On a sunny New York fall day in 1948, I first visited the premises shared by the Bollingen Foundation and Pantheon Books, at 41 Washington Square South, a nineteenth-century row house that had been converted into studio apartments. The upper floors had in turn been converted into offices, which, with their large casement windows, still had the air of time-worn ateliers. After climbing two flights of scuffed stairs and entering a former hall bedroom, where two or three women, at desks very close together, were working on typewriters and ledgers, I was shown into the adjoining large front room, overlooking the Square. This, the main office, contained (also quite close together) the desks of the editor and assistant editor of Bollingen Series and, for visitors, a couple of lounge chairs set around a brass Moorish coffee table with a sunken center, like a soup plate. There was a wide fireplace, and on the walls were unframed prints of, as I later discovered, Navaho pollen paintings. I was vaguely aware that Bollingen Series was a program of book publishing sponsored by the Foundation. I had come to deliver some editorial work I had taken on in order to help out another freelance editor who had been obliged suddenly to leave town with the work unfinished. I did so with the approval of Helen Wolff, of Pantheon, who at that time arranged editorial services for both Bollingen and Pantheon, and now I was to hand over my sheaf of galleys to the editor of the Series, John Barrett. I had not been very long in the book world, for, after abandoning academia, I had started out as a newspaper and magazine reporter and then worked as an all-purpose editor/writer in the United Nations Secretariat. A compulsion to write on my own had prompted me to cast loose and become, not a published writer, but a freelance editor of almost anything that came my way.

My first assignment for Bollingen Series had been to read the proofs of Lectures in Criticism, a literary symposium that had been held at the Johns Hopkins University. As I had been a graduate student there only a few years earlier, I approached the proofs with a certain sentiment and sedulously capitalized the article before the name of the university. That improvement was apparently appreciated, for Mr. Barrett, a youngish man whose elegance, calm, and kindness made an immediate impression, and his breezy yet seemly and sympathetic secretary Vaun Gillmor ("Mr. B." and "Miss G." they always were) found other assignments for me. Meanwhile, I made the acquaintance of the people working in the back rooms on the same floor. These were chiefly the staff of Pantheon Books, the firm that published the Series for the Foundation alongside its own list, which was devoted to notable European literature. The occupants of the large back room, overlooking the ailanthus trees in the courtvard, included some secretaries or file clerks, sometimes a small boy (the Wolffs' son Christian) stuffing envelopes, and Helen Wolff herself, a gracious and overburdened woman who seemed to do nearly everything at Pantheon, and who soon afterward gladly ceded to Miss G. the responsibility of finding freelance editorial help for the Bollingen books. Kurt Wolff, who with his wife had founded the firm several years earlier. had the tiny hall bedroom to himself. The Foundation's legal counsel and secretary-treasurer, Ernest Brooks, sat at a desk in the corner of Pantheon's back room, as, being a newcomer, he could not be squeezed into the front office, which Mr. B. had to share with the assistant editor, Hugh Chisholm, When a Draft Board office in the basement of an adjacent house had become free after the war, the space was occupied by Pantheon's sales manager and president, Kyrill Schabert; the designer and production manager. Jacques Schiffrin: the bookkeeper, Wolfgang Sauerlander; and the stock of both Pantheon and Bollingen.

I embarked on my next Bollingen assignment also at the proof stage, because the original editor had gone abroad. The book was Joseph Campbell's The Hero with a Thousand Faces, whose galleys I eagerly began to read as I took them home on the subway. An encounter with psychoanalysis made me see significance in every image. (The encounter had been Freudian; some time passed before I realized that the Bollingen Foundation had something to do with C. G. Jung, not to mention Paul Mellon.) When I met Campbell over the Moorish coffee table, as we went through the index I had been commissioned to make, he seemed the easiest person in the world to please, though the index, my first, ventured in directions far from index orthodoxy. The defection of the previous editor had thrown the publishing date out and desolated Campbell, who would have welcomed almost any literate and willing substitute. My enthusiasm seemed to encourage him. When I commented on the aptness of the correspondences he traced between symbolic instances drawn from many mythologies and folklores on one hand, and individual dreams and fantasies on the other, he exclaimed, "Yes! You see, it all fits!"

Soon enough, I came to see that, diverse as the contents of the Bollingen books appeared to be, everything somehow fitted a larger scheme. Another assignment helped to drive the point home. Because of my success with Joe Campbell and the Hero index, I was asked to minister to Professor Gladys Reichard, an anthropologist at Barnard College, whose direct abruptness dismayed the polite Bollingen editors. She was understandably wrought up because, in the proofs of her book Navaho Religion, based on her diligent field studies over many summers on the reservation, something had gone wrong with the setting of words in the Navaho language. To avoid resetting most of the 700 pages, we argued out a compromise that managed to save face, time, and money (and was not deprecated by any scholarly reviewer). Professor Reichard could never understand why her ethnological treatise was keeping company with Jungian psychology and St.-John Perse's poetry. Her "study in symbolism" was, in fact, full of meat for students of Jung's school.

In 1949, evicted when New York University proceeded to demolish the area south of Washington Square for its own expansion. Pantheon moved a block west to 333 Sixth Avenue, in an office building tenanted also by New Directions and the Nation; the Foundation moved uptown to a fourstory brownstone in a sedate block of East Sixty-second Street. I worked at home, on Morningside Heights near the Columbia University libraries, and traveled as business required to the East Side or Greenwich Village. In the library of the new Bollingen premises there was hung an oil painting of the late Mary Conover Mellon, and I became aware, for the first time, of the remarkable woman who in the early 1940s had been the "founding nurturer" of the Series and the Foundation and, with the editorial aid first of Ximena de Angulo and then of Stanley Young, had led the program until her sudden death in 1946. In the day-to-day editorial routines that involved me, her name had scarcely been mentioned, but I realized that the dominant impulses of the program had originated with Mary Mellon. I learned from her close friend Maud Oakes, whose book The Two Crosses of Todos Santos I was working on at the time, that Mary had been deeply interested in ethnology, the mystical, and Jung's psychology. From John Barrett, as old and close a friend of Mary's as Maud, I learned that she had been devoted to European literature, archaeology, and the ancient past. Joseph Campbell told me that mythology, folklore, and the Orient were driving concerns of hers. Natacha Rambova, with whom I began to work on publications in Egyptian religion, was witness to Mary's abiding interest in the occult tradition. Mary Mellon had woven these and other strands into her Bollingen design, which Barrett was carrying forward at Paul Mellon's wish.

As the assignments that Miss G. gave me began to occupy my full time, I was given the title Special Editor and later, when my responsibilities warranted it, Managing Editor.

Around 1951 I began to serve also as the house editor for the first volume in the Collected Works of C. G. Jung, which it had come home to me-was the keystone of Bollingen Series. My personal experience in another camp of depth psychology, it seemed to me and perhaps to the Bollingen administration, gave me an edge of objectivity and also a certain relish in the plunges into the unconscious that Jungian editing entailed. As the edition moved forward, volume by volume, I was obliged to make an annual circuit of visits to the Editors of the Collected Works, in London, and to Professor Jung himself, usually at his retreat at the village of Bollingen, on the Lake of Zurich, which was indeed the omphalos of the Foundation's program. At Ascona, in Italianspeaking Switzerland, I conferred with the translator of the edition and paid my respects to the mistress of the nearby Eranos establishment, which, if a being could have more than one, was Bollingen's other omphalos.

During nearly twenty years of those journeys I met and worked with many of the people in the Bollingen world, besides many others who came to East Sixty-second Street. I acquired a sense—though more intuitively than rationally—of the enlacements and mutualities that created the coherence of Bollingen, though I also became aware of areas of activity that had no communication with one another, except in the mind of Mary Mellon or of John Barrett.

In a way, the Bollingen enterprise was an ambitious effort to collect the past, or certain departments of the past. The entire campaign—embracing archaeology, mythology and folklore, the evidence of ethnology, religious manifestations, the art of all ages, prehistorical and historical records, and the literature of imagination—resembled nothing more than the gathering, ordering, and observing of amplificatory data in a Jungian analysis. From another point of view, collecting the past is among the loftiest of obsessional activities. However regarded, the Bollingen program resulted in an enrichment both of the common culture and of the intellectual and imaginal storehouse of the individual who chose to share it.

A predominant stimulus of Bollingen came from abroad—not only the subject matter of the Series and the other programs, but the vigorous tide of refugee intellect on which the Foundation drew and the numerous foreign scholars, analysts, and artists who became involved as authors and fellows. And yet the members of the Bollingen work force—the officers, editors, advisers—were chiefly in the American grain. They represented not only the Eastern Establishment and Mary Conover's hometown, Kansas City, but almost every quarter of the United States, including Salt Lake City.

After 1946, the guiding hand and mind were John Barrett's, working in close concert with Vaun Gillmor and Ernest Brooks. Many projects were generated through the Jungian focus and the seedbed of Eranos; others, outside those areas, through the Foundation's general interest in the mythic and religious impulse. In the other principal mode, the aesthetic, including the historical, the energy of Barrett himself was most influential, and other clusters of activity flowered from the ideas of Kurt Wolff, Huntington Cairns, and Herbert Read. Paul Mellon was a tactful overseer always, first as the Foundation's president, later as its chairman of the board. If his compelling interests seemed to veer away from those that motivated the establishment of Bollingen, his sympathy was unwavering. In 1961, he spoke of the Bollingen Foundation as "the extension of Jung's intellectual influence into the far distant future," and in 1980, more than forty years after his first encounter with the world of Jung, he could write of "archetypal symbols" that will "always stir up deep and moving ancestral memories in every human being."

As early as 1956, the principal editorial adviser to Bollingen Series, Wallace Brockway, proposed to John Barrett the preparation of a book to be called "The Bollingen Century," in which he would survey the first hundred numbers in the Series. His model was *The Nonesuch Century*, a record of the first hundred publications of the Nonesuch Press of London.

Essentially, he had in mind a lavish catalogue, with full data on each book, biographies of authors, illustrations, and so on. Brockway's proposal was accepted in principle by John Barrett, a supplement was added to his annual fee, and over the next ten years he evidently worked on the Bollingen survey, in New York and during several extended trips to Europe that he made on the Foundation's behalf. His connection with the Foundation ended in 1969, and when Brockway died in November 1972, none of his work on the survey was found, either in the Foundation's files or in his own papers. Meanwhile, in the mid-1960s, Mary Curtis Ritter, administrative assistant at the Foundation, began to compile a Twenty-Year Report of the Foundation's activities, which appeared in 1967 and listed almost everything the organization had accomplished between 1945 and 1965, though it cast its net back to the beginning of the Series under the Old Dominion Foundation in 1943 and forward to 1967, the year the Series was transferred to Princeton University Press. As a record, the *Report*—a handsome 200-page book, designed by Bert Clarke, bound in red and illustrated with facsimiles from the books and archaeological photographs accomplished much of what Brockway's survey had intendeđ.

My hope of assembling an account of Bollingen, dwelling on its accomplishments and personalities, was encouraged by John Barrett, Vaun Gillmor, and Herbert S. Bailey, Jr., the director of Princeton University Press, which had become the publisher of Bollingen Series. Research in the Foundation's papers, deposited in the Library of Congress, interviews with people in and on the fringes of the Bollingen world, and my own recollections and notes, all supported the effort. I discovered that there was a great deal I had never known, and much that everyone had forgotten. The significance of the ideas and aims that possessed Mary Mellon and her early advisers and determined the program that took form—this became clear. The germinal fact of Mary and Paul Mellon's early encounter with Jung, in New York and Switzerland,

emerged as I read letters and talked with witnesses. Then the amplification, enrichment, stabilization, and disciplining of Bollingen, when John Barrett succeeded Mary Mellon, came truly home. The vitality of the program sometimes seemed to emanate from a tension between two poles of its interests, the mythic and the aesthetic. I also discerned another kind of polarity, between the academic and the adventurous, which became more evident after Mary's passing. And, in the view of the scoffers, there was a tripolarity: the effete (Valéry, etc.), the earthy (Radin, Oakes), and the obscurantist (Jung, Eranos). None of these simplistic schemes works, nor does the attempt to see Bollingen as a consciously propelled current in American thought. Bollingen eludes brief definition. Kenneth Rexroth wrote that there had never been another publishing enterprise like it, and Alan Watts praised its support of "unusual, unconventional, and highly imaginative projects." To Congressman Wright Patman, it was "an organization that seems to specialize in sending thousands of dollars abroad for the development of trivia into nonsense." Walter Muir Whitehill felt that it "had done more to elevate the spirit of man in the United States than anything else that I know of." Paul Mellon hoped that its policies could justifiably be called "imaginative, creative, and representative of the best in humanistic values." To Jung, it was "a shining beacon in the darkness of the atomic age."

The author of *The Education of Henry Adams* claimed as his intention: "to satisfy himself whether, by the severest process of stating, with the least possible comment, such facts as seemed sure, in such order as seemed rigorously consequent, he could fix for a familiar moment a necessary sequence of human movement." The writer of such a chronicle as the following one could not hope to do otherwise.

W. McG.