File under Henry James 1830.

THE JAMESES

William James the Elder
b. Ireland, 1771, d. Albany, 1832

Among his 14 children were:

by his first wife Elizabeth Tillman—

Rev. William James, D.D.
b. Albany, 1797, d. Albany, 1868.

William James
b. N.Y.City, 1842, D. Chocorua, N.H., 1910.

(his son is)

Henry James
b. Cambridge, Mass. 1879

by his third wife Catharine Barber—

Henry James the Elder
b. Albany, 1811,
d. Cambridge, Mass., 1882.
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Henry James
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ALBANY, N. Y., KNICKER. PRESS
DECEMBER 24, 1935

1830

Two Distinguished Sons of Albany Found Contentment in Self-Imposed Exile Abroad

Two distinguished sons of Albany have been among notable Americans who transplanted themselves to British soil, as Col. Charles A. Lindbergh is preparing to do.

Francis Bret Harte, Albany-born poet and author, lived for many years in England. Henry James, the author-son of the famous theologian who was born in Albany and was graduated from Union College, lived the life of an English country gentleman from early manhood until his death in 1916.

Harte, born here in 1839, was widely known as a humorous poet and novelist when he went abroad in the consular service in 1878. He passed two years in Germany, then going to Glasgow, Scotland, where he remained until 1885.

He had acquired a taste for British living while at Glasgow and after 1885 he lived on his estate at Camberly, a suburb of London, until his death in 1902. A new volume, chiefly of short stories, was added to his writings nearly every year during his residence in England.

The elder Henry James was born in Albany in 1811 and was graduated from Union in 1830. His son, Henry, the younger brother of William James, the psychologist, became a British citizen a year before his death. He lived in England from 1869 on, except for a year's interlude in 1874-75, when he returned to America to edit a magazine.

Although he traveled a great deal on the continent, he maintained residences in London, Rye and Sussex. In much of his later writings his themes were devoted to interpretation of the social attitudes and philosophy of the American people and those of his adopted land.

Among contemporary Americans who maintain homes in England are J. P. Morgan, the financier; Gilbert Miller, theatrical producer, and H. Gordon Selfridge, department store owner. Selfridge, a native of Ripon, Wis., has lived in England for 20 years.

One of the most colorful expatriates of recent years was James J. Walker, former mayor of New York City, who lived in England for several years with his wife, the former Betty Compton, prior to their return last October.

Richard Croker died in Ireland, where he had maintained a country estate for many years after his abdication as Tammany Hall leader.

UNION WORTHIES

NUMBER EIGHTEEN

Henry JAMES, Sr.

[*CLASS OF 1830*]

UNION COLLEGE

Schenectady, New York

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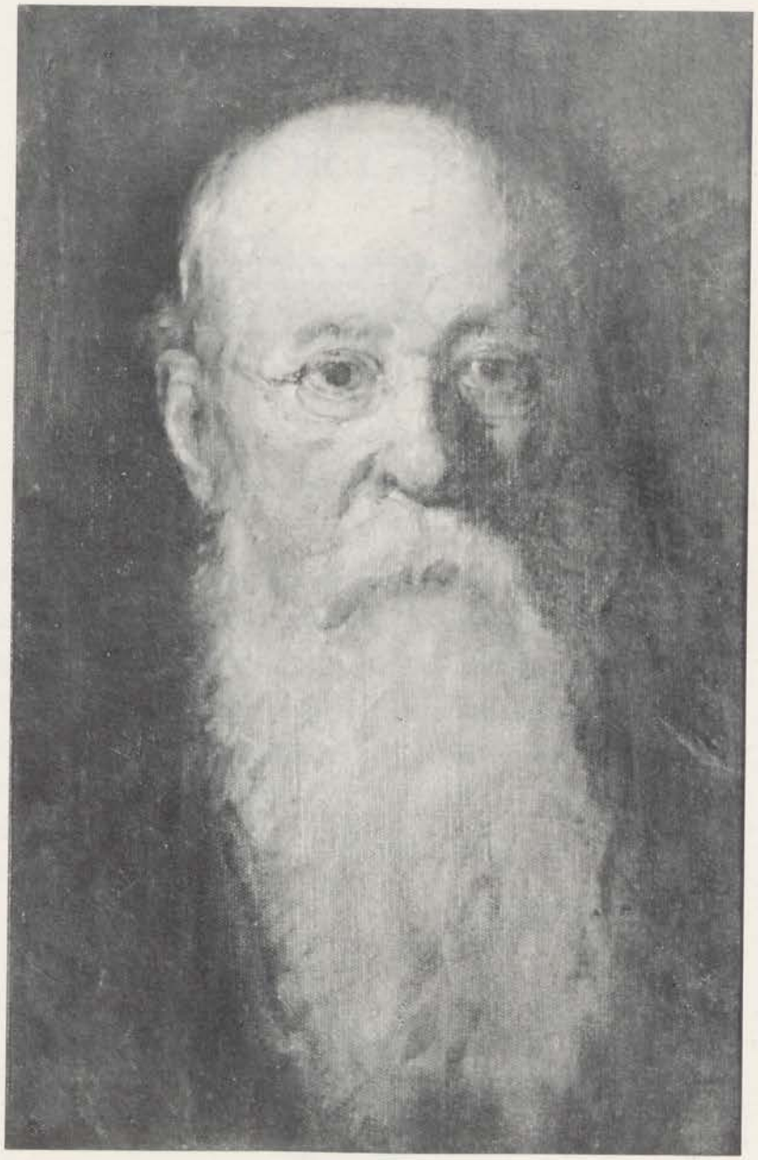

HENRY JAMES, SENIOR (1811–1882)
Class of 1830
Philosopher and Theologian

An oil sketch for a more formal portrait, this study by Frank Duveneck is here reproduced for the first time by courtesy of Mr. John S. R. James of Cambridge, Massachusetts, great-grandson of the Worthy.

UNION WORTHIES

Worthy, A: A distinguished or eminent person, especially a man of courage or of noble character . . . having a marked personality.

Oxford English Dictionary

AS AN OUTGROWTH of its Sesquicentennial celebration, UNION COLLEGE has inaugurated this series of historical pamphlets dealing with the lives and accomplishments of distinguished or eminent persons who have been intimately connected with the institution during its first one hundred and fifty years. Each number will consist of brief biographical or critical essays by competent scholars and a short bibliography of books and articles by and about its subject.

CARTER DAVIDSON

The Contributors

HAROLD A. LARRABEE, M.A., Ph.D., L.H.D., is Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at Union College. A graduate of Harvard, where he also took his doctorate in 1925, he taught at Union from 1925 to 1960. He has been a visiting professor at Columbia and Syracuse Universities. A member of the Board of Editors of *New England Quarterly,* he is the author of many articles and books, including *What Philosophy Is* and *Reliable Knowledge.* Since his retirement from active teaching he has returned to historical writing and is now at work on a book about the battle of Yorktown. His many professional affiliations include Phi Beta Kappa, the American Association of University Professors, the American Philosophical Association, and the Société des Américanistes de Paris. He makes his home in Schenectady.

LEON EDEL, M.A., Litt.D., is Professor of English at New York University. A graduate of McGill University with a doctorate from the Sorbonne, he has taught at N.Y.U. since 1950. As a visiting professor he has also served on the faculties of Harvard, Princeton, Indiana University, and the University of Hawaii. Publication of the first three volumes of a four-volume biography of the novelist Henry James, son of the Union Worthy, has brought him wide recognition and the 1963 National Book Award for nonfiction. His other books include *James Joyce: The Last Journey; Willa Cather* (with E. K. Brown); *The Psychological Novel;* and *Literary Biography.* In 1959 he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

Harold A. Larrabee

THE ELDER JAMESES AND UNION COLLEGE

COMMENCEMENT WEEK IN 1830 began with a temperature in Schenectady of 96 degrees in the shade, and the Faculty of Union College (President Nott, four professors, the two assistant professors, and the two fellows) assembling on the forenoon of July 18 to pass upon the seventy-five candidates for graduation, were doubtless uncomfortable enough in their formal academic regalia. At their afternoon session they were joined by a number of eminent citizens, some of them trustees, some of them fathers of young men about to be granted degrees, and a few who belonged in both categories.

Among the latter, one could hardly have helped noticing a man of about sixty, of medium height, portly, clean-shaven, prosperous, and of a commanding presence in any assemblage. Inquiry would have revealed his identity as "William James of Albany, wealthiest man in this part of the country, who has come to see his son Henry, the one with the wooden leg, graduated from Union."

Thus one might have encountered the two elder Jameses at Union College: the dynamic founder of the family in America, immigrant from Northern Ireland at the age of eighteen, with little money or formal education, whose hard-earned opulence was (among other things) to enable two of his grandsons to achieve international fame in the arts and sciences; and, as the link between him and them, the sensitive son (among his eight surviving children), partly crippled at thirteen in a stable-fire while a student at Albany Academy, and already in rebellion against his father's dictatorial authority and rigid Calvinism. The elder William was a tirelessly driving enterpriser who amassed about three million dollars' worth of tangible property.

His son Henry turned inward, using his share of inherited wealth, not for ostentation or high living, but to finance his high-minded, free-lance forays into the intangible realms of philosophy and theology. In William, Senior, we behold the man of deeds, the builder of two Upstate New York cities, Albany and Syracuse; and in Henry, Senior, the man of words, the developer of two sons of contrasting genius, William James the psychologist and philosopher, and Henry James the novelist.

Starting from scratch in Albany in 1793 as a clerk in John Robison's old blue store, William James the elder rose rapidly in true Horatio Alger fashion through uniformly successful ventures in tobacco, dry goods, groceries, the first express service on the Mohawk, the founding of banks, the backing of "that ditch," the Erie Canal, and especially the exploiting of that bonanza of a swiftly-growing region, real estate. The list of his trusteeships and charities is awesome. The New York *Evening Post* summed up his stature by saying in its obituary: "He has done more to build up the city of Albany than any other individual."

William James did not confine his manifold activities to Albany. He had extensive investments in New York City and as far west as Detroit, Michigan. The tribute of the *Evening Post* is echoed in a toast that was proposed, seven years after his death, by Elam Lynde on July 10, 1839 at the Railroad Celebration in Syracuse: "To the memory of William James, whose intelligence and enterprise laid the foundation of the prosperity of Syracuse."

Here is one example of James the city-builder and strong-willed executive in action. It starts with a man out of a job, Moses DeWitt Burnet, who ceased to be Sheriff of Orange County near Syracuse in January, 1824, went to Albany to call on William James, who was his brother-in-law, and found him characteristically "willing to go into anything they thought would be a speculation." Burnet learned that Henry Eckford, a Scottish shipbuilder of New York City, needed capital and wanted to sell the entire village of Syracuse, which he had bought two years before for $22,500. Acting as James's agent, Burnet closed the deal for $30,000 by drawing "the largest draft on Albany from the West up to that time."

James organized the Syracuse Company with his friends Isaiah and John Townsend and James McBride, keeping five-eighths of the stock for himself. As John Townsend said: "James was the mainspring of all our movements." With Burnet in charge, the Company "stumped, drained, graded the tract, erected buildings, and continued to promote, build, improve and sell lots to others, often furnishing money for them to establish themselves." They also named sixteen Syracuse streets after themselves and their children, and today the main residential thoroughfare is James Street. The last piece of Syracuse property belonging to the James estate was sold in June, 1962.

Also purchased from Eckford was the Syracuse Salt Company, engaged in producing 400,000 bushels of coarse salt a year by the new solar evaporation method from 1,500,000 gallons of brine exposed in salt-pans. The directors of the Salt Company had held regular meetings until James was elected president in 1824, whereupon there were no more meetings until after his death in 1832. It is not hard to guess who *was* the Syracuse Salt Company.

What was Syracuse like in 1824? Its present center was a dreary swamp, "an abode of pestilence and death," already known as "the most unhealthy locality in the State." During the digging of the canal from 1817 to 1820, thirty of the rugged Irish laborers had died of the fever. Let Colonel W. L. Stone, a contemporary visitor, put it in a nutshell: "The place was so dismal an owl would get sick flying over it!"

Moses Burnet, at any rate, "became unwell, and thought he was going to be sick." He wrote to William James at Albany that he "would not and could not continue to live in Syracuse *for any consideration whatever!*" James hastened to Syracuse, and they spent two days looking at the books and the Company's property. Then came the crisis. "Near the close of the second day, they came to the old stone bridge, and stopped in the middle. Burnet repeated what he had written, with some collateral. Mr. James heard him with attention, and then said: 'Mr. Burnet (as he always called him), *you must stay here!*' Then he walked immediately to the Syracuse House, and Burnet followed. They took a good whiff of old Holland gin, and sat down. In half an hour the canal packet came, and Mr. James started for home. Not another word was said about Burnet's going

or staying, or on the subject of business of any kind." Eleven years later he was still there, "had never been to Albany, seldom out of the town, and but once out of the county." No wonder an unnamed Syracusan who remembered James's visits declared: "When old Billy James came to Syracuse, *things went as he wished!*"

His wish in 1829–30 was "inflexibly fixed" upon Henry's undertaking the study of law. His son had other ideas; and the clash of wills, when it finally erupted, was (in Fiorello LaGuardia's phrase) "a beaut." Early in the middle semester of his Senior year at Union, Henry ran away — to "the good town of Bos*ting*" (as he called it), got himself a job reading proof for Mr. Jenks, publisher of the *Christian Examiner,* and wrote to his favorite professor Isaac Jackson (of garden fame): "My ambition is awakened . . . I now go on with the study of languages much more thoroughly than I should have found it necessary had I remained at home . . . "

But his father's wrath fairly exploded in a letter to lawyer Archibald McIntyre. "Henry," he wrote, "has so debased himself as to leave his parents' house in the character of a swindler . . . I enclose a specimen of his progress in arts of low vileness and unblushing falsehood, such will be practiced in book stores, tailors, etc. . . . as drafts on me, all of which will meet him direct — and lodge him in a prison of some sort directly; a fellow from Schenectady was after him today for 50 to 60 dollars for segars and oysters . . . They will find him and he will find his reward, poor being." About this episode, Henry's grandson Henry James the biographer wrote to me: "If ever there was a young man with fundamentally good intentions and dispositions, whose harmless kickings-over of the traces were unduly magnified, it seems to me it was my grandfather."

Somehow the errant student was induced to return to Union for his final semester, and was graduated (at age 19) about in the middle of his class, some distance short of Phi Beta Kappa. As a Union student, Henry James, Senior has two ironic and unmatchable distinctions. He was probably the first person anywhere to wear a fraternity pin (or badge, as it was called). We hear it said that fraternities promote conformity, and it might be noted that his belonging to Sigma Phi did not prevent Henry James, Senior from becoming an arch-nonconformist. He is also the only Union student

in history whose father, while his son was in college, held a mortgage bond for $200,000 on the entire campus, "the new College Edifices and all the building standing on the premises" as security for a cash loan of $100,000 at 6½ percent to enable Dr. Nott and his agents to pay off the prizes in the college lottery, the receipts having already been spent to build North and South Colleges.

During the two years which elapsed before his father's death, Henry dutifully made brief ventures into law and business in Canandaigua and Albany. But his father's determination to dominate carried over into his will, by which he sought to exact proofs of both industry and orthodoxy from his heirs, cutting Henry off with a small annuity. Happily, after litigation, the will was broken in the courts, and Henry received as his share of the estate, besides some cash, Syracuse real estate yielding an income of about $10,000 a year.

So Henry James, Senior found himself "leisured for life," and saddled with a guilt-complex, accentuated by his interest in Fourier's socialism, which kept him from visiting Syracuse or evincing the slightest interest in the sources of his livelihood. As his son the philosopher wrote to his brother Robertson: "Father's religious optimism has, I think, a tendency to make him think too lightly of anyone's temporal troubles, even neglecting to look into them at all." What Henry, Senior seemed to want for all men was the same endowed independence of the struggle for money which he himself so thoroughly enjoyed; and both of his famous sons, supported by him well into their thirties, thought of freedom in much the same vein.

Their father made use of his endowed liberty to embark upon the two projects closest to his heart: the solution — in his own terms and by his own methods — of the problem of "Creator and created;" and the provision of what he regarded as the best possible "sensuous" (that is, aesthetic) education for his children, portrayed in the essay which follows by the reigning monarch of James scholars, Professor Leon Edel. After a year at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he found his father's Calvinism as unpalatable as ever, Henry journeyed to England, had a severe mental crises, an "emptying" followed by a spiritual illumination through the gospel according to Emanuel Swedenborg. From 1845 to 1882, James poured forth

a stream of fourteen books, published at his own expense, and all of them, actually, dealing with the same subject: man's relation to the divine and its social consequences. They were greeted, said son William, by "a blank silence," chiefly because of what William Dean Howells called their "collective opacity, which even the most resolute vision could not penetrate." Yet there were occasional flashes of homely humor not unlike those found, in much greater abundance, in the poems of the late Robert Frost.

At Union, Dr. Nott's liberalism had perhaps encouraged James to "turn Calvinism dark-side-up toward the sunlight" and infuse it with cosmic optimism. But what Union did *not* give him was a course in logic, which might have taught him the discipline of consistency. Lacking it, there was only the winning James personality and temperament, but alas, no Jamesian system, hard as he tried to achieve one.

He seems to us to belong to the pre-Cartesian world, the age of cosmic analogy, in which, as Professor Quentin Anderson of Columbia has phrased it, "the symbols of human nature and destiny did duty as instruments of investigation." Stated very briefly, his resulting view of the world was triadic: Nature, the physical order, is constitutive; Reason, the logical order, is regulative; and Spirit, the formative order, is creative. There is likewise a three-fold hierarchy of knowledge: sense, which ranks lowest; then science, or reasoned knowledge; and at the top philosophy, illuminated by what James called "revelation" in the broadest sense, and hence profoundly religious. Science mediates between sense and philosophy, but it is necessarily homocentric, not theocentric. Thus it discovers, not the true "laws of Nature," but "the laws of man's mind in understanding Nature."

Each way of knowing, according to James, is "good in its own realm, and good for nothing out of it." Philosophy, he says, "cheerfully takes all scientific fact for granted," but goes on to deal with "man's immortal destiny, his spiritual form." For a philosopher "to run them down into the abject slime out of which the body germinates, is to reduce himself from a philosopher to a noodle." The philosopher's true task is to reconcile sense, science, and religion, the finite and the infinite "in a unity so perfect that neither will care henceforth to know how much belongs to one element, or how much to the other."

That was a staggeringly ambitious program, which no one, incidentally, has yet carried out: to combine all the "isms" in a grandiose synthesis of matter and spirit, head and heart, in which spirit and heart would have all the better of it. It is no wonder that in fourteen books he never got it down on paper to his own, or anyone else's complete satisfaction.

Henry James, Senior was an unregarded sage in a non-theological age; and ours is even less likely to find his books readable. But after we have exhausted ourselves in the present pursuit of analysis and specificity, we may find ourselves with a greater sympathy for what he was trying to do. We pride ourselves in being very good at making mechanical hearts; but James was more interested in the secrets of natural hearts, and his sons never lost their father's concern for, above all else, human consciousness, human experience.

One of the most perplexing paradoxes about this Worthy is that he was intensely religious, almost, like Spinoza, a "God-intoxicated man," and yet often savagely anti-clerical. He loved originality and spontaneity so much that he hated them when they had become institutionalized. This hostility to outward show and ritual (the family had no pew in any church) liberated his sons from the machinery and trappings of orthodoxy without depriving them of a deep and abiding concern for moral and spiritual values.

But it did not make Henry James, Senior what we are inclined to call a typically "good alumnus." Henry James the novelist recalled a visit to the Union campus with his elder brother and their father "to invoke the loyalty that our parent seemed to have dropped by the way." Regarding the same visit, William James the philosopher added a precious "might have been" to the Union legend in a letter he addressed to Edgar Van Winkle, a student at the college, in August, 1858 (William was then sixteen). "When I left Schenectady," he wrote, "it was with the almost certainty of becoming a fellow man with you at Union College. When I spoke to my father about it, I found that he was not in favor of my going to any college whatsoever. He says colleges are hot-beds of corruption where it is impossible to learn anything."

Leon Edel

FATHER AND SONS

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to speak of so remarkable an alumnus of Union College as the elder Henry James without speaking of three of his children — of William, the psychologist and philosopher, of Henry, the novelist, and of Alice, the diarist. Without them we would think of him largely as a salty and quaint character, a "worthy" in the sense that he had "a marked personality," who emerged from a pioneering and homespun America and who wrote a book called *The Secret of Swedenborg* — and, said his friend William Dean Howells, kept the secret very well. Santayana characterized the elder James as "one of those somewhat obscure sages whom early America produced; mystics of independent mind, hermits in the desert of business, and heretics in the churches." We would think of him in this homely way were it not that he lives also — in the fullest sense in which parents create posterity — in the writings of his celebrated sons and in the memories of his gifted daughter. We can find him, in Alice James's diary, as a distinct paternal image, whose affections, in the presence of his progeny when they were small, melted into the universe, and who devotedly gave them a kind of all-embracing love when they reached maturity. We would probably call him today an excessively "permissive" father; permissive enough to have quietly undermined Christmas by showing his children — after solemnly pledging them not to tell their mother — the heaped-up gifts sequested in a closet to await Santa Claus; who left his family to go on a journey, but returned almost immediately, unable to endure the anxiety of absence. And when he did manage to break away for some necessary trip, a letter from his daughter, then thirteen, mirrors his feelings: "My dear Father: We have had two dear letters from you and find you are the same dear old good-for-nothing home-sick papa as ever."

It is doubtful whether the discipline of genius, which we discover in the careers of both William and Henry James, would have been achieved with the aid of so relaxed and volatile a parent. Other forces must have been present. The disciplinary force seems to have been incarnated in the mother, Mary Walsh James. The role of the two parents in the lives of their children is best described, I think, in the words used by the novelist-son to characterize Mr. and Mrs. Touchett in *The Portrait of a Lady*. His father, the son in that novel often said to himself, "was the more motherly; his mother, on the other hand, was paternal, and even, according to the slang of the day, gubernatorial."

The sons thus owed a distinct part of the order of their existence to their mother. But she had, as is often the case with active and practical people, little feeling for words and less for ideas. She left words and ideas, and the life of the dream, to her husband. Life was strenuous enough when one had to use a gubernatorial hand; the governing intelligence lay elsewhere. "Your father's ideas!" she might exclaim to her sons; and if we cannot recapture the tone, and if this was perhaps a family joke, it was symbolic nevertheless of the difference between the paternal and maternal worlds. The elder Henry had a life-long desire to say things out. Yet rare and vivid though his language was, and playful and teasing his mind, he never fully communicated his message. "Oh, that I might thunder it out in a single interjection that would tell the *whole* of it, and never speak a word again." Since he did not succeed in thundering it out, he spoke many words, again and again. And this was perhaps fortunate; for it is in what he said that we can trace the influence of the father on the children and discern that William and Henry were, in reality, the image of two sides of his being. It was they who in the end — without the thunder — were able to express a great part of "the whole" of their father's ideas and feelings, the things in particular which the elder Henry James concealed from himself, in his search for a way of life and for spiritual comfort. In the process they rechannelled and toned into art and science much of the picturesqueness and rudeness of his language and thought.

II.

There were, in the elder Henry James, two qualities which stood out in his intercourse with his fellows. He was filled with a yearning for logic and metaphysics in his search for a system in the universe and an understanding of God's relation to man and man's relation to God. But his mind was the reverse of logical. It was idiosyncratic, argumentative, often irascible, a leaping, somersaulting kind of intelligence. He suffered from a constant glow of words and a constant confusion of feeling. Certainly some part of this derived from the Irishness of his nature and the streak of poetry and paradox in him, which he sought constantly to profane by an incompatible logic. His imagery could be vigorous and hearty, with a fund of aggression in it. He depicted enemies and friends as sausages frying in their own grease; he likened their discourse to the quacking of ducks; but he also invoked the sun's radiance to picture the qualities he liked in men and he drew easily upon nature for many of his homeliest examples. The poet in him was capricious, savage, witty. The would-be logician in him was an easy rationalist who liked the optimistic side of things; but it was an optimism shadowed by a deep sense of evil as an extra-human and baleful thing. Tolstoy is said to have cherished one of the elder Henry James's books; and like Tolstoy he was intent upon seeing the universe whole. But also like the Russian he was constantly distracted by the richness and variousness of the world. Another gifted man of similar temperament, Bernard Shaw, once told me he thought that the elder Henry was worth all his sons put together. Shaw used to tease the novelist-son, saying this, but the latter took pride in his father. Tolstoy, Shaw, James the elder — a strange trio — and they had this in common: all three were gifted artistic individuals who tended to deny the artist in themselves. We know how Tolstoy repudiated art for religion; Shaw proclaimed himself a didact and a socialist preacher; and the elder Henry constantly reminded his sons that art was "narrowing."

I do not think that the elder Henry was ever aware that he was unable to accept the poet within himself. His ancestral Calvinism was too strongly present in all that he did even though he had repudiated it. It remained a kind of habit of mind; it also made him an individual constantly at war with himself. Art seemed to him one

of man's playthings. He could rejoice in poetry; he even edited an edition of Blake — to be sure, choosing a visionary poet — but he referred poetry not to his emotions but to his intellect and to his ever-present cosmic sense. The novelist-son, who shrank from the cosmos, and preferred a small and well-tilled artistic garden, found it wonderful to contemplate "things, persons, objects and aspects." But these, he said, were doubtless all "frivolities" in his father's world. The novelist would have been willing to accept "a state of faith and a conviction of the Divine, an interpretation of the universe" if only it had supplied him, as he said, with more features and more appearance. He tugged, as realistic writers do, at the particular; his father always answered with the general.

Thoreau shrewdly observed that the elder Henry James was too easily satisfied with broad and comfortable generalizations, especially about society and the social order. He offered, as he said, "quasi-philanthropic doctrines in a metaphysical dress." Austin Warren, in his biography of the father, observed that he "steadfastly chose to regard heart [rather than head] as the primary fount of knowledge." A parent who was a bundle of contradictions, quick, mercurial, optimistic, explicit in his criticisms of his fellows, and yet always broad and general about everything; who dragged his children about Europe in the days of the stagecoach in search of an education, surrounded them with tutors and governesses and seemed to find none good enough to meet his erratic standards; who was large-hearted and generous, but easy-going to a fault, may be interesting for us to contemplate — racy, vivid, amusing in his idiosyncrasy — but he was clearly a great problem for his sons. In their movement from school to school and city to city, life assumed the effect of a passing show, of aspects and varieties; and the father, seeking an ideal education for them, inveighed against "the over-education of the scholarly class." In religion he showed them always the passion of his feeling for God and His creation, and an open dislike for the man-made Church. The family, as Henry remarked, was "pewless." Which may account for the novelist's investigation, in more mature years, of the churches of all faiths, which he visited and contemplated with secular eyes, as social institutions as well as scenes and places of worship. And it explains perhaps the quest that led his brother William to

write the inspired work we know as *The Varieties of Religious Experience.*

I have said enough, I think, to suggest the air of contradiction and ambiguity in which the two gifted sons of this curiously gifted man grew up. If the father had no theory of education — or too much theory — we can at least say that whatever it was, it seems to have worked. For what apparently happened in the circumambient vagueness in which the sons moved, was that they grasped for the tangibles of existence; and sought what they could find that was concrete in their parent. With the directness of childhood they could cut through his repudiation of art and learning and social custom and see the artist and student submerged in him. The buried artist in the elder Henry was the accessible, the friendly, certainly the most charming part of him. They seized on what was pictorial, vivid, searching, paradoxical, in his view of the world. But then, instead of looking away again at the transcendent, and converting reality into the abstruse, Henry the novelist wholly took possession of the aesthetic side; and William of that side which leaned toward hard reason and logical inquiry — but to which he could bring scientific method. Henry, through observation, and analysis, went in search of essence: to see life and sum it up, in picture and scene, in the wit of words, in tale and novel, this became for him the beginning and the end of his existence. To feel beauty, having perceived it, and to live beauty, was Henry's religion, and there were voices in the air which helped, the voice of Pater, of Arnold, the lyrical voice of Tennyson, the psychological penetration of Browning seeking to place himself in the very consciousness of his fellow-creatures — as Henry James would ultimately do. Experience for the novelist was something to be looked at intently and converted into words: to be reimagined and altered at will — as artists do, refashioning the world into a world of their own, and which — for such is the ineluctable law of art — they then make us accept as part of ours.

William, the oldest son, had the same large grasp of life as did his younger brother, but he looked upon it with scientific rather than aesthetic eyes. He had the same rich verbal endowment; but his need was not to see how he could refashion the world into words and grow ever more cunning in his language and his style. To be

sure he had his particular art of saying — he was one of the few men of science who was brilliantly articulate. His language was quick, spontaneous, lucid, metaphor came to him as easily as breathing. The varieties of any experience fascinated him, whether he was trying to capture and describe moments of consciousness or endlessly attending spiritualistic seances and seeking to discover the nature of extra-sensory perception. "He could see most cunningly out of the corner of his eye," said Ralph Barton Perry. The collection of varieties of experience was not all; he collected them in order to do something about them. He had a kind of restless impatience as he contemplated his materials: one had to translate thought into action. In his brother Henry there was the explorer of life with a large sense of the past, of history, of civilization, of art; William was an explorer who tried to shake off the past; he had a need beyond exploration to test his discoveries, to test them for truth. He remains one of the great pioneers in the exploration of the relation between mind and body — as distinct from his father, who discoursed on the relation between body and soul.

III.

It seems to me thus that we are on reasonably safe ground in our speculation that the unrealized artist and the unrealized scientist in the father became the artist Henry and the scientist William. The hidden message in their father was revealed to them. Henry, the pursuer of beauty and the concretions of existence, brought his father's poetry into the art of the novel. William, by choosing scientific method to explore the very truths his father felt, but did not understand, gave us first his psychology and later his philosophy of pragmatism. In seeing this, we can see the essential being of the brothers. In my biography of the novelist, I have set down this contrast, describing the steps by which William and Henry, faced with their vague and volatile father and their demanding mother, facing each other as siblings and rivals, sought to assert their egos in characteristic ways, as genius must. Behind the intensities and passions of his imaginative life, Henry James was patient, persistent, calculating, secretive. He had in him his mother's fixedness of purpose in dealing with practical matters, as well as his father's artistic sense. William's nature was directly opposed to this. He was openly assertive. For all his

periods of morbid introspection he was capable always of reaching into the warm sunlight of human intercourse. He discovered himself in teaching the young, in founding the first psychological laboratory in America, in communicating with scholars in many lands. Henry remained solitary, subterranean, in spite of an outwardly strenuous social life and his continual passage through the great cities of the western world and among the great artists of his time. He remained a recluse of the writing desk; he harbored and built up his resources. The drive to power from his inner fortress was from the first compelling. William on his side prodigally expended his gifts in immediate action. Henry remained celibate. William married and had children. William's literary style, as I have observed, was direct, easy, bubbling inventively into lucidity. Henry's had in it much more art, and much cultivated literary power, but also, as he grew older, much more indirection. William was all idea and intellect, suffused with feeling. Henry was all feeling and passion — intellectualized.

Thus each son of the elder Henry achieved his originality and lived out his genius. Henry the novelist forged an inimitable style and created his empire of letters; and in combining the rare qualities of creator and critic he combined qualities that had existed in a father in whom creator and critic were at war with each other. William became one of the rare philosophers of this world, who could meditate on the conduct of life as his father had done, but in the words of the human spirit. In his sons the talkative father found his truest voice. They completed what he had been unable to build. What was originality and idiosyncrasy in him was translated by them into creative energy.

IV.

I should like to add a few words about the articulate daughter. Alice James's legacy, in this family of feeling — as much as a family of minds — is a comparatively brief diary kept in a sick room toward the end of her abbreviated life, reflecting the closed-in world of the invalid and written not so much for an audience as through some powerful desire to give expression to herself, as her elder brothers were able to do. In our own age, when women have found a place in the world, she might have achieved a fuller life and a happier one. But in the James family of four boys and herself, she remained

largely the voice of a certain kind of noble courage, reflecting some of the moments of serenity which she had captured from the father's temperament. "In our family group," her novelist-brother once wrote, "girls seem scarcely to have had a chance." And Alice became, indeed, a classical Victorian spinster-invalid. It was characteristic of her relation with her father that she could discuss with him, during her fits of depression, the possibility of suicide. She was intelligent enough to know that this would disturb him: but the father was a match for the daughter. She put the question to him on his own ground, that of religion. Was it a sin for her to be so strongly tempted to end her suffering? It might be, the elder Henry said, when a person seeking mere pleasurable excitement indulged in drink and opium to the degradation of his faculties "and often to the ruin of the human form in him." But, he added, it was absurd to speak of suicide as sin if she wished to terminate her suffering. He gave his daughter his fatherly permission to end her life whenever she pleased, only exhorting her to do so in a way that would not distress her friends. He thus understood, with great human feeling and empathy, that his daughter wanted to have a sense of freedom, to feel that she was mistress of herself and of her body. The accuracy of what we might call this "therapeutic" conversation may be seen in Alice's finally telling him that now that she saw she had a right to dispose of her own body as she saw fit, she would never take her life. She realized that it had been not so much a wish on her part to die, as a way of wanting to assert her freedom. And though she was to undergo intolerable suffering, she never took the final step that would have brought release.

Her journal is worthy of a daughter of the elder Henry. It suffers perhaps from an excess of asperity; but it reflects a strong will and the aggressive and mordant temperament of her parent. It reflects also a vigorous, often belligerent feeling for Ireland, for she was the most Hibernian of the Jameses. There are passages of subtle humor and she shows at all times a depth of feeling for her brothers, an understanding of their psychologically penetrating minds. And she attains a height of pathos at the end as she faces death praying for "a divine cessation" in the language of her father. Her novelist brother, reading her diary after death, found in it an extraordinary "intensity of will and of personality."

In the history of this family it seems to me there is no moment more remarkable than that which I have told in one of my chapters, in which I describe the novelist-son's first visit to the newly-cut grave in the Cambridge cemetery where his father was buried close to the mother in December of 1882. Henry James had crossed the ocean hurriedly but had arrived too late. William was in Europe attending Charcot's clinics in Paris, which Freud had attended shortly before him. The philosopher had written a farewell letter to his father, saluting him on the threshold of the new and the unknown — a remarkable letter telling him how much his — William's — life, his being, his consciousness, had been derived from his parent. We have no witnesses of the strange and mystical act Henry performed. All we know is that on a cold clear day before the year ended, he stood amid the snowdrifts, where the view is that of Soldiers' Field and the river Charles, and read into the frosty air and over the new grave his brother's words of farewell to their father.

Thus the *ave atque vale* of the oldest son, delivered in the accents of the second son, represented a kind of symbolic act of unity. In that moment it was as if three were one — the two Henrys and the William — a single voice of articulate American thought and feeling, the warm language of the heritage of genius.

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— 2nd edition, enlarged (London, 1856)

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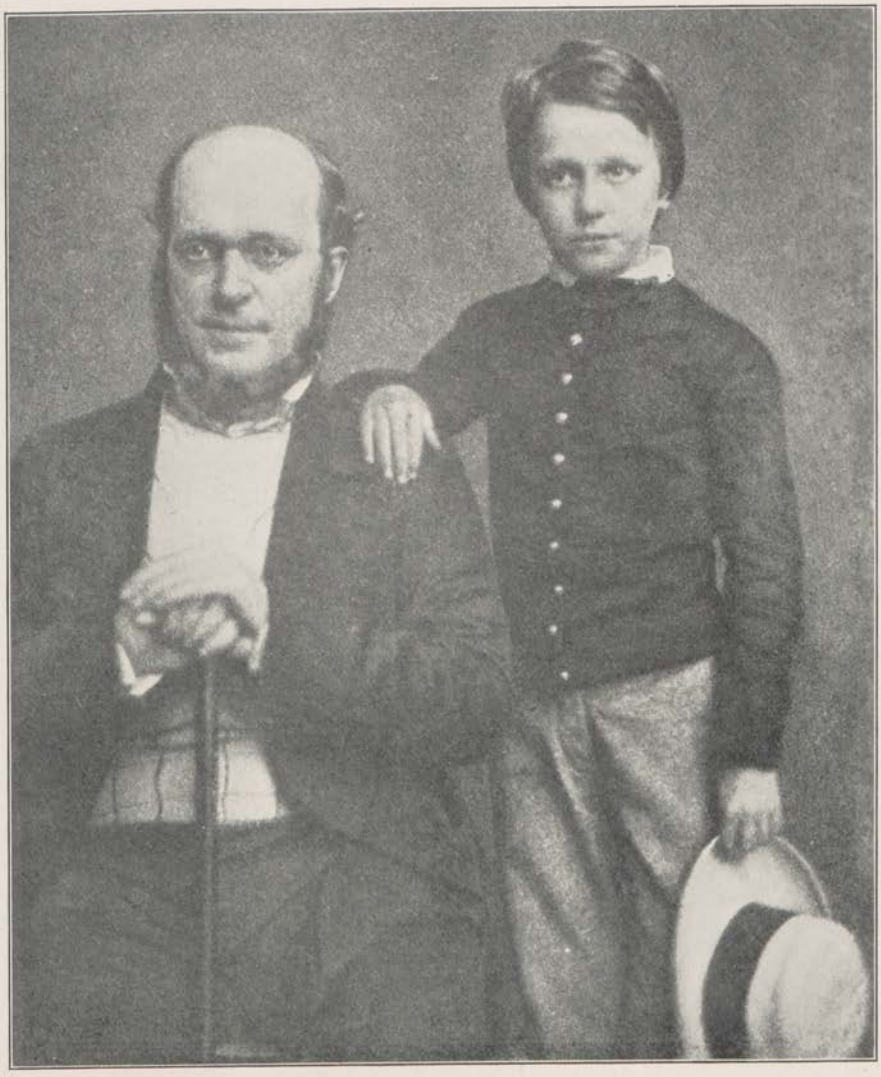
1830 James Henry

Sw Monthly Vol. IV No. 2

Born in Albany, in 1811.
Died in Boston, in 1883.
(Taken from Union College, in Memoriam, 1889-90)



THE THEOLOGIAN AND THE NOVELIST

Henry James, Sr. '30 at the age of 43, and Henry James, aged 11.

A daguerreotype taken in 1854, from *A Small Boy and Others;* copyright, 1913, by Charles Scribner's Sons. By permission of the publishers.

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HENRY JAMES, SR., '30 AT UNION

HAROLD A. LARRABEE, PH.D

"Both William and Henry James were largely products of their father"
The Pilgrimage of Henry James, Van Wyck Brooks.

"He was one of those somewhat obscure sages whom early America produced: mystics of independent mind, hermits in the desert of business, and heretics in the churches."
Character and Opinion in the U. S., George Santayana.

THE FIVE JAMESES

In a family where five uncommon men share a grand total of three common names: Henry, William, and James, it is of the first importance that their personal identities be made unmistakable.

WILLIAM JAMES, SR.
b. Ireland, 1771. d. Albany, 1832
Merchant and Leading Citizen of Upper New York State.

HENRY JAMES, SR., '30
b. Albany, 1811. d. Cambridge, Mass., 1882, 2nd of 11 children.
Philosopher and Theologian, subject of the present article.

WILLIAM JAMES
b. New York City, 1842.
d. Chocorua, N. H., 1910.
Philosopher and Psychologist. Edited *Literary Remains of Henry James, Sr.*

HENRY JAMES
b. Boston, Mass, 1879.
Trustee. Edited *Letters of William James.*

HENRY JAMES, O. M.
b. New York City, 1843.
d. London, England, 1916.
Novelist and Essayist.

It had been extraordinarily warm in Schenectady that Commencement Week in July, 1830. On Sunday the 18th, to quote the Albany *Argus*, "a thermometer in the shade on the north side of a room in Schenectady reached 92 degrees,

on Monday, 95 degrees, and on Tuesday, 96 degrees." By Thursday the 22nd, it was somewhat cooler, although the members of the Faculty of Union College, convened that day to hear reports and to pass upon the candidates for graduation, were doubtless uncomfortable enough in the formal regalia of the period. A visitor to their morning session, had visitors been admitted, would have learned how, under the presidency of the redoubtable Dr. Eliphalet Nott, then in his prime, the College was sharing in the expansive local prosperity of the decade from 1826 to 1836; how it had reached a total of 225 students, "of whom 102 have been admitted since last Commencement," indicating clearly the tendency at that time to flock directly into Union's upper classes rather than to enter as Freshmen. He might also have learned that the College was then charging for board, tuition, rent, stove, and use of books the enormous sum of $115 per year; that it required "a most scrupulous attendance upon Church, Prayers, Recitations and all Collegiate exercises;" and that it had recently witnessed the formation of several fraternities among its students.

At three o'clock in the afternoon Dr. Nott, the four Professors, the two Assistant Professors, and the two Fellows met again, this time with a number of distinguished citizens, most of them fathers of boys about to be voted degrees, as their guests. In the latter group one could hardly have helped noticing a man about sixty, of medium height, somewhat portly, clean-shaven, prosperous, of commanding presence, with the good humor of an Irishman lurking behind a Calvinistic exterior. Inquiry would have revealed his identity as "old Billy James of Albany, who has come to see his son Henry, the one who lost a leg, graduate from the College." Further inquiry would have elicited something of the history of this self-made captain of industry, who, as one of his descendants has put it, "in a manner wholly becoming to a first American ancestor," had

come in 1789 from Bally-James-Duff, County Cavan, at eighteen years of age "with a very small sum of money, a Latin grammar, and a desire to visit the field of one of the revolutionary battles. He promptly disposed of his money in making this visit. Then, finding himself penniless in Albany, he took employment as a clerk in a store. He worked his way up rapidly; traded on his own account, kept a store, traveled and bought land to the westward, engaged as time went on in many enterprises, among them being the salt industry of Syracuse, where the principal residential street bears his name." In all these affairs, his contemporaries tell us, thanks to his "strong and practical intellect and unremitting perseverance," he enjoyed a prosperity "almost beyond parallel."

"Prompt to participate in any enterprise of general utility and benevolence," William James the elder occupied, without holding political office, many positions of trust in his adopted city. In wealth, influence, and the sincere respect and esteem of his fellow citizens, he was perhaps second only to General Stephen Van Rensslaer, the last patroon, with whom he was associated in so many undertakings. He had helped to organize the Albany Savings Bank, second of its kind in the state, and the Chamber of Commerce, serving as first Vice-President of both institutions (General Van Rensslaer being President of both). In 1815 he became a Trustee of Albany Academy; in 1820, of the First Presbyterian Church of Albany. One of the pillars of the growing capitol city, he was accustomed to the deference accorded to the successful pioneer. "When old Billy James came to Syracuse," said a citizen who could remember his visits, "things went as *he* wished." That his wishes produced results may be judged from the verdict of the New York Evening Post in 1832: "He has done more to build up the city (of Albany) than any other individual."

In an age of rapid change, however, even the most power-

ful individual passes swiftly from the focus of events, merchant princes no less than other kings and captains. As we see William James, Sr. in that week of July 1830, secure in his hard-won commercial hegemony, strict in his most rigid Calvanism, we may doubt whether he realized that the twilight of the gods had begun, both for him and for the era of canal-built prosperity which he so completely epitomized. He may quite pardonably have been blind to the portentous significance for coming generations of two events occurring in Schenectady within seven days of each other, in each of which the Faculty of Union College chanced to play a part.

The meaning of the first of these, his son Henry's graduation from Union, we shall presently explore. To see the import of the second, we shall have to go back to the day which had marked the zenith of the elder James's career. Long interested in the development of canal transportation, he had backed the digging of "that ditch" throughout the early days of doubt and ridicule, and in due time received his reward. For on November 2, 1825, he headed the Citizens' Committee of Albany at the great celebration which marked the opening of the Erie Canal to navigation. "No event in the history of the State," says McMaster, "surpassed in lasting importance the completion of the canal." William James, Sr. delivered the oration of the day, which was to him the crowning occasion of a busy life. "At this moment," he said in his address, "I feel an indescribable emotion, something like a renewal of life, in partaking in the festivities of this day." His whole oration breathes a pardonable pride in the young nation's achievement, a genuine joy in the prospect of widespread material welfare, and a profound gratitude for the "special interposition of Providence in protecting and advancing our national honor and greatness."

But even while the master of the old school of commerce was renewing his youth by contemplating flood of "inex-

haustible and countless riches" which the canal was to pour into Albany, rumors of a strange and mighty rival in the freight and passenger traffic were coming from the southward. Less than a month afterward, on November 22, 1825, the announcement was made "that at the next session of the Legislature application would be made for the right to construct a rail line to be operated by steam from Albany to Schenectady, or else to Troy, if deemed advisable." And if William James, Sr., had stayed in Schenectady exactly a week after the day of which we have spoken, he would have seen, at about noon on July 29th, 1830 the President and Faculty of Union College joining a long procession from Davis's Hotel for the brow of Prospect Hill, where, amid bowers of evergreens, his friend President Stephen Van Rensselaer of the Board of the Directors of the Mohawk and Hudson Railroad broke ground with a silver spade for the first railroad line in the state. This too, if we may trust the flowery reporting of the *Argus*, was a moment of high emotion. "Three times three rent the air; and the eminence which has frowned upon the valley of the Mohawk since creation, but which is now destined to sink into a plain before the moral and physical energies of the age, re-echoed the cheers over the luxuriant harvests of the plain below." The reign of the canal of which so much had been expected was destined to be short-lived. Adolescent America was feeling the sharp growing pains of youth.

To return to Union College and the fortunes of the James family, on that afternoon a week earlier the stern old commercial patriarch had witnessed the action of the Faculty in "begging leave to recommend (among other young gentlemen) Henry James as a candidate for the first degree in Arts." The recommendation was confirmed at a meeting of the Trustees at the Schenectady City Hall on July 27th. The first of the Jameses had graduated from college. It was the commencement of the career of a new James, de-

stined to become the most noted of his generation in the large family, and in his turn the father of two even more distinguished sons. Henry James was to found a new family tradition and a new fame, based not upon business sagacity, but upon metaphysical subtlety, not upon speculation in land, but upon speculation in ideas.

Contrast for a moment Henry James the novelist and his grandfather William. Let the former, indeed, do it in his own words, and then we shall see what strides Henry James, Sr. must have taken, in a single life-time, away from the paternal traditions.

"Amid all the Albany issue there was ease, with the habit of ease, thanks to our grandfather's fine old ability—he had decently provided for so large a generation; but our consciousness was positively disfurnished, as that of young Americans went, of the actualities of 'business' in a world of business. As to that we all formed together quite a monstrous exception; business in a world of business was the thing we most agreed (differ as we might on minor issues) in knowing nothing about. We touched it and it touched us neither directly nor otherwise . . ."

Back in 1830 the flower of the James family had, as it were, "gone intellectual." The generation of patient toil had been succeeded by the generation of cultured leisure, but not of effete idleness. In the heyday of outward prosperity, a James had turned inward. Surely here is an epic example of what has happened and will happen again in more than one American family.

What of the young man himself, as we see him about to graduate? His boyhood had been spent in his father's fine house on North Pearl Street, Albany. He was by nature a boy of unusual activity and animal spirits, which made all the more tragic the accident which left him at thirteen seriously maimed for life. He was at the time a student at the Albany Academy, then comprising four

teachers and some 130 students. According to the account of a fellow-student, Mr. Woolsey Rogers Hopkins, on summer afternoons the older students would meet Professor Henry* in the park in front of the Academy, where amusement and instruction would be given in balloon flying. A ball of turpentine-soaked tow supplied the motive power, and when the balloon caught fire and the tow-ball fell it would sometimes be kicked about by the boys. One day when young James had a sprinkling of turpentine on his pantaloons, one of these balls was sent flying into the open window of Mrs. Gilchrist's stable. James, thinking only of possible conflagration, rushed to the hayloft and stamped out the flame, but burned his leg. For two years the boy was confined to his bed, and one leg was twice amputated above the knee. He came successfully through the crude surgery of the eighteen-twenties, and after his long confinement got back into touch with the world once more, handicapped by an artificial limb, but temperamentally unscathed. Henceforth he must live in cities, seeking ease of locomotion and transportation, and this fact accounts for the early urbanization of his famous sons.

He did not return to the Academy, but prepared for college at the hands of a private tutor. Two years of this work enabled him to enter Union College in September, 1828 as a member, at the age of seventeen, of the Junior Class. Many of his class-mates were equally young, although some were twenty-three and twenty-four. There were three terms in each year, and each student was graded on a scale of 100% in Attendance, Conduct, and three subjects, a possible total of 500 in all. The college books show the following for his first college year:

December, 1828: Attendance 99; Conduct 100; Blair

*This would evidently refer to the later-famous Joseph Henry, the discoverer of long-distance transmission of electricity, but since the accident occurred not later than the summer of 1824, and Professor Henry did not take up his duties at Albany Academy until September 1826, Mr. Hopkins must be in error.

(Rhetoric) 95; Horace 95; Collecteana Graeca Maj. 90; Total 479. 30th in a class of 68.

April, 1829: Attendance 91; Conduct 100; Cicero 75; Conic sections 85. No total added up.

July, 1829: Attendance 99; Conduct 100; Pol. Econ. 90; Graeca Maj. 90; Nat. Philos. 87; Total 466. 25th in a class of 75.

In a curriculum consisting almost entirely of the Classics and Mathematics, James seems to have slighted the latter. The "Natural Philosophy" was of course what we now call physical science. In his senior year the records grow fragmentary. In December James was marked 93 in Attendance and the usual 100 in Conduct, 80 in Biot's Optics and 75 in Kames's Elements of Criticism. The one interesting item: "Intellectual Philosophy" is checked, but no grade is recorded, and no total added up. In the February grades his name is omitted entirely, and although he seems to be credited in July, 1830 with only German and Blackstone, he was graduated at that time.

Aside from the general high average of attainment, placing him in the first third of his class, just short of Phi Beta Kappa, there is little in James's scholastic record upon which to prognosticate his subsequent accomplishments. Socially speaking, it is evident that his physical disability did not bar him from active participation in the life of the College. Sigma Phi had just been founded during the preceding academic year, and Henry James became a member in 1828. Some conception of the high standards in the fraternities of those days may be gained from a consideration of the thirty men initiated with James in 1828 and 1829. Of them 13 were members of Phi Beta Kappa, 12 received A.M.'s, 3 LL.D's, 3 D.D.'s, 3 Ph.D's, and 10 achieved prominence in political life. Among James's class-mates who later became famous, two were college presidents: George Washington Eaton, of Colgate, and Silas Totten, of Trinity.

Upon graduation Henry returned to Albany and commenced the study of law, apparently in an attempt to feel his way slowly to a suitable profession, but possibly to comply with his father's wishes. Two years later, in the summer of 1832, the dread cholera came to Albany, sweeping away 401 lives in two months. William James, Sr. survived this scourge only to pass away in December of that year. Before his passing, theological differences had arisen between the strict Presbyterian father and two of his sons, one of them Henry. "Fully sensitive to his children's claims upon his sympathy," the elder James "sacrificed even his affections for what he considered the true faith." In an elaborate will, designed to demand stringent proofs of his heirs' industry and orthodoxy, he cut off Henry with a small annuity. But the courts did not sustain his complicated provisions, so that Henry, with all the rest of the children, found himself, on coming of age, leisured for life.

Still undecided about his life-work, James spent the next few years at Canadaigua and Albany, finally deciding to enter Princeton Theological Seminary in 1835 with the class of '39. By the end of his second year, he found his serious doubts concerning justification by faith involving him in arguments with his professors which tended to contaminate his orthodox fellow-students. He left the seminary, and in 1840 married Mary Walsh, the sister of a fellow heretic at Princeton who had, with him, turned his back upon the ministry.

Consumed with interest in theology, and destined to be an inveterate theologian, James thus early found himself at odds with ecclesiasticism. As a philosopher his one and only problem was the problem of creation, and for him there was but one solution, a Creator. So although, like Spinoza, a "God-intoxicated man," James never ceased to pour all his wealth of irony and scorn upon the orthodoxies of his time. In return he was ignored, not refuted. There

was no one to give him battle. The America of his day simply did not know what to make of a genuinely original thinker in the field of theology, an individualist of tremendous independence who also carried his democracy almost as far as Fourier.

It is this profoundly heretical religiosity, setting him sharply against his background of stiffly-compulsory Albany Presbyterianism, that accounts for his attitude toward all colleges, including his Alma Mater. At Union his intellectual life had begun, and it may well have been that the breadth of some of Dr. Nott's views (for he was far from narrow in his theology) aroused his mind to speculations which later led him far afield. But on the whole, Union, for Henry James, Sr. belonged to a paternalistic world which he had definitely renounced. Above all he prized independence and originality, and colleges seemed likely to cramp these qualities. So when his own talented sons came to settle the college question, their father was "extremely tepid" about any college whatever. His son Henry's account of the situation, particularly as regards Union, has often been quoted:

"There comes out to me, much bedimmed but recognisable, the image of a day of extreme youth on which, during a stay with our grandmother at Albany, we achieved, William and I, with some confused and heated railway effort, a pious pilgrimage to the small scholastic city—pious by reason, I clearly remember, of a lively persuasion on my brother's part that to Union College, at some indefinite future time, we should both most naturally and delightedly repair.

"We invoked, I gather, among its scattered shades, fairly vague to me now, the loyalty that our parent appeared to have dropped by the way—even though our attitude about it can scarce have been prematurely contentious; the whole vision is at any rate to-day bathed and blurred for me in the air of some charmed and beguiled dream, that

of the flushed good faith of an hour of crude castle-building. We were helped to build, on the spot, by an older friend, much older, as I remember him, even than my brother, already a member of the college and, as it seemed, greatly enjoying his life and those "society" badges and trinkets with which he reappears to me as bristling and twinkling quite to the extinction of his particular identity. This is lost, like everything else, in the mere golden haze of the little old-time autumn adventure. Wondrous to our sensibility may well have been the October glamour—if October it was, and if it was not it ought to have been!—of that big brave region of the great State over which the shade of Fenimore Cooper's Mohawks and Mohicans (if this be not a pleonasm) might still have been felt to hang. The castle we had built, however, crumbled . . ."

So the famous pair often referred to as America's most famous psychological novelist and most imaginative psychologist, Henry and William James, did not matriculate at Union, nor, indeed, did either of them graduate elsewhere.

Of their father's later career only the most summary account may here be given. On his first visit to England, Henry James, Sr. was attracted by the teachings of Robert Sandeman and for a time felt inclined to become a Sandemanian. But upon a second visit in 1843 he was swept away in a semi-mystical experience by the teachings of Swedenborg, and adopted the latter's system, not without many alterations of his own, particularly with regard to the Church of the New Jerusalem. A true monist and mystic, a saint and a sage, James felt most keenly the paramount difficulty of all religions and religious men, that of expression. Copious and prolix in stating his views, he was never satisfied with any given statement of them. So while original to the last degree, Henry James, Sr. as his friend W. D. Howells remarked, had in his system a "collective opacity which the most resolute vision could not penetrate."

At the same time his place in the early history of American philosophy is secure; and although sadly eclipsed by his sons, his fame is likely to grow as America increasingly appreciates, in the 20th century, her native prophets rejected in the 19th. As William James remarked, his father's time, and his own, "was anything but a theological age" and it left him "stranded high and dry." No more is our age theological; but the time will come when men will once more be "robust theologians," and then will Henry James, Sr., with his "intensely positive, radical and fresh conception of God" be there in the midst of them. Meanwhile Union can ill afford to forget so precious an heretic.

1830—HENRY JAMES had views of his own on colleges. He was shy of all of them as being, in his opinion, somewhat destructive of individuality and of a free spirit. That he did not except Union, the most catholic in his time of all, appears in the following paragraph from Henry James's *Notes of a Son and Brother* (pp. 113-114). He is brother, of course, of the late Professor William James of Harvard University. The father's views prevailed. Neither of his distinguished sons took a college course, though William James studied for two years at the Lawrence Scientific School. Henry James did not go to college at all.

"There comes out to me, much bedimmed, but recognizable, the image of a day of extreme youth on which, during a stay with our grandmother at Albany, we achieved, William and I, with some confused and heated railway effort, a pious pilgrimage to the small scholastic city—pious by reason, I clearly remember, of a lively persuasion on my brother's part that to Union College, at some indefinite future time, we should both most naturally and delightedly repair. We invoked, I gather, among its scattered shades, fairly vague to me now, the loyalty that our parent appeared to have dropped by the way—even though our attitude about it can scarce have been prematurely contentious; the whole vision is at any rate to-day bathed and blurred for me in the air of some charmed and beguiled dream, that of the flushed good faith of an hour of crude castle-building. We were helped to build, on the spot, by an older friend, much older, as I remember him, even than my brother, already a member of the college and, as it seemed, greatly enjoying his life and those 'society' badges and trinkets with which he reappears to me as bristling and twinkling quite to the extinction of his particular identity. This is lost, like everything else, in the mere golden haze of the little oldtime autumn adventure. Wondrous to our sensibility may well have been the October glamour—if October it was, and if it was not it ought to have been!—of that big, brave region of the great state over which the shade of Fenimore Cooper's Mohawks and Mohicans (if this be not a pleonasm) might still have been felt to hang. The castle we had built, however, crumbled—there were plenty of others awaiting erection; these too successively had their hour, but I needn't at this time stoop to pick up their pieces."

vol IV
No 2

by Codman Hislop

On August 15, 1803, William James, merchant of Albany, entered into his first agreement with Union College. One Richard Allenson, carpenter, who had been engaged to do the interior trim and flooring of the stone college then in the process of erection, on lower Fonda or Union Street, found himself unable to complete his contract, because, as the minutes of Union College board of trustees phrased it, 'he is now in the gaol of Albany.' Carpenter Allenson, perturbed at the loss of his fat wage, offered a 'Mr. James, merchant,' as surety that the contract would be completed on time. The name of James evidently carried weight with the trustees, because their minutes indicate their resolution 'to enter into an arbitration bond with Mr. James.'

For the next 18 years the merchant of Albany and Union College went their separate and profitable ways, the one gathering immense wealth and the other legions of students.

The year following Mr. Allenson's slight difficulty with the Albany authorities, 1804, gave to Union the man who was to general these legions, garrisoned in what was then an outpost of civilization, populated by people who could still remember all too vividly the screech of the Algonquins, who could smell in their dreams the smoke drifting down from the ruins of their own sacked farms. Rev. Eliphalet Nott, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Albany since 1800, a trustee of the new college, became in 1804, its fourth president, and shortly, America's most famous educator. He worked for 18 years without Mr. James' help. He blew custom to the winds. He intimidated his trustees into doing anything he wished them to do. He turned Union into an educational monastery as an advertising stunt designed to appeal to timid parents. It did. In 1805 he lobbied the New York State legislature into giving him $80,000. Because this endowment was in the form

of a lottery grant, and controlled by by the inefficient state department, it took the Rev. Mr. Nott 10 years to collect- a most unsatisfactory business from his point of view. In 1814 he went back to Albany and demanded $200,000 - and got it - in the form of another lottery, of course, to which several neighboring institutions (Hamilton College, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, and the Asbury African Negro Church) had hooked their financial bandwagons when they discovered how easily the Rev. Nott was securing state-authorized funds.

Mr. James, merchant of Albany, must have been highly amused as he watched the machinations of the president from Schenectady - easy money. His own time was not far off.

Union College, and the other bandwagon institutions waited. No money. They continued to wait. The managers of the lotteries for the state were dubs. Their advertising was bad. They failed to sell tickets. Deliberately they slept. The illustrious Eliphalet nervously entertained himself by tearing to pieces Lord Kames's textbook on "The Elements of Criticism" for the edification of an ever-increasing throng of students. He invented trick hats in defiance of the current style; he wore ruts in the Albany road trying to get that $200,000. Finally, in disgust, he went to see a former parishioner - the rich merchant whose"fat Andrews" by this time had returned him more money than dozens of James descendants were ever able to spend. On May 1, 1821, the impatient doctor borrowed $56,000 from William James, giving as security bonds owned by Union College to the sum of $132,000. One imagines Mr. James rubbing his hands gleefully - the interest rate was six and a half per cent and the security was as good as treasury notes. And Dr. Nott said he would pay the money back in four years. Mr. James hoped so.

Still the bandwagons waited. Nothing happened. No money. The 'late war' had been expensive; and the state was too busy anyhow giving away the public lands and dreaming about a fine new canal.

The Rev. President was not the man to let a mere legislature go to sleep on him. He put by Lord Kames and the new interest in anthracite stoves, and hurried off to Albany again. He cajoled this man and flattered that one. He wrote letters to them, and banged on innumerable tables. In 1822 he got what he set out for: 'An Act to Limit the Continuance of Lotteries,' whereby the state grants of 1814 must be run off in 11 years, and in which was incorporated the provision that the handling of lotteries should be given into the control of the institutions to which the grants had been made. Dr. Nott was immensely pleased with himself, but the bandwagon institutions grumbled. They had no time to fiddle with finance. And then Dr. Nott did something that must have won the merchant of Albany's undying admiration. He bought up the bandwagons. He gave the Asbury African Negro Church $4,000. He gave the College of Physicians and Surgeons $30,000. He went again to Mr. James and borrowed $33,000 which he immediately handed over to Hamilton College for its share. Then he was free of them.

The Rev. President was now the sole manager (by agreement with his amenable trustees) of a lottery the ticket value of which was $4,492,000, 15 per cent of which was to go to the institutions to which the grant had been made. But the bandwagons had been dropped and the Union College claim was the only claim. Of this comfortable sum the manager of the lottery was to have 6½ per cent on the value of the tickets sold as remuneration for selling them. Dr. Nott had good reason to think well of himself, and Merchant James had good reason to think well of Dr. Nott.

By the middle of May, 1825, Union College was indebted to William James in the sum of $71,000 for which Eliphalet Nott had pledged, in anticipation of future returns on the lottery venture, not only bonds and mortgages, but, as the deed itself ran, 'land in the first ward of the City of Schenectady which includes 67 acres near Troy turnpike; also the new college edifices and all the houses standing on the premises.' Not a bad day's work, signing away the college in the hope of future lottery returns. Merchant James was in serious danger of becoming an educator, a state of affairs he might not have appreciated had he forseen the

subsequent development of events.

Lottery-Manager Nott felt that active participation in the business of 'running off' the various series of tickets was somewhat beneath the dignity of President Nott. To avoid this predicament he engaged the firm of Yates and McIntyre, professional lottery operators, to do the actual work for him. They were to receive four per cent of the 15 per cent allowed the institutions for his services, which left the Rev. President with a prospective 2¼ per cent on $4,492,000, no work, and what he hoped would be no responsibility. And Yates and McIntyre were bound by law to pay in 11 years.

For some time everything progressed smoothly. Merchant James collected his 6½ per cent interest, Dr. Nott taught Kames, made stoves, entertained the Marquis de Lafayette, and deposited neat sums in the president's fund, which he liked to call the residuary fund.

And then something blew up. On January 4, 1826, Yates and McIntyre wrote to Dr. Nott in part as follws: 'It has become necessary to inform you that such have been our losses that we have no reasonable prospect of being able to pay the sum stipplated or even to pay the prizes in the lottery now pending unless we can procure immediately pecuniary assistance to a large amount. If such assistance can be procured we are confident that we shall fulfill our contract with the college and save our other creditors harmless. In view of the circumstances we have thought it our duty to propose that you and the treasurer should raise for our immediate relief $100,000.

The day the reverend president received that letter must have been a bad day. The college had pledged its bonds and its property to Mr. James on the future of those lotteries. And now Dr. Nott was asked to go forth and find almost twice as much as the college had already borrowed. But Dr. Nott was not a quitter. He had set out to build a college, and if another trip to Albany would do the job, travel he would.

What he said to the merchant-educator no one will ever know, but on January 11, 1826, the following agreement was signed: 'Whereas William James has become bound for John B. Yates and Archibald McIntyre, contractors under the trustees of Union College for the drawing of the lotteries they have (a few words here in the original document are illegible) for the purpose of enabling the said Yates and McIntyre to pay prizes that may be drawn in the sum of $100,000.' William James was probably as badly scared as Eliphalet Nott, although not so scared that he neglected to extract a personal agreement from Treasurer Henry Yates and the reverend president to make good any losses he might sustain. The interest rate was still 6½ per cent.

On January 12, 1826, after what was probably a most unpleasant night, Dr. Nott wrote to Treasurer Yates the following amazing letter, which reads in part: 'You and I have such unlimited powers and have used them so boldly and so frequently without ever consulting the resident trustees, who are a standing committee with powers on all emergencies, that I feel anxious in the first place to arm ourselves and prepare for our justification in case of the worst--and having done so to prevent the disaster contemplated--and if going even further than we have gone will prevent it--my advice is to go still farther and to stick at nothing but impossibilities, for if we are able to show that we have gone into these varied and bold measures really to preserve and advance the interests of the concern trusted to us--whatever may be the result and however we may be charged with imprudence, our characters will not suffer--and this is what has chiefly given me uneasiness--and the more so as I know there are people who would make the worst use of our errors.' The postscript which concludes the letter holds the key to Nott's character: After admitting what if it had been publicly known, would have precipitated a giddy scandal at the time, the man calmly wrote as an appendix to this letter, 'Purchase for me such a set of pencils as your brother's of the best kind.'

The $100,000 which William James advanced to Yates and McIntyre seemed to do the trick. The prize drawings were 'run off' smoothly for sometime. During the next year, July, 1827, Merchant James became Trustee James of Union College and significantly enough a member of the finance committee. There is no reason to believe that this sudden honor had anything to do with this estimable gentleman's enthusiasm for higher education.

William James enters the lottery picture but once more. The occasion is one on which the lottery managers, Yates and McIntyre, take mournful comfort in pointing a moral lesson for the edification of thier employer, Super-Lottery Manager Nott. On November, 8, 1828, they wrote to him as follows: 'We have received from Mr. James notice in writing that he will no longer indorse us, except for such notes as shall fall due before the first day of January. If this be his unalterable decision I would desire to know it. I regret exceedingly that a state of things to which I alluded in a former communication is so soon to be brought about. It is always dangerous to be in the power of any one man and we will probably be taught that by experience.'

From 1826 until the conclusion of the lottery contract in 1833 matters between Dr. Nott and his managers went from bad to worse. The college managed eventually to collect some $276,000 for its endowment. The president's fund finally became a subject for legislative investigation, the result of which was the complete vindication of Dr. Nott. Trustee James (whose son Henry graduated from 'his father's college' in 1830) died in 1832, leaving to his heirs the tangible assets of an unusual college education and to the college a box full of cancelled checks and released securities."

Clem 1830

Christian Science Monitor 10/10/63

A Dissent on Henry James

The Anti-Jacobite

Henry James and the Jacobites. by Maxwell Geismar. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 463 pp. $7.

By Robert C. Le Clair

As a broadside attack on Henry James and the Jamesian cult of the past two decades, this is an important book. Mr. Geismar has laid siege to the "Establishment" which the followers and admirers ("Jacobites") of James have built up to majestic heights. He launches into battle in a devastating manner, with some deadly weapons (and not always fair ones).

At times the tumult and the shouting remind one of the storming of the Bastille, and though the walls and foundations may well be cracked, the citadel is far from taken. A literary war has been declared, and there will surely be a rallying of forces on both sides.

* * *

The book is much more than a debunking of the Jamesian tradition, although there is an imbalance in that direction. With the exception of Van Wyck Brooks (to whom the book is dedicated) and J. B. Priestley (who "while perhaps according to James more credit than he deserved, brilliantly described his limitations"), few critics escape Mr. Geismar's ire over the adulation they have heaped upon James.

Dupee and Matthiessen 'are perhaps the best of the Jacobite critics, if we omit the inflamed and cloudy rhetoric of Mr. Blackmur; the pontifical 'judgments' of Mr. Zabel; the 'committed sensibility' of Mr. Edel; or the fervent metaphysical misinterpretations of Mr. Stallman; not to mention the sheer poetic license of the two expatriated English poets, Auden and Spender."

Taking them one at a time, or in small groups, Mr. Geismar in brilliant strokes moves in upon their "mumbo - jumbo realm of esthetics," documenting his arguments with sharp, critical analyses of the major novels and a great many of the short stories, major and minor. All this is admirably done and highly effective, as the responses to Mr. Geismar's attack will no doubt show.

* * *

What will arouse the greatest clamor of protest is the onslaught leveled at James himself, who was, Mr. Geismar states, "not a major writer at all, but merely "a major *entertainer* . . . of a rare and exotic sort," a cross between a master magician and "the kind of literary monster he really was." of James's "infantile voyeurism." Chapter headings announce the sweep and variety with which the theme is ridden: "The Outcast Child — the Omnipotent Infant," "The Psychology of the Keyhole," "The Ghost in the Jolly Corner," etc.

Mr. Geismar's wit and irony, always keen, command the reader's constant interest, though the lapses into cheapness, poor taste, and occasional downright nastiness (as in the analysis of "The Aspern Papers") can hardly win much in the way of admiration and respect. James surely deserves a better, fairer treatment, even at the hands of so anti-Jacobite a critic as Maxwell Geismar.

In contrast to this sort of manipulated psychoanalysis, one thinks of Jean Delay's "The Youth of André Gide," in many ways a more difficult subject, done with impeccable taste and professional integrity and rendered with a fine, generous understanding of human nature.

* * *

A broader and more balanced theme is the question of why Henry James came into vogue during the 'Forties and 'Fifties and to what extent the revival can last. Mr. Geismar sees James as an answer to the needs of the New Critics for a "pure" artist, as a kind of escape from the heavy, oppressive, ominous atmosphere of those decades. He suggests further that James is doomed for the very reason that he is a "pure" artist who in no way reflected the political, economic, historical currents of the day and who rationalized away his own detachment from life in the ever increasing complexity of his technique, his style, his "method."

Thus, "Henry James really *was* the Age in a sense our New Critics hardly meant or envisioned. James and his cult represented the imaginary and fictional age of the American democracy in the mid-twentieth century, which was in effect another kind of enchanted fairyland and 'legendary' (borrowed, nouveau-riche, spurious) nobility amid the latent, repressed, anxiety - provoked symptoms of the real world in which it existed; but which it refused to acknowledge — to 'see' or to 'know.'" (Could Mr. Geismar be unduly under the influence of James's most advanced style? One thinks of several writers—Poe, Hawthorne, Irving — in a sense "pure" artists also, who somehow continue to survive, although they no more reflected or expressed the main currents of their America than James did his.

But Mr. Geismar's war is with the Jacobites more than with James. The real trouble with them, he says most ironically, is that they are wholly committed to their cause. They are no longer critics so much as apologists—or esthetic theologians — who must rationalize every issue in favor of their royal subject." We wonder if the implications of that remark will not come boomeranging back to Mr. Geismar amid the literary missiles which are soon to be shot in his direction.

3/19/63 1830

Founders Day Ceremonies Feb. 25—

Union to Cite Henry James Sr.

Union College will honor at its Founders' Day ceremonies Feb. 25 Henry James Sr., an 1830 graduate, student of religious and social problems, and father of two sons who left an indelible imprint on American culture.

* * *

THE CEREMONIES, which mark the 168th birthday of the college, will take place in Memorial Chapel at 11:30 a.m.

James, the son of a successful businessman, was born in Albany in 1811. He entered Union in 1828 and was graduated two years later. His brief career at the college was interrupted during his senior year when he ran off to Boston to work as a proofreader for the "Christian Examiner."

"As a Union student," Dr. Harold A. Larrabee, professor emeritus of philosophy at Union, has written, "Henry James Sr. has two ironic and unmatchable distinctions. He was probably the first person anywhere to wear a fraternity pin . . . He was also the only Union student in history whose father, while his son was in college, held a mortgage bond for $200,000 on the entire campus . . ." The bond, incidentally, was floated by the then president, Eliphalet Nott, in an attempt to pay off the prizes in the college lottery, the principal means of raising money for the college in those days.

JAMES' PASSION for nonconformity led his famous son, Henry the novelist, to describe his father many years later as "quite definitely wild" while a college student.

Following graduation James, at the urging of his father, studied law briefly and then tried business ventures in Canadaigua and Albany. When his father died in 1832, the share of the estate which he inherited yielded an income of about $10,000 a year, thus enabling him to pursue his own interests without regard to their practicality.

James attended Princeton Theological Seminary in 1835 but left a year later, rejecting the tenets of Calvinism as they were taught there. He launched out to seek his own solutions to religious problems and soon became an adherent of Swedenborg, the famous Swedish scientist, philosopher, and theologian. In things material, he was largely guided by the famous French socialist Fourier.

* * *

IN 1840 JAMES married Mary Robertson Walsh. The first of their two famous sons, William, the philosopher, was born in 1842. Henry Junior, the famous American novelist, was born the following year, the same year that the family left for England. During Henry Senior's years abroad he struck up friendships with Carlyle, the historian, and many of the influential freethinkers of the period.

Upon his return, his writings began to multiply with rapidity and today he is probably best remembered for "Substance and Shadow; or, Morality and Religion in Their Relation to Life," published in 863, and "Society the Redeemed Form of Man and the Earnest of God's Omnipotence in Human Nature," which appeared in 1879.

* * *

THROUGH HIS FRIEND, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James came to know many of the leading transcendentalists of the period, including Margaret Fuller, William Ellery Channing and Bronson Alcott. Among his other friends were Thoreau and Thackeray.

James became a philosopher and theologian in his own right, though he never attained the greatness of his two sons. "One of the most perplexing of the many paradoxes about him is that he was intensely religious, yet almost savagely anti-clerical." Prof. Larrabee has written. "He loved originality and spontaneity so much that he hated them when they had become institutionalized. This hostility to ritual (the family had no pew in any church) liberated his sons from the machinery and trappings of orthodoxy without depriving them of a deep concern for values."

He died at Cambridge, Mass., in 1882.

Speakers at the ceremonies will be Prof. Larrabee and Prof. Leon Edel of New York University, widely regarded as the foremost living authority on the James family.

N.Y. Herald Tribune — Oct 8, 1963

A Whack for James

HENRY JAMES AND THE JACOBITES. By Maxwell Geismar. 436 pp. Houghton Mifflin. $7.

By Alan Pryce-Jones

Daily Book Review

IT WAS Philip Guedalla, I think, who divided the work of Henry James into three periods: those of James I, and James II, and James the Old Pretender, Maxwell Geismar goes one better: he simply underlines the Pretense.

It was inevitable that some attack should fall about now on the apparently impregnable fortress which for many years has protected James' international reputation. Mr. Geismar sets about its sentinels with a critical knobkerrie. Whack! for the "inflamed and cloudy rhetoric" of Mr. Blackmur. Whack! for Mr. Stallman's "fervent metaphysical misinterpretations." Whack! for the "sheer poetic license of the two expatriated English poets, Auden and Spender" (Two, Mr. Geismar?). Sniff! for Messrs. Dupee and Matthiessen, "perhaps the best of the Jacobite critics."

What they ought to have said, in Mr. Geismar's view, is that James was compounded of "essential snobbery and antidemocratic bias." He was ashamed of his country. He was blinded by the romantic death-fires of a vanishing Europe. He had no stories to tell. Totally excluded from the world of passion, or even sensation, he was just an old ninny born out of time, who has somehow managed posthumously to fog the critical intelligence of two continents.

Mr. Geismar has a certain amount of right on his side. From Max Beerbohm onward—a name not mentioned in these pages—James has been a subject of quiet mirth. At times. But not at all times. He can be among the most maddening of writers, and there will be plenty to applaud Mr. Geismar's determination to establish this. There is

Maxwell Geismar

something glaucous about James' personality, Pecksniffian even. Those endless onion-skins of sensibility, unpeeling round a central core of dedication to art, are at times oddly lined with damp flannel.

But effectively to demolish James needs a tone unlike that of Mr. Geismar. He can pose a question thus: "And how, really, could such eminent critics as F. O. Matthiessen and Kenneth B. Murdock accept this outrageous Jamesian precept of the immaculate vision; or let us say the immaculate perception?" He can ask whether James were not beside Herman Wouk or J. D Salinger, "the perfect figurehead for the American fifties." He can let irritation flare into anger until the knobkerrie falls on his own typewriter, as when he berates James—aged 72 at the time ——for his romanticism and vulgarity in behaving like the Common Man in 1914, when the main prop of his arguments to date is that James was never a Common Man.

There is a fascinating study to be made of a special brand of American, now as extinct as the dodo, who reacted to Europe in the Jamesian spirit towards the turn of the century; the very last of them, James' friend Ethel Sands the painter, died only the other day. It is a pity none of them is alive to offer a retort to Mr. Geismar in his own coin (Edith Wharton, in particular, though no club-wielder, carried a most formidable parasol). A sympathetic study of their limitations and triumphs might throw into high relief those of James, their spokesman. As it is, Mr. Geismar is too cross to exercise his critical faculty: he merely whacks. James ought to have been another Dreiser, we learn, although, since he was bound to fail in whatever he attempted, it seems unlikely that he would have done better in Dreiser's "tougher, more realistic and sardonic" vein.

He ought to have stayed at home, instead of mixing with the nobs in Europe. He ought to have been cosier in the home, choosier in the company he kept, more and better in the bed—Mr. Geismar worries a lot about James' sexual inadequacy. Of course, he ought to have written quite different books, differently. In Mr. Geismar's own phrase, Come now.

Union College To Honor Henry James

Dr. Harold A. Larrabee will speak at the Union College Founders' Day ceremonies honoring Henry James Sr. at 11:30 a.m. Monday in Memorial Chapel.

James was a student of religious and social problems and the father of two famous sons. He was born in Albany in 1811, entered Union in 1828 and graduated two years later.

His sons were William James, the famed 19th century philosopher, and novelist Henry James Jr.

Henry Sr. was active most of his life in "freethinking" circles.

Larrabee, a retired Union College philosophy professor, graduated from Harvard College in 1917 and holds a Ph.D. degree from Harvard. He taught at Syracuse University, Harvard and Radcliff before joining the Union faculty in 1925.

HENRY JAMES SR. HONORED ON FOUNDERS' DAY

Union College honored Henry James, Sr., an 1830 graduate, at its Founders' Day ceremonies, February 25. He was a student of religious and social problems, and father of two sons who left an indelible imprint on American culture.

The ceremonies, which marked the 168th birthday of the College, took place in Memorial Chapel.

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James attended Princeton Theological Seminary in 1835 but left a year later, rejecting the tenets of Calvinism as they were taught there. He launched out to seek his own solutions to religious problems and soon became an adherent of Swedenborg, the famous Swedish scientist, philosopher, and theologian. In things material, he was largely guided by the famous French socialist Fourier.

In 1840 James married Mary Robertson Walsh. The first of their two famous sons, William, the philosopher, was born in 1842. Henry Junior, the famous American novelist, was born the following year, the same year that the family left for England. During Henry Senior's 6 years abroad he struck up friendships with Carlyle, the historian, and many of the influential freethinkers of the period.

Upon his return, his writings began to multiply with rapidity and today he is probably best remembered for *Substance and Shadow;* or, *Morality and Religion in Their Relation to Life,* published in 1863, and *Society the Redeemed Form of Man and the Earner of God's Omnipotence in Human Nature,* which appeared in 1879.

Through his friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James came to know many of the leading transcendentalists of the period, including Margaret Fuller, William Ellery Channing and Bronson Alcott. Among his other friends were Thoreau and Thackeray.

James became a philosopher and theologian in his own right though he never attained the greatness of his two sons. "One of the most perplexing of the many paradoxes about him is that he was intensely religious, yet almost savagely anti-clerical," Professor Larrabee has written. "He loved originality and spontaneity so much that he hated them when they had become institutionalized. This hostility to ritual (the family had no pew in any church) liberated his sons from the machinery and trappings of orthodox without depriving them of a deep concern for values."

Speakers at the Founders' ceremonies were Professor Larrabee and Professor Leon Edel of New York University, widely regarded as the foremost living authority on the James family.

UCR 4/63

College to Honor Henry James, Sr.

Union College will honor at its founders' day ceremonies Monday the memory of Henry James Sr., an 1830 graduate and student of religious and social problems, who left an indelible imprint on American culture.

The ceremonies, which mark the 168th birthday of the college, will take place in Memorial Chapel at 11:30 a.m.

Times Union Feb 21, 1963

Henry James.

2.

"Society the Redeemed Form of Man" (1874). He was married in 1841, to Mary daughter of James Walsh, New York city. Their sons William and Henry have attained distinction: the former as a writer on philosophy and psychology and as professor of philosophy at Harvard; the latter as a brilliant essayist and novelist. Henry James, Sr., died in Cambridge, Mass., Dec. 18, 1882. "The Philosophy of Henry James: A Digest" appeared in 1883; and William James published, in 1885, a volume of his father's "Literary Remains," which contains a fragmentary autobiography and a complete bibliography, as well as an introduction by the editor.

The N. C. of A. B., Vol. XIII, Page 66.

*James, Henry—b. Albany, N. Y., June 3, 1811; U. C., 1830; (2+); Swedenb.; author, Albany, N. Y.; Cambridge and Boston, Mass.; d. Boston, Mass., Dec. 18, 1882. Princeton Theol. Cat. 1844. class 1835-

U.A.M. 1830 Dec. 1932

This fall has seen an unusual concentration of attention upon the James family, [illegible] the Troy township graphbar with the New[illegible] campus lands, amounting to 67 acres near In 1823, the College, which owed James $71,000, gave him a mortgage on all its which rose from $56,000 to $100,000 in 1826. that time he had advanced to Dr. Nott loans Union as early as 1827. Six years before able success in business, was a trustee of land in 1793, and made an almost unbeliev- Elder, who had come to Albany from Ire- We now know that William James the Coolman Hislop, '31.

by the undersigned, and more recently by to Union which was dredged up originally He makes use of much material pertaining ry, the so-called Swedenborgian philosopher. of the family in America, and his son, Hen- William of Albany, the millionaire founder graphical accounts of the elder Jamses, Grattan is the first to present extended bio- appeared and received wide attention. Mr. of Minds" by C. Hartley Grattan has also book called "The Three Jamses: A Family first published in the Mowthly in 1926. A titled "Henry James, Senior, '30, at Union" them an amplified version of the paper en- William James and his forbears, one of Phi Beta Kappa, devotes three articles to phasis. The October number of *The American Scholar*, the quarterly publication of

THE ELDER HENRY JAMES. *By Austin Warren.* (*Macmillan. $2.50.*)

Whether, or not, Henry James (1811-1882) would be the subject of a substantial biography fifty years after his death, had he not been the father of two distinguished sons, is a matter of conjecture; but one thing is certain—he was a man of unique and forceful mind and character in his own right. His independency was evident in the fact that though he was a devotee of Swedenborg, he was "an implacable foe" of the New (or Swedenborgian) Church, and also in the corresponding fact that though he was a Socialist, a disciple of Fourier, he belonged to no organization. He was the friend of Emerson and Carlyle, a philosopher who developed a system of his own, an author who wrote with vigor and with an uncompromising and unrestrained critical honesty. Mr. Warren has written a biography worthy of his subject—direct in style and honest and thoroughgoing in its method. Notes, bibliography and index, as well as text, mark the book from the mass of ephemeral and superficial studies that have become so prevalent in biography.

6

1880

Mr. and Mrs. WILLIAM H. SADLER of

1830 Henry James

See: Howells
His Life and World
Van Wyck Brooks
E. P. Dutton & Co.
New York 1959

Numerous references

Clipped from

N.Y. Herald Tribune

Henry James – 1830

by

Joseph R. Brown, Jr. '03

Date: Sept. 29, 1961

William James, One of Noted Family, Dies

CHOCORUA, N. H.

William James, seventy-nine, portrait painter, died Tuesday night at his summer home. His residence was at 95 Irving St., Cambridge, Mass.

A man of distinguished family, son of William James, the philosopher and psychologist; nephew of Henry James, novelist and critic, and grandson of Henry James, the religious philosopher, he achieved distinction in his own right as a painter.

One of his best-known works was a portrait of the late Prof. Charles Townsend Copeland, familiar to thousands of Harvard men as "Copey." Mr. James, who painted the picture at the behest of the late John Singer Sargent, presented it to the Signet Association, Cambridge literary society.

A native of Cambridge, Mr. James was graduated from Harvard in 1903. He studied at the Boston Museum school of drawing and painting and was an instructor there from 1913 to 1934. He then served on the council of the school for several years and was acting director from 1936 to 1938.

Surviving are his wife, Mrs. Mary Brush Pierce James, and two sons, William and John James, by his marriage to Mrs. Alice Runnells James, who died in 1957.

Times-Union Jan 11. 1962

Around the Town

James' Father Was Albanian

By EDGAR S. VANOLINDA

One of the most controversial stories ever to be translated to the medium of motion pictures, titled "The Innocents," will open at the Hellman Memorial Theatre in upper Washington Avenue tomorrow for an indefinite engagement. The eerie tale of mid-Victorian England was written by the late novelist, Henry James, brother of William James, one of the pioneer psychologists in America. "The Innocents" is an intriguingly scary adaptation of Henry James' classic ghost story, "The Turn of the Screw," a tale that has fascinated and chilled multitudes since it first was published, some 63 years ago.

The magnificent motion picture should have a certain appeal for literary Albanians because the father of Henry and William James, Henry James Sr., was a former merchant in this city. Born in Ireland, he died in 1832 at the age of 63. He was the builder of his own fortune. Unaided and alone, he became one of the richest men in America. His place of business stood—and still stands—on the west corner of State and Green Streets, the property now owned by Mr. Adler of Keeler's Stat Street restaurant. Mr. James' residence was on the east side of North Pearl Stret, near Steuben.

Capote Wrote Play

Truman Capot, who wrote the screen play from the novel, has fashioned a truly remarkable document and one of the first essays into the then, hazy realm of what, today, is the science of psychology, a subject developed by Sigmund Freud some years later. If the picture, the photography, direction and superb cast do not receive individual nominations for Oscars, we just will not believe in Santa Claus.

Miss Gibbons (Deborah Kerr) is engaged as governess in a magnificent mansion in the English countryside. There she meets her charges, a young boy and his young sister, Miles and Flora, who, seemingly are the two most delightful innocent children she has ever known. But there is something strange and intangible about the children and about the house. There are intimations of evil. Then ghosts appear. The "normal" little girl seems possessed by demons; her "normal" brother recites macabre verses about a dead man's visit from the grave. There is a spine-tingling climax as the boy and his governess confront the "thing" that has been hounding them.

Tale of Horror

James wrote the story both as a straight tale of horror and as a psychological study of good and evil. In fact, in the original story which we read many years ago, the reader is never sure that the ghosts are not figments of the governess' imagination. The picture retains the same profundity as the book.

The camera readily creates its own illusion of ghostliness, greatly helped with the use of black and white photography. What unnatural hypnotic hold have the two dead persons, the former valet, Quint, and his inamorata, Miss Jessel, the former governess? What was their relationship with the two unworldly children? Each reader of the story forms his own opinion of the situation; each viewer becomes a self-appointed psychoanalyst, and this choice of ballot is one of the unusual aspects of the development of the story.

Miss Kerr is magnificent as the perplexed member of the household. Pamela Franklin and Martin Stephens are the two delightful but perplexing children. Must of the tense drama is contributed by the boy, Master Stephens, who is strongly reminescent of an earlier Freddie Bartholomew. "The Innocents," a pitcure about children, is not for children, except as it depicts the youth of the wealthy English and their respect for their elders. The psychological ramifications could be quite confusing to adolescents, as they frequently are for the more mature members of the audience. Here, however, is cinematic Art with a capital "A."

Times-Union
Trustee - 1830
by
Joseph R. Brown, Jr. '03
Date: Jan. 31, 1962

TIMES-UN 1, 1962 28

Around the Town

James' Name Given Honor

By EDGAR S. VAN OLINDA

Most people would feel honored to have a street named in their honor and feel that their business or civic careers had been a success.

But to have had two streets and a town bearing their name might seem to be the height of appreciation in one short span of life. The man who rated this signal mark of appreciation was William James, who came to Albany from Ireland in 1793. James Street, formerly Middle Lane in Albany, James Street in Syracuse, and Jamesville, N. Y. bear witness to the greatness of a man who has been dead over a century.

At his death, William James was one of the city's wealthiest men, if not one of the richest men in America. He amassed a fortune in his mercantile establishment at the southwest corner of State and Green Streets, the building now the property of Keeler's Restaurant. On the Green Street side of the building may still be seen the anchor for the block and tackle used to hoist the merchandise into the upper floor storeroom. On the State Street level is the jewelry store of Fuhrman's, Inc.

Canal Promoter

Mr. James was active in promoting the Erie Canal and was one of the founders of the Albany Savings Bank and its first vice-president. He was also a director of the State Bank; a trustee of Union College in Schenectady and the First Presbyterian Church in Albany and Deputy Commissioner from the State of New York during the War of 1812 for the purchase of supplies for the United States Navy. He was third president of the Board of Trustees of the Albany Academy, from 1826 to 1832.

His recognition by the city of Syracuse and the naming of one of its better residential streets after the Albany merchant was due to the establishment of the great salt industry there with another Albany businessman, a member of the Townsend family whose foundry furnished the huge kettles in which the saline products were processed.

Mr. James married three times, and, as so often happens, the issue of the final union became world famous. One son by this wife, daughter of Judge and Mrs. John Bennett Barber, was Henry James, student of religious and social problems and one of the most devoted disciples of the principles of Swendenborg, Swedish scientist, philosopher and theologian.

Second Generation

The influence of the Albany pioneer was to extend to the second generation. Henry James, Jr. and his brother, William attained world-wide recognition; Henry, Jr. as a novelist and essayist, educated in Europe, living much of his life in London. William became a distinguished philosopher after his graduation from Harvard University and later, a member of the faculty as lecturer on anatomy and physiology. In 1890, William James published his epoch-making volume: "Principles of Psychology" which brought this new science of the mind into the consciousness of the medical world.

It might seem to a later generation that the city fathers might have been a little more generous in their allotment of a thoroughfare to perpetuate the memory of such an influential Albanian. But at the time of William James' death, Albany had only a limited number of streets and these were all spoken for. They did the next best thing and changed Middle Lane to James Street.

Another Albany street did not fare so well as James Street. That is Dongan Avenue in the South End, named for Governor Thomas Dongan, who gave Albany its charter in 1686. By this document the limits of the city were fixed at one mile north and south on the Hudson River and 16 miles in a northwesterly direction. Within these limits all vacant and unappropriated lands were vested in the city officials, thus ending for all time the disputes as to jurisdiction between the city and Rensselaerwyck. With the year 1686, therefore, the existance of Albany as a Dutch village came, formally, to a close.

Clipped from
Times-Union
1830
by
Joseph R. Brown, Jr. '03
Date: Apr. 10, 1962

Henry James' grandfather made a fortune in Albany — large enough to enable his descendants to pursue intellectual interests without the distractions of earning a living. Henry James, Sr., his son and later father of the novelist, was an Albany Academy and Union College graduate who left his home city for more cosmopolitan fields. He returned from England in 1843 for two years of residence near his widowed mother at 50 N. Pearl St. That brief period, plus summer visits with grandparents, left an indelible impression on Henry James the younger. Isabel Archer, fictional heroine of 'The Portrait of a Lady", comes from Albany and the descritpion of her home fits grandmother James' house. Daisy Miller, in the novel of the same name, has a Schenectady background.

Ms 1830 ?

N.Y. Herald Tribune - Feb. 4. 1962

'Forget' James —It's Easier Said

"The Aspern Papers", is Henry James' tantalizing novelette about an American editor's search for the letters written to his mistress by Aspern, a mythical American poet of Byron's time. The editor finds the mistress—now old and eccentric—living in poverty in Venice with her spinster niece. His attempts to acquire the letters by any means provide the drama in the stage adaptation by Sir Michael Redgrave, the British actor who recently starred here in Terence Rattigan's "The Complaisant Lover."

By Sir Michael Redgrave

"Half the enjoyment of Venice," said Henry James "is a question of dodging."

It is now nearly fifteen years since I turned my "Sunday-writer's" hand to adapting Henry James' "The Aspern Papers" for the stage and I can no longer to a point —as James might have put it —precisely remember what prompted me to do so. Admiration, of course, but adaptation is perhaps not the sincerest form of flattery. Then there are the obvious dramatic possibilities of the plot, and scenes which seem to ask to be lifted straight onto the stage. The only problem being how to get them there.

The Villain as Hero

The transportation difficulties are considerable. To name but three: the hero, Aspern, who to my mind is also the villain, is dead and his character is conveyed to the reader only in an impressionist manner. The villain—if you like to think of him as that—but is he not also the hero?—is anonymous in the book, for the whole story is written in the first person, and the plot seen through his eyes only. The third obstacle, or perhaps it is the first, is that the validity of the plot depends on how much we can believe that the dead hero was an American poet of international repute, of the time and stature of Byron. (James found the core of his plot in a posthumous Byron anecdote.) More than one critic of the novel faulted James on this point, for the reason that no American poet of that era and of such reputation is known, and James was at pains to defend himself in the preface to a later edition.

Thornton Wilder read one of my versions some years ago and he took the same view, advising me to "forget" James on this point and make the dead hero Byron or Shelley. But the more I thought about it the more I was convinced that the Jamesian intangibility is part of the essence of this story. Moreover, though indeed there may have been no truly great American poet before Whitman, would it not be exciting if, even now, we discovered that there had been—which is precisely what the leading male character of the story hopes, and fails, to establish?

A Labor of Love

The project, for me, was a labor of love. I never intended it as a vehicle for myself as an actor. I certainly did not imagine that it would run a year in London and be performed all over Europe.

Nevertheless, I clung to the thought of it. I kept buying options on the rights to the story; I cut it, I rewrote, I put it away again. And then—one day—I took all my versions out of a drawer, looked at them and decided—as Wilder had advised — to "forget James": except in the matter of Aspern vs. Byron. I rewrote it once more, cutting out much of the elaborate pastiche of the later Jamesian manner with which I had started my labor of love and which would have made the author, to say the least, uneasy.

He would certainly not have relished my calling the chief male character,—the anonymous narrator of the novel—"H. J.," the initials by which James was frequently known. "The Master" was, I am told by authorities, an inveterate destroyer of "too personal" papers. I am only too ready to believe them. But the germ of a work of art—, the *donnée*, or the *troubaille*, as James would have called it—often comes from an idea which would seem to be the very opposite of the writer's overt nature. James might not have been altogether pleased with me for calling the hero-villain of the play "H. J." but he would perhaps have qualified his displeasure with an American "maybe," an English *"really?"* or a Jamesian - French *"quand-même"!*

– *"Quand-même,"* of course, he might not. If I need further excuse, let it be in his words, from a passage in the story: "As you sit in your gondola the footways that in certain parts edge the canals assume to the eye the importance of a stage . . . and the Venetian figures strike you as members of an endless dramatic troupe."

Maurice Evans is the editor, Wendy Hiller the spinster niece of Aspern's aged mistress, Francoise Rosay, in "The Aspern Papers," opening at the Playhouse Wednesday.

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NEWS RELEASE

from UNION COLLEGE

SCHENECTADY 8, N. Y.

~~NEW TELEPHONE NUMBER:~~
346-8751 Ex. 209

~~FOR RELEASE TUESDAY A.M., FEB. 19, 1963~~

~~Union to Honor~~ Henry James Sr. on Founders' Day

~~SCHENECTADY, N.Y., Feb. 18~~--Union College ~~will honor~~ honored at its founders' day ceremonies Feb. 25 Henry James Sr., an 1830 graduate, ~~a~~ He was a student of religious and social problems, and father of two sons who left an indelible imprint on American culture.

The ceremonies, which mark the 168th birthday of the college, ~~will take place~~ took place in Memorial Chapel ~~at 11:30 a.m.~~

James, the son of a successful businessman, was born in Albany in 1811. He entered Union in 1828 and was graduated two years later. His brief career at the college was interrupted during his senior year when he ran away to Boston to work as a proof reader for the "Christian Examiner."

"As a Union student," Dr. Harold A. Larrabee, professor emeritus of philosophy at Union, has written, "Henry James Sr. has two ironic and unmatchable distinctions. He was probably the first person anywhere to wear a fraternity pin. . . .He was also the only Union student in history whose father, while his son was in college, held a mortgage bond for $200,000 on the entire campus. . . ." The bond,

MORE

incidentally, was floated by the then president, Eliphalet Nott, in an attempt to pay off the prizes in the college lottery, the principal means of raising money for the college in those days.

James' passion for non-conformity led his famous son, Henry the novelist, to describe his father many years later as "quite definitely wild" while a college student.

Following graduation James, at the urging of his father, studied law briefly and then tried business ventures in Canadaigua and Albany. When his father died in 1832, the share of the estate which he inherited yielded an income of about $10,000 a year, thus enabling him to pursue his own interests without regard to their practicality.

James attended Princeton Theological Seminary in 1835 but left a year later, rejecting the tenets of Calvinism as they were taught there. He launched out to seek his own solutions to religious problems and soon became an adherent of Swedenborg, the famous Swedish scientist, philosopher, and theologian. In things material, he was largely guided by the famous French socialist Fourier.

In 1840 James married Mary Robertson Walsh. The first of their two famous sons, William, the philosopher, was born in 1842. Henry Junior, the famous American novelist, was born the following year, the same year that the family left for England. During Henry Senior's years abroad he struck up friendships with Carlyle, the historian, and many of the influential freethinkers of the period.

MORE

Upon his return, his writings began to multiply with rapidity and today he is probably best remembered for "Substance and Shadow; or, Morality and Religion in Their Relation to Life," published in 1863, and "Society the Redeemed Form of Man and the Earnest of God's Omnipotence in Human Nature," which appeared in 1879.

Through his friend, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James came to know many of the leading transcendentalists of the period, including Margaret Fuller, William Ellery Channing and Bronson Alcott. Among his other friends were Thoreau and Thackeray.

James became a philosopher and theologian in his own right, though he never attained the greatness of his two sons. "One of the most perplexing of the many paradoxes about him is that he was intensely religious, yet almost savagely anti-clerical," Prof. Larrabee has written. "He loved originality and spontaneity so much that he hated them when they had becom institutionalized. This hostility to ritual (the family had no pew in any church) liberated his sons from the machinery and trappings of orthodox without depriving them of a deep concern for values."

He died at Cambridge, Mass., in 1882.

Speakers at the ceremonies will be Prof. Larrabee and Prof. Leon Edel of New York University, widely regarded as the foremost living authority on the James family.

-30-

ucsd 1830 james h-0047

AN ERRONEOUS STATEMENT

To the Editor of The Herald:

In today's editorial on the achievements of clergymen's sons, I find repeated the customary and quite erroneous statement that Henry James, Sr., father of the novelist and psychologist, was a clergyman. James (1811-82) spent his life in the study of philosophy and theology and set forth his views at his own expense in a long series of brilliantly written if not altogether luminous expositions, but he never took holy orders and constituted, indeed, an almost lifelong critic and adversary of the ecclesiastical world. He professed to have discovered the truth about the universe in the writings of Emanuel Swedenborg, but his diction was never more richly abusive than when he proceeded to characterize the ecclesiasticism founded to promote the doctrines of the seer. The novelist, in his "Notes of a Son and Brother," pages 167-70, describes the embarrassment occasioned himself and his brothers in early life by the perverse and anomalous position of their parent. The James family did not keep the Sabbath, and no clergymen ever visited their home. "Clergymen remained for us," says the son, "creatures of pure hearsay, so that when, late in my teens . . . I began to see them portrayed by George Eliot and Anthony Trollope, the effect was the disclosure of a new and romantic species."

James's religion centred in the affirmation of God's incarnation in humanity. Denying what he called "moralism" (or the making much of the subjective differences between saint and sinner), he steadfastly affirmed that we should find salvation only "by sinking all private designs upon Deity, and identifying our hopes with humanity with the great life which bears us upon her bosom and feeds us with the milk of her unitary and eternal destiny. (Lectures and Miscellanies, 242.)

AUSTIN WARREN.

Cambridge, Jan. 11.

Jan 14, 24

"DON'T"

EIGHT UNCOLLECTED TALES OF HENRY JAMES. Edited with an introduction by Edna Kenton. 314 pp. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press. $4.25.

By LEON EDEL

THIS modest volume, awkwardly but explicitly titled, contains eight of the fifteen tales Henry James disowned during his long and productive literary life. Since he wrote 106 tales in all, and was a consistent "reviver" of his stories, this was not a large number to cast aside. From time to time it was his habit to range through the old magazines and carefully select the stories he wished to preserve; he scrubbed their faces and combed their hair (as he put it), gave them the better literary manners of his later style, and offered them to the public between the covers of a book.

We can safely say, therefore, that if these fifteen stories did not receive this elaborate ablutional treatment it was because James definitely rejected them. They lay buried for half a century until Albert Mordell collected seven of them in a volume entitled "Traveling Companions." Edna Kenton now gives us the remainder.

In a brilliant and provocative preface, Miss Kenton tells us why these repudiated stories are worth collecting at this late date. She shows us, in twenty compact pages bristling with insights, that James was plowing the ground for his later fiction.

Some of the tales use material exploited during the ensuing years; and imbedded in them are those terms of reference that were to constitute James' special lexicon of fiction. In these stories he is already concentrating on the "case" and the "center of interest." He is laying emphasis on curiosity, wonder, observation, feeling, intellectual and emotional "adventure"—those elements which to the end remained at the heart of his work. In particular, he is using the first person narrative as an elaborate technical device.

In discussing this facet of James' technique, Miss Kenton illuminates for us the novelist's view that the writer must seek and obtain—as Proust later argued—the participation of the reader, if possible enlist his imagination as well as his interest. The young James, who had freshly abandoned the Harvard Law School to make his way as a writer, foresaw his future task with extraordinary clarity. The reader, he wrote when he was a precocious 22, "does quite half the labor" and the author's "grand point" is to get hold of him. "It is perhaps a secret," wrote James, "but until it is found out, I think that the art of story-telling cannot be said to have approached perfection."

THAT James during the following decades discovered this secret is perhaps most strikingly illustrated in "The Turn of the Screw"—a tale in which horror and evil are only suggested by the author and the reader is left to do all the specifying. Miss Kenton makes a plea as James always did, for the "ruminant reader," for "attention of perusal."

These tales themselves include James' first published "Story of a Year," which reveals his early talent even though it creaks with such quaint Victorianisms as "Good reader, this narrative is averse to retrospect." (James was less and less to address his reader so directly.) There are a couple of stories that show the novice floundering badly, and several examples of leisurely narration, such as the skillful "Gabrielle de Bergerac," the more mature "Ghostly Rental" and "Crawford's Consistency." In the latter Miss Kenton sees a forerunner of "The Beast in the Jungle."

This is a volume not only for initiated Jamesians; it is a first-rate guide to the beginnings of our subtlest and most civilized practitioner of fiction.

Mr. Edel has edited two volumes of Henry James' plays and stories and is working on a life of the author.

BORN in 1843, reared in the cosmopolitan, leisured social milieu that he was to mirror in his fiction, Henry James seemed, in early life, as likely to follow a career of science, drawing or the law as of literature. The outbreak of the Civil War, at about the time he began to write, increased the awareness he had long possessed of the plight of the sensitive individual in an insensitive world, taught him, as he later expressed it, that this was a world "more complicated than it had heretofore seemed, the future more treacherous, success more difficult * * * a world in which everything happens." It is this awareness that marks all of his writing, the early tales no less than the later.

Henry James, about 21.

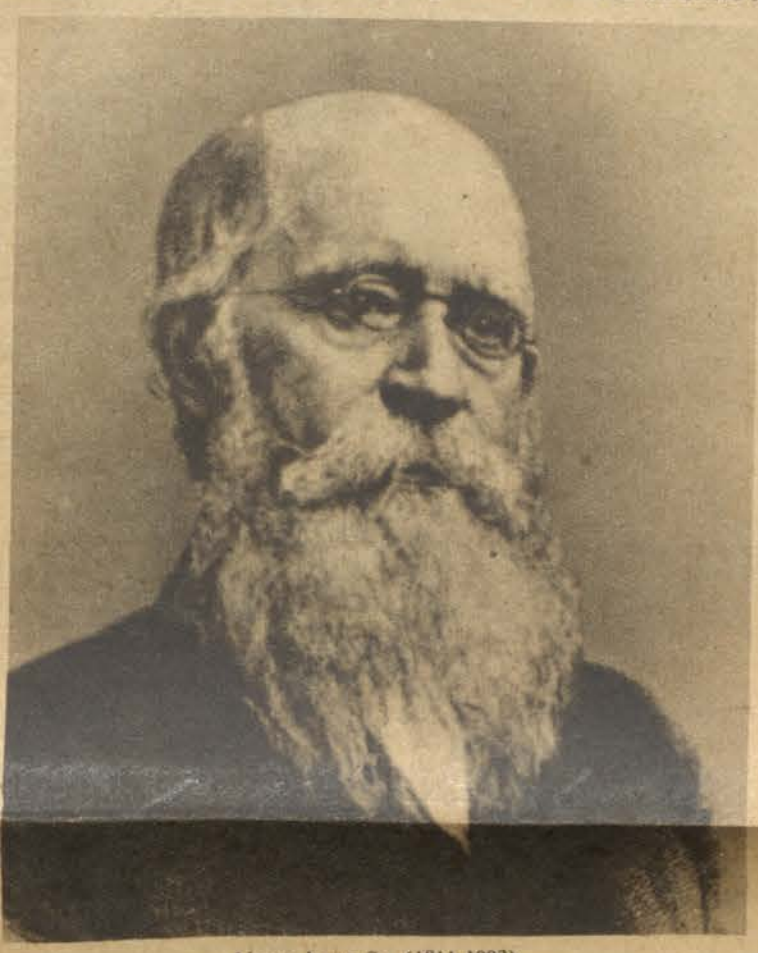
The Jameses: A Family of Minds

Hartley Grattan's Study of the Two Henrys and of William Emphasizes Their Continuing Influence

THE THREE JAMESES: A FAMILY OF MINDS. By C. Hartley Grattan. 611 pp. New York: Longmans, Green & Co. $3.50.

By EDWARD M. KINGSBURY

MR. GRATTAN is as fortunate in his choice of subject as the second and third generations of Jameses were in the American founder of their line. Theirs is a glorious instance of the value of leisure. Problems of religion, problems of thought, psychology, literature,



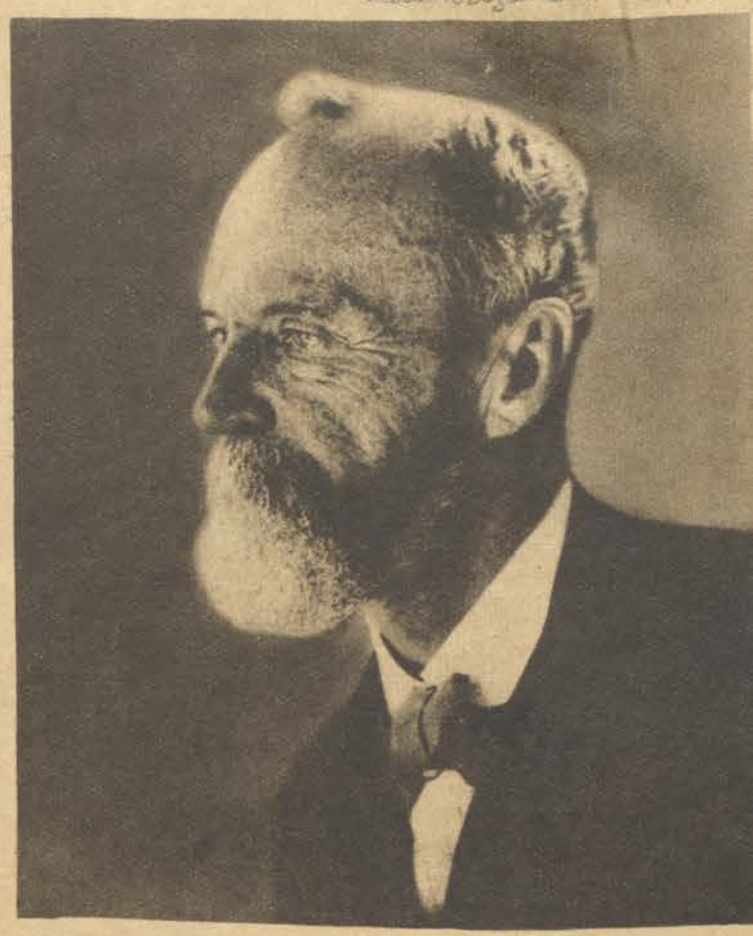
Henry James Sr. (1811-1882).

amblings in the world of men and hat of philosophers, realities and lusions engaged them. They had ifts of meditation and expression. They were good fellows, brushing p daily against their kind. As one egins this excellent book one re-lects how much pleasanter this ale of tears and merriment would e if one were allowed to choose his randfather. William James 1st over here was a Cavan County Pres-byterian of a family said to be of Welsh origin. He came over in 789, the birth-year of the Federal Government. In 1793, at the age of 1, he turned up in Albany as a lerk. In a couple of years he tarted with a partner a tobacco nd cigar shop. His interest ex-anded with the growing prosperity f the State. He came to be the ichest man in Albany next to Ste-hen Van Rensselaer, last of the atroons. He was a banker, money-ender and what not. He and Dr. Nott of Union College had a great nany financial transactions to-gether. At one time William 1st had a mortgage on all the college real estate. He had salt works in Syra-cuse, real estate in New York. In short, he had many varieties of business experience and many arts of making money. He was the kind of grandfather to have. When he died, in 1832, his fortune was esti-mated at $3,000,000, a very pretty sum for those days. He tried to tie it up as long as he could. He in-vested the trustees with a dis-cretionary power of "punishing and rewarding virtue in the *cestuy que* trust." Any heir who failed to come up to the standard was to have an annuity for life sufficient for his wants. Henry 1st, an utterly blame-less youth, was restricted to an an-nuity of $2,500 a year in conse-quence of some obscure dispute; but he got his full share in the end, and the scheme for posthumous moral regulation fell through.

Henry 1st, fourth child of his father's third marriage, appeared in 1811. He was brought up in the sternest Calvinist atmosphere. He began in the days when men were pleasantly taught to fear "the vengeance of an angry God." He was a perfectly docile believer in the austere dogma. He remembered "bedewing his pillow with tears and beseeching God to grant me forgiveness." He was an active lad till at 15 he had to endure without anesthetics two amputations of one leg, at the thigh. Thenceforth the inward life deepened, but he was long unhappy, encompassed "with the terrors of hell and the dread of estrangement from God." At the Albany Academy he was a pupil of Joseph Henry. He prepared for Union College, a liberal institution for the day. Graduated at 19, he flirted with the law and then spent a couple of years at Princeton Theological Seminary, where he broke with Presbyterian orthodoxy; and he spent some years in arriving at his religious orientation. He went to England and discovered Sandemanianism. The Saandemanians were queer primitive literalists. He published one of their books of doctrine. They were a sort of communists. They kept love-feasts and refrained from eating blood. In the '40s the United States abounded in attempts to break away from the old fettering systems of life and dogma and build utopias and crankeries. Brook Farmers, Fourierites and many lesser movements had their day. James was sympathetic but moderate in his view of all the new enthusiasms and liberalisms. The Age of Reform was in full swing. In 1840 James was married in Washington Square to Mary Walsh, sister of a fellow-seminarian at Princeton. The two dwelt together in harmony for more than forty years. After his wife's death James lost the heart to live and soon followed. At the Astor House, fit birthplace for a member of a wandering tribe, William James 2d came to life in 1842, and Emerson was taken to look at him. The two sages met for the first time this year. James admired and loved Emerson all his life, but was never able to get much out of him for his own enlightenment. Years after their acquaintance began he wrote:

> Good heavens! How soothed and comforted I was by the innocent lovely look of my new acquaintance, by his tender courtesy, his generous laudatory appreciation of my crude literary ventures! And how I used to lock myself up with him in his bedroom, swearing that before the door was opened I would arrive at the secret of his immense superiority to the common herd of literary men! I might just as well have locked myself up with a handful of diamonds, so far as any capacity of self-cognizance existed in him. * * * The immense superiority I attributed to him was altogether personal or practical—by no means intellectual; it came to him by birth or genius, like a woman's beauty or charm of manner; no other account was to be given of it in truth than that Emerson himself was an unsexed woman, a veritable fruit of Almighty powers in our nature. * * * Any average old dame in a horse car would have satisfied my intellectual capacity just as well.

James, who had fallen back upon a mystical interpretation of the Scriptures, went to England for more light. Naturally de did not get much but clouds and darkness and thunder from Carlyle. One day in 1844, sitting at table after a good dinner, he was seized with a causeless "perfectly insane and abject terror," as if "some damned shape" were "squatting invisible within the precincts of the room, and raying out from his fetid personality influences fatal to life." In less than ten seconds he felt himself "a wreck," suddenly reduced from manhood to infancy. He stood the vision for an hour. For two years this "ghastly condition of mind" continued. He tried the water cure. He tried the Devonshire scenery. Finally a lady steered him to Swedenborg. There he found confirmation of the religion to which he had been struggling. He devoted a good part of his life to the explication of Swedenborg, whom, however, he didn't worship blindly, finding his style dull and dreary but the man himself full of spiritual light. He wore his Swedenborgianism with a difference. He was against the New Church, as against all other forms of ecclesiasticism. He reached his own individual Henrico-Jacobean Swedenborgianism. Mr. Grattan explains the doctrine patiently and with such illumination as it is capable of; but he admits that "after a siege of Henry James's theological discourse it is easy to sympathize with Julia Ward Howe's friend who, when coming away from a James lecture, said that she 'would give anything at this moment for a look at a good fat idiot.'"



William James (1842-1910).

From a Photograph by Alice Boughton.

New York, Newport, Boston, Cambridge were the homes of the elder Henry James after he stopped going abroad. At every age he was a lively lad and loved to hit a head. Think of the grandmothers in white caps and spectacles and silk or bombasine gowns and the lace collars with a brooch who used to go to sleep over The New York Observer. How they must have been pained when James, in return for some remark of that venerable organ, wrote:

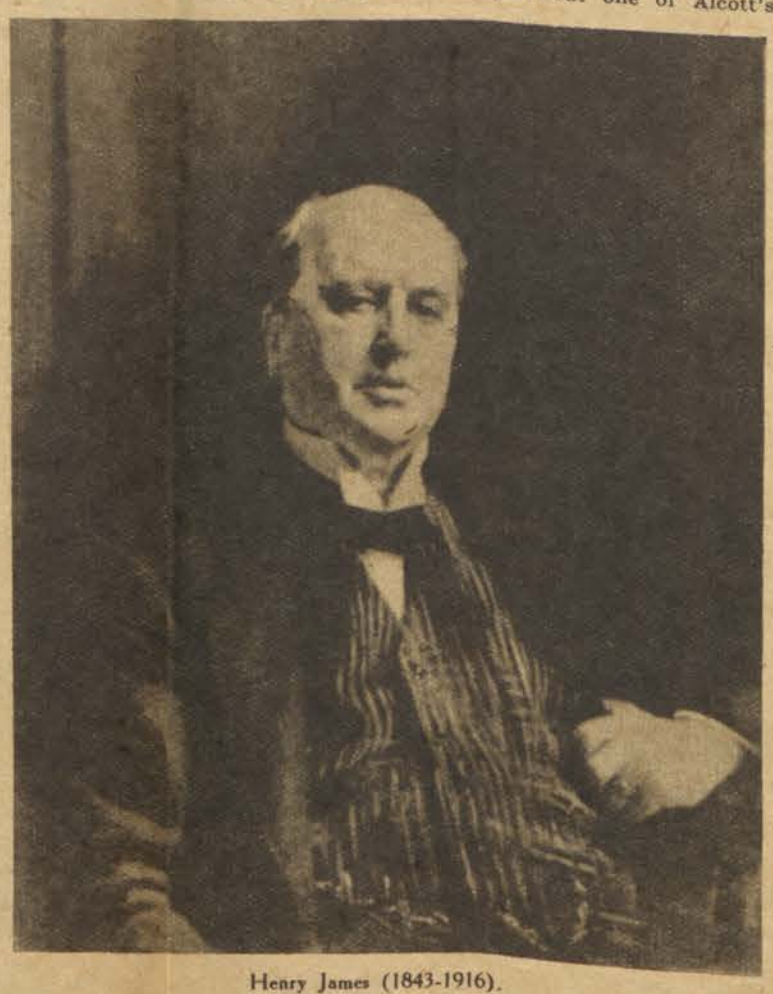
> Doubtless, Mr. Editor, you address an easy, good-natured audience who do not care to scan too nicely the stagnant slipslop which your weekly ladle deals out to them.

Aunt Mary Moody Emerson, after James had mischievously graveled the prophet Amos Alcott with a question, got up and gave the interrupter a good shake. After a controversy about one of Alcott's lectures, Alcott said to James, host in New York,

> something about his divine pate nity as it related to himself. "M dear sir," exclaimed James, "y have not found your materni yet. You're an egg half-hatche The shells are yet sticking abo your head." To which Alcott i dignantly replied, "Mr. Jame you are damaged goods, and w come up damaged goods in et nity."

As he lay dying his daugh Alice asked what he would like have said at his funeral. "He flected for a while, and then s 'Tell him to say only this: "P lies a man who has thought all life that the ceremonies attend birth, marriage and death were damned nonsense."'"

William James 2d shared with brother a wandering education, England, on the Continent, at N port. A swift absorber of impr sions, he was always drawing in earlier years, but the microsc got the better of the pencil Agassiz of William Morris Hu His adventures in education at Lawrence Scientific School, Harvard Medical School and e where, his enlistment with Aga for the Brazil expedition, his vices as an instructor and profes at Harvard College are well kno to multitudes who heard but vagu about his father. Like the lat he had his crisis and vision. I period of extreme mental dep sion.



Henry James (1843-1916).

From the Portrait by Sargent

I went one evening into t dressing room in the twilight procure some article that w there, when suddenly there f upon me without any warning, ju as if it came out of the darkne a horrible fear of my own ex tence. Simultaneously there ro in my mind the image of epileptic patient whom I had se in an asylum, a black-head youth with greenish skin, entire idiotic, who used to sit all day one of the benches, or rath shelves, against the wall, with knees drawn up against his ch and the coarse gray undersh which was his only garme drawn over them enclosing h entire figure. He sat there li a sort of sculptured Egyptian c or Peruvian mummy, movi nothing but his black eyes a looking absolutely non-huma This image and my fear enter into a species of combinati with each other. *That shape o I*, I felt, potentially. Nothing th I possess can defend me again that fate if the hour for it shou strike for me as it struck for hi There was such a horror of hi such a perception of my own me momentary discrepancy, that was as if something hitherto so in my breast gave way entire and I became a mass of quiv ing fear. After this the univer was changed for me altogether. awoke morning after morni with a horrible dread at the p of my stomach and with the sen

(Continued from Page 4)

of the insecurity of life that I never knew before and that I have never felt since.

The hallucinations can't have been more vivid than the description. It is curious that both father and son should have an experience of this sort. The superior vigor of the younger man's account shows how far he had outstripped the elder, whose expression, where not too metaphysical, was of no common impact. For months he had not dared to go out alone in the dark. He recovered himself before long. He began cautiously by seeing no reason why Renouvier's "definition of free-will—the sustaining of a thought *because I choose to* when I might have other thoughts—need be the definition of an illusion. At any rate I will assume for the present—until next year—that it is no illusion. My first act of free-will shall be to believe in free-will." If there seems to be a little intellectual hocus-pocus in this, James's candor is evident. Wordsworth also helped "by his emphasis on the presence of an eternal moral order behind the reality of appearances." Thus, writes Mr. Grattan, "through a combination of influences, James's *moral grounds* to a belief in the freedom of the will and the necessity of action." Writing to his brother—this is in 1870—he can't bring himself, "as so many men seem able to, to blink the evil out of sight and gloss it over." "We have," says Mr. Grattan, "in this profession of a profound conviction of the reality of evil, the root from which two of James's most fundamental philosophical doctrines grew —meliorism and pluralism."

The germ of pragmatism he had already caught from Charles S. Peirce, that *animal capable de tout*. It is time for the layman to disappear. Mr. Grattan's acute and informal criticism and analysis of the Jamesian doctrines must be left to the experts. The outsider can but listen to the verdict and such appeals as may be made. William James's most important contribution to psychology, Grattan thinks, was "the idea of the stream of consciousness":

This idea was a great contribution to the breaking up of the notion that the human ego was a definite, fixed thing, of hard and immutable outline, superior to all the vicissitudes of all man's earthly career. It was a difinite contribution to the gradual disintegration of the psychological life of man and it found its most complete expression in literature. William James, therefore, takes his place as one of the forebears of such writers as James Joyce, Marcel Proust, Dorothy Richardson, Aldous Huxley, Luigi Pirandello, William Faulkner, Conrad Aiken and so many others as to make any catalogue tedious. This idea has been complemented by another which appeared in another form in William James's work under the title of "The Subliminal." He derived it from F. W. H. Myers and applied it to the explanation of all sorts of psychological phenomena like psychical happenings, split personalities, multiple personalities, sudden excesses of previously untapped energies and the religious experience.

Freud "carried the disintegration of the mental life of man" much further than William James, but the latter was a pioneer, a precursor, as Henry would say. He is "a forerunner of contemporary literary philosophers, and as such is perhaps a greater influence on the intellectual life of the time than through any influence he may still exert upon the development of academic psychology." Glory enough if he had no other. What is better, like his father, he was fortunate in marriage. His wife had "great dark luminous eyes, an abundance of soft, brown hair and a girlish, wild-rose complexion which together gave extraordinary beauty to somewhat heavy features. She spoke in a resonant organ-like voice which made the most ordinary words sound significant. And she had a smile which lit up her face and seemed to light up the world." She took care of the professor and made his life easy. He was a friendly, hearty chap, rich in friends and always ready for new ones. And the Harvard philosophical faculty—James, Royce, Santayana—with George Herbert Palmer, a dear and illustrious name, at its head, was a good-natured and intellectual prize ring. James died in 1910.

I sit heavily stricken and in darkness [wrote Henry] for from far back in dimmest childhood he had been my ideal Elder Brother and I still, through all the years saw in him, even as a timorous boy yet, my protector, my backer, my authority and my pride. His extinction changes the face of life for me—besides the mere missing of his inexhaustible company and personality, originality, the whole unspeakably vivid and beautiful presence of him. And his noble intellectual vitality was still but at its climax—he had two or three ardent purposes and plans; he had cast them away, however at the end—I mean that, dreadfully suffering, he wanted only to die.

And now there is too little room left for Henry. He, if one may speak not cautiously and impersonally, but as a Jamesite, member of a sect whose body of doctrine is so much vaster than the Janeites boast, needs verge enough to trace in miniature his floating world impressions, his adventures in countries peopled with curious, complicated and subtle beings. Fortunately, he has in Mr. Grattan a sympathetic, if critical, interpreter. The principal works and short stories are considered in detail. Their characters and interrelations are examined. Mr. Grattan supplies a critical analysis, always intelligent and often penetrating. All through the book, whatever his point of view, he is stimulating, if sometimes provoking to holders of other opinions. He follows Henry's movement in a world of impressions, his pursuit of the right method, his adventures among books and pictures, writers and artists, the contest in him between America and Europe, his final devotion to the children of leisure who, after some hesitations, were to be his subjects. That Henry James differed from his successors in insisting on structure is obvious enough. More novel, perhaps, to some Jamesites is the theory that Henry "in his pursuit of the ultimate implication
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N.Y. Herald Tribune
Book Review

W, NOVEMBER 27, 1949

Henry James

THE CROOKED CORRIDOR: A Study of Henry James. By Elizabeth Stevenson. *172 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.75.*

Reviewed by
MILTON RUGOFF

AS JAMES himself describes it, the crooked corridor was the long way around that he deliberately took his readers before he led them into the "Presence" which was the heart of his story. The aim of lighting the way through this corridor and into the sanctum is hardly a novel one in literary criticism; in fact, the corridor has for some years been so crowded with guides that there is a danger we shall soon not be able to see the master for the disciples.

What is novel about this particular exploration is that it tends to ignore those that have preceded it, disdaining all floor plans, keys, clews and figures in carpets proffered in the last twenty-odd years by Messrs. Brooks, Lewisohn, Blackmur, Matthiessen and others. Working from within the mass of James's work, the author prefers to go it alone.

Approaching James as though his work had only recently been rediscovered, the author considers his life and then proceeds to his scope, themes, attitudes and means. After a brief but discerning analysis of his background she first sums him up negatively as not a Bohemian, a man of a particular class, or a democrat, and then positively, in his own words, as "that queer beast the artist," the alchemist who murmured to himself, "Convert, convert."

Concerning James's scope Miss Stevenson points out that it lay in the drama of relationships among the few who had the leisure to develop such relationships fully; but this is a section of the corridor that is not obscure and about which it becomes increasingly difficult to say anything fresh. James's underlying theme she defines as the collision resulting when an individual, generally an uninitiated person, "attacks the citadel of society in order to enter it and complete himself." Fascinated by this relationship James turned it over and over like a precious stone, making it yield new lights and depths with each turn.

The chapter of James's attitudes is concerned not so much with his reactions to the world as with his use of reality, his transmutation of fact into fiction, his fusing of the beautiful and the tragic to achieve the ambiguities of a world in which every quality partakes of every other one. Finally, in dealing with his means and techniques, Miss Stevenson avers that James's so-called difficult style is always a disciplined attempt to meet the challenges presented by his material, but she is somewhat less effective than others have been in demonstrating the many ways in which his style is a function of his approach. She recognizes in him a weakness for the melodramatic but makes interesting use of this as part of her proof that he is much more the pure storyteller than is commonly realized.

Miss Stevenson generally nails her quarry with sure, firm thrusts, but here and there she resorts to a combination of slow stalking, feints, and frontal assaults that smack, so to speak, of critical opportunism. As an exercise in criticism "The Crooked Corridor" is refreshing and perceptive; as a book about Henry James it suffers from its self-imposed disregard of what others have said about him.

Genius in the Making

An intimate picture of the formative years of William and Henry James under the spur of a versatile father.

IN "The James Family: Including Selections from the Writings of Henry James Sr., William, Henry and Alice James" (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), Professor F. O. Matthiessen, of Harvard University, has provided a monumental work on a family which in spite of its great distinction is not popularly well known. While the treatment is engagingly human, the work is essentially an intellectual romance, as one follows the mental and spiritual aspirations of the head of the family and his part in shaping the careers of his children. Henry Senior was a writer of books and magazine articles, a student and disciple of Swedenborg, a theologian.

* * *

WILLIAM JAMES wrote of his father: "I have often tried to imagine what sort of a figure my father might have made, had he been born in a genuinely theological age, with the best minds about him fermenting with the mystery of Divinity, and the air full of definitions and theories and counter-theories, and strenuous reasonings and contentions, about God's relations to mankind. . . . He would have played a prominent, perhaps a momentous and critical, part in the struggles of his time, for he was a religious prophet and genius, if ever prophet and genius there were."

Despite his brilliant offspring, he remains in this volume the outstanding figure because of his ceaseless mental activity, his human approach to whatever his mind touched and his constant attention to fostering in his children the very best of which they were individually capable.

The founder of the James family in this country, William, had come here from Ireland in 1789, a boy of eighteen seeking a career. When he died in 1832 he left his children a vast fortune, one of three million dollars from public utilities and real estate in New York.

One of his several heirs, Henry James Senior, had a passion for "being" instead of "doing". He determined there and then to educate himself and his children to the best that his leisure could provide. The education of the most promising members of his family, William and Henry, was his chief preoccupation. They went to school wherever seemed most convenient, mostly in Europe. William, with a rather vague ambition to be a physiologist, later attended the Harvard Medical School and finally settled on psychology. Henry Junior, a born writer, entered the Harvard Law School, with no thought of being a jurist.

Intellectually the father from their boyhood days had been their steady companion and, of course, their doughtiest intellectual adversary as they blossomed forth with all sorts of novel ideas. E. L. Godkin, founder of *The Nation*, remarks of the Jameses' household in New York City: "There could not be a more entertaining treat than a dinner at the Jameses' house, when all the young people were at home. They were full of stories of the oddest kind, and discussed questions of morals or taste or literature with a vociferous vigor so great as sometimes to lead the young men to leave their seats and gesticulate on the floor."

HENRY JAMES, SR.

It was a goodly family of children, William and Henry being followed by Wilky and Robert, both of whom enlisted in the Civil War, and Alice. In their impressionable years they had been exposed to the Europe of the tourist and the art galleries, cathedrals and theatres. They all learned to speak French and German, and a fondness for reading was taken for granted.

* * *

A PORTION of a diary kept by Alice, which is reprinted in this volume, reveals that she too was a writer of parts. The father had a repugnance for self-conscious virtue, or what he called "flagrant morality." Wilky, who was visiting with the Emersons in Concord, tells of a remark made by Edward Emerson when a school teacher stated that Alice "has a highly moral nature." "Whereupon in great amusement Mr. E. exclaimed: 'How in the world does her father get on with her?' "

In later years William James reminisces delightfully of their family life in the old house in New York, then of the year in Newport, later in Boston, Cambridge and Concord. Howells, Ellery Channing, Thoreau are among the prominent figures who felt the charm and impact of their collective life. Naturally, the brilliant intellectual and artistic development of William and Henry has its full place in the record, but they in no way blur the image of the founder of this devoted family. Henry Senior was a magnificent figure in his own right who by both encouragement and controversy did so much to shape their minds and lives.

Henry James, theologian, was born in Albany, N. Y., June 2, 1811, son of William and Catherine (Barber) James, After being graduated at Union College in 1830, he studied law for a time and then in 1833, entered Princeton Theological Seminary, though he no longer assented to some of the articles of the Calvinistic creed. The effect of his unorthodox opinions upon the other students being objected to, he withdrew in 1835, and going to England, there pursued the study of theology and of philosophy. In that country he became acquainted with the sect of Sandemanians, and after his return (1839) he published an edition of Sandeman's "Letters on Theron and Aspasia." In 1840, he put out a pamphlet, "Remarks on the Apostolic Gospel," in which he affirmed the divinity of Christ, though denying the doctrine of the Trinity. Revisiting Europe in 1843, Mr. James became a convert to the doctrines of Swedenborg He objected, however, to the ecclesiasticism of the New Jerusalem church, and formulated his opposition in a lecture delivered in Albany "What is the state (1846), and in a "Letter to a Swedenborgian" (1847). In 1849, he delivered a series of lectures in New York, which were published as "Moralism and Christianity, or Man's Experience and Destiny" (1850), and in 1851, another series included in his "Lectures and Miscellanies" (1852). The central idea of his theological system was the absolute divinity of God and the divine humanity of Christ. An extreme Lutheran in his disbelief in the possibility of salvation by individual merit, he made human society as a whole the final object of the creative intention. He thought that Christ's mission was essentially social; and held that when society shall have organized itself in harmonious shape, human egotisms, having no longer an obstructive function, will lapse, and the question of individual salvation will be lost in the fact of social redemption. In regard to the possibility of the latter he was much influenced by the writings of Fourier and his disciples. He had a wonderful English style, and a true genius for theological research, united with the most earnest religious faith and intellectual independence; but his speculations have as yet attained no general popularity. His son William has written of him: "With all his richness of style, his ideas are singularly unvaried and few.--The student of any one of his works knows consequently all that is essential in the rest." He had as personal friends Carlyle and other leaders of thought in Great Britain, and the philosophers of the transcendental school in this country. Besides the works already mentioned, he published "The Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism" (1854); "The Nature of Evil, a Letter Addressed to the Rev. Edward Beecher, D.D." (1855); "Christianity the Logic of Creation (London and New York, 1857); "Substance and Shadow, or Morality and Religion in Their Relation to Life" (1863); "The Secret of Swedenborg" (1869); and

January 1952

The James family and Union College from biographical data on file in the alumni office.

WILLIAM JAMES, merchant of Albany, was a Trustee of Union from 1827 until his death in 1832.

His son, HENRY JAMES, was graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1830 entering Union from Albany Academy. In 1835 after a brief try at the study of law, he entered Princeton Theological Seminary. Left there in 1837 after becoming involved in arguments with his professors "which tended to contaminate his fellow-students." Theologian and Author. Mother was Catherine Barber James.

Henry's brother, JOHN BARBER JAMES, graduated from Union College with a Bachelor of Arts degree in 1834. We know very little of him with the exception of his marriage to Mary Helen Vanderburgh October 8, 1934. He is listed as a merchant in Albany. Jonathan Pearson in his diaries under date of October 23, 1854 (V.4, p. 721) wrote: "Being the son of 'Billy' James of Albany and having large expectations of wealth it did not seem necessary that he should exert himself to become a scholar. He has lived what is called a genteel life in N. Y. and Albany without any business."

Union College awarded an honorary degree to William James in 1854 (D.D.), half-brother to Henry. William was one of twin sons born to William James during his first marriage. (Catherine Barber James was William's (elder) third wife.) William James the younger graduated from Princeton in 1816, studied at the Princeton Theological Seminary and a Scottish University.

Neither Henry James the novelist nor William James the philosopher (sons of Henry James, 1830) attended Union College. Professor Harold A. Larrabee,- Philosophy at Union College,-writes as follows: "In his later years, Henry James the Elder had little more use for colleges than for churches, for they seemed likely to cramp independence and originality, qualities which he prized above all others. So when his own talented sons came to consider the choice of a college, they found their father 'extremely tepid' about any ~~choice of a college~~ college whatever. Henry James the novelist describes his memories of a visit to Union with his brother and father, to 'invoke the loyalty that our parent seemed to have dropped by the way'; but neither America's foremost psychological novelist nor her most imaginative psychologist attended any liberal arts college, although William graduated from Harvard Medical School."

Alexander Robertson James, Jr. entered Union College in September 1937 from Dublin, N. H. son of Alexander Robertson James and Francis Paine; he transferred to Yale School of Architecture September 1939. On his biographical record under the section entitled, "Relatives who attended Union", he has listed Henry James. His father painted C. N. Waldron's portrait.

The Roving Reporter:

Henry James, Sr., Emerges On Level with Famed Sons

By TIP ROSEBERRY

In helping to put out a fire in a stable, a 13-year-old boy was burned so badly on one of his legs that he was bed-ridden for two years. Then, in an era before anesthesia was known, the leg had to be amputated.

The boy, who was turned to studious pursuits by this accident, was Henry James, Sr. He was to become the father of two of our greatest intellects—Henry James, the novelist and William James, the philosopher-psychologist.

THE FATHER HAS always been eclipsed by his famous sons. But he was a mind in his own right, and left a deep impression on American civilization. A book has just been published with the avowed purpose of giving the elder James his just dues as a brilliant thinker and writer.

The book is "The Philosophy of Henry James, Sr." (Bookman Associates.) Its author is Frederic Harold Young, who teaches at Rutgers and the Montclair, N. J., State Teachers' college. Naturally, it is not light reading for an idle hour.

Henry James, Sr., appears in all his pictures as a scholarly old man, bespectaled, and with long white whiskers. He was on terms of intimacy with most of the literary great of his day, including Emerson, Carlyle and Tennyson. After his maturity, he no longer lived in Albany. But the family name is memorialized downtown by narrow, crooked James street.

The fabulous intellectual flowering of the three Jameses, of course, was made possible by the assiduous money-making of old William James, an Irish Presbyterian who came to this country in 1793, settled in Albany, and accumulated a fortune amounting to $3,000,000 by the time of his death in 1832.

HENRY JAMES, SR., born in Albany in 1811, was thus made financially independent for life, as were his sons. They chose to use the money for intellectual development.

The elder Henry graduated from Union college in 1830. With the fortune his father left him he proceeded, as Author Young says, to live "most of his life following no profession, unless one were to describe him as a free-lance-professional-metaphysician."

The religious vein in him prompted a study for the ministry at Princeton. But he changed his mind, in a revolt against orthodox Calvinism. He took a leave from Princeton for a trip to England, and never returned to the college. He married, in 1840, a sister of a seminary classmate. Both sons, William and Henry, were born in New York.

James' public career as a philosophical writer really began with a lecture series he gave before the Young Men's association of Albany, in 1845, on the topic "What Constitutes the State." The lectures were published in book form.

The rest of his life was occupied with travel, correspondence, educating his sons and developing his gospel of "Spiritual Creation." He died in 1882.

HIS MENTAL course had been set by the discovery of the dynamic theology of Emanuel Swedenborg, the Swedish philosopher. He examined and rejected the various Socialistic fads and "communities" of his day. His philosophy was primarily concerned with the spiritual level of things; and, as someone said, he "never even went wading in reality." But his influence was great on both his sons and American thought.

The book has a significent quote: "When Bernard Shaw indulged his love of trying to shock by declaring to Henry Junior that the most interesting member of his family was neither himself nor his brother but their father, he found that no praise could have been more welcome."

Jan 21, 1933.

James Symposium Casts Light on Early College Era

Nott's Long-Short Lottery Described by Hislop; Faculty Members in Discussion

Four new shafts of light were cast upon the famous James family in the symposium that took place Saturday morning at Union College by members of the faculty and C. Hartley Grattan, author of "The Three Jameses: a Family of Minds" who had delivered the Ichabod Spencer lecture on the same subject Friday night in the Memorial chapel.

Codman Hislop of the department of English revealed a picture of William James the elder against a background of the early history of Union College when Eliphalet Nott was securing an endowment for the college by means of state-authorized lotteries. In this picture, William James, the founder of the American branch of the family who was exceeded in wealth only by John Jacob Astor, "the empire builder," was painted by Mr. Hislop as a canny business man who was willing to support higher education —for a liberal compensation. In his comments on the paper, Mr. Grattan declared it to be a "very charming and witty job" that revealed how lotteries were used to aid religious and educational institutions which today would be ostracized by society for such aid.

Dr. Harold A. Larrabee, professor of philosophy, offered another explanation than that given by Mr. Grattan in his book for the source of the intellectual greatness of the James family. Dr. Larrabee believed that some credit should be given to Catherine Barber, mother of Henry James sr., the father of the Philosopher William and Novelist Henry, for being the source of the intellectual greatness of the family. But Dr. Larrabee admitted that Rev. William James jr., son of William James by his first wife, Elizabeth Tillman, held several important pastorates, among them the First Presbyterian Church of Schenectady in 1831-32, and in 1854 was given the honorary degree of D. D. from Union College. In doing so, Mr. Grattan later declared, Dr. Larrabee defeated his case by his "honesty," but the biographer also said that he recognized that it was a significant slighting to Catherine Barber that she occupies only one line in his book.

Argue Religious Attitude

Mr. Grattan took issue with Dr. Philip Stanley, of the department of philosophy, who declared in his paper, "William James and the Will to Believe," that Psychologist William was a "skeptic." Mr. Grattan maintained the thesis that William James was a "believer" because of his "eupeptic outlook" on life. He compared James with Anatole France whose "comprehensive irony" allowed him to have many inconsistencies in his outlook on life, while James, being a philosopher had to save some "consistency in his views of life." Dr. Stanley had challenged the view held by Mr. Grattan that William James obtained from his father "strong religious demands" and the implication that James' sympathy with religious causes was a result rather of that inheritance than of any legitimate product of his philosophy. Dr. Stanley declared that, as Mr. Grattan admitted, William James did not live a "religious life" but that he did champion such strange sects as the Spiritualists and New Thoughters because he could not endure "an assertion by any party of a fixed, final and closed system of truth, unless the facts were all in." And since his skepticism "taught him that we are ignorant of much—an ignorance not lettered by faulty logic, any genuine possibility was therefore [illegible]

indicate their resolution 'to enter into an arbitration bond' with Mr. James.

"For the next 18 years the Merchant of Albany and Union College went their separate and profitable ways, the one gathering immense wealth and the other legions of students.

"The year following Mr. Allenson's slight difficulty with the Albany authorities, 1804, gave to Union the man who was to general these legions, garrisoned in what was then an outpost of civilization, populated by people who could still remember all too vividly the screech of the Algonquins, who could smell in their dreams the smoke drifting down from the ruins of their own sacked farms. Rev. Eliphalet Nott, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Albany since 1800, a trustee of the new college, became in 1804, its fourth president, and shortly, America's most famous educator. He worked for 18 years without Mr. James' help. He blew custom to the winds. He intimidated his trustees into doing anything he wished them to do. He turned Union into an educational monastery as an advertising stunt designed to appeal to timid parents. It did. In 1805 he lobbied the New York state legislature into giving him $80,000. Because this endowment was in the form of a lottery grant, and controlled by the inefficient state department, it took the Rev. Nott 10 years to collect —a most unsatisfactory business from his point of view. In 1814 he went back to Albany and demanded $200,000—and got it—in the form of another lottery, of course, to which several neighboring institutions (Hamilton College, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, and the Asbury African Negro Church) had hooked their financial bandwagons when they discovered how easily the Rev. Nott was securing state-authorized funds.

"Mr. James, merchant of Albany, must have been highly amused as he watched the machinations of the president from Schenectady—easy money. His own time was not far off.

Mortgaged College

"Union College, and the other bandwagon institutions waited. No money. They continued to wait. The managers of the lotteries for the state were dubs. Their advertising was bad. They failed to sell tickets. Deliberately they slept. The illustrious Eliphalet nervously entertained himself by tearing to pieces Lord Kames's text book on 'The Elements of Criticism' for the edification of an ever-increasing throng of students. He invented trick hats in defiance of the current style; he wore ruts in the Albany road trying to get that $200,000. Finally, in disgust, he went to see a former parishioner,—the rich merchant whose "fat Andrews" by this time had returned him more money than dozens of James descendants were ever able to spend. On May 1, 1821, the impatient doctor borrowed $56,000 from William James, giving as security bonds owned by Union College to the sum of $132,000. One imagines Mr. James rubbing his hands gleefully—the interest rate was six and a half per cent and the security was as good as treasury notes. And Dr. Nott said he would pay the money back in four years. Mr. James hoped so.

"Still the bandwagons waited. Nothing happened. No money. The 'late war' had been expensive; and the state was too busy anyhow, giving away the public lands and dreaming about a fine new canal.

"The Rev. President was not the man to let a mere legislature go to sleep on him. He put by Lord Kames and the new interest in anthracite stoves, and hurried off to Albany again. He cajoled this man and flattered that one. He wrote letters to them, and banged on innumerable tables. In 1822 he got what he set out for: 'An Act to Limit the Continuance of Lotteries,' whereby the state grants of 1814 must be run off in 11 years, and in which was incorporated the provision that the handling of lotteries should be given into the control of the institutions to which the grants had been made. Dr. Nott was immensely pleased with himself, but the band wagon institutions grumbled. They had no time to fiddle with finance. And then Dr. Nott did something that must have won the Merchant of Albany's undying admiration. He bought up the band-wagons. He gave the Asbury African Negro Church $4,000. He gave the College of Physicians and Surgeons $30,000. He went again to Mr. James and borrowed $... which he immediately handed ... to Hamilton College for its sha... Then he was free of them.

Long-Shot Gamble

"The Rev. President was now the sole manager (by agreement with his amenable trustees) of a lottery the ticket value of which was $4,492,000, 15 per cent of which was to go to the institutions to which the grant had been made. But the band-wagons had been dropped and the Union College claim was the only claim. Of this comfortable sum the manager of the lottery was to have 6¼ per cent on the value of the tickets sold as remuneration for selling them. Dr. Nott had good reason to think well of himself, and Merchant James had good reason to think well of Dr. Nott.

"By the middle of May, 1823, Union College was indebted to William James in the sum of $71,000 for which Eliphalet Nott had pledged, in anticipation of future returns on the lottery venture, not only bonds and mortgages, but, as the deed itself ran, "land in the first ward of the City of Schenectady which includes 67 acres near Troy turnpike; also the new college edifices and all the houses standing on the premises." Not a bad day's work, signing away the college in the hope of future lottery returns. Merchant James was in serious danger of becoming an educator, a state of affairs he might not have appreciated had he forseen the subsequent development of events.

"Lottery-Manager Nott felt that active participation in the business of 'running off' the various series of tickets was somewhat beneath the dignity of President Nott. To avoid this predicament he engaged the firm of Yates and McIntyre, professional lottery operators, to do the actual work for him. They were to receive four per cent of the 15 per cent allowed the institutions for his services, which left the Rev. President with a prospective 2¼ per cent on $4,492,000, no work, and what he hoped would be no responsibility. And Yates and McIntyre were bound by law to pay in 11 years.

"For some time everything progressed smoothly. Merchant James collected his 6½ per cent interest, Dr. Nott taught Kames, made stoves, entertained the Marquis de Lafayette, and deposited neat sums in the president's fund, which he liked to call the residuary fund.

"And then something blew up. On January 4, 1826, Yates and McIntyre wrote to Dr. Nott in part as follows: 'It has become necessary to inform you that such have been our losses that we have no reasonable prospect of being able to pay the sum stipulated or even to pay the prizes in the lottery now pending unless we can procure immediately pecuniary assistance to a large amount. If such assistance can be procured we are confident that we shall fulfill our contract with the college and save our other creditors harmless. In view of the circumstances we have thought it our duty to propose that you and the treasurer should raise for our immediate relief $100,000.'

James to the Rescue

"The day the reverend president received that letter must have been a bad day. The college had pledged its bonds and its property to Mr. James on the future of those lotteries. And now Dr. Nott was asked to go forth and find almost twice as much as the college had already borrowed. But Dr. Nott was not a quitter. He had set out to build a college, and if another trip to Albany would do the job, travel he would.

"What he said to the merchant-educator no one will ever know, but on January 11, 1826, the following agreement was signed: 'Whereas William James has become bound for John B. Yates and Archibald McIntyre, contractors under the trustees of Union College for the drawing of the lotteries they have (a few words here in the original document are illegible) for the purpose of enabling the said Yates and McIntyre to pay prizes that may be drawn in the sum of $100,000.' William James was probably as badly scared as Eliphalet Nott, although not so scared that he neglected to extract a personal agreement from Treasurer Henry Yates and the reverend president to make good any losses he might sustain. The interest rate was still 6½ per cent.

'On January 12, 1826, after what was probably a most unpleasant night, Dr. Nott wrote to Treasurer Yates the following amazing letter, which reads in part: 'You and I have such unlimited powers and have used them so boldly and so frequently without ever consulting

t... ...at it ... farther and ... ...ng but impossible ... we are able to show ... ...ve gone into these varied ... ...id measures really to preserv... and advance the interests of the concern trusted to us—whatever may be the result and however we may be charged with imprudence, our characters will not suffer—and this is what has chiefly given me uneasiness—and the more so as I know there are people who would make the worst use of our errors.' The postscript which concludes the letter holds the key to Nott's character: After admitting what if it had been publicly known, would have precipitated a giddy scandal at the time, the man calmly wrote as an appendix to this letter, 'Purchase for me such a set of pencils as your brother's of the best kind.'

Lottery a Fizzle

"The $100,000 which William James advanced to Yates and McIntyre seemed to do the trick. The prize drawings were 'run off' smoothly for some time. During the next year, July, 1927, Merchant James became Trustee James of Union College and significantly enough a member of the finance committee. There is no reason to believe that this sudden honor had anything to do with this estimable gentleman's enthusiasm for higher education.

"William James enters the lottery picture but once more. The occasion is one on which the lottery managers, Yates and McIntyre, take mournful comfort in pointing a moral lesson for the edification of their employer, Super-Lottery Manager Nott. On November 8, 1828, they wrote to him as follows: 'We have received from Mr. James notice in writing that he will no longer indorse us, except for such notes as shall fall due before the first day of January. If this be his unalterable decision I would desire to know it. I regret exceedingly that a state of things to which I alluded in a former communication is so soon to be brought about. It is always dangerous to be in the power of any one man and we will probably be taught that by experience.'

"From 1826 until the conclusion of the lottery contract in 1833 matters between Dr. Nott and his managers went from bad to worse. The college managed eventually to collect some $276,000 for its endowment. The president's fund finally became a subject for legislative investigation, the result of which was the complete vindication of Dr. Nott. Trustee James (whose son Henry graduated from 'his father's college' in 1830) died in 1832, leaving to his heirs the tangible assets of an unusual college education and to the college a box full of cancelled checks and released securities."

1830 HENRY JAMES

The elder Henry James entered Union College, Schenectady, in 1828, in conformity with William of Albany's wish and asserted his recovered manhood by becoming a spirited young blade, if one can use that term for a young man-about-town of Schenectady of that era. Liberated from his bed of sickness--and from home--Henry indulged himself freely in un-Presbyterian luxuries---cigars, smart clothes, books of an undevout character, oysters. William of Albany always kept the loose change for the household expenses in a drawer of his dressing table and when Henry, at seven or eight, had incurred expenses by constant frequentation of a confectioner's shop down the street (and later the informal "bar") he relieved himself of his debt by two or three times borrowing freely....."without any thought of making restitution." This sureender to Satan remained with him as a deeply disturbing memory. When he ran up debts, however, at Schencetady, there was no convenient drawer into which he could plunge his hand for some silver. Instead, he quite simply gave his creditors drafts on his opulent parent.

A letter from William of Albany to a friend has survived in which the explosive parental anger emerges in short breathless sentences....Henry had "so debased himself as to leave his parents' home in the character of a swindler etc etc.--details presented today--are the order which I enclose as a specimen of his progress in arts of low vileness---and unblushing falsehood... a fellow from Schenectady was after him today for 50 to 60drs---(in a note I understand) for segars and oysters....." All this, William of Albany concluded, would certainly, "lodge him in a prison." The elder Henry's novelist son, alluding to this episode as a "misunderstanding, if not...a sharp rupture," recalled that there had been a tradition that his father "had been for a period quite definitely 'wild!" The father didn't, however, end up in prison. He ran away to Boston instead.

The Boston excursion in unimportant only as it underlies the break between father and son; and although he later established a truce with Albany and went back to Union (he graduated from it in 1830) Henry neither completely placated his ~~father~~ parent nor made peace with his own troubled spirit. pp. 26-27

Henry James
1843-1879 The Troubled Years
Leon Edel
J.B.Lippincott Company
Philadelphia New York
1953.

1830 HENRY JAMES: (1), (The Elder Henry James)

In 1828, at the age of 17, he entered Union College, Schenectady, as a member of the Junior Class, making his home in the household of Dr. Nott.

Dr. Eliphalet Nott, Union's most distingusihed President, was then in the midst of his 62 years reign, which lasted from 1804 until his death in 1866. Between him and the wealthy merchant, William James of Albany, there must long have existed relations of friendship and respect, for, before going to Schenectady, Dr. Nott occupied from 1798 on, the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church of Albany, where, in company with the other citizens of Scotch-Irish origin, Mr. James discharged his Sabbath duty to the Deity.

From 1821 to 1826, the relations of President and Merchant were especially and strikingly close. Nott, a man of intrepid courage and determination, supported his college and raised endowment by any means than came to hand. In 1805, he lobbied the State Legislature into giving him $80,000 in the form of a lottery grant; in 1814, he secured from the same authority a similar grant of $200,000. The second lottery fared ill; in desperation, Nott borrowed from James, giving as security bonds owned by the College. This was the first of a series of such loans. By 1823, James had in his possession, as pledge for Nott's indebtedness, the deed to "67 acres near Troy turnpike; also the New College Edifices and all the houses standing on the premises." In 1826, James advanced $100,000 for paying off lottery prizes. The following year, he was made Trustee of Union and a member of its finance committee. When the Trustee died, in 1832, he left the College a box full of cancelled cheques and released securities.

Dr. Nott's audacity extended beyond finance. His judgment of men and his views of religion and life shrewdly transcended his clerical garb and denominational tenets. Of his own profession, he admitted: "Ministers, as a class, know less practically of human nature than any other class of men.....(; they) ordinarily see only the brighter side of the world. Almost evrybody treats them with civility, the religious with peculiar kindness and attention." Contrasting them with lawyers, who see the worst side of the world, he berated the clergy for their inefficiency, their lack of "directness of appeal. They want the same go-ahead, common-sense way of interesting men lawyers have."

He confessed himself "disgusted and grieved with the religious controversies of the present age. The divisions of schools, old schools and new schools, and the polemic fury with which the contest is waged, are entirely foreign to the true spirit of Christianity." Even Rome came within the limits of his toleration: "there is a great deal of religion in that church;" while he did not hesitate to say that Luther's character was, in some of its features, "harsh, rugged and unlovely."

HENRY JAMES: (2)

To the sceptics among his students, this outspoken President did not hesitate to confess that, during the French Revolution, he had been 'troubled with the same difficulties.

In Nott's time, the college curriculum consisted principally of the classics and mathematics, with some tincture of rhetoric and natural science. During his junior year Henry James pursued studies in Horace, Cicero, selected Greek authors--apparently including Sophocles and Euripides, conic sections, political economy, and natural philospphy. The records of his senior course are less complete, but they include work in Biot's Optics and Kames' Elements of Criticism. Dr. Nott himself took the class in Kames, and made it more of a Socratic dialogue than either lecture or recitation. Some topic being suggested by the chapter on physics, or morals, or political economy, each of the students would be drawn to define his views, and those views would be analysed and developed by the instructor in such a way as to clarify all the issues that had been raised. Dr. Nott's genuine liberalism involved an effort to lead his students to think for themselves and to distrust mere authoritarian pronouncements; in consequence of which those of his pupils who achieved for themselves intellectual careers were found entertaining all the varieties of religious and metaphysical opinion. Romanists, High and Low Anglicans, Calvinists, Baptists, as well as such doughty independents as Henry James, were all characteristic products of Dr. Nott's tutelage.

James doubtless derived far more intellectual stimulus from his course in Kames than from his study of 'Intellectual Philosophy,' in which the text appears to have been the standard 'Locke on the Understanding.' James was all his life rather impatient of technical metaphysics; and, too, his mind and temperament were quite as averse to any sort of empiricism as those of his friend Emerson.

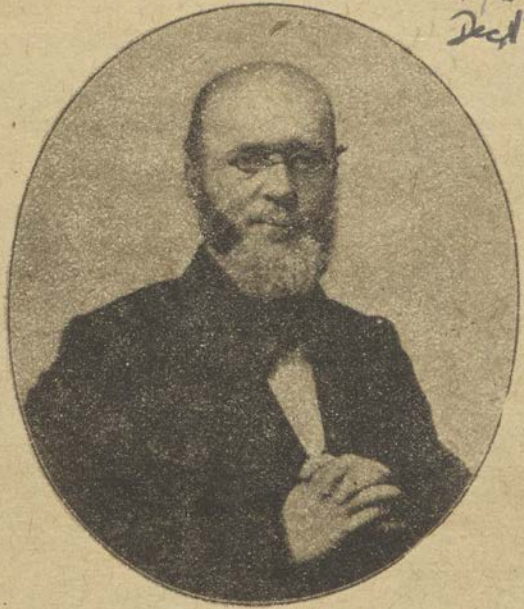
As befitted a person of so mild and rational a temper, Dr. Nott was little inclined to the popular revival movements of his day, which stirred minds like Henry James with such revulsion. Officially supporting such as came within his jurisdiction, he was always suspected by the more elect among his students of some lukewarmness in his character as a religionist, some latitudinarian laxness.

In fine Dr. Nott's influence must have been the most telling that was brought to bear upon James in his student days, and surely one of the principal forces concurring to foster his own liberalism.

James' grades placed him in the first third of his class, just short of Phi Beta Kappa. His physical disability did not have the effect of driving him into absorption with his books any more than it hindered his participation in social life. More than from the formal courses of the college he probably profited from his close association, as member of the recently formed Sigma Phi Fraternity, with the warm-hearted young men whose 'brother' he became.

The Elder James
pp. 1216
Austin Warren
The MacMillan Company
New York 1934.

N.Y. Times
Dec. 12, 1920



Henry James Sr. and His Wife.

1830

A GILBERT STUART DISCOVERED IN A FRENCH PROVINCIAL COLLECTION: PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM JAMES, Grandfather of William James, the Philosopher, and His Brother, Henry James, the Novelist, Which Was Recently Found in France.

Union 1830 (Father of above Henry; Union 1830)

522 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

February 15th, 1934

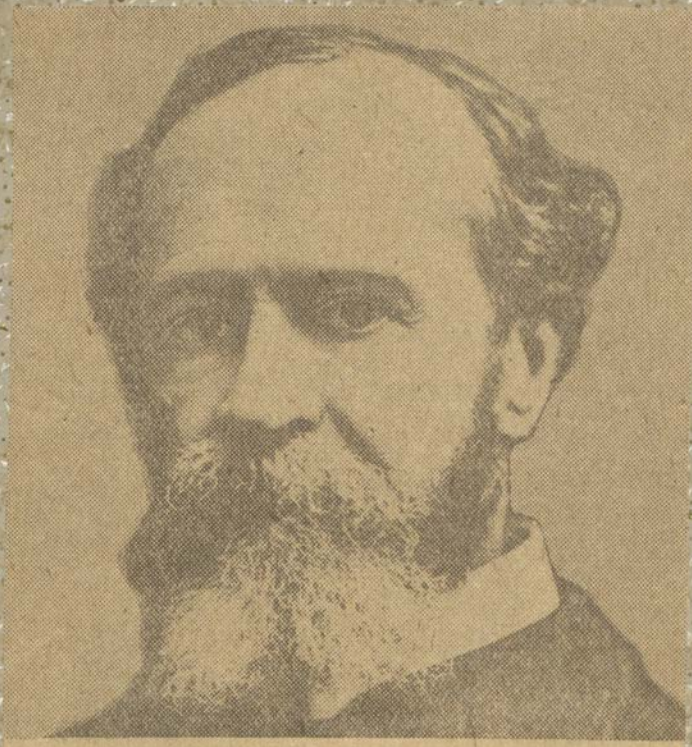
Dear Mr. Waldron:

You are most kind to send me the two copies of the Union Alumni Monthly without charge, and I thank you heartily. You can imagine that the article about high finance in the days of President Knott and my great-grandfather interested me no little.

Yours sincerely,

Henry James

Mr. C. N. Waldron.



William James, philosopher.

SATURDAY, JAN. 21, 1933
Books of the Day

BOOK SECTION
Boston Evening Transcript

SATURDAY, JAN. 21, 1933
The Literary World

With Moral Man and Our Immoral Society

The Struggle of Right and Justice in the Midst of Our Present - Day Conditions

THERE is an old proverb to the effect that the pack will do many things, which the lone wolf would never think of. Mob rule suppresses individual ideals and convictions. Hence we get a moral man and immoral society. Privileged classes, so called superior races, and organized society in general, including governments and nations, are always below the moral standards of the individuals which make them up. That is Dr. Niebuhr's fundamental thesis. The second is like unto it, that social justice can never achieve without conflict. Neither education nor religion can bring justice about, educators, social economists and religious leaders to the contrary. Only the other day, since this book was written, President Green of the American Federation of Labor assured the public that that organization intended to get their program of a five-day week and a six-hour day, and would use "force" if necessary. Immediately the reporters clamored to know, "By what kind of force?" The answer to that question applied to injustice makes up a large part of this book. Instead of "force," the author uses the word "power," as the means by which self-interest and collective egoism of mankind in its various group relations are to be overcome. Injustice must be resisted, whenever imperialism, class domination, or race predominance exploits weakness. "If conscience and reason be insinuated into the resulting struggle, they will only qualify, never abolish the injustice."

The selfishness of nations is proverbial and their most significant characteristic is hyprocrisy. Dishonesty seems a necessity of political policy. Then the author cites the Spanish-American war and its resulting imperialism, and England's treatment of India. He adds: "India will only gain a full partnership in the British Empire as she is able to exert some kind of force against British imperialism." As an example of the "attitudes of privileged classes," Dr. Niebuhr cites the Southern whites and the way in which they try to justify their opposition to equal suffrage for the Negro on the ground of illiteracy, and yet no Southern State gives equal facility for Negro and white education. The great question is how can society eliminate social injustice by methods which will abolish the evil in present society without destroying what is worth while and without bringing new abuses or injustices in the place of those abolished. The proletarian class says that there is nothing good in modern society worth preserving and as to the future and its new abuses, "why worry?"

The struggle for justice is carried on in various ways. The attempt for justice through revolution is illustrated by Communism and the Russian experiment, which is analyzed pro and con. The attempt for justice through political force is shown in the workings and achievements of parliamentary Socialism in certain European countries. "In all industrial nations, except America, the trade unions are the voting strength of this evolutionary Socialism, though its political philosophy has usually been elaborated by middle-class intellectuals." A third means of struggle against injustice is the use of "soul force" or "truth force" in a non-co-operation and non-violent resistance. Yet the author says that the social consequences are not dissimilar from those of violence. For example, the impoverishment of the cotton spinners of Lancashire by Gandhi's boycott. A detailed discussion is given of Gandhi's methods and ideals.

In conclusion, Dr. Reinhard says: "We are at least rid of some of our illusions. We can no longer buy the highest satisfactions of individual life at the expense of social injustice. We cannot build our individual ladders to heaven and leave the total human enterprise unredeemed of its excesses and corruptions." The hope of this redemption is in men with new illusions—the most important of which is that the collective life of mankind can achieve perfect justice.

Plenty of objection will come from all sides to this realistic and frank discussion of present conditions and unrest. The prophets of a social gospel will be encouraged, and yet are told that their "Kingdom of God" is an ideal to which only an approximation can ever be made. The privileged classes of all sorts will be up in arms. The proletariat will not like the reflections on their inconsistencies. "Patriots" will object to the incisive analysis of certain patriotic manifestations. The whole volume is provocative, unhesitating and arousing from start to finish. That is the book's chief value; it will set people to discussing and, if they are wise, to thinking for themselves and not simply shouting old shibboleths. It is idle simply to wave one's arms and pound the pulpit—humanity needs to use its brains, its conscience and its entire human resources to find a way out.

T. C. R.

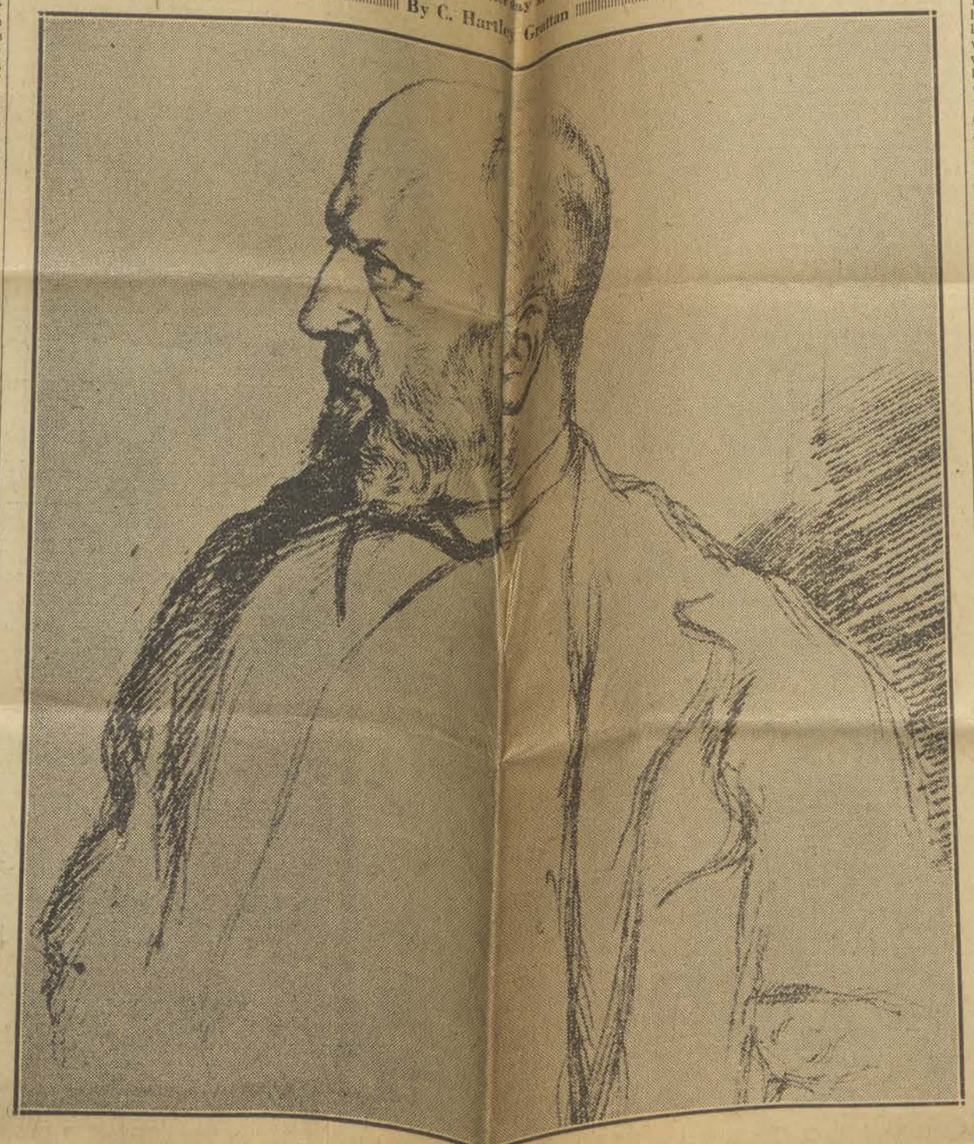
Moral Man and Immoral Society. A Study in Ethics and Politics. By Neinhold Niebuhr. $2.00. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Through the Years With the Jameses

A Chronicle of the Activities of the Leaders of a Famous American Family

Portions of an Address Delivered Yesterday at Union College, Schenectady

By C. Hartley Grattan



The Red Flag Flies Over Mount Ararat

Impressions of Life and Scenes in a Country That Is an Outpost of Soviet Rule

ON the way to Armenia via the northern route from Marseilles, Miss Yeghenian visited Leningrad. While there she was somewhat surprised when a statue of Tsar Alexander III was pointed out to her by her Red guide. She understood, however, why it had been left standing when the new inscription on its base, written by a proletarian poet, was translated for her: "My father and my son were assassinated, and I have met a fate worse than theirs in their graves—a scarecrow standing here before the people, who will nevermore be slaves." If the last phrase were not so entirely tragic, it would be grimly amusing. "Will nevermore be slaves." As if the apparently helpless people of Russia today were not enslaved more hopelessly than under the most tyrannical of the Tsars. Nor is there anything in Miss Yeghenian's revelations of Soviet methods of governance to change that opinion, if the readers had previously held it, although she has been exceedingly diplomatic in her statements. As her chief quest was to discover the condition of affairs in Armenia, religious, political, social and educational, she deals for the most part with the results of Soviet rule in that country. And, indeed, beside the treatment meted out to Armenia for many centuries by her Turkish conquerors, it would seem that any government eliminating frequently recurrent massacres would seem positively beneficent to that long-suffering country. Soviet rule does not seem quite that, however. The Armenians are intensely nationalistic, the more so because of their long repression and persecution.

The Soviet rule forbids them all national individuality, as it does every country of the United Socialist Soviet republics. No longer is the country at the foot of Mount Ararat (a picturesquely mountainous country a little larger than Belgium) called simply by its old name, Armenia. It is today the Socialist Soviet Republic of Armenia, one of the links of that chain with which Russia will fetter an entire world one day if she succeeds in making good her vaunts. We confess that we wondered as we read Miss Yeghenian's account of her visit to Baku, where in secret Stalin bored from within during years when his name was not the assumed one he bears today, if the (to western ideas) somewhat problematical "freedom" Armenia knows today under Soviet rule has banished all memory of how the Bolshevik massacres of fifteen years or so ago strewed the streets of Baku with forty thousand mutilated Armenians, after which Armenia was added to the U. S. S. R.

Miss Yeghenian, of Armenian ancestry, but a citizen of the United States, is a student of immigration and social problems, travelling, writing and lecturing in connection with these subjects. (In spite of this she tells of the joy it gave her to be called an "American" in Armenia, because she is only a "foreigner" in America) brought to her observations a mind thoroughly trained as well as sympathetic. Her sponsorship by the Russian Red Cross was specially useful to her. She saw and heard much denied the ordinary traveller, (if that species exists in Russia today) and the story of her quest is exceedingly illuminating. She was permitted to interview several of the Soviet officials in Armenia, all, by the way, Armenians, in contrast to the potpourri of races making up the Third Internationale in Moscow. Among these officials was the editor-in-chief of the paper which is the Soviet mouthpiece, and the President, Vice-President and secretary of the republic. She spent a day in court, at the capital of Armenia, Erivan, watching the processes of Soviet justice; visited the "House of the Green Tables," the headquarters of the famous (or infamous—it all depends upon the point of view) "G. P. U." which being interpreted is State Political Administration.

One question she asked each official she met: "Why do you want to build up the country at such tremendous speed and subject the people to the necessity of making such sacrifices?" The same answer was given her in every instance: "Because we are obliged to succeed quickly. We are surrounded by enemies on all sides. If we don't succeed quickly the enemy will overtake us. The policies of the government are not the cause of the people's suffering. The real causes come from two sources—our poor heritage and the capitalistic world whose purpose it is to defeat our work." There was also an invariable answer when she questioned various of the abysmally ignorant Armenian proletariat as to what they know of America—"Sacco and Vanzetti." Some few sophisticated individuals did add "the Ku Klux Klan" and "monkey trials of university professors." But "Sacco and Vanzetti had

Continued on Following Page

The Red Flag at Ararat. By A. Y. Yeghenian. With Illustrations. New York: The Woman's Press.

The Way to the Attainment of Happiness and Success

Efforts of Modern Psychology

ness, even the most trifling components

Sven Hedin in the Home of the Manchu Emperors

An Explorer and Archæologist Wanders Into the Inmost

culty was with expression, for while he could write brilliant and startling sen-

gists to Bring Forward Problems of the Science of Mind

IN these days psychology is being expounded from all sorts of angles, as well as utilized for all kinds of individual and social needs: and these two volumes add much that is useful for students of the science of mind, at the same time making their appeal to the general reader. Dr. Tietjens deals with his subject from a special point of view, largely the result of his own experiences. The son of a Russian land-owner, he began early in life to deal with psychological problems, and was at first inclined to become a disciple of Pavloff (of "conditioned reflexes" fame), but soon embarked on independent investigations into the law regulating human behavior. Impoverished by the Russian revolution, he removed to Berlin, continued his researches there, and was the first to benefit from the theory and practice of "desuggestion" as evolved by himself. At first neurotically inclined, depressed, pessimistic, devoid of energy, and unequal to coping with the difficulties of life, he found a way out in his theory, and has been able, it is claimed, to overcome all such disabilities and at the same time to help many others along the same path, his precept being: "Cease to fancy things which are entirely non-existent or are entirely different from what you suppose, and you will achieve success; your understanding will grow; your mind and your nerves will enjoy the advantages of mental hygiene; and you will become the artificer of your own happiness."

All of us, he points out, are a prey to numberless fancies that hamper our understanding, ruin our nerves, make us depressed, discontented, unsuccessful and unhappy. His aim is therefore to relieve us from all such conditions, by correcting the false notions and dispelling the foolish imaginings and inhibitions that underlie them. Especially is he concerned in ridding men of their belief in free-will and of the notion that knowledge is a universal solvent for everything there is in nature and life. Approaching the problems of human life as an environmentalist, he treats the influencees that act on us during our lifetime as more important than the equipment we bring into the world. And he is convinced that by means of "desuggestion" the falsehoods with which our minds have been stuffed, along with the cobwebs in our brain, can be displaced, making us healthy, happy and useful members of the human commonwealth. He amplifies his thesis in numerous chapters dealing with such topics as sensations, knowledge, the conscious and sub-conscious, the feelings and pursuit of pleasure, the unfreedom of thought and will, misoneism, repression, inhibitions, the sex problem, behavior, health and ideas. A truly objective psycho-physiology, he holds, will only become possible when we have fuller and more accurate knowledge concerning the physiological processes that underlie psychical changes. Many problems which appear to be philosophical are in reality biological or psycho-physiological, and can be effectively approached only from the biological or psycho-physiological standpoint. In order to avoid implying that we have more knowledge that we actually possess concerning the relationship between bodily processes as cause and mental processes as effect, "we must use terms which describe the phenomena in such a way that while the physiological processes are not disregarded, their localization and their kind are left unspecified, so that our argument would be left unimpaired if it should subsequently appear that their nature and their localization are different from what, in the present state of physiological science, we incline to believe. Yet in view of the complexity of every content of conscious-

are of immense importance."

An excellent account of mental aberrations will be found in the volume which Professor Pillsbury gives to the lore and teachings in the field of abnormal psychology, the materials for his informing chapter having been obtained during the teaching of classes on the subject for a score or more years. Abnormality, he says, is usually a composite of many deviations, and the types of it fall into classes which have little of a common thread running through them. Of the distinctly diseased conditions which may be grouped into what approximate disease entities there are conditions which show definite forms of distortion of mental attitudes or functions on the one hand, and those which exhibit mere dimunition of mental capacity on the other. Janet divides the neurosis into two groups, hysteria and psychasthenia, while Freud divides the neuroses according to their symptoms as compulsion neuroses, anxiety neuroses and conversion neuroses. The psychoses are divided into two great groups, the organic and the functional, the effects in the organic groups being possibly related to definite changes in the nervous system due to physical injury, age, infections, or changes in the endocrine or ductless glands. To these may be opposed the functional diseases in which no changes can be detected in the structure of the nervous system, the disease being assumed to be due to the way in which the brain functions rather than to its structure. Almost all the forms of behavior which, when extreme, characterize the abnormal, are said to be found in some definitely normal individual, while most of the symptoms discussed in the book are "but exaggerations of normal traits or qualities."

Meanwhile, there should be recognition of the abnormal—by the teacher, the physician, and the lawyer; even the clergyman, often relied on for his advice by troubled individuals, needs a knowledge of the abnormal. Generally, a knowledge of the abnormal is an indispensable aid to mental hygiene, and the aim of mental medicine is prevention, not cure, for all admit that little can be done to cure a mental disease once it has become thoroughly established. Were the mental hygienist to have a free hand we are told, he would prescribe good ancestry for the child with whom he has to deal, yet the best of heredity needs supplementary training, statistics showing that were one to have the control of immediate ancestry, and be sure that no taint was present in any of the immediate line, there would still be a chance that some more remote ancestors, by a mixture of influences, were responsible for the appearance of the tendency. In other words, there is very little stock of which one may predict with certainty that an insane child might not be born. Mental hygiene must begin with the child, and parents must be trained to give it proper treatment; except under extraordinary conditions "a bad home is better for the child than a good institution." Valuable aid can be given by the psychiatric social worker, and as to rules for mental health "anything which keeps the individual happy and free from conflict and strain will also keep him mentally well." Both parents and teachers should be enjoined to banish fear, and "any course of conduct which removes the individual from conflict with society will in so far reduce the chances of mental disturbances." Finally, the author discusses mental hygiene in the schools, adjustments in college students, and the relation of the church to mental hygiene, saying at the close of his book: "In spite of what it leaves to be desired, the mental hygiene movement promises to give important results. Even if it does no more than bring universal recognition of the need it will have been worth while."

E. N.

Desuggestion for the Attainment of Health, Happiness and Success. By E. Tietjens. Translated from the second German edition by Eden and Cedar Paul. $4.00. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh: The Dial Press.

An Elementary Psychology of the Abnormal. By W. B. Pillsbury, Chairman of the Department of Psychology, University of Michigan. $3.00. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

"Forgive Us Our Trespasses"

Lloyd C. Douglas says that he wrote his new novel, "Forgive Us Our Trespasses," because of his theory that "we preachers should write books that will embody the precepts of the church but which, through the telling of a story—which was what the gospel did—will reach people that the church fails to find." Although "Forgive Us Our Trespasses" and its predecessor, "Magnificent Obsession," are essentially religious books Mr. Douglas says that they are not often to be found in Sunday school libraries.

From a Drawing by Sir William Rothenstein

IT is a very special pleasure for me to address an audience at Union College, which is so intimately connected with the early history of the James family. Links with the past are not so common in the United States that one can take lightly an association which extends over a century. It is just a few years more than one hundred since William James the First came to the assistance of President Eliphalet Nott in his complicated plans for financing the college and began the association which we are, in our own way, celebrating tonight. Moreover, he was, for a few months just before his death, a trustee of the college. President Nott and William James were, I think it reasonable to suppose, first acquainted with one another in Albany at the time of Dr. Nott's pastorate in the First Presbyterian Church, and it was but natural that he should turn, in his financial difficulties, to his wealthy and distinguished friend. It was in every way in harmony with the character of William James as we know it, that he should have extended his help. The particular way in which he at once assisted education and protected his wealth is also highly characteristic. It is in small matters as well as large that a man's character clearly shows itself. On his death in 1832 his loss was feelingly lamented in the Albany newspapers. Little did those who, as the notices put it, wore "the usual badge of mourning," realize that one hundred years later he would be chiefly remembered as the founder of a dynasty of American intellectuals.

Of the many children by William James's three marriages, only Henry James, the fourth child of the third marriage, is of interest to us today. He was born in 1811 at Albany and educated at Albany Academy and Union College, receiving his A. B. in 1830. He seems to have had a slight interest in the law, but made no detectable effort to translate that interest into a professional career. He early showed a bent for religious thinking and, what is most important, a tendency toward a heretical interpretation of the religious experience. This brought him into conflict with his father's rather rigid orthodoxy. That orthodoxy dictated one of the most extraordinary of wills, in which William James had tried to make inheritance of a share in his wealth contingent upon the leading of what he thought a moral and useful life. The will proved unworkable and eventually all those entitled to a share received it, among them Henry James who had originally been scheduled for an annuity only. Shortly after his father's death he attempted to study theology at Princeton, then as now a center of Presbyterian orthodoxy, but after two years gave it up and embarked upon his own search for supernatural truth.

Henry James always remained a supernaturalist, though the particular form he gave his expression of this bent, was found only after severe trials. He experimented with an obscure cult, a Scottish reaction against Presbyterianism, called Sandemanianism; he attempted to work out his own symbolic interpretation of the Scriptures; he sought light in the writings of the prophetic writers of the day, Emerson, whom he met and with whom he was friendly ever after, and Carlyle; and in every way possible he sought to satisfy the craving for insight by which he was possessed. It would have been easy for Henry James to be another of the many "cranks" and extremists who were so common in America during the eighteen-thirties and forties. He was saved by the fact that equally active in him with his passionate desire for insight into supernatural truths was the strain which he called animal spirits. And this is nicely illustrated by the fact that at the very time he was searching high and low for light upon the dilemmas which plagued him, he married and had two sons in rapid succession, William and Henry.

There was a strain of vigorous common sense in Henry James and a strain of pungent wit. Both contributed to make him a complete man. In some ways he was more humanly vigorous than Emerson. What he lacked was an ability to say himself out, to order his wide ranging and frequently piercing perceptions into coherent expository books. As a consequence, instead of becoming a major prophet, he became the leader of a cult with one member, himself. To be sure the times were not propitious for a strictly religious thinker; Americans were in an untheological mood; they were rather bent on social and political reform, and even Henry James engaged in rather miscellaneous social criticism for a number of years. Examination of the work he did, however, reveals that his system of thought was so inclusive that nothing human was alien to it and his principles had as much to do with marriage, economics and politics as with the nature of God and man's relation to Him.

I am running a bit ahead of my story in saying this, for I have not mentioned what system of thought it was that brought him peace. He had gone to England on one of his very frequent European pilgrimages which were to be so important in the development of his distinguished sons, and retired into the country in an effort to wrest truths from the Scriptures unaided by any system of interpretation other than he had personally evolved. He was deeply engaged in these studies when he was overtaken by a psychological experience that was to mark a turning point in his life. He later described it as a "vastation" and while we today might call it a nervous breakdown, the fact remains that he lost entirely what conviction he had that he was approaching to the truth he sought. While in this condition, a lady of his acquaintance recommended to him the works of Emanuel Swendenborg, the great Swedish scientist and mystic, and in them he found the key to the mysteries for which he had been struggling. Swedenborgianism became his light in the darkness in which he thought all mankind was immersed. He carried Swendenborg's numerous books about with him wherever he went and insisted to his friends that they were "insipid with veracity."

Unfortunately for his worldly success as a religious thinker, he was incurably unorthodox and put his own interpretation upon Swedenborg's works, scorning the orthodox Swedenborgian church and hurling sarcastic jibes at it. Though he had no need to earn his living by his pen and might well have made himself content with talking to his friends, he chose to labor constantly at statements of his belief. Once he had found Swedenborgianism, his basic principles did not change and his successive books were no more than new and better statements of his fundamental truths. His difficulties,

tences, brilliant paragraphs, chapters, he could not put together a coherent book. Had he been able to argue his points out according to the rules of logic, he would have captured many minds, I am sure. His method was, however, to announce his truths, to affirm them, and such a method was fatal to that quality which must inhere in books of the character he was writing—persuasiveness.

It is clear from this cursory exposition of some of the central beliefs of Henry James, Sr., that, viewed from one angle, he was a psychologist. This fact is of particular interest to us, for his eldest son, William, became one of the most distinguished of American psychologists, as we now use the term. Moreover, it was an outstanding aspiration of the elder Henry James to escape from what he considered to be the stultifying limitations of naturalistic thought, and in his own way William James also held this ideal. Much more clearly than the second son, Henry the novelist, William James was his father's child in an intellectual way, and without for a moment pretending to give a comprehensive discussion of William's many interests, I should like to point out how he dealt with many of the problems which had engaged his father's attention.

First and foremost we must place a striking difference. William James was much more a naturalistic thinker than his father. He came at a later period in the history of the western European mind and was thoroughly in tune with the intellectual world of his time. In his last years, his father had attempted to assimilate to his system of thought the findings of those scientists who had been applying themselves to the study of man. William James grew up in the climate created by these men. It is notable that he originally determined to be a natural scientist and that the only academic degree he ever earned (he eventually held many honorary degrees) was that of M.D. He became a doctor. When he turned to the study of man's psychology he did not, therefore approach the task metaphysically. He approached it naturalistically. Yet his formulation of it is, to our sense, a strange mixture of experimental results, doctrines based on introspection, metaphysical intrusions and moralistic emphases. For William James was a moralist and wished to formulate a psychology which would assist man in acting for the triumph of the highest moral principles possible in this mundane world.

All his life long William James fought for the triumph of moral principles, and it is one of the ironies of history that he is widely accused of providing the philosophical defense of the practices of American business, usually considered as moral and often denounced as immoral. In the beginning he sought to destroy a system of thinking which he considered destructive of the urge to act. James was a philosopher of action. He directed his shafts against the evolutionary philosophy of Herbert Spencer, who, after Thomas Henry Huxley, did more than anyone else to make evolution a basic dogma of the modern mind. James felt that Spencer's outlook made the world a cast-iron affair and neglected entirely the necessary solid outward warrants for our emotional drives. In other words, Spencerianism was destructive of the imperative need, as James saw it, for action to moral ends. A central doc-

Continued on Following Page

Among the Tribunes of the People

A Survey of the Past and the Future of New York's Magistrate Courts

TWO years ago Judge Samuel Seabury asked Raymond Moley, professor of public law in Columbia University, to make a first-hand analysis and investigation of magistrates' courts for the Seabury Report. Since that "Report" was issued he has continued the study for the Commission on the Administration for Justice of New York State. No man is better fitted than he to talk about these courts and the magistrates who ought to be in fact "tribunes of the people." These magistrates are appointed by the mayor for a term of ten years at a salary of $12,000. They were appointed for political reasons, for racial interests, or because of the favor of powerful district leaders. The question of their intellectual or professional qualifications was seldom asked. Judge Seabury recommended that the appointment of these magistrates be vested on the Appellate Divisions of the Supreme Court of New York State.

The personnel of the magistrates is the crux of the problem. Magistrates of spirit and ability could and would clean up the careless clerk, the dubious lawyer, the greedy bondsman, the vermiculate fixer and the rest of the leeches. It is a grim and gruesome story that Professor Moley tells with lucidity and frankness of the wretched scandals as to bail, of brazen and pathetic frame-ups in the Women's Court, of the bribery and extortion practiced, not to speak of the woeful inefficiency and ignorance exposed, and the utter cruelty of the third degree. The rottenness and injustice is here laid bare so that the average man can understand it. Reams of evidence and volumes of proceedings are here condensed and interpreted so that it does not need a lawyer to grasp their meaning and significance. The magistrates ought to be tribunes of the people, for the half million persons arraigned each year in these courts are problems of social welfare, quite as much as of law enforcement. They are often careless, defective, unfortunate—beggars, vagrants, degenerates, crap-shooters, peddlers, "dopes" and traffic violators.

Professor Moley paints the human side with all its pathos as well as the inhuman side with all its cruelty. Furthermore, the way out of all this is suggested in strong, vivid terms. Much constructive criticism is added to this exposure of the weakness of the courts of democracy. This is no pessimistic arraignment but an able, penetrating analysis not only of conditions and causes, but also remedies and real reform. It is a real service—this interpretation of the epoch-making investigation of Judge Seabury.

Tribunes of the People. The Past and Future of New York Magistrates' Courts. By Raymond Moley. $2.50. New York: Yale University Press.

Romantic Regions of Central Asia

THIS book, a curious combination of travel and romance, is the outgrowth of an American businessman's generosity. Mr. Vincent Bendix of Chicago, having the blood of Sweden in his veins, admired the work of Sven Hedin, explorer and archeologist extraordinary. When Mr. Bendix ordered copies erected in Stockholm and Chicago of a Lama temple, as part of the plan he had for financing various expeditions led by his noted fellow national, this book followed as a natural result. For in Jehol, the summer residence of the great Manchu emperors, Mr. Sven Hedin found the Lama temples that he most desired to perpetuate in the memory of the Western peoples. A replica of the Golden Pavilion in Potala is nearing completion at the World's Fair in Chicago, while the second temple will presently rise in Stockholm. And the book that Mr. Hedin has written brings forward some of the background necessary for a full appreciation of these beautiful works of art.

Aside from the news interest in this, the book wanders about a good deal from one miscellaneous bit of picturesque detail to another. Its author is frank in admitting that he allowed himself to be swayed between the historic material and the romantic fantasy of amorous life, as it was lived, chiefly by Ch'ien-lung, the Son of Heaven, the great Manchu emperor who more than anyone else was responsible for the creation of this gorgeous Oriental Fontainbleau. Four chapters, indeed, deal directly with the sentimental adventures of this monarch and others among the most celebrated royal concubines of the period. It is only in the earlier chapters that Mr. Hedin pictures such glittering episodes as the terrible flight of the Torgot race; the founding of the summer palace at Jehol by K'ang-hsi; the visit of the Tashi Lama to Jehol and the amusing condescension of the Chinese for the embassy under Lord Macartney, dispatched by King George III of England, who prided himself upon being the monarch of a not inconsiderable principality, but was accorded the same reception as the Mongols, Tibetans or other tributary races.

Although it is in the nature of a popular and not especially scholarly work, this book proves absorbing to an unusual degree. Mr. Hedin has a gift for picturing whatever he describes with enthusiasm and the detachment that aligns all in its proper relation. The excellent pictures accompanying the manuscript are superb in their delineation of the principal beauties adorning the great summer capital of one of the most luxurious dynasties in history. Moreover, through the skilfull pen of the archeologist, the casual reader gains fairly effective summary of some of the main points in the reign of the Manchu emperors down through the middle nineteenth century. It is a glittering spectacle in which the rich exotism of the Orient is clothed in the pseudo romantic garments of an Arabian Night's legend.

W. E. H.

Jehol: City of Emperors. By Sven Hedin. $3.50. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.

Tales of Trespass

Tales of Trespass. By Sir George Young. With six illustrations by the author and a frontispiece and tailpieces by Miss B. H. Cook. Reprinted from the Cornhill Magazine. $1.75. London: Oxford University Press. Humphrey Milford, Publisher to the University.

THE setting for these tales of adventure jumps from France to Spain, from Greece to Russia, and from Ireland to Olympus and Turkey. "Trespassing may be bad form, but it is good fun," the author tells us in the preface. "It may be considered as a sport, but it may also be considered as something more—as a crusade for the reconquest of the Holy Places of nature worship; or as a conspiracy for the recovery of youth."

A decided flavor pervades the writing, the subtle wit of the educated Englishman permeates the whole, and the charm of the narrative lies in the whimsicality of Sir George Young's fertile imagination.

*HENRY JAMES. 1828

Born June 3, 1811, at Albany, N. Y.; Died Dec. 18, 1882, at Cambridge, Mass.
Entered from Albany, N. Y.....A. B. 1830.

Studied Law at Albany, 1830–32; Theology, at Princeton Theol. Seminary, 1833–35, also in England, 1835–36.....Resided in Albany some years and then removed to New York City, where he lived until 1866; thereafter until his death, in Cambridge, Mass.

Member N. E. Society of New York City.

Author. Issued an edition with Introductory Essay, of R. Sandeman's "Letters on Theon and Aspasia" (New York, 1839); "Remarks on the Apostolic Gospel" (1840); "What constitutes the State?" (New York, 1846); "Letter to a Swedenborgian" (1847); Lectures on "Moralism and Christianity" (New York, 1850); "Lectures and Miscellanies" (ib. 1852); "Love, Marriage and Divorce" [a discussion,] (ib. 1853); "The Church of Christ not an Ecclesiasticism" (ib. 1854); "Nature of Evil" (ib. 1855); "Christianity the Logic of Creation" (London and New York, 1857); "The Social Significance of our Institutions" (Boston, 1861); "Substance and Shadow: or Morality and Religion in their Relation to Life" (ib. 1863); "The Secret of Swedenborg" (ib. 1869); "Society the Redeemed Form of Man" (ib. 1875); "English and Continental Life," a series of Letters in the New York Tribune; "Personal Reminiscences of Carlyle," "Faith and Science," and other contributions to Periodicals.....His "Literary Remains" have been edited by his son William (Boston, 1885). ucslaf1830james-h-00600

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1830 HENRY JAMES.

In 1828, at the age of seventeen, he entered Union College, Schenectady, as a member of the Junior Class, making his home in the household of Dr. Nott.

Dr. Eliphalet Nott, Union's most distinguished President, was then in the midst of his sixty-two years reign, which lasted from 1804 until his death in 1866. Between him and the wealthy merchant, William James of Albany, there must long have existed relations of friendship and respect, for, before going to Schenectady, Dr. Nott occupied, from 1798 on, the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church of Albany, where, in company with the other citizens of Scotch-Irish origin, Mr. James discharged his Sabbath duty to Diety.

From 1821 to 1826, the relations of President and Merchant were especially and strikingly close. Nott, a man of intrepid courage and determination, supported his college and raised endowment by any means that came to hand. In 1805, he lobbied the State Legislature into giving him $80,000 in the form of a lottery grant; in 1814, he secured from the same authority a similar grant of $200,000. The second lottery fared ill: in desperation, Nott borrowed from James, giving as security bonds owned by the College. This was the first of a series of such loans. By 1823, James had in his possession, as pledge for Nott's indebtedness, the deed of '67 acres near Troy turnpike; also the New College Edifices and all the houses standing on the premises.' In 1826, James advanced $100,000 for paying off lottery prizes. The following year he was made Trustee of Union and a member of the finance committee. When the Trustee died, in 1832, he left the College a box full of cancelled checques and released securities.

Dr. Nott's audacity extended beyond finance. His judgmen of men and his views of religion and life shrewdly transcended his clerical garb and denominational tenets. Of his own profession, he admitted: 'Ministers, as a class, know less practically of human nature than any other class of men....(;they) ordinarily see only the brighter side of the world. Almost everybody treats them with civility, the religious with peculiar kindness and attention.' Contrasting them with lawyers, who see the worst side of the world, he berated the clergy for their inefficiency, their lack of 'directness of appeal. They want the same go-ahead, common-sense way of interesting men lawyers have.'

He confessed himself ' disgusted and grieved with the religious controversies of the present age. The divisions of schools, old schools and new schools, and the polemical fury with which the contest is waged, are entirely foreign to the true spirit of Christianity.' Even Rome came within the limits of his toleration: 'there is a great deal of religion in that church;' while he did not hesitate to say that Luther's character was, in some of its features, 'harsh, rugged, and unlovely.'

To the sceptics among his students, this outspoken President did not hesitate to confess that, during the French Revolution, he had been 'troubled with the same difficulties.'

In Nott's time, the college curriculum consisted principally of the classics and mathematics, with some tincture of rhetoric and natural science. During his junior year Henry James pursued studies in Horace, Cicero, selected Greek authors--apparently including Sophocles and Euripides, conic sections, political economy, and natural philosophy. The records of his senior course are less complete, but they include work in Biot's Optics and Kames' Elements of Criticism." Dr. Nott himself took the class in Kames, and made it more of a Socratic dialogue than either lecture or recitation. Some topic being suggested by the chapter in physics, or morals, or political economy, each of the students would be drawn to define his views, and those views would be analysed and developed by the instructor in such a way as to clarify all the issues that had been raised. Dr. Nott's genuine liberalism involved an effort tp lead his students to think for themselves and to distrust mere authoritarian pronouncements; in consequence of which those of his pupils who achieved for themselves intellectual careers were found entertaining all varieties of religious and metaphysical opinion. Romanists, High and Low Anglicans, Calvinists, Baptists, as well as such doughty independents as Henry James, were all characteristic products of Dr. Nott's tutelage.

James doubtless derived far more intellectual stimulus from his course in Kames than from his study of 'Intellectual Philosophy,' in which the text appears to have been the standard 'Locke on the Understanding.' James was all his life rather impatient of technical metaphysics; and, too, his mind and temperament were quite as averse to any sort of empiricism as those of his friend Emerson.

Himself reared in the most rigid of Presbyterianism, James must have felt in the warmest sympathy with Dr. Nott's theological and ecclesiastical liberalism. Nott was a man of pragmatic interests, and who laid more stress on character than creed. Innocent of a speculative turn of mind, he appears never to have rejected the theology of the Westminster Catechism in which he had been reared; but his doctrine was neither Edwardsean, nor Hopkinsian, nor Emmonsian. He had no desire to fathom the inscrutable decrees of the Almighty, and felt no impulse to push beyond such revelation as had been vouchsafed in Scripture. With cordial good will he preached in churches of all the evangelical faiths; and he could not be induced to manifest quite the proper degree of alarm at the rise of the Unitarian movement in New England.

As befitted a person of so mild and rational a temper, Dr. Nott was little inclined to the popular revival movements of his day, which stirred minds like Henry James with such revolution. Officially supporting such as came within his jurisdiction, he was always suspected by the more elect among his students of some lukewarmness in his character as a religionist, some latitudinarian laxness.

In fine, Dr. Nott's onfluence must have been the most telling that was brought to bear upon James in his student days, and surely one of the principal forces concurring to foster his own liberalism.

James' grades placed him in the first third of his class, just short of Phi Beta Kappa. His physical disability did not have the effect of driving him into absorption with his books any more than it hindered his participation in social life. More than from the formal courses of the college he probably profited from his close association, as member of the recently formed Sigma Phi Fraternity, with the warm-hearted young men whose 'brother' he became.

His life at Union was interrupted in mid-course by the dramatic flight to Boston, which, as Notes of a Son hints, was the consequence of a clash of wills between Henry and his father. The 'clash' arose from Henry's disinclination to study law and his practice of giving, in payment for the luxuries which he relished --good cigars, oysters, smart tailoring, books--drafts upon the credit of his opulent sire.

The elder James was much alarmed at these evidences of worldiness--and worse--in his son; and bestirred his friend, the distinguished lawyer, Archibald McIntyre, to write the youth a letter of warning. Under date of November 12, 1829, McIntyre rebukes the worldling.

"I have heard, and your friends generally have heard enough of your conduct to cause us much pain and solicitude for your safety and future usefulness. I consider you on

the very verge of ruin....Allow me then to entreat that you will for the future repose yourself upon your father and mother, and take their advice in everything. Indulge in no expenses whatever that shall not be known to and approved by them... Let your studies too as far as possible be conformable to your father's wishes. You intimated to me that you disliked the law....On speaking to your father on this head, however, I found him inflexibly fixed on your studying the law, or at all events on studying one of the learned professions....Some consider you are already lost, irretrievably lost. I am not, however, one of those. I cannot believe that a young man of good parts, with wealth to support him in well doing (but with none without performing his duty), with numerous and anxious friends, can be such an idiot as to throw away all these advantages, and become a loathing to himself and his best friends.'

The warning was insufficient, or came too late. By the second of December , when William James irately writes McIntyre, Henry has already left college and fled. He 'has so debased himself as to leave his parents house in the character of a swindler etc.etc.--details presented to-day--are the order which I enclose as a specimen of his progress in arts of low vileness--and unblushing falsehood;--such will be practised in N.Y.--in book stores--Taylors etc.--and in the same dfts on me etc.;--all of which will meet him direct--and lodge him in prison of some kind directly; a fellow from Schenectady was after him to-day for 50 to 60 drs--(in a note I understand) for segars and oysters....Townsend--Sons-- and others from the College have reported through the City--that he is gone to Boston--and I understand he told the man who gave the cloth that he was going there--but deception is of no consequence in his case--they will find him and he will find his reward, poor being....

No such dire fate as was prophecied befell the culprit. He made his way to Boston, but his stay appears to have been in no sense a rigorous chastisement of his wildness. On January 30,1830, he addressed to Isaac Jackson, tutor in mathematics at Union and quite evidently Henry's intimate friend into the bargain, a long letter which reveals him as temporarily earning his honest living as a proofreader and meanwhile enjoying with the gusto persistently his, the pleasures, social and sermonic, of Boston.

In the 5th paragraph following, and continuing with the letter to Prof. Jackson, he says.

Mrs. Potter,(wife of Rev. Alonzo Potter and only daughter of Eliphalet Nott) is what Eve might have been before the Fall. Listening to and looking upon her sometimes, Iam apt ....to wish with the Psalmist, neither poverty nor riches, but just such a wife as Mrs. Potter; (by the way, what a horrid name for <u>that</u> woman.)

HENRY JAMES, SENIOR CLASS OF 1828 1830

From Monthly Record of Current Events
Harper's Magazine, Vol.II,p.559
March,1851

A series of valuable lectures upon Art have been delievered before the Artists of New York, in pursuance of a very excellent plan adopted by their Association. The first of the series was delievered by HENRY JAMES,Esq., and was an excellent critical exposition of the nature and characteristics of Art.

Dec. 1934 1830 U. of M.

In the Journal of Philosophy of September 13th, Professor Herbert W. Schneider of Columbia University, who is one of the editors, reviews Professor Austin Warren's "The Elder Henry James" with high praise for the subject of that biography, Henry James of the Class of 1830. He concludes: "The reviewer cannot escape the feeling that the elder Henry James has a style so much more sincere and good-humored than that of the younger, and a mind so much more catholic and speculative than that of William, that the father may yet outlive his sons. For his sons were essentially representative of a generation; he, on the contrary, was an individual, at odds with his civilization, emancipated from his contemporaries, yet conversant with the philosophical language of many ages, who, as such, may appeal to any generation."

1830 U. of M. May 1939

HENRY JAMES, SR. figures in an anecdote which connects his name with that of the elder Oliver Wendell Holmes, according to M. A. DeWolfe Howe in his recently-published "Holmes of the Breakfast Table." When Henry's eldest son, William James, presented himself to Dr. Holmes for his Harvard Medical examination in anatomy, the professor asked him to describe the "nervus petrosus superficialis minor," a small nerve in the head. James was fortunately able to do so with perfect accuracy. Whereupon Holmes exclaimed: "If you know that, you know everything! Now tell me about your dear old father."

THE CONCORDIENSIS, FRIDAY, JANUARY 7, 1938

Escapade of Henry James the Elder At Union, Is Revealed in Nott Letters

The views of Union's famous President Nott concerning the flight to Boston, during his senior year in 1830, of Henry James the Elder, who later became a noted theologian and the father of William and Henry James, are revealed in three letters recently discovered by Professor Harold A. Larrabee in the College Library and published in the December number of the New England Quarterly.

Previously published accounts have related how Henry James the Elder quarrelled with his father, the strong-willed merchant William James of Albany, over the questions of his future occupation and his undergraduate extravagances, specified as "segars, oysters, and smart tailoring;" and betook himself to Boston, where, in strong contrast to his father's dire predictions of prison and worse, he achieved self-support as proofreader for a highly moral publisher, Mr. Jenks.

The newly-discovered letters indicate that Dr. Nott was deeply concerned over the actions of the young son of a trustee and benefactor (William James had loaned Dr. Nott a total of $100,000 on a mortgage covering all the college property a few years before) who had been entrusted to his care. On December 8, 1829, just about a week after Henry's sudden exit from Union, Dr. Nott wrote to his lawyer friend Archibald McIntyre in New York about some business matters, and ended his letter thus:

"I perceive that young James did not stay in New York as expected. And had he, unless he could have been induced to return to his father, no good would have resulted. He must become convinced himself, that money has some value, and that economy is a virtue, before he will be induced to look to his father for support or for counsel. And I hope he will get into business immediately; or else break down immediately—the sooner his business comes to a crisis, the better for him and for his friends."

On Christmas day, 1829, Dr. Nott wrote again to Mr. McIntyre:

"Young James has not written to me—at which I am much surprised—as he authorized several persons to present their bills for payment. I hope he will either get into a business that will support him or break down quick. He is a bright boy, but has defects of character; adversity may be of use to him. If he writes you let me know the contents."

Finally, on January 2, 1830:

"I have just heard from young James—he professes to have to get into business, but fear he is not doing well—nothing can be done for him till he learns the worth of a father's house."

Dr. Larrabee comments: "Whatever Dr. Nott may have meant by a swift 'break down,' Henry James the Elder did not experience anything of the sort until possibly many years later. He did try to please his father by returning to college, where he was graduated with his class of 1830 in spite of several months of absence." His good intentions seem to have been consistently misinterpreted by his elders, who could see only "defects of character" where there was really one of the most brilliant and serious minds that Union has ever sheltered.

ALUMNI NOTE Class of 1830

Professor John Dewey of Columbia, regarded by many as the foremost living American philosopher, says of HENRY JAMES,Sr., in a New Republic review of R.B.Perry's "The Thought and Character of William James,"

> "The clearness and vigor with which the personality of Henry James,Sr. stands forth is one of the triumphs of Mr.Perry's method. It would not be true to say that he almost eclipses his distinguished children. But it is true that we have a constellation which without the presence of the father would be something wholly other than the system that now shines so brilliantly.
>
> "It would,indeed,be a simple (and gratifying) matter to occupy my entire space with selections from the exuberant outpourings of the father, which are as pointed and often as stinging as they are richly unconstrained. Such an anthology would go far to account for the literary style of William James; it would be impossible to find any course of "literary" and stylistic education equaling the years spent by the latter within the hearing of his father's conversations.
>
> "The son began where the father left off....Anyone who reads these volumes with the spiritual continuity of father and son in mind will see clearly many things that otherwise may escape him."

1830.

The "Atlantic" for December, 1904, contains an article on "Emerson," by Henry James, Sr.

1830

Henry James, the philospher and theologian, recently died at his home in Boston. Mr. James, after graduation, entered Princeton Theological Seminary ;.....

He leaves two sons, Henry James, Jr., the novelist and Prof. William James, of Harvard College.

C. Jan. 1883.

HENRY JAMES, '30,

was born in 1811 at Albany, N. Y. After graduation he studied Theology at Princeton, but never preached. He made his residence in Europe at intervals, living also in Albany and from 1848 to 1855 in New York city; in Newport, R. I., Boston; and in Cambridge, Mass., from 1866. His publications were many, including "The Nature of Evil," "Christianity the Logic of Creation," "The Secret of Swedenborg," "Society the Redeemed Form of Man," "Lectures and Miscellanies," "Substance and Shadow or Morality and Religion in Relation to Life," and many contributions to the Atlantic Magazine and other periodicals. Inheriting independent means, he neither increased nor diminished them. His political sentiments were vaguely Socialistic and Radical. He was a strong Abolitionist. He had no church connections. He died at Boston in 1883, leaving a widow, three sons and a daughter.

1830.

"HENRY JAMES, the elder, was a person of delightful eccentricity, and a humorist of the first water. When in his grotesque moods, he maintained that, to a right-minded man, a crowded Cambridge horse car 'was the nearest approach to heaven upon earth!' What was the precise nature of his philosophy, I never fully understood, but he professed to be a Swedenborgian, and carried on a correspondence full of droll incidents with anxious inquirers, in various parts of the country. Asking him one day about one of these, he replied instantly, 'Oh, a devil of a woman!' to my great astonishment, as I was not then thoroughly familiar with his ways. One of his most amusing experiences was that the other Swedenborgains repudiated all religious connection with him, so that the sect to which he belonged, and of which he was the head, may be said to have consisted of himself alone. He was a writer of extraordinary vigor and picturesqueness, and I suppose there was not in his day a more formidable master of English style. His son, the author, then a youth of nineteen or twenty, was just beginning to try his literary wings. There could not be a more entertaining treat than a dinner at the James house, when all the young people were at home. They were full of stories of the oddest kind, and discussed questions of morals or taste or literature with a vociferous vigor so great as sometimes to lead the young men to leave their seats and gesticulate on the floor. I remember in some of these heated discussions, it was not unusual for sons to invoke humorous curses on their parent, one of which was, that 'his mashed potatoes might always have lumps in them'!"—Some Letters of E. L. Godkin, *Scribner's Magazine*, March, 1907.

1830

The following letter about HENRY JAMES, SR., appeared in the New Republic for August 22, 1928.

HENRY JAMES. SR.

"Sir: If asked to define the greatest mystic, the most original theologian, of America of the last century, one could not do better than to use Mr. Waldo Frank's words, 'He was conscious of the Whole, he lived in terms of the Whole, in the way of the mystic and the Man.' Little known in his own day, he is quite unknown today if such an undaunted and athletic explorer of our past as Mr. Frank has failed to rediscover him. But nevertheless Henry James, the father of Henry the novelist, of William the philosopher, was a mystic of profounder mind than Emerson, an accepter of his fellow men with deeper understanding than Whitman, as fearless a scorner of the smug and conventional as Thoreau, and a more conscious plotter of an America that was no echo of an old rhapsody, but a New World indeed, than Poe ever dreamed of. He expressed himself in a style of vibrant and upbearing rhythm that puts him in the great tradition of English prose, and yet he never will be read by many, any more than Spinoza is read by many, though no serious scholar can afford to pass him by. Some day his passionate sense of the Whole, his faith in America as a New World without Church or State in the European tradition, his whole-hearted democracy of the spirit, will enter into our common thought, along with the discoveries of other outstanding prophets and seers of the past. Though his robust and abounding faith is in absolute antithesis to the assured infidelity of today, an astounding paradox at the heart of his philosophy embraces the extremest unfaith confronting it. For his Creator's supreme triumph is in the endowment of the creature with such proud and sufficient selfhood that he may absolutely deny his maker, and search the universe in vain to find a God. . . .

"S. MARSHALL ILSLEY.

"Santa Barbara, Calif."

Henry James, Newspaperman

by Leon Edel & Ilse Dusoir Lind

The only newspaper writing Henry James did during half a century devoted to the art of literature was a series of letters from Paris he wrote for The New-York Tribune in 1875 and 1876. In later years he contributed a few casual pieces to the London press, but these were clearly the work of a famous man of letters invited to say a few words in an unfamiliar medium. His commitment to The Tribune was of quite another character; he was young, he was confident, he was energetic, he had virtually his whole career to make. Moreover, he needed money, and he seems to have reasoned that he would gain valuable experience; the narrator in one of his later tales suggests that "in picking up things" for a newspaper, a writer "would pick up life as well."

The Tribune experience was unique not only in that it required regularity of production as the "occasional correspondent" of a big Manhattan daily, but in the consequences it was to have for certain of the novelist's later fiction. At the turn of the century, 25 years after his Tribune work, the heroine of one of James' tales ruefully confesses she has agreed to write some London letters for a provisional paper: "I can't do them—I don't know how, and don't want to. I do them wrong, and the people want such trash. Of course they'll sack me." All of Henry James' feelings about his newspaper experience may be discovered in these words.

As in his attempt to write for the theater, Henry James approached his Tribune job with mixed feelings. He wanted to succeed, but he had distinct misgivings about American newspapers and the extent to which a man of letters could work for them without compromising his art. If the United States had produced certain authoritative organs, such as The Tribune, it had also produced the fly-by-night sheets which Charles Dickens had satirized in *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

The time was to come when Henry James himself would create "a recording slobbering sheet," *The Reverberator*, and its snooping correspondent, George Flack; or the privacy-invading Henrietta Stackpole; or the ubiquitous Matthias Pardon, for whom "everything and everyone were everyone's business." "One sketches one's age but imperfectly if one doesn't touch on that particular matter, the invasion, the impudence,

"Loverboy of the Bourgeoisie"

by Tom Wolfe

On their way into the Edwardian Room of the Plaza Hotel all they had was that sort of dutiful, forward-tilted gait that East Side dowagers get after 20 years of walking small dogs up and down Park Avenue. But on their way out the two of them discover that all this time, in the same room, there has been their dreamboat, Cary Grant, sitting in the corner. Actually, Grant had the logistics of the Edwardian Room figured out pretty well. In the first place, the people who come to the Plaza for lunch are not generally the kind who are going to rise up and run, skipping and screaming, over to some movie star's table. And in the second place, he is sitting up against the wall nearest the doorway. He is eating lunch, consisting of a single bowl of Vichyssoise, facing out the window towards three old boys in silk toppers moseying around their horses and hansoms on 59th St. on the edge of Central Park.

Well, so much for logistics. The two old girls work up all the courage they need in about one-fourth of a second.

"Cary Grant!" says the first one, coming right up and putting one hand on his shoulder. "Look at you! I just had to come over here and touch you!"

Cary Grant plays a wonderful Cary Grant. He cocks his head and gives her the Cary Grant mock-quizzical look—just like he does in the movies—the look that says, "I don't know what's happening, but [illegible]"

"I have a son who's the spitting image of you," she is saying.

Cary Grant is staring at her hand on his shoulder and giving her the Cary Grant fey-bemused look and saying, "Are you trying to hold me down?"

"My son is 49," she's saying. "How old are you?"

"I'm 59," says Cary Grant.

"Fifty-nine! Well, he's 49 and he's the spitting image of you, except that he looks *older* than you!"

By this time the other old girl is firmly planted, and she says: "I don't care if you hate me, I'm going to stand here and *look* at you."

"Why on earth should I hate you?" says Cary Grant.

"You can say things about me after I'm gone. I don't care, I'm going to stand here and look at you!"

"You poor dear!"

Which she does, all right. She takes it all in; the cleft chin; this great sun tan that looks like it was done on a rotisserie; this great head of steel-gray hair, of which his barber says: "It's real; I swear, I yanked it once"; and the Cary Grant clothes, all worsteds, broadcloths and silks, all rich and understated, like a viola ensemble.

"Poor baby," says Cary Grant, returning to the Vichyssoise. "She meets some one for the first time and already she's saying, 'I don't care if you hate me.' Can you imagine? Can you imagine what must have gone into making someone feel that way?"

Well, whatever it was, poor old baby knows that Cary Grant is one leading man who, at least, might give it a second thought. Somehow Cary Grant, the figure, is the one dreamboat that a lady can walk right up to and touch, pour soul over and commune with.

And by the time Grant's newest picture, "Charade," with Audrey Hepburn, has its premiere at the Radio City Music Hall, thousands will be turning out in lines along 50th St. and Sixth Avenue, many of them in the chill of 6 a. m., in order to get an early seat. This will be Grant's 61st motion picture and his 26th to open at Radio City. He is, indeed, 59 years old, but his drawing power as a leading man, perhaps the last of the genuine "matinee idols," keeps mounting toward some incredible, golden-aged crest. Radio City is like a Nielsen rating for motion pictures. It has a huge seating capacity and is attended by at least as many tourists, from all over the country, as New Yorkers. Grant's 25 premieres there have played a total of 99 weeks. Each one seems to break the records all over again. His last, "That Touch of Mink," with Doris Day, played for 10 weeks and grossed $1,886,427.

And the secret of it all is somehow tied up with the way he lit up two aging dolls in the Edwardian Room at the Plaza Hotel. In an era of Brandoism and the Mitchumism in movie heroes, Hollywood has left Cary Grant, by default in sole possession of what has turned out to be a curiously potent device. Which is to say, to women he is Hollywood's lone example of the Sexy Gentleman. And to men and women, he is Hollywood's lone example of a figure America, like most of the West, has needed all along: a Romantic Bourgeois Hero.

One has only to think of what the rest of Hollywood and the international film industry, for that matter, have been up to since World War II. The key image in film heroes has certainly been that of [illegible] Douglas, John Wayne, Burt Lancaster, Robert Mitchum, Victor Mature, William Holden, Frank Sinatra—and already the mind is overpowered by an awesome montage of swung fists, bent teeth, curled lips, popping neck veins, and gurglings. As often as not the Brandoesque hero's love partner is some thyroid hoyden, as portrayed by Brigitte Bardot, Marilyn Monroe, Jayne Mansfield, Gina Lollobrigida or, more recently, Sue Lyons and Tuesday Weld. The upshot has been the era of Rake-a-Cheek Romance on the screen. Man meets woman. She rakes his cheek with her fingernails. He belts her in the chops. They fall in a wallow of passion on the nearest flat surface.

The spirit of these romances, as in so many of the early Brando, James Dean and Rock Hudson pictures, has been borrowed from what Hollywood imagines to be the beer-and-guts verve of the guys-and-dolls lower classes. Undoubtedly, the rawness, the lubricity, the implicit sadism of it has excited moviegoers of all classes. Yet it should be clear even to Hollywood how many Americans, at rock bottom, can find no lasting identification with it. The number of American men who can really picture themselves coping with a little bleached hellion who is about to rake a cheek and draw blood with the first kiss is probably embarrassingly small. And there are probably not many more women who really wish to see Mister Right advancing toward them in a torn strap-style undershirt with his latissimae dorsae flexed.

After all, this is a nation that, except for a hard core of winos at the bottom and a hard crust of aristocrats at the top, has been going gloriously middle class for two decades, as far as the breezeways stretch. There is no telling how many millions of American women of the new era know exactly what Ingrid

and shamelessness of the newspaper and the interviewer, the devouring *publicity* of life, the extinction of all sense between public and private." Henry James was to write these words in his notebook long after his Tribune phase. When he turned to that newspaper originally, however, it was because he esteemed it, and because it had been esteemed in the James family. His father had been a friend of Horace Greeley during the fight for abolition, and had sent long, unjournalistic letters from Europe during the family's wanderings abroad in the 1850s, which the paper had published. Here was precedent enough for his second son.

The novelist was to describe, 40 years later, how as a small boy he was taken by his father to The Tribune offices, "a wonderful world indeed with strange steepnesses and machineries and noises and hurrying bare-armed, bright-eyed men, and amid the agitation clever, easy, kindly, jocular, partly undressed gentlemen (it was always July or August) some of whom I knew at home, taking it all as if it were the most natural place in the world." He remembered some of the talk, too, among the newspaper people. One man spoke of the French theater, of an actress, Madame Judith, who was going to steal the laurels from the brow of Rachel. And another told how he had just come back from Chicago; the city was but a year or two old, "with plank sidewalks when there were any, and holes and humps where there were none, and shanties where there were not big blocks, and everything where there had yesterday been nothing." James wrote: "I became aware of the Comedie. I became aware of Chicago." The newspaper was "big to me with the breath of great vague connections."

For the adult Henry James the connections were no longer vague. He was acquainted with John Hay, who had been one of Lincoln's secretaries and was now associated with The Tribune in various capacities that ranged from reporter to editorial writer. To him Henry first broached his idea that he might become a Paris correspondent. The newspaper had been using a Parisian chronicle written by Arsene Houssaye, a popular devotee of the arts, who had served for a time as administrator of the French national theater. He specialized in novelty and human interest; his letters retailed gossip and miscellaneous impressions. But his correspondence was written in French, and one of Hay's jobs was to translate it. Henry James' letters would have the advantage of being written directly for publication; they would, moreover, reflect an American, rather than French, point of view.

The history of Henry James' relations with The Tribune can be briefly told. If James admitted to his family in Cambridge that he was having difficulty putting his letters together, he gave no inkling of this to Whitelaw Reid. He is always his usual cool, businesslike, professional self in the correspondence with the editor.

What is quite clear, as we have seen from the family correspondence, is that Henry James increasingly found this task, so lightly undertaken, to be artistically if not financially unprofitable. By midsummer, when he had written 19 letters, he could calculate that they had yielded him the tidy sum of $380 in gold, and he knew that he had been as well paid for them as anything he did for The Nation. He may not have been aware that he was being paid on the whole at the same rate as most of The Tribune's special correspondents. But he conceivably might have argued that as a novelist with a rising reputation he was entitled to special consideration. The letter he wrote to Reid on July 25, from Normandy, gave no reasons, but quite simply suggested that he be paid half as much again for each letter. Conceivably he felt that his trial period with the paper was over and that he was now entitled to receive the same amount as had been paid his predecessor, Houssaye.

Reid's reply was unexpected. Instead of agreeing to the increase, or refusing it, he offered a general evaluation of James' work for The Tribune and proposed a compromise. He explained that James' subjects were often "too remote from popular interests" and that it was possible to overestimate the newspaper's "literary culture." He reminded Henry that readers of newspapers were often hurried and liked brevity, variety, and topics of wide interest; they were more likely to read a letter of one column than of two. He therefore proposed that Henry James alter the character of his letters: make them shorter and more "newsy" and also less frequent, especially since a Presidential election was in the offing.

The letter reached James at the Chateau de Varennes, near Montargis, where he was spending a pleasant vacation with American friends. Although it was a wholly reasonable reply, it went beyond mere negotiations of an increase and touched James' professional problems. Reid, the brilliant reporter and editor, only five years James' senior, was in reality telling the novelist that however admirable literary culture might be, it required a certain process of transformation to be acceptable in the columns of a newspaper. His concluding remark had a peculiar and painful force: freely translated it could mean only that James' work had, in fact, not been good enough as journalism. The novelist was left defenseless. Reid's commitment as editor forced him to take the journalist's point of view. James' dedication as artist and professional man of letters determined his reaction. The pen which answered Whitelaw Reid, from the comfortable tower guest room of the Chateau de Varennes, was perhaps more incisive than it had ever been writing for The Tribune.

James began mildly enough, but what had begun as a gentle answer ended in unconcealed anger, suggesting that Reid's carefully chosen words, intended to distinguish between the quality of James' writing and its usefulness in a newspaper, had wholly failed of effect. To tell James that his work was "too good" was also to tell him that he could not catch the pulse of the public. Reid had offered the precise criticisms which William James had repeatedly hammered at his brother: that he was too analytical, too refined, super-subtle. The intolerable irony was that all of Henry James' efforts had been directed at achieving the very objectives Reid held up for him, "brevity, variety, and topics of wide interest." He had tried to write about matters which interested him, but without the certainty that they were of interest to his audience; he had on occasion been stilted in manner when he believed himself to be natural; he had been subtle even when he thought he was being obvious. Had he not, indeed, been trying to make a sow's ear out of a silk purse?

Here the incident might be expected to close. In due course James tired of Paris and moved to London. His failure as a journalist may have contributed to his Parisian ennui. If his siege of Paris was not going well, he would lay siege to London. The British capital surrendered quickly. Within two years Henry James was a lion in Victorian society, the celebrated author of *Daisy Miller*, a writer whose works were in constant demand in the magazines. The little unpleasantness with The Tribune had been left far behind. When the novelist revisited the United States in 1881, bringing with him his new renown as the author of *The Portrait of a Lady*, he dined with Whitelaw Reid in the latter's New York home during Christmas week; and two years later they exchanged friendly letters when Henry asked to have certain of his old Tribune columns copied for inclusion in one of his travel volumes.

The Henry James-Whitelaw Reid correspondence sampled below traces some high points in James' abortive career as a journalist.

(John Hay to Whitelaw Reid, July 24, 1875.)

> Henry James Jr. wants to write for The Tribune, letters from Paris, where he is going to live for some time to come. He considers The Tribune the only paper where business could be combined with literary ambition. I hope you will engage him instead of Houssaye. He will write better letters than anybody—you know his wonderful style and keen observation of life and character. He has no hesitation in saying that he can beat Houssaye on his own ground, gossip and chronicle, and I agree with him. Besides, his name is almost, if not quite, equally valuable—and far more regarded by cultivated people. He would cost not more than half what Houssaye costs [counting translation] and I think his letters would be about twice as good. He would not interfere with Huntington but would simply take Houssaye's place—and in my opinion fill it much better.
>
> He will start in the autumn some time. You might let Houssaye run on until James gets there and then discharge him with a Grantish letter telling him how delighted you and the public have been with his letters, but that the labor of translation has been very difficult and now has become almost impossible through the removal from New York of the invaluable roster who did it, etc., etc.
>
> In short, this is the statement. You pay Houssaye $30 for a not very good letter and me, Heaven knows how much for translating it. For, say, $20 or $25 James will write you a much better letter and sign his name to it.
>
> His address is 20 Quincy St., Cambridge, Mass. You can write to him or to me.

(Whitelaw Reid to John Hay, July 27, 1875.)

> *My dear Hay:*
>
> I agree with you about Houssaye more fully probably than you expected. My plan about him, as I think I mentioned to you [word illegible], was to let him run on five or six weeks and then, unless he [wore?] well, look up some other novelty. Only the other day we were saying that it was [now?] enough to keep up Houssaye, like John Paul and other light matter, through the summer, but that in the autumn or winter we should have to make a change.
>
> I think exceedingly well of Henry James, though in view of Huntington I doubt whether it is desirable to pay him more than $20 a letter.

(Continued on page 24)

Henry James, Newspaperman

(Continued from page 15)

> [We? He?] should want to use his signature, I think [or?] his initial and identify them at the [end?].
>
> If you like pray go ahead and make the bargain with him. I should not, however, make it for any fixed length of time. The [Tribune constituency?] loves a change now and then except in the case of a few men like Smalley who are perennial favorites. . . .
>
> *Faithfully yours,*
> *Whitelaw Reid*

Memorandum by Whitelaw Reid, August 11, 1875.

> Henry James Jr. is engaged to do Paris letters in place of Houssaye at $20 gold, per letter, to begin about 25th October, 1875.

(Henry James to Whitelaw Reid, from Paris, 29 rue de Luxembourg, November 22, 1875.)

> *My dear Sir:*
>
> I enclose herewith my first attempt at a letter to The Tribune. I hope it will pass muster. I have been here but a few days and feel by no means *au courant* or wound up to the writing pitch. This is a thing which will have to come little by little; the lapse of time will help me more and more to do as I desire. Meanwhile I will do what I can. I have unfortunately had no Tribune at hand, and have not been able to take a very accurate measure of my copy. I am afraid there will be rather too much than too little. I hope, however, that there will be about just enough. Let me also hope that any heading or [illegible] to the letter will be as brief and simple as you make new friends.
>
> I beg of you, if Mr. Hay is in New York, to commend me very kindly to him.
>
> *Yours very truly,*
> *Henry James Jr.*

(Excerpt from a letter from Whitelaw Reid to George W. Smalley, London correspondent of The Tribune and continental chief of Tribune correspondents, January 15, 1876.)

> Probably your inquiry about Paris correspondence may need a word of explanation. My understanding was that you were to undertake to furnish a good weekly letter from Paris, securing some correspondent who was satisfactory both to you and ourselves, and any arrangement we might make with Henry James would be wholly outside of that. The regular Paris correspondent [would?] deal with politics, news, [whatsoever?] may be appropriate. James' letters would be, like Houssaye's, things apart. The same with Trollope. We may or may not continue him, but he is, of course, outside the arrangement made with you. . . .

(Whitelaw Reid to Henry James, March 27, 1876.)

> *Dear Sir:*
>
> I have yours of the 11th inst. enclosing your tenth letter to The Tribune and asking payment for that number. Our representative in London, Mr. Geo. W. Smalley, 15 Pall Mall, will on receipt of this forward you the amount.
>
> I assume your plans are not likely to take you much away from Paris for some months to come. If I am wrong in this I should be glad

(Continued on page 26)

Henry James, Newspaperman

(Continued from page 26)

In addition to this we have feared that your letters were sometimes on topics too remote from popular interests to please more than a select few of our readers. The Tribune constituency is undoubtedly the most intelligent one possessed by any of the widely circulated newspapers, but it is certainly possible to overestimate its literary culture and interest in the [pure?] literary treatment of a subject. We must not forget that the people who read newspapers are often hurried and nearly always [we find?] that they like brevity, variety, and topics of wide interest—that they are much more likely to read a one-column letter than one of two columns, and that even when the limit is fixed at a column it is best, as the candid churchgoer said to his parson, to err on the side of mercy.

If you can adopt this suggestion, I think you will agree with me that there would then be less occasion for a change in the rate of payment.

You must not imagine that any of us have failed to appreciate the admirable work you have done for us. The difficulty has sometimes been not that it was too good, but that it was magazine rather than newspaper work.

Very truly yours,
Whitelaw Reid

(Henry James to Whitelaw Reid, Chateau de Verennes, August 30, 1876.)

Dear Mr. Reid:

I have just received your letter of August 10th. I quite appreciate what you say about the character of my letters, and about their not being the right sort of thing for a newspaper. I have, half unhesitatingly, been from time to time [illegible] feel, I myself had wondered whether you could make room for them during the present and coming time at home, and I can easily imagine that the general reader should feel indisposed to give the time requisite for reading them. They would, as you say, be more in place in a magazine. But I am afraid I can't assent to your proposal that I should try and write otherwise. I know the sort of letter you mean—it is doubtless the proper sort of thing for The Tribune to have. But I can't produce it—I don't know how and I couldn't learn how. It would cost me really more trouble than to write as I have been doing (which comes tolerably easy to me) and it would be poor economy for me to try and become "newsy" and gossipy. I am too finical a writer and I should be constantly becoming more "literary" than is desirable. To resist this tendency would be rowing upstream and would take much time and pains. If my letters have been "too good" I am honestly afraid that they are the poorest I can do, especially for the money! I had better, therefore, suspend them altogether. I have enjoyed writing them, however, and if The Tribune has not been the better for them I hope it has not been too much the worse. I shall doubtless have sooner or later a discreet successor. Believe me, with the best wishes,

Very truly yours,
Henry James Jr.

(Henry James to Whitelaw Reid, Boston, 131 Mt. Vernon St., July 22, 1883.)

Dear Mr. Reid:

I wonder if it would be in your power to direct a slight service to be performed for my advantage? If this is the case I shall be very grateful.

(Continued on next page)

Henry James, Newspaperman

(Continued from page 29)

Several years ago—in the winter, spring, and summer of 1876—I wrote from Paris certain letters—some dozen in all, I suppose, to The Tribune. The question has come up of my collecting into a volume various sketches of travel that I have produced during the last 10 years; and it occurs to me that in this collection portions of those letters may be adapted to figure. But I haven't the articles themselves—they are buried, so far as I have kept them, in the interstices of a heap of luggage that I have stowed away in Europe. Might this appeal to you have the result of supplying the void? In other words, are the back numbers of The Tribune, as far back as 1876, preserved at the office, and would it be in your power to ask one of your myrmidons to search among them for those that contain my letters? I don't want all of them, but as I am unable to specify, it would be well, I am afraid, that all of them should, if possible, be sent. They are comprised within the said year 1876, and are in almost all cases, I think, surmounted with my name. For any trouble connected with this undertaking I should be much your debtor, even if it should not prove wholly fruitful. I have been in America these seven months, but only a few days in New York or I should have seen you. I have been detained in this place, and am still detained by family affairs. I beg to be kindly recalled to Mrs. Reid, and am very truly yours,

Henry James

(Henry James to Whitelaw Reid, Boston, Mount Vernon St., July 27, 1883.)

Dear Mr. Reid:

I thank you kindly for your note of the 24th in regard to my old letters in The Tribune and for the information you caused to be collected for me on the subject. This information is valuable and helps to solve my difficulty. You are so good as to say that it would be in your power to have such of the letters as I would wish, copied for me in the office. I shall take the liberty of profiting by this offer and asking you to please direct three of them to be transcribed—the only ones I desire. When the copies are sent me, be so good as to order that a note of the cost be sent with them that I may transmit to the office the sum.

Very truly yours,
Henry James

To the copyist. Please leave a considerable margin.

(Henry James to Whitelaw Reid, Newport, R. I., August 8, 1883.)

Dear Mr. Reid:

Your note of the 1st was last night forwarded to me from Boston, having been kept there for some days, with many other letters, while I was moving from one place to another. It was accompanied by the three letters from The Tribune, in the original text and most neatly and conveniently arranged. I thank you extremely for the attention you have given to my request, and I am especially indebted to the ingenious young Drury, whose researches were so brilliantly conducted. Will you please cause him to be assured of my thanks and direct that the enclosed note ($5.00) be delivered to him for his trouble in looking up the papers? I hope you are not personally in New York, in this fine summer weather, as much as you are officially.

Very faithfully yours,
Henry James

U. G. M.
June 1934

A JAMESIAN ADVENTURE REVEALED

By Dr. Harold A. Larrabee

Professor Austin Warren's new and excellent biography "The Elder Henry James"* supplies some astonishing and amusing information to fill the gap which has hitherto existed in the college career at Union of that eminent member of the Class of 1830, father of William James the philosopher and Henry James the novelist. The hiatus occurs in the middle term of his senior year, for which, in the College records, no grades whatever are recorded. We now know why. Henry had run away to Boston!

Professor Warren has had the good fortune to discover in the Widener Library at Harvard (in the Theatre Collection incidentally) three letters which tell the story of the "clash of wills" between Henry and his stern and opulent sire, that William James of Albany (see "High Finance at Union" in the February issue of this publication) who had been the financial "angel" of President Nott. Says the new biography: "The elder James was much alarmed at these evidences of worldliness—and worse—in his son; and bestirred his friend, the distinguished lawyer, Archibald McIntyre, to write the youth a letter of warning. Under the date of November 12, 1829, McIntyre rebukes the worldling:

> "I have heard, and your friends generally have heard enough of your conduct to cause us much pain and solicitude for your safety and future usefulness. I consider you on the very verge of ruin. . . . Allow me then to entreat that you will for the future repose yourself upon your father and mother, and take their advice in everything. Indulge in no expenses whatever that shall not be known to and approved by them. . . . Let your studies too as far as possible be conformable to your father's wishes. You intimated to me that you disliked the law. . . . On speaking to your father on this head, however, I found him inflexibly fixed on your studying the law, or at all events on studying one of the learned professions. . . .
>
> "Some consider you already as lost, irretrievably lost. I am not, however, one of those. I cannot believe that a young man of good parts, with wealth to support him in well doing (but with none without performing his duty), with numerous and anxious friends, can be such an idiot as to throw away all these advantages, and become a loathing to himself and his best friends."

This mixture of threats and entreaties seems to have been wholly ineffectual, because a few weeks later, on December 2nd, we find William James irately informing McIntyre that Henry

> "has so debased himself as to leave his parents house in the character of a swindler, etc. etc.—details presented today—are the order which I enclose as a specimen of his progress in arts of low vileness and unblushing falsehood;—such will be practiced in N. Y.—in book stores—Taylors, etc.—and in the same as dfts on me etc.;—all of which will meet him direct—and lodge him in a prison of some kind directly; a fellow from Schenectady was after him today for 50 to 60 drs—(in a note I understand) for segars and oysters . . . Townsend Sons and others from the College have reported through the City—that he is gone to Boston—and I understand he told the man who gave the cloth that he was going there—but deception is of no conse-

* The Macmillan Company, 1934. $2.50. Quotations by special permission of the copyright owners, The Macmillan Company.

quence in his case—they will find him and he will find his reward, poor being. . . "

The contrast between these dire and frantic prophecies of his stern parent, and the picture presented by Henry's letter on January 30, 1830, to Captain Isaac Jackson, tutor in mathematics at Union, evidently his best friend at college, is so immense as to be little short of comical. Far from tenanting the gutter as his father had predicted, Henry depicts himself as the very paragon of industry and virtue, "enjoying, with the gusto persistently his, the pleasures, social and sermonic, of Boston."

"After all the great step has been taken, and I am alone in my pilgrimage. . . . Here I am in the good town of *Bosting* very comfortably situated on the first floor (not the basement) of a four story house on Hancock Street, occupied by Mr. Jenks (Editor of the Unitarian *Christian Examiner*). The room contains a very valuable and curious libarary (4 large cases). My bed stands in a neat recess, on either side of which opens a handsome closet. I am sitting on a snug sofa. . . . On my left is a cheerful Lehigh fire; under my feet a warm carpet and over my head a painting of Lorenzo de Medici, by Mrs. Jenks. This room is sacred to me.

"Mr. Jenks ranks high as a scholar, and is very liberal in encouragement. He will afford me during the first year of my stay about $200 exclusive of my board and lodging in his own family. I am occupied about 8 hours per day, in reading proofs etc. This has been called by Mr. McIntyre 'drudgery.' But it is quite a misnomer. I have to search out every quotation (say in Paley's Nat. Theoly. which Mr. J. is now publishing) and ascertain whether it be correct; and if it be not, to amend it. When a short notice may be wanting for the *Examiner* etc. I am expected to prepare it. . . . I now go on with the study of languages much more thoroughly than I should have found it necessary had I remained at home. It is indispensable that I should. My ambition is awakened; I have here every advantage, and the least shall not be neglected.

"I have been introduced into some of the first society here, and almost all I know afford me every requisite attention. Mrs. Jenks is one of the most accomplished ladies of the city. Miss J. her sister in law, is a very amiable sensible young lady, and withal an enchanting singer. So you see into what a circle I have been launched! Mr. Jenks is, you know, a Unitarian, but in no way anxious to direct me in the choice of a preacher. I hear Dr. Channing occasionally and I should never wish a higher treat than one of his practical sermons. Mr. Potter (son-in-law of Dr. Nott), however, who has been exceedingly kind to me, has numbered me among his hearers. Mrs. Potter is what Eve might have been before the Fall. Listening and looking upon her sometimes, I am apt to wish with the Psalmist, neither poverty nor riches, but just such a wife as Mrs. Potter; (by the way, what a horrid name for *that* woman)."

How the future free-lance theologian managed to tear himself away from the hospitable Jenkses in Boston, we do not yet know; but somehow he must have been induced to return to Union in time to complete the work of the final term of his senior year and to graduate with his class.

Professor Warren pays deserved tribute to Dr. Nott's influence as "the most telling that was brought to bear upon James in his student days, and surely one of the principal forces concurring to foster his own liberalism." His full-length portrait of the elder Henry is distinguished for the genuine sympathy and insight with which he depicts a flavorsome personality difficult to capture on the printed page. His subject emerges from this book not only at full stature as a thinker, but also as an extraordinarily likeable and understandable person—no mean achievement. The book belongs high in rank among biographies of Union graduates.

HIGH FINANCE AT UNION

1814—1833

By Codman Hislop '31

On August 13, 1803, William James, merchant of Albany, entered into his first agreement with Union College. One Richard Allenson, carpenter, who had been engaged to do the interior trim and flooring of the stone college then in the process of erection, on lower Fonda or Union Street, found himself unable to complete his contract, because, as the minutes of Union College board of trustees phrased it, 'he is now in the gaol of Albany.' Carpenter Allenson, perturbed at the loss of his fat wage, offered a 'Mr. James, merchant,' as surety that the contract would be completed on time. The name of James evidently carried weight with the trustees, because their minutes indicate their resolution 'to enter into an arbitration bond with Mr. James.'

For the next 18 years the merchant of Albany and Union College went their separate and profitable ways, the one gathering immense wealth and the other legions of students.

The year following Mr. Allenson's slight difficulty with the Albany authorities, 1804, gave to Union the man who was to general these legions, garrisoned in what was then an outpost of civilization, populated by people who could still remember all too vividly the screech of the Algonquins, who could smell in their dreams the smoke drifting down from the ruins of their own sacked farms. Rev. Eliphalet Nott, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Albany since 1800, a trustee of the new college, became in 1804, its fourth president, and shortly, America's most famous educator. He worked for 18 years with Mr. James' help. He blew custom to the winds. He intimidated his trustees into doing anything he wished them to do. He turned Union into an educational monastery as an advertising stunt designed to appeal to timid parents. It did. In 1805 he lobbied the New York State legislature into giving him $80,000. Because this endowment was in the form of a lottery grant, and controlled by the inefficient state department, it took the Rev. Mr. Nott 10 years to collect—a most unsatisfactory business from his point of view. In 1814 he went back to Albany and demanded $200,000—and got it—in the form of another lottery, of course, to which several neighboring institutions (Hamilton College, the College of Physicians and Surgeons, Columbia University, and the Asbury African Negro Church) had hooked their financial bandwagons when they discovered how easily the Rev. Mr. Nott was securing state-authorized funds.

Mr. James, merchant of Albany, must have been highly amused as he watched the machinations of the president from Schenectady — easy money. His own time was not far off.

Union College, and the other bandwagon institutions, waited. No money. They continued to wait. The managers of the lotteries for the state were dubs. Their advertising was bad. They failed to sell tickets. Deliberately they slept. The illustrious Eliphalet nervously entertained himself by tearing to pieces Lord Kames's textbook on "The Elements of Criticism" for the edification of an ever-increasing throng of students. He invented trick hats in defiance of the current style; he wore ruts in the Albany road trying to get that $200,000. Finally, in disgust, he went to see a former parishioner—the rich merchant whose "fat Andrews" by this time had returned him more money than dozens of James descendants were ever able to spend. On May 1, 1821, the impatient doctor borrowed $56,000 from William James, giving as security bonds owned by Union College to the sum of $132,000. One imagines Mr. James rubbing his hands gleefully—the interest rate was six and a half per cent and the security was as good as treasury notes. And Dr. Nott said he would pay the money back in four years. Mr. James hoped so.

Still the bandwagons waited. Nothing happened. No money. The 'late war' had been expensive; and the state was too busy anyhow giving away the public lands and dreaming about a fine new canal.

The Rev. President was not the man to let a mere legislature go to sleep on him. He put by Lord Kames and the new interest in anthracite stoves, and hurried off to Albany again. He cajoled this man and flattered that one. He wrote letters to them, and banged on innumerable tables. In 1822 he got what he set out for: 'An Act to Limit the Continuance of Lotteries,' whereby the state grants of 1814 must be run off in 11 years, and in which was incorporated the provision that the handling of lotteries should be given into the control of the institutions to which the grants had been made. Dr. Nott was immensely pleased with himself, but the bandwagon institutions grumbled. They had no time to fiddle with finance. And then Dr. Nott did something that must have won the merchant of Albany's undying admiration. He bought up the bandwagons. He gave the Asbury African Negro Church $4,000. He gave the College of Physicians and Surgeons $30,000. He went again to Mr. James and borrowed $33,000, which he immediately handed over to Hamilton College for its share. Then he was free of them.

Dr. Nott was now the sole manager (by agreement with his amenable trustees) of a lottery the ticket value of which was $4,492,000, 15% of

which was to go to the institutions to which the grant had been made. But the bandwagons had been dropped and the Union College claim was the only claim. Of this comfortable sum the manager of the lottery was to ..ve 6¼% on the value of the tickets sold as remuneration for selling them. Dr. Nott had good reason to think well of himself, and Merchant James had good reason to think well of Dr. Nott.

By the middle of May, 1823, Union College was indebted to William James in the sum or $71,000, for which Eliphalet Nott had pledged, in anticipation of future returns on the lottery venture, not only bonds and mortgages, but, as the deed itself ran, 'land in the first ward of the City of Schenectady which includes 67 acres near Troy turnpike; also the new college edifices and all the houses standing on the premises.' Not a bad day's work, signing away the college in the hope of future lottery returns. Merchant James was in serious danger of becoming an educator, a state of affairs he might not have appreciated had he forseen the subsequent development of events.

Lottery-Manager Nott felt that active participation in the business of 'running off' the various series of tickets was somewhat beneath the dignity of President Nott. To avoid this predicament he engaged the firm of Yates and McIntyre, professional lottery operators, to do the actual work for him. They were to receive for their services 4% of the 15% allowed the institutions, which left the Rev. President with a prospective 2¼% on $4,492,000, no work, and what he hoped would be no responsibility. And Yates and McIntyre were bound by law to pay in 11 years.

For some time everything progressed smoothly. Merchant James collected his 6½% interest, Dr. Nott taught Kames, made stoves, entertained the Marquis de Lafayette, and deposited neat sums in the president's fund, which he liked to call the residuary fund.

And then something blew up. On January 4, 1826, Yates and McIntyre wrote to Dr. Nott in part as follows: 'It has become necessary to inform you that such have been our losses that we have no reasonable prospect of being able to pay the sum stipulated or even to pay the prizes in the lottery now pending unless we can procure immediately pecuniary assistance to a large amount. If such assistance can be procured we are confident that we shall fulfill our contract with the college and save our other creditors harmless. In view of the circumstances we have thought it our duty to propose that you and the treasurer should raise for our immediate relief $100,000.'

The day the reverend president received that letter must have been a bad day. The college had pledged its bonds and its property to Mr. James on the future of those lotteries. And now Dr. Nott was asked to go forth

and find almost twice as much as the college had already borrowed. But Dr. Nott was not a quitter. He had set out to build a college, and if another trip to Albany would do the job, travel he would.

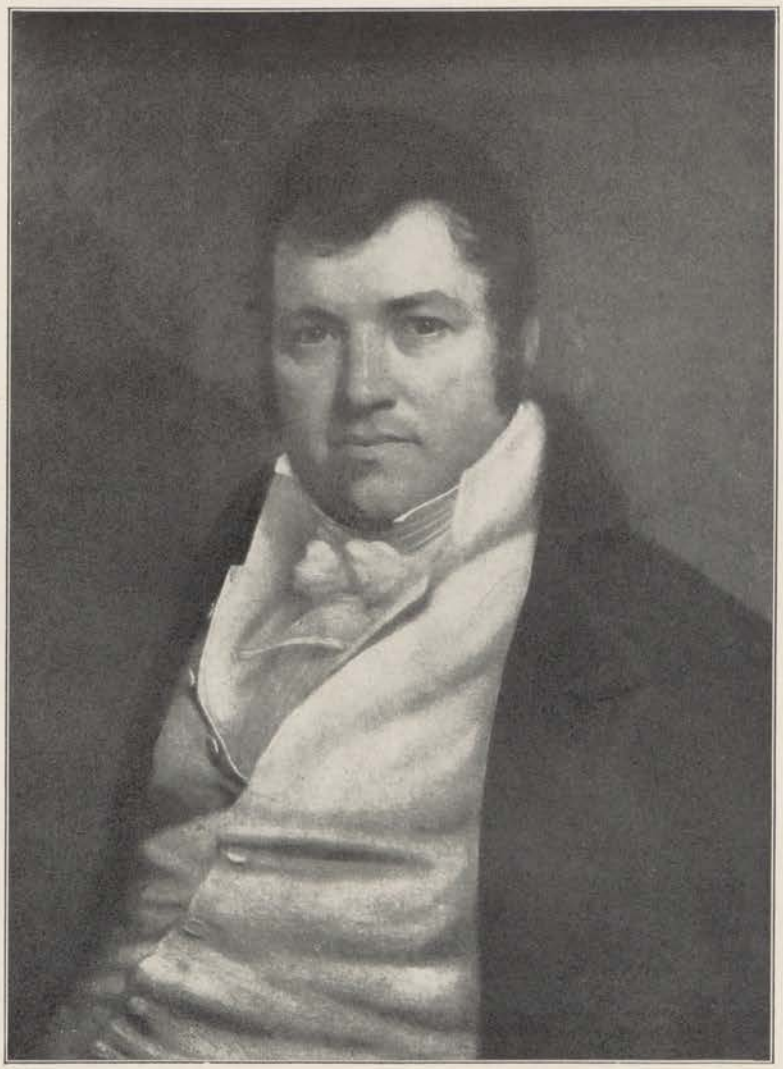
What he said to the merchant-educator no one will ever know, but on January 11, 1826, the following agreement was signed: 'Whereas William James has become bound for John B. Yates and Archibald McIntyre, contractors under the trustees of Union College for the drawing of the lotteries they have (a few words here in the original document are illegible) for the purpose of enabling the said Yates and McIntyre to pay prizes that may be drawn in the sum of $100,000.' William James was probably as badly scared as Eliphalet Nott, although not so scared that he neglected to extract a personal agreement from Treasurer Henry Yates and the president to make good any losses he might sustain. The interest rate was still 6½%.

On January 12, 1826, after what was probably a most unpleasant night, Dr. Nott wrote to Treasurer Yates the following amazing letter, which reads in part: 'You and I have such unlimited powers and have used them so boldly and so frequently without ever consulting the resident trustees, who are a standing committee with powers on all emergencies, that I feel anxious in the first place to arm ourselves and prepare for our justification in case of the worst—and having done so to prevent disaster contemplated—and if going even further than we have gone will prevent it—my advice is to go still farther and to stick at nothing but impossibilities, for if we are able to show that we have gone into these varied and bold measures really to preserve and advance the interests of the concern trusted to us—whatever may be the result and however we may be charged with imprudence, our characters will not suffer—and this is what has chiefly given me uneasiness—and the more so as I know there are people who would make the worst use of our errors.' The postscript which concludes the letter holds the key to Nott's character: After admitting what if it had been publicly known, would have precipitated a giddy scandal at the time, the man calmly wrote as an appendix to this letter, 'Purchase for me such a set of pencils as your brother's of the best kind.'

The $100,000 which William James advanced to Yates and McIntyre seemed to do the trick. The prize drawings were 'run off' smoothly for some time. During the next year, July, 1827, Merchant James became Trustee James of Union College and significantly enough a member of the finance committee. There is no reason to believe that this sudden honor had anything to do with this estimable gentleman's enthusiasm for higher education.

William James enters the lottery picture but once more. The occasion is one on which the lottery managers, Yates and McIntyre, take mournful comfort in pointing a moral lesson for the edification of their employer, Super-Lottery Manager Nott. On November 8, 1828, they wrote to him as follows: 'We have received from Mr. James notice in writing that he will no longer indorse us, except for such notes as shall fall due before the first day of January. If this be his unalterable decision I would desire to know it. I regret exceedingly that a state of things to which I alluded in a former communication is so soon to be brought about. It is always dangerous to be in the power of any one man and we will probably be taught that by experience.'

From 1826 until the conclusion of the lottery contract in 1833 matters between Dr. Nott and his managers went from bad to worse. The college managed eventually to collect some $276,000 for its endowment. The president's fund finally became a subject for legislative investigation, the result of which was the complete vindication of Dr. Nott. Trustee James (whose son Henry graduated from 'his father's college' in 1830) died in 1832, leaving to his heirs the tangible assets of an unusual college education and to the college a box full of cancelled checks and released securities."



"MR. JAMES, MERCHANT"
He once held a mortgage on all that Union possessed

the first William of that name, rich merchant in Albany, was at one time a Trustee of the College; and his son, the first Henry, was a graduate of Union in the Class of 1830.

It was the two sons of this first Henry who brought the family a worldwide reputation. These, of course, were William, the psychologist, and Henry the second, the novelist.

The symposium was held in Bailey Hall with an audience of more than a hundred students and a sprinkling of townspeople. The first speaker was Codman Hislop '31, who told of Dr. Nott's financial relations with William James and how at one time James held a mortgage on the whole College, covering money he had advanced Dr. Nott to pay prizes in the lottery. Mr. Hislop is helping President Day prepare material for a life of Dr. Nott, and his paper was based on those College documents of which we have written so often.

Professor Larrabee discussed the inheritance of the Jameses on the distaff side. Professor Stanley presented a modern view of William James's "will to believe." Professor Wainger spoke of the second Henry's use of the "stream of consciousness" as a viewpoint from which to present character in novels. These speakers were followed by our lecturer, Mr. C. Hartley Grattan; and at the very close the meeting was thrown open to general discussion.

Many years of lecture-going have only confirmed our opinion that the money we spend in this way is largely wasted. Symposiums such as we have described salvage some of it; but we hope the time will come when these so-called lecturers will be visitors to our classrooms, where the undergraduates and faculty alike may profit by an intimate exchange of ideas. Such meetings are always more vital to the lecturers themselves, for they are freed from the necessity of meeting the conventional demands of a public lecture, which often is cautious and dull or only cheaply amusing. When they have to lay their minds alongside those of members of the faculty in the intimate relations of a classroom or a symposium, they are called upon to produce their best and a lot of it.

The Jameses

W. H. M.
March
1933. —

We have Professor Larrabee to thank for organizing the symposiums we have enjoyed on the campus for the past two years. The latest of these was held January 21st and, like the one a year ago, followed an interesting lecture on the topic presented by a speaker on the Ichabod Spencer Foundation. This year it was "The Jameses, a Family of Minds",—of interest to us because

HENRY JAMES: LETTERS TO A. C. BENSON AND AUGUSTE MONOD *edited with an introduction by E. F. Benson* (SCRIBNER'S. $5.00)

THIS well-printed—though oddly and inappropriately bound—volume probably closes the account between James and the Benson family. It was formally opened on "a hot Sunday in the July of 1884", at Cambridge, when A. C. Benson, who had just taken his degree and was still lingering at the University, went to luncheon at the house of Frederic Myers—and met there two guests, each of whom became a faithful, lifelong friend. One of these was "a small, pale, noticeable man, with a short, pointed beard, and with large, piercingly observant eyes. He was elegantly dressed in a light gray suit, with a frock-coat of the same material, and in the open air he wore a white tall hat". Already, indeed, Benson knew some of James's books well; his father—by this time Archbishop of Canterbury—had recently quoted *Roderick Hudson* in a University sermon; and the author of that novel was one of the young graduate's "chief literary heroes". He was inevitably, now, transported with delight at meeting him, at taking him to the service, after luncheon, in the chapel of King's College, and then to tea in his own rooms at King's.

It was a day, surely, deserving the tribute of fond recollection that Benson paid it in his *Memories and Friends*, in the chapter which he there devoted to James. And in that chapter he speaks of having "a large bundle" of his friend's letters. We now know what the bundle contained. Six pieces from

maint[illegible] printed in 1920 by Mr. Percy Lub-

often [illegible]g which he neither saw nor wrot[illegible]m, but, when once the relationship was established, the silver cord was never loosed, and he took hold on it again in all its brightness, and demanded to know all that had happened to the absent and how and when and why. He loved to be cherished in similar fashion and to be held in remembrance, speaking of himself as 'singularly accessible to demonstrations of regard' and thanking heaven that 'for him remembrance was a great romance'. Nothing clouded the clear shining of these relationships: he could be and invariably was critical of his friends, but he wholly rejoiced in their successes and achievements, humourously picturing himself as 'gilded by their effulgence' as he watched their enviable progresses".

Something of all this has been generally known—and it raises an embarrassing question for those who like to insist that James timidly shrank from the real world—but now it is possible to see at full length what this "special relation", not among the most intimate of James's, a "representative" one rather, actually was. And the spectacle is one of beauty—of a beauty scarcely to be realized, however, save from the combined impression made by the whole correspondence, which extends itself over the years from September, 1892, to May, 1915. And so far as it yields to specification, Mr. E. F. Benson has sympathetically pictured—in the passage from his introduction which I have just quoted—the quality of James's devotion to his friends.

For the rest, these letters tell little which cannot be learned from Mr. Lubbock's volumes, though they interestingly supplement that more important collection at various points. For example, in one of the letters printed by Mr. Lubbock, James speaks of a time (May, 1895) when he was acting as a friendly guide to Alphonse Daudet, then staying in London. He had taken Daudet to Windsor and to Eton, where Benson was a master, without notifying the latter of his

bock in *The Letters of Henry James.* The present volume contains fifty more letters to Benson, and a telegram. After the publication of Mr. Lubbock's volumes, complaint was made by some who owned portions of James's correspondence, concerning the letters which that editor had withheld. One cannot know, certainly, what treasures of friendly intercourse, doubtless very numerous, may still lie hidden. Time will show; for beyond question other letters will be published. But meanwhile the first effect of this collection—like that of two other small collections privately printed in 1916 and 1923—is triumphantly to vindicate Mr. Lubbock's taste and judgment. He took from the bundle the six letters which were quite the best for his purpose, and which were also, in themselves, "among the most interesting"—as Mr. E. F. Benson candidly admits in his pleasantly written introduction, in which he sounds the right, true note, though, alas, not without a trace of affectation at the end.

This is not, however, to say that the volume under review is empty of value. On the contrary, it has a special value of its own, which will be gratefully acknowledged by all to whom James is one of the significant figures of the last half-century. For it gives us the complete written record—save for a few notes which, we are told, "deal with mere trivialities"—of one of James's friendships; and this is something that Mr. Lubbock, with his different task and responsibilities, could not do. Yet it was worth doing, because it has an excellent illustrative use. Mr. E. F. Benson very well says: "No one valued and needed friendship more than James, and few can have had a larger company of those with whom he established and

to see him. This provoked a protest, to which James answered: "Strike, but hear me. . . . I weighed the question of notifying you in advance—weighed it anxiously; but the scale against it was pressed down by overwhelming considerations. Daudet is so unwell and fatigable and unable to walk or to mount steps or stairs (he could do Windsor Castle only from the carriage), that I didn't know he would pull through the excursion at all—and I thought it unfair to inflict on you the awkward problem of his getting, or not getting, into your house—of his getting over to Eton at all—and of the five other members of his family being hurled upon you. . . . Still, I had a sneaking romantic *hope* of you. I should have liked them, hungry for the great show, to behold you! As I turned sadly from your 'adorable cottage' and got back into the carriage A. D. said to me—having waited contemplatively during my conference with your domestic: 'Ah, si vous saviez comme ces petits coins d'Angleterre m'amusent!' A. C. B. would have amused him still more. Content yourself, for the hour, my dear Arthur Benson, with 'amusing' a humbler master of *Dichtung*—and an equal one, perhaps, of *Wahrheit*". This explanation led to further correspondence, and an invitation (as we now learn from the new letters under review), in accepting which James added: "Thanks indeed for the little story of the Eton-boy and the Daudet book: it will charm the sensitive Alphonse. I wish he might have done Eton properly—but (though I take them all, woe's the day—7 persons!—to Oxford on Saturday) he is unable to do anything properly. He is not like your Papa and Mamma; whose visit, moreover, is the only thing, I think, I ever envied the Queen. Don't be presented—be like me: be a Rock. Let the Queen be dying to have you—and not have the time. Your '9 maids' sound like the Grand Turk—save for their maidenhood! Will they all wait on me?"

A few other sallies of this kind not only

1830

June 4, 1833

To Henry James of the Class that graduated at Union College, in the year 18 30

(or, if deceased, to the friend or relative who knew him best :)

Sir,—

It is the aim of the subscriber, in collecting the information asked for by the following questions, to obtain materials for a concise Biographical Catalogue of the Trustees, Presidents, Professors and Tutors of Union College;—of those who have received Honorary Degrees from it, and of all who have ever entered that Institution, whether Graduates or not.

That such a work would be interesting and useful to the Alumni, will not be denied; but whether it be practicable, will depend chiefly upon the ready aid which they shall impart. This circular will be sent to every Graduate whose residence is known, (or, if deceased, to some near connection,) and it is confidently expected that no one will neglect to return it in due time, with as full information as circumstances will allow:—some of the questions, indeed, it may not be possible to answer with certainty; others not at all: still, it is hoped that no important facts will be withheld because of their fewness.

Death has removed the twenty-four original Trustees, the first three Presidents, the early Professors and Tutors, and from eight hundred to one thousand of the Alumni of the College. Doubtless their friends and descendants will cheerfully contribute such information as may be necessary to illustrate the lives and services of the departed.

The subscriber desires every aid that may help to throw light upon the personal history of those concerned:—Obituary Notices; Biographical Sketches, Epitaphs, Funeral Sermons, Newspaper Notices of election to important offices or stations, Business Cards and Advertisements; also, copies of their Literary Works, Addresses, Sermons, Essays, Newspapers, engraved Portraits, &c.; all of which will be deposited and preserved in an Alcove of the College Library, to be set apart for "Graduates' Works."

He also requests that all future changes affecting the answers which shall be given, be made known to him from time to time:—especially the deaths of Graduates, and that the usual obituary notices or funeral sermons published on such occasions, be sent with the announcements, as it is his purpose to publish these deaths hereafter once a year.

JONATHAN PEARSON, *Librarian.*

Union College,
Schenectady, N. Y.

Specimens of Biographical Sketches for the proposed Catalogue.

John Glidden Brown was born in Quinnipeck, N. Y., May 2, 1800; parents, James and Elizabeth (Glidden) Brown, who moved to Epsom, N. Y., in 1806. He was prepared for College at Helderbergh High School, under the instruction of Rev. Moses Johnson, and entered Union College Jan. 1817. He studied law with Hon. Septimus H. Smith, of Great Falls; was admitted to the bar in 1821; and commenced the practice of law in Albany, with James S. Van Hoesen, Esq. In 1830 he moved to New-York City, which, thereafter, became his residence. He was Member of N. Y. Assembly 1832–5; State Senator 1836–8; Member of Congress 1839–41; and Judge of the Superior Court 1842–6. He died June 30, 1849, of cholera, aged 49 years. Besides occasional speeches, orations and opinions, he wrote a work on constitutional law, and edited the N. Y. State Papers. He received the Degree of L. L. D. from Hamilton College in 1846.

Joseph Henshaw Luther was born in Hanover, Mass., June 1, 1798; parents, Joseph and Madeline (Henshaw) Luther; prepared for College at Yorkville Academy, John Almy, Esq., Principal; and entered Union College Sept. 1814. He taught, 1818–20, in East Philadelphia, (Penn.) High School; graduated at Princeton Theological Seminary in 1823; and was ordained Sept. 25, 1823, at Marbletown, N. Y.; and was Pastor of the Presbyterian Church till 1825. He was Pastor of the 1st Congregational Church of Haselton, Conn., 1825–30; Professor of Rhetoric in Erie College 1831–40; retired on account of ill health, and now resides in Philadelphia, Pa. He has published six sermons on various occasions; a series of lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres, and the "Communicant's Companion." He received the Degree of D. D. from the Hudson University in 1842.

Thomas Pennington Radway was born Feb. 23, 1778, in Benton, N. Y; parents, John Harmony and Mary (Pennington) Radway; was prepared for College at High Holme School, Rev. Hanover Kelton, Principal; entered Union College Sept. 1795; taught a few months in Suncook, Mass., in 1799; studied medicine with Dr. Jonas Physic and Dr. Abram Potecar, of Camermile; attended medical lectures at the College of Surgeons and Physicians, and was admitted to, and commenced the practice of medicine in La Rhine, in 1806. He was Surgeon in the Army 1813–15, and returned to practice at Oldbary in 1815, where he has since resided. He lectured in the Fairhaven Medical School on Anatomy and Physiology, 1830–5, and has published several articles in the New-York Medical Review, and two larger works on the "Functions of the Brain," and on "Gunshot Wounds."

N. B. 1. Let the answers to the following questions be as full and *authentic* as possible; but when doubtful let them be marked thus (?).
2. When the person is deceased let some near relative or friend fill out the blanks to the best of his knowledge; if he have but *one fact*, let that be sent.
3. Let as much time be taken as may be found necessary for this purpose, and no more.
4. In case this sheet be not sufficient to contain all the facts to be sent, add another of the *same size*, if possible, leaving an inner margin of not less than one inch for binding.
5. In cases where no answers to this circular shall be returned, the editor will be obliged to publish such names without any biographical notices, or to rely upon information, gathered from other sources, and, therefore, not always authentic.

INFORMATION REQUIRED FOR THE FOREGOING SKETCHES.

1. Name. Henry James

[Let this be written plainly and the *middle* names in full.]

II. Names of both Parents; thus:—
[John and Elizabeth (Smith) Johnson.]

William and Catherine (Barber) James

III. Birth Place. Albany Birth Day and Year. June 3. 1811

IV. Various residences and dates; thus:—
[Pittsfield, Mass., 1814-24; Albany, N. Y., 1824-30; New-York City, 1830-54.]

Albany 1811–30 Canandaigua & ~~New York~~ Princeton 1830–'36 New York '36–'55

V. At what Academy or Academies prepared for College, with Principals and dates; thus:—
[Albany Academy, Benjamin Allen, L. L. D., 1813-17.]

Albany academy & private tuition

VI. At what College he graduated, and when.

Union College, 1830 (I believe)

VII. The occupation he followed after leaving college before studying his profession; thus:—
[Teaching, Washington, D. C., 1847-48, or Merchant's Clerk, New-York City, 1849-51.]

VIII. The profession he studied; where; with whom; when; thus:—
[Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary, 1822-5 or Law in Albany, N. Y., with Hon. Harmanus Bleecker, 1840-2.]

Theology at Princeton Theological Seminary

IX. Where he has practised his profession, with dates; and in case he be a clergyman, mention the denomination to which he belongs; thus:—
[Epis., Somerville, N. J., 1827-30; Pres., Albany, N. Y., 1830-5; New-York City, 1835-54.]

Never graduated in the Ministry.

X. The other occupations he has followed; when and where; thus:—
[Merchant, Rochester, N. Y., 1829-35; or Farmer, Genesee, N. Y., 1835-54; or Manufacturer, Schoharie, N.Y., 1841-48; or Professor, teacher, banker, editor, &c.

Author & Student

XI. The important offices he has held, with dates; thus:—
[Surrogate of Jefferson Co., N. Y., 1839-41 and 1845-7; Member of Congress, 21st district, N. Y., 1841-43; Member of Assembly, of N. Y., 1821-4, &c., &c.]

XII. The Literary or Scientific Works he has written or edited.
[Copies are solicited for the "Graduates Alcove" in College Library.]

"Moralism & Christianity" "Lectures & Miscellanies"
"The Church of Xt not an Ecclesiasticism". "The Nature of Evil."

XIII. The names of his relatives who graduated at Union College.

XIV. The literary, professional, or honorary titles he received; from whence, with dates; thus:—
[M. D., from Albany Medical College 1845; or LL. D., Amherst College, 1850, &c.]

XV. Is there an engraved portrait of him?
[One or two copies, together with his autograph, are solicited for College Library.]

XVI. The date, circumstances, and place of his death.
[Send any printed notice, biographical sketch, funeral sermon, &c. In many instances more space will be required to answer this and the three following questions, in which case add an additional sheet.]

XVII. General information respecting character, services, success, interesting passages and events in his life, &c.

XVIII. Some account of his pedigree and family; its original seat in this or the old country, &c., &c.

XIX. List of such graduates as may not be *widely* known; their residences, professions, dates of deaths, &c.; the name and residence, also, of some near friend of the deceased, that further information may be sought for; thus:—

[John Orton Smith, Banker, Chicopee, Mass., died 1848. His brother, Joseph H. Smith, resides in Springfield, Mass.]

Henry James
Rev. AB 1830

Henry James
AB - 1830

Henry James - AB - 1830