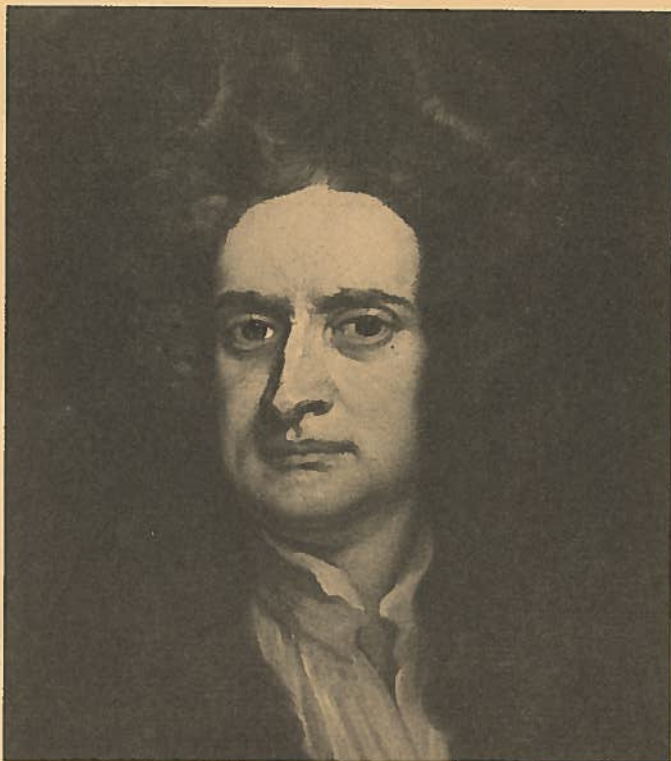




# THE CLARK NEWSLETTER

NUMBER 6

SPRING 1984



Sir Isaac Newton, from an eighteenth-century copy at the Clark of Sir Godfrey Kneller's 1702 portrait.

## Newton Manuscript Documents a Celebrated Quarrel

The Clark Library has recently acquired a manuscript of historic significance in one of the most celebrated controversies in eighteenth-century English astronomy—between the Reverend John Flamsteed (1646–1719), first Astronomer Royal at Greenwich, on the one hand, and, on the other, Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727), President of the Royal Society, and Dr. Edmond Halley (1656–1742), former Assistant Secretary and future Secretary of the Royal Society, and eventually Flamsteed's successor as Astronomer Royal. This controversy concerned the publication of Flamsteed's astronomical observations and the star catalogues which stemmed from them.

Flamsteed had been appointed King Charles II's "astronomical observator" on 4 March 1675 and was directed "forthwith to apply himself with the most exact care and diligence to the rectifying the tables of the motions of the heavens, and the places of the fixed stars, so as to find out the so much-desired longitude of places for the perfecting the art of navigation" (Royal Warrant, 4 March 1675, printed in Francis Baily, *An Account of the Rev<sup>d</sup> John Flamsteed* [Lon-

don, 1835], 111–12). A site for the new Royal Observatory was chosen by Sir Christopher Wren, the King's Surveyor General, in Greenwich Park on the foundations of an old royal castle. It was laid out by Robert Hooke to Wren's design. Funds were very short—money was to come from the sale of old and decayed gunpowder (not to exceed £500), roof lead from an old gatehouse at the Tower of London, bricks from a fort being demolished at Tilbury, spars from the Navy Board, copper balls and stone shot from the Office of Ordnance.

At the time our story starts—about 1704—Flamsteed had been laboring for nearly thirty years at a salary of £100 per annum. He observed the sun, moon, planets, and stars—and the occasional comet—with one assistant (whose salary Flamsteed had to pay) and with instruments he had provided himself or was given by Sir Jonas Moore, an early patron. Many of the conclusions drawn by Isaac Newton, leading to his theory of gravitation in the *Principia* of 1687, had been based on Flamsteed's observations during the years when the two were good friends.

In April 1704, a few months after he had been elected President of the Royal Society, Newton visited Flamsteed at Greenwich to discuss plans for publishing Flamsteed's observations, not only the many thousands of actual measurements which had been made but also the places of the moon and planets during those years, together with a star catalogue derived from the observations, thereby fulfilling King Charles's original directive—and also giving Newton the data he needed for the second edition of the *Principia*.

Newton persuaded Prince George of Denmark, consort of the new monarch, Queen Anne, that he should sponsor—and fund—this publication. The Prince proposed that Francis Robartes, Sir Christopher Wren, and Dr. John Arbuthnot should inspect Flamsteed's papers and judge when they were fit for the press. These referees co-opted Francis Aston, David Gregory, and Newton himself, and they all dined together on 19 December. On 23 January 1705 an agreement was finalized with the publisher Awnsham Churchill for four hundred copies of the projected two-volume work, to be printed at a rate of twenty sheets per month. For his part, Flamsteed agreed to provide the manuscripts needed, including the star catalogue that he was compiling from computations made at his own expense. Flamsteed was to receive £125 on delivery of the complete manuscript for each volume.

And that is when the trouble started between Newton and Flamsteed, the former insisting that Flamsteed should deliver the manuscript to the timetable agreed, the latter refusing to abide by it, particularly after the publisher failed to keep his promised work schedule. There were bitter arguments,



also, resulting from accusations by Flamsteed that Newton had broken promises to keep secret some of the information Flamsteed had imparted to him many years before.

It was 16 May 1706 before the first sheet was struck off and Christmas 1707 (three years from the first undertaking) before volume 1, containing the sextant observations to 1689, was finished. In March 1708 Flamsteed delivered 175 pages of his mural arc observations from 1689 to 1705, together with the as-yet-unfinished star catalogue. Then, on 28 October 1708, the Prince died—and everything stopped.

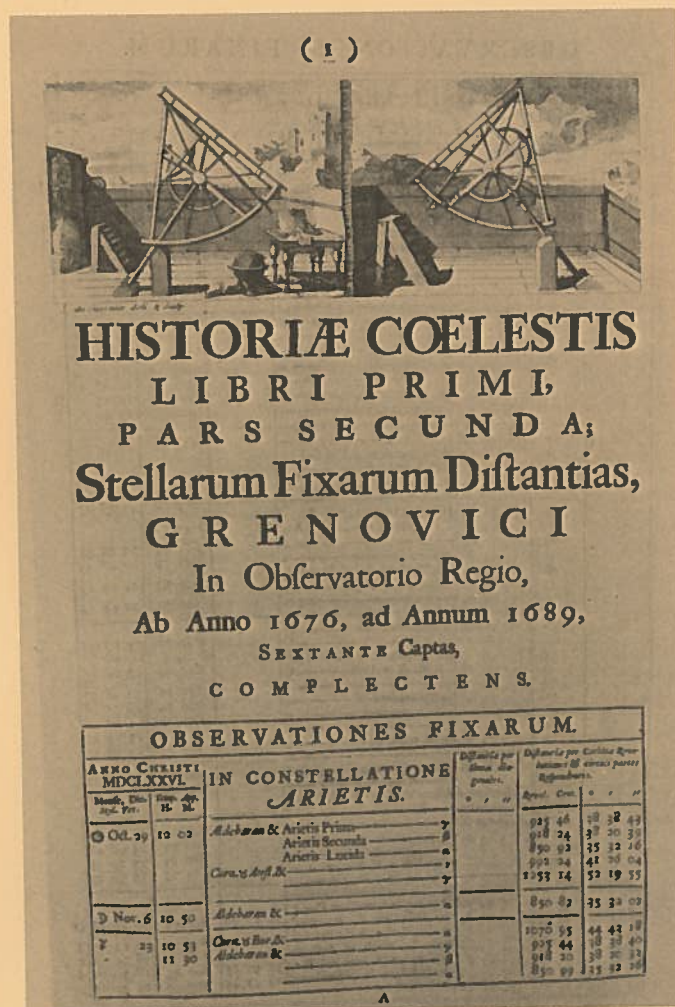
It was about this time that Edmond Halley, Savilian Professor of Geometry at Oxford since 1704, became involved. To this period also belongs the manuscript document now at the Clark—the referees' official account of the disposal of the Prince's money between 1705 and 1710, addressed to the executors of the Prince's estate and dated 8 April 1710.

Since the death of his original patron, Sir Jonas Moore, in 1679, Flamsteed had in effect been directly responsible to the successive monarchs, but none of them—Charles II, James II, William and Mary, Queen Anne—seems to have taken any interest, and Flamsteed had been more or less his own master. However, on 12 December 1710 Queen Anne was persuaded to appoint a Board of Visitors to direct the affairs of the observatory, this board to consist of the President—none other than Flamsteed's *bête noire* Newton—and other members of the Council of the Royal Society. Flamsteed was outraged and managed to stave off any visitation for the time being.

Then in March 1711, Flamsteed was informed that the Queen had given orders that the publication of his observations and of the star catalogue should proceed the next year. *Historiae Coelestis . . . observante Johanne Flamsteedio* was published in a single volume in 1712, edited by Edmond Halley, by now Flamsteed's sworn enemy. When Flamsteed saw the new book he was furious. All but ninety-seven sheets had been printed without his having seen them. Material purporting to be Flamsteed's own was in fact only an abridgement of his results. He was particularly angry about the catalogue of star positions, which was full of errors, and about Halley's preface, which he found personally offensive.

On 1 August 1713 Flamsteed had to suffer his first (and only) visitation from the Queen's representatives, who included Newton and Halley. One year later to the day, Queen Anne died, an event which was to benefit Flamsteed, at least in his quarrel with Newton. With the change of government from Tory to Whig, Flamsteed once again had friends at court. On 28 March 1716, by King George I's order, three hundred copies out of the four hundred printed of Halley's edition of *Historiae Coelestis* were placed in Flamsteed's hands. Thriftily removing the ninety-seven sheets which had his approval, he had the rest burned as a "sacrifice to TRUTH." But he saved a few copies for those of his friends that were "hearty lovers of truth, that you may keep them by you as evidences of the malice of godless persons . . ." (Flamsteed to Abraham Sharp, 29 March 1716, printed in Baily, 321).

It is difficult to decide who was in the right in these rather tedious quarrels. Though there seems to have been much justification for Flamsteed's attitude toward the scientific establishment in England, he, as a civil servant, had a duty



From *Historia Coelestis Britannica* (1725) by John Flamsteed, one of the ninety-seven sheets Flamsteed saved from the "pirate" edition of 1712.

to cooperate with others—or would have by today's standards. Many of the wrongs he imputed were imagined ones, and his prickliness, due at least in part to his chronic ill health, must have made any dealings with him frustrating in the extreme. Nevertheless, Newton's latest biographer, Richard S. Westfall, places a large part of the blame on Newton.\*

After the publication of what came to be called Halley's "pirate" edition of 1712, Flamsteed resolved to print his observations at his own expense. Before he died on 13 December 1719, all of volume 1 (observations 1668–89, including the ninety-seven sheets he had saved from the fire of 1716) and most of volume 2 (observations 1689–1719) had been printed. The completion of volume 2 and the whole of volume 3, containing a Latin preface and his British Catalogue of star positions, were undertaken by two of his former assistants, Abraham Sharp and Joseph Crosswait, who, incidentally, were never paid for their work.

\*The events leading up to the Flamsteed versus Newton-Halley controversy are related in my recent book, *Greenwich Time and the Discovery of the Longitude* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980). By far the best account of the controversy itself is found in Richard S. Westfall's *Never at Rest: A Biography of Isaac Newton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 655–67 and 686–96.



The three volumes of Flamsteed's *Historia Coelestis Britannica* were eventually published in 1725, followed in 1729 by his *Atlas Coelestis*, a star atlas which, in effect, put his British Catalogue in graphic form. These were indeed monuments to fifty years' labor by a great astronomer.

\* \* \* \*

The manuscript recently acquired by the Clark Library comprises a single folio sheet, 29.5 by 36 centimeters, written on facing pages, docketed on the verso, and dated 8 April 1710. The heading, written across the top of both pages, is "The Account of S<sup>r</sup> Isaac Newton of the expenses of printing the Astronomical Observations of M<sup>r</sup> John Flamsteed, by order of his Royall Highness the Prince." The text is in two columns, the left headed "Charge," the right "Discharge," and lists in detail monies received and spent on the publication.

In the discharge column, four of the items refer to Mr. Awnsham Churchill, bookseller—paid £166 12s. for printing ninety-eight sheets at £1 14s. a sheet, £6 for printing marginal notes on sixty of those sheets, £2 5s. for altering two specimen pages, and £20 for providing special type for astronomical symbols, "certain sorts of stamps & rules . . . w<sup>ch</sup> will be of no further use to him." On 26 March 1708 Flamsteed had been paid £125 "in part for his charge & trouble in preparing papers for the first & second volume of his Observations & correcting the Press." John Machin,

an astronomer friend of Halley who was to become Secretary of the Royal Society in 1718, was paid £30 "for examining M<sup>r</sup> Flamsteeds copy by his minute-books & also for repeating & correcting his calculations": one of Machin's claims to fame was to have computed the ratio pi to one hundred decimal places by Halley's method, in 1706.

The referees had originally received £375 from the Prince's Treasurer, so there was a balance of £23 3s. due to the Prince's executors.

The account was examined and approved by Sir Isaac Newton, Francis Robartes, and Sir Christopher Wren. It was attested by Thomas Bury. At this time, Sir Isaac Newton (knighted in 1705 by Queen Anne) was enjoying a reputation as the greatest living scientist. He was President of the Royal Society, a position to which he had been elected in 1703 and which he retained until his death in 1727. Besides having problems with Flamsteed, Newton had been engaged since 1705 in a scientific controversy with Leibniz over priority in the discovery of the calculus, a controversy that ended only with the latter's death in 1716.

Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723), though best remembered today as an architect, also had a brilliant career as a scientist—among other distinctions, he was Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford and a founder-member and President (1680–82) of the Royal Society. In 1669 Wren was appointed Surveyor General of Works, a post that put him in charge of all royal and government building in Great Britain. He was knighted four years later. As Surveyor General, Wren made or approved plans for over fifty London churches and many other buildings. His masterpiece, St. Paul's Cathedral in London, begun in 1675, was completed in 1710, the date of the new Clark manuscript. Commenting on why Wren had been appointed one of the referees, Flamsteed said some years later: "Sir C. Wren was then about 70 years of age: and though he was a skilful person, yet being full of other business, he [Newton] was sure to have him, who lived in his neighbourhood, to consent to all his orders, and subscribe them" (Baily, 77).

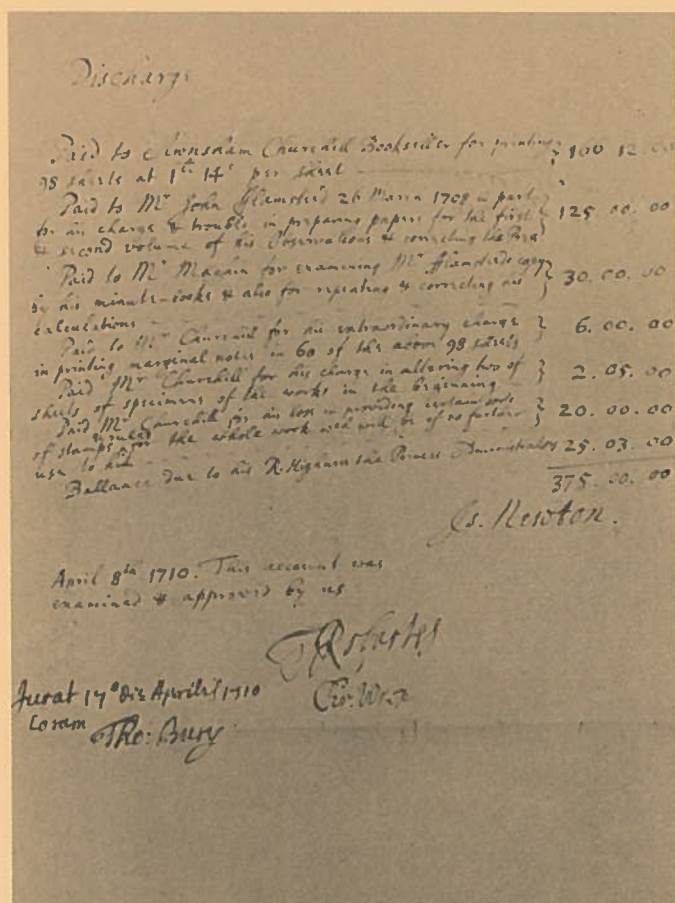
The other two signatories are much less well known today but were very important at the time. Francis Robartes (ca. 1650–1718) was the son of John Robartes, first Earl of Radnor, and a Member of Parliament from 1672 until his death. He became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1673 and about 1705 was appointed one of the Tellers of the Exchequer. Of him, Flamsteed said: "Mr Roberts was an easy, good-natured man, but knew little of the business" (ibid.).

Thomas Bury (1655–1722), the youngest son of Sir William Bury, entered Gray's Inn in 1668. He was called to the bar in 1676 and became, successively, Serjeant-at-Law, Baron of the Exchequer (his position at the time of the signing), and, from 1716, Chief Baron of the Exchequer.

In 1835 the manuscript, then in the possession of botanist and antiquary Dawson Turner of Great Yarmouth, England, was printed in the appendix to Baily's *Account*.

\* \* \* \*

The first Greenwich meridian was established by Flamsteed in 1689, the observations with his mural arc printed in *Historia Coelestis* being based upon it. It was some sixty feet (equivalent to 0.063 seconds of time) to the west of the



Portion of Newton manuscript now at the Clark.



present meridian, which was chosen as the world's prime meridian for longitude and time by the International Meridian Conference at Washington, D.C., in October 1884. It is very fitting therefore that Flamsteed should be commemorated here in this centenary year.

The other two principals in the controversy will be the focus of a tercentenary conference, "Newton and Halley, 1686–1986," to be held at the Clark Library in 1985 under the auspices of UCLA's Center for Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Studies. The conference will commemorate the fourth return since its prediction by Halley of the comet which now bears his name. It will also commemorate Halley's receipt from Newton in 1686 of the manuscript of the *Principia*, which was published at the former's expense. The Newton-Halley conference is scheduled for 11 to 14 August 1985, immediately following the XVII International Congress of the History of Science, to be held in Berkeley, California, 31 July to 8 August.

DEREK HOWSE  
Clark Professor, 1983–84

## Clark and the Romantics: A Cache of Music Manuscripts

The Clark Library music collection (described in the Spring 1983 *Newsletter* [no. 4]) is an eclectic assortment of items. Its primary strength lies in its materials of English provenance—Elizabethan music, instrumental manuscripts and music theory manuals of the seventeenth century, some rare Restoration theater music, eighteenth-century ballad opera, and the music of Handel. These items of course complement the Library's central inventory. But there is another, much smaller group of items in the collection, from a different era and of a different nature and provenance, that very much deserves recognition.

Clark's interests in music and English culture are well known. The Library's large corpus of English music, however, is no index of his musical preferences: almost all of the English music was purchased after Clark's death in 1934, when the Library came to UCLA by the terms of his gift deed. But during a ten-year period beginning in 1921, he personally gathered an exquisite group of thirty-seven autograph manuscripts, most of them by prominent nineteenth-century musicians. Consisting of letters, essays, and scores by Haydn, Mendelssohn, Berlioz, Gounod, Liszt, Wagner, and Franck, among others, the manuscripts have remained largely unknown. A few items were published in European collected editions before finding their way to America, but the bulk of the material has never appeared in modern critical editions.

The history of the collection is sketchy; only half of the items can be traced to their original invoices. But on the basis of these and other material in the archives, we can conclude that some of the manuscripts came as gifts from various friends; that some were purchased through Clark's many European contacts; and that still others were bought at large public sales. In gathering these items, Clark seems

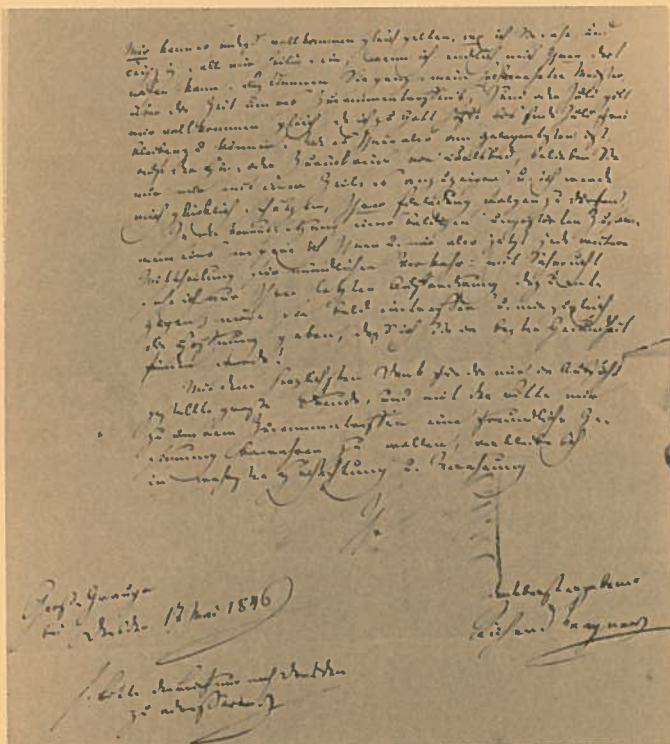
to have been pursuing two of his strong collecting interests, music and autograph documents, simultaneously. There is no hard evidence that he searched for particular items in order to fulfill an overall design for the collection, but it does seem that his acquisitions reflected his general musical tastes. Clark's musical sensibilities were rather traditional. He turned his back on the new breed of composers headed by Schoenberg and Stravinsky, espousing instead the music of the great nineteenth-century masters. The Library archives show that Clark, in his role as the founder and Chairman of the Board of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, made no secret of his desire that the orchestra play only "the classics" (see "Messages from the Sea" by Carol R. Briggs, in the Spring 1983 *Newsletter*).

Spanning the years 1789 to 1926, the manuscripts that Clark gathered range from unorganized scribbles dashed off in haste to carefully composed documents designed to impress, from autobiographical revelations to assessments of contemporary culture. The letters in particular contribute to our greater understanding of the composers' personalities. In a carefully worded letter to his publisher Artaria in 1789, Haydn promotes his own work with characteristic business sense and drives a hard bargain for a newly composed capriccio for piano. The three letters by Liszt reveal his concern over every aspect of upcoming performances, his relations with his patrons, and his friendship with the violinist Joachim. Berlioz writes from Russia to the conductor Damcke and speaks openly of the troubles he is having with several French colleagues; and the young Mendelssohn is represented by three beautifully penned letters, two of which are written in elegant formal English. Filling out the group are missives by the composers Saint-Saëns and Humperdinck; the enigmatic contralto Maria Malibran; and the celebrated conductor of Wagner's operas, Anton Seidl.

Other items document important events in the lives of musicians. The opera composer Pietro Mascagni, in an apparent burst of inspiration, wrote a twelve-page autobiography on his Munich hotel's stationery. Gounod's eight-page essay "Mes souvenirs de pensionnaire de l'Académie de France à Rome" was written while he was a Fellow at the Villa Medici after winning the *Prix de Rome* in 1839. A lively, revealing essay, it dramatically describes his first entrance into the Eternal City, and then gives vivid accounts of the other *pensionnaires* at the villa, the frequent soirees of music, and the magnificent sound of Palestrina's music when heard in the Sistine Chapel. Gounod's essay eventually appeared in his posthumous *Mémoires d'un artiste* (1896).

Still other items are polemical. Wagner, writing to Spohr, assails Philistinism, fulminating against the incompetency and inequity of a society in which "country squires are given posts and make themselves ridiculous while artists suffer from the squires' lack of taste." Gounod's twenty-two page "Considerations sur le théâtre contemporain," an attack on conditions in the French theater generally, its patrons (notably the *claque*), and the unwillingness of French audiences to accept innovation and novelty, provides important information about cultural currents in late nineteenth-century France. The Clark copy was Gounod's final draft before its 1886 publication as the preface to volume 11 of Noël and Stoullig's *Les Annales du théâtre et de la musique*.





The concluding page of Wagner's letter to Spohr. Dated "17 Mai 1846," the letter is written from the composer's vacation retreat in Saxon-Switzerland. A note in the lower left corner requests that the reply be sent to "Gross-Graupe bei Dresden."

## Clark Library Holdings in ESTC

On 10 April 1984, the Clark Library submitted the last of 18,221 records of its holdings to the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue/North America, completing a project begun in September 1979. The ESTC/NA, headquartered at Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, is gathering records from North American institutions of their holdings of eighteenth-century volumes printed in Britain or its possessions in any language, or titles printed in English anywhere in the world. These records are being integrated into the Eighteenth Century Short Title Catalogue, which the British Library is preparing in machine-readable form from its holdings.

Because of former Director Robert Vosper's interest in this cooperative project, the Clark Library was one of the first American libraries to provide tangible support (in the form of records) to ESTC/NA. In a letter written just before the project at the Library began, Henry Snyder, Director and Editor of the ESTC/NA, stressed the importance of including the Clark's "substantial" and "high quality" holdings. The reporting task was undertaken by retired Clark Librarian William E. Conway, who generously volunteered his services. Beginning in January 1981, funding from the Ahmanson Foundation made possible the appointment of a series of bibliographical interns (recruited from the Graduate School of Library and Information Science, UCLA) who prepared records under Mr. Conway's supervision. These included Victoria Steele, Hugh Stocks, Roger Brisson, Nancy Corman, and Jane Pinney Faulkner. Their eager and knowledgeable assistance expedited the work and made possible its completion at this time.

Although many of the records submitted to the ESTC/NA are expected to match those being made at the British Library and will provide only added locations for the file, a significant number will have material not in British Library copies or require new entries to the file. When ESTC/NA completes its matching and preparation of new records, all Clark Library eighteenth-century holdings will be recorded in this international data base, which will be made available in this country through the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN). This will help fulfill the Clark Library's goal of having information about its holdings readily accessible to scholars throughout the world.

There are also a number of scores in the collection, most of which are still uncatalogued. The most important score—and probably the most important single item in the collection—is a short suite for five brass instruments by Mendelssohn, written in the composer's own hand. This work, which does not appear in his *Opera Omnia*, seems to have been intended as *Gebrauchsmusik*, written in a single sitting for performance perhaps that very afternoon.

The Clark letters and manuscripts provide fresh insights into the lives of many famous composers while illuminating the cultural environs in which these figures worked. Unfortunately, the existence and location of the collection as a whole are not widely known among musicologists in America or Europe. Clark did not have these items included in the various catalogues of his holdings, and he mounted the most valuable items in the retractable glass display doors behind the wood paneling of the North Book Room, where they are invisible except to those who know they are there and ask to view them. An annotated list of the collection was issued by the Work Projects Administration in 1940 but is not widely known to scholars. I am currently preparing a critical study of the collection which will provide translations of the letters and essays, information about the circumstances in which they were written and about the persons, places, and works mentioned in them, and an assessment of their respective historical and cultural significance. The study is ultimately intended both to draw interest to the collection and to fill in some of the lacunae still remaining in the biographies of a number of nineteenth-century composers.

VICTOR COELHO  
Department of Music, UCLA

## Dearing Collation Programs

The Clark Library is now able to supply interested scholars with copies of Professor Vinton A. Dearing's collation programs described in the enclosed supplement, *Machina Analytica*. Also available are the collation and indexing programs written by William Creasy and Michael Cohen. The programs are themselves free of charge, but a fee of \$10.00 per set for either the Dearing or the Creasy/Cohen programs is necessary to cover the cost of diskette duplication, handling, and mailing. Orders should be directed to Clark Microcomputer Programs in care of the Library. Please make checks payable to The Regents of the University of California.



## Research Reports II—One Trail to Montana Leads through Los Angeles

[Clyde A. Milner II, a recent Short-Term Fellow at the Clark, holds a doctorate in American Studies from Yale University and is currently Associate Professor in the Department of History and Geography at Utah State University. He is author of *With Good Intentions: Quaker Work among the Pawnees, Ojibwas, and Omahas in the 1870s* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1982) and coeditor of *Churchmen and the Western Indians: Six Case Studies, 1820–1920* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, forthcoming).]

William Andrews Clark, Sr., extracted both minerals and votes from the state of Montana. As a copper baron and political leader, he remains a powerful, yet controversial, figure in the state's history. The son of the millionaire senator has left a different legacy for Montanans as well as for historians of the American West. At his library in Los Angeles is the most important collection on Montana history housed outside of the state.

William Andrews Clark, Jr., acquired nearly all of his materials on Montana in 1925 when he purchased the collection of Charles N. Kessler for the fair price of \$15,000. Kessler, who had been a prominent brewery owner in Helena, Montana, spent the first two decades of the twentieth century assembling his library. Clark's own librarian, Robert Ernest Cowan, himself a noted collector of Western Americana, reported that the Kessler library "is without doubt the most extensive collection of its kind that is in private possession, and in numerical strength it would appear to be second only to that of the Montana Historical Society." Cowan's assessment, made in late August of 1924, still holds true.

Some research at the Clark Library is essential for scholars with a broad interest in the first seventy years of Montana's history, approximately 1850 to 1920. For this reason, and with the generous support of a Short-Term Resident Fellowship, I found myself spending six weeks in Los Angeles enjoying a mild, sunny winter instead of enduring the snow and cold of the Rocky Mountains. My research has focused on the letters, diaries, reminiscences, memoirs, interviews, and autobiographies of Montanans from the earliest days of fur trapping and gold mining to the present.

Eventually, I hope to write a book which at the moment has the working title "Western Identity in Montana: Personal Memory as Cultural History." Part of my purpose is to understand Westerners and their sense of regional identity as it has evolved over time. Montana is appropriate for such a study because it seems to embody a particularly intense expression of Western identity. Yet I also hope to gain some understanding of a broader issue. I want to examine the way that individuals present their lives through their own historical perspectives. I then hope to determine whether these personal memories reveal cultural patterns. To carry out my purpose, I will need to cross some disciplinary lines and apply aspects of history, folklore, anthropology, and literary criticism. My earlier research, which attempted to uncover cultural patterns in the tribal histories of Western Indians, has led me to wonder what cultural patterns may be uncovered in the personal histories of other Westerners.

In pursuit of these patterns, I have discovered many treasures at the Clark Library. For example, Charles N. Kessler corresponded at length with Joseph Culbertson of Poplar,



Drawing of William Andrews Clark, Jr., signed by John C. Terry and originally captioned "Lawyer, Butte." From *Cartoons and Caricatures of Men in Montana* (1907), published by E. A. Thomson. Montana collection, Clark Library.

Montana, whose father, Major Alexander Culbertson, dominated the fur trade on the upper Missouri River about 1840 and founded the important community of Fort Benton. Joseph Culbertson's mother, Natawista Ixsana, was a Blackfoot, so he grew up as part of two cultures. Culbertson sent Kessler a 120-page typescript of his memoirs (ca. 1870–1918), which reveal a curious attitude toward his mixed parentage, especially in the section covering his career as a government scout.

Another rich resource in terms of my study has been the extensive files of magazine articles from the mid-nineteenth to the early twentieth century that were collected by Kessler. I have read closely the reminiscences in these files—"From a School Room to a Montana Ranch," for example, by Metta M. Loomis, which appeared in the *Overland Magazine* of January 1916. The hundreds of articles in this magazine collection hold information for studies well beyond the scope of my own efforts. There are numerous articles on hunting in Montana, on Indian life, and on travel, especially in what became Yellowstone and Glacier national parks.

Students of popular culture in the West will discover a well-catalogued collection of Montana ephemera at the Clark. Along with printed invitations to public hangings and the holiday editions of various newspapers may be found some privately published memoirs and several books of cartoons.

For political historians, the Montana collection contains important governmental publications from the territorial and statehood periods. The Clark Library also has the *Montana Post* of 1864 to 1868, the first newspaper in the territory. Of course, there are many important books, some very rare, that apply to the history of Montana. All of these holdings, from government documents to the letters of Charles N. Kessler, from ephemera to magazines, have catalogues, calendars, or indexes that make any scholar's work much easier. In fact, aside from the wealth of materials housed in the Montana collection, its greatest appeal is its accessible organization.

For decades, students of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century English culture have recognized the Clark Library as an important place to undertake research. I hope that Western historians also will recognize that the Clark's Montana collection holds treasures for their studies of the Treasure State.

CLYDE MILNER II  
Utah State University



## COMMENTARY

### Senator Clark's Redemption: The First Fifty Years



The lead article in the Autumn 1983 issue of *Montana: The Magazine of Western History*, entitled "Midas of the West: The Incredible Career of William Andrews Clark," presents a less than flattering portrait of the father of the Clark Library's founder. Written by Michael P. Malone, the article characterizes Clark senior as the "ultimate example of the grasping and garish western mining king," a frontier entrepreneur who used the enormous fortune he amassed to purchase tastelessly lavish mansions, the trappings of culture, and, so it was alleged, election to the U.S. Senate, a charge that was almost certainly true. "A glimpse at the career of this enigmatic figure," Malone proposes, "may serve, not to resurrect his reputation—which seems sullied beyond redemption—but rather to reveal his real significance as a gilded age 'empire builder' and as an especially virulent example of the unrestrained capitalist on the frontier."

Professor Malone, a dean at Montana State University, has written widely on the history of the West and, in fact, delivered a seminar paper at the Clark in 1975, "Montana as a Corporate Bailiwick: An Image in History" (published in the Clark Seminar Series volume *Montana Past and Present*, 1976). There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of his portrayal, which is solidly based on public records and other archival material. But I would suggest that, in balancing the Senator's account, as in balancing the account of many another "unrestrained capitalist," we should give due credit for the public legacies that owe their being to private fortunes. From even a cursory look at the history of many of America's major cultural and educational institutions, one might postulate a kind of sociocultural equivalent to the natural law that matter is never destroyed but converted to another form or to energy: great wealth amassed by a few from the labor of many eventually returns to society in

another form, to be spent on projects that spread benefits throughout the culture.

If the Senator himself was unmindful of such a law—as Malone points out, he left no "truly great" public bequests—his son was not. Within a year of the Senator's death in 1925, the younger Clark deeded the newly completed library built to house his burgeoning collection of rare books to UCLA as a memorial to his father, retaining lifetime possession for himself. It was a visionary decision, to bestow such a gift on the young University, at that time not many years removed from its "normal school" origins; and to insure that the Library would continue to serve as a living monument to his father when it came to the University, Clark wisely left an endowment to maintain the building and purchase books. Less than a decade after his father, Clark junior died; and in June of 1934 the stewardship of the Library passed to UCLA.

This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of that stewardship. In the intervening half-century, UCLA has developed the Library from a solid but relatively small foundation, reflecting the sometimes idiosyncratic tastes of a private collector, into a comprehensive and coherent research collection. As general conceptions of the purposes and uses of rare-book research libraries have become increasingly complex and sophisticated, the University's commitment to supporting the Clark in its service to scholarship has likewise had to grow steadily. Fifty years of a devaluing dollar and increasing expenses have greatly reduced the munificence of the original endowment; but with substantial funding from the University, along with foundation grants and private gifts, the Clark has been able to develop its collections, its public programs, and its academic services to a degree that the founder could not have foreseen.

Professor Malone notwithstanding, I submit that this development of the Clark Library during UCLA's fifty-year stewardship, like the original gift itself, has worked toward the Senator's "redemption," and that we cannot measure his "real significance" without considering the long-range results of his enterprises. The kind of institution his wealth established has, after all, made possible the kind of research that is the life's work of scholars like Malone. Wherever the Senator may now reside, one hopes that he appreciates the irony.

THOMAS F. WRIGHT  
Librarian, Clark Library



Unsigned drawing of William Andrews Clark, Sr., originally captioned "U.S. Senator, Butte," also from Thomson's collection.

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Nancy M. Shea, editor. Susan Green, assistant editor  
Please direct all correspondence to the above address.



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*Distinguished Conservator Tours Clark—During his recent visit to the Library, Alexander Dunluce (center), Keeper of Conservation at the Tate Gallery, London, examined the Clark's portrait of Sir Isaac Newton. Shown with him here are Mr. John Weaver (left), the well-known writer, and Professor Norman Thrower, the Director of the Clark. Alexander Dunluce is the professional name of Alexander Randal Mark McDonnell, fourteenth Earl of Antrim and Viscount Dunluce.*