100 Years of Physics at Berkeley . . . and Bancroft

In its first hundred years Berkeley physicists built a program that is one of the University’s most dazzling achievements, and its history is richly documented in the collections of The Bancroft Library. These facts were readily apparent in an exhibit, “Breaking Through: A Century of Physics at Berkeley, 1868-1968,” that was on display in the library’s gallery from April through July 2004.

The exhibit included nearly 100 documents, images, books, and artifacts drawn from the library’s collections. Most of these are contained in the administrative archives of the Department of Physics, the Office of the President, and the Office of the Chancellor. A voluminous, highly significant collection of materials is also found in the papers of individual faculty members including John LeConte, Raymond Thayer Birge, and six of Berkeley’s seven Nobel laureates in physics.

The Physics Department and Library, the Lawrence Berkeley National Laboratory, and the Lawrence Hall of Science also loaned images and objects that further enhanced the exhibit. The record shows that the University literally began with physics. The Regents’ first faculty appointment was the physicist John LeConte (1818-1891), who was a key member of the Regents’ committee that organized the first administration and established the curriculum. LeConte later served as acting president of the University (1875-1881). Interesting documents and images in the exhibit were drawn from the LeConte family papers, including LeConte’s personal journal, which documents his life as an officer of the Confederacy, as well as lecture and research notes compiled as a Berkeley professor.

The story of the Lick Observatory, the first of the University’s many world-class research facilities, was also liberally illustrated. The gift of an eccentric San Franciscan, James Lick (1796-1876), the observatory opened on Mt. Hamilton in Santa Clara County when the University was barely 20 years old. It contained the largest telescope of its kind in the world, which was used by the physicists and instantly established the nascent University’s research reputation.

As the exhibit showed, the department’s rise to greatness steadily continued following Raymond Thayer Birge’s (1887-1980) appointment to the faculty in 1918. Birge was a skilled administrator who was also passionate about teaching and research. When he retired in 1955, Birge had served as department chair for 23 years, supervised 343 doctoral dissertations, and enjoyed an international reputation for his work on the light emitted by atoms and molecules.

The exhibit included two contemporary publications reflecting the department’s achievements. In one, the editors of Science identify Berkeley as a “national center for research” in physics, the only designee west of Chicago (1928); in another, a piece by Birge appears as the lead article in the first number of The Physical Review Supplement, forerunner of the prestigious Reviews in Modern Physics (1929).

This was also the period when two of Berkeley’s most famous physicists joined the faculty. Ernest O. Lawrence (1901-1958) and J. Robert Oppenheimer (1904-1967) blazed new trails that put Berkeley’s experimental and theoretical programs in the first rank of atomic research worldwide. Lawrence invented the
The authors state: “The author’s identity. Its clever attempt to solve the riddle of the Gutenberg Bible.” Fewer books of early Western printing. Fewer of its generic resemblance to the Da Vinci Code, another murder mystery based on medieval legend.

The Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, however, is a real book, perhaps the most beautiful book printed in the 15th century. Published by the humanist printer Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1499, it has long puzzled scholars. Its title has been translated as “The Strife of Love in a Dream of Poliphilus,” and it is written in a curious combination of Italian, Latin, and Greek, with some foolishness in Italian, and he mixed so many Greek and Latin words and sought such obscurity and mixture of these three languages that we can say that he wrote in none of them.”

Copy 2 has a page of manuscript notes in Latin on one of the last flyleaves. These serve as a rough index of some of the woodcuts or inscriptions, and copy passages of particular interest to the annotator. Like Copy 1, this copy also gives evidence of its passage from the Mediterranean lands to Anglo-Saxon hands. On the verso of the last flyleaf one finds a half-effaced inscription “Madrid y … 1697,” and inside the front cover, in pencil, “ex libris Lord Bagot – Staffordshire,” referring to the armorial supralibros on the binding. The date of the binding would accord well with the second lord, Sir Charles Bagot (1781-1843), British diplomat, who died as governor-general of Canada and whose library was sold at auction in London in 1844. The book came to Berkeley as a bequest from UC Regent and library benefactor James K. Moffitt in 1955, one of 1500 volumes added to the University’s Rare Book Department as a memorial to his wife, Pauline Fore Moffitt. Moffitt was a renowned collector of Horace, Virgil, and the works of the early Italian humanists.
Copy 3 came to Bancroft just two years ago, the gift of Gale Herrick, a bibliophile interested in fine printing and fine binding, like Moffitt, and a long-time member of the Friends of The Bancroft Library. Bound in modern parchment, perhaps from the turn of the twentieth century, it bears a printed “ex libris a.r.s.” Of the three copies, this is the one that is in the best condition, with virtually no marginalia.

Even a cursory examination of these three copies reveals some interesting things about their history, where they have been, and to whom they have belonged. Externally, these copies are not therefore unique. A detailed comparison will reveal that internally they are not unique either. In fact, no two copies of any hand-printed book will be identical. The printers made changes as errors were encountered during the press run, but the sheets with errors were not therefore discarded. In addition, the blocks for the woodcuts would gradually be worn down, so that some cuts are sharper than others. All of these details argue in favor of keeping all three copies, particularly in a library like Bancroft, which uses these books as part of its teaching collection. For many years, Bancroft has hosted a class on the History and Technique of the Hand-Press Book, which combines a study of the whole range of western printing with hands-on practice in typesetting and printing, on an 1840 Albion hand press. Our three copies of the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* regularly make an appearance in that class, both as astonishing examples of the printer’s craft and artistry as well as historical puzzles that must be solved.

particle accelerator and Oppenheimer provided a theoretical basis for the development of the atomic bomb. The exhibit included a wealth of documents and images recording the construction of the various cyclotrons, the development of the Manhattan Project, and Berkeley’s growing fame that brought celebrities to campus and attracted international attention in the press.

Also displayed were selections from the scientists’ personal correspondence that reveal a more private side. Two letters from Oppenheimer, for example, include advice about girls for his teenaged brother, and a poignant expression of gratitude to Lawrence for encouraging words about a report that hadn’t been well received.

Following the war, Berkeley’s physicists continued groundbreaking research while leading active professional and private lives. Documents in the exhibit highlighted the work and experiences of several Nobel laureates and others during this period: the bubble chamber invented by Donald Glaser (b. 1926); the bad-weather landing system for airplanes invented by Luis Alvarez (1911-1988); Lawrence’s cavalier treatment of Emilio Segre (1905-1989), a refugee from fascist Italy; and the antinuclear, antiwar protests of Owen Chamberlain (b. 1920).

Medical physics was another distinguished program stemming from nuclear research at Berkeley. John Lawrence (1903-1991), Ernest’s brother, led the effort; his work was recounted in an oral history conducted by the library’s Regional Oral History Office. Another leading scientist, John Gofman (b. 1918), developed a passionate concern for the effects of radiation on the environment. The story of his confrontation with the physicist Edward Teller over the Diablo Valley reactor program is recounted in a contemporary newspaper report from San Luis Obispo.

“Breaking Through: A Century of Physics at Berkeley, 1868-1968” opened the J. Robert Oppenheimer Centennial symposium at Berkeley, April 23-24, 2004, co-sponsored by the Office for History of Science and Technology, the Department of Physics, The Bancroft Library, and the University Library. The exhibit was curated by David Farrell, Acting University Archivist, and Eric Vettel in the Regional Oral History Office.

—David Farrell

*Acting University Archivist*
California! What’s in a Name?

California, here we come! It has been the cry of wave after wave of immigrants to the “golden state.” The name itself has magic. It stands for opportunity, riches, new ideas, and new trends. For many, California is a new way of being.

Credit for discovering, or rediscovering, the origin of the name California is generally given to a Boston author and minister, Edward E. Hale. In 1862, he reported that an old romance, the best-selling Sergas de Esplandian, printed in Spain in 1510 and followed by many other editions, “mentioned an island, California, ‘on the right hand of the Indies, very near the Terrestrial Paradise,’ peopled with black women, griffins and other fantastic creatures.” Hubert Howe Bancroft, in his 1886 History of California, states with great confidence: “No intelligent man will ever question the accuracy of Hale’s theory.”

The Sergas, meaning the labors, of the knight Esplandian is a sequel to the most popular novel of chivalry at the time of the discovery of America, Amadís de Gaula. When Bancroft wrote his History of California, Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo was considered the compiler or the translator of the first four books of the Amadís. He was presumed to be the author of the Sergas, the fifth book, which continues with the adventures of the prince Esplandian, the son of Amadís. Many more sequels of the sequels were written in the next 50 years by various authors.

Then, as reported in Bancroftiana in 1971, “Señora María Brey de Rodríguez Moñino presented to the Rare Book Collection of The Bancroft Library the only known manuscript of the most famous Spanish chivalric romance, Amadís de Gaula.” The gift was made in memory of her husband, “whose distinguished career was spent in part on the Berkeley campus as a member of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese.” Thus Bancroft acquired one of its treasures: four fragments from four separate leaves of the third book of the Amadís. Scholars believe these date from around 1420, much earlier than the story was originally believed to have been written. The fragments are carefully guarded and their viewing limited to scholars, but Anthony Bliss, Bancroft’s rare book librarian, points out that from their size we can conclude the pages were large: “The book was perhaps meant to be set on a lectern and read out loud to an audience.” Spanish scholar and Director of Bancroft, Charles Faulhaber, points out that the size and the script indicate that the fragments come from a deluxe copy, probably written for a member of the nobility. We know that almost 100 years before these stories were printed there was an audience for the tales of chivalry.

The Amadís books recount the origin, adventures, and love of Amadís and Oriana. His birth was concealed, and he was placed in an ark that floated out to sea. Raised in the court of the King of Scotland, Amadís as a young warrior met and fell in love with the princess Oriana, but he first had to win her heart and the right to claim her, which he did through many heroic deeds.

The first known printing of the Amadís was in Zaragoza in 1508, with the author’s name as Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo. In the introduction, Montalvo said that he found the work. It is now believed that he reworked and then published the Amadís series and appended the fifth book, the Sergas de Esplandian, which he did write. Montalvo, who was knighted for his service by Ferdinand and Isabella, was a representative of one of the families who controlled the town council of Medina del Campo, a favorite residence of the Catholic monarchs.

In 1493 Christopher Columbus had returned triumphantly to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella with news of his discoveries. He presented to their royal majesties his diary of the voyage. The Queen ordered that a copy be made for the archives and returned the original to Columbus so he could have it during his next voyage. Both have been lost. Oliver Dunn and James E. Kelley Jr. transcribed and translated an abstract of the diary with the following note: “Barring the unlikely discovery of the long-lost original Diario or of the single complete copy ordered for Columbus by Queen Isabella, [Bartolomé de] Las Casas’ partly summarized, partly quoted version of Columbus’s copy is as close to the original as it is possible to come.” The entry for January 16, 1493, reads in part:

The Indians told him that on that route he would find the island of Matinino, which, he says, was inhabited by women without men, which the Admiral would have liked to do so he could take five or six of them to the sovereigns; but he doubted that the Indians knew the route well, and he was unable to delay because of the danger from the water that the caravels
were taking in. But he says that it was certain that there were such women, and that at a certain time of year men came to them from the said island of Carib, and that if they gave birth to a boy they sent him to the men’s island and if to a girl they let her stay with them.

Montalvo in the Sergas de Esplanalid a decade and a half later wrote the following passage: I tell you that on the right-hand side of the Indies [between Europe and Cipango] there was an island called California, which was very close to the region of the Earthly Paradise. This island was inhabited by black women, and there were no males among them at all, for their life-style was similar to that of the Amazons. The island was made of the wildest cliffs and the sharpest precipices found anywhere in the world. The women had energetic bodies and courageous, ardent hearts, and they were very strong. Their armor was made entirely of gold—which was the only metal found on the island—as were the trapping on the fierce beasts that they rode once they were tamed. The women would on occasion keep peace with men they had captured and they had carnal relations. Many of the women became pregnant. If they bore a female, they kept her, but if they bore a male, he was immediately killed.

It would not be too far-fetched to assume that Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo living in Medina del Campo would have read, or at least read about, the fantastic voyages.

The tales of chivalry may have been, at one time, almost forgotten but the respected Hispanist, Irving Leonard, who received his Ph.D. at Berkeley, states in his study of books in New Spain, Books of the Brave: “Long before this enthusiasm subsided completely these fantastic tales had left their imprint on contemporary customs and manners, had fired the imaginations of adventurers in Europe and America and had inspired the greatest masterpiece in Spanish literature.” Thus, while Columbus was discovering the New World and Cortez and Pizarro, among others, were conquering the Aztecs and the Incas, they and their soldiers and sailors were avidly reading these romances.

As an example of the common knowledge of these romances but also of the confusion between the fictitious events described as “history” and the real history that was taking place, Ruth Putnam in California: The Name, written in 1917, cites Bernal Díaz del Castillo’s True History of the Conquests of New Spain, where he describes the first view of Tenochtitlán, the Aztec capital:

. . . we saw so many villages built in the water and other great towns on dry land and that straight and level causeway going towards Mexico; we were amazed and said it was like the enchantments they tell of in the legend of Amadis. . . .

Cortez himself crossed the sea that now bears his name (in Mexico it is known as the Gulf of California) and with great ceremony founded the City of Santa Cruz (now La Paz) on May 3, 1535. The Mexican historian, David Piñera Ramírez, in California: Tierra Trás el Enigma de su Nombre, suggests the connection from the mythical lore of the Middle Ages to the accounts of Columbus, to the novel of Montalvo, and to the letters of Cortez. He goes on to say that it is very likely that Cortez would arrive on an island looking for pearls and gold and would “baptize” it with the name of the mythical island.

There is no mention at this time, however, of the name California. There is in acta, a record, of the Auto de posesión del Puerto y Bahía de Santa Cruz. Nothing has been found for a similar naming or bounding of “California,” which in those lays was considered an island or a series of islands.

Cortez also sent several explorers and cartographers up the coast of what is now Jaja California. It is in the logs of the expedition led by Francisco de Ulloa in 1539-1540 that we first find the name: “We found ourselves 54 leagues from California.” In 1541, the map of the expedition locates an island that is labeled “California.”

As to where Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo got the word “California,” there have been several theories. Among some of the more possible, it is said to derive from the word calif, the Spanish spelling for a Muslim sovereign. Others find antecedents in the French epic, the Chanson de Roland, and even in a 13th century Saxon law book.

Miguel de Cervantes’ great novel, Don Quixote, is at one level a parody of these novels. He sets the very premise of Don Quixote’s story as the hero’s confusion between reality and the tales of romance: “[Don Quixote] gave himself up so wholly to the reading of romances . . . so that all the fables and fantastical tales which he read seemed to him now as true as the most authentic stories.”

Scholars in Spain must have continued to be aware of those stories. It does appear to be true, as Ruth Putnam mentions, that in the 18th and 19th centuries California’s inhabitants could give no account of the origins of their name. Today we know more, but we still do not know where it came from originally.

—Arlene Nielsen
The Invisible Participant

The Role of the Transcriber in Interpreting Meaning in Oral History Research

Producing a quality oral history transcript is an art, not simply the process of listening to a tape and typing the words heard. This art varies from person to person in ways that can be deeply meaningful for an oral history project such as ours.

I had been intuitively aware of this variance in transcribers as I trained and supervised them, but I wanted to see for myself just what that meant. So I asked our four best transcribers to transcribe the same short segment of a tape.

On the tape, Sara is asking Bob what it’s like being secretary to our then-director, Willa Baum, and then interrupts herself to ask, “Or first could you describe her desk, and then tell me—”

Bob, a polite and kindhearted young Midwesterner, reacts nervously to the question. Willa’s desk was the stuff of legend: papers piled high. Loyal Bob, conscious he’s being recorded, struggles with how to answer.

“Describe—” he starts, and then laughs a little and starts over.

He says, “Well, Willa is a very, very interesting person. Very, very smart person.”

Then, since he has been asked a direct question and there’s no getting out of it, he goes on:

“Her desk is—her desk is something else.” Both of these decisions convey Bob’s reluctance to criticize Willa, yet at the same time show his struggle to answer the question honestly.

Transcriber B, a professional translator, left in “describe” but didn’t indicate the laugh. She also eliminated the doubling of “her desk,” a decision which made a clearer, easier to read sentence, but also gives the impression that Bob easily volunteered this information.

Transcriber C, a contract transcriber in Georgia, eliminated both the false start of “describe” and its accompanying laugh, and streamlined the sentence about her desk: “Her desk is something else.” Again, a clean, coherent transcript, but one that obscures Bob’s hesitation. (It is important to note that C was the only transcriber of the four who had never seen Willa’s desk, and who therefore didn’t have a strong image leap to her mind when Sara asked the question.)

Transcriber D, a musician and novelist, indicated the hesitation, but she completed his first sentence with brackets—“Describe [her desk].” She indicated the laughter, and then, rather than repeating “Her desk is,” she inserted the stage direction “[pause]” after that phrase—“Her desk is [pause] something else.”

These seemingly small decisions on the part of the transcribers can lead to important differences in conveying the meaning of the resultant transcript.

A few words of advice for the diligent oral historian. Even an experienced transcriber can do a much better job if she is given some indication of the context and subtext of the interview. (Consider poor Transcriber C, who had no idea what Willa’s desk looked like.) When an interviewer hands over her recordings, she is inviting a third person into the interview. She must tell the transcriber anything that could help bring meaning to the words on the tape and understanding of what is going on behind any nervous laughter, false starts, or pauses.

The interviewer must also consider the transcriber’s particular approach. Did she leave in false starts that are truly false, or ones that reflect answers rethought midstream? Did the transcriber place correct, or unwarranted, influence on certain points by the choice of punctuation? Did she streamline to make beautiful, literary sentences yet omit meaningful information?

And the most important thing an oral historian should do to ensure a quality transcript is to have tapes audited—listened to by a third party. Interviewers are often reluctant to do this, especially if the transcript seems to make logical sense, but errors can and inevitably do creep in.
Today I went fishing around in The Bancroft Library’s special collection archives of poets and novelists. Previously I had read a little article about a contribution of 60 Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas letters written to Ralph Church and his mother, Georgia. The gift details were described in a 1960s issue of Bancroftiana. In the mid-1920s, Ralph Church had been a student of philosophy at the University of California, Berkeley, with expertise on Hume. He and his mother were introduced to Stein in Paris in 1926 or 1927, not long after his graduation.

I was opening a gray, archival cardboard box in which I found and began to search through several manila folders, each labeled by a particular set of years. The letters were usually on featherweight, white paper—slightly browned with age—that lay unfolded and flattened outside their original places in small, three-by-four inch envelopes. Surprisingly, the backs of each envelope carried a broken red wax seal, each one stamped with an emblematic bas-relief of a tiny red rose. Gertrude, famous for the line, “a rose is a rose,” clearly had an innate sense of modern-day logo design and branding!

Most of the time, Gertrude’s handwriting, unlike Alice’s, is hard to decipher, as if her hand is already tired from a day of continuous writing. Until the early thirties, the letters are primarily cordial such as, “Thank you for the visit and the x, y, or z kind of flowers” brought to the house during the last visit. Gertrude, even though she shared an interest in Hume with Ralph, does not mention him at all. In the early thirties, however, the letters pick up in excitement and length when Gertrude and Alice start Plain Editions, a small press whose editions were limited to 1,000 copies per title.

. . . We are at it and there is no doubt that publishing is an occupying occupation but are quite pleased with wishes so far, we have sold actually 37 volumes and as many more are at the booksellers . . .

The letters in the thirties are giddy with Gertrude’s literary success and elation. When The Making of Americans is well received, she has no doubt that it has already become a classic. In a 1932 letter to Georgia Church, I find this delightful, nonstop sentence of a paragraph:

. . . Bernard Fay has spent some time with us and he has read me the first 300 pages of his translation of Making of Americans, it is frightfully marvelous, he has made it completely French and yet it has all the roll and volume of the original, and the variations of the descriptions of the styles of people are, if possible, I say modestly even more wonderful in French . . .

I find this paragraph lovely and even a bit astonishing in a wonderful kind of way. Imagine, to have the time to sit back and listen to Bernard Fay read aloud 300 pages in French, which must have taken, at the least, a few days! No doubt Fay’s performance was mixed with sun, an occasional summer shower, great meals, and certainly the ricochet of much conversation.

One gets the sense that Gertrude is equally invested in the way The Making of Americans translation will also enable her to be recognized as a French modernist, one whose turns and shapes of language will be compared to her fellow cubists, including Matisse and Picasso. Unlike other American writers of the same period, Gertrude’s real commitment was to the smart play, shape, and possibilities of words themselves, as with the titles of books from Plain Editions. If as good in French, why not?

Some say the scholarly study of history is really a guise to read other people’s letters. Whether this statement is true, or only partially so, Gertrude’s and Alice’s letters and ephemera provide us with a microscopic vision by which to look into and interpret Stein’s life and work. But, sitting there in Bancroft’s reading room, it was quite sweet to let those slippery little pieces of paper momentarily rest in my fingers, while looking at the pale blue envelopes with the red rose wax seals. What a gift! For a couple of hours I could sense I was in Paris having a unique and intimate time with Gertrude and her circle, all of that with only a small trip to the Bancroft from my home across the bay.

—Stephen Vincent

Enlargement of letter envelope from the Ralph Withington Church Papers, BANC MSS 71/79 c. 
Annual Meeting of the Friends: May 8, 2004

On Saturday, May 8, 2004, members and guests attended the 57th annual meeting of the Friends of The Bancroft Library in the Heller Reading Room. On a perfect Berkeley afternoon, the Friends gathered to celebrate a number of accomplishments and honor a select group of award winners. The day's events began with refreshments and a viewing of the current exhibition, *Breaking Through: A Century of Physics at Berkeley*.

Following the luncheon, Charles Faulhaber, the James D. Hart Director of The Bancroft Library, and Camilla Smith, Chair of the Friends of the Bancroft Library, convened the Business Meeting. In his report, Charles Faulhaber acknowledged the support and hard work of many members of the Friends and highlighted a selection of notable Bancroft acquisitions and activities during the past year. He also outlined the plans to renovate and enhance the Doe Library Annex, home to The Bancroft Library, and the fundraising effort needed for this crucial project.

Special thanks were offered to Camilla Smith and the other members of the Campaign Leadership Committee, particularly its co-chairs, Chancellor Emeritus Mike Heyman and Vice Chancellor Emeritus Mac Laetsch. The Director also reported on the selection of architects for the project, a partnership between Ratcliff of Emeryville and Noll and Tam of Oakland. Both firms have a long history on campus. Kit Ratcliff’s grandfather designed the Morrison Library in 1927 and the renovation of the Life Sciences Building in the late 1980s, while Chris Noll and Janet Tam have worked extensively with the Library.

A tribute was also offered for Jean Stone, a great supporter of Bancroft, a generous philanthropist and a former recipient of the Hubert Howe Bancroft Award (1999) who passed away in April at the age of 92. In reporting upon the day-to-day operations of The Bancroft Library, Faulhaber noted that in the past year the library added almost 6,500 items to the collection, ranging from medieval manuscripts to extensive archival collections. Highlights include additions to the papers of Beat era poets Michael McClure and Jack Spicer, a medieval French poetic miscellany written in Avignon around 1450, a 16th century copy of the Chronicle of King Henry IV of Castile, and a large collection of the works of iconoclast author H.L. Mencken.

The Heller Reading Room hosted more than 12,000 research visits last year, a third of them by undergraduates. For comparison, this is twice as many users as at Princeton and half again as many as at UCLA. These researchers examined over 60,000 individual items.

Charles Faulhaber reported on the many extramural grants that support much of Bancroft’s work. The 2003-2004 academic year included the final year of a four-year-project to digitize all of our materials on the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake & Fire and the fourth year of a project funded by Genentech on the early history of the biotechnology industry. A Hearst

Maxine Hong Kingston, noted author and poet addressed a gathering of Friends in the Maud Fife Room, Wheeler Hall.

The “first family” of The Bancroft Library, (left to right), Kimberley Bancroft and parents Pete and Monica Bancroft pause for a photograph alongside the bust of Pete’s great grandfather, Hubert Howe Bancroft.
Foundation grant supported processing and microfilming effort for all of the Hearst Family Papers in our collections, including the papers of George, Phoebe, William Randolph, and William Randolph Jr. An experimental digital project is now underway to digitize Phoebe Hearst’s Papers using the microfilm copy. National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH) grants support processing work on the records of the Western Region of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) as well as our Women Political Activists Collection, which contains materials ranging from the suffragettes of the early 20th century to the antiwar and environmental movements of the 1960s and 1970s.

The presentation of the 6th Hill-Shumate Prize, for undergraduate student book collecting, followed. Bill Brown, Associate Director for Development and Outreach, presented awards to Cal students Raul Diaz (first place) for his collection, “Evolutionary Biology and Herpetology,” Billy Chen (second place) for his collection, “Feminist and Queer Cultural Studies and Psychoanalysis,” and, in absentia, David Singer (third place) for his books on “Jewish Religion and History.” These three interesting and diverse collections—and their creators—exemplify the best efforts of young book collectors.

The meeting concluded with the presentation of the seventh Hubert Howe Bancroft Award, to noted book collector, William P. Barlow Jr. Deputy Director Peter Hanff presented a small bust of Hubert Howe Bancroft and a framed resolution on behalf of the Friends, who honored Bill Barlow for his decades of service to The Bancroft Library and to the Friends. The award also recognized Barlow’s many other bibliophilic accomplishments and standing as a preeminent book collector.

Peter Hanff described Bill Barlow’s contributions to bibliophily as “simultaneously astonishing, enviable, and not without a certain sense of humor.” To his many friends and family members, Bill Barlow offered appropriately “humble” and humorous remarks on his many adventures in collecting and bibliography. This surprised none who knows of his generosity, wit, and charm. Charles Faulhaber delivered the Treasurer’s Report in the absence of Peter Frazier and the report of the Nominating Committee in the absence of its chair, John Briscoe, owing to illness. The new slate of candidates for the Council of the Friends nominated and approved by the membership include:

Pete Bancroft, Beverly Maytag, Katherine Schwarzenbach, James Spitze, and Midge Zischke.

At the conclusion of the Business Meeting, members and guests traveled next door to Wheeler Hall to enjoy a presentation, “Poetry and Peace,” by acclaimed author and poet Maxine Hong Kingston.

Born in Stockton, the eldest of six children, Maxine Hong Kingston attended Cal, taught high school in Hayward, lived for seventeen years in Hawaii, and returned to California in 1984. When living in Hawaii, she was named a “Living Treasure of Hawaii.” Charles Faulhaber aptly described her as “one of Cal’s living treasures, too.”

Ms. Kingston delivered a thought-provoking presentation on her journey as a writer and activist. “I began writing when I was nine,” Kingston has noted. “...I was in fourth grade and all of a sudden this poem started coming out of me. On and on I went, oblivious to everything, and when it was over I had written 30 verses. It is a bad habit that doesn’t go away.” Kingston signed numerous copies of her works for members of the audience following the lecture and discussion.
What Paine Left Out
200 New Letters by Samuel Clemens and His Wife

When Albert Bigelow Paine agreed in early 1906 to write Mark Twain’s biography, he gained access to the author’s life and thoughts in a way that was then unprecedented—and that, in some respects, has never been equaled. Between 1906 and Clemens’s death in 1910, Paine spent uncounted hours with him—talking, asking questions, playing billiards, and also reading and copying his letters.

Mark Twain publicly acknowledged Paine as his biographer and also provided letters of introduction, so Paine easily persuaded Clemens’s many correspondents to let him borrow letters he had written to them. He copied those letters on a typewriter before returning the originals, but he published only a small portion of what he collected, first in 1912 with the biography, then in 1917 with a collection of some five hundred letters.

Thanks to an extraordinary recent gift consisting of most of the typed copies Paine collected between 1906 and 1917, we are beginning to know just how extensive his reach was. At least 1,800 letter copies survived, ultimately, in the hands of his grandson, Bigelow Paine Cushman, who died in April 2003. Cushman’s widow, Anne T. Cushman, after consultation with Marianne Curling, recently decided to give these typed copies to the Mark Twain Papers.

Mrs. Cushman and Ms. Curling have our most heartfelt thanks for their generosity. A preliminary analysis shows that the typescripts include texts for at least 200 letters from Clemens and his wife Olivia, as well as two dozen letters to them, which are entirely new to us. Paine’s typed copies are very likely the best text we will ever get for most of them.

The new documents significantly brighten our window on Mark Twain himself. And because they are often letters that Paine felt he should leave out, they paint a portrait of Mark Twain which contrasts sharply with the more staid, proper, and well-behaved figure Paine described. Clemens says things in them that Paine, the ultimate Victorian, was not comfortable allowing him to say in public.

For instance, in a letter written in 1868 from Washington, D.C., two months after first meeting Olivia Langdon but several months before he proposed to her, Clemens wrote as follows to his sister-in-law Mollie:

I was glad to hear from so many friends whose names are familiar to my memory— Ick, & the Ellas, Al. Patterson’s folks, India, your parents, Belle,—why, it is a party in itself! And Miss Mason—will you borrow a mustache & kiss her once for me—or several times?

I received a dainty little letter from Lou Conrad, yesterday. She is in Wisconsin. But what worries me is that I have received no letter from my sweetheart in New York for three days. This won’t do. I shall have to run up there & see what the mischief is the matter. I will break that girl’s back if she breaks my heart. I am getting too venerable now to put up with nonsense from children.

The New York “sweetheart” was not Olivia Langdon, but a mysterious young lady named Pauline. Paine obviously found this talk of girl friends and other flirtations unsuitable for the portrait he was painting, which highlighted Clemens’s fairy-tale romance with Olivia. In any case, none of these paragraphs found its way into Paine’s volumes.

Similarly, Paine quietly suppressed part of a letter to the Rev. Joseph Twichell written in 1898 from Kaltenleutgeben, Austria. The original is lost, but Paine’s typescript preserves the text of a touching domestic scene which Paine simply omitted from the published text:
Livy let fly viciously over the news of Will Sage’s second marriage—I was up, shaving, in my night-shirt at the time, & she was back of me on the other side of the room in bed—& I followed her lead with sympathetic emphasis, & that pleased her. But you know how it is with a charitable man who is argumentative: after a moment of reflection it comes so natural to begin to cast about for an argument on the other side. I did that. As I went along I began to be surprised, myself, to see how much there was to say on Sage’s side; & I grew more & more interested, & less & less conscious that there was anything left in the world but me & my argument; & at last happened to say, “Why, I see now that I ought to begin to be looking around, myself, because—”

Then a Bible or something whizzed past my cheek & broke the glass; & that adjourned the subject.

Paine must have thought this elaborate joke too boyish, or perhaps too cruel, for the portrait he was constructing.

As a last example of the kind of letter that Paine suppressed, here is one to Clemens’s sister Pamela which is, again, wholly new to us. It was written in September 1874 after a brief visit to her home in Fredonia, N.Y., where Clemens had seen her young son, Sam. Sam Moffett had been troubled with weak eyes and other mysterious ailments, but Clemens had a very high opinion of his intellect, and was currently doing all he could to secure him a first-rate education.

Elmina, 4th

Dear Sister—

Only a line—to warn you that at eighteen Sammy will be not more than 3 removes from an idiot, provided his mother goes on with her trust as she is now. It is strong language but true. It is a common saying that smart boys turn out fools at maturity—but their own parents, & a pity & a shame it is. Poor John Garth!—gifted like a God—and his parents & teachers reduced him to mediocrity & below it in eighteen years—at least below it in some respects.

Now don’t destroy this letter but keep it—and at 30, when he is a very one-horse doctor or lawyer in a very one-horse village, & of no sort of consequence in the world & doomed never to be, read this letter over again & confess that I was a prophet—or bequeath it to him & let him read it himself.

If you will put that boy on a farm where there is not a single book, & where they will keep him out of doors & work him just enough & play him just enough to build up a strong constitution for him—and then turn him loose on the books again 2 or 3 years from now, he will add an illustrious name to his country’s honored men—but just at present he is pointing as straight at the asylum for idiots as the needle points to the pole.

The true import of these comments is, of course, what they tell us about Clemens himself—especially when we recall that young Sam Clemens hated school so much that his mother was obliged to apprentice him to a printer at the age of eleven. These insights into his thoughts about education and about great achievers are but samples of what we, and the world, can expect to learn from Anne Cushman’s most generous gift to Mark Twain scholarship.

—Robert H. Hirst
Curator, Mark Twain Papers, and General Editor, Mark Twain Project
Graduate Fellows, 2004-2005

Each year The Bancroft Library hosts a number of UC graduate students who receive fellowships supported by the UC Berkeley Graduate School for the 2004-2005 academic year and by the Friends of The Bancroft Library. This year’s fellows reflect the strength and diversity of Bancroft collections.

2004 – 2005 Fellows

Rachel A. Chico, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley
Navigating Nation: Communication and Orientation in the Veracruz-Mexico City Corridor, 1812-1867

This dissertation project explores the impact that change in the political topography had on individuals’ identities in the aftermath of Mexico’s independence from Spain in 1821. This study focuses on one of Mexico’s central information arteries, the highly trafficked corridor between the port city of Veracruz and the national capital, Mexico City. Rich documentation exists in government records, travelers’ accounts, and mercantile proceedings housed in The Bancroft Library.

Anil K. Mukerjee, University of California, Santa Barbara
An Examination of the Engel Sluiter Historical Documents Collection

This project will support a dissertation that examines the colonial roots and the early development of Brazil’s economy and will focus on its financial administration during the 17th century. The overall aim of the dissertation is to establish the extent to which the colonial imperative shaped Brazil’s post-colonial economic realities. The “Engel Sluiter Historical Documents Collection” contains material pertaining to the history of Brazil during the late 16th and early 17th centuries and reflects Professor Sluiter’s interests in the economic and political history of Latin America. The collection amounts to more than 160,000 transcribed pages of manuscripts from Spanish and Portuguese archives and remains largely unexamined following its acquisition by The Bancroft Library.

Hellen Lee, Department of Literature, University of California, San Diego
Never Done: Women’s Work and Culture in the United States, 1870-1910

This dissertation project explores the important role that culture plays in mediating the processes of racialization and gender formations of labor. The archival and print resources of The Bancroft Library will support a rethinking of asymmetrical race relations, constructed in the circuits of the burgeoning mass culture industry along with immigration policies in the 19th century, to demonstrate the complexity of gendered laboring practices in the United States within a postnationalist frame.

Media representations of three women—Lola Montez, an Irish immigrant who made a career as a Spanish dancer and writer; Ah Toy, a Chinese businesswoman and madam; and Mary Ellen “Mammy” Pleasant, an African American entrepreneur—will inform this project.

Summer 2004 Fellows

Penelope Anderson, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley
The Rhetoric and Politics of Audience: Lucy Hutchinson, John Milton, and Katherine Philips

This project explores the rhetorical construction of audience in the poetry and prose of three writers overtly identified with oppositional political communities: Lucy Hutchinson, John Milton, and Katherine Philips. It analyzes the material evidence for readership and composition in conjunction with addresses to and frustrations with audience and nation evinced in the works themselves.

Stephen M. Fountain, Department of History, University of California, Davis
Big Dogs and Scorched Streams: Horses, Beaver, and Ethnocultural Change in the North American West, 1769-1849

The fates of two animal species shaped an era in the North American West. One was the horse, an exotic species that became so abundant they were vermin in the eyes of californio ranchers. The other animal was the beaver, a valuable fur-bearer nearly exterminated by trappers in a geopolitical struggle between Britain and the United States. This research project explores the impact of Europeans and these animals upon the peoples and environment of the northern Great Basin.

Jean V. Gier, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley
Writing Communities and Constituencies: Literature of the U.S. Filipino Press During the Early Twentieth Century

This dissertation focuses on the recovery and study of the literary discourse (poems, short stories, essays, and their historical and material contexts) emerging from the culture of early U.S. Filipino print media on the West Coast prior to and during the Depression era. The Filipino Student Magazine (1905-1907) and The Filipino Student (1912-1914) are the earliest of these.
periodicals. The * Philippine-American News Digest* (1940) includes a crucial (and hard-to-find) record of early U.S. Filipino literary criticism, foreshadowing significant issues that would rise for Filipino-American literature after World War II. The Benjamin Ide Wheeler Papers contain correspondence between editors of *The Filipino Student’s Magazine* and the then President of UC Berkeley.

**Ki Won Han**, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley

*The Rise of Oceanography in the United States, 1900-1940*

Scientists at the University of California, Berkeley pioneered American oceanography. William R. Ritter, Charles A. Kofoid, and others established a summer biological station, which would evolve into the Scripps Institution of Oceanography. Soon, oceanography at the University of California became the model for American oceanography. This project will explore how the specific economic, political, social, geographic, and academic circumstances of California at that time influenced the development of American oceanography.

**Stacy C. Kozakavich**, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley

*The Archaeology of The Kaweah Co-operative Commonwealth’s Advance Townsite*

This project explores the documentary and material histories of 19th-century “intentional communities” in western North America, in particular, the Advance Townsite, occupied between 1886 and 1892 by members of the California-based Kaweah Co-operative Commonwealth.

The Kaweah Co-operative Commonwealth was a socialist community created in reaction to industrial and commercial conditions in urban California during the late 19th century. Archaeological investigation of the group’s main habitation site of Advance, in Tulare County, California, will help us understand the complex negotiations of materiality and social status that members experienced while attempting to transform their daily activities and habits to those more fitting their trustees’ envisioned utopia.

**Michael Kunichika**, Department of Slavic Languages and Literature, University of California, Berkeley

*Visions for Verbal Art in the Russian Symbolist Journal, 1899-1917*

This project focuses on discussions and reproductions of visual arts in four journals that span the Silver Age of Russian Literature—*The World of Art* (1899-1904), *The Balance* (1904-1909), *The Golden Fleece* (1904-1909), and *Apollo* (1909-1917). Published during tremendous political upheaval, these journals testify to extraordinary developments within Russian artistic culture, the mutual interaction and influence of the visual and literary arts, and the influences of international artistic movements on Russia from the beginning of the 20th century to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

This research will explore how these journals provided visions for symbolist poetry and contribute to our own understanding of the literary works published within the journals. It would not be an exaggeration to say that the principal developments of Russian modernism, particularly those of Russian symbolism, took place on the pages of these journals. The articles in them delineate the broader contexts, both indigenous and international, from which Russian modernists would find inspiration for their literature.

**Marissa López**, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley

*Nationalism, Narrative, and History: The Formal Case for Chicano/a Literature*

This research project focuses on the papers of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, specifically his memoir, *Recuerdos Historicos y Personales Tocantes á la Alta California, 1769-1849*. It will explore the narrative strategies authors employ in treating history, how those strategies change over time, and what these changes tell us about the shifting value of the national identity.

**Elisabeth R. O’Connell**, Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology, University of California, Berkeley

*Recontextualizing the Tebtunis Papyri*

The Bancroft Library maintains the texts on papyri from the Tebtunis excavations while the objects are in the Hearst Museum of Anthropology. Using the Tebtunis Papyri Collection, Hearst Museum records, Museum catalogue publications by H. Lutz, and a newly acquired facsimile of a field notebook belonging to Hunt, this research project endeavors to reestablish, to the extent possible, the archaeological context of the texts and objects belonging to Berkeley’s Tebtunis collections.

**Julie K. Tanaka**, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley

*Germania Fiat: German Historiography and Identity in the Holy Roman Empire*

This dissertation project examines the conceptualization of a German identity within the larger political and religious cultures of the Holy Roman Empire as the empire began to transform from the medieval empire of Latin Christendom into what would eventually become Germany. Fundamental to this research is The Bancroft Library’s collection of early printed German books, including Hartmann Schedel’s *Liber Chronicarum* (Nuremberg, 1493), Sebastian Franck’s *Germaniae Chronicum* (Frankfurt a.M., 1538), and Sebastian Münster’s *Cosmographia* (Basel, 1544).
An AWESOME Experience  
Undergraduates Search for Shakespeare  

Most students in the Spring 2004 class, English 17: Introduction to Shakespeare, began the semester believing that Shakespeare not only thought up the stories in his plays, but left his works to posterity in the way that he originally imagined them. The students did not yet know that Shakespeare took the plot of *King Lear*, for example, from a partly historical, partly fictional chronicle of ancient kings, or that *Hamlet* was “originally” printed in three different versions, two of which are now considered almost equally authoritative. With the help of Anthony Bliss, Curator of Rare Books and Literary Manuscripts at The Bancroft Library, however, I found a way to show my students that Shakespeare’s creativity was less visionary than revisionary, and that the publication of his plays was almost entirely out of his hands.

I wanted to show students these things not to thwart their sense of Shakespeare’s genius, but to cultivate their historical sense of the strange parameters of genius in Renaissance England. Indeed, I wanted to offer students the experience of wonder that comes from seeing, across the dark backward and abyss of time, other minds and other worlds, worlds that Shakespeare represented in his poetry with such rare life.

To instill this historical consciousness in my students, I met with Tony Bliss and he agreed to introduce my class to Berkeley’s copy of the 1623 First Folio of Shakespeare’s Works, as well as to a 1611 first edition of the *King James Bible*, a Quarto version of *Hamlet*, and a 15th-century manuscript version of the *Brut Chronicle*, from which Shakespeare took the plot of *King Lear*. We divided the class into five groups of approximately 23 students each, and over the course of one heroic day in a Bancroft seminar room, Tony showed each student group these invaluable texts, while offering, five times over, a witty and engaging lecture both on the vexing issues raised by Shakespeare’s texts and on the broader history of book production in medieval and renaissance Europe, complete with a hands-on demonstration of typesetting. The students were fascinated. One student remarked afterwards that she “didn’t expect that learning about the details and problems of the printing process would be so interesting,” and she attributed at least some of her interest to “Tony Bliss’s alert sense of humor.” Another student proclaimed that “to learn about the archaic ways in which books had to be produced … gives new value to their existence.”

The students were also very surprised to learn that we have never had the manuscripts from which Shakespeare’s *First Folio* was typeset, and that differences in skill among compositors, as well as the exigencies of running a 17th-century print shop, have produced a *First Folio* edition so full of typographical errors that no two copies are exactly alike. Moreover, the students were taken aback by the textual differences between the *Folio* and the two Quarto versions of *Hamlet*, which Bliss revealed to them first-hand, as well as by the disappearance in modern editions of a significant orthographical pun which is found in Act III of the *Folio* version of *As You Like It*.

Such concrete evidence of textual indeterminacy did much to destabilize the students’ assumptions about Shakespeare’s ability to have authorial control over his works: as one student put it, “that [we have] no original manuscripts only adds to the Shakespeare mystery.”

My students were awestruck by the strange glamour of the rare books in front of them, and by the Shakespearean presence that these books seemed to conjure up. One young man exulted: “The Bancroft Library visit was AWESOME . . . I can’t believe I saw the works of Shakespeare in person.” Another student although she feared that she would sound like “a dork for putting it this way,” admitted that she found the experience “enchanted.” And, being particularly touched by both historical wonder and school spirit, one student summed up the day definitively: “The Bancroft was indeed an incredible experience. Being able to look at a book that is centuries old is absolutely humbling and awe inspiring. Knowing that Berkeley holds the *First Folio* instills incredible pride in me for my university.” Indeed, the treasures of The Bancroft Library—its curators like Tony Bliss as well as its books—are prize holdings in the trust of a great research university, and an invaluable and endlessly renewable store for teachers and students of Shakespeare at Berkeley.

—Geneivieve Guenther
Graduate Student Instructor
Jean Stone, 1911–2004

Jean Stone was a great story-teller. She had a keen, inquisitive mind with a steel-trap memory for detail and facts. As the young Jean Factor she attended public high school in the Bronx, New York, but at her mother’s urging spent Wednesdays and Thursdays at the theater to learn about life.

Late in high school Jean, to provide moral support, accompanied a friend to an open call from a local theater. Her friend joined the other hopefuls, while Jean sat in the auditorium to read. A “man, very handsome with a beautiful voice, California accent, which appealed to me immediately,” walked over to her, learned that she was not trying for a part, and after a short conversation, quietly told Jean that her friend had the part and he’d like to take Jean to dinner. The man was the theater’s director, Irving Stone.

He was captivated by her intense knowledge of modern theater. He soon revealed that he had written a book about a Dutch artist. Seventeen publishers had rejected the manuscript, and he wondered if Jean would read it and perhaps advise him on the book. Jean had never looked over a manuscript before, but undertook the task. With considerable diplomatic skill she critiqued the book to Irving. Her approach worked, and he asked her to mark up the manuscript.

From Jean’s perspective, she simply eliminated the academic approach, adjusting the book to tell the story directly. Irving was pleased with the result, and the first publisher to receive the revised text published it as Lust for Life. With his phenomenally successful first biographical novel, Irving Stone introduced the world to the life and art of Vincent van Gogh. Using the same approach he commenced his thoroughly researched biographical treatment of such significant figures as Charles Darwin, Sigmund Freud, Michelangelo, Clarence Darrow, Jack London—some already famous, others largely made so through Irving Stone’s efforts. Jean and Irving functioned as a well-balanced team, with Irving selecting the subject of each book, building a research library around the subject, and Jean serving as major researcher in libraries throughout the world, sole editor, business manager, and career coordinator. Cal alumnus, Irving Stone, became one of the most popular writers of his era.

At least three of the books were heavily researched at The Bancroft Library, including Immortal Wife, which focused on the life of Jessie Benton Fremont and her marriage to John C. Fremont, Men to Match My Mountains, about the opening of the far west, and There Was Light: Autobiography of a University. A book on John Muir was also begun at Bancroft, but uncompleted when Irving Stone died in 1989.

In the early 1990s, the University asked Jean to prepare an expanded version of There Was Light. She reestablished her connection at Bancroft, and we developed an instant rapport. I was fascinated by her tales of the life she and Irving led as they researched his numerous books. In listening, I learned about her own sense of the importance of research with primary sources, the significance of libraries, and the great value she placed on education.

She and Irving were instrumental in supporting the Madera Method, a program founded by Bill Coate in the Madera Public Schools. Gifted sixth graders are selected for year-long immersion in research and writing using primary sources on a single-subject biography. Jean believed that the Stone research method has broad educational application, and had long hoped to place Irving’s papers in a library to demonstrate the method through a complete display of the books, their manuscripts, and Irving’s research collections.

Years later Jean quoted me as saying of Bancroft, “We don’t have enough room for all that.” That led her to rethink her plan. She realized that one book and its related research collection would serve the educational purpose just as well. With a new plan Jean made a major gift to The Bancroft Library that involved the entirety of the Irving Stone archive, an endowment to support biography and history at Bancroft, and the creation of the Jean and Irving Stone Seminar Room, which opened in April 1996. As a feature of that room, her personal collection of Irving’s works in all languages (“The Stone Wall”) is displayed in the room along with the collection Irving built to support Passions of the Mind, his biography of Sigmund Freud. The Stone Seminar Room has become the most popular and most heavily booked of Bancroft’s spaces, and serves Jean Stone’s commitment to education and research in just the way she had hoped. Her son, Ken Stone, has continued her generous support for education.

Jean Stone died at her home on April 16 still surrounded by many books and the art she and Irving collected in their long and productive literary life together. A moving memorial service was conducted at Leo Baeck Temple by the temple’s Founding Rabbi, Leonard I. Beerman, and Senior Rabbi, Kenneth Chasen. Cantor Emeritus William Sharlin served as cantor for the service, and built his hymns around Jean and the reminiscences shared by each of the rabbis. Her legacy at The Bancroft Library continues to illuminate.

Peter E. Hanff
Deputy Director
Fall 2004 Calendar

EXHIBITS

September 14 – November 13
Memory Lines: Fifty Years of Oral History
The year 2004 marks the fiftieth anniversary of the Regional Oral History Office (ROHO) in The Bancroft Library. The collection of more than 2,000 interviews documents the relationship of personal and social transformation in the state of California during the past century in a wide variety of fields.

December 1 – March 23, 2005
Gifts to The Bancroft Library
Selections of recent gifts and acquisitions include rare books, manuscripts, photographs, illustrations, letters, diaries, and other documents and publications.

PLEASE NOTE!
The Kickoff Event announced for October 1 has been cancelled. Watch your mailbox for information about an exciting special event we are planning for the Spring.

ROUNDTABLES

An open, informal discussion group, Bancroft Roundtables feature presentations by Bancroft staff and scholars. All sessions are held in the Lewis-Latimer Room of The Faculty Club at noon on the third Thursday of the month.

September 16
JoAnn Levy, Author
Unsettling the West: Eliza Farnam and Georgiana Bruce Kirby in Frontier California

October 21
Peter Howard, Antiquarian Bookseller
William Saroyan, Heroin and Ethics: “The Sad Tale of an Archive Broken”

November 18
Robert E. Barde, Deputy Director, Institute of Business and Economic Research, Haas Business School
Guardians of the Golden Gate: John Birge Sawyer, Angel Island, and the Great Immigrant Smuggling Scandal