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# The Modern Library Series and American Cultural Life

*Gordon B. Neavill*

The Modern Library series was a visible and significant part of American cultural life for half a century. From 1917, when it was founded, to 1970, when it became moribund, it was the leading American series of hardbound reprints of important works of literature and thought. The small, inexpensive volumes were stocked at virtually every bookstore and major department store in the country. There can be few readers of serious books during the Modern Library's long history who did not know and use its volumes.

The series was founded at a time when the United States was undergoing an intense cultural upheaval. Victorian culture, once vigorous and bracing, had ossified and grown brittle; its certainties were being challenged, and its grip was loosening under the assault. This upheaval, as Henry F. May has shown, had been in progress since about 1912.<sup>1</sup> The ideas and tendencies that fueled it came largely from Europe: the important names in the alternative pantheon included writers like Samuel Butler, Henrik Ibsen, Friedrich Nietzsche, George Bernard Shaw, August Strindberg, Leo Tolstoy, and Oscar Wilde. One of the consequences of the upheaval was a considerable Europeanization of American intellectual life.

The Modern Library in its origins was inseparable from the revolt against Victorian culture. It was conceived by Albert Boni, a twenty-five-year-old Greenwich Village bookseller and occasional publisher. Boni was in the thick of the cultural upheaval. His

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Washington Square Bookshop was a favorite gathering place of Village artists and intellectuals. He was one of the founders of the Washington Square Players. As publisher of the *Glebe*, a little magazine edited by Alfred Kreymborg, he was already active in promoting translations of modern European writers (much to the dismay of Kreymborg, who was interested mainly in discovering and nurturing unknown Americans).<sup>2</sup> Young, Jewish, politically radical, in touch with new writing in Europe and culturally active at home, Boni embodied the European intellectual currents that were beginning to shake American culture. The Modern Library was a fully conscious attempt on his part to transmit these currents to the broader American audience.<sup>3</sup>

The name Modern Library was not chosen by chance. Nor was it an accident that the first title in the series was Oscar Wilde's *The Picture of Dorian Gray*. The books that followed were primarily by post-Victorian British and Continental writers. By 1925, five additional titles by Wilde had found their way into the Modern Library, along with four by Anatole France and three each by Gabriele D'Annunzio, Ibsen, Guy de Maupassant, and Nietzsche. Lord Dunsany, Gustave Flaubert, Walter Pater, Arthur Schnitzler, Strindberg, Tolstoy, Ivan Turgenev, and H. G. Wells had two titles each. There were few Americans in the early years. The only pre-nineteenth-century works were by authors like François Villon and Voltaire whom the modernists claimed as spiritual forebears. As a reprint series, the Modern Library did not introduce any of these works to American readers. What it did was to make them readily available to a large audience at a time when interest in such works was growing, at a price that anyone could afford.<sup>4</sup>

The Modern Library was published in its early years by the new firm of Boni and Liveright. Horace Liveright, who was to make his mark as one of the most important literary publishers of the 1920s, had no publishing experience when he and Boni became partners, and editorial decisions regarding the Modern Library were entirely in Boni's hands.<sup>5</sup> But Boni's connection with the series was short-lived. He and Liveright did not get along, and in the summer of 1918 they flipped a coin to see who would buy out the other. Boni left the firm. Liveright gradually added a few more contemporary American authors like Sherwood Anderson, Theodore Dreiser, and Eugene O'Neill, but in the main the Modern Library remained as Boni conceived it. Titles he had planned to include continued to be added. If anything, Liveright tended to neglect the Modern Library. He preferred publishing exciting new writers to the comparatively unglamorous business of reprint pub-

lishing. In 1925, when he needed money, he sold the Modern Library to a young Boni and Liveright vice president who, at the age of twenty-seven, wanted to go into business for himself. His name was Bennett Cerf.

Cerf, together with his friend and partner Donald S. Klopfer, established their firm, The Modern Library, Inc., in August 1925. Their original intention was to publish only the Modern Library. But they soon found that they had time and energy to spare, and in 1927 they started Random House as a subsidiary of the Modern Library to publish, at random, other books that interested them. Random House grew into one of the leading American trade publishers, and the Modern Library eventually became a subsidiary of its offspring.

Cerf and Klopfer set out to invigorate and expand the Modern Library. Poorer-selling titles were discontinued. By the end of the 1930s, only about one-third of the titles from the Boni and Liveright series remained in the Modern Library. At the same time they added new titles at a faster rate than they dropped them. But they did not merely increase the size of the Modern Library; they also altered its scope. Cerf and Klopfer added many more American authors. And, while they maintained a generally modern emphasis, they included older classics as well. In 1931 they launched the Modern Library Giants series. The Giants were larger in format than the compact volumes of the regular Modern Library. They allowed Cerf and Klopfer to include works like Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, and Hugo's *Les Misérables*—books that belonged in the Modern Library but were too long for the regular format. The Giants sold initially for one dollar a copy, only five cents more than the regular volumes. They were an extraordinary bargain, ideally suited to the conditions of the Depression book trade, and they were an immediate success.

The Modern Library's cultural significance was not based on its being a mass-market operation. Modern Library books were not available at every crossroads. Drugstores and other mass-market outlets sold books before the beginning of the paperback revolution in 1939, but the books they sold tended to be popular hard-cover reprints issued for this market by specialist reprint publishers like Grosset and Dunlap and Garden City Publishing Company. Cerf never thought that the Modern Library as a whole had much potential for this kind of mass-market sale. Nor did he believe it was geared to small-town markets.<sup>6</sup> There were occasional attempts to persuade Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward to include Modern Library books in their mail-order catalogs, but when

these attempts were successful, the sales achieved thereby were disappointing.<sup>7</sup>

The great bulk of the Modern Library's sales came through general bookstores, college stores, and the book departments of major department stores. Here the Modern Library was a staple. But book outlets of this sort did not darken the American landscape in great numbers. The bleak portrait of American bookselling that O. H. Cheney drew in his classic 1931 study of book industry economics remained essentially unchanged until the 1960s.<sup>8</sup> The problem was not merely the shortage of bookstores but the poor quality of most of those that did exist. According to Lewis Miller, the retired vice president and former sales manager of Random House, from the 1920s to the 1950s there were in the entire United States only about one hundred book outlets, including department stores, that met his working definition of a real bookstore: a place where *The Oxford Book of English Verse* would be stocked regularly.<sup>9</sup> Part of the Modern Library's significance lies in the fact that few bookstores, especially before the advent of "quality" paperbacks in the mid-1950s, offered much of intellectual substance other than the Modern Library.

Although the importance of distribution and sales cannot be underestimated, it is in the editorial arena that publishers' reputations are made. Most publishers exercise their chief influence on cultural and intellectual life by determining which manuscripts will be accepted for publication, by working with authors at the editorial stage, and by conceiving ideas for books that they then commission authors to write.<sup>10</sup> The role of the reprint publisher is different. Much of the reprinter's time is spent negotiating with other publishers. There is little contact with authors: commissioning a new introduction to an old book or working with an outside editor on a new anthology is about the extent of it. Yet the reprint publisher also has a capacity to influence cultural life. The reprinter's editorial decisions can affect how widely a work will be circulated. A reprint edition may save a work from going out of print. Sometimes a reprint can give a work overlooked in its original edition a new lease on life.

Alfred A. Knopf, though never primarily a reprint publisher, provides a classic example of the reprinter's influence. Knopf is largely responsible for the American reputation of W. H. Hudson's *Green Mansions* as a minor literary classic. When it was first published in the United States by G. P. Putnam's Sons in 1904 it was a resounding failure. But Knopf liked the book and believed in its stature and potential appeal. When he founded his own firm in

1915, he persuaded Hudson to allow him to reissue it. *Green Mansions* was resurrected in a handsome new format and with an enthusiastic introduction commissioned from John Galsworthy. Knopf did everything he could to promote the book, and this time it caught on.

The possibility of bringing similarly neglected works to the attention of a wider audience appealed to Cerf and Klopfer when they took over the Modern Library. The Modern Library seemed a perfect vehicle for doing this. As an established series of modern classics, stocked by most booksellers in its entirety and with a ready-made audience, any work they chose to include was assured of distribution and notice. One of the first works they tried to popularize was *The House with the Green Shutters* by George Douglas Brown. It was first published in 1901, shortly before its author's early death. A stark, powerful novel of life in a small Scottish town, written at a time when the prevailing view of Scottish common life was sentimental and romantic, it tells a story of meanness and greed, culminating in murder and suicide. Much of the dialogue is written in Scottish dialect. From the beginning it had a small but devoted cult following—a following its original publisher had helped to create by advertising it quietly but repeatedly as a story of limited appeal that only lovers of the best literature would appreciate.<sup>11</sup> Cerf and Klopfer were among its enthusiasts. Cerf considered it one of the best novels of the past thirty years and hoped that the Modern Library edition would greatly increase its popularity.<sup>12</sup> The Modern Library edition was published in April 1927 with a larger-than-average first printing of 8,000 copies. But *The House with the Green Shutters* failed to repeat the born-again popularity of *Green Mansions*. The first printing sold out slowly. Unwilling to give up, Cerf and Klopfer called for a second printing of 1,000 copies. But it still failed to catch on, and they reluctantly dropped it from the series.

Another of the works they tried to popularize was Evelyn Waugh's *Vile Bodies*, which was added to the Modern Library in 1933. Waugh's career was just beginning. *Vile Bodies*, originally published in 1930, was his second novel. When the Modern Library edition was announced, the Modern Library's most experienced salesman told Cerf and Klopfer that he didn't expect it would sell—and didn't expect they did, either.<sup>13</sup> It limped along in the series for seven and a half years until the decision to drop it could be put off no longer. Klopfer still recalls how they hated to let it go.<sup>14</sup>

In the case of John Dos Passos a very different pattern emerges.

In the late 1920s Dos Passos's agent offered the Modern Library reprint rights to *Manhattan Transfer* and *Three Soldiers*. Both offers were declined. In 1927, when *Manhattan Transfer* was offered, Cerf consulted several booksellers and found there was no public demand for it.<sup>15</sup> The following year, when he declined *Three Soldiers*, he explained that, while he personally liked the book, he did not think Dos Passos was quite worthy of the Modern Library.<sup>16</sup> Then Dos Passos's masterpiece, the *U.S.A.* trilogy, began to appear. It confirmed his reputation as a major American writer and greatly expanded his public. Less than a month after the publication of the second volume, Cerf wrote to Dos Passos's publisher about getting a Dos Passos novel for the Modern Library.<sup>17</sup> *Three Soldiers* was published in the Modern Library later that year; it remained in the series for thirty-seven years. In 1937 *The 42nd Parallel*, the first of the *U.S.A.* volumes, appeared in the Modern Library with a new introduction by the author. The entire trilogy came out as a Modern Library Giant in 1939. That edition remained in print for twenty-nine years.

After several failures akin to *The House with the Green Shutters* and *Vile Bodies*, Cerf and Klopfer concluded that the Modern Library was not an instrument that could be used to popularize deserving but little-known works. Thereafter, they generally followed the more cautious approach they used with Dos Passos and restricted themselves to adding titles for which they believed a substantial demand already existed.

Successes and failures of this sort suggest something, I think, about how the Modern Library's audience perceived the series. The series billed itself as "The Modern Library of the World's Best Books," and book buyers expected its contents to be generally acknowledged as belonging in that category. They were not looking for the latest avant-garde writings, or for outstanding books by new authors whose reputations were not yet established, or for sleepers that had been overlooked in the past. At the same time they were looking for something more than relatively ephemeral bestsellers. Popular novels like Edna Ferber's *Show Boat* and Charles Jackson's *The Lost Weekend*, though highly successful in their original editions, were failures in the Modern Library, perhaps because they were seen as not quite meriting inclusion in it. This does not mean, however, that successful titles were unremittingly highbrow. Among the top one hundred titles in terms of sales were such works as Pearl Buck's *The Good Earth* and Daphne Du Maurier's *Rebecca*. W. Somerset Maugham's *Of Human Bond-*

age, with an annual sale of around 10,000 to 12,000 copies, was for years the Modern Library's best-selling title.

Once poorer-selling titles began to be discontinued, the records of titles added to and dropped from the Modern Library provide a fascinating barometer of changing literary taste. Once-popular names like D'Annunzio, France, and Maurice Maeterlinck fade in the late 1920s and early 1930s, and authors like Ernest Hemingway, Aldous Huxley, and Thomas Mann take their place. In the mid- and late 1930s, Erskine Caldwell, James T. Farrell, Clifford Odets, and John Steinbeck enter the ranks. Also at this time are some surprising failures. F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* was published in the Modern Library in the fall of 1934. Fitzgerald was then identified almost completely as an author of the 1920s; there was little interest in him, it turned out, in the depths of the Depression. The Modern Library edition of *The Great Gatsby*, with sales of about 700 copies a year, was one of the poorest sellers in the series.<sup>18</sup> It was discontinued after five years, and a substantial portion of its first and only printing of 5,000 copies was remaindered.

It is necessary here to add a cautionary note: one should not assume anything about the popularity of added and dropped titles without knowing the circumstances involved. For example, Thomas Mann's *The Magic Mountain* and *Buddenbrooks* were added to the Modern Library in the 1930s and discontinued five years later. The reason was not that they were failures but because they sold so well that Knopf, who controlled the American rights, decided that it was not in his interest to let the Modern Library keep them, and he declined to renew the reprint contracts. (Cerf may have anticipated this possibility when the books were first included. The reprint agreement he drew up for *The Magic Mountain* did not limit the Modern Library's rights to any period of time; it was Knopf who inserted the customary five-year clause.)<sup>19</sup> Another title dropped at the end of its original five-year contract was Willa Cather's *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, published in the Modern Library in 1931. It was one of the most popular titles in the series. The advance sale had been the largest of any Modern Library title published up to that time.<sup>20</sup> But Cather decided she did not want any of her books in reprint editions, and it had to go.

Sometimes special circumstances accounted for flourishing sales of particular titles. Following Simon and Schuster's publication of Will Durant's enormously successful *The Story of Philosophy* in 1926, sales of the Modern Library's philosophy titles increased by

78 percent over the preceding year.<sup>21</sup> The Second World War produced a rise in book sales of all kinds, but books dealing with human values seem to have been in special demand. Sales of poetry and philosophy titles in the Modern Library increased at a disproportionate rate, and Cerf reported that the demand for these titles was especially strong among men in the service.<sup>22</sup> (A similar phenomenon was observed in Britain, where sales of poetry picked up during both world wars.)<sup>23</sup> It was presumably also the uncertainties of wartime that caused *Oracles of Nostradamus*, published in the Modern Library in 1942, to become—to everyone's astonishment—one of the best-selling titles in the series.

Titles discontinued because of poor sales did not always pass from the Modern Library unlamented. When Stendhal's *The Charterhouse of Parma* was dropped in 1943, the Modern Library found itself the object of a storm of protest. There is a tendency, because publishers deal in things of the spirit and intellect, to assume that they should not sully their activities with considerations of the marketplace. But publishing is a business. Though noncommercial motives enter into the decision making of serious publishers to an amazing extent, it is ultimately on the economics of profit and loss that a publisher's survival depends. *The Charterhouse of Parma* had been one of the Modern Library's poorest-selling titles. In 1938, its second year in the series, it sold 307 copies; by 1942, when sales of all titles were booming, it crept up to 1,083 copies.<sup>24</sup> Paper was scarce during the war, and publishers felt compelled to allocate supplies to books that were most in demand. Moreover, Cerf and Klopfer had always assured the booksellers who stocked the Modern Library that its commercial viability would be maintained by regular weeding of slow-selling titles. Under these circumstances it is hard to see how retention of *The Charterhouse of Parma* could have been justified. Yet when the decision to drop it became known, intellectuals reacted as if they had been betrayed.

The reaction was a measure of the importance of the Modern Library in the lives of its most ardent audience. Young Americans had cut their intellectual teeth on Modern Library books for a quarter of a century. One thinks of Charlie Citrine, the protagonist of Saul Bellow's *Humboldt's Gift*, wandering in the park as a young man with his Modern Library books, talking incessantly about them to his first love, remembered by his boyhood pals as having had "the largest collection of Modern Library books on the block."<sup>25</sup> It was readers like this who made the dropping of *The Charterhouse of Parma* into something of a cause célèbre. An open

letter protesting the decision appeared in the *New Republic*.<sup>26</sup> The little magazine *Pharos*, in a special issue on Stendhal, charged that the publishers of the Modern Library had “committed [a] cultural outrage against their country.”<sup>27</sup> James T. Farrell, writing in 1946 about the commercialization of publishing, asserted that a study of Modern Library titles added and dropped in recent years showed that its editors were “gradually watering down their stock.”<sup>28</sup> And when Jason Epstein founded Anchor Books, the first “quality” paperback series, in 1953—a decade after the fact—he boldly staked a claim to the intellectual audience by making *The Charterhouse of Parma* his first title.<sup>29</sup> (It lasted twelve years in Anchor Books compared with six and a half in the Modern Library, but when the Anchor edition was dropped in the mid-1960s, no one noticed or cared. By then, the paperback revolution had so expanded the range and number of serious books in print that readers could choose from three other paperback editions. When the Modern Library edition was dropped, the only alternative was an expensive and little-known two-volume edition published by Liveright. *Books in Print* did not yet exist, and most observers assumed the demise of the Modern Library edition meant that *The Charterhouse of Parma* not only ceased to be widely available in the United States but was out of print altogether.)

A major trend of the past century that is reflected in the Modern Library is the increasing academization of American intellectual and cultural life. In 1875, as Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., has noted, “productive scholarship in the United States was not associated in any close or direct way with a career in college teaching.”<sup>30</sup> With the founding of American universities on the German model, beginning with Johns Hopkins in 1876, the amateur scholar began to be displaced by the professional academic. By the mid-twentieth century, a person like Edmund Wilson or Lewis Mumford, who led an active and productive scholarly life without any academic connection, was an extreme rarity. At the same time a steady expansion of the university curriculum began. New academic disciplines emerged to study cultural and intellectual activities and other areas of human experience that previously had been carried on without academic scrutiny. American literature, for instance, first became a common subject of study in American colleges and universities in the 1920s. Contemporary literature was accepted into the curriculum even later. (The first course in contemporary fiction at an American university was offered by William Lyon Phelps at Yale as early as 1895/96; Phelps’s superiors threatened him with dismissal if he repeated the course, and it was dropped.<sup>31</sup>

Since the Second World War, cultural life itself has been increasingly academized. University programs in creative writing, studio art, and music have drawn large numbers of practitioners in these areas into the university, and more and more of the creative artistic works of our culture are being produced within an academic setting. Younger critically recognized poets and, even more so, composers of contemporary serious music are becoming rare species outside the groves of academe.

These trends are reflected dramatically in the introductions to Modern Library books. In the Boni and Liveright period, nearly all of the introductions were by literary figures, journalists, reviewers, and the like—the sort of person best described by the generic term “man of letters.” Only a handful were by academics, and these can usually be accounted for on nonacademic grounds. The chemist Benjamin Harrow, who edited and wrote the introduction to the Modern Library anthology *Contemporary Science* (1921), was married to a daughter of Liveright’s cousin. Carl Van Doren, who prepared a collection of Thomas Paine’s writings for the Modern Library in 1922, was both a well-known Columbia University professor and a man of letters, serving as literary editor of the *Nation* and, later, the *Century Magazine*. After Cerf and Klopfer took over the series, introductions by academics became more common, but they remained very much the exception. Cerf and Klopfer frequently asked living authors to write introductions to their own books. The majority of the other introductions continued to be by men of letters. Among these were such figures as J. Donald Adams, Brooks Atkinson, Ernest Boyd, Heywood Broun, Henry Seidel Canby, Christopher Morley, George Jean Nathan, and Ben Ray Redman. The academization of the Modern Library began after the Second World War, when the burgeoning college market caused Modern Library books to appear more and more in academic dress. Modern Library College Editions, a paperbound series intended for classroom use, began in 1950. Older introductions were gradually discarded in favor of new introductions commissioned from and directed toward the academic community. Several titles, including Hardy’s *Tess of the D’Urbervilles* and Thackeray’s *Vanity Fair*, were reset to bring their texts up to acceptable standards. Authors of most Modern Library introductions in the 1950s and early 1960s were highly regarded academics such as Walter Jackson Bate, Cleanth Brooks, Douglas Bush, Northrop Frye, Moses Hadas, Gertrude Himmelfarb, Hajo Holborn, Ricardo Quintana, and Gordon N. Ray.

The Modern Library came under increasing competition from

paperbacks in the 1960s, and in 1970 a decision was made to stop adding new titles to the series. Thereafter, many of the less profitable titles were remaindered or allowed to go out of print. By the mid-1970s, the series had shrunk from 498 titles to fewer than 140. Then, as the prices of both paperback and hardbound books escalated, Random House began to hope that there might again be a market for comparatively inexpensive hardbound editions of classics. In the spring of 1977 thirty-two Modern Library titles were reissued in newly designed jackets and bindings. Each publishing season since has seen a substantial increase in the number of Modern Library reissues in print.

## Notes

1. Henry F. May, *The End of American Innocence: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917* (New York: Knopf, 1959).

2. Alfred Kreymborg, *Troubadour: An Autobiography* (New York: Boni and Liveright, 1925), p. 211.

3. Albert Boni, interview with J. C. Furnas, 24 February 1971 (notes of interview provided by Furnas).

4. Modern Library books sold initially for 60 cents a copy. Wartime inflation drove up the price to 95 cents by 1920, but that price remained in effect until after the Second World War. When the last new title was added in 1970, Modern Library books were selling for \$2.95.

5. Manuel Komroff, "The Liveright Story," p. 35, Komroff papers, Columbia University.

6. Cerf to James L. Crowder, 9 October 1930; Cerf to Robert deGraff, 20 November 1933, Random House archives, Columbia University.

7. James L. Crowder to Cerf, 2 September 1930; Crowder to Cerf, 24 August 1934; Crowder to Cerf, 8 March 1939, Random House archives, Columbia University.

8. O. H. Cheney, *Economic Survey of the Book Industry, 1930-1931: Final Report* (New York: National Association of Book Publishers, 1931).

9. Lewis Miller, interview, 13 June 1978.

10. See Gordon B. Neavill, "Role of the Publisher in the Dissemination of Knowledge," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 421 (September 1975): 23-33.

11. Algernon Tassin, "The Story of Modern Book Advertising," *Bookman* 33 (June 1911): 413.

12. Cerf to Heywood Broun, 26 October 1926, Random House archives, Columbia University.

13. James L. Crowder to Cerf [1933], Random House archives, Columbia University.

14. Donald S. Klopfer, interview, 1 June 1977.

15. Cerf to Bernice Baumgarten (Brandt and Brandt), 25 May 1927, Random House archives, Columbia University.

16. Cerf to Baumgarten, 7 March 1928, Random House archives, Columbia University.

17. Cerf to Robert deGraff (Doubleday, Doran), 9 April 1932, Random House archives, Columbia University.
18. Cerf to Whitney Darrow (Scribner's), 31 January 1940, Random House archives, Columbia University; Donald S. Klopfer, interview, 5 July 1978.
19. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., to Cerf, 14 May 1931, Random House archives, Columbia University.
20. Cerf to Hugh S. Eayrs (Macmillan Co. of Canada), 2 September 1931, Random House archives, Columbia University.
21. Cerf to Richard Simon, 19 October 1926, Random House archives, Columbia University.
22. "Of Men and Books: Critic John T. Frederick, Guest Bennett Cerf, in a Radio Conversation over the Columbia Broadcasting System," *Northwestern University on the Air* vol. 2, no. 16 (16 January 1943): 4.
23. Mass Observation typescript report no. 46, "Book Reading in War-time," p. 10; cited in Angus Calder, *The People's War: Britain 1939-1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1969), pp. 516-517.
24. Cerf, letter, *New Republic* 109 (29 November 1943): 747.
25. Saul Bellow, *Humboldt's Gift* (New York: Viking Press, 1975), pp. 76, 398.
26. George Mayberry, "An Open Letter: The Modern Library, Inc., New York City," *New Republic* 109 (8 November 1943): 661.
27. *Pharos*, no. 3 (Winter 1945): 71.
28. James T. Farrell, "Will the Commercialization of Publishing Destroy Good Writing? Some Observations on the Future of Books," *New Directions* 9 (1946): 13.
29. Jason Epstein, interview, 19 June 1978.
30. Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "The Transformation of American Scholarship, 1875-1917," *Library Quarterly* 23 (July 1953): 166. See also Edward Shils, "The Order of Learning in the United States: The Ascendancy of the University," in Alexandra Oleson and John Voss (eds.), *The Organization of Knowledge in Modern America, 1860-1920* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), pp. 17-47.
31. René Wellek, "Literary Scholarship," in Merle Curti (ed.), *American Scholarship in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953), p. 117.