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William Blake’s “Slaves, Nir, and Death” is reproduced with the permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. William Blake’s “Barn, as a Bed, at the Sea of Gal,” “Entwined, Intoxicated Adam and Eve,” and “Expiation from Paradise” are reproduced with the permission of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts.

THE PRINCETON
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Blake, Milton, and Edward Burney

by Morse Peckham

In the Princeton University Library there is an edition of Paradise Lost in two large quarto volumes, elaborately bound by Clarke and Bedford, splendidly printed, and handsomely extra-illustrated. Bound into the volumes are eighteen water-color and wash illustrations for Milton’s poem: four water colors by a Victorian artist, unsigned; one wash drawing by another anonymous Victorian artist; and thirteen water-color drawings, also unsigned, apparently made late in the eighteenth century. Such extra-illustrated books are not especially uncommon, but this particular copy of Paradise Lost has an interest far beyond the intrinsic aesthetic value of the drawings, for the designs of the eighteenth-century series have a definite resemblance to the magnificent drawings for Paradise Lost, now at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, done by William Blake.

If there is a relation between Blake’s drawings and those at Princeton, who is the debtor? If it is Blake, Princeton has a group of works of the greatest interest for the student of Blake’s art and mind; for if Blake was in part inspired by these drawings, he transformed the ideas of their creator as only an artist of his caliber could. If Blake is indeed the debtor, we are given a new insight into that endlessly fascinating and exasperating intellect.

1 The sheets were printed for the edition illustrated with the steel mezzotints of John Martin (London, Septimus Prockett, 1827). The book formed part of the John Milton collection of Henry Austin Whitney (1846-1890), which was purchased by the Princeton University Library in 1895 on the Theodore W. Hunt Fund. It contains no indications of previous ownership. In the catalogue of the collection (New York [n.d.]; p. 9) the drawings are incorrectly described as "hand-colored engravings."

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When I first saw these drawings, they were uncatalogued and the artist had not been identified. Since there are twelve drawings— one for each book of Paradise Lost—and one vignette drawing, it seemed likely that the set was originally made for an illustrated edition of the poem, the vignette to be used on the title-page. An examination of editions of Paradise Lost published shortly before and after 1800 uncovered an edition with a portrait frontispiece, a title-page with a vignette, and twelve illustrations. All are copperplates, and the thirteen illustrations are taken from the Princeton series. The artist was Edward Francis Burney, and the book was published in 1799 by Heptinstall and a group of London booksellers. The Blake drawings at Boston are dated (in Blake’s hand) 1808.

At first glance it would seem that if there is an indebtedness, Blake is the debtor. Unfortunately, the situation, as always in Blake matters, is more complicated than one would like it to be. The Boston set of Blake’s illustrations to Paradise Lost is not the only existing set. The Huntington Library has another, smaller and less elaborately finished, dated 1807. In addition there are various individual drawings; three of these, as I shall suggest later in this paper, probably belong to the Boston set, which has only nine drawings, whereas the Huntington set has twelve, although, with one exception the Boston designs are based on those at the Huntington Library. Of the remaining drawings which might be considered illustrations for Paradise Lost, a number are sketches for the two series, and the rest were almost all done after 1800; the one or two done before then have no resemblance to any of the designs made in 1807 and 1808. We can be fairly sure then that any of Blake’s designs that resemble Burney’s were made after Burney’s drawings were published in 1799 and not before. If there is an indebtedness, Blake is the debtor.

But there are further questions. How reasonable is it to suppose that Blake might have seen the Burney designs, either the engravings published in 1799 or the drawings themselves, which Burney presumably did in 1798 or 1799? Furthermore, since we think of Blake as a profoundly original artist, is it reasonable to suppose that when he wanted to illustrate a poem in which he had a lifelong interest, he depended on another man’s inspiration? In what follows I shall first attempt to answer these questions before examining what Blake borrowed and the use he made of Burney’s ideas.

Edward Francis Burney, born in Worcester in 1760, was the son of Richard Burney, the brother of the great Dr. Burney, music historian and father of Fanny, the author of Evelina. Edward came to London in 1776 to study art, and, after some opposition from his father, he entered the Royal Academy school, having been encouraged by Reynolds to develop his talents. In 1778 he helped his cousin Fanny get her novel published anonymously, and he appears occasionally in her diaries both before and after that important event. In 1780 he exhibited designs for Evelina in the Academy’s exhibition, and thereafter he was in considerable demand as a popular illustrator. Among his most notable works are his portraits of Fanny and his designs for the volume that commemorated the Handel Festival of 1784. He became a friend of Charles Lamb, who enshrined him as “E. B.” in Elia’s “Valentine’s Day.” He died in 1848.

In his youth Burney had shown signs of talent, even of genius, but, a very diffident person all his life, he contented himself with a minor role as an illustrator of books, magazines, annuals, and keepsakes. So at least is the usual account of him. However, since no list of his works is available, it is impossible to say how important he was. Gilchrist speaks of him as “popular,” and he was popular enough to earn a living. J. T. Smith, Keeper of the Prints and Drawings in the British Museum from 1816 to 1859, “talks Edward Burney after Blake, Flaxman, Lawrence, and Stothard; but before Ryley, Howard, Hilton, Etty, Briggs, and Morton.” Perhaps so, but the British Museum contains only a few of Burney’s original works, none of which are of the importance or scale of the Princeton Paradise Lost series. He was certainly above the average illustrator of his time, but his talent was vitiated by a degenerate neoclassicism, the bane of eighteenth-century artists. Nevertheless, his plates for the Handel Commemoration are handsome, and his satirical drawing “The Waltz” shows an exuberant fancy and a strong talent for satire and for graphic composition. If more of such works could be found, his reputation might be revived; but the faults of the Milton drawings, a series in which he attempted


3 The Early Diary of Frances Burney, II, 225.

4 Scholes, II, 27.
grandeur and majesty, show that for these two characteristics he
could provide little more than the inflated and the bombastic. Even
so, the Milton drawings are beautifully executed. He was a real
artist, if a minor one, and it is to be hoped that some day it will be
go possible to give him the recognition he deserves.

So much for the man and his career, what little we know of them.
The problem here is the connection between his *Paradise Lost*
designs and Blake's. The first time Burney turned to the poem was
in 1795. At least I have found no previous edition of Milton with
Burney drawings. This edition contains a frontispiece (showing
Adam and Eve in Paradise) and two vignettes. The publishers were
a group of London booksellers; the engravers were T. Holloway,
P. Thomson, and William Bromley. It was successful enough to
support a more elaborate edition, with an engraving for each of
the twelve books and a vignette for the title-page. This edition was
published in 1799; the plates are dated from August through Octo-
ber, 1799. Since the work involved must have been considerable,
even though six engravers were employed, we can probably date
the Princeton drawings, from which the plates for this edition
were engraved, as having been done in 1798 and 1799. The en-
gravers were John Landseer (1769-1835), father of the famous Ed-
win; Neagle (born about 1760); Rothwell; William Bromley (1769-
1832), one of the 1795 engravers; Blackberd; and Thomas Milton
(1743-1827), the Governor of the Society of Engravers. In 1802
these plates were used again, printed "for Vernon & Hood & the
other partners" by T. Bensley, "the best printer of his day," who
also printed the text. The publishers of this edition were headed
by J. Johnson.8

Of the twenty-one 1795 publishing firms, twelve appear on the
title-page of the 1802 Burney, with eleven others. Up to 1807, the
date of Blake's *Paradise Lost* drawings, Blake had worked on
books prepared for a number of these booksellers: Dodoley, the
Robinsons, Longman and Rees, the Rivingtons, the Wilkies,
Cadell and Davies, and, above all, the famous bookseller
Joseph Johnson, friend of Tom Paine, Mary Wollstonecraft, Wil-
liam Godwin, and other contemporary radicals. In fact, Blake
worked pretty steadily for Johnson from at least 1780 until 1805,
and did engravings for over twenty books published by Johnson.9
During the 1790's he was a close friend of Johnson and attended
his famous weekly dinners at 72, St. Paul's churchyard.10 Johnson
was the fourth of the booksellers listed in the 1795 Burney and the
first in the 1802 Burney. These facts considered together suggest
that Blake's attention would have been drawn to the illustrations of
one of the most important books in Blake's life by a well-known
illustrator of the day, a man whose work was published by men for
whom he himself had worked on many books.

There are further links between the Burney drawings and Blake.
Three of the subscribers to Blake's *Grave* of 1808 were Neagle,
Landseer, and Bromley, who together accounted for eight engravi-
ings of Burney's thirteen designs. Since many of the subscribers
were Blake's friends or had some knowledge of a man not at all
well known, it is not unreasonable to assume that these en-
gravers subscribed to Blake's work because they knew him as well
as his art. Blake and Neagle did some of the engravings for Flax-
man's *Iliad*, published by Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme in
1805, a year that also saw Steevens' *Shakespeare*, illustrated by Fus-
seli, published by F. C. and J. Rivington and J. Johnson, the en-
gravings done by, among others, Blake and Neagle.11

When Blake was ten, in 1767, he was "put to Mr. Pars' drawing-
school in the Strand." In 1771 he became apprentice to the en-
graver Baire, and in a few years began to engrave book illus-
trations, though at first they were signed by his master. In 1779, having
left Baire, he began to work for the booksellers, including (as
early as 1780) Joseph Johnson.12 From then on he was more or less
regularly employed in such work. In other words, he frequented
the world of bookseller and book publisher, virtually the same in
those days, and of the various men who worked for them—illustra-

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9 Gilchrist, pp. 98-103.
10 Keynes, Nos. 125 and 128.
11 Gilchrist, chaps. II-V, passim.
tors, engravers, printers. This was the world which Edward Burney, diffident though he was, professionally frequented from 1780 on. When Blake completed his apprenticeship with Basilire in 1778, he began to study drawing at the Royal Academy. At about the same time, probably in 1777 or in 1778, Edward Burney started in on his studies at the same school; in 1780 he exhibited for the first time at a Royal Academy exhibition, submitting a series of water-color designs for Evelina. At the same exhibition Blake showed the "Death of Earl Goodwin," which Gilchrist believes was a drawing. Burney continued to exhibit until 1793, his last contributions being illustrations of 'Telemachus.' "Blake also contributed to the Royal Academy exhibitions from time to time, at least in 1784, 1785, and 1795."

It seems impossible that in the small world of professional artists in London in the last quarter of the eighteenth century Blake never ran across Burney, particularly in view of the fact that they had studied in the same school at about the same time. We can be pretty sure that Blake had heard of him, knew who he was, and was aware of what books he had illustrated. It is not difficult to imagine that in 1798 and 1799, when the Burney drawings were being prepared and engraved, Blake saw them at one studio or another. We are so inclined to think of Blake as a visionary enveloped in his poetry that we forget that he was also an active man who had friends and business acquaintances and went about London and talked with people.

Furthermore, in 1799, when the Burney Paradise Lost appeared, Blake was an intimate of Johnson's, and although Johnson was not one of the original publishers associated with the book, he was certainly one of the "principal Booksellers in England, Scotland, Ireland, & America" who had the book for sale. In 1800 Blake went to Felpham to live near his patron, the ineffable William Hayley. This was surely one of the books which Hayley sooner or later procured for his library, the room for which Blake painted a series of decorative heads. In 1794 Hayley had edited an edition of Paradise Lost illustrated by Westall; in the same year he had been a subscriber for a rival edition done by the Richters. His interest in Milton, especially in Cowper's Milton, would direct his attention to Burney's edition, for when a man is preparing to publish something, he is acutely aware of any rivals in the field, as Hayley himself showed when he referred to Tod's Milton in the preface to his 1810 Cowper's Milton. It may well be that Hayley specifically directed Blake's attention to Burney's popular designs, published in 1799 and 1802, when late in 1802 or early in 1803 he proposed a complete Milton illustrated by Blake; for Hayley was anxious to help Blake by persuading him to work in a style better suited to the public taste.

In 1803 Blake returned to London. Shortly after his arrival he went to see Johnson, who told him "that there is no want of work," and in the following January he wrote that he intended to see... Mr. Johnson, bookseller, this afternoon." In the remaining letters to Hayley, up to 1805, when the correspondence runs out, there are numerous references to Johnson and the world of booksellers, painters, and engravers, which in 1804 Blake called a "City of Assassinations." Evidently on his return to London after three years in Felpham he set himself to renew his former business acquaintances and to familiarize himself with the professional world from which he had so long been absent. It seems reasonable to suppose that, even if before this he had not heard of the Burney designs, he must have heard of them now.

All these links between Blake and Burney and the Burney designs are, of course, only possibilities, but they do show that there is nothing intrinsically illogical in believing that Blake was familiar with Burney's designs, either in their original state or as engravings.

But there is yet another difficulty to be overcome. We are so awestruck with Blake's superbly original imagination in design and poetry alike that we tend to think of him in isolation, without reference to the artistic environment of his time. Yet considering the strongly traditional nature of the history of painting, such an attitude is sentimental. It must be remembered that opposite the
heading to Reynolds' second Discourse, which reads in part "Much copying discountenanced," Blake noted, "To learn the Language of Art, 'Copy for Ever' is My Rule." In his admirable book on Blake, Jacob Bronowski notes that Blake's designs "are the designs of an engraver," that his drawing is "the work of a man taught to make his pictures from those of others," an insight that strikes me as singularly acute. Blake had a collection of engravings from Michelangelo and Raphael and other Italian artists, as well as engravings of antique statues. Many of these he put to use, for he disliked working from models; there is, for instance, the obvious indebtedness of "Satan summons his legions" in the Paradise Lost series to Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment' in the Sistine Chapel. There seems to be nothing intrinsically wrong in the idea that he used some of the conceptions of a contemporary artist, three years younger than himself, when he came to design the illustrations for Paradise Lost. Since he was looking for a public success, what could be more sensible than to make use of some of the ideas of a successful artist? Furthermore, all the artists of his time copied ideas constantly from older art and from contemporaries—even Fuseli, whose remark that "Blake is damned good to steal from" is often quoted. Such copying was one of the meanings of the neoclassic term "imitation." It shocks us because we are all romantics. Blake spent his life freeing himself from neoclassic thought and poetry; he never freed himself from the limitations of neoclassic design. Glorious as Blake's designs are, he never rid himself of the narrow meaning of "imitation"; his figures, especially his nudes, are at the degenerate end of the high Renaissance tradition.

There is then nothing intrinsically unreasonable in the assumption that Blake saw the Burney engravings or even the drawings and that the nature of the artistic tradition in which Blake was working, particularly for his illustrative, nonvisionary and nonprophetic works, provided a place for "imitation," copying, using other men's ideas.

II

Because the situation is complicated by the existence of two somewhat different sets of Blake drawings, it is necessary to examine

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34 Gilchrist, p. 591.
36 Gilchrist, p. 55.
these sets first in terms of their subject matter; for the relationship of Blake to Burney exists on three levels, subject, general design, and detail, each of which I shall take up in turn.

The first set of Blake's *Paradise Lost* designs, done in 1807 for, I believe, the proposed complete edition of Milton's poems, is now at the Huntington Library; it consists of twelve drawings:

- H1 Satan summons his legions
- H2 Satan, Sin, and Death
- H3 Christ offers to redeem man
- H4 Satan's and Raphael's entries into Paradise
- H5 Satan watching Adam and Eve
- H6 Raphael instructing Adam and Eve
- H7 Rout of the rebel angels
- H8 Creation of Eve
- H9 Fall of Eve
- H10 Christ judges Adam and Eve
- H11 Michael foretells the crucifixion
- H12 Expulsion from Paradise

The subjects of the second series introduce new complications. The Boston set, done in 1808 for Thomas Butts, consists of nine drawings, but considering the fact that the Butts sets for *Comus* and "Christ's Nativity" are duplicates in subject and number of the earlier sets, done, I believe, for Hayley's edition of Milton, it would seem likely that originally Butts had twelve drawings. The Boston drawings are based on the Huntington set, with one exception, "Satan, as a toad, at the ear of Eve." Thus eight of the B series and eight of the H series correspond, leaving three designs to be made from four subjects. In addition to its series of twelve, the Huntington has also a thirteenth drawing, a larger version of H2. This, as Gilchrist first suggested, probably belongs to the B series.

The Victoria and Albert Museum has a large drawing of Satan summoning his legions, the equivalent of H1. The size and style of this drawing suggest that it likewise belongs to the B series. What about the twelfth? The Rossetti catalogue in Gilchrist's *Life* contains the following suggestive entries, under "List No. 9. Works of Unascertained Method":

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I shall use "H" to indicate the Huntington set, "B" to indicate the Butts-Boston set, and "Y" to indicate the Burney set.

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Baker, p. 5.


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16. "So judged He man."—(Paradise Lost) [Butts.]
17. "Awake, arise, or be for ever fallen." [Butts.]
18. "O Father, what extends thy hand, she cried, Against thy only son?" [Satan, Sin, and Death, from "Paradise Lost." [Butts.] 10

The asterisk means "that the Work is more probably coloured." This section of Rossetti's catalogue consists of works which he had seen only briefly, or heard of, or learned something about. Regrettably, he does not tell where he got his information, but apparently he had reason to believe that these three drawings came from Butts' collection. Baker has traced the large Huntington "Satan, Sin, and Death" back as far as 1876, but not to the Butts sale. 42 Even so, I think that, without any undue stretching of hypothesis, we can identify Rossetti’s "17" with the Victoria and Albert drawing and his "18" with the large Huntington drawing. Of Rossetti’s "16," "So judged He man," I have found no subsequent firsthand record. 43 If we make this drawing equivalent to H10, "Christ judges Adam and Eve," we have the following reconstructed set of twelve drawings made for Butts in 1808 (the equivalents between B and H being indicated):

[B1] (H1) Satan summons his legions
(Victoria and Albert Museum)

[B2] (H2) Satan, Sin, and Death
(Huntington Library).

[B3] (H3) Christ offers to redeem man
[B4] (H5) Satan watching Adam and Eve
[B5] (H4) Satan, as a road, at the ear of Eve
[B6] (H6) Raphael instructing Adam and Eve
[B7] (H7) Rout of the rebel angels
[B8] (H8) Creation of Eve
[B9] (H9) Fall of Eve
[B10] (H10) So judged He man
(Rossetti catalogue)

10 Gilchrist, p. 481.
42 In Wright's inadequate catalogue it is called "So judged be Man" (H, 170). To be sure, Blake could have created three entirely different subjects for the second series, since he did create one. However, my hypothesis is simpler. Wright lists twenty-three miscellaneous drawings as illustrations for Paradise Lost, but his source, Rossetti, lists some of these under Biblical and Sacred works; for one reason or another, Rossetti's "16" is just about the only possibility, given strength by his specification that it is a Paradise Lost scene and by his listing all three of them together as having come from the Butts collection.

B11 (H11) Michael foretells the crucifixion
B12 (H12) Expulsion from Paradise

Thus in these two sets Blake has a total of thirteen subjects. H4 ("Satan's and Raphael's entries into Paradise") is not in B; and B5 ("Satan, as a road, at the ear of Eve") is not in H.

Now for the subjects of the Burney drawings with, where applicable, equivalents in the two Blake series:

Y1 Satan summons his legions
(HB1)

Y2 Satan, Sin, and Death
(After their reconciliation, the next scene in Milton after HB2)

Y3 Satan and Uriel meet on the sun
(See Y5)

Y4 Satan starts up from Eve's ear at the touch of Ithuriel's spear
(The moment after the scene in B5)

Y5 Raphael's entry into Paradise
(This and Y3 express the idea of H4)

Y6 Rout of the rebel angels
(HB7)

Y7 Raphael instructing Adam and Eve
(HB6)

Y8 Adam, awaking, sees the newly created Eve
(The next scene after HB8)

Y9 Satan tempting Eve
(The scene before HB9)

Y10 Satan listening to Adam and Eve quarreling
(The idea, Satan floating invisible above Adam and Eve, is the same as that in H5 and B4; the difference is that in Blake Adam and Eve are embracing)

Y11 Christ intercedes for Adam and Eve
(Idea is to be found in HB8, HB10, and HB11)

Y12 Expulsion from Paradise
(HB12)

To sum up, Y1, 6, 7, and 12 have exactly the same subjects as Blake's HB1, 7, 6, and 12. Ys, 4, 8, and 9 represent scenes that occur shortly before or after the scenes in HB2, B5, HB8, and HB9. The ideas in Y3 and 5 are combined in H4; the idea in Y11
is expressed in HB5, 10, and 11; and the basic concept in Y10 is used in H5 and B4.

Several things are to be noted. First, where Blake uses the same subject as Burney, the drawing is directly illustrative. Second, in three instances, when Blake has a subject close in time to Burney’s, the drawing is also illustrative, except for the “Fall of Eve.” Third, when Blake has a subject more remotely similar to Burney’s, Blake’s treatment is symbolic. To this group may be added the “Fall of Eve.” This is what one might expect. The closer Blake’s subject to Burney’s, the more illustrative; the less Blake’s subject is like Burney’s, the more symbolic. This corresponds with what we know about Blake’s mind. Whenever he designs illustrations for a work which he did not write himself, he departs from the text of the author in the direction of symbolism. The habit of most illustrators, of course, is to depart from the author in the direction of their own imaginative construction of the scene. Thus, in the Blake Paradise Lost sets, “Christ offers to redeem man,” one of the most splendid designs, is a highly symbolic work, its symbolism emphasized by the symmetry of the design. The same is true of “Satan’s and Raphael’s entries into Paradise,” which is a symbolic use of several passages, quite far apart, in Milton’s poem. Even the “Route of the rebel angels” is more symbolic than illustrative, and the “Fall of Eve” is a particularly successful symbolic synthesis. It should really be called the “Fall of Man,” although Eve is the central figure. “Michael foretells the crucifixion” is more symbolic than literal. On the other hand, Burney’s one attempt at a symbolic drawing (Y11) is illustrative in manner and a flat failure as symbolism.

One of Blake’s most striking improvements is what he did with Burney’s picture of Satan floating invisible above Adam and Eve quarreling. Blake used the same idea in H5 and B4, but he changed the meaning of the drawing profoundly. Adam and Eve are embracing; the drawing symbolizes what Milton emphasizes on several occasions, the innocent and joyful sexuality of Adam and Eve before the Fall. Compare with this drawing Blake’s poem “The Question Answer’d.”

What is it men in women do require?  
The lineaments of Gratified Desire.  
The lineaments in men require?  
The lineaments of Gratified Desire.

And above this idyllic scene floats Satan, wound with his other self, the snake, his emanation, as Blake would call it, his whole attitude and lineaments expressing the profound sorrow of those who are excluded from love.  

The next level of resemblance between Blake and Burney is in the general design of the drawings. BH1 is in no way reminiscent of Y1 in design; but it is to our purpose to note that Baker points out the relationship of the drawing to Michelangelo’s “Last Judgment.”  

HB2, however, is fairly close to Y9. To be sure, Blake shows Satan and Death about to attack each other, Sin interceding, while Burney chooses the moment when Sin pushes aside the gates and Satan looks out into chaos: but in both Sin has a strong centrality. In Burney Death and Satan are behind Sin; in Blake they are in front. B5 has a yet closer relationship to Y9. Blake shows the two guardian angels, Ithuriel and Zephiro, floating above Adam and Eve, who are recumbent and sleeping on a mound of roses, while Satan is crouched in the likeness of a toad just below the ear of Eve. Burney has Satan in his proper form, starting up above the sleeping Adam and Eve, recumbent on a grassy mound strewn with roses. The two angels are at the left. However, the general design of the two drawings is very much alike. In both, Adam and Eve are stretched out from left to right. In both, the upper right-hand corner is sky and the upper left arching branches. In both, the foreground is dotted with growing plants.

Y9 and HB6 are also closely similar in design. Burney shows Raphael seated at the left, arm upraised, speaking to Adam, seated at the right, while Eve, between and behind Raphael and Adam, gathers roses. In H6 Adam and Eve are seated at the left and Raphael, both arms upraised, is seated at the right. In B6 Eve is between Adam and Raphael, on the same plane with them, while they retain the positions of H6. Thus the positions of Adam and

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83 Poetry and Prose, p. 100.

84 C. H. Collins Baker, in “Some Illustrators of Milton’s Paradise Lost,” The Library, 5th ser., Vol. III, No. 3 (June, 1948), 4-5, notes that the subjects Blake chose to illustrate include nothing new. “All had been used by his predecessors. The only novelty, so far as prominence as principal subject matter is concerned, is his ‘Creation of Eve’ (Book VIII), a theme which had been almost entirely ignored by the earlier Milton illustrators.” This statement serves to strengthen my argument that Blake was not original in choosing subject matter, but does not, it seems to me, weaken to any significant extent my argument that he got his subjects principally from Burney. Doubtless he knew other illustrators; he certainly knew Fuseli’s work. My concern here is not to trace the complete story of his indebtedness but rather to show the relation of his designs to Burney’s. Baker fails to note, incidentally, how much Blake changed the older conceptions by introducing symbolism.

Raphael in \( Y \) are reversed in \( HB \), while in \( H \) both Adam and Eve are seated and in \( B \), though Eve is standing, she has the centrality of Burney. In each of the three drawings arching trees frame a meadow landscape with mountains in the distance. Blake, however, has richly improved the idea. He has given more space to the sky and has placed the tree of knowledge in the middle distance, with the snake entwined about it.

Blake's "Creation of Eve" (HB8) is one of the most beautiful drawings he ever made. Adam is sleeping, stretched out in the lower foreground, while Eve, floating above him, is brought forth by the outstretched arm of Christ. In spite of the immense superiority of this design over Burney's, the general conception is not very different. Burney shows Adam half-raising from the ground, where he has been sleeping, with arm stretched forth; he is gazing in wonder at Eve, who occupies the center of the picture and is half-veiled in mist. On the engraving is quoted, "On the came. Led by her heavily Maker though unseen." Blake has made the Maker visible and has moved the time of the scene back to the creation of Eve, but the general layout, except for the reversal of the position of Adam and the fact that he is recumbent, is roughly the same.

Another trio of similar designs is Y10, H5, and B4, which I have already discussed from the point of view of conception. The design also is not dissimilar. In both Burney and Blake Satan floats above Adam and Eve, who are seated on a grassy mound strewn with flowers, the grassy mound which, whenever Blake uses it, he converts into a heap of roses.

A final trio of similar designs is the scene of the Expulsion. Burney shows Michael leading Adam and Eve from Paradise, Eve at the left, Adam at the right, both looking back at the angels in the distance guarding the gate. Blake's Adam is at the left, his Eve at the right. Michael's position is much the same as in Burney, left foot extended in the act of stepping down from a higher elevation toward the foreground. In H12 Adam and Eve are looking above Michael's head at a vast tongue of flame, Blake's symbol for the flaming sword, flanked by four fiery cherubim riding fiery horses. In B12 Adam and Eve look down at the serpent, prostrate at Michael's feet. Blake has also added streaks of lightning and, at the feet of the three figures, thorns and thistles. Blake has kept the subject and general design, but he has emphasized the symmetry over Burney's design and has discarded the rich realistic background for marvelously effective symbols.

In respect to general design, several conclusions may be arrived at. First of all, when Blake drew upon Burney, he made the designs in every instance much more symmetrical, both for symbolic purposes and for expressive purposes. The closest general pattern, the one most obviously derived from Burney, YHB12, is highly symmetrical in Burney. This general law of change which Blake followed is the main reason for the striking superiority of his designs to those of Burney. Burney's treatment is too realistic, too mundane; in many ways he was a better draughtsman than Blake and, technically speaking, very nearly as good a colorist. Yet Blake gave his designs a far greater grandeur than Burney managed. Blake is less fussy, his outlines and designs are cleaner, his backgrounds and details are simplified and generalized. I do not find in his line the sensitivity and expressive power of the supreme artists, but he knew, as he often said, that in the line is grandeur. Again, while Burney used neoclassic armor on his demonic figures and rich draperies on his angelic figures, Blake presents both angelic and demonic figures either quite naked or clad in barely perceptible clinging, filmy draperies, though Raphael in B6 and Christ in HB7 are exceptions. Furthermore, Blake, by substituting symbolism for realism, gave his designs an intellectual interest not to be found in Burney. And, above all, by giving the general pattern of his designs a very strong symmetrical construction, he achieved a dignity, strength, and grandeur which Burney does not have; for the strong symmetry, coupled with the symbolism, gives an extramundane quality, a superhuman heroicism which Burney, with his fussy and self-conscious realistic asymmetry, fails totally to achieve.

One can imagine that Blake looked at the Burney designs and said to himself, "This man has some good ideas, but he doesn't know what to do with them. He's missed the Miltonic grandeur. I know how to do it, and by picking up some of his tricks I'll show this popular little artist and his public how to illustrate Milton." Something like this, I think, was in Blake's mind, for if, as I have suggested, he was planning these designs for publication, he must have known that anyone would see the striking resemblance between the two designs of the Expulsion or of "Satan, Sin, and Death." They were too close to be missed by the engravers and illustrators and booksellers and publishers of the "City of Assassinations."

When it comes to the details of resemblance, they are numerous, and I shall make no attempt here to discuss them all. Rather, I
shall describe enough to indicate how Blake made use of Burney’s illustrations. Each of Blake’s “Satan, Sin, and Death” designs has different resemblances to Burney. Both, for example, have a heavy chain hanging down from the middle which in design and shading is very like the chain in Burney. In H2 the three figures are standing on a sort of platform with a rusticated front, much like the rough rock Burney’s Sin is kneeling on, while in B4 this platform has disappeared. On the other hand, in Y4 and B3 the tails of Sin have heads at the ends, while in H2 they do not. One of the most telling resemblances between Blake and Burney is the key, which Sin holds in Y4 but which is chained to her and lying against one of her snaky loops in HB2. Burney’s key is of distinct design, with a trefoil bow and an unusually designed bit. In H2 the bow is a trefoil and the bit is only roughly sketched. In B4 the bow is an inverted heart, but the carefully drawn bit has exactly the same design as Burney’s, without Burney’s foreshortening. In the works of both artists the proportions of the huge key are about the same. In Burney the “dreadful dart” is a short feathered arrow, while in Blake it is a long dart with a head similar to Burney’s but with the feathers converted—a great improvement—to streaming flames.

When we come to the Adam and Eve pictures we have another series of striking resemblances. From Y4 Blake took the idea of the trellis covered with growing and flowering vines; this he used in B5, which has no H equivalent. Y4 gave Blake an even more important suggestion. In this design at the upper left-hand corner there is a kind of arbor made of tree limbs naturally formed in Gothic arches, a detail much more noticeable and less trellis-like (that is, more like natural forms) in the drawing than in the plate engraved by Bromley. This natural architecture Blake repeats in what seem to be intended as palm branches. The idea of a natural architecture, the ancestor of “Christian” or Gothic architecture, Blake develops much more fully in H6. Here the plants have grown into chairs and a table, a charming fantasy which, it seems to me, was suggested to Blake by Burney’s Y4. In B6 Blake has carried this engaging vegetable fantasy even further. This is an idea which, so far as I know, Blake has not used elsewhere. Another point in Y4 of interest, a detail also found in Y10, is that Adam and Eve recline on a grassy mound strewn with roses. Blake picks up this detail in H5 and in B4 and 5, but he turns the whole mound into a heap of what is apparently meant to be roses, although they look considerably more like clam shells. In general, Burney’s plants are carefully executed either from nature or from some book of botany; Blake, who hated to copy from nature, frequently includes in these drawings leaves and flowers which are either featureless or else highly decorative and artificial. Burney’s engravers, however, did not do him justice. Many of their leaves are meaningless trefoils, and such draughtsmanship may have given Blake the idea of drawing so many even more featureless trefoils.

Y5 and Y7 have further resemblances to the Blake drawings. In the former Eve is arranging a vegetarian lunch on a kind of natural table, apparently a tree stump (in Paradise!) or a mossy rock, an idea along the same lines as Blake’s quite frankly fanciful plant-table in HB6. In H6 the table is set out with a dish made of trefoil leaves containing fruit, a dish much like Burney’s in Y5, while in B7 Eve stands in front of her table, which is covered with fruit, and holds a bunch of grapes in one hand and in the other a dish made of a fruit or a gourd. In H6 Raphael has no crown, as in Y5, but in B6 Blake has added a crown to the design.

One of Blake’s most magnificent conceptions is the Fall of Eve, with the snake twined around her and Eve taking the apple from its mouth. Adam stands with his back turned to her, struck with amazement and incomprehension at the black sky and jagged lightning that accompanied the terrible moment of Man’s Fall. Here Blake is profoundly original and profoundly symbolic, taking almost nothing from Burney. In Y9 the serpent is more splendid than in Blake, corresponding more closely to Milton’s description, but Blake’s is much more sinister. However, in Y9 the serpent, though not twined around Eve, has much the same configuration as in Blake. Blake has simplified not only the colors but also the number of the snake’s loops. In Blake’s first version the serpent has more loops than in his second, but if one loop at the back in Y9 were omitted and the head turned the other way, the general configuration would be extremely close to the design of the serpent in H5.

The final set of comparisons comes from the “Expulsion” designs. Burney’s Michael has great wings, lifted above his shoulders, a richly plumed casque, and a neoclassic version of the Roman breastplate. Blake has retained the wings and the feathered casque. The wings, however, extend down almost to the ground, though the upper part, or arch of the wings, is in design and execution almost the same as in Y12. In H12 Michael has a crown with triangular points around his casque, and the feather, if feather it be, is at best
a generalized plume. In B18, however, the feathers are carefully
drawn, the arrangement is symmetrical, as in Burney, and the spiky
crown has disappeared, making the casque much closer to Burney's.
In H12 Michael is wearing a loose tunic-like garment, quite trans-
parent, which is held aside by the left arm so that it descends only
to the waist. In H12 this garment hangs loosely and asymmetrically
across the chest, while in B12 it is tight across the chest and the
yoke is symmetrical; thus it resembles very closely indeed the yoke
of the breastplate worn by Burney's Michael. It may also be noted
that the way Blake's Michael holds Eve's wrap is much closer to
the way Burney's Michael holds Adam's wrap in B12 than in the
earlier H12. (Blake, it will be remembered, reversed the positions
of Burney's Adam and Eve on either side of Michael.) Burney's
Michael has also influenced the drawing of Michael in H11, 
"Michael foretells the crucifixion." The feathered casque becomes
more elaborate each time Blake draws it, assuming that in both the
H and B series Blake drew 11 before 12. The development is from
H11 through H12 and B11 to B12, where it is most like Burney's.
The same development can be traced in the yoke of Michael's
garment.

There are further resemblances in minor details, quite a few,
and there are doubtless many that I have overlooked; but these
are enough to show conclusively that Blake knew the Burney de-
signs and to suggest the way he used them. In general, Blake looked
to Burney for details which he himself was not accustomed to
drawing, simply because he had no interest in drawing them: such
things as plants, armor, weapons, and so on, the paraphernalia of
"historical" painting. Most of the time Blake drew the naked hu-
man figure, or, if it was clothed, he covered it with only the sim-
plest of flowing garments. He had little interest in the details of
natural life. His plants and leaves and trees are always of the
vaguest and sketchiest sort. He was not interested in such things, nor
in armor, or gorgeous costumes, or weapons; his power lay in the
extraordinary designs he made from human figures. Consequently,
when he was faced with the problem of illustrating Paradise Lost,
he must have been somewhat at a loss. Here was a poem the scene
of which is Paradise, a natural garden to which Milton devotes the
most lavish descriptions. Milton also describes armor and spears
and all sorts of things Blake had no interest in and had never bot-
tered to draw, though he had copied them. How better to do these
things than to copy them from someone who had done them with
great success? Burney's designs, with all their faults, do convey
the idea of the beautiful abundance of Paradise, for Burney's
strength lay in delightful detail and humorous grotesquerie, as in
the little Sins in his "Satan, Sin, and Death."

One other point is to be noticed from this glance at details; in
several designs Blake's second version is closer to Burney than the
first. He may have had an extraordinary visual memory, as a man
who sees visions probably does, though there is little to indicate
that he had a strong memory for details. Since the details he copied
are of things he was not very interested in, and since the second
version is larger and more detailed than the first, it would seem on
the face of it very likely that he returned to Burney's designs when
he did the second set. B5, which has no parallel in H, is extremely
close to Y4 in subject, general design, and detail; moreover, the
fact that the natural architecture in Y4 is much more obvious in the
drawing than in the plate suggests that Blake knew the original
drawings as well as the copper engravings.

If he did know the drawings—and it is admittedly difficult to be
absolutely certain—one other point of comparison shows Blake's
artistic imagination vigorously at work. Burney's colors are dull.
His landscapes, particularly, are in the proper academic manner of
the eighteenth century; that is, the grass is brown and the trees are
not very green. The dominating effect is that of a chiaroscuro
brown. Now Blake, as he said dozens of times, especially in his
Cox Catalogue, detested the chiaroscuro manner. And the coloring
of his drawings for Paradise Lost is radiant. Even more to the point
is the fact that his color is more symbolical than natural. It is the
coloring, indeed, rather than the design, the conception (with a
few exceptions), the details, or the draftsmanship that makes
these drawings of Blake so extraordinarily beautiful. Whoever
takes the trouble to compare Blake's drawings with Burney's will
come away convinced that if Blake had many faults as an artist
and many weaknesses, that if in these matters he was far less original
than we are usually inclined to think, there is one realm where
Blake is supreme and independent of his times, the realm of imagi-
native color.

This study has attempted to demonstrate something of the way
Blake's mind worked when he was faced with the problem of illust-
trating a poem by someone else; when he was interested in the sub-
ject, he created original symbolic designs; when he was less inter-
ested, he took subject matter and design from another man’s works and developed them more or less in the direction of symbolism and symmetry; when he wanted details for things he had no interest in drawing, he took them boldly from another man’s work. Finally, I hope that there is no question in the reader’s mind that Burney’s designs for Paradise Lost had a profound influence on both series of Blake’s designs for that poem, in the choice of subject, in general design, and in incidental details. If I am right, Princeton has a series of drawings interesting not only because they are the finest set by Edward Francis Burney on record, but also because they stimulated and contributed to one of the greatest poetic and artistic imaginations England has ever produced, the imagination of William Blake.

To conclude, I would like to make a plea. The English scholar Ruthven Todd in his fascinating Tracks in the Snow has shown Blake’s indebtedness to certain eighteenth-century mythologists.

I hope that... I have succeeded in showing that many of the apparent difficulties in Blake’s work... are simple once we understand that he adopted the euhemerist and Druidical attitude subscribed to by so many of his contemporaries...  

I would like to make a similar plea to students of Blake’s art. We have been so absorbed with his genius and uniqueness that we have forgotten that he lived at a certain time and place and that he knew the work of other artists. When we have resurrected and studied the work of forgotten illustrators and painters of his time, men like Edward Francis Burney, we shall be in a position to understand far better both the nature and the quality of Blake’s genius.

* * *

Ruthven Todd, Tracks in the Snow; Studies in English Science and Art, New York, 1947, p. 56.

James McCosh
An Educator in an Age of Transition

BY THEODORE D. LOCKWOOD

Today we seldom see the elderly academician in the role of college president. That would be incongruous with our grown specialization and passionate administration. Yet not so long ago the college president was the chief landmark of his particular campus. Such was James McCosh, called to the College of New Jersey in 1868 at the age of fifty-seven.

The College of New Jersey had suffered in common with most colleges a general decline after the Civil War. It was apparent to the Trustees that a forceful executive was needed to reinvigorate the College. For this purpose a Scotsman, James McCosh, was invited to leave his chair of Metaphysics and Logic at Belfast and come to this country, a country of which he had long held a high opinion. A philosopher of the common-sense school, an educator, and a Presbyterian theologian, McCosh became president exactly one hundred years after another Scotsman, John Witherspoon, had been installed. The general tradition of thought to which McCosh adhered had been absorbed into American disciplines a century earlier; namely, Scottish realism, a philosophy grounded upon the noncontradictory reality of things known self-consciously and reinforced by a teleistic scheme of values. He had no difficulty, therefore, with the immigration authorities presiding over philosophy. Theologically, also, his word had preceded him. In short, he would be understood by a faculty and alumni predominantly ante bellum in their cultural orientation.

McCosh’s intellectual and religious assumptions are mentioned because his attitudes on education were redolent with both. He had a passion for relating all experience in a consistent whole. He felt that the actions which he would take as an educator would not contradict the position he had assumed as a thinker; in fact, they would be the necessary complement. So inevitably he defined education as essentially the training of the mind—as inevitably as, to borrow a metaphor from George Santayana, a pedagogue tends to cut cloth on his own bias.

In a report to the Board of Trustees on December 11, 1868, McCosh summed up the defects he saw at Princeton: low salaries, lack
of new professorships "to meet the wants of the times," poor condition of recitation rooms and housing, defective scientific apparatus, not enough scholarships or fellowships, a restricted curriculum, and an insufficiently supplied library which "is open only once a week for an hour." Twenty years later, when he retired, he could check off each of these faults as having been at least partially remedied. Enrollment had tripled, as had the number of professors, and three million dollars had been donated to the College. All this was the sort of increase peculiarly appropriate to the growth of industrial America.

But a country being propelled into urbanization by new economic advances, quantitatively speaking at least, was a country no longer at rest. The result was an agitation of opinions which in turn provoked diverse responses. The influx of Darwinism added to the transitional character of the period between the Civil War and 1890. It was a time of troubles for many disciplines, all bending their weight upon education as the great integrator of disciplines.

McCosh was not a man without an answer, albeit that answer was conservative. Education should "reduce the complexities of nature to a few comprehensible and manageable elements," that is, it should send the student forth with a few important principles, or habits, so well ingrained that these would guide him in the future. There is an Aristotelian aura to this injunction, but it is Aristotle bearing a copy of Calvin's Institutes. With McCosh habit became a disposition to develop the moral and spiritual nature of the student by the lights of Calvinist dogma and eighteenth-century enlightenment. The cosmos being orderly, and designed complete with a theory of development, there is a common core of knowledge which the various departments of teaching should aim to relate to the ultimate truth. This blend of an educational ethic and ecclesiastical orthodoxy preserved the peculiar American combination of church and college. The complete materialist or idealist was excluded. McCosh adhered closely to the classic "liberal education."

Yet in practice he seems to have recognized that the trend was definitely away from this unified approach. The tremendous body of new knowledge accumulating with the advance of science and its allies called for specialization. He recognized the need for advanced training, but held to a middle course in curriculum.

In a famous debate with President Eliot of Harvard on the "new departure in education," staged in New York in 1885, McCosh opposed the novel idea that the student should choose his own studies and govern himself during his stay at college. If education was the cultivation of principles of integration, then a knowledge of literature, science, and philosophy should be required of all men seeking a degree. English, modern languages, classics, physical science, mental and moral science were the "musts" of any curriculum. For McCosh believed in a basic series of "solid studies binding on every student." Yielding to contemporary demands, however, he agreed that the solution to increasing diffuseness lay in granting freedom to choose one's specialty. To accomplish this aim he proposed two types of electives: subjects consisting of new branches of learning, and advanced studies in a particular department. There would be no fragmentary study in one Ivy League institution. Probably most educators agreed at the time with McCosh.

But it was a compromise. To sense this, it is sufficient to cite what McCosh thought every educated man should know: namely, Latin, Greek, English, oratory, essay writing, French, German, physics, astronomy, geology, psychology, logic, ethics, and the relation of science and religion! This imposing list signifies McCosh's attempt to hold on to the older mid-nineteenth-century pattern of studies and yet recognize the new tendencies. Even the university "should combine and regulate the course of study in the several departments." The unifying structure must be maintained; for independent articulation denied the place of habit in education. Possibly his adherence to faculty psychology, fast being replaced by genetic psychology, blinded him to the need for diverse subjects in conjunction with individual consideration.

For was not McCosh essentially a traditionalist? The college was a center of inherited learning no matter how much the curriculum
might be modified. Furthermore, McCo$ was also a "representa-
tive of that educational policy which values religion as an in-
strument of culture and is at pains not only to assign it a place in a
course of study, but also to bring it into vital relation with the life
of the student body." The fact that the pupils in the public
schools during the seventies and eighties were still receiving a pre-
dominantly religious interpretation of the world assured McCo$'s
synthesis of moderate success. But the college was partially isolated.
American Protestantism had reached a critical position through
the lack of training in handling industrial masses. A shift became
inevitable. The nadir in business morality made reorientation all
the more difficult. McCo$ never relaxed the assault on thought to
the need for a social program on the part of organized religion,
much as he may have recognized the divergence of classes. The
thirteen million immigrants who came to this country between
1850 and 1890 were not all Scots; German freethinkers and Roman
Catholics unbalanced both traditions. McCo$ was reluctant to ad-
mit that the presence of secular experts in higher education created
a profound obstacle to keeping education Christian in the tradi-
tional sense. The "newness" of the new departure in education was
slow in working out its effects; therefore, it is understandable that
McCo$ remained within a tradition so long established.
His theory of the place of religion in the college prompted his
attitude toward student discipline. Of student self-government he
would hear nothing. Having waged war against secret societies as
being un-American, and against hazing, drinking, and off-campus
capers, he felt that strict discipline was necessary to prevent further
disintegration of the religious atmosphere. Fortunately, in his prac-
tice of this belief he himself demonstrated an understanding of
human nature and a resourcefulness which can be most accurately
summed up under the term of unphilosophical common sense.
Part of this attitude toward discipline in the colleges may be
explained by his opinion that students should go to college at
fifteen. For this there was the further reason: "I am sure that your
merchants, your lawyers, your theological teachers, will tell you
that they would rather have a pliable young man of twenty... " Is
this to say that he responded to the pressure of business demands, the

desires of the propertied classes? The general charge has been made,
and certainly it would have been difficult to argue against the very
group rebuilding the College. But behind this apparent prejudice
in favor of an aristocracy lay a belief in the mission of an educated
class; for, as he remarked elsewhere, "The whole community rec-
ognizes the profit by a highly-educated people being trained." Such
a class could support the good causes of the community and advance
the tastes of the people. Such a class must in turn be complemented
by a body of scholars which the university alone could provide.
Hence the importance of habit in any educational institution. Nor,
with such an aim, is it surprising, then, that McCo$ was reported
as having said: "A college depends not on its president or trustees
or professors, but on the character of the students and the homes
they come from." 8

Such assumptions as these bear upon education in general and
not upon Princeton alone. It was characteristic of McCo$ to em-
brace the problem on a national scale. As in his defense of Scottish
realism, the old psychology, and theological tenets under the im-
pact of Darwinism, he felt compelled to enter debates upon the
American system of education from top to bottom. 9 The grand
educational want of America at this present time is a judiciously
scattered body of secondary schools, to carry on our brighter youths
from what has been so well commenced in the primary schools,
and may be so well completed in the better colleges."" The appeal
to the model of the Prussian state school system was direct. McCo$
considered the secondary school a critical link. The choice he saw
was whether to draw the funds necessary for building up this
system from private endowments or public handouts. While argu-
ing that it was better to give government money to schools than
to railroad men, he deplored the application of this money to
purely agricultural schools. The problem was related, of course,
to the disposition of unappropriated lands. The discussion which
followed McCo$'s address at the 1875 meeting of the National
Education Association continued, in transcript, for some fourteen
pages, reflecting both a sectional prejudice and a theoretical bias.

8 A. T. Ormond, "James McCosh as Thinker and Educator," The Princeton The-
ological Review, 1, No. 3 (July, 1893), 339.
7 McCo$, "Upper Schools," Proceedings of the National Education Association
(1879), p. 22.
6 McCo$, "The Importance of Harmonizing the Primary, Secondary, and Col-
legiate Systems of Education," Proceedings N.E.A. (1880), p. 140. See also McCo$,
"Habit and Its Influence in the Training at School," p. 45.
(Feb., 1883), 9.
In part, McCosh was arguing from his own experience. Princeton was suffering as a result of having only one academy (in Virginia) feeding students to the College. New England colleges had numerous "farm" schools. The founding of new institutions of higher education and the expansion of the older colleges cut into Princeton's sources alarmingly although enrollment everywhere was doubling—a fact McCosh attributed to the depression. Only a strong secondary school system, he thought, could continue to supply an adequate group of entrants. Such a conclusion increased his concern over a measure before Congress to appropriate nine million dollars for agricultural colleges. The proposal failed of support mainly, he reported to the Trustees, due to the opposition from Princeton. Much later, in a letter to President Hayes, McCosh returned to this topic of using "the proceeds from unappropriated lands to the removal of gross ignorance." He re-emphasized his feeling that this money should be used for aiding the secondary-schools. He had entered a discussion which is still current today.

This same year (1880) he delivered a lecture at the meeting of the National Education Association upon "The Importance of Harmonizing the Primary, Secondary, and Collegiate Systems of Education." Having emphasized the need for obligatory attendance and state superintendents, he made a grandiloquent gesture by asserting: "I hold it to be essential to the perfection of our republican system, that the child in the most obscure village . . . may, if he has the abilities and the perseverance, rise to be a doctor or a lawyer, or grace the halls of Congress. . . ." He was au courant with the national myth.

James McCosh was one of the last of the "old-time" college presidents. His idea of the American college did not persist; it was only a question of time before the new world was reflected in educational theory. He tried, as did most of his contemporaries, to make some adjustments; but, as with Henry Adams twenty years later, he could not deflect his settled beliefs into new forms. His reactions against change were sincere as well as representative, a piece of social and intellectual history. There was a lingering regard for the pedagogue who was a personal, moral, and intellectual mentor—the man who was greater than the institution. Yet all signs pointed to the fact that education by personal contact was disappearing in the growth of the collegiate factory.

When James McCosh died in 1894, the age of transition in American intellectual history had already passed. He stood at the culmination of a tradition dating back to the enlightenment; and although accumulation affords a degree of sturdiness, it also freezes one man's accident of insight and idiom. The college was not insulated. Much as McCosh rehabilitated Princeton College and much as he perverted upon the classic liberal tradition in education complete with its religious fortifications, he could at best merely protect culture from becoming too formless before the country had acquired the taste to absorb the changes. He was a transitional figure, one who had been congenial to a particular institution during an era of questioning. But, as American education came to pay greater attention to the diversity of experience, James McCosh, venerable yet refreshing, choosing tradition before adventure, slid into the sea of picturesque pedagogues.
Shapers of the Modern Novel

A Catalogue of an Exhibition

The Friends of the Princeton Library, through its Committee on Collectors and Collecting, and with the cooperation of members of the University Faculty, arranged in the Exhibition Gallery of the Firestone Library an exhibition entitled "Shapers of the Modern Novel," which was on view from the first of March through the thirtieth of April.

The Committee, consisting of Edward Naumburg, Jr., '24 (Chairman), Mrs. Donald F. Hyde, Robert H. Taylor '30, and Lawrence Thompson, selected eleven authors whose influence is strongly apparent in contemporary fiction. The "Shapers" chosen were the novelists Joseph Conrad, Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Mann, James Joyce, Henry James, Sinclair Lewis, Marcel Proust, William Faulkner, and André Gide, and the non-fiction writers Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud.

Since the exhibition was designed primarily for the undergraduates, rarity and such bibliographical niceties as state, issue, points, etc.—and, in a few cases, even edition—were not stressed. The emphasis of the annotations was upon the merit and influence of the items exhibited. The selections of the Committee were based on its decision to exhibit for each author his first book or other early work, his important lasting contributions, a manuscript or a typescript, and a photograph. Modern reprints of some of the books of the "Shapers" were also included in the exhibition in order to suggest to the undergraduates how inexpensively it is possible to acquire the major writings of these eleven authors. (The reprints and photographs are not listed in the following catalogue.)

On the evening of the tenth of April, Lloyd Morris delivered in the Firestone Library an address on the "Shapers of the Modern Novel."

The lenders to the exhibition were Frederick B. Adams, Jr., Clifton W. Barrett, John J. Scolum, Sylvain S. Brunschwig, Maurice E. Coindreau, Edward Naumburg, Jr., '24, and Robert H. Taylor '30; Charles Scribner's Sons and Pierre Berès, Inc.; and the libraries of the New York State Psychiatric Institute and Hospital, Yale, and Harvard.

KARL MARX

First edition. Presentation copy to Dr. Breyer.

Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. London [1848].
First edition.

Manifest der Kommunistischen Partei. Chicago, 1871.
First American edition.

Der 18te Brumaire des Louis Napoleon. New York, 1852.
First edition.

First edition.

Address and Provisional Rules of the Working Men's International Association. [London], 1864.
First edition.

A letter from Marx to an unnamed correspondent [n.p.], February 15, 1872, stating that he is sending his only spare copy of this "Inaugural Address."

First edition. Presentation copy to Luise Weydemeyer.

First edition.

First edition.

Extracts from The Capital of Karl Marx. Translated by Otto Weydemeyer. Hoboken, N.J. [1877].
First edition. First translation into English of any part of Das Kapital.


JOSEPH CONRAD

A business letter written by Conrad while second mate of the "Tilikhurst," to Mr. Klaszewski, Calcutta, January 6, 1886.

First edition.

The Children of the Sea. New York, 1897.
First published edition of The Nigger of the "Narcissus."
First published English edition.
The Nigger of the “Narcissus.” Preface. [Hythe, 1902.]
First edition.

Lord Jim. Edinburgh, 1900.
First edition.
Youth. Edinburgh, 1902.
First edition.
The manuscript of “Heart of Darkness.”
First edition.

Under Western Eyes. London [1911].
First edition.
Chance. London [1915].

Victory. London [1915].
First English edition.
The Shadow-Line. London [1917].
First edition.


ERNST HEMINGWAY

The Senior Tabula, Year book of the Class of 1917, Oak Park and River Forest Township High School.
The class prophecy was written by Hemingway.

Contains six poems by Hemingway.

Three Stories & Ten Poems. [Dijon, 1923.]
First edition.

In Our Time. New York, 1925.
First American edition.

Two postcards from Hemingway to Gertrude Stein and Alice B. Toklas, Pamplona, July 13 [1924]. Photographs of an amateur bullfight.
The typescript of The Torrents of Spring, presented to F. Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald.
The Sun Also Rises. New York, 1926.
First edition.

A Farewell to Arms. New York, 1929.
First edition. One of 510 numbered copies, signed.

First edition.

First edition.
The manuscript of Green Hills of Africa.
To Have and Have Not. New York, 1937.
First edition.

For Whom the Bell Tolls. New York, 1940.
First edition.

THOMAS MANN

Der kleine Herr Friedemann. Berlin, 1898.
First edition.

Buddenbrooks. Berlin, 1901.
First edition.

One leaf of notes for Buddenbrooks.

Der Tod in Venedig. Munich, 1912.
First edition.

One leaf of notes for Der Tod in Venedig.

Wässerblätter. Munich [1921].
First edition. One of 550 numbered copies, signed by the author and illustrator.

Der Zauberberg. Berlin, 1924.
First edition.

A portion of the manuscript of Der Zauberberg.

First edition. Inscribed by the author.

First edition. Inscribed by the author.
First edition. Inscribed by the author.

First edition. Presentation copy to the Yale University Library.

JAMES JOYCE

University College Literary and Historical Society. Programme of Session 1899-1900. Dublin [1899].
Lists for January 20 “Drama and Life,” a paper by Joyce.

... The Day of the Rabblement. Dublin [1901].
First edition.

The Holy Office. [Rome? 1904.]

Chamber Music. London [1907].
Gas from a Burner. [Flushing? 1912.]

Dubliners. London [1914].
First edition. Presentation copy to Ezra Pound.
Five leaves from the manuscript of “A Painful Case.”

First edition.

First edition. One of 100 numbered copies on Dutch handmade paper, signed by the author.

Part of the page proof of Ulysses, with manuscript corrections, signed by the author and Sylvia Beach.

First edition. One of 13 numbered copies on Dutch handmade paper. Presentation copy to Claude Sykes.

Pomes Penyeach. [Princeton, N.J.], 1931.
First American edition. With a limitation note in the hand of Sylvia Beach.

First edition. One of 425 numbered copies, signed by the author.

HENRY JAMES

A Passionate Pilgrim. Boston, 1875.
First edition.

First edition.

First edition.

A letter from James to Mrs. Hill [London], March 21 [1879].
First edition.

A letter from James to James Osgood [London], August 27 [1883].
First edition. Sir Henry Irving’s copy, “With the Publisher’s Compliments.”

Terminations. New York, 1895.
First American edition.
The Spoils of Poynton. Boston, 1897.
First American edition.

First edition. Presentation copy to Mary A. Ward.
The Two Magics. New York, 1898.
First edition.
First edition.
First edition. Presentation copy to H. B. Marriott Watson.
First edition.

SINCLAIR LEWIS

Hike and the Aeroplane. New York [1912].
Main Street. New York, 1919.
Babbitt. New York [1920].
First edition.
Leaves from the notebook assembled by Lewis in preparation for the writing of Babbitt.
A portion of the typescript of Babbitt, with the author’s corrections and alterations.
Arrowsmith. New York [1925].
First edition.

MARCEL PROUST

First edition. Presentation copy to Alphonse Daudet.
First edition of Proust’s cyclic novel. Also exhibited were second copies of the first two volumes of the novel, both first editions: Du Côté de chez Swann, Paris, 1914, presentation copy to Princess Ribesco, with four letters from Proust to the Princess; and A l’ombre des Jeunes Filles en Fleurs, Paris [1918], presentation copy to André Beaunier.
First edition. Presentation copy to Henri de Régnier.
The manuscript of “Vacances.”

SIGMUND FREUD

A volume of offprints of articles by Freud, 1877-1901.
Klinische Studie über die halbseitige Cerebrallähmung der Kinder.
Die Traumdeutung. Leipzig, 1900. First edition. From the library of Dr. A. A. Brill, Freud’s translator and American disciple and colleague.
A petition to the Polizei-Kommissariat of Vienna, signed by Freud, requesting permission to hold a meeting of the Wiener Psychoanalytische Vereinigung, October 9, 1912. Beyond the Pleasure Principle. Translated by C. J. M. Hubback. New York [1924].

WILLIAM FAULKNER

Mosquitoes. Garden City, N.Y. [1937].


ANDRÉ GIDE

UNDERGRADUATE BOOK COLLECTING CONTEST

The twenty-fifth annual undergraduate book collecting contest was held at 60 University Place on April 26, 1956, with Mr. and Mrs. Donald F. Hyde and Robert H. Taylor '30 serving as judges. The undergraduate collectors participating in the contest submitted ten books each and explained to the judges the reasons for their selections. The prize money of forty dollars, contributed by the Princeton University Store, was awarded as follows: fifteen dollars to Richard A. Mackey '32 for his Henry James collection; ten dollars to Harvey F. Robbins '50 for a group of English translations of Lao-tzu's Tao te ching; ten dollars to Waring Jones '49 for a Typee collection; and five dollars to Perry H. Knowlton '49 for his first editions of William Faulkner.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MANUSCRIPTS

The Library has recently been called upon to supply information for the Supplement to the De Ricci and Wilson Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, being edited by Professor C. U. Faye under the auspices of the American Council of Learned Societies. The assembling of this information has brought out some interesting facts concerning Princeton's holdings in the field covered by the Census—that is, Western European manuscripts written before the year 1600. The Census published in 1935-37 listed fifty items for the Princeton University Library. Since the Census went to press the Library has not only added twenty-eight items to its general manuscript collection but has acquired also the collections of Robert Garrett '37 (171 items) and Grenville Kane (fifty-seven items), both of which were described in the Census as private collections. Thus the Princeton Library's collection of Western European medieval and Renaissance manuscripts is now six times the size of the one described in the original Census. Mere figures do not, of course, have much meaning, and it is true that many of the De Ricci numbers represent only single leaves or fragments; nevertheless, as a perusal of Volumes I-XI of the Chronicle amply demonstrates, the quality as well as the quantity of Princeton's collection of medieval and Renaissance manuscripts has grown in remarkable fashion during the past fifteen years.

WITHERSPOON ON FIRST EDITIONS

"We were told that only a small number of copies was printed of the first edition [of William Smith's Plain Truth]. I believe this is the only instance that can be produced, of calling a book in its publication, the first edition. The only reason of making more editions than one of any book, is the speedy sale of that number of copies, which the modesty of the author, or the prudence of the bookseller thought might be sufficient for the public demand. In this case, there is what is stated by the printers a call for another edition. But there are multitudes of publications, as to which, this call is never heard, and therefore none of them can with propriety of speech, be stilled the first edition. How would it sound if I should say, that a man who came alone into my house, was the first of the company that entered; or that my wife, who is still alive and well, is my first wife, when it is very possible that she may live till I am unfit for any other wife, or till she is at liberty to take a second husband?"  

MICROFILMING THE CHRONICLE

In order to assist libraries in their efforts to save badly needed shelf space, University Microfilms, of Ann Arbor, Michigan, has embarked on a program of microfilming the current volumes of a large number of American periodicals. This is being done without any loss of subscriptions to the publishers, for it is understood that such film copies will be sold only to the actual subscribers to the periodicals themselves. With the approval of the Chairman of the Friends, an agreement was made with University Microfilms to include the Chronicle in the project. Under the contract one copy of each issue is furnished free, but in return University Microfilms will pay a royalty of ten per cent on the film copies sold.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

MORSE PECKHAM is an Assistant Professor in the Department of English at the University of Pennsylvania.

THEODORE D. LOCKWOOD is a graduate student and an Assistant in Instruction in the Department of History at Princeton University.

New & Notable

From Imrie de Vegh the Library has received an exceptionally interesting group of over sixty books, mainly early works dealing with law, science, and economics. The books comprising Mr. de Vegh's gift are not only of importance in themselves, but they have also an added value to the Library in that they represent areas in which the Library's holdings are not particularly strong.

One of the most notable items presented by Mr. de Vegh is a copy of the first edition of the famous "Book of Sports," The Kings Majesty's Declaration to His Subiects, Concerning lawfull Sports to be used, London, 1618. Desirous of combating the overzealousness of both the Puritan and Roman Catholic extremists, James I argued that the banning of lawful recreations on Sunday afternoons, after Divine service, produced various evils, including "filthy riplings and drunkennesse." "For when," he queried, "shall the common people have leave to exercise, if not upon the Sunnys and Holydays, seeing they must apply their labour, and winne their living in all working days?" His order that the Declaration should be read in all the churches met such a violent opposition that he wisely refrained from enforcing it. Charles I, however, was not so easily daunted by the Sabbatarianism of the Puritans, and in 1638 he reissued the Declaration and attempted to enforce it, thus placing in the hands of his enemies a weapon which was turned against him. Ten years later Parliament ordered "That the Booke concerning the enjoying and tollerating of Sports upon the Lords day, be forthwith Burned by the hand of the Common Hangman...."

Another seventeenth-century English legal work is Orders and Directions, Together With a Commission for the better Administration of Justice, London, 1690, which concerns the reform of the poor laws.

Four French books of laws are present: a compilation of statutes of French kings from Louis IX to Francis I, Les ordonnances Statuts et Instructions Royaule, Paris, 1554; a copy of the rare collection of laws of Provence, Ordônances du tres chrestien Roy de France, Francois premier, printed in Avignon in 1586; Michel Berland's legal dictionary, Sommaire des lois Statuts et Ordonnances Royaule, Paris, 1549; and a beautiful copy of the first edition of the French Constitution of 1791, printed in that same year by the Impriemrie Nationale.

Several German lawbooks are included in Mr. de Vegh's gift. Among these is the important Gerichtsordnung Im fürstlich Oberr und Nidern Bayern Anno 1500 aufgericht, Munich, 1520, with a large woodcut by Caspar Cloffl showing the Dukes Wilhelm and Ludwig of Bavaria sitting in judgment. With this is bound Njüwe Statrechten und Statuten der loblichen Statt Friburg u. Pragsgow gelegen, Basel, 1550, edited by Ulrich Zasius, the intimate friend of Erasmus, and containing on the verso of the title-page a handsome woodcut, designed by Holbein, of the Madonna and Child with St. George and Bishop Lambert. A third German lawbook of interest is Das Gantzte Sechsisch Landrecht, Leipzig, 1577, a revision of the Sachsenspiegel edited by Melchior Kling.

Other legal works which should be mentioned are Loix, chartres & coutumes du noble pais & Côte de Haymault, Antwerp, 1559, with which is bound Loix, chartres & coutumes du chief lieue de la ville de Mons, also printed in Antwerp in the same year; the "Editio Nova ab Autore ipsa recognita & correcta" of the magnum opus of Hugo Grotius, De Iure Belli ac Pacis, Amsterdam, Blaeu, 1632, bound with Grotius' tract on the freedom of the seas, Mare Liberum, "or, The Right which Belongs to the Dutch to Take Part in the East Indian Trade," published by Blaeu in 1649; and a copy of the illustrated edition of the penal code prepared for Maria Theresia of Austria, Constitutio Criminalis Theresiana, Vienna, 1769, which edition was suppressed by Prince Kaunitz shortly after its publication.

Alchemy is represented by two significant books: the rare first edition of Hieronymus Reusner's Pandora, Basel, 1562, which is remarkable for its eighteen full-page allegorical woodcuts; and an early edition of Fumi Novi Philosophici, Amsterdam, 1651-64, the first book of Johann Rudolf Glauber, the discoverer of Glauber's salt and the author of more than forty scientific treatises. A landmark in the field of military science is the first edition of Niccolò Tartaglia's Nova Scientia, Venice, 1557, the earliest printed work on the theory and practice of gunnery.
Conspicuous among the volumes presented to the Library by Mr. de Vegh is the first edition of the most celebrated medieval work on falconry, *De arte venandi cum avibus*, Augsburg, 1566, the major literary production of the Emperor Frederick II, *stupor mundi et immutator mirabilis*. "Keen sportsman as he was," declares Professor Haskins, "Frederick II was not the man to lose himself wholly in the mere joy of hawking. His mind had also to be kept busy, his questions answered, his knowledge extended and put in order. The lessons of the *De Arte* (scientia hujus libri) are essential for the falconer, but it is more than a manual of practical instruction. The first book and the earlier chapters of the second have a systematic and scientific character which give them an important place in the history of medieval zoology, while the whole treatise is pervaded by the spirit of actual observation and experiment. While the author uses the ancients, he is not blinded by them, and does not hesitate to correct them when necessary. So far as the Renaissance is characterized by the spirit of free inquiry and emancipation from authority, the *De Arte* lends support to those who would begin the new movement at the court of Frederick II."

Of particular interest is a fine copy of John Evelyn's *Silva*, York, 1766, the second Hunter edition, with colored plates. This book, "A Discourse of Forest-Trees, and the Propagation of Timber in his Majesty's Dominions," was first published in 1664 as the first official publication of the Royal Society. An early work on the theory of probability is Pierre Rémond de Montmort's *Essay d'Analyse sur les jeux de Hazard*, Paris, 1713, the second edition, revised and enlarged. Also present is the first edition of the earliest comprehensive treatise on cryptography, Johannes Trithemius' *Polygraphia*, Oppenheim, 1518, which contains two impressions of a woodcut by Sprinkinklee showing the author presenting the book to Maximilian I.

Included in Mr. de Vegh's gift are two desirable early books on aeronautics: *L'Art de Voler à la Manière des Oiseaux*, Basel, 1784, by Karl Friedrich Meerwein, who is believed to have been the first to determine the area of wing surface necessary to support a man; and *Deacrisione della Macchina Aerostatica*, Bologna, 1803, by Count Francesco Zambecari, whose adventurous experimentation led him to his death in 1829 when he jumped from the car of a burning balloon.

Under the general heading of economics several items should be noted. A valuable work on the commercial relations of Spain with her colonies in America is Rafael Andrés y Acevedo's *Memorias Históricas sobre la Legislación, y Gobierno del Comercio de los Españoles con sus Colonias en las Indias Occidentales*, Madrid, 1797. Another Spanish book of interest is Alonso Carranza's *El Ayutamiento i Proporción de las Monedas de Oro, Plata i Cobre*, Madrid, 1619, the thesis of which is that of determining the rates of exchange between gold, silver, and copper is the prerogative of the King of Spain.

Of importance are the first edition of Claude de Saulx's defence of usury, *De Usuus Liber*, Leyden, 1618; the first edition of Johann Gottlieb Fichte's *Der geschlossene Handelstaat*, Tübingen, 1800, which advocates protectionism in the interests of the state; and *Les Treze Livres des Choses rustiques de Palladius Rutilius Taurus Aemilianus*, Paris, 1553, the first edition of Jean Darce's translation of a work on agriculture which was of considerable popularity during the Middle Ages.

An important eighteenth-century item is the *Additions and Corrections* to the first and second editions of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. This addendum appeared as a part of the third edition of *Wealth of Nations* (London, 1784) and was also issued separately for the owners of the two earlier editions.

* Mémoires Présentés à Monseigneur le Duc d'Orléans*, by Henri, Comte de Boulainvilliers, "Contenant les moyens de rendre ce Royaume plus-puisant, & d'augmenter considérablement les revenus du Roy du Peuple," was first published by a group of Dutch booksellers in 1757, five years after the author's death. Before its publication a number of manuscript copies were made in France—one of which is included in Mr. de Vegh's gift—and these, according to the book's first publishers, were regarded with an "espèce d'idolatrie." The Count is now remembered primarily for his intense devotion to the feudal system.

error of New Jersey, Jonathan Belcher, for his support of the College and for his generous gift of books to its library, by naming the new edifice BELCHER-HALL. “And when your Excellency, the Trustees in a formal address to the Governor, is ‘translated to a House not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens, let BELCHER-HALL proclaim your beneficent Acts... to the latest Ages.’

To this resounding address from the Trustees Governor Belcher sent an appropriate reply (duly recorded in the minutes of the meeting of the Trustees on September 29, 1756) declining the honor of having his name perpetuated in the new college building, and preserving that it should be named instead NASSAU-HALL, in memory of ‘the glorious King William the IIIrd, who was a Branch of the illustrious House of Nassau; and who, under God, was the great Deliverer of the British Nation, from those two monstrous Furies,—Poetry and Slavery....’

Thus—follow governor Belcher’s suggestion—the new college building at Princeton was henceforth known as Nassau Hall.


In 1753 the Trustees of the College of New Jersey, then located at Newark, decided to move the infant institution to "Princeton Town." The following year they approved of plans for a new building drawn up by Dr. William Shippen of Philadelphia, assisted by the architect-builder Robert Smith. The cornerstone was laid on September 17, 1754, and some two years later, in November, 1756, although the building was not completely finished, the students and faculty moved from Newark to Princeton.

While the building was being erected the question of an appropriate name for it arose. At a meeting of the Trustees held at Newark on September 24, 1755, it was proposed to honor the Royal Gov-

Vol. IV, Nos. 117-129, 128, 139, 131, 135, and 136.

Robert H. Taylor '30 has presented to the Library a copy of the first edition of Defoe's *The True-Born Englishman* [London], 1700. This famous satirical poem, which ridiculed the current objection to the foreign birth of William III, was an immediate success; it appeared in numerous editions, both authorized and pirated, and led Defoe to represent himself on the title-pages of many of his later works as "the Author of The True-Born Englishman."

Through the generosity of Laurence R. Carton '07, the Library has obtained a copy of the first edition of Alexander Pope's *An Essay on Criticism*, "London: Printed for W. Lewis in Russell-Street, Covent-Garden; And Sold by W. Taylor at the Ship in Pater-Noster-Row, T. Osborn in Grays-Inn near the Walks, and J. Graves in St. James's-Street. MDCCX." This edition, with the names of the four booksellers in the imprint, is considered earlier than the 1711 edition (or issue) with Lewis' name alone in the imprint. The Princeton copy has the half-title, which is generally lacking, but wants the final leaf of advertisement. With the acquisition of *An Essay on Criticism*, the Library now has seventy-three of the titles on the Princeton list of the Hundred Great English Books.

Notable among recent additions to personal and family papers in the Princeton Library are the papers of Lindley Miller Garrison (1864-1938), Vice-Chancellor of New Jersey, 1904-1915, and Secretary of War in the first Wilson administration. The gift of Merritt Lane, Jr. '41, the Garrison papers include personal correspondence from the 1890's to 1916, newspaper clippings for the period of Mr. Garrison's service as Secretary of War, and family documents. The Mexican border controversy, the opening of the Panama Canal, the Ohio River flood of 1913, and the Preparedness question of 1914-1916 are among the topics covered by the correspondence.

For the Rudyard Kipling collection presented by Gordon A. Block, Jr. '36 the Library has received from Mr. Block some fifty additional items. Included in this group are three volumes of the Indian Railway Library Series, *Soldiers Three, In Black & White,* and *Wee Willie Winkie*, published in Allahabad in 1888; *Barrack-Room Ballads*, London, 1892; *The Naulahka*, London, 1892; *Soldier Tales*, London, 1896; *Captain Courageous*, London, 1897, as well as the New York edition of the same year; and *A Fleet in Being*, London, 1898, as issued in paper wrappers.
A portion of the free balance of the Operating Account was transferred to the Friends Book Fund to be spent on additions to the William Seymour Theatre and Morris L. Parrish Collections. Part of the free balance was used to cover the purchase of a complete file of the periodical Die Fachel, Vienna, 1899-1936. And, finally, a sum was transferred from the free balance to the capital of the new U. J. P. Rushton Memorial Fund. These three amounts total $815.00.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Since the last issue of the Chronicle contributions totaling $1098.51 have been received from Friends. Carl Otto v. Kienbusch ’96 enabled the Library to purchase a small group of Woodrow Wilson letters and the manuscript of the commencement address delivered by George M. Dallas, Class of 1810, in the First Presbyterian Church in Princeton on September 27, 1891. From John D. Gordon and Mr. and Mrs. Edwin N. Benson, Jr. ’99 came donations to be used for the purchase of books. The contribution from Mrs. Kenneth McKenzie will be spent on additions to the McKenzie Fable Collection. Robert H. Taylor ’30 contributed toward the purchase of a large group of Charles Kingsley letters and also toward defraying the expenses in connection with the spring meeting of the Council. W. Frederick Stohlman ’09 increased the capital of the Stohlman Fund. Louis C. West added to the fund for numismatics. And Willard Thorp made an addition to the Freneau Fund.

GIFTS

Many gifts have been received from Friends since the listing in the Winter issue of the Chronicle. Gordon A. Block, Jr. ’36 made a further addition to the Rudyard Kipling collection of a number of first editions, a manuscript poem in Kipling’s hand, and a few items relating to Kipling. Miss Reba S. Cawley gave a letter written by President Wilson to Professor William B. Scott, dated April 13, 1915. Huberta M. Cummings ’07 presented twenty volumes by Irish writers and five books concerning Milton and seventeenth-century England. From Alfreid A. Knopf came a further group of books by modern authors, many of which are inscribed to the authors, editors, translators, or illustrators. Mrs. Kenneth McKenzie presented several volumes of Silvio Pellico, together with books concerning Pellico, and also other Italian books, as well as the late
Professor McKenzie's notes, letters, and other manuscript material relating to fables. Sterling Morton '06 continued to send to the Library periodicals and pamphlets on questions of the day. Mrs. Charles G. Osgood gave an early nineteenth-century Persian manuscript on ethics and a copy of an undated Koran printed in Europe in the nineteenth century. Professor Osgood presented two volumes by Girolamo Benivieni, Dell'Amore Celeste e Divino, Luca, 1731, and Opera, Venice, 1522. The Library received from Thomas M. Parrott '88 the manuscript of his book Shakespearean Comedy, which was published in 1949. From Mrs. William J. Sinclair came the life mask (dated March 7, 1916) of the late Professor William J. Sinclair. Robert H. Taylor '30 gave a copy of the first edition of Defoe's The True-Born Englishman [London], 1700. John S. Williams '24 presented four drawings of birds by John Woodhouse Audubon. The resources of the Princetoniana Collection were enlarged by the gifts of photographs, class publications, programs, and memorabilia received from Edwin N. Benson, Jr. '99, Archibald A. Gallick '97, DeWitt C. Jones, Jr. '18, Charles F. W. McClure '88, Samuel H. McVitty '02, and William H. Tower '94.


ELEANOR CROSS MARQUAND
HON, A.M. 1948

All who knew Mrs. Marquand feel in her death a great personal loss. Many who did not have the privilege of knowing her are nevertheless aware that her life meant something very fine to both the community and the University. Only a few, however, because of her modesty, realize to what an extent the Library has lost a devoted friend.

Her interest in books went far beyond her natural desire to have her husband's Library in McCormick Hall maintained as one of the finest collections on art and archaeology in this country. A scholar herself, who enjoyed and valued the use of books, she had for years been quietly active in helping to strengthen the special collections and in interesting others to do likewise.

Therefore, the members of the Department of Art and Archaeology request the privilege of joining with the Friends of the Library in recording at this time all our appreciation of what the Marquand Library and Mrs. Marquand's interest in books have meant to Princeton University.

URBAN JOSEPH PETERS RUSHTON

The untimely death of Peters Rushton '36 on December 27, 1949, has stricken all who knew him. Within a month he would have been thirty-five.

When Peters Rushton entered Princeton from the Hill School in the fall of 1934, he intended to prepare for medical school. By the end of his college course he had decided that the good life for him would be that of a teacher of English. As his subsequent achievements prove, this was a true vocation. After graduation from Princeton in 1936, he spent the next four years preparing for his profession. He studied at Harvard, where he took the A.M. degree, and at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He then returned to Princeton for his Ph.D., which he received in 1940, his dissertation being "The Development of Historical Criticism in England, 1538-1700." For a term he was an instructor at Princeton. The University of Virginia then called him to its Faculty, of
which he was a member the rest of his life, save for the four years
he served as an officer in the Navy. At Virginia he was early known
as an admirable teacher, a scholar of promise, and an administrator
who was quietly forceful and ever vigilant for the intellectual well-
being of the University. To succeed seemed so natural with him
that one forgot how hard-won his victories sometimes were.

Those who were privileged to be his friends will believe that
few men have had so great a capacity for friendship as Peters Rus-
ton, and few have so completely exemplified in their lives the
humanistic ideal. His wit will be remembered. His superb hoaxes
(which not even Naval bureaucracy could suppress) are already
legend. But there are many who knew his wit, his quick intel-
llegence, and his humanity who did not realize how deeply religious
he was.

His charities, too, were hidden. To the Princeton Library he gave
generously. He established there in 1943 a book fund in memory
of his father, J. Frank Rushton, who is well remembered by citizens
of Birmingham (characteristically the name of the donor of the
fund is not on the bookplate). From the income of the J. Frank
Rushton Fund many rare items—books, manuscripts, and letters
of W. B. Yeats, T. S. Eliot, Hart Crane, and other modern writers—
have come to Princeton. He served as a member of the Council
of the Friends of the Princeton Library from 1943 until his death.

By his wish such books from his private library as Princeton
needs are to be given to the University Library. Dr. Rushton was
not a collector, in the narrow sense of the word; he bought books
for study or for his pleasure. Nevertheless, because his interests
as a scholar were wide, his library is a choice one, being particularly
rich in modern poetry and literary criticism. Most of the five
hundred volumes which have been selected will be placed in the
Poetry Room and will form the basis of the permanent collection
to be housed there. A book fund which is being established by
Dr. Rushton’s family and friends will provide additions to the
collection through the years to come. Thus we shall keep alive the
name of this devoted son of Princeton who, from his freshman year
until his death, had ever in his mind the good his university might
do in the nation and in the world.

Minutes of the Council of the Friends of the Princeton
Library Adopted April 10, 1930
FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY

Founded in 1932, 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 materials 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 should be mailed to the Secretary.

Merchants 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 attended special lectures and exhibitions.

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Chairman will welcome suggestions and suggestions.

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