



The Fossil

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President's Message

A Family History of Viola Frances Addison ("Zelda Arlington")

by Ken Faig, Jr.

ELISSA MYERS, PhD candidate at CUNY Center, has published an exciting new paper " 'Something More than Invisible': Care as Agency in Girls' Amateur Periodicals," *Children's Literature Association Quarterly*, 45:2 (summer 2020), pp. 103-123, available on Project Muse at <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/755351> (payment required).

Myers focuses her paper on Zelda Arlington, who served as the first (and only) president of the Young Women's Amateur Press Association (YWAPA) in 1885-86 and published her amateur paper *The Violet* in 1883-87. Myers argues that by providing mutual care and support, the female amateur journalists of the day were able to overcome the prejudices of their male peers. She describes the exclusion of Miss J. M. Brown from the convention of the Empire State APA in 1884 or 1885. Edward Guild Wycoff, an amateur present at the convention, argued that "it was the height of imprudence for ... her to come to the convention, as Judd Russell had threatened to tell a story there to which *no* lady would care to listen." For this indiscretion and other sins, Russell was refused attendance at the 1885 Boston NAPA convention, the first to which young lady amateurs (including Zelda Arlington) were admitted. Despite the fact that they were not yet allowed to pay dues or to attend the convention banquet, the young lady amateurs had fun at the Boston convention.

Myers emphasizes Zelda Arlington's strenuous work in securing and retaining recruits for YWAPA. Her organizational talents did not go unnoticed in other organizations in which she was active. The *Akron Beacon Journal* for Sept. 28, 1899 reported the Ohio Wo-

men's Suffrage Association would meet for its fourteenth annual convention in Akron's Universalist Church on October 2-3, 1899. Among the standing committee reports scheduled for the convention's second day was that of Dr. Z. Viola Swift of the organization committee.



Viola Addison Swift at the 1893
NAPA convention

Zelda was born Viola Frances Addison, the daughter of Cyrus Addison (b. April 15, 1830 Zanesville, Ohio, d. Jan. 18, 1908 Cincinnati, Ohio) and Elizabeth Jane Jones (b. June 1838 Butler County, Ohio, d. March 30, 1926 Ohio), in Montgomery, Hamilton County, Ohio on Oct. 25, 1858. She was enumerated with her parents and siblings in Columbia Township of Hamilton County in the 1860 census and in Sycamore Township of Hamilton County in the 1870 census. Her father was the son of Pennsylvania-born Jonathan Addison (1800 - 1874) and Nancy Brown (1804 - 1888), who married on October 10, 1821 in Montgomery. Over his long lifetime, Cyrus Addison worked as a butcher, a cattle trader, a horse trader, a restaurateur, and a livery man.

Viola Addison first appeared in the Cincinnati directory in 1875. She worked as a clerk at 268 W. 5th and resided with her mother Jennie, a seamstress, at 39 Hathaway. In 1877-78, Viola was working as a bookfolder and boarding with her mother at 328 Freeman Avenue. In 1879, Mrs. Jennie Addison was a dressmaker residing at 249 Everett; her daughter Viola, a bookfolder, and her son Leon, a packer, resided with her there. Viola and Leon continued to reside with their mother at 249 Everett in 1882. On June 14, 1882 Viola married amateur journalist Edwin Booth "Doc" Swift

| | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Father</i> Cyrus Addison (1830 - 1908) | <i>Mother</i> Elizabeth Jones (1838 - 1926) | <i>Father</i> Dionysius Swift (1836 - 1880) | <i>Mother</i> Serena Talburt (1842 - ??) |
| Viola Frances Addison (1858 - 1904) | | Edwin Booth "Doc" Swift (1859 - 1936) | |
| Married June 14, 1882 | | | |
| <i>Second Husband</i> Frank David Woollen (1864 - 1927) | <i>Second Wife</i> Marie Martha Fredrick (1878 - ??) | <i>Third Wife</i> Katherine C. Woods (1884 - 1950) | |

Parents and spouses of Viola Frances Addison and Edwin Booth Swift.

The Distaff Side

by Truman J. Spencer
(From *The History of Amateur Journalism*)

EARLY IN THE HISTORY of amateur journalism girls as well as boys engaged in the enterprise. But at first they were comparatively few in number, and although some of them gained prominence in the literary field, they failed to secure recognition in the world of politics for some time. As their numbers increased they were elected to minor offices, and in time were chosen to fill the highest positions in the institution. The first young lady to be elected President of an association larger than a local club was said to be Miss M. Beulah Ferguson, who was chosen President of the Atlantic Coast A.P.A. in 1906. Later, women became Official Editors and Presidents of the National A.P.A.

In February 1885, Mrs. Edwin B. Swift, of Cincinnati, Ohio, in her magazine the *Violet*, which she edited under the name of "Zelda Arlington," commented upon the increased number of girls in amateur journalism, and said: "We, the girls, should have an association of our own. It would be more interesting, and we could do better work as a body than we can singly."

The idea was received favorably by many, and an organization was formed six months later. No conventions were ever held, all business was conducted by mail, the officers elected by proxy. Considerable discussion was held over a name for the organization. It was first known as the Ladies Amateur Press Association, and later as the Young Women's A.P.A.

The officers chosen were as follows:

- President, Zelda Arlington Swift, Cincinnati, Ohio.
- Vice-President, Helen G. Phillips, New Bedford, Mass.
- Secretary, Dora E. Sheldon, Rockford, Ill.
- Treasurer, Bertha Y. Grant, New Glasgow, N. S.
- Official Editor, Edith May Dowe, Worcester, Mass.

The *Violet* was made the official organ. The Association lived only a little over a year. ♦

(b. June 28, 1859 Louisville, Kentucky, d. April 2, 1936 Bronx, New York). When they were enumerated in the 1900 census Viola and Doc were living at 123 Garfield Place in Cincinnati; they both practiced as dentists. Viola had borne no children.

Doc Swift's parents Dionysius "Dion" Swift, age 22, and Serena M. Talburt, age 16, were married on Sept. 21, 1858 in Jefferson County, Kentucky. I found only two census records for Doc before 1900. The 1860 census captured Doc, age 11 months, born Kentucky, and his mother Sirena Swift, age 18, also born Kentucky, in the household of widow Ellen McCann, age 46, born Ireland, in Lafayette, Indiana. Michael McCann, age 15, born Ohio, at school, was also a member of this household. In 1870, Edwin Swift, age 9, born Kentucky, and Lillie M. Swift, age 3, born Missouri, were enumerated in the St. Louis, Missouri household of M. Talburt, a 67-year-old female born in Maryland. M. Talburt was probably a relative of Doc's mother Sirena (Talburt) Swift. It is possible that Lillie M. Swift was Doc's sister. I did not find any record of Doc's mother after 1860. Dion Swift, a 44-year-old single man who formerly worked as a salesman, was enumerated as a patient at the Northern Illinois Hospital for the Insane in Elgin, Illinois in the 1880 census; he died there later that year, on Sept. 19, 1880. I don't know whether he was the same man as Doc's father Dionysius Swift.

I first found Doc in the Cincinnati directories in 1876, as a student boarding at 7 Turner. He was boarding at the same address in 1877, but listed as a student at 118 W. 6th Street, the dental office of H. Augustus Downing, D.D.S. I did not find Doc in the 1879 directory, but in 1880 and 1881 he was listed as a dentist at 114 W. 8th Street. In 1882, he was in the partnership of Allen & Swift, dentists, at 337 Vine. In 1883, he was a dentist at 337 Vine, with house at 249 Everett (the home of his mother-in-law). In 1884-87, he practiced at 321 Vine; in 1887, he (and presumably Viola) shared a home at 143½ Richmond with Lillie Swift, perhaps his sister. Doc claimed to have been graduated from the Ohio College of Dental Surgery in 1886 and to have served for four years as professor of operative dentistry at Miami Dental College beginning in 1891. He attended many NAPA conventions and was elected treasurer in Indianapolis in 1890 and president in Philadelphia

" Edwin B. dentist, 131 W. 8th
SWIFT EDWIN B. & MRS. Z. VIOLA,
 Dentists; Office and Residence, 131 W. 8th
 Swift Ella, domestic Palace Hotel
 " I. H. b. k. 55 W. 2d, h. 253 W. 7th
 " Jane, wid. Briggs, h. 57 W. 8th
 " John, bar tender, rooms 61 E. 4th
 " John B. pres. The Eagle White Lead Co.
 43 Perin Bldg. h. 411 Locust
 " John J. shoe cutter, wks. s.e.c. 9th and
 Sycamore
 " Jos. millwright, wks. n.w.c. Front and
 John
 " Maggie, laundress, h. 18 Abigail
 " Margaret, wid. h. 1033 Gilbert Av
 " Mary, h. 23 Oregon
 " Theo. h. 1033 Gilbert Av
 " Thos. T. supt. The Eagle White Lead Co.
 bds. St. Clair Hotel
 " Wm. tinner, h. 104 Hunt
 " Wm. D. switchman, h. 12 Sargent
 " Mrs. Z. Viola, dentist, 131 W. 8th

Both Edwin and Viola Swift were listed as dentists in the 1893 Cincinnati City Directory.

phia in 1891. He claimed to have issued his first amateur paper in 1876. Among his most notable efforts were *Red Letter Days* in 1890-92 and *The Weekly Amateur* in 1905-09.

In 1888-92, Edwin B. Swift and Mrs. Z. Viola Swift both practiced dentistry at 321 Vine Street in Cincinnati. Perhaps Viola had apprenticed under her husband; it was unusual for women to attend dental school at the time. In 1888, their residence was in the east side suburb of Pleasant Ridge (annexed by Cincinnati in 1912). In 1892, their residence was at 495 Race Street. In 1893 and 1894, their office and residence was at 131 West 8th Street. In 1895, they practiced at 131 Garfield Place, near Elm Street. In 1897-1900, they lived and practiced at 123 Garfield Place. Then, in 1903, only Mrs. Viola Swift was listed in the "dentists" section of the directory; she was practicing at 809 Central Avenue (flat 1).

Viola was not the only Addison family member to become a dentist. Viola's brother Leon Oliver Addison (1860-1936), who had earlier worked as a coffin maker, was a dentist practicing with his brother-in-law Doc Swift at 321 Vine in 1886, residing with his mother at 249 Everett. Viola's brother Frederick Clifford Addison (1865-1928) was practicing as a dentist as early as 1883. By 1900, Fred C. Addison was superintendent of clinics at the Miami Dental College at 8 E. 7th Street. In 1900 and 1904, Fred C. Addison was practicing dentistry at 809 Central Avenue (flat 1)—the same address as Viola's 1903 office. Viola had probably merged practices with her brother after she divorced Doc on October 28, 1901. Fred Addison and his wife Bertha (Scroggins) Addison named their daughter Viola, born in July 1889, in honor of Fred's sister. Both Leon and Fred Addison later practiced in Dayton, Ohio, where they both died.

Doc moved his practice to New York. On July 20, 1902, in Manhattan, he married Marie [Maria] Martha Fredrick (b. 1878/79 Cincinnati, Ohio), the daughter of Jacob and Barbara (Dietrich) Fredrick. Doc and his second wife were residing at 226 East 23rd Street in Manhattan when Henry Charles Swift was born on April 9, 1903. Their child Harry Martin Swift died of typhoid fever and peritonitis, age one year, at 670 East 148th Street on Oct. 10, 1904 and was buried in Kensico Cemetery on Oct. 13, 1904. I suspect Henry Charles and Harry Martin were the same child. Of the Swifts and their son, fellow amateur Edith Minter had written this note in the *Home Journal* for Saturday, July 9, 1904 (60:26, p.7):

Dr. and Mrs. Edwin Booth Swift of New York City, who are staying at Riverside, Rhode Island, with their little son, Harry Morton Swift, visited friends in Boston this week. Dr. Swift is a former president of the National Amateur Press Association, and during his stay met those of the Boston amateur journalists, past and

present, who were in town.

Doc and Maria M. Swift were the only members of their household when they were enumerated at 521 Rose in Bronx in the 1905 New York state census. (They were also enumerated at 2257 3rd Ave. in Manhattan—possibly Doc's office—in the same census.) Doc soon divorced a second time. On July 20, 1907, he married Katherine C. Woods (born 1883/84 Glasgow,

Scotland), the daughter of John James and Bridget (----) Woods. By the time the 1910 census was enumerated, he was residing at his longtime address 2498 DeVoe Terrace in Bronx, New York. His wife Katherine C. Swift, age 26, born Scotland of Irish-born parents, emigration year 1887, and his widowed mother-in-law Bridget Woods, age 64, born Ireland of Irish-born parents, emigration year 1885, were also members of his household. Doc claimed birth in Kentucky of an Ohio-born father and a Kentucky-born mother.

Edwin Booth Swift Jr. was born in Bronx, New York on July 11, 1917. He was the only addition to the Swift household at 2498 DeVoe Terrace when the 1920 census was enumerated; his maternal grandmother, Bridget Woods, age 74, was still living with her daughter and son-in-law. Bridget Woods died at 2498 DeVoe Terrace on Aug. 27, 1923, and was buried in Gate of Heaven Cemetery. Apart from the death of Doc's mother-in-law, the Swift household remained the same in the 1925 New York state census and the 1930 U.S. census. After Doc's death in 1936, his widow married Edward Cooney. They were enumerated at 66 East 190th Street in Bronx, New York City in the 1940 census: Edward Cooney (head), age 58, born New York, electrical company laborer; Katherine Cooney (wife), age 56, born Scotland; Edwin B. Swift [Jr.] (step-son), age 22, single, born New York, mail clerk (fabric manufacturer). Katherine C. Cooney was left a widow for a second time when Edward Cooney died in Bronx, New York on Jan. 31, 1946, age 64. Edwin B. Swift Jr. issued at least one amateur periodical (*The Swift*) but played no long-lasting role in his father's hobby. He married Katherine J. Waters (b. Sept. 23, 1917 New York, d. Sept. 9, 2014 Danbury, Connecticut), the daughter of Thomas F. and Christine (O'Shea) Waters. They are buried in St. Mary's Cemetery in Ridgefield, Conn.

After her divorce from Doc, Viola married fellow



Dr. Edwin B. Swift, first husband of Viola Addison, from the 1897 Cincinnati Illustrated Business Directory, p. 341.



Frank D. Woollen, Viola Addison's second husband; photo from *Cyclopedia of the Literature of Amateur Journalism*, 1891.

1885). His mother married John M. Beal (1820-1892) as her second husband in Eureka, Greenwood County, Kansas on Jan. 29, 1877. Frank was enumerated in his step-father's household in Eureka, Greenwood County, Kansas in the 1880 census. His mother Irene Beal was of Alma Township, Harlan County, Nebraska when the state census was enumerated in 1885. Frank worked most of his adult life as a railroad freight claim examiner. He lived in Cincinnati for most of the 1890s, and resided at 321 Vine in 1890, at 123 8th (near Elm) in 1891-95 and at 115 Garfield Place in 1897-98—addresses either associated with or close to the Swifts. He resided in Denver, Colorado in 1910-15 and in Portsmouth, Virginia in 1920, and continued to work as a railway freight claim examiner. He is buried in Green Hill Cemetery in Greensboro, North Carolina.



Bertha York Grant, treasurer of the YWAPA; photo from *Cyclopedia of the Literature of Amateur Journalism*, 1891.

amateur Frank David Woollen (b. Aug. 3, 1864 Catlin, Illinois, d. March 3, 1927 Greensboro, North Carolina). Within the amateur journalism hobby, he was more commonly known as Frank Denmark Woollen. He was the son of David Mitchell Woollen (b. Oct. 23, 1826 Guilford, North Carolina, d. April 17 1865 Jeffersonville, Indiana) and Irene Jane Neff (b. 1838 Virginia, d. after June 1,

Viola did not survive her second marriage for long. She died at 123 Garfield Place in Cincinnati of cancer of the uterus and uremia on Sept. 15, 1904, and was buried in Woodland Cemetery and Arboretum in Dayton, Ohio.

In her memoir "A Rearward Glance," published serially in her amateur magazine *The Varied Year* in 1909-10, Edith Minter told one final poignant story about her former comrade-in-arms Zelda Arlington:

She [Bertha (York) Grant Avery], it seems, was treasurer of the Young Women's Amateur Press Association, which was born and died young—as the good are reputed to do—way back in the '80s. When it expired a smallish sum of money was left in her hands, and this for many years has been a trouble to her. She knew not how or to whom it ought to be returned, she kept it hoping that some time there would be another organization of young women in A.J., to whom it might come as a rightful inheritance. At last, when all hope of such had died, there came into her mind an idea of the right thing to do. The sum was expended in violets, and these flowers were placed upon the grave of "Zelda Arlington," the much loved first and only president of the Y.W.A.P.A. I feel sure that the members of that girlish association, who are still within the hearing of A.J. doings, will feel that this was a fitting way in which to employ the last emblem of the organization which existed for so brief a while, and which owed its existence to "Zelda."



Grave Marker for Viola Addison Woolen at Woodland Cemetery and Arboretum, Dayton, Ohio. Note that she died in 1904, not 1905. Photo by Don Ferguson via Find-A-Grave.

I hope intrepid researchers like Elissa Myers will continue to add to our knowledge of Zelda Arlington and her husbands Edwin B. Swift and Frank D. Woollen.

Acknowledgement:

I thank Fossils David Goudsward and David Tribby for research assistance on Viola Addison.

FamilySearch References:

Viola Frances Addison: M7KV-8F3

Edwin Booth Swift: 9WT4-VB4

Frank David Woollen: LYMV-TF2

Postscript:

For more on Judson A. "Jud" Russell, see my column in THE FOSSIL 378 for January 2019. For more on the first five female amateurs to attend a NAPA convention, see my "The Girls of Eighty-Five" in THE FOSSIL 317 for July 2003 (not online). ♦

NAPA's 1893 Convention in Chicago

by Dave Tribby

THIS ISSUE'S CLASSIC ajay photo comes from the box of items sent to me in 2016 by Fossils Librarian Mike Horvat. After reading President Faig's article about Viola "Zelda" Addison and her two husbands, I looked through the box and was pleased to find this picture, which includes all three of them. It was taken at NAPA's 1893 convention, when Zelda was still married to Edwin Swift. Her marriage to Frank Woollen was still years away. To her right is Bertha York Grant, who had been treasurer of the Young Women's Amateur Press Association when Zelda was president.

This eighteenth annual convention was one of the largest. The World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago boosted attendance to about 70 from nineteen states and Canada. Yet only 18 are shown in this picture. Perhaps some declined to participate when they found out the photos would cost \$1.25 each.

The previous year, under the presidency of Truman J. Spencer, had been one of harmony and progress. This was in sharp contrast to events at the 1891 convention, where a three-way battle for the presidency brought forth typical shenanigans of questionable membership applications, thrown-out ballot proxies, and parliamentary maneuvers. Shortly before the officers' election vote, a ruling by the chair so incensed one faction that they walked out and later held their own vote. Most of NAPA recognized Edwin B. Swift's election as president, but Frank E. Schermerhorn claimed his board of officers were the legitimate leaders. The schism continued until September 1892 when a compromise was reached that allowed reunification.

That compromise was formally adopted at the Chicago convention without dissent. However, a resolution to add Schermerhorn's name to the list of



1893 NAPA convention picture (above) and names on the back (right). Back row: Lucius H. Spencer, Charles R. Burger, Otto A. Kamber, Walter E. Mellinger, **Edwin B. Swift**, C. Harrison Frost, John T. Nixon, J. Herbert Phillips, David L. Holub; middle: Charles E. Schwartz, John L. Tomlinson, Truman J. Spencer, Finlay A. Grant, **Frank D. Woollen**, Allan R. Parrish; front: **Bertha York Grant**, **Zelda Addison Swift**, Leola B. White.

Spencer-Burger-Kamber-Mellinger-Swift-Frost-Nixon-Phillips-Holub
Schwartz Tomlinson Spencer Grant Woollen Parrish
Mrs. Grant Mrs. Swift Miss White

NAPA presidents for 1891-92 sparked heated debate. It passed by two votes. Truman J. Spencer describes the immediate aftermath:

Then ensued one of the most thoroughly dramatic moments in the annals of the Association's conventions. Swift very quietly arose and said that in view of the action just taken he should move that his name be stricken from the list of Presidents. ... Swift's motion was ruled out of order by President Spencer. As Legler said afterwards, Swift's name is as high on the roll as it was previous to the action taken. "Is not a chaplet of laurel and olive," he said, "as desirable as a garland woven of laurel alone?"

That's why when you visit the history section of NAPA's website today you will see both men listed as elected president in 1891.

A look at membership lists in *National Amateur* reveals that Frank Woollen must have dropped out of NAPA shortly after the 1893 convention, as he does not appear in the list published in September.

Edwin and Zelda Swift continued on the rolls through December 1899, but in March 1900 Edwin was the only Swift included on the list. As an ex-president, Edwin had life membership. When he died in 1936, he was tied for first place in convention attendance, participating in 22 between 1880 and 1933.

Clarification

In "Classic Ajay Photo" for July I ran a photo that I believe had been mislabeled. I seem to have left some confusion as to who was who, so here is the photo again, this time fully captioned. ♦



Left to right: Hazel & Nancy Segal, Helen & David Wesson, Jan & Curtis Harler, and Rowena & Alan Moitoret.

Official Editor's Message

The Lure of Amateur Journals

by Dave Tribby

IN MY EARLY years as an amateur journalist, I was lucky to have several mentors who gave me their extra copies of old amateur journals. Looking them over provided examples of what to write about, and how to lay out an amateur publication. Many contained familiar names, and it was interesting to see what they had been up to in earlier years, and how they had – or hadn't – changed over the years. The few journals that were published before I was born provided a personal look into an America (and a hobby) noticeably different than the contemporary version. Reading about some long-ago controversy spurred additional research to see how things turned out. (Lee Hawes provided many answers.) Many times the papers had been saved because they were among the best, providing great examples of writing and printing.

In the last issue I mentioned some amateur journals from Barry Schrader's collection that

need a new home. Most of these remain available. I also heard from a Fossil who has a number of extra amateur journals printed by Russ Paxton, including the official organs THE FOSSIL, *American Amateur Journalist*, and *Na-*



Some random amateur journals from the 1970s and 1980s.

tional Amateur. If you have any interest in collecting amateur journals (whether or not you belong to The Fossils), please contact me. Opportunities like this don't come along too often.

If you want to look over the journals, but do not want to keep them long-term, then when you are done you could hand them off to another amateur. You might also check with the Museum of Printing in Massachusetts, which has expressed an interest in adding amateur journals to their library of printed ephemera.

You can also check out a growing collection of online amateur journals scanned and transcribed by Marc Brosey (NAPA's Mailer, Manuscript Manager, National Amateur Clearing House Custodian, and Past President). Currently over 90 issues of a dozen titles are available at <https://jakesjournals.com/>

Dr. Elissa Myers

As noted in this issue's first story, the article by Elissa Myers in *Children's Literature Association Quarterly* is available online through Project Muse. Fossil President Ken Faig came across it while it was freely available, but by the time I got around to looking for it a membership login was required for access. I tried positioning myself as an amateur journalism history researcher, even loading a couple of my articles from THE FOSSIL onto my Academia account, in order to qualify for a free Muse account...but to no avail.

I wrote to Elissa, and she graciously provided me with a PDF file containing her article. "Please feel free to send a copy to anyone in The Fossils who would like to read it. I hate that it's behind a paywall because I'd definitely like for my research to be more available." Write to me if you would like to read her full 21-page article and I will be happy to forward the file to you.

Elissa is interested in writing for THE FOSSIL, perhaps adapting part of her research paper or dissertation. "After doing research on the amateur journalism community for so long, it's great to be in contact with current amateur journalists!"

In recent years, several academics have shared their work in THE FOSSIL: César Guardé-Paz ("A Memory of Andrew Francis Lockhart," July 2020), Brian Rouleau ("America's Adolescent Armchair Diplomats," July 2019), and Jessica Isaac ("Amateur Journalism: Rooted in Adolescence," January 2016).

Who Was Most Successful?

To assist Ken in his family history of Viola Addison, I looked up several online obituaries. One was for her mother, Elizabeth Jones Addison, who died at age 87 in 1926. The concluding paragraph mentions Viola, who

had died 22 years earlier, and her two brothers, who were still living: "All three children engaged in the practice of dentistry. The daughter at one time enjoyed a very successful practice." Makes it sound as if the sons were not quite as successful.

It's a Small World

Fossil Dave Goudsward describes his article in this issue (pages 9-11) as "the smaller portion of the C. L. Moore/Whitehead brouhaha between Moore and Moskowitz. ... The full article just ran in *Pulp Adventures* magazine #36. They did a nice job and included both stories as reprints."

After reading Dave's submission, I looked up Henry S. Whitehead in Wikipedia and was surprised to learn he lived his last years in my old hometown of Dunedin, Florida. In fact, he was a supply priest at Episcopal Church of the Good Shepherd — the same church where my sister, Jan Cote, served as parish administrator for many years.

I wrote Jan to ask if she had heard a famous writer of weird fiction had been employed at the church. Turns out she did: "Several years ago a young man visited my office who was writing a book about Whitehead. I gave him all the information I could find about him in our records. (It wasn't much.)" That was, indeed, our own Dave Goudsward who was then researching (and now continues to work on) a book about H. P. Lovecraft's visits to Florida.

An Interesting Question

Lovecraft scholar David Schultz, whom I met at Amateur Journalism Conference 2016 in Madison, Wisconsin, continues to work on a new book of Lovecraft letters to amateur journalists. Since the Library of Amateur Journalism Collection is closed to visitors due to the pandemic, his research has been slowed. When David comes across puzzling references to A.J. people, publications, and events, I occasionally can answer his question using the bound volumes of *National Amateur* I bought from Gary Bossler a few years ago.

One recent question: "I'm wondering if you can tell me whom a female ajay from Piqua, OH, might have been, circa 1915. Thing is, I'm not sure she belonged to NAPA, instead of UAPA—but then, it seems a lot of ajays belonged to both. The reason? Paul J. Campbell was supposed to marry someone from there. Sounds like she dumped him, for he instead married someone in what he characterized to Lovecraft as a 'spite marriage.' The person I think it is did not marry until 1917, though she perhaps just broke off an engagement and was content to wait a couple years for Mr. Right to come along."

I examined NAPA membership lists from 1914 to 1917 and didn't see anyone in Piqua. Next I did a search on The Fossils' website (there is a widget in the History section to facilitate such searches) for "Piqua" and got one relevant result. THE FOSSIL no. 341 for July 2009, on page 18, has an article by Wesley Porter describing the UAPA 1916 convention and references someone going to "...Union Station to meet Dora M. (Hepner) from Piqua." My search of NAPA membership lists missed Dora because she was in Columbus.

A biography of Anthony F. Moitoret in THE FOSSIL no. 355 for January 2013 notes, "In April 1917 'Moit' enlisted in the Navy and married Dora Hepner of Columbus, former UAPA President." They had four children, but divorced in the early 1940s.

Dora Hepner Moitoret's obituary in the March 1968 *National Amateur* reports, "After serving for many years as a private secretary, she entered professional journalism in 1916 as feature writer, and later editor, of *The Piqua Press*, Piqua, Ohio." In addition to serving as UAPA president in 1914, she was elected NAPA president in 1952.

David agreed that Dora is likely the young lady Campbell was discussing. ♦

LAJ Update

FOSSIL BILL BOYS recently exchanged messages with Robin Rider, Curator of Special Collections in Memorial Library at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He published the following letter from Robin in *NAPA Email News* for July 26:

Dear friends of the Library of Amateur Journalism Collection:

We in the Department of Special Collections and the Libraries at the University of Wisconsin-Madison are grateful for the steadfast support provided by members of the amateur journalism community. The Library of Amateur Journalism Collection benefits from your generosity and your abiding interest in its use in research and teaching.

Through much of the past academic year our students in Special Collections were making very good progress on sorting by title the thousands of unsorted individual issues in the LAJ Collection, but that effort was interrupted by the COVID-19 developments of spring 2020 and cannot resume until we once again have students safely working in the department under more normal circumstances. Once they complete the physical sorting of the AJ issues, they will be in a position to undertake recording titles, issue dates and numbers, place of publication, etc., in what will surely be a very large database. In addition to the individual issues that our students have been sorting, we also

have long runs of bundles from the major organizations (as I recall, more than 50 cartons' worth), as well as other materials described on our web site

<https://tinyurl.com/yy4retw>

We in Special Collections, like many of our colleagues in the UW-Madison libraries, continue mainly working from home; we do not know when the Special Collections student employees on whom we depend so much will be able to work on site in the Department; and this means many operations cannot proceed as usual. Receiving gifts of materials for the LAJ Collection at this point, for example, is thus a logistical impossibility. I would be happy, however, to talk either individually or in some sort of online meeting about categories of materials that would complement what is already in the LAJ Collection and about how we might eventually proceed.

I also want to express our gratitude for monetary gifts to fund ongoing processing and description of the LAJ Collection and contributions to Leland M. Hawes, Jr. Memorial Endowment Fund for the Library of Amateur Journalism Collection. Your collective and individual generosity helps sustain the collection and enhance its research and teaching value; and we very much appreciate your assistance as we work to preserve, organize, and describe the collection and make it available to researchers.

If there are questions, please don't hesitate to contact me at 608-262-2809 (which forwards to my personal mobile phone) or robin.rider@wisc.edu.

With our thanks and best wishes to the many friends of the LAJ Collection,

Robin Rider ♦

Reprint of Lovecraft-Related Book

FOSSIL DAVE GOUDSWARD reports he has edited and annotated a new edition of *Old World Footprints* by Mrs. William B. Symmes. The original 32-page book was released in 1928 in a 300-copy run, privately distributed by Mrs. Symmes among her friends and family. This makes the title one of the scarcest titles from amateur pressman W. Paul Cook's Recluse Press imprint.

The preface by Frank Belknap Long was actually ghostwritten by H. P. Lovecraft. The involvement of Cook, Long, and Lovecraft transforms an unremarkable travelogue by Cassie Symmes, Frank Belknap Long's aunt, into one of the rarest of Lovecraft's publications.

Dave reports the new edition will also include a biography of Cassie and period postcards. *Old World Footprints* is from Bold Ventures Press and will be released in early 2021. Dave's article about Symmes, "Cassie Symmes: Inadvertent Lovecraftian," appeared in THE FOSSIL no. 371 for April 2017. ♦

The Amateur Roots of Henry S. Whitehead's "The Tree-Man"

by David Goudsward

WRITER C. L. Moore's first professional sale was "Shambleau" in the November 1933 issue of *Weird Tales*. It introduced Moore's best-known hero, the spacefaring anti-hero Northwest Smith in an extraterrestrial version of the Medusa myth. The tale of sex, addiction, and gunfights in space was an immediate hit and remains popular. Farnsworth Wright asked for more Northwest Smith stories for *Weird Tales*. This launched a writing career that would see two popular series appearing in *Weird Tales*, Northwest Smith, and the swordswoman Jirel of Joiry, one of the first female protagonists in sword-and-sorcery fiction. It was only later discovered by fans that C. L. Moore was Catherine Lucille Moore. By then, her stories were so popular that her gender was irrelevant to the readership.

Moore first wrote to H. P. Lovecraft at the urging of her correspondent Robert H. Barlow. She would maintain an extensive correspondence with both men. Barlow would visit her in Indiana, and Lovecraft introduced her to her future husband, pulp writer Henry Kuttner.

Moore's "The Werewoman" was among the earlier Northwest Smith story written. She had a bad feeling about the story from its completion. It is distinctly different from her subsequent adventures of the character, and she was not surprised when *Weird Tales* turned it down and asked for revisions. Moore didn't know how to make it more marketable to the magazine. Instead, Moore gave the rejected story to her correspondent, Robert H. Barlow, giving him permission to use it in his amateur publication *Leaves*.

"The Werewoman" appeared in the winter of 1938, the second (and last) issue of *Leaves II*, 64 mimeographed sheets, side-stapled with a tape-bound spine. Sixty copies were printed by Claire Beck at his Futile Press in Lakeport, California. Contributors reflect Barlow's integration into Lovecraft's circle. The table of contents is a veritable who's who of Lovecraft's correspondents. In addition to Moore, the issue includes Donald Wandrei, Vrest Orton, Frank Belknap Long, Fritz Leiber, and posthumous selections from Lovecraft and Henry S. Whitehead.

In the early 1960s, Sam Moskowitz caught wind of this "lost" Northwest Smith story. A writer, critic, and historian of early pulp era science fiction, his "professional avocation" (his oxymoron, not mine) was researching obscure science fiction stories for *Fantastic*, looking for reprint (i.e., inexpensive) stories. An unknown Northwest Smith story would be a coup for the magazine, so he atypically offered her a generous 2¢ a word for one-time use. She refused, saying she didn't have a copy of the story. In 1963, Moskowitz had moved on to *Amazing Stories* and asked again. By now, he had his own copy of *Leaves II* to transcribe. She said no again. Versions of why ranged from "she didn't like the story" to "she didn't like Sam Moskowitz."

Having a copy of the journal, Moskowitz knew *Leaves II* had a copyright statement on the cover. The claim was actually invalid because Barlow never registered with the Copyright Office. Legitimate or not, this copyright ended in 1966.

Without asking permission or offering payment, Moskowitz published "Werewoman" in his *Horrors Unknown* anthology. He touted this 1971 collection as one that he, as a "historian in the field of fantastic literature," had filled with forgotten stories of merit that he had located. By no coincidence, ten of the eleven stories were also out of copyright. Moskowitz believed in re-



Henry S. Whitehead's story "The Tree-Man" was first published in the pulp magazine *Weird Tales* for February-March 1931 (left), but a highly revised version appeared in the amateur journal *Leaves II* (right) in 1938.





Henry S. Whitehead (and Hasley Fuller) returning to St. Thomas from St. Croix on Easter Sunday. Whitehead served in the Episcopal church, including a stint in the Virgin Islands from 1921 to 1929.

printing material out of copyright as it was the “right of any citizen to do so.” The lack of any need to pay the authors was undoubtedly a factor as well.

This triggered a war of words across fanzines. Moore noted, copyright or not, it was appropriate to at least obtain permission, if not offer some payment. Moskowitz would end up paying for it one way or another.

Moore refused to let him reprint her stories, or those of her late husband Henry Kutner, from that

point on. The feud continued after Moore’s death. Moskowitz also took potshots at Barlow and *Leaves II*, believing that Moore should have been grateful he used the story. After all, he congratulated himself, his use of “Werewoman” was its first professional publication. He doesn’t elaborate on how not paying Moore for the unauthorized use of her story constitutes “professional.”

Emphasizing *Leaves* was an amateur journal, Moskowitz points out that “[u]nlike the first, all the material in the second issue — except a story by Henry S. Whitehead ‘The Tree-Man’ — was original and that story heavily revised for the LEAVES printing.” It appears to be a shot aimed at Barlow because only an amateur would edit a previously published text by a leading pulp figure like Henry S. Whitehead. Moskowitz was wrong in how he handled “Werewoman.” And, for all his self-proclaimed expertise, he was also wrong about Barlow revising “The Tree-Man.” It was indeed heavily edited, but it wasn’t by Barlow.

“The Tree-Man” begins with Whitehead’s occult detective Gerald Canevin recounting his first visit to St. Croix in the sixth story with his semi-biographic protagonist. Canevin would appear in an additional eight tales, including collaborations with H. P. Lovecraft and three posthumously published stories.

Canevin is amazed that, by being the great-nephew of a Scottish planter on the island in the 1870s, he is considered a minor celebrity. He goes to visit Great Fountain, the abandoned family estate. There he first encounters Silvio Fabricius, the man who spends his

days listening to his tree. He learns that the villagers around Great Fountain are of pure Dahomeyan stock, originally refugees from the Haitian Revolution against French slaveholders in the 1790s. Left alone after Great Fountain was abandoned, the village had returned to their traditional Vodou. Fabricius spends his days embracing a great coconut palm tree and listening to the spirit, leaving his post only to relay messages to the village. (Whitehead’s understanding of Dahomeyan Vodou is superficial but not entirely incorrect. Dahomey practiced a unique form that was a hybrid of animist traditions and Vodou practices).

When Great Fountain becomes a pineapple plantation, a simmering hatred of the tree-man by the plantation foreman begins to grow. Canevin witnesses these events, fearing the inevitable outcome. When it comes to pass, Gerard Canevin understands his beloved island is home to beliefs and powers that must be respected by the white population.

The story first ran in *Weird Tales*, February-March 1931. Whitehead, seeing it in print, was dissatisfied with the final version. In October of that year, E. Hoffmann Price approached Whitehead about a project. He and Kirk Mashburn had decided to compile an anthology of weird fiction and then market it to a publisher. They had already agreed on stories by H. P. Lovecraft and Robert E. Howard. Now they were looking at Whitehead’s “The Lips,” originally published in *Weird Tales*, September 1929. Whitehead was amenable but thought he had several more recent pieces that might be more appropriate. Lovecraft mentioned the anthology to Elizabeth Toldridge in a letter at the end of 1932. By that time, the table of contents had changed. Price couldn’t decide which Lovecraft story to include, and Mashburn thought Whitehead was too longwinded to include. By 1933, Whitehead was dead, and his contribution had been removed. Even Robert E. Howard’s story had been swapped out for another. The anthology never went beyond the planning stage.

While Price and Mashburn had been vacillating over the contents, Whitehead had begun editing “The Tree-Man,” his latest preference for the anthology. The revisions were extensive, with Whitehead slashing entire passages. The result was a story with tighter prose and a stronger opening. When Whitehead died November 23, 1932, E. Hoffmann Price had the carbons.

Soon after Whitehead’s death, Robert Barlow decided to solicit Whitehead’s letters for a small booklet as a memorial. Tentatively called *Caneviniana*, the project sputtered to a stop the next year. Most of the letters from such peers as Lovecraft, Clark Ashton Smith, and Robert E. Howard were eventually lost. In 1942, Barlow would provide Paul Freehafer the surviving 8 pages, already cut into mimeograph stencils. Freehafer then

published those as *The Letters of Henry S. Whitehead* as a one-shot publication for the Fantasy Amateur Press Association. This booklet includes three letters Whitehead wrote to E. Hoffman Price in 1926.

Unaware *Caneviniana* was already faltering, Price sent more Whitehead material. A March 1933 entry in Barlow's diary notes he had just gotten Price to loan him "Henry S. Whitehead's Tree-Man in revised carbon and [a] letter written 2 weeks before his death." If the carbons and this letter were ever returned to Price or lost with the other material for the ill-fated booklet is irrelevant — they are now gone. But Barlow kept a copy of the Tree-Man revision, be it the original carbons or his own transcript.

The story ran in *Leaves II*, along with a checklist of Whitehead's published stories. Unlike "Werewoman" which has subsequently been reprinted without alterations, the various "Tree-Man" appearances almost merit a variorum. The 1931 *Weird Tales* version was reprinted in a 1953 issue. Even that has revisions: British spellings were swapped out for the American, but not consistently. And Whitehead's use of Vodou was changed to Voodoo. This is the only time the original version was reprinted.

Whitehead's revisions in the *Leaves II* edition were significant. On the first page alone, 200 words of 550 were excised. This is the edition that August Derleth used in 1944 for *Jumbee and Other Uncanny Tales*, the first Arkham House collection of Whitehead's stories, and, therefore, the de facto official version. This is not to say reprinting the story was as simple as Barlow handing him the typescript. A quick glance at the copyright page of *Jumbee* subtly demonstrates the problem Derleth ran into. Derleth acquired the 14 stories as copyrighted by their original publishers — *Weird Tales*, *Adventure*, and *Strange Tales*, even though he didn't want the published versions with their edits. He wanted the original typescripts. Barlow provided "The Tree-Man," but Whitehead's neighbor and a longtime friend Mary Starr had been given some of the manuscripts as mementos. The rest belonged to the estate, which went to Whitehead's father. When Whitehead's father died on February 28, 1937, he left his estate to his assistant, Edna Black. In addition to Henry H. Whitehead's estate, Black thereby became the owner of Henry S. Whitehead's estate, including his literary estate. Derleth ended up having to give her a percentage of the sales to the estate. *West India Lights*, the second Whitehead collection, would prove even more complicated with Starr and Black getting a percentage from sales.

All subsequent reprints of "The Tree-Man" are derived from the revision first published in *Leaves II* as reprinted by Arkham House in *Jumbee*. "The Tree-Man" would continue to appear in Whitehead collections,

mostly incomplete reprints of *Jumbee* and *West India Lights*, with minor tweaks. In fact, the only reissue of "The Tree-Man" with a significant change from the *Leaves II/Jumbee* version is the 2020 *The Dragon-Fly and Leaves*, a collection of Barlow's amateur journals, self-published by S. T. Joshi. There is a typo on Joshi's edition — "culius" when it should be "cultus" and a single odd word in a larger font in the middle of a sentence.

So we have a tale by a legendary Weird Tales author that barely survived to be appreciated today. Its legacy was saved by its appearance in the amateur press of Robert Barlow, somewhat of a legend himself. And its journey to literary immortality is almost a weird tale unto itself. ♦



In 1944 Arkham House published a collection of Whitehead stories.

Fossils FY'20 by the Numbers

by Dave Tribby

THE FOSSILS held its own in Fiscal Year 2020, with income ahead of expenses by more than \$90 thanks to \$81 in donations. The combined total of subscribers and members increased by 1, to 29.

The period August 15, 2019 to August 14, 2020, saw the addition of two new members, Jim Hedges and Walter Hitt, and the conversion of Michelle Klosterman from subscriber to member. One member died during the year, Barry Schrader on June 30.

Here are the financial details:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|
| Income for Fiscal Year 2020: | |
| Memberships (20) | \$345.00 |
| Subscriptions (3) | \$40.00 |
| Donations (5) | \$81.03 |
| TOTAL INCOME | \$466.03 |
| Expenses for Fiscal Year 2020: | |
| The Fossil - printing | \$207.77 |
| The Fossil - postage | \$103.07 |
| Website - ISP | \$24.95 |
| Website - Domain | \$12.16 |
| Bank Fees | \$24.00 |
| TOTAL EXPENSES | \$374.55 |
| NET INCOME (OR LOSS) | \$91.48 |
| END OF YEAR TREASURY BALANCE | \$4,126.64 |

The donations came from Kent Clair Chamberlain (\$6), W. Hal Shepherd (\$55), Jack E. Scott (\$5), Ken Faig (\$5), and Pamela Y. Wesson (\$10.03). ♦

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