CONTENTS

Recollections of a Collector
by Robert Garrett '97  

"The Earliest Device of the Colonies"
and Some Other Early Devices
by Sinclair Hamilton '08  

An Unfinished Novel by Nicholas Hilde
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THOMAS P. GOVAN  

Library Notes and Queries  

New and Notable
by Alexander D. Wainwright  

Bibliography
by Lawrence Heyl  

PAGE

103

117

134

137

142

145
THE PRINCETON
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
CHRONICLE

VOLUME X · APRIL 1949 · NUMBER 3

Recollections of a Collector

BY ROBERT GARRETT ’97

Perhaps my original impulse to gather together interesting and sometimes great books came by inheritance and example. My father was an inveterate collector and one of the best things he did in his relatively short life was to form a library which was fairly strong in Americana and also in natural history.

Soon after my father’s death by accident at the age of thirty-nine, my mother took her three boys abroad for a sojourn of indefinite length; this resulted in extensive travel in Europe and the Near East during the following two and a quarter years, 1889-1891. We boys learned some things by observation and others through the earnest efforts of our tutor, Hugh L. Hodge, who later became a Presbyterian minister of some note. We were also coached in French by two young scholars, Henri Jaulmes and Albert Keller.

We visited Egypt one winter and also Palestine and Syria. One of our greatest experiences was a three weeks’ journey on horseback between Damascus and Jerusalem. We had an excellent guide named Abraham Lyons, of mixed national ancestry, who spoke many languages and quoted in English all the Bible verses applying to the many historical scenes we visited. It was marvelous, and I still have vivid memories of the region of the conversion of St. Paul, with snow-capped Mt. Hermon toward the west; of the waters of Merom where we first crossed the Jordan; of camping on the shore of the Sea of Galilee at the site of Capernaum; and of visiting Nazareth and many other places of importance.

How could one fail to take up some special interest as a result of such experiences in so many countries of the Near East and of Europe? Always interested in books, and especially rare ones, I
formed the habit of nosing into bookshops and into more or less promising places, particularly those in Europe, and sometimes rather surprising things happened.

My collection of Western manuscripts virtually began when we were stopping at the Hôtel de l’Europe in Rome. I drifted diagonally across the Piazza di Spagna to an objet d’art store, and, in spite of its character, I bargained in and put the usual question: “Have you any old books?” They had only one apparently, but what a one! The most beautiful book I had ever fondled was handed to me and I was fascinated. It was a Livre d’Heures of the best type of French work of the early fifteenth century, with an elaborate ivy-leaf border on each page and beautiful miniatures. If it was, as such, it had always been treasured and never used during its nearly five centuries of life, but there was no binding. Evidently it had been stolen early or late, but it could not be traced for it contained no hint of ownership. No time was lost in acquiring it (not by theft, however) and it has been one of my treasures ever since—until it went to Princeton. Later, when I became anxious to persuade the Baltimore Museum of Art to take part financially in the Antioch project, organized and put through by Professor Money of Princeton, the Museum trustees began to fade from the argument and from the meeting until my manuscript was offered as a guarantee that the special funds would be raised. Result: the great collection of mosaics at the Museum and the restoration to me of the manuscript!

A few other items were picked up here and there, but the collection was small when we returned to the United States in 1891 and took up our abode in Princeton, both my brothers having entered college that fall. But my interest was aroused and, with occasional lulls and spurts, I kept building. At some time along the way I got hold of the monumental work entitled Universal Palaeography, by Silvestre, and then I was really off on my manuscript journey, determined to find examples of as many of the scripts illustrated in that publication as possible. I was not able to do the job systematically nor completely but by the time my efforts ended I had something like thirty-five different scripts, and naturally many more than that number of languages, and, of course,

when I found a text that seemed interesting, or was finely written, or had lovely miniatures and painted decorations, or contained writings of a celebrated author, I gathered in the item with alacrity if the change in my pocket was sufficient.

One of the most beautiful Western manuscripts, a Book of Hours executed in the late years of the fifteenth century for Marguerite de Rohan, wife of Jean d’Orléans, Comte d’Angoulême, and grandmother of François I, contains fifteen exquisite miniatures, one of which is a remarkably fine portrait of Marguerite. De Ricci attributes the miniatures to a “pupil of Fouquet of considerable merit” but later authorities assign them to the famous miniaturist Bourdichon and his circle.

Another very fine manuscript is the copy of Durandus on the Sentences of Peter Lombard. There are two volumes dated 1496, both written by one or more skillful hands. In the first volume are a beautiful illuminated initial and a marginal design, an independent feature of which is a delicately drawn dragonfly. As I understand the play on words, the dragonfly was sometimes called démoiselle and a démoiselle was sometimes termed a pucelle. The noted artist Jean Pucelle, who had an atelier in Paris, used the dragonfly as his signature and this illumination may thus be attributed to his atelier.

Among the finest and most important of the Western manuscripts are several copies of the Gospels in the Byzantine style. One day a book merchant brought to me a manuscript containing a text in Greek with no illuminations. He appealed me very little but, in order to be sure that the text was unimportant before turning it down, I took it to a scholar in Washington for examination. His advice was negative, so I came home and returned the book to the merchant. The very next day the scholar telephoned to me to say that a gentleman was there with some very fine Greek manuscripts. I went again to Washington and met by appointment Thomas Whittemore and examined the manuscripts. There were five of them and I saw at once that they were very fine. It did not take long to formulate an agreement with Mr. Whittemore, who was serving as an agent of the Abbot of the Monastery of St. Andrew on Mt. Athos. Mr. Whittemore had befriended the monks after they had been cut off from their sources of support in Russia as a result of the first World War, and the Abbot had thrust the manus-


105
scripts into his hands, asking him to dispose of them in America, for they needed money and the food to be purchased with it more than manuscripts.

One of these manuscripts is especially interesting. While the text is assigned to the twelfth century, the five miniatures are of a rare type. The figures are standing (Christ, the Virgin, and three Evangelists), which is not the usual practice in Byzantine miniatures, and the colors are quite unusual. They are attributed to an artist in Syria or Palestine and they are probably much earlier than the text. They may be assigned to the ninth century. A noted American scholar has expressed the opinion that these miniatures may be considered the most important Byzantine portraits in this country.4

Another item of importance because of its illuminations is an eleventh-century manuscript, the "Heavenly Ladder" of John Climacus. The many border miniatures are skilfully drawn and are quite lovely.

There was an interesting occurrence in the early 1920's that unexpectedly threw a vivid light on a well-known event in Germany which resulted from the defeat of that country in World War I. In a catalogue I received from a bookseller I noticed an item that was unique in my experience—a Georgian hymnarium of the eleventh century. It immediately struck home with me and I began a correspondence which lasted, as I recall, for about two months, ending in the purchase and receipt of the manuscript. This happened just at the end of the awful inflation experienced by Germany and this is vividly shown in the stamps on the several envelopes of the correspondence and on the cover in which the manuscript was wrapped. The monetary values shown on the stamps mounted rapidly, skyrocket-like, until they reached preposterous trillions of marks. Then, at the end, there was a sudden slump and the final stamp is of a normal prewar value. Having been a stamp collector and still retaining some interest, I kept this rather fascinating series and it is now in the stamp collection of the Princeton Library.

Another point of interest in connection with this Georgian manuscript occurred a little later when I arranged a conference in Boston with the famous Harvard doctors Drs. Lake and Blake with a view to gaining some advice on several matters. I happened to mention this manuscript among many in my collection and de-

scribed it briefly. To my surprise, Dr. Blake said to Dr. Lake: "That sounds like Sinaiticus Number so-and-so." Subsequently I sent it to them for examination and they verified this first impression. Thus it came to me indirectly from one of the monastic establishments on Mt. Sinai. It is a palimpsest, with earlier Greek and Syriac writing under the Georgian. It should be studied—and perhaps published—by competent scholars familiar with the three languages.

Of a different sort is a tiny fifteenth-century manuscript in Hebrew with a wood binding inlaid with ivory and mother-of-pearl. The text is Maimonides' "Guide of the Perplexed" and this copy was written and illuminated in North Italy, probably at Ferrara or Rimini. An added inscription, purporting to be a letter of 1358 from Cardinal Baglione to Galeotto Malatesta, Patron of Rimini, states that he had had the manuscript illustrated by the celebrated Florentine painter Giotto, then at Avignon. In 1451 it was proved that the inscriptions are an able forger of the early century and that the elaborate binding with the Malatesta arms was also added by the forger.5

There are many interesting items in the collections of manuscripts from the Near and Far East which might be mentioned. There is, for instance, an attractively illustrated work on botany in Arabic (1064). The illustrations are in color, well drawn, and accurate. This dates from the fifteenth century and is probably unique. Another important book is Akhbār al-Daraj (988), on the title-page of which the reader is informed that it was written for the great-grandson of the famous Sultan Saladin. This is a work on astronomy copied before 1261, and is also evidently unique.

The journey primarily to Syria (but also incidentally to other countries) in 1899-1900, resulting from Howard Butler's expedition,6 conceived with a view to completing the notable work of the Marquis de Vogüé, also naturally stimulated my manuscript collecting. The copying and studying of the many inscriptions found along the way by Enno Littmann and William Kelly Prentice, the former mostly in the Semitic field and the latter in the Classical field, had their influence. In order to get away from the Syrian rainy sea-

4 The Princeton University Library Chronicle, III, No. 4 (June, 1948), 182.


6 The American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, led by Professor Howard Crosby Butler '94.
son in midwinter, I went to Egypt for about two months and did some scouting. Among the items picked up was a tiny prayer book in Coptic. On rejoining the archaeological party in Beirut, I asked Litmann to read it and tell me what it contained, for I was sure he could read all languages of that part of the world. When he failed to do it, we joshed him on end until finally, with some petulance, he said: "When our trip is over, let me have the manuscript and I will give you a translation of it in three weeks." I did not take him up, for the book was unimportant, and anyway I knew he could do it.

When one takes up a hobby such as this, one finds items of interest in many different ways, sometimes through book catalogues, or at auctions. At one time I happened to notice in a London dealer's catalogue a Batta or Battak manuscript. I had never heard of such a thing, but reading that these people lived in Sumatra and had only lately been cured of cannibaliism by the Dutch, it rather intrigued me. So, as I was just starting for London, I cabled the bookseller to hold it for me. He did, and I thus acquired the first item in that language in the collection. Later one or two more came my way, and I discovered that a number were in the possession of a professor at the University of Michigan, a botanist. He had pursued his studies in Sumatra and had learned to read and speak Battak, perhaps the only person living in America who had this accomplishment.

At a later time I dropped in again at the same London bookstore and asked if they had any Oriental manuscripts. The proprietor stated that they were not in his real field of interest and that he only acquired them occasionally when he purchased an entire library from some individual or from an estate. But after considering the subject earnestly for a few moments, he opened a drawer and pulled out two small dirty-looking documents containing calligraphic signs that were evidently intended to tell somebody something. He said he did not know what they were. Nor did I, but they looked more or less interesting, so I asked his price. After a few moments' thought, he said ten shillings for the two pieces. So the bargain was closed. Later on I found that they were rather rare examples of a shamanistic ritual from the province of Honan in southwest China. These Shamans seem to have flourished about the eighth century A.D., though these manuscripts are of a later date.

Two other episodes might be mentioned here that occurred at that time or later. In another objets d'art store, but this time in Cairo and not in Rome, I found a fine Koran of about the four-
teenth century (1169). The writing was good and marked a stage in the development of Naskhi calligraphy. It attracted me greatly but I thought the price was too high, and so I did not buy it. Shortly thereafter I left the country, but as I sailed away my desire to possess it was so great that presently I wrote to a friend in Cairo to secure it for me and to ship it after me. This was done and the manuscript became a part of the collection.

On another occasion I was in Luxor, hunting for manuscripts as usual, and was taken by a circuitous route along narrow alleys to a certain house. There, in an unlighted rear room, were laid out two mummies in their cases. Lighted candles were brought. The upper part of one of the cases was removed and I saw wrapped around, or partly around, the mummy a very fine sheet of papyrus with hieroglyphics and brilliant paintings, containing, I suppose, portions of the Book of the Dead. The price of the mummy, the case, and the papyrus was twenty pounds. Not knowing what I could do with a mummy, I shook my head and went on my way. Ever since, I have been infuriated that I did not purchase the papyrus for the twenty pounds, or perhaps less, and carry it away without the mummy and the large case. Doubtless in those days the papyrus would have been certified for export by the authorities in Cairo; but I lost the chance.

An incidental result of the experiences and contacts of the American Expedition to Syria was that soon after Littmann’s return to Germany he informed me that there was on sale in Leyden, in the hands of the well-known publishing house of E. J. Brill, an important collection of Arabic manuscripts which had been assembled over a long period of years by a scholar from Medina. After due consideration and negotiations, my brother, John W. Garrett, and I bought this collection. Not having any suitable place to house these twenty-four hundred volumes, we asked Princeton if they could be cared for in the University Library. This was arranged, and the collection arrived in 1901 and has remained there ever since, at first as a loan. At a later time I took over my brother’s interest and thus this Arabic library formed an important part of my collection.

Before long it became evident that these manuscripts should not stand idle on the shelves, for their scholarly value was great, covering as they did a number of centuries and practically all fields of Arabic learning during the greatest period of culture in the Near East. Furthermore, the scholars of that part of the world had made an invaluable contribution to world culture in keeping learning
alive during the Dark Ages. So it was determined to invite Littmann
to come to Princeton to care for and make use of these manuscripts.
He came and remained for several years, and I think it is correct to
say that these events constituted the beginning of the Department
of Oriental Languages and Literatures of Princeton University,
which has now become the leading center in this field of education
and learning in the Western Hemisphere. During the period of
Littmann's residence in Princeton he brought about the acquisi-
tion of another group of about five hundred volumes, mostly Arabic
but some Turkish, Persian, and Armenian, which was added to my
growing collection. This we called the Littmann Collection. Later,
when Professor Philip K. Hitti had appeared on the scene, through
his efforts another and quite rare library formed by Murād Bey
Bāradi, a scholar of Beirut, was gathered in. A few of the unusual
items in this library were some of the sacred books of the Druze of
the Lebanon, which had been held in secret for several centuries.
After a while, when I was in London, I learned of the smaller col-
lection formed by Professor Alban C. Widgery, of Cambridge, En-
gleand, and succeeded in purchasing it. This comprised about one
hundred volumes, most of them written by Persian mystics.

Through the years I continued to pick up interesting Western,
Oriental, and even Central American manuscripts, but before men-
tioning some of them I shall refer to two special events, or perhaps
I might call them expeditions. Littmann wanted to go to Abyssinia
to pursue his studies in Geez, the classical language of that country,
and in the dialects of Tigré and Tigrinya. I agreed to finance his
journey, with the understanding that he would take advantage of
the opportunity to gather together some Ethiopic manuscripts for
me. This he did and the substantial number of Ethiopian scrolls and
other items now at Princeton came to me mostly—though by no
means all—in this way.

The other event was the sending of Professor Ananian, of the
Hartford Theological Seminary, on a manuscript-hunting exped-
tion. One of the greatest treasures of my collection came from this
source. In Egypt, I think, he found the copy of Galen's works on
anatomy and medicine dating from the twelfth century (1075).
This constitutes the earliest known copy of Galen, all earlier Greek
and Latin copies having been destroyed or lost. The reader will
doubtless recall that Galen was the noted physician of Marcus
Aurelius.

Another especially interesting and important scientific manu-
script in the collection is a medical treatise by al-Majūsi, who died in A.D. 906, written in 1190 by ibn-Bakkār (1 S). During the Crusades the work was translated from the Arabic into Latin, and it preserved most of the medical lore of the Western and Near Eastern worlds during the Middle Ages. The copy in the collection is one of only two known in a complete state.

One of my haunts during frequent travels was the famous Quaritch bookstore in London. A goodly number of my European manuscripts were bought there, some interesting texts without illuminations and others with beautiful miniatures and border illuminations. One group that excited my special interest had a definite relationship to a number of the ruined abbeys of England and Scotland, such as Waverley, Revesby, Fountains, Tewkesbury, Glastonbury, and Sweetheart. I made a point of visiting some of them after the books came into my hands. I went to Tewkesbury, for instance, to which once belonged the thirteenth-century Psalter with eleven miniatures in initials. It was stirring to see the very fine church in perfect condition and to learn that when Henry VIII gave the ruthless order for the suppression of the monastic establishments, a group of laymen went to his ministers and arranged to buy the church for 453 pounds, and thus preserved this important structure dating in part from Norman times.

I visited also the ruins of Sweetheart Abbey in Scotland with my family. As in other instances among the old monasteries, the ruins were picturesque and some details quite fine but the destruction carried out in the sixteenth century was fairly complete. The guide who took us about and told us the story of the Abbey mentioned the great Bible now in the possession of an American gentleman, but we all had solemn and duly distressed faces, telling no secrets. This Bible is a fine example of thirteenth-century workmanship, with rare Scottish initials and marginal illumination. Originally there were four volumes but one was lost, probably long ago.

In the case of the manuscripts from these abbeys, it is probable that the monks, who were driven into hiding by the act of Henry VIII, took many of them away. Doubtless many have been destroyed and others which cannot be identified are in public libraries. And there are, of course, still others in such institutions which are identifiable, as is the case with the six or eight in my collection.

From Quaritch I secured also a number of Chinese manuscripts. They were said to be part of the loot taken at the time of the Boxer

rebellion. They are beautifully written, some volumes in Chinese and some in Manchu, and they are bound, some in yellow and some in salmon silk, with fine designs. They form a part of the records of the Manchu dynasty. The Manchu writing is quite different from the Chinese and I have been told that it is derived from Syriac. It seems that the Manchu language was not written until the Syriac alphabet was introduced by Syrian missionaries in Manchuria. It is probable that the missionaries first wrote it and used their own script, but from these examples it is evident that the skillful, artistic Chinese improved greatly upon the original. There are Syriac manuscripts in my collection and it is interesting to put them beside these Manchu examples. While the Syriac writing is good, there is a striking artistry in the Manchu examples that is lacking in the earlier script.

My conscience disturbed me with reference to these Chinese manuscripts for since they were royal records and had been lost, according to my informant, I felt that perhaps they should go back to Peiping. One day, noticing in the papers that Mr. Rockhill, our Minister to China at that time, was in Washington, I arranged to see him. I told him the story and asked his advice. He was quick to respond in effect: Keep them; they are safer in your hands. So now they are part of the Princeton collection.

Another interesting and valuable experience was one I had with Mr. H. M. Dring, of the Quarrich bookstore, with relation to the now famous Žefer-Namâh, or biography of Tamerlane, by Shâraf al-Dîn Āli Yârî. I had bought this beautiful book from Kaleb-djian Frères of Paris. It had come into their possession from the Goloubeff collection. I have seen a publication that stated it was in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts with the rest of that collection, but I believe it was sold separately in Europe. At any rate, it was offered to me by Kaleb-djian apparently on behalf of its owner. It was uniquely fine: beautiful miniatures by the master-painter Bihâzî; text apparently perfect; scribe and date recorded in the manuscript; important text, and author well-known; and, as a climax, inscriptions on the title-page indicating that it had belonged to Sultan Bahâdûr and to the Mogul emperors for four generations! A word written by the nearly illiterate Akbar is there; and Jahangir testified to that fact over his signature and authenticated the miniatures as being by Bihâzî. Shah Jahân also and his son Ālamgîr recorded their ownership of the book. The only fault was the lack of a binding and the consequent looseness of some of the pages.

I held it for sometime not knowing quite what to do. Beside the need of a suitable binding, I felt that some scholar should study it in order to discover whether any folios were lost or whether they all were present and were in proper sequence. Perhaps it was by instinct that I took the manuscript to Mr. Dring for his advice. He at once said that Sir Thomas Arnold should be asked to examine it. Of course I acquiesced and committed the manuscript to Mr. Dring in order that he might make a suitable inquiry. After a while he informed me that not only would Sir Thomas do what I wanted but he was so interested in the book that he would like to have the opportunity to study it thoroughly and to write a monograph upon it. Furthermore, Mr. Dring offered to have Quarrich publish the monograph. To all of this I readily consented and in due course the monograph was written and printed. This manuscript is no longer in my collection, but that is another story that I shall come to presently.

About the middle of the first decade of this century, when I was working in the Princeton Library upon my volume of the publications of the American Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900, an itinerant salesman turned up who had three manuscripts for sale. The Library officials turned him over to me. Two of the large volumes were Korans of Persian craftsmanship and of a familiar type, dating from the seventeenth century. They were beautiful and worth while when the man showed me the third, my semi-suppressed excitement was great. It was a Koran of about the eleventh century, on vellum in Kufic script, both writing and decorations—which are fine—in gold. It was so rare an example as to be virtually unique. It did not take me long to work out a deal with the salesman, whose identity was not disclosed, although I was given proper assurance that he had full authority to sell the manuscripts to me.

Many years later I received a letter from Dikran G. Kelekian, of New York, the well-known dealer in antiquities, in which he wrote that he would like to bring a gentleman from abroad to see my collection. I made the appointment and in due time Mr. Kelekian came to Baltimore with Monsignor—now Cardinal—Tisserant, of the Vatican. The Monsignor’s interest, as I recall, was chiefly in Western manuscripts, but I showed him also some from the Orient. When I brought out the Kufic Koran, Mr. Kelekian exclaimed, “I sold you that, but I thought it had gone to the Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California.” He then showed me the tiny stamped seal he had placed on several folios, which I had not
noticed. This manuscript is also no longer in my collection for a very good reason that I shall record.

In 1940 a Jewish scholar from Great Britain named Yahuda appeared in Princeton with a great library of Arabic manuscripts which had been assembled during a long period of years by his brother, a merchant of Cairo, and himself. He had determined to escape from the dangers of the war and felt that his books would be safer in the United States. He knew of the Arabic collections at Princeton and also of the work of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures and believed that here was the place for him to re-establish himself and his library. It became known soon that the library was for sale and the Princeton scholars examined it carefully. It was found to be extremely important, the only serious fault with it being that Mr. Yahuda had separated from it all the manuscripts having to do with the medical sciences. These had been sold to the Federal Government and they were safely placed in the library of the Surgeon General of the United States. There remained, however, about eight thousand volumes embracing all other branches of Arabic learning and there were not many duplicates of the manuscripts already in the Library. It seemed obviously wise to endeavor to secure them for Princeton. Only a short time before this I had presented my entire collections to the University, but I was still actively concerned with them and so I cast about to see what might be done, consulting several of the officials on the various aspects of the problem. I made a mild attempt to find the necessary money, but without discovering any promising lead. Finally I determined, by and with the consent of the University authorities, to dispose of one of my finest manuscripts which was rather to be classed as a “museum piece” than as an item for use in teaching or in research. I made some preliminary contacts to sound out the possibilities and came to the conclusion that I would have to dispose of both the Kufic Koran and the Zafar-Namah—which are discussed above—in order to cover the price of the Yahuda library.

Before I had taken any further steps I happened to see my brother, the late John W. Garrett, and since the subject was then uppermost in my mind and knowing that he would be interested, I told him the story. I left him, without any thought other than the steps I needed to take to accomplish my purpose. The following week end my wife and I went to St. Paul’s School, Concord, to visit our youngest son. Greatly to my surprise, that Sunday I received a telegram from my brother saying: “Do not dispose of those Korans until I see you.” Soon after my return to Baltimore I went again to see my brother and found that he wanted to carry through the transaction himself. Within a few minutes he gave me his check in favor of Princeton University and in due time I brought the two manuscripts back from Princeton and the University officials concluded the purchase of the Yahuda library. Thus the Kufic Koran and the Zafar-Namah became important additions to my brother’s library, which, incidentally, was in considerable part my father’s library also, and which is now under my brother’s will to be taken over by the Johns Hopkins University. I think it is accurate to say that those two volumes and the Manāfī’ al-Hayawān in the Pierpont Morgan Library are the three finest Islamic manuscripts in the United States.

In Baltimore I came in contact with Dr. William Gates, who had for many years studied zealously the civilizations and the languages of the early Mayas of Guatemala, Honduras, and Yucatan. In the process he collected assiduously books of many kinds and in enormous quantities. His researches also led him into Mexico and into other countries of Central America. In his later years he disposed of parts of his library, the larger part, having to do with Mexico, going to Tulane University. A special lot comprised manuscripts in many dialects of the Maya language and on many subjects. These I bought from him. There are about 265 volumes, all written in Latin script and dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. In the light of conversations I had with several persons concerned, and in the hope that research in this field would some day be undertaken by the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, I presented these manuscripts to the Institute about the same time that I gave the other collections to Princeton University. I stipulated, however, that if and when it should be determined that the Institute would not undertake this task, the Mayan manuscripts would then be turned over to Princeton University and made a part again of my manuscript collections.

Some years ago I learned that Dr. Sylvanus G. Morley wanted to see this Mayan material. We made an appointment and I spread out the manuscripts so that he might find it easy to examine them. After he had gone over them carefully, he expressed the opinion that it was the most important collection of its kind now to be found in any one place.

Scholars claim, I am told, that the Arabic collections at Princeton, amounting to more than ten thousand volumes, constitute the
greatest library of its kind in any university in the world. As for the
European medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, while their num-
ber is small compared with the Oriental, I believe the collection has
a high rank among similar collections in this country. They num-
ber about 175 volumes.

It has been a joy, as well as an education, to build up this series of
collections, and I trust that they will be of perpetual value to
Princeton.
"The Earliest Device of the Colonies"
and Some Other Early Devices

BY SINC LAIR HAMILTON '06

In the early days of colonial settlement, when our forefathers were engaged in the hazardous and absorbing occupation of taming a wilderness, there was little if any premonition of the mighty growth so soon to take place, nor any feeling that the birth of a new nation was being witnessed. The individual colonies had few dealings with each other and jealousy and bickering were constant among them. In 1721 Jeremiah Dummer in his A Defence of the New-England Charters expressed the opinion that the colonies would never unite, and there were those who believed that, were it not for the restraining hand of Great Britain, there would be a state of chronic civil war all the way from Maine to Georgia.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the desirability of colonial union did not become apparent until actual danger threatened the colonies. This danger first arose because of the depredations of the French and their Indian allies. In the issue of May 9, 1754 Benjamin Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette carried news of the express which had arrived from Major Washington, the report concluding with these ominous words:

The Confidence of the French in this Undertaking [i.e., the design to establish themselves and build forts on the back of the English settlements and ruin the frontier counties] seems well grounded on the present disunited State of the British Colonies, and the extreme Difficulty of bringing so many different Governments and Assemblies to agree in any speedy and effectual Measures for our common Defence and Security; while our Enemies have the very great Advantage of being under one Direction, with one Council, and one Purse. Hence, and from the great Distance of Britain, they presume that they may with Impunity violate the most solemn Treaties subsisting between the two Crowns, kill, seize and imprison our Traders, and confiscate their Effects at Pleasure (as they have done for several years past) murder and scalp our Farmers, with their Wives and Children, and take an easy Possession of such Parts of the British Territory as they find most convenient for them; which if they are permitted to do, must end in the Destruction of the British Interest, Trade and Plantations in America.

At the foot of the report (p. 2/1) appeared for the first time the device which later was to become so well known—the snake device.
In its original form, as in all likelihood conceived by Franklin himself and perhaps even cut by him on wood or type metal, this device showed a serpent divided into eight parts, the head bearing the initials of New England while the remaining parts bore the initials of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in that order, South Carolina forming the tail. Underneath appeared the motto “Join, or Die.”

This is the first device to appear in this country symbolizing or suggesting the union of the colonies. It was probably not a close political union that Franklin intended to urge but rather one for defense against the encroachments of the French. It is, of course, possible that a broader conception lurked in Franklin’s mind, for in the summer of 1754 he laid before the delegations of those colonies which were represented at the Albany Congress a sweeping plan of union which went so far as to grant to the proposed Federal Grand Council the power to levy taxes and to raise armies. However, here, as in many other things, Franklin proved to be far ahead of his time. The most important matter before the Albany Congress was that of an Indian treaty and although, after this business was dispatched, the proposed union was discussed and Franklin’s plan actually adopted, it ultimately came to nothing. In the Autobiography Franklin says of his plan, “In our way thither [i.e., to the Albany Congress], I projected and drew a plan for the union of all the colonies under one government, so far as might be necessary for defense, and other important general purposes.” Here, again, it is defense which he stresses, just as he did in 1747 in his pamphlet Plain Truth, with its headpiece illustrating the old proverb “God helps those who help themselves.” It seems fair to say, therefore, that in its origin the snake device was not used as a symbol of complete political union but only of union for a limited purpose.

The snake device was copied in several other newspapers in 1754. Albert Matthews in his “The Snake Devices, 1754-1776,” which appeared in Volume XI of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston, 1910), lists them as follows: ¹

Boston Gazette, May 14, p. 3/1.

These devices differ somewhat in form, and Mr. Matthews repro-}

induces in his article the original design from The Pennsylvania Gazette and the two Boston designs.

The French and Indian War came to a close in 1763 and the power of France on this continent was broken. The need for defense against external aggression was past and the urge for union was for the moment stilled. In 1764, however, Great Britain entered upon that fatal course which ultimately led to the Revolution. The storm of protest which followed the Declaratory Resolves of 1764 and the Stamp Act of 1765 led to the resurrection of the snake device. The Constitutional Courier which appeared on September 21, 1765 with a diatribe against the imposition of the stamp tax bore the old device at the top of the sheet, and it was copied by The Boston Evening-Post of October 7, 1765.

Although the Stamp Act was repealed, the threatened infringements on the liberties of the colonies were responsible for other emblems and devices which appeared at about this time. In 1768 Paul Revere executed an order for a silver punch bowl which a few staunch Sons of Liberty had commissioned and which was intended to be large enough to hold a gallon of punch. With ample room to work, Revere ornamented the bowl with a wreath (surmounted by a liberty cap) encircling the legend “No. 45. Wilkes and Liberty,” while on either side two standards bear the words “Magna Charta” and “Bill of Rights.” Bickerstaff’s Boston Almanack for 1769 has on its cover a portrait of Wilkes, that “celebrated patron of liberty,” supported by Britannia in the dress of Minerva and by Hercules, the God of Strength, who treads upon the serpent of envy. Below is a cupid with the cap of liberty and two opened books, on one of which is engraved “Locke’s Works,” an author “famous for his writings in favor of liberty,” and on the other the “Algermon Sydney on Government,” a book Judge Jeffreys received in evidence against Sidney as having been written in liberty. We find too a service of queen’s ware, bearing the mark used not later than 1769 by Franklin’s friend Josiah Wedgwood, which displays a chain of rings on which appear the names of the thirteen colonies thus linked together. Nor were those patriots Edes and Gill found wanting, for early in 1770 they replaced the old device at the masthead of their Boston-Gazette with the figure of Minerva upholding the cap of liberty and loosing from its cage a bird which flies toward the liberty tree, and continued to run this new device for several years.

¹ For a full description of this bowl and the events leading up to its being made, see B. F. Stevens, A Chapter of Provincial History, Boston, 1895.
No doubt a thorough search of the newspapers, almanacs and broadsides of the period would uncover other emblems and devices meant to encourage the colonists in their struggle for liberty.

After the repeal of the Stamp Act there followed the so-called "external taxes," the Boston Tea Party and the Boston Port Bill. This latter act went into effect June 1, 1774, and then indeed did the old serpent come to life again with a vengeance. On June 23, 1774 John Holt substituted it for his old device in The New-York Journal and continued to run it until December 15, 1774. Holt's serpent is in nine pieces and Georgia has become the tail. On July 7, 1774 Isaiah Thomas adopted the device for his Massachusetts Spy and ran it for some nine months. His device also shows nine pieces, with Georgia the tail. Finally, on July 27, 1774 Bradford's Pennsylvania Journal appeared with the old serpent in ten pieces. Mr. Matthews is of the opinion that the extra piece is due to a defect in the drawing or printing. Perhaps, however, the designer was endeavoring to give the Three Lower Counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware, a place in the sun, and hence this may be the first time that the snake device took in all thirteen colonies. Bradford did not return to his old ornate device, which showed an Indian and an angel on either side of a full-rigged ship, until October 25, 1775.

In its later use the snake device takes on a significance which it did not have in 1754. Now the colonies are urged to "unite or die" not in defense against an external aggressor but in defense of their liberties against the country which had given them birth and to which they still owed allegiance. It is, in fact, more of a political union than a military union that is now being symbolized.

The agitation which followed the various oppressive measures adopted by Great Britain culminated in the calling of the First Continental Congress, which assembled in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. All of the colonies, with the exception of Georgia, sent delegates. Samuel Adams was a member of the Massachusetts delegation. He was already firmly convinced that the colonies must become independent of Great Britain and unite in a permanent confederation, and there were others who felt as he did. On the night of Saturday, September the third, before the Congress convened, toasts were drunk to the "Union of the Colonies," and, at the opening of the
Congress, Patrick Henry struck the keynote by declaring, "I am not a Virginian but an American." It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Congress was prevailed upon to take some momentous steps toward the creation of a united front and that it proved possible to adopt so important a plan as the so-called "Association"—i.e., the non-importation, non-consumption and non-exportation agreement into which the twelve colonies entered. This constituted a real instrument of union and was a profoundly important step toward ultimate political unity.

On Saturday, October 22, 1774, the Congress ordered that the journal of its proceedings be printed under the direction of Edward Biddle and John Dickinson, both of the Pennsylvania delegation, and the Secretary, Charles Thomson. These gentlemen selected as the printer William Bradford and his son Thomas, and shortly thereafter there appeared the *Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, Held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774*. It bears the imprint "Philadelphia: Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, at the London Coffee-House. M.DCC.LXXIV."

It is not a book of great rarity but it is one of unusual interest, for on its title-page a new device appears, one which Justin Winsor in his *Narrative and Critical History of America* calls "the earliest device of the colonies." This device, cut on wood or type metal, shows a pole upon which the liberty cap is perched, the pole being supported by twelve hands and resting on the Magna Charta. Surrounding it is the motto "Hanc Tuemur, Hac Nitimur." This appears to have been the first device ever designed in this country which from its inception was intended to symbolize the complete political union of the colonies. Crude as it may be, it foreshadows the birth of a nation and is, therefore, a device of real significance in American iconography. It seems strange that its importance in this respect has not been more generally recognized.

As only twelve hands are shown in the device and only twelve colonies were represented in the First Continental Congress, the device almost certainly originated in connection with that Congress. Paul Leicester Ford, in his *Some Materials for a Bibliography of the Official Publications of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789* (Brooklyn, 1888), lists, in addition to the *Journal*, forty-three other items containing publications of the proceedings of the 1774 Congress. Thirty-three of these were printed in this country before 1775. Institutions owning such items have been communicated with and in this way the writer has checked all but five of the
thirty-three. None of the items checked contains the device, and it is probable, therefore, that its first appearance was in the Journal of Evans so treats it (No. 13737).

No one knows who designed the device. Perhaps it originated in the mind of Edward Biddle or John Dickinson or Charles Thomson, or perhaps it should be attributed to William Bradford, the printer of the Journal and the grandson of the Bradford who was the first to introduce printing into both Pennsylvania and New York. He was an ardent patriot, and in the Revolutionary War performed distinguished service in spite of the fact that he had reached an age which exempted him from military duty. He was a major of militia at the Battle of Trenton, fought at Princeton, and returned colonel of his regiment.

To a man such as this the acts and proceedings of our First Continental Congress must have been of compelling interest. He would have been able to appreciate the significance of the steps that were being taken and the progress toward unity that was being made. On the other hand, if it was Bradford who was responsible for the design in question, it is somewhat surprising that he made no use of it in his newspaper. His Pennsylvania Journal continued to run the old snake device long after the First Continental Congress had passed into history. Holt in New York, on the other hand, seized upon the new device, first making use of it in the issue of his New-York Journal for December 15, 1774, and continuing to use it until

The New-York Journal
December 15, 1774

August 29, 1776, the date of the last issue published before the British occupied New York. Throughout he kept the twelve hands, never adding a thirteenth, but he made some changes in the design

The American Edition of S.W.

The name of the printer, William Phillips, is shown at the top of the page. Phillips was a prominent printer in Philadelphia at the time. The device is a snake with the words "The American Edition of S.W." above it.

JOHN HANCOCK, Esq. President,

Of the Independence of the United States of America, and of the People of the United States of America, as well as the United States of America.

WILLIAM D. PHELPS, Printer.
and enlarged it. The motto "Hanc Tuemur, Hac Nitimur" has disappeared. The device is now encircled by a serpent bearing on its body the words:

United now Alive and Free
Firm on this Basis Liberty Shall Stand
And thus Supported ever Bless Our Land
Till Time Becomes Eternity.

A serpent with its tail in its mouth has from time immemorial been the symbol of eternity, but here there is perhaps an added significance. The old divided snake is divided no longer. United at last it encircles the cap of liberty, the staunch hands which support it, and the Magna Charta on which it rests.

We find the device again in more elegant form in Abraham Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture, Philadelphia, 1775. It has now achieved the honor of a copper engraving and heads the page dedicating the book to John Hancock, the President of the Second Continental Congress of 1775. As John Norman engraved the architectural views in the book, it would seem likely that he made the engraving on the dedication page also. Both he and Robert Bell, the printer, sign the dedication to "John Hancock, Esq; President, Of the Honorable, the American Continental Congress; and to all the Members, of that Honorable and August Body."

In spite of the fact that the book was published in Philadelphia, the design apparently stems from that used by Holt in New York rather than from the original device in the Journal, for the serpent with the same motto encircles the whole. But the engraving by no means slavishly follows the old woodcut. Magna Charta is no longer a scroll, partly unrolled, resting on the pedestal from which rises the liberty pole, but now appears as a document attached to the foot of the pedestal. In addition to other slight differences there is one significant change. The hands supporting the pole are now thirteen in number. The last of the colonies has been added and "the earliest device of the colonies" has now reached its final stage. Union is complete.

For much of the information contained in this article the author is indebted to Mr. Lewis M. Stark and Mr. Percy E. Clapp, of the New York Public Library, who were most helpful in the assistance they rendered.
An Unfinished Novel by Nicholas Biddle

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY THOMAS F. GOYAN

Thus literary fragment* from the pen of Nicholas Biddle, President of the Bank of the United States, seems to be a literal and factual report of an incident which occurred in his own home. The essential problem discussed, the artificiality of social distinctions in America, was one that concerned him deeply. In an unpublished essay written shortly after the War of 1812, he said, "The most decisive characteristic of American society is its aristocracy—its downright positive exclusiveness. We Americans may say what we please, evade it, deny it, modify it, soften it, still it is true in all its force. I know of scarcely any country where the circles of society are more distinctly marked than in the United States, certainly not in the Continent of Europe."

His own attitude is reflected in the present manuscript by Julia, the mistress of the household, when she says, "Distinctions in society you must have because wealth, beauty, notoriety, family connections create them—different circles in society you must have because no individual can be acquainted with everybody & our assemblies must conform to our houses. But it is against the absurd pretension of being the first society—against the exclusion from your circle of acquaintance of persons fitted to adorn it because the pursuits of their fathers & brothers is not what is absurdly called genteel, it is against this that I must protest."

This condemnation of artificial social pretense derives much of its interest from the individual who uttered it. As the defender of the national bank against the assaults of President Andrew Jackson and his administration, Nicholas Biddle was cast in the role of an aristocrat. In the folklore of American history he is the representative of the privileged classes and special interests against the common people and democracy. But in actuality he believed that the only valid distinctions to be made between men and women were those of character, intellectual attainments, and personal deportment.

The manuscript also has a value over and above its revelation of

*The manuscript of the novel was acquired by the Princeton University Library in 1963 on the Theodore F. Saxxay Fund.
my humble way not wholly useless—ornamental you know I do not aspire to be. I will when you desire it leave a card for any stranger that is not to my positive knowledge a counterfeiter in which case my presence might be embarrassing—and I will make as long visits as you please to any maiden ladies you may deem it necessary to ask to the dance because they were early friends of your grandmother. Nay more to show my willingness to encounter unknown dangers by my zeal in [illegible word] old & real difficulties, I will go down & see my rural friend Knight and pass a full quarter of an hour with Miss Peabody things you know which through life have been severe trials to me. All this I will do. Moreover I will look to the wine & brandy—will agree to all—and pay for all. But then as the reward of these sacrifices I stipulate that I am not [to] be consulted nor regarded in this whole affair. Julia laughed at these precautions yet knowing her husband’s humour consented to his terms—blending perhaps at the same time as he remarked, with the satisfaction of possessing full & uncontrolled dominion some lingering regret at this escape from her authority of one individual whom she had such a good right to govern and who was a submissive & dutiful subject. But on this occasion he was resolute. No, No Julia he said you know that I am a sort of lightning rod down which all the heat & strife of the family which might else explode is carried harmlessly off. And I mean for once if the tempest does come to look on quietly & see who is to be struck. He walked out, hoping that on his return great progress would have been made towards the party. But he found the whole family conclave just sitting down to the serious business. It was ascertained that Thursday was a free day—when no party public or private could interfere and the two important Johnsons—the waiter and the Chief of the Band were engaged, so that now came the question of invitations. Julia sat at one end of the table—with her two brothers beside her—while below were the Colonel & cousin Elizabeth. The alphabetical list of the last ball was produced and the several names as they were called off ran the gauntlet of this fashionable committee and were accepted or condemned in the most summary manner. The first two or three passed of course without remark—but at the name of Mr. M* & Miss Ashton a slight murmur arose on the lips of Elizabeth. Is it worth while to ask the Ashton’s? the father you know is a dull business sort of man—the wife is a pushing woman who wants to get up in the world, and the daughter is an ugly vulgar kind of body. You remember the party they gave last year—the oddest collection of her old acquaintances.
whom she did not yet dare to abandon with the new ones she had just been making by dint of perseverance. The two bodies went along like the Missouri & Mississippi almost disclaiming to mingle tho' forced into the same current. Did you hear of Frank Johnson's remark about it the next day. Well what sort of a party was it last night? Pretty well said that acute observer pulling up his shirt collar—but not much blood there. Well but Elizabeth went there ourselves, & we have scarcely a right to disparage her party. I don't know that my dear cousin, we went to laugh & the favor of going deserves to be rewarded by the privilege of amusing ourselves at her expense as she glorified herself at ours. Oh but they are amiable good people & you ought not to slight them—for—Stop my dear if you begin to moralize there is an end of it so Colonel put down the Ashton's—one & all.

Now for our worthy kinsmen. I suppose we must put them down tho' it cannot be denied that we possess some relations a little dullish and it is hard that one's own flesh & blood should be tiresome. But it is not always in flesh & blood to be otherwise, so we must have them. The B's passed muster well enough—but at the very threshold of the C's we were met by that odious M'rs Crompton with all her daughters. Now Julia said Elizabeth, have you no excuse for omitting these people. Bethink yourself. Have they visited you regularly? As punctually as a tax gatherer. Have you never heard that they spoke ill of you? They are the civilist people on earth. Do you know them at all? I have known them—or rather they say they have known me from my birth & when John had a sore throat last winter they called every day to enquire about him. How provoking and they must come I suppose.

M'rs & M'rs Dayley—why they failed only the other day, & have broken up their establishment in Chestnut St. You dont mean. To be sure I do said Julia. They are amiable people, behaved well in their prosperity & it would be unkind to pass them over.

Well then here are M'rs & M'rs Emerson & the Miss Emerson. Julia my dear these will not pass muster. There is poor Emerson, a round & plump person happy in his original state of a dealer in tea, till his wife turned him out like a butterfly from a cocoon in a most gaudy condition of hopeless magnificence—and parades him forth looking like the Mandarin who nodded before his window in Water Street with all the original sin of his trade upon him. And she the flower of sudden growth—outraging all the modes—more fashionable than the fashions, and the absolute despair of Pintard & Prat. What possesses the men to like him. The rogue knows the way to their hearts, he knows that the road to the parlor is thro' the kitchen—he gives such good dinners & is so profuse in his wine that nine o'clock the past is all forgotten & the next day they take their wives to leave a card with the wife of that good natured fellow Emerson—merely a card you know—but a house is built up by women as well as children with cards—and every day she reports progress as they say in Congress and asks leave to sit again—till presently there will be no room but for her & her daughters who are literally a rising generation. But what daughters! positive wall flowers[.] There is Miss Amelia, a hollyhock of a person with a broad sunflower of a face at the top of it—the sentimental Anna a passion flower—and short of body & loud of voice that trumpet creeper Miss Matilda.

Now what do you say Julia—or rather what do you say [—] for it is after all an affair of you men who suffer yourselves to be led by these vulgarians. [———] declined saying a word as it was not his party—and Julia decided that she would not be the first to make people unhappy & that they should be invited. Elizabeth yielded, but renewed her attack at the name of M'rs & the Misses Fleming. Who are the Flemings Julia? Why they are people I met at Long Branch—they seemed very amiable & I told them I should be glad to see them when they came to town so they called the other day, & I could not do less than invite them. Julia my fair cousin you are destined to be a child all the days of your life. Meet people at Long Branch, & then know them again! Why these longshore acquaintances should never be recognized in the interior, and the last dip into the sea is always expected to come from the memory all recollection of these casual people who may be agreeable enough to meet under the Bower—but troublesome in one's own parlor. Well Elizabeth that may be well enough for you but really I am not equal to it. I will not offend people & as I rarely make professions I am at least sincere in those I do offer—so the Flemings you must allow me.

Pass then for the Flemings—but here are the Holmes's—what can possess you to tempt the Holmes's from their country solitude just as the mother has cured all her hams & completed the insinuation of her sausages—and the young ladies have listed the doors & sandbagged all the windows for the winter—country relations. "There's blood upon that hand.["] But when they come flaring in with all their Bucks County finery what can you make of them? No body knows them—no body will dance with them—and I appeal to my masculine cousins there whether it is not the worst of all nuisances.
sances to have three or four great impracticable girls to find partners for. Poor things they are obliged to hear all your negotiations—and manoeuvres, to find some good natured men to dance with—which all are nine times out of ten unsuccessful. It is in vain you whisper what very nice girls they are & that they are very accomplished & that they are entire strangers & so fond of dancing. You are obliged for fear of being overheard by the eager expectant to speak so low that the vile man pretends not to hear you—and when by dint of repetition you have made it impossible for him to misunderstand you, he recollects that [he] is engaged to Miss Nembleston & to Miss Dawson for the next two dances—but promises well for some late period of the evening & then gently glides off & the country cousins glide out of his memory—say what you please at a dance the greatest merits are the most obvious. What man is touched by the biography of a girl who has manifestly a head of fierce red hair—of what avail is it that a young woman can make excellent pastry & make a good wife if she can’t make a curtesy—or goes trembling all over a cotillion like a mould of her own top heavy jelly. And as to moving men by relations of her want of a partner, rely upon it—whatever the poets may say about that matter—pity is much more akin so hate than to love & the surest way to get a partner—is not to want, or what is precisely the same thing not to seem to want, one. What do you say my fashionable cousins? Charley begins at home. Now will you engage even in your own sister’s house, to dance with the Holmes’? They both declared they had a great regard for their relations the Holmes’ particularly for Mary whom they thought a very clever excellent girl. There said Elizabeth that’s quite enough—you mean to conclude these declarations of attachment with regret at being so much engaged that, for the present—and until—you see how it is Julia. Now take your own way. I know you’ll invite them & I am sure it will be a lesson to you.

The brothers being roused from their several prostrate situations, listened patiently until there was read off the name of Mr Linthorne at which they came to a full stop. My dear sister how came you to know the Linthornes. Why they were introduced to me by Mr Budd who said they were very good people, & they behaved themselves with great propriety & the young people seemed particularly well educated & intelligent. The Linthornes introduced by Mr Budd, my dear Julia this is of evil omen altogether. Why Mr Linthorne is an auctioneer a regular existing & practising auctioneer. Well what of that—what does that mean? I read in the papers some time ago a long account of what they called the auction system, and was really afraid that poor Miss Linthorne’s husband must be a bad man to be engaged in a business which was said to be very wicked. So I took the paper to my silent spouse there—and he laughed me out of my fears by telling me that it was a mere foolish outcry & that they were like any other merchants. Oh I don’t at all mean to say that auctioneers are not very honest people—only that they are not in short in society are not absolutely genteel. That is a very delicate question—whether an auctioneer is genteel. I have known opinions more divided on that very point than about Eclipse & Henry—or this later business of Adams & Jackson. The difficulty lies first in the abstract occupation itself—and then in the usages of different States. In New York I incline to think an auctioneer is genteel decidedly. In Boston the question is difficult—in Baltimore doubtful—in Charleston decidedly against. With us in Phil I were called upon to decide—and the wellbeing, that is, the admission into society, of a fellow creature were at stake I should hesitate a little in a case where books afford no precedent—and usages are so various, yet should ultimately & after much reflection upon all the consequences, incline to say, that the occupation of an auctioneer was not intrinsically genteel—but had a capability of becoming so. This would resolve it into a question of pure expedience—in which the particular character of the man & his wife & his daughters might all receive their appropriate attention and a safe result be attained. In the case of Linthorne I should rather say with reluctance—not unmixed with regret for Sarah Linthorne has really not a bad foot—that Linthorne is not & can never be genteel but that the Linthornes may after reasonable probation attain to gentility. It would be perhaps better therefore not to be precipitate not to invite them for the present—but let them work on a little—see how they develop themselves—how they exfoliate as our botanical friend Peters is wont to say. To this compromising plan of a quarantine John assented—the Colonel agreed and Elizabeth was ready with her pen to run the Linthornes through—when Julia seeing the danger of her friends spoke in a tone of more than her usual decision. Now my dears this is exceeding silly of you. Here are you all so great the occupations of people as gravely as if it were of the slightest consequence how the husbands or fathers of our acquaintance made their fortunes, or were in the act of making them—and as if their own individual & personal conduct ought not alone to regulate our intercourse with
friend Henderson who talks of his immense plantations in the South—and reads us accounts from his overseer—and all the time he does not perceive that these letters giving accounts that the rice is well watered & the cotton has had no frost & that Cleopatra has had twins and Pompey has been bought by a planter from Louisiana—that these letters represent him after all as a mere seller of rice & negroes. And yet you see that after he has sold his rice & cotton in Carolina—and it is bought on hand by the purchaser, Henderson can scarcely condescend to consider him as an equal so wide does he deem the difference between the planter & the merchant, the man who sells rice and the man who buys it. Now all this is silly in the extreme. It is in this country the fate—a happy one I think, that all of us are occupied—all engaged in some useful pursuit. The variety of these pursuits are necessary to the happiness of all—but all of them may be rendered respectable by the character of those engaged in them—and I know of no distinction in pursuits unless it be the greater or less degree of intellectual power which they require.—& no distinction among men or women except that of personal deportment. In all countries the idle are the most profligate & unhappy. In this country the idle are almost universally the least respectable portion of our society—and for us Americans—as republicans—to be building up these idols to fashion—to be mimicking the dull follies of England is very absurd. Distinctions in society you must have because wealth beauty nobility family connexions create them—different circles in society you must have because no individual can be acquainted with everybody & our assemblies must conform to our houses. But it is against the absurd pretension of being the first society—against the exclusion from your circle of acquaintance of persons fitted to adorn it because the pursuits of their fathers & brothers is not what is absurdly called genteel, it is against this that I must protest. Why my dear Elizabeth I have danced many a time with a sausage maker and one of the most delightful men I ever knew was a man who lived in Pewter Platter Alley & made artificial flowers—& among the dearest friends I have is my music mistress. You start. The sausage maker was poor Rapatel—the aid of Moreau & afterwards of the Emperor Alexander—the maker of artificial flowers was a French nobleman who is now high in office near the king of France & the lady who gave me my harp lessons supported it by her exiled mother the Countess Lamarre while her father was in the royal army of Condé. Come come Elizabeth, let this reconcile
you to the auctioneer's daughter—if it does not I shall begin to think that you have seen her & do not like to have so pretty a poacher on your own chosen preserve. Well, Julia, my dear to prove my courage I'll vote for her—so now all of you bid for her—going—gone—they are knocked off—and let us go on.

The Nogents—where do the Nogents live? They live in a very nice house in Race Street—in Race Street exclaimed the whole party with an involuntary shudder. Why my dear Julia said Eliza, After all the most important branch of fashionable knowledge is topography. It supplies the want of all science & is an infallible guide when all other pilotage is perplexed & foggy.[1] I remember well meeting at the Springs or when I accompanied my brother to the Legislature very decent people whom I promised to go & see of good nature to hunt them up perhaps in some far extremity of Front Street—or at their lodgings at the Black Bear—but it would not do. In truth what possible affinities can exist between you and a lodger in the very face of the Conestoga encampment of Market Street[?] What can there belong in common with a human being who resides at the corner perhaps of Calhoun & some atrocious alley. No the social law of locality is as fair a ground of intercourse as any other. We heard the other day at the lecture of that divine professor Weaver a long story about strata & how the very bowels of the earth were arranged into the primitive & the transition & the secondary. I could not for my life refrain from classifying our society after the same fashion—and before the man of rocks had got through half his discourse I had arranged all our acquaintances from the high & primitive Mrs Penson & her coterie to such second-class people as some who shall be nameless on Julia's list, and then intermediate & equivocal are the transition people—Mr Burrows whose bustling manoeuvres for distinction arrange her with the "traps" and as for "hornblende"—suppose that rising smile dear Cousin you have the intriguing Mr & Mrs Parham. There was an obsolete proverb which says tell me your company & I'll tell you your character. It is superseded at least it ought to be by a newer truth. Tell me where you live & I'll tell you how you live. The world—the whole world—all the world, live in an extremely small compass. You go to the theatre & find it crowded to suffocation, without a soul in the house. The next night it may be thinly filled by all the world—so it is in the town at large. Draw a line from Race & Lombard Street—who knows any body who wishes to know any body in either of those streets or any where north or south of it. There are numerous & well founded doubts with regard to Pine Street—the malaria prevails in many places along there. The same may be said of several parts of Arch Street—and it is necessary in order to be recognized, to live rather low down in Pine Street or high up in Arch Street. All the intermediate streets are tolerated with the exception of Market Street which is no longer habitable. Such is the fate of streets!—I remember when Market Street was quite a reputable place. It has of late years been obscured by Chestnut Street which is now fading in turn. Those who wish to be thought rich & want to be fine for a year or two before they make an assignment to their creditors, think the shortest way is to live in Chestnut Street—and the shops themselves seem to be coming up after the shopmen—to that Chestnut Street is no longer the street but must share its honors with younger rivals. I therefore object on principle to the invitation of any one in Race Street—but Julia, feeling confident by her success in the affair of the Linthornes, was again resolute, and obliged her reluctant cousin to yield.

As they ran through the list, various objections were started. The Moores—who & what are they? Lord bless me is old Miss Peterson still alive—and the Inevitable Stanton,—with the eternal Thornton—& to close the whole career Miss Wotherspoon. Now tell me what you mean to do with all these people? Your house large as it is, will never contain them. See how many hundred people you have invited. But then dear Elizabeth you know they are persons who come to see me & I can't be unkind to them. It is better to run the risk of a little crowd for a few hours than hurt people's feelings for years. Besides the greater part of them will be content with the compliment & will not come. Why at the last party I gave I was amazed on finding that I had actually invited 457 people—yet when the day arrived only 126 came. That may be—but if you wish to be comfortable you must abridge this acquaintance. I wish you were not half so good—every body likes you—you never quarrel with any body—you never cut any body but in self defence you will have to come to it at last. And now we have accomplished this work let us begin to write the invitations[.] In the progress of these the details of the entertainment were discussed. You must have 5 musicians—you must have 6 public waiters in addition to your own people—you must have a profusion of
things to eat—no matter how much—people laugh a little at it—but they eat a great deal of it & nothing destroys the reputation of a dance more completely than anything like the air of scantiness. The ways & means—the supplies are in society as in Congress the most important part of legislation. To these axioms of Elizabeth Julia ventured gently to demur. The profusion of things to eat & drink is a little provincial. We are gradually emancipating ourselves but there is much yet undone. There was a time not beyond the memory of some of us, when at a morning visit we were obliged to swallow a certain quantity of cake & wine—before dinner we were obliged to drink punch—and after dinner to sit for [1] hours over wine. All this [sic] horrors have disappeared—but there yet lingers the grossness of an abundance which is not without some little touch of vulgarity. Why can we not do—as people on the continent do—see our friends without all this profusion—a little ice & a little lemonade will carry off a party without this eternal parade of black servants with an endless stock of excessive things to eat & drink. Yet tho’ these are my opinions I am not disposed to innovate at present & until some decided & final change is attempted I will go on in the old way. So it was resolved that the dance should be given in all the usual forms.

About nine the company began to assemble, and at ten the rooms were filled & the dancing commenced.

Library Notes & Queries

With Special Reference to Princeton

Laurence Sterne at Princeton

Among the most interesting documents relating to Princeton's past is the letter book preserved in the Princeton University Library which contains correspondence between Samuel Stanhope Smith and his cousins in Germantown, Samuel and Susan Shippen Blair. The letters were written between 1768 and 1771, at the period when Smith, later the seventh president of the College of New Jersey, was serving as its vice-president and was nationally known as a preacher, philosopher, and man of taste. They reveal an unexpected and delightful side of one of Princeton's most distinguished presidents, but they have a somewhat wider significance also, for they record clearly an early instance of the influence of Laurence Sterne in America.

Even the casual reader of the letter book must be struck by the resemblance in style, tone, sentiment, and even punctuation between these letters and the writings of Sterne, especially The Journal to Eliza. This similarity has been pointed out in my sketch of Smith in The Lives of Eighteen from Princeton. It is clear that Smith and his friends made a deliberate effort, surprisingly successful, to imitate Sterne's unique blending of sentiment and wit, of fervor and self-consciousness.

In view of this evidence of the presence of Sterne at the center of Presbyterian America at the end of the eighteenth century, it is interesting to discover that there was an actual, though slight, connection between Sterne and the Blairs. Susan Shippen Blair, the "Fidelia" of the correspondence, was the sister of another remarkable Princetonian, William Shippen (1736-1803). Upon his graduation from Princeton in 1754, Shippen had gone to London to study medicine, and had taken a medical degree at Edinburgh in 1761. In 1762 he had accompanied as personal physician a tubercular English lady (Louisa Poyntz) to France, where he visited
both Paris and Montpellier. Whether he had met Sterne in London we do not know, but it is certain that he knew him in Paris in 1798.

Sterne, himself a consumptive, had left England for France in that year. His famous race with death, recorded so breathlessly in the seventh book of Tristram Shandy, had begun. Stopping in Paris, he had suddenly regained his vitality, and in March he was at the height of his triumph in the Parisian salons. Perhaps he was never again to be so gay, so witty, so brilliant. Something of the high spirits of that stay in Paris is preserved in Tristram Shandy, A Sentimental Journey, and his letters. M. Yorick, the king's jester, gave his temperament its head and enjoyed the gallop in his oddly self-conscious way. If Shippen met Sterne for the first time in Paris, he met him at the right moment for receiving the full impact of that startling personality. He could never have forgotten the encounter.

Two letters from Sterne which Shippen took with him from Paris to London have survived (Nos. 84 and 85 in Letters of Laurence Sterne, edited by Lewis P. Curtis, Oxford, 1899). One was to Mrs. Sterne and the other to David Garrick. In the latter Sterne identified his messenger as Dr. Shippen, who, he assured the actor, was about to leave for another section of the globe and consequently could not become a nuisance. This is one of the most characteristic of Sterne's letters. In it he hints at his great success in Paris, especially with the Duc de Choiseul, writes of the Paris stage and its gossip, and sends Garrick some comic operas and a new verse satire.

Shippen did, in fact, return to Philadelphia, where he delivered lectures on midwifery and anatomy, actually dissecting human bodies and thus rousing violent opposition. Eventually he became Professor of Surgery in the medical school of the College of Phila-
delphia, and in 1791, after a career as Chief of the Medical Department of the Continental Army, he was elected Professor of Anatomy in the University of Pennsylvania. But despite his busy professional life, he can scarcely have failed to talk among his family of his meeting with the most spectacular literary figure of the 1760's. No doubt he brought back with him the first six volumes of Tristram Shandy and obtained the others, as well as A Sentimental Journey and The Journal to Eliza, when they appeared.

Susan Shippen Blair, in all probability, became interested in Sterne through her brother, and it may well have been she who introduced the sentimentalities of Yorick into her relationship with her husband's younger and brilliant cousin. Smith himself was interested in the belles-lettres and was a stylist, though in his official writings a stylist remarkably unlike Sterne. The letter book shows how easily Smith could assume the manner of Sterne and how naturally this manner harmonized with one side of his complex nature. Like Susan Shippen Blair, he could play with skill the elaborate game of gallantry, sentiment, and wit.

Thus, through William Shippen and his meeting with the author of Tristram Shandy, there shone in Princeton and Germantown something of the brilliant and erratic light, at once natural and artificial, which had flashed through the works of Laurence Sterne two decades earlier. The Smith-Blair letter book is a charming and surprising record of the impact of Sterne on a cultivated and sophisticated group in late eighteenth-century America. —SAMUEL HOLT MONK

THE HUNDRED GREAT ENGLISH BOOKS

The list of the Hundred Great English Books, compiled by several members of the Princeton Faculty, was first published in the February 1936 issue of Bibliis. The first census showed that Princeton had only eighteen of the books on the list. Since then additions to Princeton's holdings have been reported from time to time, the last report in the Chronicle (November, 1946) recording a total of sixty-three. To this should be added one more title. Lord Byron's Child Harold's Pilgrimage, London, 1812, presented by the late George Allason Armour '77. Recent gifts and one purchase have now raised the total to seventy-two. These latest additions are:

The booke of the common Prayer, 1549. Whitchurch edition (STC 1675), presented by the Honorable David A. Reed '00 Edmund Spenser, The Faerie Queene, 1590-96. Presented by Mrs. Marshall Ludington Brown


Oliver Goldsmith. The Vicar of Wakefield, 1766. Presented by Mrs. Marshall Ludington Brown
Edward Gibbon. *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, 1776-88. Presented by Oscar F. Soule and Benjamin C. Milner, III '36


The twenty-eight titles which the Library still lacks are as follows:

Geoffrey Chaucer. *The Canterbury Tales*, 1478. (The Library has two leaves, source unrecorded)

*The works ... newly printed*, 1532

William Langland. *The Vision of Piers Plowman*, 1550

Sir Thomas Malory. *Le morte Darthur*, 1485

William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale. *The Byble*, 1537


Sir Thomas North. *The Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans*, 1579

John Lyly. *Euphues*, 1578

Sir Philip Sidney. *The Defence of Poesie*, 1595

*The Countesse of Pembroke Arcadia*, 1590

William Shakespeare. *Sonnets*, 1609

Edmund Spenser. *The Shepheardes Calender*, 1579

Christopher Marlowe. *Tamburlaine the Great*, 1590


Izaak Walton. *The Compleat Angler*, 1653

*The Holy Bible*, 1611

John Bunyan. *The Pilgrims Progress*, 1678

The Tatler, April 13, 1709-January 2, 1711

*The Spectator*, March 1, 1711-December 6, 1712. (The Library has Nos. 2-154, 156-218, March 2-November 9, 1711, purchased on the English Seminary Fund)

Alexander Pope. *An Essay on Criticism*, 1711

David Hume. *A Treatise of Human Nature*, 1739-40

R. B. Sheridan. *The School for Scandal*, 1777

Daniel Defoe. *The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, 1719-20

Samuel Richardson. *Pamela: or, Virtue Rewarded*, 1740

William Blake. *Songs of Innocence*, 1789

*Songs of Experience*, 1794

John Ruskin. *Modern Painters*, 1843-60


**Contributors to this Issue**

**ROBERT GARRETT** '97, Charter Trustee, Emeritus, of Princeton University, presented his collections of Oriental and European manuscripts to the University Library in 1942. A general survey of the collections has been published in the *Chronicle* (June, 1942).

**SINCLAIR HAMILTON** '68 is the author of several articles on early American book illustration. His collection of early American illustrated books, given by him to the Library in 1945, was recently moved from 36 University Place to the Friends' Room in the Firestone Library.

**THOMAS F. GOVAN**, Francis S. Houghtling Professor of American History at the University of the South, is at present engaged in writing a biography of Nicholas Biddle. During the war he was Historical Officer of the Second Army and a member of the Historical Division of General Headquarters, United States Army Forces, Pacific.
had a great vogue in the later Middle Ages and was a popular book as late as the fifteenth century. At least thirteen editions were printed in the incunabular period.

The Library has acquired on the Le Brun Fund a fine copy of the edition of the Historia Scholastica printed by Conrad Winters in Cologne about 1479. The volume is rubricated throughout. At one time in the library of the Cistercian monastery of Himmerod, near Treves, it later formed a part of the collection of Walter Wilson Greg. According to Miss Stillwell’s census, there are in addition to the Princeton copy, which is not recorded in the census, only three other copies of this edition in American libraries.

Early in 1807, shortly after he had accepted the editorship of St. Paul’s Magazine, Anthony Trollope offered the assistant editorship to his friend, the unfortunate Robert Bell, whose literary efforts had not attained the success which his talents merited and who was at the time in extreme financial difficulties owing to a disastrous investment in a lending library company. Bell was ill when the offer was made and died a few months later without having been able to accept Trollope’s generous assistance. His widow was left in poverty and it became necessary to advertise for sale his library. When Trollope learned that Bell’s books were to be sold, he went to the executors and bought the whole library at a figure exceeding that which it would probably have brought on the open market.

One of the Bell-Trollope books, Joseph Ritson’s Bibliographia Poetica, London, 1802, has been purchased by the Library on the Gulick Fund. The inside front cover of the volume bears Trollope’s bookplate, on the upper left-hand corner of which are written in ink the initials “R.B.” In his biography of Trollope, Michael Sadler declares that the books bought by the novelist from Bell’s widow “are doubly precious. They are not only books that once were Trollope’s; they are the little children of his generosity.”

Peter and Edna Bellinson, of the Peter Pauper Press, have presented to the Graphic Arts Division of the Library the original drawings by W. A. Dwiggins for the illustrations and decorations of the recently published edition of Jonathan Swift’s Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World by Lemuel Gulliver which was designed by him for the Press, together with correspondence from Mr. Dwiggins relating to the book. Included also in the gift are proofs of the illustrations as well as proofs of various pages. The
importance to the Graphic Arts Division of Mr. and Mrs. Beilenson’s thoughtful addition to its resources is apparent. It is hardly necessary to say that such material—despite its obvious value to students of typography, book design, and book illustration—is as a rule extremely difficult to obtain for it is generally either destroyed or lost.

A recent accession of importance to the Library’s collection of source material relating to the colonial history of New Jersey is a manuscript map by Colonel Azariah Dunham of the King’s Highway between the Raritan River and the Province Line. The map, which is approximately six feet long and one foot wide, is entitled “A Map of the Division line Between the Counties of Middlesex & Somerset” and is dated May 9, 1766. Colonel Dunham was appointed in 1765 surveyor of the line between the two counties, which, with a few deviations, followed the route of the highway. The petition requesting the survey states: “The line of the old road is very dubious, by reason of persons altering the road.”

The Colonel’s map shows the houses and taverns, with the names of the occupants, the churches, mills, and other buildings on the highway, the streams which the highway crosses, and the roads which cross or run into it. Of particular interest to the University is the fact that Nassau Hall is recognizably represented by a rather crude drawing of a building with a cupola designated “College.”

The Dunham map was purchased on general Library funds.

Biblia
DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY
Volume XX, Number 3
April 1949

THE COUNCIL

The following were elected members of the Council for the 1948/49-1950/51 term: Julian P. Boyd, David H. McAlpin, Harold R. Medina, William A. B. Paul, Howard C. Rice, Jr., and George Stevens.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Since the preceding report on contributions from Friends we have received $704.25. Carl Otto v. Kienbusch ‘06 helped the Library secure two very interesting manuscripts of Princeton Borough interest: a petition, signed by residents of Princeton, protesting against the quartering of troops, dated July 22, 1758; and an account book of the Princeton Library Company for the years 1812-1834. Robert C. McNamara ‘09 made a further contribution to cover purchases of books on the graphic arts. The fund for the purchase of books for the Marquand Library received a contribution from Mrs. Allan Marquand. Kenneth H. Rockey ‘16 provided for the engraved steel die and bookplates for his angling collection, a portion of which has been received by the Library from Mr. Rockey. Mr. Rockey’s gift will be reported later. W. Frederick Stohlman ‘09 added to the capital of the Stohlman Fund; and Louis C. West contributed to the West Fund.
The total amount contributed toward the support of the Graphic Arts Program at 96 University Place has been increased by $150.00 since the report made in the February Chronicle.

GIFTS

Several gifts were received from Friends. A second group of Rudyard Kipling items was received from Gordon A. Block, Jr. ’96; included among the thirty-one titles are first editions of books by Kipling and a number of critical and biographical works about him. Archibald A. Gulick ’97 presented a collection of United States currency, paper and metallic, some dating as far back as 1798, and including several fractional currency pieces. The collection of Princetoniana was enriched by Wheaton J. Lane ’25; his gift consisted of a large group of photographs of Princetonians and campus scenes. Field notes (Greek and Latin inscriptions) of the American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899-1900 and of the Princeton Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1909-1909 and 1909, presented by William K. Prentice ’92, also added to the resources of the Princetoniana Collection.


FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY

Founded in 1930, the Friends of the Princeton Library is an association of bibliophiles and scholars interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts and other material which could not otherwise be acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to anyone subscribing annually five dollars or more. Checks payable to Princeton University Library should be mailed to the Secretary.

Members receive The Princeton University Library Chronicle and publications issued by the Friends, have access to the facilities of the Friends’ Room in the Firestone Library, and are invited to participate in meetings and to attend special lectures and exhibits.

The Council

DAVID H. MCKELPIN, CHAIRMAN

WILLIAM THOMPSON, FIRST-VICE CHAIRMAN

1300 PARK AVE., NEW YORK, N.Y.

EUGENE L. SAVAGE, SECRETARY

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

PRINCETON, N.J.

PAUL S. SHERIDAN

LAURENCE G. PATRICK, ACTING-CHAIRMAN

JULIUS F. BOYD

FRANCIS M. BLOKESBY

JOHN C. COOPER, JR.

RICHARD GALLOWAY

SILAS HAMILTON

LAWRENCE HEYL

ALFRED C. HOWELL

DOROTHEA HYAMS

DAVID H. MCKELPIN

HAROLD D. MORRIS

EDWARD MACBETH, JR.

WILLIAM A. B. PAUL

LAWRENCE HEYL

LAURENCE G. PATRICK

HOWARD J. BROMLEY

ERNEST R. ROBINS

U. J. F. BEDFORD

HARRY L. SHANNON

GEORGE STEVENS

WILLIAM THOMPSON

Budget and Executive Committee

DAVID H. MCKELPIN, CHAIRMAN

JULIUS F. BOYD

ALFRED C. HOWELL

EDWARD A. BEAKLEY

LAURENCE G. PATRICK

WILLIAM THOMPSON

Chairmen of Other Committees

Library Building: Laurence G. Paton

Graphic Arts: Alfred C. Howell

Books and Manuscripts: Robert Garrett

Maps: John C. Cooper, Jr.

Philately: William H. Tower

E. L. Stites

Numismatics: Louis G. West

Princetoniana: M. Harrill Thomas

Percussion and Acquisitions: Donald F. Byer

Publications: William A. B. Paul

Collectors and Collecting: Edward Nunnally, Jr.

Members will welcome inquiries and suggestions.

The Princeton University Library Chronicle

Published four times a year: November, February, April, June

Subscription: Three dollars a year

Single number: One dollar

Printed at the Princeton University Press