 1940, it was put back on course, and the Castlemon bibliography was issued in late 1941. Blanck then directed his efforts toward the production of a series of "Bibliographies of American Writers of Juvenalia of the Nineteenth Century," comprising detailed descriptions of some 7,500 books. This has unfortunately not been published. Blanck never completed the final checking and preparation, and he moved to Indianapolis in October 1942 to assist with another Lilly project, the bibliography of James Whitcomb Riley. The money that remained in the Library of Congress grant was used, with Lilly's permission, toward the production of the five-volume catalogue of the library of Thomas Jefferson, compiled by E. Millicent Sowerby and published by the Library of Congress between 1952 and 1959.

ANTHONY J. RUSSO and DOROTHY R. RUSSO. *A Bibliography of James Whitcomb Riley*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1944.

DOROTHY R. RUSSO. *A Bibliography of George Ade*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1947.

DOROTHY R. RUSSO and THELMA L. SULLIVAN. *A Bibliography of Booth Tarkington*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1949.

DOROTHY R. RUSSO and THELMA L. SULLIVAN. *Bibliographical Studies of Seven Authors of Crawfordsville, Indiana: Lew and Susan Wallace, Maurice and Will Thompson, Mary Hannah and Caroline Virginia Krout, and Meredith Nicholson*. Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society, 1952.

Most of the principal authors of the Hoosier state have been particularly well served by bibliographical works, largely due to the support of J. K. Lilly, Jr. While the grant for the study of juvenile literature was proceeding at the Library of Congress, Lilly proposed to the Indiana Historical Society a separate grant for the production of bibliographies of Indiana authors. Funded through the Lilly Endowment, a Committee on Studies in Indiana Bibliography was established in February 1939, with J. K. Lilly as chairman. The booksellers and bibliographers Dorothy R. and Anthony J. Russo were retained on a half-time basis, and were directed to prepare a comprehensive bibliography of James Whitcomb Riley, based largely on Lilly's collection, and then to begin work on a series of bibliographical checklists of Indiana authors. The project was slowed by the death of Anthony Russo in June 1940, and then by the entry of the United States into World War II at the end of the following year.

Jacob Blanck, who had been working at the Library of Congress under another Lilly grant, came to Indianapolis in 1942 to assist Mrs. Russo with the completion of the Riley bibliography, which was issued two years later. Mrs. Russo then turned her attention to George Ade, then Booth Tarkington, and finally to the authors of Crawfordsville, Indiana. The general work on Indiana authors that had originally been contemplated was not pursued by the Historical Society, but was taken up in the mid-1940s by an editorial committee again headed by Lilly. The result was the still standard *Indiana Authors and their Books 1816-1916: Biographical sketches of authors who published during the first century of Indiana statehood with lists of their books*, compiled by R. E. Banta and published by Wabash College in Crawfordsville in 1949.

IO

JACOB BLANCK. *Bibliography of American Literature*. Compiled by Jacob Blanck for the Bibliographical Society of America. Volume One: Henry Adams to Donn Byrne. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955.

The *Bibliography of American Literature*, the largest and the most widely used bibliographical work in its field, owes its existence to its initial editor, Jacob Blanck, and to J. K. Lilly, Jr. Lilly had often, in his collecting, felt the need for an authoritative bibliography of American authors. Blanck, who had spent years doing bibliographical work on American authors, had conceived the idea of a “big book,” a comprehensive bibliography of American literature that would supersede Merle Johnson’s *American First Editions* and would become a standard reference in the field. Blanck’s presence in Indianapolis to assist Dorothy Russo with the James Whitcomb Riley bibliography gave him the opportunity to discuss his plans with Lilly, who was extremely enthusiastic. He agreed to insure the project’s funding through an annual grant from the Lilly Endowment, and he also insisted that the bibliography not be a private undertaking, but rather that it be carried out under the auspices of a recognized organization or institution. The Bibliographical Society of America agreed to oversee its production, and Blanck was installed as research director, under the supervision of a committee which included David A. Randall, William A. Jackson, James T. Babb, Carroll A. Wilson, and Clarence S. Brigham.

There was some initial feeling that the bibliography should include living authors, but in the end, the committee settled on a list of 281 American authors, all of whom had died by the end of 1930, and who had achieved, in their own time at least, some degree of fame or influence. *BAL* was organized in alphabetical order according to author, and the first volume, covering A-B, was published in November 1955. It was dedicated to the “Directors of Lilly Endowment, Inc., of Indianapolis, and more particularly to the President of that organization, Josiah K. Lilly.” Jake Blanck remained in charge of the project until his death in 1974, after the publication of the sixth volume. The project was completed in 1991 with the publication of the ninth and final volume, under the editorship of Michael Winship. Although major financial backing for the final volumes was secured from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Lilly Endowment, which had funded the entire project for years, continued to maintain some degree of support until the “big book” that J. K. Lilly had helped to initiate was finally completed.

II

JAMES FENIMORE COOPER. *Precaution*. New York: A. T. Goodrich, 1820. Purchased in July 1944, from Howard S. Mott, Jr.

CHARLOTTE RAMSAY LENNOX. *The Life of Harriot Stuart. Written by Herself...* London: Printed for J. Payne and J. Bouquet, 1751. Purchased in March 1953, from Howard S. Mott, Jr.

One of J. K. Lilly's favorite booksellers in the field of American literature was Howard S. Mott, Jr., then of New York City. Lilly's purchases from Mott began in the late 1930s and continued as long as he was actively involved in collecting. As Lilly began to broaden his focus to include more than a select handful of major figures in American or Indiana literature, he turned to Howard Mott with increasing frequency over the years as a reliable source for a large number of American books, especially fiction of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Lilly sent his first American want list to Mott in January 1939. As was usual with Lilly, he noted that he wanted the books in good condition, with presentation copies when possible and if "priced reasonably." Mott was sensitive to Lilly's standards of condition, pointing out, for example, that there was a small corner missing from a blank flyleaf at the back of a copy of Ambrose Bierce's *Tales of Soldiers and Civilians* that Lilly had ordered, and suggesting that it certainly could be returned. Lilly did return the copy, preferring to wait for a better one, which Mott soon provided, but he also realized that he was dealing with someone who understood his standards as well as the kind of collection he was trying to build.

Over the years, Lilly obtained from Mott hundreds of volumes which greatly strengthened his American holdings. While most of these were not the famous books listed in any "One Hundred Best" list, they were titles that were difficult to find in good condition, and their acquisition gave Lilly's collection (and later, The Lilly Library) significant depth in American literature. A number of the books, however, including the two shown here, were among the high spots in the field.

Howard Mott first offered Lilly this copy of *Precaution*, James Fenimore Cooper's first published novel, in June 1943. Quoted at a price of \$1,250, Lilly turned it down, even though it was one of the few surviving copies in the original boards: "For many moons I have been laboring under the impression that the only quite expensive item of Mr. Cooper is 'The Spy.' In these days a four-figure book gives me pause!" As had happened before with some of Lilly's important purchases, when he himself saw the copy (in this case, a year later) and realized that it would be very difficult to find a better one, he did decide that it belonged in the collection, even at a four-figure price.

The Life of Harriot Stuart, the earliest item on the American fiction list from which Lilly and Mott were working, is the first novel with an American locale (New York state), written by a native of what is now the United States. The author, Charlotte Ramsay Lennox, was born in New York, and lived there until she moved to England at the age of fifteen. This book was one of Lilly's last major purchases of American literature before his collection came to Indiana University.

English Literature

WHILE Lilly developed his collection of American literature in some breadth and depth, his holdings of English books were more selective, and conformed much more to acknowledged high spots in the field, as could be found in the Grolier Club list of *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature* or in A. Edward Newton's list of "One Hundred Good Novels." Lilly did go beyond the standard works in the Grolier Hundred, particularly with respect to authors of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but for earlier authors, the list generally remained a useful guide. Lilly had, as did many readers of A. Edward Newton, a particular predilection for association copies, and he sought presentation copies whenever they were available reasonably. James F. Drake, A. S. W. Rosenbach, Gabriel Wells, and David Randall of Scribner's were Lilly's chief suppliers of English literature, and they helped him to build a distinguished collection remarkable for the condition of the books and for the quality of the manuscript pieces that he selected.

I2

THE GROLIER CLUB. *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature with Facsimiles of the Title-Pages*. Introduction by George E. Woodberry. New York: The Grolier Club, 1902.

J. K. Lilly joined The Grolier Club of New York, the oldest book collecting club in the United States, in 1928, and remained a member until his death in 1966. Although Lilly did not serve on any committees and did not lend his books for exhibitions, he was proud of his association with the Club and its bibliophilic members. Upon his election to membership, he made a special effort to acquire as many of the Club's earlier publications as he could, and over the next several years, Lilly built up the excellent run that The Lilly Library now holds.

This list of "One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature," published by the Club in 1902, served as a checklist of the Club's influential exhibition of the follow-

MR. WILLIAM
SHAKESPEARES

COMEDIES,
HISTORIES, &
TRAGEDIES.

Published according to the True Originall Copies.



Martin Droet haur. sculp. sit. London.

LONDON
Printed by Isaac Iaggard, and Ed. Blount. 1623.

My dearest Girl,

I need I will not
deceive you with respect to my Health.
This is the fact as far
I have been confined
and am not yet well
that there is something
me which my constitution
conquer or give way to
for the best. Do you
singing over the field
it is a sign of mild
much the better for us
sinners now I am ill

My own love
I do not know
by what compulsion
I am to answer you but
your porter says I must
do so—
My miracle I saved
your $\frac{1}{2}$ & I will bring it—I
hope indeed, oh my love
Shelley we shall indeed
be happy
I meet you at three
and bring reaps of Shimmer
street news— Heaven bless
my love & take care of him
his own Mary

ing year. Containing both British and American books, and including titles ranging from Caxton's edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* to John Greenleaf Whittier's *Snow-Bound*, it was adopted as a want list by scores of collectors during the several decades following its publication. As George Woodberry wrote in his introduction: "The eye rests on these hundred titles of books famous in English literature, as it reads a physical map by peak, river and coast, and sees in miniature the intellectual conformation of a nation. A different selection would only mean another point of view; some minor features might be replaced by others of similar subordination; but the mass of imagination and learning, the mind-achievement of the English race, is as unchangeable as a mountain landscape."

To J. K. Lilly, this "Grolier Hundred" list served as a guide throughout his collecting career. While he went far beyond the list in his book hunting, the Grolier Hundred remained something of a scorecard, and after three decades, he had acquired the first editions of ninety of the hundred, and the earliest obtainable editions of four others. Lilly never obtained copies of Sir Thomas Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur* of 1485 (the only Grolier Hundred volume still not present in The Lilly Library), *The booke of the common prayer ...* (1549), the King James Bible of 1611, John Ford's *The Broken Heart* (1633), Jeremy Taylor's *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Living* (1650), and John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678). In *Dukedom Large Enough*, published in 1969, David Randall lamented the lack of a *Pilgrim's Progress* in J. K. Lilly's collection, and consequently, in The Lilly Library. Randall had advised Lilly, on the ground of condition, against bidding on the Frank J. Hogan copy of *Pilgrim's Progress* (which had been made up from two separate imperfect copies) when it came up at auction in 1946, hoping that he could find a better copy for Lilly. He never did, and later he felt that his advice was a "first-water mistake." What Randall may not have known was that in 1947, Lilly, with Rosenbach as his agent, was narrowly outbid at auction in London on the perfect copy of *Pilgrim's Progress* from the collection of Sir Leicester Harmsworth. Through persistence, and some fortunate coincidences, Randall was finally able to acquire this same copy in 1974, in what turned out to be his last major acquisition for The Lilly Library.

OMAR KHAYYAM. *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam, the Astronomer-Poet of Persia. Translated into English Verse* [by Edward Fitzgerald]. London: Bernard Quaritch, 1859. Inscribed presentation copy from Fitzgerald to Max Müller. Purchased in July 1947, from The Scribner Book Store.

13

Lilly's first copy of Fitzgerald's translation of the *Rubaiyat* was acquired in January 1929, in Lilly's first, and almost his last, major foray into the world of book auctions.

Book collecting had become extremely popular in the United States in the 1920s, and at the end of the decade, the composer Jerome Kern, who had put together an excellent collection of English literature, decided to sell his books and manuscripts at auction in New York in what became a much-heralded sale. Lilly was particularly interested in one of the books, a “prime Pickwick in parts,” but he finally decided not to bid on the set. As he explained to his auction agent, James F. Drake: “... I feel that we are right on the peak of a ‘bull market’ in books just as we are in apparently a fool’s paradise as far as inflated stock conditions are concerned.” He did, however, place more or less unlimited bids on three lots in the sale: Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, *She Stoops to Conquer* by Oliver Goldsmith, and Fitzgerald’s translation of the *Rubaiyat*. Drake succeeded in buying only the Fitzgerald for Lilly, and even that came at the high price of \$8,000, plus five per cent commission, with the other books reaching heights above what Drake considered the limits of sanity, even with Lilly’s unrestricted bids. Lilly tried again at the second part of the sale later in the month, this time placing bids with Drake for works by Swift, Surtees, and Meredith. Lilly wrote Drake that, “I am willing to pay a ‘whopping good price’ for any of the items, but if bidding becomes outrageous, I am perfectly willing to abide my time.” As Drake reported to Lilly, the prices reached “absurd” levels, and the bids were unsuccessful. The experience of the Kern sale, with stratospheric prices being paid on the eve of the Depression, soured Lilly on the vagaries of the auction room. In his next twenty-five years as a collector, he bid at auction relatively infrequently, and always with carefully limited bids.

In July 1947, David Randall wrote to Lilly that, “The nicest thing I’ve acquired recently is a presentation copy of the *Rubaiyat*, first edition, original printed wrappers, inscribed by FitzGerald to Max Müller. As far as I can find it’s the only recorded presentation copy. If you are at all interested in it I can make you a most reasonable price on it.” Lilly replied, “What’s the tariff on the presentation FitzGerald? You remember I purchased a mint copy of the *Rubaiyat* (the Kern copy) — at what price glory, namely, \$8,400....” Randall responded: “The FitzGerald presentation copy is a stunner. I have priced it very reasonably and will have no trouble disposing of it, I am sure. I don’t see how I can allow you more than two thousand for your Kern copy — which is what it is worth at retail today. I could, of course, have raised the price on my copy very considerably and then allowed you a lot more on yours — but I don’t do those things as you know.” Lilly purchased the book, settling with Randall on a cash price of \$3,850, and retaining the Kern copy “for some future disposition.” Lilly felt that the uninscribed copy was in slightly better condition, and both copies were in the collection when it came to Indiana University. While The Lilly Library still holds the presentation copy of the *Rubaiyat*, the Kern copy was sold as a duplicate at Parke-Bernet in November 1962, where it realized \$3,700.

JOHN LYLY. *The Woman in the Moone*. London: for W. Jones, 1597. Purchased in January 1929, from The Rosenbach Company.

Euphues. The Anatomy of Wit. London: Printed by Thomas East, for Gabriel Cawood, 1581. Purchased in April 1930, from The Rosenbach Company.

WILLIAM LILLY. *A Collection of Ancient and Moderne Prophecies Concerning These Present Times, with Modest Observations Thereon*. London: Printed for John Partridge and Humphrey Blunden, 1645. Purchased before May 1, 1929.

There was a strong element of family pride behind one of J. K. Lilly's earliest interests in the area of English books. He took special delight in seeking out the works of two authors that he referred to as his "ancestors"—the literary and political author John Lyly (1554?-1606), and the seventeenth-century astrologer and prolific writer William Lilly (1602-1681). While William Lilly's numerous publications were relatively inexpensive on the market, those of John Lyly certainly were not. As the author of *Euphues*, a famous (and extremely scarce) prose romance listed in the Grolier Hundred, John Lyly's works were sought by all who collected Elizabethan literature, and the demand for his books often outpaced the small number of copies available.

J. K. Lilly bought his first John Lyly title, the 1597 play *The Woman in the Moone*, on a visit to the Rosenbach Company in early 1929. Rosenbach immediately offered Lilly nine other John Lyly volumes that he had in stock. Totalling well over \$20,000, the price was too high for Lilly, but as it turned out, it was in Lilly's best interests to wait. Over the next several years, he bought from Rosenbach much of what had been offered in 1929, including this 1581 edition of the first part of *Euphues*, with many of the books at prices significantly lower than those originally quoted. Augmented by occasional additional purchases, Lilly's holdings of the two authors stood at eleven volumes each when the collection came to Indiana University.

GEOFFREY CHAUCER. *The Works....* Hammersmith: The Kelmscott Press, 1896. Purchased in February 1929, from The Rosenbach Company.

One of the longstanding stories regarding J. K. Lilly concerns the complete collection of books held by the Lilly Library printed at William Morris's Kelmscott Press. As told by David A. Randall, Mrs. Lilly, searching for a suitable Christmas present for her hus-

band, contacted the bookseller, Walter Hill of Chicago, to see if he had anything appropriate in stock. Lilly had been a steady customer of Hill's, and Hill knew Lilly's collecting tastes. Hill happened to have a complete collection of Kelmscott books which he felt certain Lilly would like. Mrs. Lilly purchased them, and the gift was made. As the story went, although Mr. Lilly was appreciative, he had no particular taste for private press books, and he also preferred to do his own collecting, and gifts such as this were not repeated.

In fact, despite Lilly Library folklore, the Kelmscott books represented a concerted effort on J. K. Lilly's part to acquire all of the productions of a press that he very much admired. He began purchasing Kelmscott books in 1928, and completed his collection in 1930. Although Walter Hill was the source for a number of the books, several other booksellers were involved, and twenty-five Kelmscotts were secured by Lilly through Drake at an auction in December 1929. The masterpiece of the press, the great folio volume of Chaucer, in its fragile binding of linen-backed boards, was purchased earlier in the year from The Rosenbach Company. Lilly used the first page of the Chaucer as the frontispiece of *A Fifth List of One Hundred Books*, giving it pride of place over the Nuremberg Chronicle of 1493 in the *List*, and noting that "this volume may probably be considered the finest example of book-making of the nineteenth century."

I6

DANIEL DEFOE. *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Of York, Mariner....* London: Printed for W. Taylor, 1719.

The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe; Being the Second and Last Part of His Life.... London: Printed for W. Taylor, 1719.

Serious Reflections During the Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, With His Vision Of The Angelick World. London: Printed for W. Taylor, 1720.

All purchased in March 1930, from The Rosenbach Company.

One of the books which J. K. Lilly had tried to buy in the Kern sale in January 1929 was Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*. Responding later in the year to Drake's offer of a first American edition of *Robinson Crusoe*, Lilly wrote: "You will recall that I asked you to bid for me at the late, lamented Kern sale on a true first edition of 'Robinson Crusoe' and we went down to glorious defeat. Later I learned that the Kern copy was not particularly desirable so possibly it was just as well that we did not secure it. The fact of

the matter is that I would much rather possess the true first English edition of 'Robinson Crusoe' than the first New York edition.... Suppose you bear me in mind on the edition of 'Robinson Crusoe' in which I am interested more...."

Drake had not yet been able to find a first English edition when Lilly received a letter dated March 7, 1930, from A. S. W. Rosenbach, who was about to leave for London. Rosenbach wrote Lilly asking if there were anything that he could do for him on his trip, and added an enticing handwritten postscript: "Have you a first Robinson Crusoe? We have just received a *superb* copy." Lilly immediately requested further information, which Rosenbach was happy to supply: "I have your interesting letter about the 'Robinson Crusoe' and I state unhesitatingly that *it is the finest copy that has ever passed through our hands*. All the volumes are right in every particular, all being the first issues. Instead of three volumes as usual, this set contains four; there is a variant issue of [*The Farther Adventures*]. The four volumes are in the original bindings with the original end papers. The text is immaculate, without a single repair."

Again, there was a handwritten postscript: "No copy like the above has been sold at auction in seventy-five years. It is the *rarest* of all the great books to find in perfect condition. This is probably the finest copy in existence. And the price quoted you [\$16,850] extremely reasonable—*verbum sap!*"

Lilly's telegram immediately followed: "PLEASED TO HAVE CRUSOE SENT FORWARD ON APPROVAL AT PRICE QUOTED STOP APPARENTLY IRRESISTIBLE STOP BEST WISHES FOR PLEASANT TRIP."

RUDYARD KIPLING. *Departmental Ditties and Other Verses*. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1886. Purchased in November 1929, from James F. Drake.

17

Schoolboy Lyrics. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, 1881. Presentation copy from Kipling's mother to "E. M." Purchased in November 1931, from James F. Drake.

Letters of Marque. Vol. I. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1891. Purchased in November 1931, from James F. Drake.

Rudyard Kipling was one of the authors who was extremely popular among readers and collectors in the 1920s. J. K. Lilly became interested in Kipling about 1928, and set out to acquire the major books and some of the rarities. Working mainly over the

next few years, Lilly collected more than seventy-five volumes of Kipling, including the three shown here.

Schoolboy Lyrics, Kipling's first published book, was privately issued by Kipling's parents in India, while the young poet was in England attending the United Services College in Devon. Only a small number of copies, probably about fifty, were issued. This copy with a presentation note from "A. K." (Alice Kipling, Rudyard's mother), is bound in plain white wrappers, the earlier of the two types of original binding known. *Departmental Ditties* (1886) was the first book published under Kipling's supervision, and was purchased by Lilly from Drake at the same time as *Letters of Marque*. *Letters of Marque* (1891) collected a series of travel letters by Kipling that had been published individually by *Pioneer* and *Pioneer Mail* in 1887 and 1888. An Indian edition (also in Lilly's collection) of nineteen of the letters and an English edition of eleven of them were in the process of being bound for publication when they were suppressed by Kipling. A large number of copies of the Indian edition survived, but only a handful are known of the English.

18

JOHN MILTON. *Paradise Lost. A Poem Written in Ten Books*. London: Printed...by Peter Parker, 1667. Purchased in May 1932, from G. A. Baker & Company.

[JOHN MILTON]. *Justa Edouardo King naufrago...* Cambridge: Thomas Buck and Roger Daniel, 1638. Purchased in December 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

This first edition, first issue of *Paradise Lost*, with Milton's name in large capitals on the title-page, is an excellent copy in a contemporary sheep binding. It retains its original initial blank leaf, and is one of only five such copies recorded in a contemporary binding. The book was one of several purchased by Lilly at his first meeting with David A. Randall, on May 9, 1932, in Indianapolis. Randall was working for Max Harzof of G. A. Baker & Co., with whom Lilly had been dealing for several years. Among the other items which Lilly acquired on this occasion, out of what he described as Randall's "large and formidable suitcase full of books," were first editions of Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions of an English Opium-Eater*, Shelley's *Adonais*, and Longfellow's *Outre-Mer* (inscribed by the author).

Paradise Lost filled the Milton spot in the Grolier Hundred, but Lilly also was able to acquire over the years several other important Milton titles, including the first editions of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, published together in 1671; *Areopagitica*, Milton's plea for freedom of the press, published in 1644; and *Of Education*,

another tract issued in 1644. Also present in Lilly's collection is "Lycidas," Milton's memorial poem for Edward King, who was also a student at Cambridge during Milton's time there, as it first appeared in the anthology *Justa Edouardo King*, printed at Cambridge in 1638. This copy, which was purchased for Lilly by Scribner's from the firm of Bernard Quaritch in London, contains the bookplate of Edward King, first Earl of Kingston (1726-1797), and is likely to have descended in the King family.

Charles Dickens. *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club*. London: 1836-1837. Twenty parts in nineteen. Purchased in December 1932, from James F. Drake.

19

The collecting of the first editions, in their original parts, of the works of Charles Dickens, was a well-established pastime when J. K. Lilly began to collect books in the mid-1920s. Lilly built up a good collection of Dickens's novels in parts, but made a special effort with *Pickwick Papers*. With the publication in 1928 of John C. Eckel's *Prime Pickwicks in Parts*, complete with a foreword by A. Edward Newton, the prospective *Pickwick* hunter had a good, though by no means infallible, guide. Lilly had acquired a set of *Pickwick* by late 1928, but he was not fully satisfied with it. He arranged with James F. Drake, probably on a visit in February 1932, for Drake to build up for him a prime set of *Pickwick*, based on several sets that Drake then had in stock. The cost would be \$9,000, less trade-in for Lilly's old set. On February 23, Lilly wrote to Drake: "I am shipping to you today my 'Pickwick'....You will recall that you were going to 'absorb' my 'Pickwick' for which I paid \$1,000 and allow me such proper credit as you say on the new 'Pickwick-in-the-making.'... I hope we can make some real headway on the 'Pickwick' in the course of the next twelve months."

Drake slowly began to go through the sets that he had in stock, and wrote in March that "I have as yet been through only one of the copies which I told you I had and from it I have extracted a part which I am putting in the star 'Pickwick' which I am making up for you, so like the committee at the meeting, I can report progress." Progress was slowed by a serious illness Drake suffered on a European trip later in the year, but on November 10 he was able to report: "I have, however, been able to do a good deal of work at intervals on the 'Pickwick Papers' and have been very greatly assisted by my son James H. I am very glad to be able to say that I have improved it considerably. It is a very much better 'Pickwick' today than it was seven months ago. In fact it is in such shape that I am practically prepared to turn it over to you but I do not want to do so for some two or three weeks. Mr. Eckel is bringing out, as you know, a new bibliography of the 'Pickwick' which will be ready I understand in about a week,

and before sending your 'Pickwick' I want to check it again with the facts as he gives them in his new bibliography especially as he has told my son that in some cases he has completely reversed his idea as expressed in the previous bibliography." The check of Eckel's new bibliography was completed, and *Pickwick* was hand-delivered to Lilly by James H. Drake just in time for Christmas.

20

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE. *Mr. William Shakespeares Comedies, Histories, & Tragedies. Published According to the True Originall Copies.* London: Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount, 1623. Purchased in 1935, from Gabriel Wells.

This first collected edition of Shakespeare, the "First Folio," was purchased by Lilly in 1935 as part of a set of the four Shakespeare folios. While Lilly was not attempting to form an extensive collection of early editions of Shakespeare, the lack in his collection of such an important work of English literature as the Shakespeare first folio was noticeable, and he took this opportunity to remedy the situation. Lilly had been offered sets of the folios before. Gabriel Wells had been trying to sell him a set for years, and in April 1932, Goodspeed's offered Lilly a set, not in quite as good condition as the one he eventually purchased, at a price of \$50,000. Less financially confident in 1932 than he was three years later, Lilly replied: "If I had \$50,000 at this time, I would buy myself an atoll in the South Seas and a bandana handkerchief, and move promptly." Even in 1935, Lilly took the unusual step (for him) of accepting an extended payment arrangement. The set, from the John Rylands Library in Manchester, England, was purchased on a post-Christmas visit to Gabriel Wells, and Lilly accepted the extended terms offered. With a total price of \$65,000, less a \$10,000 trade-in allowance for a now duplicate fourth folio (purchased from Drake in 1928), and a surplus copy of Edgar Allan Poe's *The Raven*, Lilly made monthly payments through most of 1935, paying off the balance with an early final payment in July.

Lilly had already purchased from Wells in 1934 the quarto edition of *The Merchant of Venice* dated 1600 on its title page, but actually known to have been printed in 1619. He also later acquired a 1637 quarto edition of *Hamlet*. These and the folios were the only major Shakespeare pieces in Lilly's collection. Although he continued to receive offers of other Shakespeare quartos throughout his collecting career, he always resisted, preferring to purchase his favorite books in many fields, rather than specialize in Shakespeare's ever more costly early publications.

uld lang syne

Should auld acquaintance be forgot,
And never thought upon?

Let's hae a waught o' Malaga,
O For auld lang syne.

Chorus
O For auld lang syne, my jo,
O For auld lang syne;

Let's hae a waught o' Malaga,
O For auld lang syne.

And surely ye'll be your pint-stoup;
And surely I'll be mine!

And we'll tak a cup o' kindness yet,
O For auld lang syne.

O For auld &c.
The twa hae run about the braes,
And pou'd the gowans fine;
But we've wander'd mony a weary foot
Sin auld lang syne.

O For auld &c.



No. 25 Izaak Walton

WILLIAM WISSING (1653-1687). Portrait of Samuel Pepys, ca. 1680? Purchased in April 1936, from M. Knoedler & Company.

Samuel Pepys appealed to Lilly in two ways. As the compiler of an extensive posthumously published diary, Pepys provided an engaging and evocative picture of the London world of the 1660s which Lilly greatly enjoyed reading. As the reformer of the British navy, Pepys held an important place in Lilly's collection of nautical history. When Lilly wished to expand his collection in a particular area, his usual first step was to write a letter similar to the one he sent to Marston Drake in October 1928:

The writer has recently become somewhat interested in our old friend, Samuel Pepys, and wonders if you can supply him with a tentative check list looking towards the collection of Pepys and Pepysiana.

So far, I have secured a copy of the first Braybrooke translation [of the *Diary*], a copy of the first Wheatley (large paper) edition, which you procured for me, and also an extra-illustrated first Braybrooke with color plates (I suppose this is anathema to you), and little else.

What can you dig up for me in New York, and what do you suggest that I set about trying to secure?...

Drake kept Lilly's interest in Pepys in mind, and eventually, from Drake and other booksellers, Lilly obtained a copy of the 1825 first edition of the *Diary* in the original boards; a naval document of 1666 signed by Pepys; a copy of a book sometimes attributed to Pepys, *The Portugal History* of 1677; and the only publication that Pepys acknowledged during his lifetime, *Memoires Relating to the State of the Royal Navy*, printed in 1690.

Lilly also liked to collect oil portraits and engravings of his favorite authors and historical figures, and Wissing's portrait of Pepys was one of several dozen paintings that came to Indiana University from his collection. Other subjects included George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Edgar Allan Poe, James Whitcomb Riley, Charles Dickens, Tobias Smollett, George Sand, and J. M. Barrie. This portrait of Pepys was purchased from the art dealers M. Knoedler & Co., with offices in New York, Paris, and London. The painting had descended through the family of Samuel Pepys's sister, Paulina, and was acquired by Knoedler from a descendant, Fred. Pepys Cockerell.

JAMES M. BARRIE. [*Peter Pan*]. *Anon. A Play*. Autograph manuscript. Purchased in January 1937, from The Scribner Book Store.

This manuscript of eighty-four leaves is the original autograph manuscript of *Peter Pan*, containing a great deal more material than appeared in the published version of

the play, as well as a number of corrections, deletions, and variations from the printed edition. Apparently written in late 1903 and early 1904, the manuscript was inscribed to Maude Adams, the actress who originated the stage role of Peter Pan. David A. Randall purchased the manuscript for Scribner's from Maude Adams in 1936, and recounted the trials and tribulations attending its acquisition in *Dukedom Large Enough*. On May 7, Randall offered it to Lilly by telegram at \$13,500 less a ten per cent discount, requesting an answer by wire. Lilly, who had collected Barrie's printed works avidly for nearly a decade, was in the process of constructing a new library building, and replied that he was unable to consider it. In a letter to Lilly on May 12, Randall wrote: "I have a scheme afoot whereby you might acquire that Barrie manuscript with no outlay of cash at all which should be, I imagine, an intriguing prospect." Lilly's response was direct: "Please do not put yourself to any bother concerning the Barrie manuscript. I am trying to pay my bills for my new library and simply may not entertain any idea of purchasing any books or manuscripts running into five figures for some months to come. As I think I told you, I have made a firm resolve to avoid adding to my library through purchases made on the installment plan!" In answer to Randall's subsequent inquiry about whether or not Lilly would be interested in trading his copy of the first edition of Milton's *Paradise Lost* for the manuscript, Lilly repeated that he was "simply out of the market when it comes to the Barrie manuscript."

Lilly was indeed out of the market for a time, but after a personal visit to Lilly and his new library by Randall and John Carter in January 1937, Lilly owned the manuscript of *Peter Pan*.

23

JOHN KEATS. Autograph letter to Fanny Brawne. Hampstead, February 24(?), 1820. Purchased in September 1937, from Goodspeed's Book Shop.

WILLIAM GODWIN. Autograph letter to John Taylor relating to Mary Wollstonecraft Godwin's elopement with Percy Bysshe Shelley. London, August 27, 1814. Purchased in May 1939, from The Rosenbach Company.

MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT GODWIN. Autograph letter to Percy Bysshe Shelley. London, October 27, 1814. Purchased in May 1939, from The Rosenbach Company.

The Romantic poets held a high place in J. K. Lilly's collection. In addition to good runs of the first editions of Byron, Keats, and Shelley, with most in their original bindings, Lilly also was able to acquire the three letters shown here. This Keats letter was written shortly after he was stricken with the illness that would prove fatal a year later.

Living next door to Fanny Brawne, but not yet well enough to see her, he wrote: “I have been confined three weeks and am not yet well—this proves that there is something wrong about me which my constitution will either conquer or give way to. Let us hope for the best. Do you hear the Thrush singing over the field? I think it is a sign of mild weather—so much the better for me....”

When Lilly saw in person, on a visit with A. S. W. Rosenbach at his New York office, these two letters relating to the early days of Mary Godwin’s relationship with Shelley, they were too much to resist. William Godwin’s letter is filled not only with sorrow at his daughter’s elopement with Shelley to the Continent in July, but also with his own financial distress. Mary’s letter, one of the earliest of her letters known, was written in London after her return from the six-week tour of Europe. Now separated from Shelley, Mary plans their next meeting: “By a miracle I saved your £5 & will bring it—I hope indeed; oh my loved Shelley we shall indeed be happy....”

On the same New York visit to Rosenbach, Lilly also bought, among other pieces, first editions of Shelley’s *Queen Mab* (in original boards) and *Prometheus Unbound* (a presentation copy to Edward Trelawney), a three-page Shelley letter, and first editions of Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*, Defoe’s *Moll Flanders*, and Dryden’s *Absolom and Achitophel*. Although Lilly spent nearly forty thousand dollars at The Rosenbach Company on this visit, Dr. Rosenbach wrote Lilly a week later that, “It was a damned shame you did not come to Philadelphia as I would like to have shown you some ‘REAL’ books there.”

ROBERT BURNS. *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*. Kilmarnock: Printed by John Wilson, 1786. Purchased in October 1937, from The Rosenbach Company.

24

Auld Lang Syne. Autograph manuscript. [December 7, 1788]. Purchased in February 1947, from Goodspeed’s Book Shop.

These are two of the highlights of Lilly’s holdings of Robert Burns, an author that Lilly enjoyed and collected for many years. This uncut copy of the first edition of Burns’s *Poems*, printed by John Wilson in Kilmarnock, Scotland, is bound in contemporary boards. Previously in the collection of Frank Brewer Bemis, it was one of several Grolier Hundred titles that Lilly purchased on the occasion of a Rosenbach visit to Indianapolis.

The two-page manuscript of *Auld Lang Syne*, which has been described as the earliest in existence, has had a distinguished history. It was originally part of a long letter from Burns to a Mrs. Dunlop, dated December 7, 1788, most of which is now in

The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York. Lilly purchased it, through Goodspeed's, at the sale of the collection of Charles Hart, but the manuscript first came to the United States in 1859, when it was sold by the flamboyant bookseller Henry Stevens (of Vermont) to the Albany collector J. V. L. Pruyn. Stevens's letter of transmittal to Pruyn, written in London on January 7, 1859, is still present:

This autograph of *Auld Lang Syne* was for many years in the possession of my late friend William Pickering the Publisher, and after his death it fell under Sotheby's hammer in 1855 to me, at a price which I dare not name, but which would have gladdened the hearts of the poet and his poor Jean had they *in time* reaped the benefit. "For America" were the only words of the auctioneer that accompanied the fall of the hammer, and as I pocketed the precious relic, "for America" was many times repeated by the poets and scholars present....Since then I have often been importuned to part with it both in England and Scotland, but my reply has always been "for America," where Burns is more read, more admired & more universally appreciated than elsewhere, aye than even in his own Scotland, I procured it, and thither it *must* go.

25

IZAAK WALTON. *The Compleat Angler or the Contemplative Man's Recreation*. London: Printed by T. Moxey for Rich. Marriot, 1653. First edition.

Second edition, "much enlarged." London, 1655.

Third edition, "much enlarged." London, 1661. Inscribed by the author.

Fourth edition, "much corrected and enlarged." London, 1668.

Fifth edition. London, 1676.

Purchased as a set in April 1941, from The Scribner Book Store.

Lilly had already purchased from Rosenbach in early 1939 a rebound copy of the first edition of Walton's classic work on fishing and life, when David Randall wrote him in September 1940 about his recent acquisition at auction in London of the Cotton-Corser-Ashburnham-Gilbey set of all five editions of the *Angler* published during Walton's lifetime. Randall had offered Lilly another set of the *Angler* in 1932, when Randall was working for Max Harzof at the firm of G. A. Baker. In declining the rebound set offered, Lilly wrote: "I shall await an opportunity to secure a better copy, preferably the first issue of the edition of 1653, the copy being returned reading 'content-

ment' in line seventeen, on page 245, instead of 'contention.' Furthermore, the second edition of 1655 has some shaved headlines that do not entirely appeal. Needless to say, I should prefer the 'Angler' in other than a modern binding."

Each of the five volumes that Randall offered this time was in beautiful condition, in the original calf or sheep bindings. Randall, knowing from experience that most of the copies of the *Angler* that have survived had been rebound by later collectors and often had other defects, was enthusiastic: "It is difficult to describe these without seeming to exaggerate. They really must be seen to be believed.... When these books were sold, the London Times commented that 'It is certain that no finer set, nor any set nearer in condition to the editions as Walton saw them...can have survived.... They have gone to America, and someone has got a great bargain.'" Randall offered them to Lilly at \$11,500, knowing that "these are difficult times to put out that kind of money," and although Lilly reluctantly turned them down at the time, he later relented. Lilly was never able to improve on any of the volumes, and today they stand as one of the finest sets of *The Compleat Angler* known.

SIR WALTER SCOTT. *Waverley: or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*. Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne and Co. for Archibald Constable and Co..., 1814. Purchased in May 1941, from Hamill & Barker.

26

J. K. Lilly began to form his collection of Sir Walter Scott in 1928, and he continued to add titles and upgrade his copies for the next two decades. Paying particular attention to condition, he eventually acquired all of the *Waverley* novels in original boards, as well as a presentation copy of *The Lady of the Lake*. In 1941, the Chicago firm of Hamill & Barker had in stock a large Scott collection from the library of P. A. Valentine. Valentine had purchased his Scotts from the London firm of Pickering and Chatto in 1907, and many of them were in excellent condition. Lilly already owned a first edition of *Waverley*, though not in the original boards, that he had acquired from Drake in 1934. He was concerned that the Valentine copy disagreed in two bibliographical points with the standard description of the book as given by Greville Worthington in his bibliography of the *Waverley* novels.

Before spending \$4,000 on the Valentine copy, Lilly sent the description to David Randall at Scribner's for his opinion. When he first began collecting, Lilly would sometimes consult with James F. Drake or Charles Goodspeed about major purchases from other dealers, though as he became more secure in his own knowledge, he asked these questions only occasionally. Randall gradually assumed the role previously held by Drake and Goodspeed, but ultimately, Lilly usually relied on his own sense and tended to use outside opinions as reinforcement. Randall agreed here that the *Waverley* was a

good purchase, and he wasn't bothered by two minor bibliographical discrepancies in such a complex book. Lilly retained his other copy as a bibliographical variant, and also added several other Scott titles from the Valentine collection.

27

JOHN GOWER. *Confessio Amantis*. Westminster: William Caxton, 1483. Purchased in January 1947, from The Rosenbach Company.

In June 1937, J. K. Lilly, "with fear and trembling," sent A. S. W. Rosenbach a list of twenty-nine books which were lacking from his holdings of Grolier Club One Hundred and Newton One Hundred titles. The list included the King James Bible of 1611, Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur*, Izaak Walton's *Compleat Angler*, Addison and Steele's *Spectator*, Thomas Love Peacock's *Nightmare Abbey*, and John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. Rosenbach promptly quoted the Huth copy of *Confessio Amantis*, with fifteen leaves in facsimile, at \$8,750. Lilly was not happy with imperfect books, but purchased this copy with the hope that a perfect copy might be secured someday. Rosenbach was not hopeful, and noted that "Caxtons are in a class by themselves, and the greatest collectors have to be satisfied with imperfect examples." Rosenbach did not, however, tell Lilly that he had had in stock since 1926 the perfect copy of the *Confessio Amantis* from the collection of John Clawson.

In late 1946, Lilly spotted the Clawson copy of the Gower in a Rosenbach Company catalogue, and wrote: "If you will refer to your records you will see that the Doctor sold me a copy of the Caxton *Confessio* almost ten years ago, that is in 1937. I take it that the current offering is a vastly superior copy although the copy I secured some years ago from you is probably not entirely without value! How about a trade?" Rosenbach responded: "For the past thirty years we have kept all our Caxtons together and have not sold a perfect example to anyone, holding the lot of perfect Caxtons to be sold en bloc. However, your statement appeals to me...." Rosenbach allowed Lilly \$11,000 for the copy purchased earlier, and for another \$17,500 in cash, the Clawson copy, which was previously in the libraries of the Duke of Roxburghe and the Duke of Devonshire, went to Lilly.

28

WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY. *Vanity Fair*. London: Bradbury and Evans, 1847-1848. Twenty parts in nineteen. Purchased in December 1948, from The Scribner Book Store.

A great deal more bibliographical research had been done on the works of Dickens issued in parts than on those of Thackeray, and although Lilly acquired in the late 1920s

a set of *Vanity Fair* in parts, it was not “prime.” Lilly sent the set to Randall for evaluation and possible improvement in October 1939, and Randall returned it in December: “...it isn’t the best set in the world, but there’s nothing we can do to better it just now, first because there isn’t a good set of *Vanity Fair* around, and second because I’m not sure what some of the parts should be. The last few parts come both dated and undated, and I have been unable to find out yet which is the right state....”

After giving the matter more thought, he wrote again in May 1940:

The problems of *Vanity Fair* are many and varied. As you know, I’ve been working on this for quite a long while, and am not through yet. Briefly, the situation is this: So far as I can ascertain, there are issue points both on the wrappers and textually in a fairly large number of the parts. I have a set now which is about 85% correct, so far as present research goes. Your set, so far as I recall, is bibliographically about 40% correct. I think that by putting the two sets together, a pretty close to 100% set, bibliographically, could be made, and such a set would be pretty nearly unique.

There’s not been nearly so much work put on *Vanity Fair* as on *Pickwick*, for some reason, and a prime *Vanity Fair* in my estimation is going to be as hard to find, if not harder, than a prime *Pickwick* in parts. As a matter of fact, there is not a *Vanity Fair* that is more than 75% perfect anywhere I know of, and I’ve examined most of the fine copies.

Randall proposed perfecting Lilly’s parts from the set that he had in stock, but at \$4,000, Lilly decided against it. The issue arose again after the war, when Randall had completed his research on *Vanity Fair* and published the results in the *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*. In June 1948 Randall sent an offprint to Lilly, who responded that, “One of these days when time hangs heavy on my hands I will check my copy against the data present in your opus, and doubtless find that it is a bit on the lousy side!” The matter rested there until December, when Randall visited Lilly with a set of the parts all of the first issue according to Randall’s research. For \$2,000 and the set purchased twenty years before, Lilly finally owned a prime *Vanity Fair*.

World Literature

It was only natural that J. K. Lilly's interests in collecting literature would expand to include literary classics in languages other than English. The question necessarily arose from time to time in Lilly's collecting of these works of which edition was the proper one to be considered for addition to the library. As a general collecting principle, Lilly had always attempted to find the earliest edition of a particular work, but he would consider later editions when they revealed significant textual changes, or when a copy was important or unique in some aspect. Lilly was also attempting to find literature in its original language, and this led to some conflicting cases. These cases were settled on an individual basis, with the help of David Randall and John Carter, and Lilly succeeded in building a collection of world literature remarkable for its scope and for the high standard of condition of the books included.

29

ASA DON DICKINSON. *One Thousand Best Books. The Household Guide to A Lifetime's Reading. A Variorum List Compiled from Many Authoritative Selections. With Descriptive Notes.* Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1924.

Dickinson's *One Thousand Best Books* is a distillation of more than fifty standard guides to reading and to "best books." For Lilly, it served generally throughout his collecting career as a guide to literature in its broad sense, and more particularly, as his want list of some of the most important books ever written. Lilly decided in the 1930s to begin to pursue books on the Dickinson list, and he made the decision to try to find the first edition of each work in the language in which it was originally written. Representing the productions of more than four hundred authors, from twenty-one nations, Dickinson's list presented a challenge to even the most determined collector. David Randall and John Carter of Scribner's assisted Lilly in his efforts, seeking out Dickinson titles and sending them to Lilly for his approval. While Lilly did not work exclusively

with Randall and Carter, they did supply Lilly with the vast majority of the Dickinson titles in his collection.

Much of Lilly's activity related to the Dickinson list was concentrated in the late 1930s, but he continued to add items at a less intensive pace for the next several years. By 1947, he was no longer revising his Dickinson want lists. Prices on some of the missing items had escalated far beyond what Lilly was willing to pay, and some of the Dickinson titles failed to arouse sufficient enthusiasm for their pursuit. There were still several authors whose works Lilly was seeking—Caesar, Balzac, Verne, and Ibsen, among others—but the period of focus on world literature was over. Even if Lilly never approached the ninety per cent completion of Dickinson that Randall claimed for him, he did make an extremely strong showing, and Lilly remains one of the few collectors to attempt the Dickinson list on such a large scale.

GUSTAVE FLAUBERT. *Madame Bovary*. Paris: Michel Lévy, 1857. Purchased in September 1932, from The Scribner Book Store.

30

Errata to *Madame Bovary*. Autograph manuscript. Purchased in August 1943, from The Scribner Book Store.

This first published edition of Flaubert's *Madame Bovary*, in its original wrappers, was one of Lilly's earliest acquisitions of modern Continental literature. Although purchased from Scribner's before David Randall began working at the firm, Randall did manage to obtain for Lilly a decade later Flaubert's three-page manuscript errata for the book. *Madame Bovary* was included in Dickinson's *One Thousand Best Books*, as was *Salammbô*, which Lilly acquired in a presentation copy from Randall in 1938. Lilly also decided to add two other Flaubert titles not on Dickinson's list—*La Tentation de Saint Antoine*, and *L'Éducation Sentimentale* (a presentation copy to Dumas fils), both purchased from Scribner's in the 1940s.

HOMER. [*Works*, in Greek]. Florence: Bernardus Nerlius, Nerius Nerlius, and Demetrius Damilas, 1488. Purchased in October 1935, from James F. Drake.

31

J. K. Lilly was rarely impulsive in his book purchases. The vast majority of his buying was done by mail, from catalogues or special quotes, and all books were sent subject

to his inspection and approval. Like all book collectors, Lilly was more likely to buy books when he could see them, and booksellers did find it profitable to make the trip to Indianapolis regularly, and Lilly paid frequent visits to shops in Chicago and on the East Coast. In October 1935, Lilly visited one of his New York booksellers, the firm of James F. Drake. While there, he selected a number of first editions of works by some of his favorite authors, including J. M. Barrie, Rudyard Kipling, and John Greenleaf Whittier. He also purchased two incunables—a 1470 Augsburg edition of *De Imitatione Christi*, and this 1488 Homer, the first printing of Homer's works in Greek. He already owned the famous translation of Homer into English by George Chapman, published in 1616, having purchased John Ruskin's copy of Chapman's Homer from Drake in 1932.

When the books arrived in Indianapolis a few days later, Lilly had second thoughts about the Homer, which he expressed in a letter to James H. Drake:

The whole transaction of taking over both the A Kempis and the Homer was rather impulsive and why I did not particularly note and raise a question concerning the lack of initial letters in the Homer is now a mystery to me.

I am familiar with the fact that the lack of initial letters in Fifteenth Century books is more or less common but I am decidedly of the opinion that the presence of well-executed, illuminated initials adds greatly to the value of a book of this period. The Hoe copy of Homer, of course, had all the initials present in red and blue and, I think, with some illumination in gold. Doubtless a copy of the "Opera Omnia" would be more valuable if contemporary and well-done initials were present. Is this not a fact?

Lilly requested a full and frank response from Drake, who replied with a lengthy letter, and a chart comparing the characteristics of the known copies. Drake noted that the book was not originally issued with illuminated initials, that Lilly's copy was "about as fine a copy as one can ever hope to find," and that it, in fact, had wider margins than the Hoe copy. Drake concluded: "Your copy is clean and unwashed and I honestly believe that the chances of getting a better copy of this great book in the next twenty-five years are practically nil." In his letter to Drake agreeing to retain this copy, Lilly had the final word: "If your fears are not realized and you do see another copy within the next twenty-five years in which well-executed initial letters are present, I trust you will allow me to exchange my copy for it if, after examination and consultation such a move seems indicated."

HELIODORUS, OF EMESA. *Aethiopica*. Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1552. Purchased in September 1937, from The Rosenbach Company.

32

Although Lilly was not a collector of fine bindings, books from the library of Jean Grolier (1479-1565) exercised a special appeal. One of the world's most famous book collectors and the namesake of the Grolier Club, Jean Grolier amassed a library of hundreds of volumes and commissioned bookbindings from some of the foremost binders of his day.

Lilly's Grolier volume, an edition of the *Aethiopica*, a Greek novel, was purchased from the Rosenbach Company on a personal visit during the late summer of 1937. Rosenbach had offered Lilly another Grolier binding six years earlier, but Lilly declined that copy, adding that he "would rather have one of the bindings in which colors appear than the straight gilt design." Most recently in the collection of Cyrus H. McCormick, the book had been in one famous collection after another since the early nineteenth century, including, among others, those of Richard Heber, Leopold Double, and Robert Hoe. In this case, as in others, Lilly followed his policy of purchasing the best example he could find. Grolier's copy of Heliodorus (in which colors do appear), bound by the "Cupid's Bow Binder," had been used as the frontispiece of William Loring Andrews's *Jean Grolier de Servier, Viscount d'Anguisy: Some Account of his Life and of his famous Library* (New York: The De Vinne Press, 1892), and was considered one of the finest examples of a Grolier binding available.

EURIPIDES. [*Works*, in Greek]. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1503. Purchased in November 1938, from The Scribner Book Store.

33

HERODOTUS and THUCYDIDES. [*Histories*, in Greek]. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502. Purchased in April 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

ARISTOPHANES. [*Comedies*, in Greek]. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1498. Purchased in November 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

PLUTARCH. [*Lives*, in Greek]. Florence: Philip Giunta, 1517. Purchased in April 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

SOPHOCLES. [*Tragedies*, in Greek]. Venice: Aldus Manutius, 1502. Purchased in October 1940, from The Scribner Book Store.

In April 1939, Lilly questioned David Randall, and John Carter of Scribner's London branch, about editions in Greek that Scribner's had offered of Plutarch, Herodotus, and Thucydides, whose texts had already appeared in Latin. Carter's lengthy reply summarized the basis on which Lilly had been proceeding, and offered further suggestions:

Actually these three cases bring up the old question of original versus translation, which is one of the things we discussed when he [Randall] and I were out to see you last year.

I understood from you that your plan for the Dickinson list as a whole is to get everything in the language in which it was written, and this ruling I have been following consistently in searching for the books.

Now, in general, publication of any book in the original language precedes the issue of a translation in any other language, although in fact there are exceptions to this, even in modern books.... Of most of this list, the fact that we want the original makes the task much harder, but also, of course, much more interesting; but there is one significant exception to the general rule outlined above, and that is Greek...it is in fact the case that the 15th century, which was prodigal of editions of the Latin classics, and of Latin translations of the Greek classics, produced comparatively little Greek printing.

...Now, unless you wish to break your rule of securing first editions in the original language of the books on your list, what you want of Plutarch, Pindar or Thucydides is the first edition in Greek, and no other. The Latin translations of a number of Greek classics precede these, as you have observed. They are also, in many cases, handsome and desirable books for their own sake; but they are none the less translations and nothing more. Needless to say, the decision in this matter rests entirely with you....

Lilly communicated the policy that he would follow to Carter two weeks later: "I am entirely agreeable to our continuing on the original basis of collecting books in first editions in the language of the country; however, if opportunity affords and purse permits, I should like to consider, in addition, the true first editions, in whatever language they may appear, of the authors and the titles present on the want-list you are working on." Lilly did add to this first Greek edition of Herodotus the first edition in Latin (1474), and as in the case of Chapman's translation of Homer, he would also occasionally acquire an important edition in English of a work to go with an appearance in its original language.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO. *Orationes*. Rome: Sweynheym and Pannartz, 1471. Purchased in March 1940, from The Scribner Book Store.

34

It is curious that while Lilly acquired a high percentage of the Greek works noted by Dickinson, he purchased very few early editions of works by ancient Roman authors. While he missed Virgil and Caesar, one high spot that he did obtain was this first edition of the collected orations of Cicero, printed in Rome by Conrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz, the first printers in Italy. There are few copies in American libraries today, and the book was scarce on the market even in 1940, when Randall quoted this copy to Lilly at \$825. The Cicero was offered along with six other literary works, all but one priced under \$50. Lilly requested that all seven books be sent to him on approval, but he noted in his letter that if when they arrived, "I am feeling a little poorer than I am today, I may send back the Cicero." Fortunately for The Lilly Library, he did not.

ÉMILE ZOLA. *Nana*. Paris: G. Charpentier, 1880. Inscribed by Zola to Leon Hennique. Purchased in May 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

35

In March 1939, David Randall offered what he described as a superlative copy of *Nana*, Zola's masterpiece, alphabetically the final item in Dickinson's list. This copy was one of five printed on China paper, and was inscribed by Zola to his friend, Leon Hennique. It had been bound shortly after publication by Pougetoux, Hennique's binder, in half green levant morocco. Lilly was not enthusiastic: "You will think me entirely idiotic, perhaps, but I would really rather have a copy of Zola's 'Nana' in wrappers, fine condition, than the exotically bound, presentation copy on China paper... Further the deponent saith not!" Two months later, after Lilly had had a chance to see this presentation copy himself on a visit to Scribner's, he relented and added it to his collection. Lilly bought five other Zola titles, all acquired that year from Scribner's, and all in their original wrappers.

JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE. *Faust. Ein Fragment*. Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen, 1790.

36

J. C. F. VON SCHILLER. *Wallenstein*. Frankfurt & Leipzig: 1800. Purchased in February 1939, from Argosy Book Store.

HEINRICH HEINE. *Buch der Lieder*. Hamburg: Hoffmann und Campe, 1827. Purchased in April 1948, from The Scribner Book Store.

German literature was well represented in Dickinson's list, and Lilly was able to acquire a good percentage of the titles that Dickinson noted. As was the case with much of the world literature in the collection, most of the German books were supplied by David Randall and John Carter at Scribner's, but a significant number also came from Louis Cohen at the Argosy Book Store in New York. Lilly's German-language holdings ranged widely, and included works by Kant, Lessing, the brothers Grimm, Karl Marx, and Gerhart Hauptmann. Although the majority of these titles were acquired before World War II during a period in which Lilly was active in pursuing books on the Dickinson list, he did take opportunities to fill in gaps during the post-war years when he was becoming much more active in Americana. One such opportunity was this copy of Heine's *Buch der Lieder*, in the original wrappers, from the collection of Carroll A. Wilson, purchased from Randall on one of his visits to the Eagle Crest Library.

37

GIORGIO VASARI. *Le Vite de Piu Eccellenti Architetti, Pittori, et Scultori Italiani*. Florence: Laurentius Torrentinus, 1550. Purchased in October 1938, from The Scribner Book Store.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI. *Il Principe* [with other works]. Rome: Antonio Blado, 1532. Purchased in June 1941, from The Scribner Book Store.

A number of Italian authors were included in Dickinson's list, and Lilly was able to obtain many important works. While he was never able to add early editions of Dante or Boccaccio to his collection, Lilly did find, among others, the 1483 first Latin edition of Marco Polo, the 1728 first edition of Cellini's *Autobiography*, and the two works shown here—Vasari's "Lives of the Artists" and Machiavelli's *The Prince*. John Carter turned up the Machiavelli, and Randall quoted this "book of fabulous rarity" to Lilly at \$1,000 "when (and if)" it arrived in New York. At a time when Atlantic shipping was being threatened by German submarines, Lilly suggested sending the book by air via the Lisbon Clipper, but it had already been sent by sea. Lilly's "silent prayers...that Mr. Machiavelli's book ... not fall prey to Herr Schickelgruber's mechanical fish" were answered, and the book was added to the library.

LEO TOLSTOY. [*War and Peace*, in Russian]. Moscow: T. Ris, 1868-1869. Purchased in June 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

IVAN TURGENEV. [*Fathers and Sons*, in Russian]. Moscow: V. Grachev, 1852. Purchased in July 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

FYODOR DOSTOYEVSKY. [*The Brothers Karamazov*, in Russian]. St. Petersburg: Pantelev, 1881. Purchased in October 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

The presence in J. K. Lilly's collection of Russian literature in the original language often surprises visitors to The Lilly Library. Lilly was one of the few American collectors of his day to seek Russian first editions, and in this area, as in other aspects of world literature, he worked almost exclusively with David Randall and John Carter. Of the half dozen Russian authors on Dickinson's list, Randall and Carter obtained for Lilly books by the three novelists who were best known—Dostoyevsky, Tolstoy, and Turgenev. Early editions of Russian books were not common in the United States, and Randall reported that he found *War and Peace* "more or less by accident." He set the price at \$450.00, noting that it was the first edition, "with all the half titles, and the first issue with the accent missing over the word *War* on the title page....I think it is a great bargain, when you consider that it is generally accepted as being the greatest novel in literature."

Americana

THE HISTORY of the United States was one of J. K. Lilly's longstanding interests. Beginning in the 1920s with purchases of books about the Midwest and about coastal New England, Lilly gradually built up a reading collection which included a number of standard histories, important biographical works, and editions of early American voyages and travels. He began to concentrate on the field much more seriously in the early 1940s, and by the end of World War II, Americana had supplanted literature as Lilly's main book collecting interest. With a concentrated series of acquisitions over the next few years from Rosenbach, Goodspeed's, Scribner's, and Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, Lilly developed a collection which illustrated the history of North America, from the voyages of Columbus in the fifteenth century to the settlement of the American West after the Civil War.

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[*The Bible, in Massachusetts*]. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Samuel Green, 1663, 1661. Private purchase, June 1929.

[*The Bible, in Massachusetts*]. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Samuel Green, 1685, 1680. Purchased in January 1951, from Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.

The Eliot Indian Bible, as this book has become known, is an icon of colonial Americana. In 1643, the Reverend John Eliot of Roxbury, Massachusetts, began his studies in Indian languages. He started preaching to the Indians in 1646, and began translating the Bible into Massachusetts in the 1650s. After additional supplies and labor were obtained for the small press at Cambridge, printing of the Bible got underway. With the assistance of Marmaduke Johnson and the Indian named James Printer, Green completed the New Testament in 1661, and the Old Testament in 1663. Both are contained in this volume.

David A. Randall characterized J. K. Lilly, Jr., as "America's Quiet Collector." Although this was certainly true during much of his collecting career, Lilly's enthusiasm

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.
A DECLARATION
BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA,
IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN in the Course of human Events, it becomes necessary for one People to dissolve the Political Bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the Earth, the separate and equal Station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent Respect to the Opinions of Mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the Separation.

We hold these Truths to be self-evident, that all Men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness—That to secure these Rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just Powers from the Consent of the Governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these Ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its Foundation on such Principles, and organizing its Powers in such Form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient Causes; and accordingly all Experience hath shewn, that Mankind are more disposed to suffer, while Evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the Forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long Train of Abuses and Usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, cyinces a Design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their Right, it is their Duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future Security. Such has been the patient Sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the Necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The History of the present King of Great-Britain is a History of repeated Injuries and Usurpations, all having in direct Object the Establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid World.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public Good.
He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing Importance, unless suspended in their Operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the Accommodation of large Districts of People, unless those People would relinquish the Right of Representation in the Legislature, a Right inestimable to them, and formidable to Tyrants only.

He has called together Legislative Bodies at Places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the Depository of their public Records, for the sole Purpose of fatiguing them into Compliance with his Measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly Firmness his Invasions on the Rights of the People.

He has refused for a long Time, after such Dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the Dangers of Invasion from without, and Convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that Purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their Migrations hither, and raising the Conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the Tenure of their Offices, and the Amount and Payment of their Salaries.

He has created a Multitude of new Offices, and sent hither Swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their Substance.

He has kept among us, in Times of Peace, Standing Armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a Jurisdiction foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our Laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large Bodies of Armed Troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all Parts of the World:

For imposing Taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us, in many Cases, of the Benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended Offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an arbitrary Government, and enlarging its Boundaries, so as to render it at once an Example and fit Instrument for introducing the same absolute Rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all Cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our Seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our Towns, and destroyed the Lives of our People.

He is, at this Time, transporting large Armies of foreign Mercenaries to compleat the Works of Death, Desolation, and Tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and Perfidy, scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous Ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized Nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the Executioners of their Friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic Insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the Inhabitants of our Frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known Rule of Warfare, is an undistinguished Destruction, of all Ages, Sexes and Conditions.

In every Stage of these Oppressions we have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble Terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated Injury. A Prince, whose Character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the Ruler of a free People.

Now have we been wanting in Attention to our British Brethren. We have warned them from Time to Time of Attempts by their Legislature to extend an unwarrantable Jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the Circumstances of our Emigration and Settlement here. We have appealed to their native Justice and Magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the Ties of our common Kindred to disavow these Usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our Connections and Correspondence. They too have been deaf to the Voice of Justice and of Consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the Necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of Mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace, Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in GENERAL CONGRESS, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the World for the Rectitude of our Intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly Publish and Declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be, FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES; that they are absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political Connection between them and the State of Great-Britain, is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which INDEPENDENT STATES may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes, and our sacred Honor.

Signed by ORDER and in BEHALF of the CONGRESS,

JOHN HANCOCK, PRESIDENT.

ATTEST.
CHARLES THOMSON, SECRETARY.

PHILADELPHIA: PRINTED BY JOHN DUNLAP.

THE

STAR SPANGLED BANNER

A PATRIOTIC SONG.

Baltimore. Printed and Sold at CARRS Music Store 30 Baltimore Street.
Air. Anacron in Heaven.

Con Spirito

O! say can you see by the dawn's early light, What so

proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming, Whose broad stripes & bright stars thro'

perilous fight, O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming. And the

Rockets' red glare, the Bombs bursting in air, Gave proof through the night that our

(Trsb.)

(Adapt. & Arr. by T.C.)

(Pl.1.)

2^d Time Chorus.

Flag was still there, O! say does that star spangled Banner yet wave, O'er the

Land of the free, and the home of the brave.

Sym. L.H.

On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep; And where is that band who so vauntingly swore:
Where the foes haughty host in dread silence crouch'd; That the havoc of war and the battle's confusion,
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep, As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses;
As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses; Then blood has wash'd out their foul footsteps' pollution!
Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam; No refuge could save the hireling and slave,
In full glory reflected new shines in the stream; From the terror of Flight or the gloom of the grave,
'Tis the star-spangled banner, O, long may it wave, And the star spangled banner, in triumph do'll,
O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave. O'er the Land &c.

O! thus be it ever when freemen shall stand
Between their lov'd home, and the war's desolation,
Blest with vict'ry and peace may the heav'n rescued land,
Praise the Pow'r that hath made and preserv'd us a nation!
Then conquer we must, when our cause is just,
And this be our motto: "In God is our Trust."
And the star spangled banner, in triumph shall wave,
O'er the Land &c.

For the Flute.

Con Spirito

Song.

(Trsb.)

(Adapt. & Arr. by T.C.)

(Pl.2.)

for books and his publication in 1928 and 1929 of ten lists, each containing one hundred interesting books and manuscripts drawn from his collection, brought him a certain amount of publicity. A newspaper article about Lilly's collection found its way to a couple in Iowa who had a first edition of the Eliot Indian Bible to sell. The couple wrote to Lilly, who telegraphed Charles Goodspeed in Boston and Marston Drake in New York for bibliographical help, and advice as to a fair price. The book was sent to Lilly for inspection, and a price was agreed upon.

When Lilly had inspected the book, he found that it lacked three leaves. Goodspeed's supplied the missing leaves from an incomplete copy, and today, the Eliot Indian Bible, with its original binding by John Ratcliff, is one of the treasures of the Lilly Library. Lilly later was able to add to his first edition of the Bible this copy of the second edition, also printed in Cambridge (with the New Testament appearing in 1680, and the Old Testament in 1685), which contains a presentation inscription dated 28 May 1686, from Increase Mather, as Acting President of Harvard College, to Johannes Leusden, Professor of Hebrew at the University of Utrecht.

MERIWETHER LEWIS and WILLIAM CLARK. *History of the Expedition Under the Command of Captains Lewis and Clark, to the sources of the Missouri, Thence Across the Rocky Mountains and Down the River Columbia to the Pacific Ocean*. Philadelphia: Bradford and Inskeep, 1814. Purchased in May 1943, from The Rosenbach Company.

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Although Lewis and Clark concluded their expedition of exploration in 1806, other duties delayed the compilation of the account of their travels. Lewis's death in 1810 further complicated matters, and it was not until 1814, with editorial help from Nicholas Biddle and Paul Allen, that the work was finally published. This first edition of Lewis and Clark's *History*, in the original printed boards, was ordered from Rosenbach's catalogue entitled *For Librarians, Collectors, and Scholars*. As always, Lilly was concerned about condition, wanting to know "whether the condition of this item is below average, average, or above average when compared to the way it usually turns up." Percy Lawler's reply was reassuring, and the book went to Lilly for \$585.00, plus 70 cents for express charges.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. Autograph letter, signed, to Norman B. Judd. Rushville, Illinois, October 20, 1858.

Political Debates Between Hon. Abraham Lincoln and Hon. Stephen A. Douglas, in the Celebrated Campaign of 1858, in Illinois.... Columbus, Ohio... Follet, Foster & Company..., 1860. Third edition. Inscribed by Lincoln to Stephen Winchester. Purchased in April 1948, from The Scribner Book Store.

[Emancipation Proclamation]. Abraham Lincoln. *By the President of the United States of America. A Proclamation.* [Philadelphia: Leypoldt, 1864]. Signed by President Lincoln and Secretary of State William H. Seward. Purchased in May 1944, from Goodspeed's Book Shop.

This letter, this inscribed copy of the Lincoln-Douglas debates, and this special printing of the Emancipation Proclamation signed by both Lincoln and Seward, are three of the more than a dozen Lincoln books and manuscripts that were in J. K. Lilly's collection. Although Lilly's Lincoln pieces have been dwarfed in number by the thousands of items in the Joseph B. Oakleaf collection in the Lilly Library, J. K. Lilly's careful selection and his attention to quality and condition are evident in his choices.

Obtained mostly in the 1940s, as Lilly was building up generally his holdings of Americana, each of the pieces illuminates key aspects of Lincoln's life and career. A first edition of the Lincoln-Douglas debates complements this inscribed third edition, as does this three-page letter from Lincoln, written during the 1858 Senatorial campaign. The letter contains Lincoln's proposed solution to the problem of fraudulent voters: "What I most dread is that they will introduce into the doubtful districts numbers of men who are legal voters in all respects except *residence* and who will swear to residence and thus put it beyond our power to exclude them.... I have a bare suggestion. When there is a known body of these voters, could not a true man, of the '*detective*' class, be introduced among them in disguise, who could, at the nick of time, control their votes? Think this over. It would be a great thing, when this trick is attempted upon us, to have the saddle come up on the other horse.... If we can head off the fraudulent votes we shall carry the day." Lincoln's years as President are documented by first editions of his first and second inaugural addresses; Lincoln's Gettysburg Address as included in *An Oration Delivered on the Battlefield of Gettysburg*, by Edward Everett; the Charles Sumner-James Wormley copy of the Thirteenth Amendment; and two editions of the Emancipation Proclamation—the official first printing, dated January 2, 1863, and this signed souvenir edition of the following year.

WILLIAM HUBBARD. *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England....* Boston: John Foster, 1677. The Hawthorne family copy, with the signatures of several family members, including Nathaniel Hawthorne. Purchased in June 1944, from The Rosenbach Company.

In March 1944, Lilly wrote to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, from whom he had been buying English literature for years, about his renewed interest in Americana. Although Lilly had been buying Americana since the 1920s, and had purchased Lewis and Clark's *History of the Expedition* from Rosenbach the year before, he had not yet been building his Americana collection systematically. For English literature, Lilly had as an ultimate checklist the Grolier Club's 1902 list, *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature*, but no such list existed for Americana. Lilly wrote: "What is running in my mind is that a selection of, say, a hundred outstanding items under the heading of Americana would be an interesting undertaking. Would you care to have made up a brief check-list of what in your opinion are the hundred most important pieces of Americana, making the selection more from the angle of historical importance to these United States than from the angle of rarity?"

Rosenbach sent his list the following month, after soliciting Lilly's opinions on particular books that should be included. Rosenbach also quoted to Lilly a number of books that he had in stock, including this beautiful copy in the original binding of Hubbard's *Narrative*, one of the key books relating to King Philip's War, and one of the earliest books printed in Boston. In addition to Hubbard's work, Lilly purchased from Rosenbach at this time more than a dozen other books related to American history, ranging from the 1504 second edition of *Mundus Novus*, by Amerigo Vespucci, to the first edition of *The Book of Mormon*, printed in Palmyra, New York, in 1830.

Edwin Wolf 2nd and John F. Fleming, both of whom worked for The Rosenbach Company at the time, described this sale in *Rosenbach: A Biography*. They noted that some of the books offered and sold to Lilly had been taken from his own private library shelves by Rosenbach, "certain that such prizes would lure Lilly into more profligate collecting," but Lilly "was not the plunger Dr. Rosenbach was looking for." Despite the large numbers of books and manuscripts that Lilly acquired, he could never be characterized as a plunger. Even when, as here, he bought books in quantity, each was considered separately and evaluated on its own merits. It was this judgment that gave Lilly's collection its character, and sustained his interest in it over three decades.

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HARRIET MARTINEAU. *Retrospect of Western Travel*. Autograph manuscript, signed. 690 leaves, entirely in the hand of the author, with corrections, notes and insertions. Written in England, circa 1837. Purchased in April 1947, from Harry A. Levinson.

Retrospect of Western Travel. London: Saunders and Otley, 1838. Purchased in September 1947, from Harry A. Levinson.

Lilly spotted this Harriet Martineau manuscript in a 1947 catalogue issued by Harry A. Levinson, then still doing business in New York before his move to Beverly Hills. He did not yet own a copy of the published book, and Levinson located a copy later in the year. The manuscript and published book recount the travels of Harriet Martineau (1802-1876) on her American journey between 1834 and 1836. Her trip was not merely a journey to fill her leisure time, but was intended as a trip to gather firsthand evidence toward her sociological and philosophical writings. Ardent in her feelings against slavery, she spent six months in the South, observing conditions firsthand. Her travels also took her to Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana, and her impressions of life on the frontier have been valuable to historians ever since. Martineau's *Retrospect of Western Travel* was one of the most substantial Americana manuscripts that Lilly acquired. He had been purchasing for years documents signed by important figures in American history, but he was extremely selective in adding book-length manuscripts to his collection.

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[*Constitution of the United States*]. Philadelphia: Dunlap and Claypoole, 1787.

ISAIAH THOMAS. *The History of Printing in America. With a Biography of Printers, and an Account of Newspapers. To which is Prefixed a concise View of the Discovery and Progress of the Art in Other Parts of the World*. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas, Junior, 1810. Inscribed on the flyleaf: "Wm Jenison, presented by Isaiah Thomas, Lld."

Both purchased in July 1947, from The Scribner Book Store.

While Lilly was increasing his pace of acquisitions of Americana after the war, the Grolier Club organized an exhibition in 1946 of "original editions of One Hundred

American Books Printed before 1900, chosen on the basis of their influence on the life and culture of the people.” The catalogue, entitled *One Hundred Influential American Books*, was published by The Grolier Club the following year, and included notes on each of the books, together with the background of the project and the selection committee’s reasons for inclusion. With the mounting of the exhibition, David Randall began to quote Lilly an increasing number of “Grolier American Hundred” titles, and the two pieces listed above were among those ordered from a group of catalogue descriptions sent to Lilly in July 1947.

Of Isaiah Thomas’s *History*, which Lilly acquired in this presentation copy in the original printed boards, the Grolier catalogue said: “Although a printed work, it is always considered a primary source, and is today the recognized authority on printing in the United States from 1640 to 1800. Much of the material which it contains can be found nowhere else.” The *Constitution* was the first printing of the text, as officially adopted on September 17, 1787, and was preceded only by two printed drafts for the use of the delegates to the Constitutional Convention. When Randall sent it to Lilly, he wrote: “On the Constitution, of course, I will allow you full credit for return should the privately printed version ever turn up (unlikely but just possible).” This first official printing remained the earliest of the three eighteenth-century editions of the *Constitution* that J. K. Lilly owned, but the Lilly Library was able to acquire in 1976 the printed draft prepared by the Committee of Detail and presented to the Convention on August 6, 1787.

Acts Passed at a Congress of the United States of America.... New York: Francis Childs and John Swaine, 1789. Purchased from The Scribner Book Store.

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This volume contains the acts passed by the first Congress, and includes the first printing of the Bill of Rights. This copy was presented by President George Washington to Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson, and is in its original presentation binding done by Thomas Allen of New York. Also present is the accompanying sheet on which an assistant to Washington has written: “The President of the United States requests the Secretary of State to accept the enclosed Volume of Laws passed during the first Session of the Congress of the United States. March 29th, 1790.” As was usual with Jefferson, he identified his ownership of the book by making two characteristic marks. On the printed sheet with the identifying signature “I” (there was normally no signature “J” in books of this period), Jefferson wrote the letter “T” in front of it. Correspondingly, he added the letter “I” after the signature “T.” Jefferson also corrected the

printed phrase “cruel or unusual imprisonments” to read “cruel or unusual punishments.”

Lilly owned several other significant Jefferson books and manuscripts. He acquired, among others, a presentation copy of the first edition, privately printed in Paris in 1782, as well as the first American edition of 1788 of Jefferson’s *Notes on the State of Virginia*, and also an autograph letter dated May 13, 1797, to Elbridge Gerry, in which Jefferson discussed the speculation over his possible succession to the Presidency:

When I retired from this place of the office of Secretary of state, it was in the firmest contemplation of never more returning here. There had indeed been suggestions in the public papers that I was looking towards a succession to the President’s chair. But feeling a consciousness of their falsehood, and observing that the suggestions came from hostile quarters, I considered them as intended merely to excite public odium against me....

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FRANCIS SCOTT KEY. *Defence of Fort M’Henry*. [Baltimore, 1814].

The Star Spangled Banner. A Pariotic [sic] Song. Baltimore: Carrs Music Store, [1814].

Both purchased as part of a group in July 1948, from The Scribner Book Store.

American patriotic music was of special interest to Lilly, as it was to his father, J. K. Lilly, Sr. While his father concentrated on Stephen Foster, and, to some extent, *The Star Spangled Banner*, J. K. Lilly, Jr., looked at the field more broadly. He had begun acquiring some pieces in the 1930s, and by the time of his purchase in 1948 of these early printings of *The Star Spangled Banner*, he already owned a holograph manuscript of *America*, by Samuel Francis Smith, together with its first appearance in print; a manuscript and first printing of Julia Ward Howe’s *Battle Hymn of the Republic*; and a manuscript and sheet music of Daniel Decatur Emmett’s *Dixie*.

David Randall had recently obtained several early versions of *The Star Spangled Banner* from the estate of the collector Carroll A. Wilson, and to these he added the first, second, and third published editions of the sheet music that he had just purchased from the Philadelphia dealer and music bibliographer, Harry Dichter. Included in the lot sold to Lilly were the two versions listed above—the broadside *Defence of Fort M’Henry*, which is the first printing of the poem with Key’s name recorded, and the 1814 Baltimore edition for voice and piano, with its misprint “Pariotic.” The purchase

of the lot gave Lilly the earliest obtainable printed version of the poem; the first Baltimore, New York, and Philadelphia editions of the sheet music; a better copy than he already owned of one of the songsters; an additional songster not previously in his collection; and the first magazine appearance of the poem.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS. *Epistola Christofori Colom....* Rome: Stephan Plannck, 1493. Purchased in December 1948, from Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.

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Epistola Christofori Colom.... Rome: Stephan Plannck, 1493. Purchased in July 1951, from Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.

These are the first and second editions in Latin of the letter written by Christopher Columbus, following his voyage, to officials at the Spanish court. Preceded only by a version in Spanish, of which but one copy is known (in the Lenox collection of the New York Public Library), this earliest obtainable report of the New World has long been sought by collectors. Lilly's copy of the first Latin edition of the Columbus letter was the highlight of an important collection of Americana formed in Europe by Baron Hardt and acquired by Lilly in late 1948 through Roland Tree of Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.

The Hardt collection was the most important group of early American materials that Lilly was to acquire. In addition to this first Latin edition of the Columbus letter, it contained many other important early works relating to the Spanish in the New World, and a number of Jesuit Relations, the annually published reports of Jesuit activities in New France, which Lilly had been collecting for several years. The account of the transaction given by H. P. Kraus in *A Rare Book Saga* is in error in several respects, including dating it in 1956 rather than 1948, and in listing the purchase price as \$100,000 rather than \$75,000.

The purchase of collections such as this was uncharacteristic of J. K. Lilly. He occasionally bought large groups of manuscript pieces, particularly those of James Whitcomb Riley, but almost always preferred to acquire books individually. Lilly often turned down already formed collections of books, gaining more enjoyment in building his library gradually and insuring that his high standards of condition were maintained. The Baron Hardt collection, however, presented Lilly with the chance to fill at once a number of important gaps in his Americana holdings, and gave him the opportunity to build on a stronger foundation.

The text of the second Latin edition, which Lilly purchased three years later, differs from the first in a few respects, one of them quite significant. In the first Latin edi-

tion, the name of Queen Isabella was unaccountably omitted, but a correction was made in this second edition, and the names of Ferdinand and Isabella appear here together.

48

CHARLES BLANCHARD. *Counties of Morgan, Monroe and Brown, Indiana. Historical and Biographical*. Chicago: F. A. Battey & Co., 1884. Probably acquired in the late 1940s, from The Hoosier Bookshop.

The history of Indiana was a special interest of Lilly's, and he built up a large collection of books and manuscripts documenting the people, events, and culture of the state, from the period of the Old Northwest Territory to the late nineteenth century. Included in his Indiana holdings were a large number of letters and documents related to William Henry Harrison; the first edition of the Indiana Constitution, printed in Louisville in 1816; books, pamphlets, and newspapers about the utopian colonies in New Harmony; and a gathering of state and county atlases, biographical dictionaries, and histories. Lilly made a particular effort to build up his collection of county histories, and had put together more than seventy-five of these by the time his books and manuscripts came to Indiana University. Produced mainly during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and often containing information not found in other sources, the group of county histories that Lilly acquired is basic to the Lilly Library's Indiana history holdings. One learns from the exhibited book, for example, about the early days of Bloomington: "Bloomington was the rendezvous for the general muster of the county militia once every year.... On that day men were free, that is, they were privileged from arrest, except for crime. They could fight, run horses, drink all kinds of liquid hell, and rave through the county seat at will on the public streets and grounds, and no one could molest or make them afraid.... Election days were similarly observed."

49

GEORGE WASHINGTON. *Mount Vernon, July 15, 1773. The Subscriber, having obtained patents for upwards of 20,000 acres of land, on the Ohio and great Kanhawa....* [Williamsburg, Virginia?, 1773]. Purchased in November 1949, from The Rosenbach Company.

I A. B. DO solemnly swear, that I DO renounce, refuse, and abjure, any Allegiance, or Obedience to George the III. King of Great-Britain.... [Exeter,

I know all men by these presents that I Daniel Boone of the
 County of Kentuckey and Commonwealth of Virginia have bargain
 ed and sold unto John and Robert Campbell of the County of Augusta
 and Commonwealth aforesaid Two Tracts or Parcels of Land, Lying &
 being in the County of Kentuckey for and in Consideration of the
 Sum of Six Thousand Pounds Current Money of Virginia, One Certifi-
 cate of Thomas Brooks for Fourteen Hundred acres Lying and being on
 the East Side of the Rocky Ford, fork of Licking Creek, adjoining
 Jesse Hodges land, and the other Certificate of David Warners for
 Fourteen Hundred acres Lying and being on the Waters of Licking
 Creek adjoining James Pees land on the South Side The said Daniel
 Boone doth bind himself, His Heirs Executors adm^r or assigns on
 the Sum of Twelve Thousand Pounds Current Money of Virginia
 unto the said John & Robert Camp. sell their Heirs or assigns,
 as Witness my Hand and seal this Seventh day of Aprile
 1780

Daniel Boone

The Condition of the above Obligation is such that
 if the above Bounden Daniel Boone doth make a good Sufficient
 Right and Title ^{to the above mentioned Land} clear of all Incumbrances Within the Space of Eighteen
 Months from the above Date unto the said John & Robert Campbell
 their Heirs or assigns Then the above Obligation to be Void, Or
 Else to Remain in full force of Virtue

Signed & sealed } Entered before signing & sealing
 in the presence of }
 William Gilman
 Manplemerig

Daniel Boone

New Hampshire: Robert L. Fowle, 1776?]. Purchased in February 1948, from Edward Eberstadt & Sons.

In this small printed broadside, George Washington advertises a plan for the lease of his West Virginia lands, “upon moderate terms,” which provide for rent-free occupancy in exchange for clearing and tilling, enclosing some of the land for meadows, and the planting of fruit trees. The document includes a blank portion on which Washington has written an explanatory note, signed, and dated October 17, 1773, giving further details of the proposal and offering an “explanation of the above Advertisement, & better understanding the Terms on which these Lands are intended to be Let.”

The Washington broadside was acquired by Lilly from John Fleming of The Rosenbach Company, who visited Lilly in Indianapolis in late 1949. As explained by Fleming and Edwin Wolf in *Rosenbach*, this small printed piece was found in a desk drawer in Dr. Rosenbach’s office in Philadelphia, with no one remembering having seen it before or knowing where it might have come from.

Lilly had acquired the previous year from the Eberstadt firm the other broadside exhibited here, an oath in which the swearer agrees to “support, maintain, and defend the INDEPENDENCE of all the United States of America, as the same was set forth by the Continental Congress, in their Declaration of the fourth of July 1776....” Thought to have been printed in New Hampshire at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, it has been called the first printed American oath of allegiance.

No other copies of either of these broadsides have been recorded.

[*The Declaration of Independence*]. Philadelphia: John Dunlap, July 4 or 5, 1776.

50

JOHN HANCOCK. Letter, signed, dated July 6, 1776, to Governor Cooke of Rhode Island, concerning the *Declaration of Independence*.

Purchased together in September 1951, from The Scribner Book Store.

This broadside is the first printing of the *Declaration of Independence*, printed by John Dunlap of Philadelphia on the night of July 4, 1776, and delivered to Congress the next morning. Although it is now estimated that between four and five hundred copies were produced, only twenty-four copies are now known, and at the time of Lilly’s purchase, only fourteen copies were recorded.

The *Declaration*, together with the Hancock letter, was acquired by David A. Randall of Scribner's from Henry Flynt, of Greenwich, Connecticut. Randall related in detail the circumstances of his purchase in *Dukedom Large Enough*, but the sale to Lilly was not a smooth one. As soon as he had acquired the broadside and letter, Randall enthusiastically offered them to Lilly, then at his summer home in Falmouth, Massachusetts: "I have just purchased an item of really considerable importance, and one which I've been trying to get for fifteen years. It is the original broadside printing of the *Declaration of Independence*...together with John Hancock's autograph letter of the same date about it.... There is no point in gilding the lilly [*sic*] over this. I can of course place this with any of half a dozen people, but I feel, as always with my major purchases, that you should have the first refusal.... The price is \$13500. and I may add, cheap at the price."

History has proven Randall correct, as the most recent copy of the *Declaration* to sell at auction brought \$2,200,000. Lilly, however, was a fastidious collector, and as Randall had failed to mention any details about the condition of the broadside, Lilly assumed that it was fine and fresh, as were most of the other pieces already in his collection. Since few copies of the *Declaration* have survived in fine and fresh condition, Lilly was in for a slight letdown, and so informed Randall when the package arrived: "I, of course, was disappointed in the condition of the broadside and I am inclined to feel that you should have told me about this when the item was originally offered. I am wondering if the condition of this, now my, copy of the broadside is about the worst of the fourteen in existence!" After a personal examination, Randall was able to respond that Lilly's "copy is better than any of the three at the Library of Congress. In fact it is so much better there is no comparison.... After seeing all I have seen I am extremely pleased with the condition of yours." Lilly was satisfied with Randall's assessment, and today the *Declaration of Independence* is one of the items most frequently requested by visitors to The Lilly Library.

SI

MAXIMILIAN ALEXANDER PHILIPP, PRINZ VON WIED-NEUWIED. *Reise in Das Innere Nord-America in den Jahren 1832 bis 1834*.... Coblenz: J. Hoelscher, 1839-1841.

Voyages dans l'Intérieur de l'Amérique du Nord.... Paris: Arthus Bertrand, 1840-1843.

Both purchased in April 1953, from Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles.

Prince Maximilian's account of his visit to America from 1832 to 1834, together with the color illustrations by Karl Bodmer, the artist who accompanied Maximilian, form one of the most beautiful and interesting books of American scenery and travel. The party visited New Harmony, and headed westward from Saint Louis, eventually spending the winter among the Mandans at Fort Clark in North Dakota, before returning to Saint Louis in May 1834. Bodmer's paintings done on the journey, on which the published illustrations were based, are among the most striking depictions of the American West. Although Lilly had collected Americana for years, he had not made a special effort to acquire the major color-plate books in the field. Maximilian's work was therefore not in Lilly's collection in early 1953, when Roland Tree offered him a group containing both the German and French texts, each in the original wrappers, together with a fine set of the plates. This was probably Lilly's last purchase from the firm of Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, as his interests had gradually shifted away from Americana, and were now almost exclusively focussed on science and medicine.

JOHN WINTHROP. Signed deed of land. Boston: December 31, 1644.

WILLIAM PENN. Autograph letter, signed, to Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex. London: September 17, 1677.

JOHN ALDEN. Deed of land, signed, and with twelve words in his autograph. Plymouth: July 2, 1685. Purchased in February 1947, from Goodspeed's Book Shop.

JOHN PAUL JONES. Autograph letter, signed, to John Rooch, Esq. Portsmouth: July 12, 1777. Purchased in February 1947, from Goodspeed's Book Shop.

GEORGE ROGERS CLARK. Draft to pay for cattle for his troops, signed "G R Clark." Fort Clark in the Illinois: June 19, 1779.

DANIEL BOONE. Deed of land in Kentucky, signed twice. April 7, 1780. Purchased in February 1947, from Goodspeed's Book Shop.

DAVID CROCKETT. Autograph letter, signed, to Daniel W. Pounds. Washington: January 6, 1831.

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Throughout his collecting career, J. K. Lilly was attracted to literary and historical documents, and he would occasionally add them to his collection. In addition to major American historical figures such as Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, he built up a small group of autograph letters and signed documents of a number of influential figures in American history, of which a sampling is shown here. Lilly never attempted, as did so many collectors in his generation, to collect a set of signatures or documents of the signers of the *Declaration of Independence* or the *Constitution*, and although he was offered such sets regularly, he always turned them down. Lilly was particularly drawn to documents signed by notable figures of colonial New England, such as these land transactions signed by John Winthrop and John Alden; the quest for religious freedom in America, illustrated by this letter of William Penn to Charles Sackville, in which Penn discusses the religious persecution that he has suffered due to his non-conformity; ships and the sea, exemplified by this letter of John Paul Jones; and the changing frontier, seen in these documents signed by George Rogers Clark and Daniel Boone, and in this letter written by Davy Crockett, during his term in Washington as a member of Congress.

Science and Medicine

SCIENTIFIC and medical books were the last areas of concentration for J. K. Lilly in his book collecting. Lilly had acquired occasional items in science and medicine since the early 1930s, but the subjects were not then priorities in his collecting. At that time, Lilly was concentrating mainly on English and American literature, but he broadened his sights in the mid-1930s to include world literature, and he worked mainly with David Randall and John Carter at Scribner's. Once he did decide to focus on science and medicine in the late 1940s, he developed the same kind of working arrangement with Scribner's that he had when he was collecting world literature. Randall would search for books in the United States, Carter would work in Britain and on the Continent, and all business would be transacted through the New York office of Scribner's. On a regular basis, Randall would send descriptions of books, or shipments on approval. Lilly would generally keep most of them, but almost always would make some returns based on condition or lack of interest in a title. Although Lilly was not working exclusively with Scribner's, the majority of his purchases in science and medicine did come from that firm.

Unlike some of Lilly's other areas of collecting, there were no standard published lists of the key books in the areas of science and medicine to use as guides. Bern Dibner's *Heralds of Science* was not published until 1955, and Harrison Horblit's Grolier Club catalogue, *One Hundred Books Famous in Science*, did not appear until 1964. As Lilly's holdings grew, he wanted to make sure that he was acquiring the major as well as the minor pieces, and discussed his concerns with Carter and Randall. Randall began to compile a list of important medical books, but there was some uneasiness surrounding this. Lilly had asked a bookseller for a "key books" list once before, when he requested from Rosenbach in 1944 a list of what Rosenbach considered to be the one hundred most important books in Americana. The list that resulted seemed to contain an inordinate number of books that happened to be in Rosenbach's stock at the time, and this was an experience that Lilly didn't want to repeat. Though Randall assured Lilly that the medical book list in preparation would not contain anything that Randall then had available for sale, it must have been with some relief on Randall's part that Carter was able to persuade the noted medical librarian William R. Le Fanu to take on the task. Carter reported to Lilly in February 1952 that Le Fanu's list had

been completed, and in the letter, summarized the reasons for compilation of such a list, as well as its parameters:

Dave will have told you that I had persuaded the Librarian of the Royal College of Surgeons to prepare for our and your private guidance a list of 200 key books in the history of medicine and surgery. The Osler catalogue and Garrison-Morton's medical bibliography...are invaluable reference books; but even Garrison-Morton contains over 5,500 items, and I felt that we needed something more selective to assist us at this present stage. The library of the Royal College of Surgeons is about the best of its kind in this country, and it is the only one whose librarian is seriously interested in the aspects of the matter with which we are concerned. I think, therefore, that we have got the best and most authoritative advice available. Mr. Le Fanu has asked me to make it clear that his list inevitably is no more than a skeleton, and he is pardonably anxious that you should not suppose because, for instance, he has represented Paré by *La Methode de Traicté Les Playes*, that Paré's other books are not also, as everyone knows, of major importance.

Le Fanu's list ranges in coverage from Johannes de Ketham's *Fasciculus Anatomiae* of 1491 to Howard Florey's *Antibiotics*, published in 1949. Randall and Carter paid special attention to books on Le Fanu's list, and offered them to Lilly whenever they could.

Another list of books, covering works important in science, was commissioned by Randall, who intended to use it as a guide for Lilly. On April 20, 1954, Randall wrote to Lilly that he has "also been working on a comprehensive list of the key books in science with Bernard Cohen of Harvard. Cohen is the editor of *Isis*, the top flight scientific magazine, and is the historian of science at Harvard. When I get this list out of him, which will probably be sometime in the fall, I will of course send a copy along to you." The list actually was completed in April 1955, too late to influence Lilly in his collecting but certainly valuable to Randall and to The Lilly Library. The list of two hundred fifty books runs from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, and includes general scientific works, as well as specialist works in physics, chemistry, astronomy, the earth sciences, and biology.

Lilly's scientific collections finally totalled approximately five hundred volumes, well chosen for their importance and individually selected based on condition and association. As in the other areas of Lilly's collecting, The Lilly Library has continued to build on the foundation that J. K. Lilly provided, and the Library owes its strength today to his foresight and discrimination.

SIR WILLIAM OSLER. "Christmas and the Microscope." In *Hardwicke's Science-Gossip: An Illustrated Medium of Interchange and Gossip for Students and Lovers of Nature*. London: Robert Hardwicke, 1870.

Aequanimitas, with Other Addresses to Medical Students, Nurses and Practitioners of Medicine. London: H. K. Lewis, 1904. Probably purchased in 1937, from The Scribner Book Store.

The writings of the eminent physician, collector, and humanist Sir William Osler were gathered in depth by J. K. Lilly. Beginning in the 1930s and continuing until his collection came to Indiana University, Lilly acquired from a wide variety of sources more than one hundred Osler pieces covering the full range of his work. Shown here are two Osler works from Lilly's collection: "Christmas and the Microscope," Osler's first signed piece, which appeared in *Science-Gossip* before his twentieth birthday; and the first edition of *Aequanimitas*, one of Osler's best-known collections of addresses.

In a Lilly Library exhibition catalogue of J. K. Lilly's medical collection, Randall noted the additional significance that *Aequanimitas* held for Lilly:

This great book had a special attraction for him because, as he explained, the Eli Lilly Company, instead of giving medical school graduates a few sample bottles of pills as a souvenir of this momentous occasion, had come up with a different idea. They sent each a copy of *Aequanimitas* with the following letter:

Dear Doctor:

Together with congratulations on your attainment of a medical degree, this volume of addresses by Sir William Osler, who adorned your profession in the United States for so many years, is cordially presented.

As the addresses by this master mind of modern medicine are read, may you catch his vision of the almost boundless possibilities of your chosen profession.

May you share with him his "relish of knowledge" and his absorbing love and passionate, persistent search for truth.

Above all, may there come to you an inspiration which will enable you to live a rich, a happy, and an abundant life.

Sincerely yours,
Eli Lilly and Company

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John Hawkesworth. *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere....* London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1773.

James Cook. *A Voyage Towards the South Pole, and Round the World. Performed in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775.* London: Printed for W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1777.

A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, Undertaken, By the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere.... London: Printed by W. and A. Strahan for G. Nicol and T. Cadell, 1784.

Purchased in August 1937, from The Scribner Book Store.

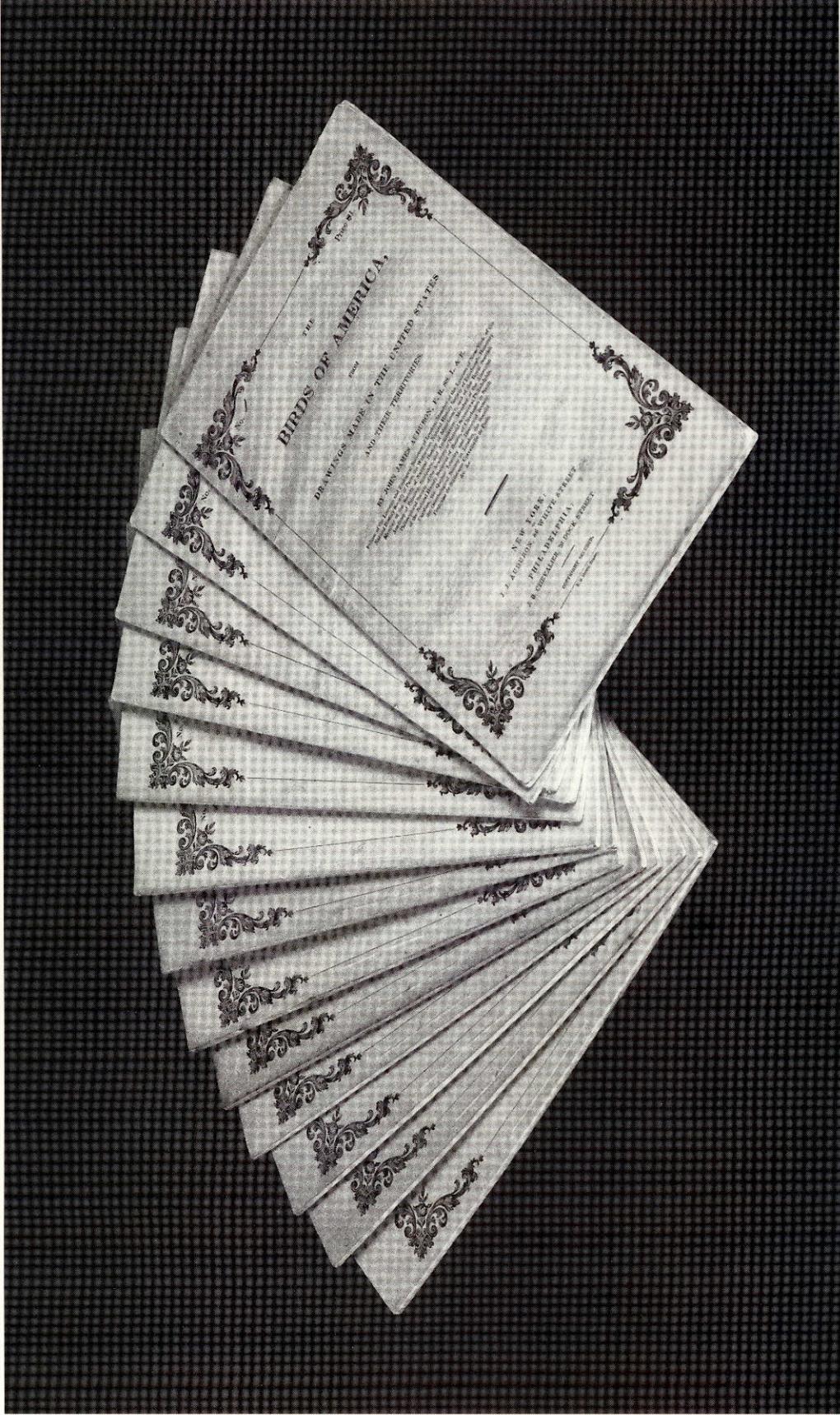
Works of seamanship and navigation figured prominently in J. K. Lilly's collecting. Lilly loved the sea, and nautical books were among his earliest purchases when he began collecting in the 1920s. He had a standing order for the new volumes, in their limited edition form, issued by the Maritime History Association, and he continued to add voyages, maritime history, piracy, navigational manuals, books about sailing ships, and naval biography to his collection as the opportunity arose. He also added to his books and manuscripts accurately detailed scale models of sailing ships, including models of yachts that had won the America's Cup, many of which he commissioned. When Lilly donated his collection to Indiana University, he retained a large portion of his nautical materials and continued to expand the collection and to read widely in the area, particularly in the subject of maritime fiction. In 1962, Lilly donated his nautical collections, including fifty-seven scale models, to the library and museum at Mystic Seaport in Connecticut.

This beautiful set of Cook's voyages, all in the original boards, was purchased by Lilly during a visit to Scribner's while on his summer vacation on Cape Cod. Cook's descriptions of the West Coast of America and of the discovery of Hawaii make the set an important source in any collection of Americana, but the vast amount of navigational, geographic, and ethnographic data set forth for the first time in these volumes also insures their place in a scientific collection.

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JOHN JAMES AUDUBON. *The Birds of America.* London: 1827-1838. Purchased in November 1939, from The Scribner Book Store.

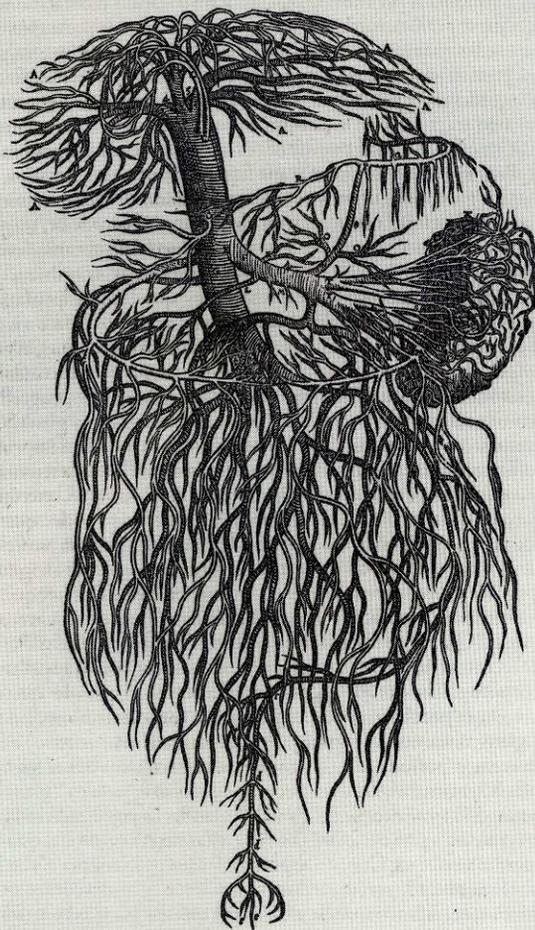
The Birds of America. New York: J. J. Audubon; Philadelphia: J. B.



No. 55 John James Audubon

VENAE PORTAE ORTVS, IPSIVSQUE
propaginum series. Caput V.

VENAE PORTAE AB VNIVERSIS QVL
BVS COMMITTITVR PARTIBVS LIBERAE, INTEGRA
delineatio, in ea proportione expressa, ad quam secundum praesentem si-
guram aliquis iecur, bilis uesiculam, uentriculum, lienem, omen-
tum, mesenterium & intestina ex illorum magnitudi-
ne, ac insuper in suo situ depingeret.



INVDÆ VENÆ PORTÆ DELINEATIONIS
characterum Index.

A, A etc. QVINQVE his characteribus portæ uenæ propagines indicantur, per iecoris
 corpus diffuse, & hic uelut iecoris formam secundum cauam ipsius sedem exprimentes.
1, 2, 3, 4, 5 Numerus iste quinque portæ uenæ ramos (nisi subinde etiã pauciores sint) notat, ex quibus ipsius
 caudex quodammodo proximè cõstituitur, aut in quos is primùm in iecoris substantiam digeritur.
 Venæ

EXERCITATIO
ANATOMICA DE
MOTV CORDIS ET SAN-
GVINIS IN ANIMALI-

BVS,
GVILIELMI HARVEI ANGLI,
*Medici Regii, & Professoris Anatomia in Col-
legio Medicorum Londinensi.*



FRANCOVRTI,
Sumptibus GVILIELMI FITZERI.

ANNO M. DC. XXVIII.

alio d' Harvey W. Aldus

Chevalier, 1840-1844. Purchased in September 1943, from Goodspeed's Book Shop.

J. K. Lilly's copy of Audubon's *Birds of America* is one of the most popular tourist attractions in The Lilly Library today. With its 435 beautiful hand-colored plates, it is now on permanent display in the library's main gallery, thanks to the display case provided by The Friends of The Lilly Library. With a new illustration on view each week, it will take eight and one-half years to show the entire set. Lilly's acquisition of the double-elephant folio Audubon was described by David Randall in *Dukedom Large Enough*. Lilly had been offered sets of the Audubon before, but had turned them down because, according to Randall, he "had no place to put it, except under a billiard table." This set came with its own mahogany floor-standing case, and after Lilly's "careful measurement" revealed that the case could be accommodated, the decision was made.

No such impediment prevented Lilly from acquiring the first American edition of Audubon, a much smaller-in-size but equally interesting work. There was no text in the double-elephant folio Audubon, except for the identification of the birds in the legends to the plates. This was a deliberate decision on Audubon's part, taken to avoid the mandatory deposit of copies in British copyright libraries. The descriptive text was issued separately in five volumes, entitled *Ornithological Biography*, and published in Edinburgh between 1831 and 1839. When the first American edition of Audubon's *Birds* was published in Philadelphia, in one hundred parts, from 1840 to 1844, the number of illustrations was increased to five hundred, and it had a full descriptive text taken from *Ornithological Biography*. Lilly's set of the American edition of Audubon, acquired from Goodspeed's a few years after he purchased the double-elephant folio, is in wonderful condition, with all of the original printed paper wrappers intact.

NICOLAUS COPERNICUS. *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium....* Nuremberg: Joannes Petreius, 1543. Purchased in March 1946, from The Scribner Book Store.

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The publication in 1543 of this book by Copernicus has been seen as the beginning of the scientific revolution. By setting forth a detailed theory of a universe in which the earth revolved around the sun, Copernicus presented to the learned community a serious challenge to the prevailing view that the earth stood at rest in the center of the universe. Of sufficient significance to be one of fewer than two dozen scientific works included in Asa Don Dickinson's *One Thousand Best Books*, *De Revolutionibus* had been on Lilly's want list when he was building up his collection of world literature in the late 1930s. David Randall recalled Lilly's interest in the book when John Carter sent a

copy to Scribner's from England, and he held it for Lilly to see on his next visit to New York. One of the cornerstones of Lilly's science collection, this copy includes an additional inserted leaf, with the recto containing a repetition of the title and the verso containing errata.

57

ROBERT BOYLE. *The Sceptical Chymist: Or Chymico-Physical Doubts & Paradoxes....* London: Printed by J. Cadwell for J. Crooke, 1661. Purchased in February 1948, from William H. Robinson, Ltd.

Lilly had been offered books by the London firm of William H. Robinson since the 1930s, but he had yet to make a major purchase. Lionel Robinson visited Lilly in Indianapolis in April 1939, and in his letter to Lilly on his return to England said of Lilly's library, "It is really the most superb private collection I have ever seen, and I have a vivid memory of the beautiful condition of all the books." Lilly was not, however, in the market for the treasures that the Robinsons offered him, such as the Holkham Hall copy of the 1459 Mainz Psalter, but he continued his correspondence with Lionel Robinson, and bought an occasional book.

The Robinsons had purchased in 1946 the rich and voluminous remainder of the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, and their *Catalogue 77*, issued in 1948, was filled with wonderful books and manuscripts from the Phillipps collection. While Lilly was then concentrating on Americana, he was also devoting more attention to the history of science. He ordered from the catalogue the Phillipps copy, in contemporary calf, of the first edition of *The Sceptical Chymist*, Robert Boyle's attempt to integrate emerging scientific principles with the study of chemistry.

58

SIR ISAAC NEWTON. *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica*. London: Joseph Streater, for The Royal Society, 1687. Purchased in January 1952, from The Scribner Book Store.

"The Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy," or the *Principia*, as Newton's masterpiece became known, has been described as the greatest work in the history of science. This book contains Newton's law of universal gravitation, and his explanation of the dynamics of planetary orbits. Newton's "great system of the cosmos" remained standard for more than two centuries, and his theories are still in use today. This copy of the *Principia*, bound in contemporary gilt-stamped calf, is one of two variant copies of the first edition in Lilly's collection.

Richard S. Westfall, Newton's biographer, called the *Principia* "the culmination of a momentous intellectual development spread over the previous century and a half that had transformed Western mankind's conception of nature." The published works of the leaders of this intellectual revolution—Copernicus, Vesalius, Kepler, Fabricius, Boyle, Hooke, Descartes, Malpighi, Harvey, Galileo, and many others—were all found in J. K. Lilly's collection, alongside works by Lavoisier, Faraday, Curie, Darwin, Pasteur, Fermi, and others who built on the work of Newton and his predecessors.

ANDREAS VESALIUS. *...de Humani corporis fabrica Libri septem*. Basel: Joannes Oporinus, 1543. Purchased in March 1952, from H. P. Kraus.

59

This great anatomical work by Vesalius is one of the most important medical books. Employing detailed woodcut illustrations to accompany his text, Vesalius presented human anatomy in far greater detail than any work published to date. Although he owned a copy of the second edition of Vesalius, printed in 1545, J. K. Lilly had been searching for a good copy of the 1543 first edition for some time, when he was offered one by H. P. Kraus in August 1951. Bound in contemporary vellum, it was an acceptable copy, and Lilly retained it at \$2,300. Lilly had dealt with Kraus for several years, primarily in the area of science and medicine. Kraus knew that Lilly was a fastidious collector, and was interested, particularly with respect to key books in the field, in upgrading his copies whenever there was a chance to acquire one in extremely good condition. When Kraus offered Lilly in February 1952 this copy of the first edition in contemporary pigskin, described by Kraus as "the finest I have ever seen with respect to preservation and binding," Lilly agreed to Kraus's offer of an exchange with an additional payment of \$680. Lilly also purchased from Kraus, in 1953, a copy of the first edition of Vesalius printed in England, the London edition of 1545.

WILLIAM HARVEY. *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus*. Frankfurt: 1628. Purchased in August 1953, from The Scribner Book Store.

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"Together with Vesalius's *Fabrica* (1543), ...[*De motu cordis*]...shares the honour as the greatest book in the history of medicine. By fundamentally changing our conceptions of the functions of the heart and blood vessels, Harvey pointed the way to reform of all of physiology and medicine. During the mid 17th century new mechanical and

chemical systems of physiology incorporated the circulation as a basic assumption in the explanation of a wide range of vital phenomena, and while subsequent developments in physiology have led to great changes in thinking about the functions of the circulation, they have abundantly confirmed the importance of Harvey's discovery as the cornerstone of modern physiology and medicine" (*Morton's Medical Bibliography*, edited by Jeremy M. Norman, fifth edition, Scholar Press, 1991).

Lilly was well aware of the importance of Harvey's work, but he also knew well the difficulties in obtaining it. He had already been searching for a good copy for several years, when John Carter wrote to him in February 1952:

...as far as I am aware, only two copies have been in the market in the past fifteen or twenty years. By comparison with it, therefore, such books as Copernicus and Vesalius are actually common. This I know is a book you particularly want, and I have accordingly been through the census of surviving copies, which was compiled about ten years ago, in the hope of finding one which could be pried loose from its moorings; and I have had passes made at several German libraries which I thought might possibly be willing to sell. So far, however, we have drawn blank, and I have been equally unsuccessful in an attempt on one of two copies in the University Library at Edinburgh. The only result of extensive enquiries on the continent is the location of one somewhat battered copy of *De Motu Cordis*, lacking the title-page, and although, if the man through whom I am working secured this, the price would be reasonable, I do not imagine that such a copy would satisfy you.

Such a copy did not satisfy Lilly, and the search continued. Success finally came the following year, when Carter was able to obtain a copy through the bookseller Ernst Weil. When it finally arrived in New York, Randall was able to say that "a very swagger copy it is indeed, in the original vellum binding and with the necessary plates and the errata slip. It is foxed slightly, as usual, but not nearly as badly as most of the few existing copies, and it is additionally enhanced by having on the fly leaf an inscription in Latin by its original owner..."

With the acquisition of the Harvey, a major gap in Lilly's medical holdings had been filled. Summer purchases from Scribner's consumed the amount that Lilly had allocated for his 1953 Scribner's purchases, and he called a halt until the new year. He informed Randall that he had allocated \$10,000 for Scribner's purchases in 1954, down substantially from the 1953 allocation of \$24,000. This slowdown signalled a major shift in Lilly's collecting. Although he did continue to seek important pieces and to fill in some minor items, he was already contemplating the decisions that led ultimately to the gift of his collection of books and manuscripts to Indiana University.

Lilly's Booksellers

J. K. Lilly, Jr., dealt with a wide variety of booksellers and private individuals during his three decades as a collector of books and manuscripts. This is amply evidenced by the thousands of letters he wrote (most of them typed by his longtime secretary, Mary E. Armington), now held by The Lilly Library. Lilly worked almost exclusively with American booksellers, but he would occasionally buy a book from the London firms of William H. Robinson or Maggs Brothers, and he did deal extensively with Raphael King in the area of medical books. While many of Lilly's booksellers are mentioned in the text of the catalogue, the following presents a more complete list of some of the principal booksellers upon whom Lilly relied. The information is based on the correspondence and records in The Lilly Library, which, though extensive, are incomplete.

THE ALDUS BOOK COMPANY, New York City. Lilly carried on a regular correspondence with Travers S. Browne of The Aldus Book Company during the period 1927-1937. He purchased a large number of Mark Twain titles from Browne, including the manuscript of *The Quaker City Holy Land Excursion*.

AMERICAN LIBRARY SERVICE, New York City. American Library Service was one of Lilly's main sources for James Whitcomb Riley during the years 1936-1939, when Lilly was building up his Riley holdings in preparation for work by Anthony and Dorothy Russo on the Riley bibliography.

ARGOSY BOOK STORE, New York City. Lilly purchased a number of literary titles from Argosy between 1938 and 1950.

ARGUS BOOK SHOP, Chicago, Illinois, and New York City. The Argus Book Shop, operated by Ben Abramson, was a regular supplier of modern British and American first editions, during the period 1927-1946.

G. A. BAKER & COMPANY, New York City. Max Harzof of G. A. Baker sold a collection of correspondence between Edgar Allan Poe and Sarah Helen Whitman to Lilly in 1930, and also, through his salesman David A. Randall, sold Lilly some very good English literature. Lilly's business with Harzof tapered off after the early 1930s.

R. E. BANTA, Crawfordsville, Indiana. In addition to compiling *Indiana Authors and Their Books, 1816-1916*, R. E. Banta was a bookseller, who was one of Lilly's steady sources after World War II for midwestern literature and history.

BRENTANO'S, New York City. Brentano's was one of the first firms with which Lilly dealt, buying first editions of American and British authors. Lilly continued to patronize the firm, but in a more limited manner as he widened his contacts with other booksellers. As his interests shifted to Americana in the 1940s, Brentano's supplied him with an occasional book, mainly in the area of patriotic music.

I. R. BRUSSEL, Brooklyn, New York. I. R. Brussel, the "Last of the Great Scouts," began supplying Lilly with Harry Castlemon titles in 1937. Brussel continued to do extensive business with Lilly, mainly in American literature, through the late 1940s.

THE CENTAUR BOOK SHOP, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. The Centaur Book Shop was one of the many shops with which Lilly dealt in the late 1920s, during the period in which he was focussing on American literature.

COLLECTORS' BOOKSHOP, New York City. Beginning in 1937, John S. Van E. Kohn of the Collectors' Bookshop, and later of Seven Gables Bookshop, was one of Lilly's principal suppliers of American literature, adding hundreds of titles to Lilly's holdings.

JAMES F. DRAKE, New York City. The firm of James F. Drake was Lilly's major bookseller during the first several years of his collecting. He relied on the Drakes for advice, he used the firm as his agent in securing protective cases for his books, and he purchased a large amount of American and English literature, as well as general rare books. Although he continued to do business with the firm until 1952, the vast majority of his dealings were prior to World War II.

DUTTONS, New York City. J. K. Lilly let Duttons know in 1930 of his interest in the works of John Lyly and William Lilly. Duttons quoted and sold Lilly a number of minor titles by these authors over the next several years.

EDWARD EBERSTADT & SONS, New York City. During 1948 and 1949, when Lilly was at the height of his purchases of Americana, the Eberstadts supplied him with some of his most interesting eighteenth- and nineteenth-century items, including the small 1776 New Hampshire broadside that has been called the first printed American oath of allegiance.

THOMAS J. GANNON, New York City. Another of Lilly's booksellers for American literature, including Edgar Allan Poe, was Thomas J. Gannon of New York. Lilly pur-

chased a great deal of nineteenth-century literature from Gannon, with most of the transactions taking place prior to World War II.

GOODSPEED'S BOOK SHOP, Boston, Massachusetts. From 1927 until Lilly curtailed his book collecting activities, Goodspeed's remained one of Lilly's major sources for American books and manuscripts. Much of Lilly's holdings of Emerson, Thoreau, Hawthorne, and Poe came from Goodspeed's, as did a large number of literary and historical manuscripts.

HAMILL & BARKER, Chicago, Illinois. Lilly purchased English literature, principally Sir Walter Scott, from Frances Hamill and Margery Barker, and nearly bought from them in 1942 a large collection of Molière first editions. The correspondence paused for several years after Hamill wrote in early 1943 that she and Margery Barker were suspending their business and that they planned "to go into ordnance work as soon as our stock is safely stored."

CHARLES F. HEARTMAN, Metuchen, New Jersey, and Hattiesburg, Mississippi. Lilly occasionally bought Americana from Heartman, beginning in 1931, and also cooperated with Heartman's requests for information on Lilly's Poe holdings in connection with Heartman's bibliographical work on Poe.

WALTER M. HILL, Chicago, Illinois. Lilly bought a great deal of English and American literature from Hill's firm, beginning in the late 1920s and continuing for the next ten years. Lilly's business with Hill diminished as he began to concentrate on world literature in the mid- to late-1930s, and as he turned more frequently to David Randall of Scribner's for advice and special requests.

THE HOOSIER BOOKSHOP, Indianapolis, Indiana. Anthony and Dorothy Russo were booksellers as well as bibliographers, and the firm supplied Lilly with midwestern literature until 1945.

WRIGHT HOWES, Chicago, Illinois. Wright Howes, author of *U.S.iana*, sold Lilly a number of books from 1927 to 1948, ranging from Walter Pater to a Doves Press *Paradise Lost*, but consisting primarily of American literature and history.

RAPHAEL KING, London, England. Next to Scribner's, Raphael King was Lilly's leading supplier of medical books, with most of Lilly's purchases occurring in 1952. Lilly obtained from King, among many other titles, Sir Charles Bell's *Idea of A New Anatomy of the Brain* (London, 1811), Timothy Bright's *A Treatise of Melancholie* (London, 1586), and *Two Discourses Concerning the Soul of Brutes*, by Thomas Willis (London, 1683).

H. P. KRAUS, New York City. Kraus was one of Lilly's booksellers in the late 1940s and early 1950s in the field of medical works, supplying him with, among other books, the first edition of the anatomy of Vesalius.

CHARLES E. LAURIAT COMPANY, Boston, Massachusetts. Lilly began dealing with Lauriat in 1927, and purchased a wide variety of books and manuscripts over the next twelve years, including first editions of Twain and Dickens, four manuscript chapters of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona*, and an eleven-volume Blaeu atlas.

HARRY A. LEVINSON, New York City. Lilly bought British and American literature from Levinson, including the manuscript of Harriet Martineau's *Retrospect of Western Travel*.

THOMAS F. MADIGAN, New York City. Lilly obtained a number of James Whitcomb Riley manuscripts from Madigan throughout the 1930s.

MERIDIAN BOOKSHOP, Indianapolis, Indiana. Lilly patronized Arthur Zinkin's Meridian Bookshop in the late 1920s, and purchased new and old private press books, including books produced at the Nonesuch and Kelmscott presses, a variety of English literature, and general rare books.

HOWARD S. MOTT, JR., New York City. Mott was one of a small number of booksellers on whom Lilly relied for his American literature, the major subject which Lilly was collecting in depth. Lilly probably began dealing with Mott in 1938, and continued to work with him until Lilly donated his collection to Indiana University. Lilly would frequently update the want lists which he sent to Mott, and he relied on Mott's judgment and knowledge of his standards of condition.

MICHAEL PAPANTONIO, New York City. Lilly dealt extensively with Papantonio from 1936 to 1942, buying a variety of American and British literature. He continued his patronage after Papantonio joined forces with John S. Van E. Kohn in the Seven Gables Bookshop.

THE ROSENBACH COMPANY, New York City, and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach sold Lilly some of his greatest books and manuscripts. Rosenbach was charismatic and the leading bookseller of his day, and Lilly yielded to his enthusiasm and persuasion, and bought from him Grolier Hundred titles, great books of Americana, literary manuscripts, and a binding from the library of Jean Grolier. Although Lilly sometimes felt that Rosenbach's prices were high, he returned again and again until shortly before Dr. Rosenbach's death in 1952.

THE SCRIBNER BOOK STORE, New York City. Although Lilly had been dealing with Scribner's since 1932, it was the arrival of David A. Randall at Scribner's in 1935 that eventually made the firm the favorite place for Lilly to buy books. Lilly relied on Randall (along with John Carter of the London branch of Scribner's) as his primary source for world literature, science, and medicine, and as a frequent supplier of high-quality Americana, American and British literature, and rare books in other fields. Lilly came to depend on Randall over the years, and Randall took a personal interest in the growth of Lilly's collection. Lilly's gift of the collection to Indiana University was followed closely by Randall's appointment as Rare Book Librarian and Professor of Bibliography. Randall also served as the first director of The Lilly Library, from the opening of the Library in 1960 until his death on May 25, 1975.

HENRY STEVENS, SON & STILES, London, England, and New York City. Lilly's chief bookseller for Americana was Roland Tree, the American representative of the long-established firm of Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles. From the late 1930s through 1954, Tree supplied Lilly with early editions of explorers' narratives, important voyages and travels, and numerous editions of the Jesuit relations. Tree also sold to Lilly in 1948 the Baron Hardt collection of Americana, giving Lilly the first edition in Latin of the Columbus letter.

HARRY STONE, New York City. Harry Stone supplied good-quality American literature to Lilly in the late 1920s and the 1930s, including first editions of Mark Twain, and a number of books and at least one manuscript of Edgar Allan Poe. Lilly's business dwindled in the late 1930s as he broadened his literature collecting and moved away from his early concentration on Twain and Poe.

GABRIEL WELLS, New York City. Lilly dealt with Wells sporadically, from the mid-1920s through 1941. All of Lilly's other transactions with him were eclipsed by the purchase from Wells in 1935 of the four Shakespeare folios.

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