

Collecting, Auctions, and the Book Trade

EVERY PUBLIC TALK has an assigned name and a secret name—just as T. S. Eliot’s cats all had secret names. The secret title of this talk is: “The Rare Book Community: 1 Nun, 2 Jakes, and the Reign of Terry.”

Let’s start with the Nun. She was Mother Katharine Drexel, the second American-born saint. When her banker father died in 1885, she inherited about \$5 million, which would be about \$80 million today. She became a nun, and by 1891 she had founded the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament for Indians and Colored People. By the time of her death in 1955, the order had established 12 schools for Native Americans and more than 100 rural and inner-city schools for African Americans, including Xavier University in New Orleans. The Ku Klux Klan, which was anti-Catholic as well as racist, posed a problem for her efforts, but that problem ended in 1922 in Beaumont, Texas. The Klan threatened to bomb one of her churches and run the priest out of town in tar and feathers. Mother Katharine and her nuns prayed for intercession, and 2 days later a tornado destroyed the Klan’s headquarters there, killing at least 2 Klansmen.¹ It wasn’t nice to fool with Mother Katharine.

Libraries have Mother Katharine to thank for the “Nun Rule.” In 1924 a special tax provision was established just for her. The Unlimited Charitable Deduction stated that, if your charitable gifts and income taxes together in the preceding nine (later eight) years surpassed 90 percent of your taxable income, then you were entitled to an unlimited tax deduction.²

1. The Vatican’s capsule biography is “Katharine Drexel (1858–1955),” available online at www.vatican.va/news_services/liturgy/saints/ns_lit_doc_20001001_katharine-drexel_en.html. Accounts of the Beaumont incident vary as to whether the Klan headquarters was destroyed by a tornado—see, for instance, “Katharine Drexel’s Kevo,” available online at www.kevo.com/profile/katharinedrexel/Biography—or by lightning during a thunderstorm—see, for instance, “The Legacy of St. Katharine Drexel,” available online at www.americancatholic.org/Messenger/Oct2000/feature1.asp. Somehow the tornado—a whirlwind—seems a bit more biblical (Accessed 31 December 2009).

2. “Rich Nun’s Fortune Exempted from Tax,” *New York Times*, May 29, 1924, 2, 6; *Revenue Act of 1924*, ch. 235, 214(10)(E), 43 Stat. 271. The provisions were loosened a bit by the *Revenue Act of 1934*, ch. 277, 120, 48 Stat. 1808.

Eventually, after the Depression ended, more than 150 very high income folks took advantage of the Nun Rule in a single year. And a passel of other private legislation was sitting there just waiting for an inspired accountant to put it to another purpose. Typical was the case of Henry F. du Pont. According to his daughter: “During the 1950s my father’s counselors saw the enormous advantage of this law [the Nun Rule] both for the museum and for my father himself. After proving that he qualified for the deduction because of gifts he had made over the preceding ten years, he was able to contribute annually to the Winterthur Museum objects equal in value to his seven-digit income and was therefore relieved from paying a huge federal income tax. As an added bonus, the antiques were assessed at their current market value rather than their purchase prices. The significance of this tax break was staggering...”³

Starting in 1953, corporations could give charitable contributions to any institution that had to do with social responsibility, rather than just to charities that directly affected their employees. The 1954 Revenue Act also set up rules for establishing a 501(c)(3) organization, making it easier to know what the government considered to be a bona fide recipient of the highest tax deduction.⁴

Take all these tax goodies, jumpstart the postwar economy, mix in some accounting magic with foundations and trusts (which proliferated like rabbits), remove wartime currency restrictions, and hey presto, you get an era of unprecedented spending on libraries and their special collections. The party continued in full swing until it was damped down a bit by the Tax Reform Act of 1969. In the two decades before that reform act, the American tax code was the best friend of Special Collections and of libraries in general. And the tax benefits party continued, though at a lower level of hilarity, until the early 1980s.⁵

From the end of World War II to 1980, the marginal tax rates ranged from a high of 94 percent of everything over \$100,000 in wartime 1945 to a low of about 70 percent in the late 1970s.⁶ Did high tax rates mean that the wealthy gave less to charity? Not a bit of it.

3. Quoted in Ruth Lord, *Henry F. du Pont and Winterthur* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), 182. See also: Eileen Shanahan, “Mills Will Examine Tax Returns of 155 Who Paid Nothing,” *The New York Times*, March 22, 1969, 1, 18.

4. The landmark case that changed the rules for corporations was *A.P. Smith Manufacturing Company v. Barlow et al.*, 13 N.J. 145 (1953). A stockholder had sued Smith after the company gave Princeton \$1,000. See: 26 U.S.C. /Sec 501(c)(3). Note that, in 1954, the GE Foundation started the first matching gifts program for the employees of General Electric. See National Philanthropic Trust, *History of Philanthropy (1900–1999)*, available online at www.nptrust.org/philanthropy/history_philanthropy_1900s.asp (Accessed 31 December 2009).

5. One of the best accounts of the abuses and events leading to the *Tax Reform Act of 1986* is Jeffrey H. Birnbaum and Alan S. Murray, *Showdown at Gucci Gulch* (New York: Random House, 1987).

6. See the table online at www.truthandpolitics.org/top-rates.php (Accessed 31 December 2009).

You could get deductions for charitable giving up to 30 percent of your taxable income, and you could give away a partial interest in an object or collection year after year while retaining a life interest so that you could keep it at home.⁷

Lessing Rosenwald, who gave more than 20,000 prints and drawings to the National Gallery and some 3,000 major books and manuscripts to the Library of Congress, was happy when he could deduct his gifts over a period of years and keep them in his home in Jenkintown, Pennsylvania. He was not at all pleased when the partial interest law was changed in the 1960s “so that if you wanted deductibility you had to DELIVER. Since then, I’ve retained title to new purchases, but I send them to the Library of Congress and the National Gallery for cataloguing, and I’m leaving them to these places in my will.”⁸

Regulations concerning appraisal in the 1940s and 1950s were minimal, so the opportunities to game the system were almost unlimited. And if you were an inheritor, chances were that you now possessed a load of property that had appreciated. Auction after auction in the 1945–1960 period featured works sold for the benefit of charities.⁹

The highest price for a book during this period was \$151,000 (about \$1,450,000 today) for the Bay Psalm Book sold at Parke-Bernet on January 28, 1947, inevitably to Dr. A.W.S. Rosenbach, the premier dealer of his day. Cornelius Vanderbilt had bought this copy in 1879 for \$1,200, and it was sold by the family trustees of the Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney Trust to fund an obstetrical department in her honor at the North County Community Hospital in Glen Cove, Long Island. As the three trustees were her children, it seems as though they were celebrating their own births. Moreover, the underbidder on the book was Cornelius Vanderbilt Whitney, who was one of the three trustees—that would not be allowed today.¹⁰

The best part of the story, though, is that a group of 30 donors united to pay for the book and give it to Yale; some of these donors had nothing really to do with

7. The limit, which had crept up from 15 to 20 percent, was raised to 30 percent in 1954; in 1964, carry-forwards were allowed. See: Mirandy Perry Fleischer, “Why Limit Charity?” University of Colorado Law School Legal Studies Research Paper Series, Paper XX–YY, Feb. 2007, 4, fn. 12.

8. Quoted in “Collector,” *The New Yorker*, March 10, 1973, 30.

9. 26 U.S.C. Sec. 1.170-1(c), on the subject of donations of property, said, “The amount of the deduction is determined by the fair market value at the time of the contribution,” which led to all sorts of abuses. See, for instance, Milton Bracker, “Tax Deductions on Donated Art to Get Closer Federal Scrutiny,” *New York Times*, January 17, 1962, 1, 24; John Canady, “Tax Laws Make U.S. a Patron of Arts,” *New York Times*, December 28, 1965, 37, 44.

10. “Rare Puritan Book to Go at Auction,” *New York Times*, June 8, 1947, 21. After I gave this talk, I learned that the wonderful art librarian, Claudia Funke, was born in this obstetrical unit a few years later, so perhaps this sale was a better idea than it first seemed.

Yale, but they were part of a social network and they thought it was the right thing to do.¹¹

Some prominent philanthropists of this period were first-generation, like Joseph Bridwell, who gave collections and a library building, as well as funding, and saw to it that the Bridwell Foundation continued after his death to fund two renovations and expansions and a variety of programs.¹²

But most of the philanthropic collectors in this period were inheritors. Not all of them were aware of the changes in tax laws. Josiah Lilly, Jr., for example, in 1954 asked David Randall to sell his books for him because he had decided to give up collecting. But Lilly's lawyers and accountants said, "No, give them away, and a building too." So Randall became Lilly's first librarian at Indiana University's Lilly Library, which opened on October 3, 1960.¹³

The biblio-linked wealthy people Josiah Lilly referred to as "our effete Eastern friends" were model library philanthropists for the already-developed cultural institutions in the Eastern United States. And two of the best among the Eastern group were Wilmarth Lewis and—the greatest of them all—Paul Mellon, who personally and through his foundations made huge and magnificent donations on both sides of Atlantic.¹⁴

Now this is where our first Jake, Mr. John Waynflete Carter, glides into this narrative. Yes, he was known as Jake. Carter is best known to us today as half of the team of bibliographers who famously exposed T.J. Wise as a forger (incidentally changing bibliography forever) and as the author of the *ABC for Book Collectors* and of *New Paths in Book Collecting*.¹⁵

11. Thanks are due to Sarah S. Fisher at the Beinecke Library at Yale, who called up the book, read me the list of donors, and faxed me a copy of "Some Thoughts on the Bay Psalm Book of 1640 with a Census of Copies," *Yale University Library Gazette*, January 1948, vol. 22, no. 3, 51–67. The donors bear listing here: George Arents, Edwin J. Beinecke, Bollingen Foundation (Paul Mellon), Mark Bortman, Albert H. Childs Memorial Fund, William R. Coe, Ralph Esmerian, Belle da Costa Greene, Mr. & Mrs. Raymond E. Hartz, Arthur A. Houghton Jr., Mr. & Mrs. Roy A. Hunt, Mr. & Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, F.A. Kettaneh, William H. Coester, Russell C. Leffingwell, Mrs. George A. Martin, Mrs. G. Macculloch Miller, H.A. Oriel, Clara S. Peck, Louis M. Rabinowitz, A.S.W. Rosenbach, Lessing J. Rosenwald, Mortimer & Adele Schiff Foundation, Thomas W. Streeter, Henry C. Taylor, John Hay Whitney, Christian A. Zabriskie.

12. "About Bridwell Library," available online at <http://smu.edu/bridwell/aboutus/aboutbrid.html> (Accessed 31 December 2009).

13. Donald C. Dickinson, *John Carter: The Taste & Technique of a Bookman* (New Castle: Oak Knoll Press, 1994), 208; David Anton Randall and Dean H. Keller, *David Anton Randall 1905–1975* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1992), 11–14, 41–55.

14. Lilly in a letter to Jacob Blanck on November 5, 1943, quoted in Randall & Keller, p. 12

15. Carter was a favorite of *New Yorker* writers. He even inspired Dwight Macdonald to recapitulate the story of the Wise forgeries in a very long article, "Annals of Crime: The First Editions of T.J. Wise," *New Yorker*, November 10, 1962, 168–205.

To the East Coast biblio-Establishment, however, he represented “one of us, even though he’s in trade.” Indeed, Carter was the very embodiment of the Establishment in England to East Coast America. Impeccably accented, mannered, and dressed—he even sported a pipe and a monocle—he represented what Anglophilic (and they all were) upper-class New Englanders and New Yorkers and Washingtonians wanted to look and sound like.¹⁶

Carter had everything an Establishment man in England could want—except money. He went to Eton, where he was in the same class as George Orwell, and was elected to the elite Eton Society, or “Pop,” as it was known, meaning that he became a senior prefect. After graduating from King’s College, Cambridge, he took a job with the London office of Charles Scribner’s Sons, where his responsibility was acquiring rare books for the New York store. Thus he became familiar with how the trade and auctions worked. He was with Scribner’s until 1953, except for four years during World War II, living part of the year on each side of the Atlantic.

From the beginning, he also loved the exhibitions and parties at the Grolier Club, the Morgan Library, the New York Public Library, and so on, which, he said, “brought together collectors, printers, dealers and librarians in a way that was almost entirely unknown in London.” Carter was an eminently social creature who not only made a perfect dry martini but also wrote an article on how it was done.¹⁷

While looking as though it all came easily to him, Carter managed to write more than 108 articles, 22 books, and 42 contributions to books. The 108 articles were for 32 different periodicals, ranging from *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, through *Trusts and Estates* to *Vogue* and *House and Garden*. Along with everything else, Carter was one of the greatest rare book propagandists of his day.

Carter bought books for many wealthy people and institutions, for Frederick Adams at the Morgan and for Wilmarth Lewis, who was determined to own everything that had to do with Horace Walpole, for he thought that Walpole was connected to everything in the 18th century. When Lewis and Carter wrote to each other, they referred to Walpole letters, books, and other items as BTCs, which stood for Bits of the True Cross.¹⁸

16. The quoted words are those of Aubrey Morgan, who headed the British Information Services in New York during World War II, characterizing the American view of Carter, in conversation with me in the autumn of 1972.

17. Quoted in Dickinson, 38. “The Dry Martini,” in *Flash in the Pan*, Ernestine Carter (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1953), 129–33.

18. Dickinson, 287.

When it came to collecting, Mr. Lewis was shameless, even with family. His brother-in-law was Hugh Auchincloss, whose wives included Gore Vidal's mother and Jackie Kennedy's mother. Auchincloss had a fine collection of some 3,000 18th-century prints, which Mr. Lewis "borrowed" for his collection at Farmington and never gave back. It was all for scholarly research, and it was all destined for Yale. Lewis was an unstoppable force. He rode all over Yale University Press in the course of producing the 48 volumes of Walpole correspondence with his own staff of up to 12 employees. With the help of Jake Carter, and others as well, Lewis would winkle Walpole items out of libraries by offering outrageous trades for them.¹⁹

Carter also helped Lewis by making him the American corresponding member of the Biblios, an elite group in England that included people like the genius typographer Stanley Morison, bindings masters Anthony Hobson and Michael Sadleir, the bibliographer and first editor of *The Book Collector*, John Hayward, top dealers, and publishers.²⁰

Mr. Lewis tried unsuccessfully to get Jake Carter to become a curator at the Library of Congress during World War II. This was partly because Lewis had been recruited by Archibald MacLeish, then the Librarian of Congress, to head the Office of the Coordinator of Information, which was the information-gathering and knowledge-base arm of the OSS, the Office of Strategic Services, which was the precursor of the CIA. Wilmarth Lewis was nothing less than the Google of his day.²¹

Mr. Lewis also wanted Jake Carter around because he was chairing a committee of librarians and formulating a plan for after the war for American libraries to secure a copy of every book published abroad by divvying up responsibility for acquisitions. Each of the participating American libraries would be responsible for one country. The Farmington Plan, named for Mr. Lewis's place of residence, was not a total success, but it brought in hundreds of thousands of books and, by 1961, covered 145 nations. Wilmarth Lewis merely wanted to organize all the world's knowledge and writings, and perhaps that's what bibliography is really about.

19. Geoffrey T. Hellman, "Profiles: The Steward of Strawberry Hill," *New Yorker*, August 6, 1949, 22–37, and August 13, 1949, 31–41; Hellman, "Onward and Upward with the Arts: Farmington Revisited," *New Yorker*, October 31, 1959, 156–72; Hellman, "The Age of Wilmarth Lewis," *New Yorker*, October 15, 1973, 104–11. While others in my speech are referred to by their last names, he is referred to as "Mr. Lewis" because, with the exception of the happy few who called him "Lefty," he was addressed as Mr. Lewis even by people who had known him for more than 20 years. The first time I went to his house, in the early 1970s, because he was a widower he asked me to pour the tea, to "be Mother." He was so formidable, though charming, that you would have thought that "Mother" had a serious palsy problem. I somehow managed to get through teatime, but it was not a pretty performance.

20. Dickinson, 76–77.

21. Hellman, Profiles, part 2, 36; Robin W. Winks, *Cloak & Gown: Scholars in the Secret War, 1939-1961* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 96-115.

Though Carter decided not to join any of Mr. Lewis's operations, he did come to the aid of another prominent Yale graduate and benefactor, Paul Mellon, in 1952.

A little background is necessary here. Carter had been instrumental in the campaign to liberalize the trade and currency controls that had been put in place in 1939 because of the war. His continuing business depended on his ability to trade across the ocean. He wrote an anonymous article in the *Times Literary Supplement* called "The Heritage of Culture," which argued that export regulations should be rationalized rather than just saying no to export. If something really was a national treasure, then the government should find a way to fund the retaining of it in Britain rather than just telling the would-be seller: too bad, you have to keep it.²²

Soon, enough voices had been raised for the former Chancellor of the Exchequer, John Anderson, Viscount Waverley, to chair a committee to figure out what to do. The resulting report led to the establishment of a commission that is still in force today and that in 2007–2008 received 12, 236 applications for export licenses covering a total of 37,190 items.²³

Now let's go back to Paul Mellon's problem. In early 1952, Mellon bought, through Carter at Scribner's, Sir William Stirling's unique and gorgeous copy of William Blake's *Jerusalem*, elaborately hand-colored by Blake himself, and Mellon bought five Blake paintings from Stirling as well. These were located in Scotland at Keir House in the part of Perthshire associated with Macbeth.

The British Museum objected to the sale, and the Board of Trade turned down the request for an export license. But Carter knew just how to negotiate this export. He waited until the Waverley guidelines had been put in place and then made an appeal, citing the excellent Trianon Press facsimile of this copy that had been made in 1951 and noting that it was entirely silly to have an alleged national treasure mouldering in the wilds of Scotland in somebody's personal library. As an added sweetener in the campaign to secure *Jerusalem*, Carter, on Mellon's behalf, agreed to give Blake's *Virgin and Child in Egypt* to the Victoria and Albert Museum and to sell in England at a nominal price the other Blake paintings he had bought from Stirling. That did it. And it brought Carter more Mellon business for books that eventually went to Yale.²⁴

22. In terms of trade and currency controls, the act specifically targeted was the *Import, Export and Customs Powers (Defence) Act, 1939, 2 & 3 Geo. 6 Ch. 69*. Carter's article is "The Heritage of Culture," *Times Literary Supplement*, December 18, 1948, 705–06. Note that currency restrictions were relaxed in 1954 and further in 1959—see Kennett Love, "Art Boom Livens Trade in London," *New York Times*, May 27, 1959, 37.

23. Vivian F. Wang, "Whose Responsibility? The Waverley System, Past and Present," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 2008, 15: 227–69.

24. Dickinson, 311–14; Dickinson doesn't specify what painting or where it went, but see www.vam.ac.uk/images/image/4982-popup.html for an image of the painting given to the V & A (Accessed 31 December 2009).

When Carter mistakenly bought a Gutenberg Bible in England in January 1952, with \$116,000 of Charles Scribner's money, he himself had a problem. He didn't know that Estelle Doheny had already bought a Gutenberg Old Testament and was no longer in the market. Undaunted, he got Geoffrey Hellman of *The New Yorker* to do an enticing piece about Carter bringing the Bible to America on a plane and avoided disaster by selling the Bible to Arthur Houghton, Jr.²⁵

The Anglo-American Establishment was always there for Carter, as he was there for them. When Scribner's closed its London operation, Sotheby's chairman Vere Pilkington, a fellow Etonian, made Carter the Sotheby's representative in the United States in 1955, whereupon Donald Hyde found Carter an office in the Wall Street area (Hyde and his wife, Mary, were both socially prominent and prominent Johnsonians—at the time of her death she was Viscountess Eccles). When Carter needed to tour the United States to bang the drum for Sotheby's, the English-Speaking Union footed the bill. The Let's-Pillage-America-and-Sell-the-Spoils-in-England team of old Etonians at Sotheby's—Peter Wilson, Peregrine Pollen, and John Carter—succeeded so well that America's foremost arts auction house, Parke-Bernet, fell to Sotheby's ownership in 1964.²⁶

Social connections and social networking with the very wealthy and socially prominent were the very essence of John Carter's book-dealing career, much to the benefit of libraries, especially Yale. (When I first met him, in 1970 in London, I carried a formal letter of introduction from Allen T. Hazen, who was the bibliographer of Horace Walpole. That made me acceptable to meet—but can you imagine taking a handwritten letter of introduction anywhere, let alone to an auction house, today?) Anyway, for our purposes, Jake Carter represents the East Coast and its networked dealings among collectors, librarians, dealers, university presses, and publishers. High WASP-dom was Carter's beat. In his sartorial splendor, demeanor, and general approach to life, he couldn't have been more different from “the other Jake” as the two men called each other.²⁷

The other Jake represents the West Coast, a completely different sort of social network. That Jake was Jacob Israel Zeitlin, Jew from Texas, poet, bohemian, lover of life, leftist, bookseller extraordinaire, and sartorial unmade bed. Jake was a magnet

25. Geoffrey T. Hellman, The Talk of the Town, “Gutenberg Bible,” *The New Yorker*, February 17, 1951, 21–23; Dickinson, 145–49.

26. Dickinson, 204–06, 225–32.

27. One must never forget that Carter's wife, Ernestine, was the Anna Wintour of her day, a woman of enormous importance in the world of fashion, well beyond her position as woman's page editor and then associate editor of the *Sunday Times*. She carried tremendous social cachet. For “the other Jake,” see Zeitlin, “Books and the Imagination: Fifty Years of Rare Books.” Oral history interviews conducted by Joel Gardner from June 28, 1977, to September 24, 1979 (UCLA: Oral History Program, 1980). 2 vols. This reference is on p. 344 of vol. II.

for creative people, and he knew that great bookselling is great theater. Not only was Jake at the first RBMS meeting, he had already been a featured speaker at the 1955 session of the Committee on Rare Books, Manuscripts, and Special Collections at ALA in Philadelphia. There, according to Frances J. Brewer, he pleased all librarians by suggesting that “dealers in some cases can find benefactors who will buy and present books to libraries.” The first time I ever met him (he was 80; I was 40) he greeted me with the words “How is it that we don’t know each other?” as though it were a cosmic omission that had to be corrected. And he promptly introduced me to several zillion people, including Franklin Murphy, the former Chancellor of the University of California, Los Angeles, who loomed very large in Jake’s life and who was a key factor in his crowning professional triumph. Murphy once said that the cultural coming of age in Los Angeles was an explosive moment: “all of this has happened in 30 years. Whereas in New York, you had 150 years.”²⁸

Jake Zeitlin arrived on foot in Los Angeles in 1927 with no money at all, hoping to be the next Carl Sandburg. He settled for being a bookseller, his first bookshop being about 6 feet wide and in a disused doorway entrance. But there was something about Jake that made people want to help him, to lend him money or whatever he needed. Of his many bohemian friends, he said that “to such people, money is not the main motivation; they may like spaghetti and wine and women and conversation and not getting up in the morning to go to a job, but all believe in practicing something that is their justification for being, whether it be dancing, writing, sculpting or music.”²⁹

Among the people fixed like magnets to Jake’s shops were architects like Lloyd Wright; writers like Carey McWilliams and Louis Adamic; printers like Ward Ritchie, Bruce McAllister, Grant Dahlstrom, and Saul Marks; and such artists as the photographer Edward Weston (you could buy a photo off the back wall for \$2) and Paul Landacre, whose wife worked at the shop. And Jake held first-in-the-West exhibits of Kaethe Kollwitz and other artists. His Rounce and Coffin Club, which came to number more than 70 members, mixed printers with librarians and others. He started a magazine, *Opinion*, and at least 3 private presses, including the Primavera Press. He came to know everybody from Robinson Jeffers to Frieda Lawrence to Aldous Huxley, and he represented the estates of Huxley and of D.H. Lawrence. He also introduced Huxley to Hollywood through his association with the agent William Morris.

28. Frances J. Brewer, “A Short History of the Rare Book Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries,” Produced by Detroit Public Library for the participants of The Third Rare Book Conference, University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida, June 15–16, 1962, 4. Murphy, quoted in Margaret Leslie Davis, *The Culture Broker: Franklin D. Murphy and the Transformation of Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), xv.

29. Quoted in Lionel Rolfe, *Literary LA* (Boryanabooks.com, 2009), Kindle Edition, location 1335.

A political activist, especially when it came to freedom of expression, Jake was cited by the California legislature's Tenney Committee investigating Un-American Activities in California. He was cited in 1947, 1948, 1949, and 1951, mainly for being on the Executive Committee ballot of the Progressive Citizens of America, along with such other allegedly dangerous citizens as Humphrey Bogart, Lena Horne, Edward G. Robinson, Gene Kelly, and Gregory Peck. In the Fifth Report of 1949 he was listed as "among the committee's more notorious critics."³⁰

Jake maintained that his activism saved his life. In 1946 he was invited to observe the Bikini Atoll bomb tests but was disinvited because of his politics. Many of those who did attend developed cancer as a result.

Jake became an expert in early science and medicine among other things, but he was a horrible businessman. Oh, he could locate a rare Danish book in Germany, find a buyer in Denmark, arrange for the buyer to view the book in Geneva, and work out all of the shipping and currency dealings, but he couldn't hang on to the money he made. He was saved by his third wife, Josephine Ver Brugge, a wonderful woman from Kansas who married him in 1939 and took him in hand. As Jake put it, "Some of my friends have said that I never amounted to anything until I met Jo Ver Brugge from Kansas and formed the firm of Zeitlin and Ver Brugge, and I will not deny it."³¹

Many people of distinction worked for Jake at one time or another: great librarians such as Lawrence Clark Powell and Peter Hanff and distinguished booksellers such as Jonathan Hill, Michael Thompson, and Jeff Weber. By employing and mentoring young people, he created yet another sort of network.

By 1964 *The New York Times* was saying that "Jake Zeitlin in a sense symbolizes the cultural maturity that has come to the West." And he both sold and midwived the giving of many important collections to institutions in California and elsewhere.³²

Jake was always giving books away. One of the books he gave away ultimately led to his greatest sale. It was an Aldine, and I don't know which, but I do know that he gave it to Franklin Murphy when Murphy was still in Kansas. After Murphy came

30. *Third Report Un-American Activities in California 1947. Report of the Joint Fact-Finding Committee to the Fifty-Seventh California Legislature* (Sacramento, 1947), 239-40; *Fourth Report... 1948. Communist Front Organizations. Report...* 1948 *Regular California Legislature* (Sacramento, 1948), 355; *Fifth Report Un-American Activities in California 1949. To the 1949 Regular California Legislature* (Sacramento, 1949), 689; *Sixth Report Un-American Activities in California 1951. Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities to the 1951 Regular California Legislature* (Sacramento, 1951), 275.

31. Zeitlin, *What Kind of a Business Is This? Reminiscences of the Book Trade and Book Collectors* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Libraries, 1959), 8-9, quotation on 14.

32. Peter Bart, "Coast Bookman Ends 4th Decade," *New York Times*, December 30, 1964, 15.

to be Chancellor at UCLA, Jake was instrumental in helping Murphy and librarian Robert Vosper to build the mighty Ahmanson-Murphy collection of Aldines at UCLA. But that was just the beginning.

After Murphy retired, he became a trustee of the Getty Museum on February 27, 1981. Two years later, the Getty bought the Irene and Peter Ludwig collection of 144 important medieval and early Renaissance illuminated manuscripts for about \$42 million. H.P. Kraus had sold the manuscripts over a period of years to Ludwig, who controlled a significant part of the world's market in chocolate. Then Ludwig had to sell but he wanted the collection kept together.³³

Kraus had Ludwig and the manuscripts; Jake had Franklin Murphy. Jake represented the Getty in this, the single largest acquisition of manuscripts ever. Not that it was easy. The other Getty trustees did not understand what the Ludwig manuscripts represented—"this is NOT the Morgan Library," one of them sniffed. But Murphy educated and prevailed. It turned out to be a wise buy for the Getty, and the capstone of Jake Zeitlin's career.³⁴

The network that Jake Zeitlin was an integral part of was very different from that enjoyed by Jake Carter. But they had this in common: by 1980 both of those networks had begun a not-so-gradual process of disintegration.

There isn't nearly enough time here to go into the changes in American society that caused this disintegration, which had a profound effect on libraries. Former Harvard President Nathan Pusey wrote as early as 1978 about the effects of the "continuing and seemingly insatiable needs of the new industrial, technological, managerial society" on higher education, pointing out that the whole model in higher education changed to one that was no longer collegial but rather a managerial elite model. Numbers of institutions and students and administrators exploded. Just a few of the items that define these changes are ever-changing government programs and budgets, grant writing and grant dependence, spending on the expensive tools of science, technology from microfilm to digitization, a thousand flavors of cataloging, not to mention the advent of in-house development managers who now won't let you talk to your most likely donors. The House of Intellect became a business office.³⁵

There came to be new attitudes among some older collectors, a dreadful example being Arthur Houghton selling seven leaves from his *Shahnameh* at Christie's in

33. *American Book Prices Current 1983* (Washington, Conn.: Bancroft-Parkman, Inc., 1983), xxxv; John Russell, "Getty Museum Acquires Manuscript Collection," *New York Times*, March 10, 1983, C14.

34. Quoted in Davis, 302.

35. Quoted in Nathan Marsh Pusey, *American Higher Education, 1945–1970: A Personal Report* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978), 62.

1976 as part of a valuation deal with the IRS. There also came to be new sorts of collectors, such as Malcolm Forbes, who never bought anything that didn't get him splashed all over the papers, on TV, and in magazines, using the auction room to gain publicity that would have cost millions to buy.³⁶

We had entered the age of less favorable tax codes but falling marginal rates of taxation and stricter appraisal rules. We came into the photo op/sound bite era, which was bad for books. Books were unseeable all at once and tended not to look not so attractive as, say, a painting. Better a broadside or a map or a document than even a Gutenberg Bible. One page and you could stand right beside it to have your picture taken.

That's why the reign of Terry has been so important. Only at Rare Book School has there been a true, continued synergy of librarian, dealer, collector, bibliographer, and anybody else who might be book-interested.

I have a memory from 1970 of Terry Belanger dressing like both Jakes at once. He arrived at the Bancroft Dinner at Columbia in a tuxedo shirt and jacket and blue jeans, his idea of a compromise between the dress code of the Bancroft and that of the School of Library Service (SLS), where he had to teach later that night. Of course, he offended everybody.³⁷

He had not yet coauthored *The Art of Persuasion* (1972); but it was a good thing that he could write persuasively, because in person he was a political idiot. For that reason, Allen Hazen asked Dan Leab (who then was in the central administration at Columbia) and me to try to run some interference for Terry and to head him off at the pass from time to time. And we weren't alone in this mission: after baby instructor Terry tried to take on Morgan Library director Charles Ryskamp because the Morgan was refusing to let Terry's students at SLS handle its manuscripts, the prominent Johnsonian scholar James Clifford set up a soothing tea-table meeting to improve that relationship.³⁸

36. A good summary of the whole hideous tale of the breaking of the Shahnameh and the ultimate trade of its remnants for Willem de Kooning's *Woman III* is to be found in Michael Gross, *Rogues' Gallery: The Secret History of the Moguls and the Money that Made the Metropolitan Museum* (New York: Broadway Books, 2009), 362–64.

37. Belanger maintains that he never owned any jeans; but both Leabs remember the outfit clearly—jeans were clearly the most offensive pants he could have worn; khakis or similar would have looked strange, but more eccentric than offensive.

38. This example represents the sort of pulled punch one sometimes throws in a speech. The most serious contretemps of this period between Belanger and authority, in this case the Columbia libraries and central administration, had to do with the discarding of Columbia's paper copies of newspapers. A number of people in the central administration gladly would have administered hemlock to their local gadfly, especially because he was in the right.

Terry as an academic comes out of the Wilmarth Lewis–Johnsonians matrix that Carter knew so well: Allen Hazen was his first advisor until he became too ill to advise, then James Clifford and John Middendorf took over Terry’s graduate career, while Terry took over part of Allen Hazen’s teaching load. James Clifford and Mary Hyde later were on a committee that led to Terry’s role in the Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) pilot project at New York Public Library.³⁹

Terry’s tiny apartment at 21 Claremont Avenue was the scene of a great many dinners that mixed librarians, collectors, dealers, bibliographers, people in publishing, other scholars—and a great deal of wine. Topics ranged from Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication to “can you tell the difference between Perrier water and club soda if you can’t see the bottle.” (The ever-observant Tom Tanselle noted that the bubbles were different sizes.)

In 1973 Terry began *BiN*, the Bibliography Newsletter, which was both highly informative and bratty. Terry also founded clubs, such as the Bibliography Club and the more persistent New York Wine Club. And he launched himself to speak all over the country, though he told me recently that he still has 17 states to go. He arranged speaking tours in America for more than a dozen British luminaries and pressed many of us into happy service as hosts.

Jane Douglas of the British ESTC project spent a month at our house during the Terry-led pilot project in 1978. Thus we came to know Robin Alston and Ian Willison and how the ESTC project worked.

And here was another sort of synergy: the computer part of the pilot project was being done by Larry Buckland of Inforonics. At Terry’s urging, he came to talk to us (at that time *American Book Prices Current* was produced on 35,000 slips of paper each year). Our operations were computerized because of the pilot project, and then the Boston Public Library was computerized based on what we had done.

As for Ian Willison, he then was known as the “Godfather of ESTC,” keeping everybody everywhere on the rails. Our house was jealous of Ian—doorknobs came off in his hand; alarms went off, bringing security people; and finally the front door locked and wouldn’t respond to anybody’s key. It’s a wonder that he continued staying with us.

Rare Book School institutionalized the synergy that Terry created. And Rare Book School has been brilliantly nurtured by the University of Virginia. In turn, RBS has

39. See R.C. Alston, “The Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue: A Personal History to 1989,” available online at www.r-alston.co.uk/estc.htm, passim, but especially 16 (Accessed 31 December 2009)

been a nurturing force in Charlottesville, from peopling its attractions and restaurants to buying at the seven new bookstores that have moved into the area since 1993.

Many people in New York thought that moving RBS to Charlottesville in 1992 would be the end of it—how could it possibly thrive without New York around it? Terry would simply disappear.

How wrong they were. And how much they underestimated a great university that was not only taking on Terry and RBS but also the 20—count them: 20—tons of books and equipment that accompanied Terry there. I shudder to think how many tons there are now. Virginia has cheerfully encouraged the museuming of its classrooms, the Dome Room of the Rotunda, and elsewhere.

The 1993 appointment of Karin Wittenborg completed the picture. She is quite simply a great librarian, and the only one I know of who can write an absolutely lyrical annual report without mentioning the word “money,” while leading the reader to the inevitable conclusion that Virginia must be supported financially. Her support of and advice to Rare Book School, which after all is not owned by the university, has been exemplary.

Rare Book School has grown mightily from its eight courses in two weeks in 1983 to its 28 courses in nine sessions in five cities in 2009, all taught by leading experts in their fields. The subjects addressed range from paleography and codicology to electronic texts and images, with courses linking archives and rare book librarians and also the history of the book, of bookbinding, of illustration.

RBS is today’s social network for the Rare Book Community. It also is a saving remnant, providing intense, personal communication among people of various book-related occupations over a period of time. RBS is even having children, what its Wikipedia entry calls “similar institutes founded on the RBS model.” This network is making redundant networks and mirror sites.

There is no *après moi, le déluge* here; Terry has seen to it that RBS will not end or diminish with his retirement. Now RBS will move into the capable hands of Michael Suarez. It is no mistake that his middle name is Felix, for this is a happy transition for the Rare Book Community.

As the jazzmen used to say when everything was great, IT’S ALL JAKE.