NOTE TO SUBSCRIBERS

As stated in the Autumn 1962 issue, The Princeton University Library Chronicle, beginning with Volume XXIV, changes its periodicity from four to three times a year (Autumn, Winter, Spring). The present, Spring 1963, issue therefore completes Volume XXIV.
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Library Notes

New & Notable

Friends of the Princeton University Library
The Bible in Transition

BY EDWIN WOLF 2ND

The following address was delivered at the annual meeting of the Friends of the Princeton University Library on May 17, 1963. It was designed to serve as a commentary on the Library exhibition, "Book of Books, The English Bible and Its Antecedents," which is described in this issue of the Chronicle under "Library Notes."

"Gentlemen," concluded the auctioneer, "the book is before you; what are your wishes?" So, the New York Times of April 8, 1881 tells us, Joseph Sabin, Leavitt's cataloguer and caller of auctions, got down to business after his gaudy peroration. The book was, of course, the two-volume Gutenberg Bible in original bindings which George Brinley had bought in 1873 for the huge sum of £687.15.0 (roughly $8,000) through the agency of the canny, knowledgeable Vermonter-in-London, Henry Stevens. Eight years later, Mr. Brinley having ascended to that book-lined corner of Paradise where Moses's copy of the Gutenberg Bible—printed on vellum from first-born Egyptian lambs, no less—is on permanent display, his Bible was sold, and realized the satisfactory price of $8,000. After the passage of some years, through several hands, and with an increment in the size of the figure on the check accompanying the changes of title, the volumes came into the possession of Mr. John H. Scheide, and, by inheritance, of his son, who has generously set them before you in the exhibition tonight.

It is not my purpose to tell you what a Gutenberg Bible is, nor to dip an uninformed toe in the muddy swirl of waters which in the name of the Constance Missal curls against its massive backs.
Unlike Doctor R and the sweet singer of Indiana, I have never bought or sold a copy, and so I have no tales of book drama or intrigue to unfold. But, I think I am the only person who ever picked up, placed on the car seat next to him, and drove from one place to another, unaccompanied and without fanfare, two copies of the Gutenberg Bible. One was the Widener copy, now at Harvard, which I chauffeured from Elkins Park to the Free Library of Philadelphia where it was to go on exhibition. The other was the Fulda copy on vellum, which I found exiled for the duration of the war in a little village in Germany, and which, without authorization and without so much as the squiggle of a receipting signature for the local priest in whose care it was, I took in my jeep to a safe-deposit vault in Fulda to await the repair and reorganization of the Stadtbibliothek there. That was my boy scout deed of the war.

Furthermore, a few years ago I had the pleasure of standing at Bill Scheide's excitement-radiating elbow as he saw and handled for the first time the Eton College copy of the Bible, one of the four including his own in Fogel-type bindings, and then as he looked at the famous copy in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. On the fringes of the fame which comes from owning a Gutenberg Bible, I feel somewhat like that breezy bibliophile Eddie Newton who prided himself on the fact that he had shaken the hand of a man who had shaken the hand of Charles Lamb.

All of which verbal meandering is merely to prepare myself to make the not very original statement that no book has captured the imagination of people to the extent that the Gutenberg Bible has. It has captured the imagination of so many people that every year there are dozens of them, who, upon discovering a big, heavy, calf-bound and brass-clasped German Bible of—let us say—Nuremberg, 1702, believe they have found the key to fortune. Yet, this is, like so much of the 20th century, a materialistic point of view. The Gutenberg Bible physically and symbolically is above and beyond its worth in dollars.

It is a symbol and it is a miracle, too. It is the first Bible to appear in print, and hence a first edition sans pareil. Typographically, it is superb. Think of the first automobile and compare it, in kind, with the pioneer printing of the Mainz craftsman. The former is a curious, primitive foretaste of its ultimate development; the latter sprang, like Minerva, full-grown from the press of its creator. There may be a moral in this, but I am not a preacher, and hence I shall not pursue it.

Nor am I an expert on the Bible, so I am here under false pretenses, although under excellent auspices. My initial flippant remarks are merely to lull you into a sense of false security. My topic is the transmission of the text of the Bible, culminating in the newest translation into English by the Jewish Publication Society a very serious matter. Of the transmission of the text and of the translation I know nothing but what I have read and been told by others. I have some knowledge of Franklin, William Blake and Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. I deplore the attempts of others to be authoritative, when they are being merely superficial, particularly with regard to the last. I am now in the position of one who should be deplored, but, with your understanding, that will not deter me from going on.

The transmission of the text of the Bible is so complicated that all the collating machines now working on Shakespeare and Hawthorne could no more resolve its difficulties than an abacus could figure out a navigational pattern for a rocket to Mars. To begin at the beginning is impossible. The Bible is a chronicle of a society seeking a valid way of life, which incorporated legends, folk tales, laws and poems. The Pentateuch was reputed to have been set down and codified by Ezra the Scribe in the 5th century before the Common Era. In later centuries other parts of the Bible as we know it were crystallized in approximately their present form into a canon. And so, approximately in its present form, through many translations, the Bible has come down to us, more read in the past than the present, but yet a pervasive influence on life, philosophy, literature, art, and, particularly, upon the speeches of politicians.

It will probably be a surprise to you to learn that many centuries before the Common Era Hebrew, in which language most of the Bible was originally written, had ceased to be the common language of Jews living in Palestine. They spoke Aramaic and Greek. As the sphere of Hellenic influence spread throughout the then civilized world in the wake of Alexander's conquests and the divided rule of his successors, Greek became the lingua franca of the Mediterranean. By the 3rd century before the Common Era there had grown up in Alexandria a large, Hellenized Jewish community. They spoke Greek, and had forgotten Hebrew. The story of how the Bible was translated for them into Greek has
been the subject of several colorful legends. One tells us that Demetrius of Phalerum, the aggressive librarian of the acquisitive book collector Ptolemy Philadelphus, seeking to complete the Hebaton of his age, ordered a copy of the Bible of the Jews as the 200,001st addition to the Ptolemaic library. A Greek version, gloriously illuminated in gold and carefully written by seventy-two elders learned in the Law, was duly forwarded by the High Priest in Jerusalem. This, according to one tale, was the prototype of the Greek Septuagint. Another more logical explanation is that, worried because the Greek-speaking Jews were being separated from the Bible by language, the leaders of the Alexandrian Jewish community initiated the translation. Seventy-two bilingual scholars were told each to make his own translation. When the committee, which had worked without consultation, came together, it was found that the seventy-two Greek texts were identical to the letter. What is most likely to have happened, as happened in many lands since, is that the Bible over a period of time was made available to a people who could not understand it in its original. The Greek Septuagint (an abbreviation of the legendary number of seventy-two) is the oldest, external confirmatory standard for the biblical text.

Almost as old is the Aramaic version, in a dialect which is to Hebrew as Dutch is to German. In post-exilic Judaea the priests and scholars knew Hebrew, the language of the religion, as for ages Catholic priests knew Latin, while to most of their parishioners it was only a liturgical pattern. As a result there grew up a body of explanation of the Hebrew in Aramaic, a gloss, as it were, expounded by readers to illuminate readings which were—to the hearers—in a not quite familiar language. A translation was called a Targum; the translator, or expositor, was a meturgeman (hence, dragoman, the colorful figure in a fez who used to take tourists to see the pyramids at Gizeh). According to the priestly hierarchy of Jerusalem, the Targum, as oral tradition, had no validity as against the Bible which was written law. In fact, at first, it was forbidden to write down the Targum. This changed. It was eventually written down in several early versions. I only mention it here, because the Aramaic Targums are the second oldest, external confirmatory standards for the biblical text.

Now, I am going to ask you to jump several centuries and accept an article of faith which cannot be proven by the laws or probabilities of textual transmission. In spite of the fact that there are several Greek versions and a number of Targums which differ in some respects, we must assume—as has been traditional in Jewish life—that the text of the canonical Bible is that established by a continuum of Hebrew scholars, known as Masoretes, who started their task early but kept working as late as the 8th century of the Common Era. These "masters of tradition" were concerned with the preservation and transmission of what they believed to be—and what has since been accepted by Jews—as the received text. It is amazing how close this text is to those recently recovered among the Dead Sea scrolls. The Masoretes had a difficult task, for Hebrew in its original form is a consonantal script; there were no vowels. Yet, the vocalization of a consonantal word could change its meaning, so the Masoretes added the diacritics, which are points above and below the line of letters, to solidify the meaning.

With a discipline which has never been employed since in the literal preservation of the integrity of a text, the Masoretes succeeded in passing down their version, miraculously intact, to the present day. The earliest extant Hebrew manuscripts, except for scraps, pieces and pre-Masoretic fragments, such as the Nash papyrus, the Dead Sea scrolls and the Genizah papyri, date from about the 9th century. It is essentially, and almost letter-perfectly, this Hebrew text, known as the Masoretic text, which has been the basis of all the translations under Jewish auspices and those Christian translations which have related themselves, at least in part, to the Hebrew.

I wish I had time to wander through the centuries before the Middle Ages, when the Bible was being written down in the East to enter the mainstream of Western civilization. In the 3rd century Origen, one of the great fathers of the Church, wrote out a six-ply version, known as the Hexapla, which contained the Hebrew original as taught him by Rabbi Hillel, a Greek transliteration of the Hebrew, the literal Greek translation of Aquila, the free one of Symmachus, the text of the Septuagint, and, finally, the middle-of-the-way Greek version of Theodotion. Unfortunately, only a few leaves of Origen have survived, although quotations from him exist in the works of the later Church fathers.

As Latin supplanted Greek as the language of the Western Church, various Latin translations were made. The greatest of these and that eventually adopted by the Catholic Church was that of St. Jerome. Known as the Vulgate, it was pronounced by the
Council of Trent in 1546 to be the only authentic Latin translation. It has been the basis of all Roman Catholic versions up to our own day.

We are particularly interested in an English translation, for that is what we, Christian and Jew in the United States today, lacking our ancestors' linguistic erudition, are dependent upon. You will remember, of course, that the Bible in English was not as essential to colonial Americans. Well into the 18th century Hebrew, Greek and Latin were required subjects at Harvard. Yet, the Bible in English is, and was, a part of the fabric of American life.

We can skip quickly over England in the Middle Ages. Bits and tags of the Bible in Anglo-Saxon exist. Anglo-Norman, virtually French, translations were available. Yet, the Bible of cathedral and monastery was the Vulgate. To the great majority, including almost all the warring, hunting and hawking nobility, that was a sonorous chant echoing through the vaulted halls of the churches, occasionally explained or commented upon in a language they could understand. There was no Bible in English, a tongue which emerged from the farms and hovels to rise by the middle of the 14th century to the status of the national language. It was shortly after this that the Bible became a political force in the hands of Wycliffe and his followers.

The Wycliffe translation is the earliest complete rendering that we have of the Holy Scriptures into English. It was a revolutionary document. It proclaimed the authority of the Bible as against the authority of the Church, for it made available to the people in its undiluted form what the clerics, mumbling unintelligible Latin, had been filtering through their self-interest. The New Testament, particularly, with its vilification of the rich and its talk of the meek inheriting the earth, was a dangerous weapon to give to the masses. In the hands of the Lollards the translation became almost a social manifesto, and as such it was ruthlessly attacked by the establishment. The ecclesiastical suppression of the manuscripts, which must have existed in the thousands, prevented the Wycliffe Bible from forming part of the mainstream of English translation.

With the advent of the Reformation, which brought a renaissance of the study of both Greek and Hebrew, conditions became favorable to a less political and more scholarly translation. Yet, politics, particularly church politics, did still exert an inhibiting influence. This did not stop William Tyndale from going ahead

1. Page from a manuscript of the Wycliffe Bible
ca. 1410. Gospel of St. John
Scheide Library
(for description see “Library Notes”)

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2. The Great Bible. First edition, 1539
Scheide Library
(for description see "Library Notes")

3. The Great Bible. Sixth edition, 1541
Scheide Library
(for description see "Library Notes")
with a project to translate the whole of the Bible, but he had to
exile himself to Germany to do it. In 1525 he began to have printed
by Peter Quentell at Cologne an English New Testament in
quarto, but the work was discovered by an implacable foe of the
Reformation, and Tyndale had to flee further up the Rhine to
Worms with the incomplete sheets. At Worms Peter Schoeffer
began all over again, and by 1526 completed an octavo volume.
In 1530 the whole of Tyndale's Pentateuch was printed by Hans
Luft in Marburg. In 1531 appeared the Book of Jonah. Con-
tinental printers reprinted Tyndale's New Testament, usually badly
and with many errors, to meet the demand in England for the
contraband text. It is difficult to imagine an English Bible being
smuggled into England as Lady Chatterley's Lover was, but such
was the case. However, the fate of the two men responsible for
the books was very different. Lawrence imagined most of his per-
secution; Tyndale was executed in 1536. His version of as much
of the Bible as he was able to translate is the single most influen-
tial translation ever made into English. "To him," Dr. Westcott said,
"it has been allowed more than to any other man to give its
characteristic shape to the English Bible." He translated straight
from the Hebrew and Greek originals available to him, although
he used the Vulgate and Erasmus's Latin translation, as well as
Luther's German version. His language, the language of Tudor
England, is deeply imbedded in every subsequent English trans-
lation. Bibliographically speaking, any edition of any Tyndale printed
text is so rare that by comparison the Gutenberg Bible is a paper-
back. The earliest editions exist only in fragments or unique
copies.

It will be impossible in this short time to do justice to the trans-
lations which followed Tyndale. Miles Coverdale, relying heavily
on Tyndale, completed a whole Bible which was printed at Zurich
in 1535. By this time the English printers became

convinced that the Bible in English was destined to be a perennial
bestseller. A reprint of Tyndale's New Testament appeared in
London in 1536; Coverdale's whole Bible went into an English-

printed edition in the following year, and from then on the flow

continued. To take advantage of the market, a new edition, said
to be by one Thomas Matthew was issued in 1537, and this had the

approval of the king and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Other re-

visions, the Great Bible of 1539 and the Bishops' Bible of 1568,

followed. These were official texts, printed in folio, for use in

4. King James Bible. First edition. 1611
Scheide Library
(for description see "Library Note")
I made a personal test of this. Some years ago I asked quite a number of persons I met by chance what “firmament” meant. Almost exactly half of them, when I cited its use in Genesis, said “solid ground,” thereby making an unconscious association of an unfamiliar word with “terra firma.” We, who remember Addison’s celebrated hymn, “The spacious firmament on high,” could not be so misled. Yet, let me reiterate, half of the persons I asked were. Listen to a better authority:

The style of Wyclif’s version, and of Tindall’s, differs very widely in the course of 148 years: and the English tongue underwent also a great change between the publication of Tindall’s bible and that of King James’s translators, in the course of 81 years. Since the year 1611, when the present version first appeared, the cultivation of classical learning, a series of eminent writers, and the researches of acute grammarians, have communicated to our language a degree of copiousness, of elegance, of accuracy, and perhaps of stability. Many words and phrases which occur in the received version are become unintelligible to the generality of readers; and many which are intelligible are so antiquated and debased as to excite disgust among the serious, and contempt and derision among libertines.

Such was the opinion of William Newcome, Bishop of Waterford, who wrote an Historical View of the English Biblical Translations: the Expediency of Revising by Authority our Present Translation: and Means of Executing such a Revision, published at Dublin in 1794. The good bishop cited pages of support for his point of view. Selden, the 17th-century orientalist, complained that the King James Bible was translated into English words rather than idioms, and, had the original been in French, for “il fait froid,” we would read “it makes cold.” Matthew Pilkington observed that “many of the inconsistencies, improprieties, and obscurities which occur to an attentive reader of any of the versions, ancient or modern, are occasioned by the Translator’s misunderstanding of the true import of several Hebrew words and phrases.” The Professor of Arabic at Oxford in 1779 called attention to the fact that ancient texts were available in his day which had not been known before and that frequent access to the East had familiarized his generation with the customs of that land. I could go on citing...
the judgments of men two centuries ago, but it would be merely to repeat.

That revisions had to be made has been accepted by all the religious groups of the English-speaking world. There have been revised versions and new revised versions, translations into colloquial English, Catholic translations, both English and American Protestant translations and Jewish ones. I have been concerned, not as a translator let me hasten to state, in the new Jewish Publication Society translation which was begun eight years ago and of which the Five Books of Moses have recently appeared. Strangely enough, although the King James version has not ecclesiastical validity or authority for Jews, it has had so strong a cultural influence on American Jews that the two previous translations made under Jewish auspices in this country, that of Isaac Leeser in the middle of the 19th century and the first Jewish Publication Society Bible of 1917, were, in fact, the 1611 Bible with comparatively minor changes and corrections.

But, let us hasten on to the middle of the 20th century. If the language of the Stuart era seemed archaic and unintelligible to the Bishop of Waterford a century and a half after it was written, how much more archaic and unintelligible has it become a century and a half later. This has been an obvious fact to the revisors and retranslators of all sects, in spite of those who seem to think that God spoke English according to King James. However, even more important is the fact that the sciences of linguistics and archaeology in the last fifty years have made more progress than in the preceding five hundred. In other words, today's scholars have the knowledge to translate the not always easy Hebrew more accurately than it has been possible to do heretofore. It seemed to the Jewish Publication Society that it would, therefore, be of great scholarly and religious importance to make a new translation from the Masoretic Hebrew, bringing to bear on it the new lights of scholarship and making it at the same time clear to the reader of today. It was not to be a slang version; it was to be decorous, dignified and rhythmical, and above all accurate. I believe that the new translation of the Torah has shown that cadence and felicity of style can be maintained without shrouding them in archaisms and obscurity.

One example of this is obvious. We do not in English use the second person singular form of pronouns and verbs. It was once, as it still is in French and German, a form of intimate, personal address. The Hebrew meant it to be intimate and personal. God talked with Moses and Moses talked to God intimately and personally. The old “thee” and “thou,” the “sayest” and “doth” are to our modern ears formal, the direct opposite of the original meaning. The close relationship between the children of Israel and their God has been befogged by the use of a form of speech which has disappeared from our living language. In the King James version, when Moses saw the burning bush, the Lord said to him, “Draw not nigh hither: put off thy shoes from off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground.” In the new version, much more directly I submit, the Lord said, “Do not come closer. Remove your sandals from your feet, for the place on which you stand is holy ground.” Apart from the substitution of present day words for their old equivalents, anachronism was corrected: there were no shoes as we know them in biblical times.

I am not a Hebrew scholar. Consequently, I cannot talk with authority about the changes made in the new translation. My brother-in-law, Dr. E. A. Speiser, was, however, a main architect of this new structure, and, knowing him, I can assure you that no change, no correction nor variation was made, no stone was lifted into place, without the weighty leverage of scholarly authority. But, no translation is ever the perfect translation. As one of the committee, Dr. Freedman, pointed out, English is a funny language, too. When we talk of a shipment by ship we call it a cargo, but when we talk of a cargo by car we call it a shipment.

Hebrew, as you all know, has certain characteristics of its own, and the Bible is written in several styles of its own. The individuality of a language and its nuances cannot be transmitted in a translation; they can only be approximated. This difficulty was well appreciated by Edmund Wilson in his essay, “On First Reading Genesis,” which he wrote after learning enough Hebrew to read the Bible in its original. He noted that “the writing of the earliest books is a good deal tighter and tougher—Renan calls it a twisted cable—than is easy to imitate with the relatively loose weave of English.” He further remarked that “There are many plays on words and jingles that disappear in our solemn translations, and the language itself is extremely expressive, full of onomatopoeic effects.” He cites as an example of the Hebrew wordplay the word saḥaq, to laugh, whence Yisḥaq, or Isaac, for Sarah laughed when God told her she would yet bear a child. Furthermore, there is a durative verbal form in Hebrew only recently discovered. The emissary sent by Abraham “looks at” Rebecca at the well in the
durative form of the word. In the 1611 version this read, "And the man wondering at her held his peace, to wit whether the Lord had made his journey prosperous or not." The new translation runs, "The man, meanwhile, stood gazing at her in silence, to learn whether the Lord had made his errand successful or not." Translating the untranslatable is not easy.

Certain words and phrases, long mistranslated, could quite simply be restored to their original meaning. Categorically, it can commandment condemns not blasphemy, but the far more serious crime of perjury. Other changes are more complicated. Let me give you but a single example. A sentence at the beginning of Genesis reads in the King James version: "And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters." "Spirit:" is capitalized, thus, in accord with Christian theology, bringing the third person of the Trinity into being at the very start of creation. The original Hebrew word, translated as "Spirit," is ruah. It is interesting that the Hebrew lexicon published in New York in 1809, written by the Jewish scholar Clement C. Moore—better known as the author of "The Night Before Christmas"—gives as the meaning of "wind, air, breath, spirit, mind," in that order. Of more importance is the fact that it is unmistakably "wind" in the Greek Septuagint and the Aramaic Targum.

There is a good historical explanation of how "wind" became "Spirit." Although the Septuagint was the version common in Alexandria, Philo Judaeus there in the first century busied himself trying to accommodate Hebrew theology to Greek philosophy. Greatly influenced by the Platonic belief that the idea pre-exists the thing, he read into the first chapter of Genesis the idea of "Spirit" for the thing "wind." Since Philo of all Jews influenced the development of the Christian interpretation of the Holy Scriptures the most, his word passed readily into the stream of Christian translations theologically capitalized, and into later Jewish ones in lower case. But this knowledge of how the word was changed was not enough for our modern scholars. They went all the way back to the other end as well. It has long been known that in essentials the Jewish story of creation derived from an earlier Babylonian version. There was, however, one discrepancy; all the elements of the Babylonian account were present except one: wind. Now, buttressed on both chronological sides, our translators render the phrase, "a wind from God sweeping over the water."

I wish I could go on and give other examples. I have been fascinated in both an intellectual and a spiritual sense by the new insights, the new nuances, of the recent Jewish Publication Society translation. For our generation it may well be the best and most scholarly version available. There are some who throw up their hands in horror at new words and new interpretations. Half a century from now there will be others who will with equal sentimentality condemn those who may wish to improve upon the 1961 translation. Yet, I would only point out that every time a new inscription is uncovered in the Near East, every time a scrap of vellum or papyrus is unrolled and read, a new light may be thrown on the obscurity of an ancient Hebrew phrase. With great honesty the Jewish Publication Society text has placed footnotes which repeat over and over again, "Hebrew uncertain" or "meaning obscure." As knowledge advances and as language changes, new versions will be required. An English translation of the Bible must be, as it has been now for five hundred years, a Bible in transition.
The Milton Portrait: Some Addenda

BY JOHN RUPERT MARTIN

The following notes form a supplement to the author’s The Portrait of John Milton at Princeton, and Its Place in Milton Iconography, issued in 1961 as the ninth in the series of occasional publications sponsored by the Friends of the Princeton University Library, and described in The Burlington Magazine (December 1962) by David Piper, Assistant Keeper of the National Gallery of Portraits, as a “welcome, closely argued, and most beautifully produced resolution of a previously tangled skein in Milton’s iconography.” The central subject of Mr. Martin’s book and of the present supplementary notes is the so-called Baker or Bayfordbury pastel portrait of Milton, attributed to William Faithorne, which was recently presented to the Princeton University Library by William H. Scheide.

Since the publication of my monograph on the pastel portrait of John Milton in the Princeton University Library some additional early likenesses of the poet have come to my attention. One of these represents Milton as a young man, and, if the tentative claims that have been made for it are correct, must be accounted a document of very great importance. The special interest of the other two portraits lies in their relationship to the picture in Princeton.

Nothing is more puzzling in the matter of Milton iconography than the disappearance, more than a century ago, of the so-called “Onslow” portrait. The picture in question is known to have been painted when Milton, then about twenty-one years of age, was a student at Christ’s College, Cambridge; it was left by him to his third wife and remained in her possession until her death in 1727, after which it was purchased by Speaker Arthur Onslow. While in the Onslow collection the work was engraved by George Vertue and others; and in 1792 Benjamin Van der Gucht made two copies in oil on canvas, one of which belongs to Viscount Harcourt, the other being now in Milton’s Cottage at Chalfont St. Giles. In 1827 the third Earl of Onslow sold the picture at Christie’s, and thereafter all trace of it was lost. The missing portrait was represented

1. John Milton as a Young Man
National Portrait Gallery, London
by permission of the Trustees
2. John Milton. Pastel attributed to William Faithorne
Princeton University Library

3. The Artist and his Son in the presence of Milton
by Jonathan Richardson the Elder
Lt.-Col. Sir Walter Bromley-Davenport, Capelthorpe

4. Engraving by George Vertue, 1725
Henry E. Huntington Library

5. Milton medal by Jean Dassier
Princeton University Library
in my book by means of an engraving made by Cipriani in 1760.

In July 1961 a portrait of Milton as a young man was bought for the National Portrait Gallery in London (Fig. 1). The type is plainly that of the Onslow portrait as we know it through various copies: the subject is seen within an oval, turned slightly to the right and wearing a falling ruff and black doublet; the background is dark brown. His long brown hair and fair complexion make it easy to understand why Milton was called at this time “the Lady of Christ’s College.” An inscription beside the sitter’s right shoulder (revealed only in the course of cleaning) reads: John Milton/Ætatis sue æt. There is a second inscription in the lower left corner: John Milton. This appears to be a considerably later addition. The canvas has been somewhat cut down, and in its original state no doubt showed a complete oval. Though the painting was purchased as a copy, the process of cleaning and technical examination has made it appear increasingly probable that this is nothing less than the original Onslow portrait itself.

In his provisional report on the painting David Piper of the National Portrait Gallery adduces two principal points in support of this identification. “First [he writes], there is no record of any version, other than the Onslow, earlier than the two copies by Van der Gucht of 1792; the appearance and structure of the paint of our version as seen cleaned, quite certainly points to a much earlier date than 1792; in style and technique our painting is perfectly compatible with many authenticated paintings of c. 1630. Secondly, there is the evidence of Van der Gucht’s copies: of these, the ‘Harcourt’ one . . . was doubtless modified by the copyist . . . according to Lord Harcourt’s specific wish. The ‘Chalfont St. Giles’ version, however, is almost identical in size with our version. This suggests very strongly that it was in fact copied from our version, as no copyist would be likely to arrive at the same unusual, cut-down, size of canvas for any other reason than that it was the size of the original in front of him.” Thus, although the question is not finally closed, there is clearly good reason to believe that the Onslow

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Footnotes:
2. This was reported by John Aubrey, whose notes on Milton (c. 1681) are printed in H. Darbishire, *The Early Lives of Milton*, London, 1951, p. 3.
low portrait of Milton has at last been rediscovered and that the reference to it in my book as "now lost" may be amended.

The pastel portrait of Milton now in the Princeton University Library (Fig. 2) was one of the most treasured possessions of the painter and connoisseur Jonathan Richardson (1665-1745), who made several copies after the work. Perhaps the best known is the engraved frontispiece to his book, *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost*, 1734, which reproduces the original crayon portrait with great fidelity, except for the addition of a laurel wreath about the poet's head. To the list of Richardson's replicas of the pastel portrait must be added another example, surely the most unusual and elaborate of all. This is the painting in the collection of Lt.-Col. Sir Walter Bromley-Davenport (Fig. 3), which represents Richardson and his son standing reverently in the presence of a divinely illumined Milton. The poet is seated at the right, his arm resting on a parapet which extends across the scene and over which his ample cloak is draped. A flowering rose bush appears at the lower left. That the likeness of Milton depends, once again, on the portrait now in Princeton (Fig. 2) does not need to be emphasized, for the physiognomy, the pose and the details of dress are manifestly the same. The artist has departed from the model only by introducing the laurel wreath (seen also in the etching of 1734 referred to above) and by enlarging the figure from a bust portrait to what is almost a half-length. The book held by Richardson fits and the inclusion of pen, ink and papers on the railing signify that the two votaries look for inspiration to the author of *Paradise Lost*. The rays of light which descend upon the blind Milton from above are probably to be connected with the extravagant verses composed by the younger Richardson for another of his father's etchings of the poet:

Authentic Homer Light's whole Fountain flows,
Immensel Feirc Dazling yet, & Torrent Glows:
His Temper'd Beam the Mantuan Bard reflects,
Shines Sweeter, & his Fairest Rays Selects:

4. Martin, op. cit., pp. 16 ff., Fig. 12. See Figs. 13-15 for other copies by Richardson after the crayon portrait.

5. See J. F. Kerllke in *Burlington Magazine*, XCIX (1957), 24, Fig. 27. The painting was brought to my attention by Mr. David Piper, to whom I am also indebted for the photograph. It is reproduced with the kind permission of the owner, Lt.-Col. Sir Walter Bromley-Davenport.

Thine Milton Both, but not Both These Alone,
Thou, like Elysium, Know'st Another Sun.

In the Bromley-Davenport painting Jonathan Richardson pays homage both to Milton and to the crayon portrait of Milton, which he had "reason to believe he Sate for not long before his Death."7

The appearance of my study of the Milton picture and its derivatives has led to the identification of a silver medal of Milton in the collection of the Library (Fig. 5).8 It is the work of the Swiss medalist Jean Dassier (1676-1758), who journeyed to London in 1728, where he is said to have received but declined an offer of employment at the Royal Mint.9 Dassier executed numerous medals of celebrated Englishmen as well as a series of the kings of England from William the Conqueror to George II. The medal of John Milton, which measures 41 millimeters in diameter, is not dated, but is signed on the exergue of the reverse with the initials I.D.10

The obverse shows the bust of the poet with the inscription IOANNES MILTON. It is at once apparent that Dassier's image of Milton is likewise to be classed among the many works derived from the pastel portrait at Princeton: the shape of the soft collar and the relationship of head and shoulders are in fact identical. At the same time, however, the peculiar arrangement of the mantle, which is gathered in heavy folds across the breast so as to leave one shoulder free, is sufficient to show that the medalist did not work directly from the original crayon portrait but from the large engraving made after it in 1725 by George Vertue (Fig. 4), which presents a strikingly similar system of drapery. Since Dassier arrived in England in 1728 it was natural that he should select Vertue's recent print as the pattern for his medal.

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6. The etching and the accompanying verses are reproduced in Martin, op.cit., Fig. 13.


8. I am indebted to Mr. Howard C. Rice, Jr. and to Professor James Holly Hanford for their assistance in identifying the medalist and in compiling the relevant bibliography.


A scene from Paradise Lost is figured on the reverse. In the center is the tree with the serpent coiled in its branches and the first parents beneath it. Adam sits disconsolately on a bank, his head resting on his hand, while Eve places her hand on his shoulder as if to comfort him. From a cavern at the right issue three Furies with snaky hair, brandishing torches and scourges and accompanied by flashes of lightning. On the left side of the round wolves have fallen upon a flock of sheep, and birds of prey are attacking the smaller birds. A curving scroll bears the legend: DIRA DULCE CANIT ALTER HOMERUS—"a second Homer sings sweetly of fearful things."

It has been said that this scene refers to the opening lines of Paradise Lost, with their mention of man's disobedience, the fruit of the tree, and the advent of death into the world. But since the episodes represented here are so specific in nature it seems to me more likely that they are intended as an illustration of Book X, which contains a full and graphic description of the immediate consequences of the Fall. The Furies, for instance, are expressly alluded to in a passage from this book in which God speaks to the angels (lines 616-620):

See with what heat these dogs of Hell advance  
To waste and havoc yonder World, which I  
So fair and good created, and had still  
Kept in that state, had not the folly of Man  
Let in these wasteful Furies.

Further on (lines 707-712) we read of the coming of death and strife among the animals:

But Discord first,  
Daughter of Sin, among the irrational,  
Death introduced through fierce antipathy.  
Beast now with beast 'gan war, and fowl with fowl,  
And fish with fish; to graze the herb all leaving,  
Devoured each other.

It is virtually certain that the ravenous wolves and birds of prey pictured on the medal were suggested by these lines. Adam's despondent attitude, moreover, recalls his "sad complaint" on beholding the results of his disobedience (lines 720-721):

O miserable of happy! is this the end  
Of this new glorious world?

The earliest illustrations of Paradise Lost are those designed by Sir John Baptist Medina for Tonson's folio edition of 1688. Since they were repeated, and later re-engraved, in numerous editions for almost a century, it might have been supposed that Dassier's relief was merely copied, with certain adjustments necessitated by the circular form, from one of these well-known plates. In fact, however, the medal does not correspond to any of the engravings; it is significant, for example, that Medina's frontispiece includes neither the Furies nor the birds and beasts of prey.

But the Medina illustrations, though certainly the most familiar, were not the only ones that Dassier might have seen. In 1720 Jacob Tonson published Milton's Poetical Works, in which Paradise Lost was accompanied by a new set of illustrations designed by James Thornhill and Louis Cheron. Instead of the full-page plates invented by Medina, this edition featured two smaller pictures for each book—a head-piece and a tail-piece. Among these designs, moreover, are to be seen several of the motives that we have remarked in Dassier's medal. The tail-piece of Book IX, for example, represents Adam and Eve pursued by a Fury, a horrid female figure with snaky locks and a torch in either hand. In addition, the strife among birds and beasts is depicted in both illustrations of Book XI. It thus appears probable that Jean Dassier—or the artist who prepared the design from which he worked—derived certain elements of his composition from the engravings by Thornhill and Cheron in Tonson's edition of 1720.

In the eighteenth century, when it began to be widely copied, the pastel portrait of John Milton now at Princeton was generally considered to be the most authentic likeness of the poet in his later years. Richardson's painting and Dassier's medal provide further evidence of its importance in Milton iconography.

C. H. Collins Baker, "Some Illustrators of Milton's Paradise Lost (1688-1860)," in The Library, 5th Series, III (1948) 7 ff. In addition to the original illustrations in the first folio of 1688 and the sixth edition of 1795, Princeton has a number of editions with copies after Medina's designs. These include the ninth edition of 1711, with plates by an anonymous engraver, and the twelfth and thirteenth editions (of 1725 and 1727 respectively) in which the engravings are by Pierre Fournier.
The Account Book of the Great Wardrobe of Edward IV, King of England, for the year 1478-1479

BY META HARRSEN

To students of the Wars of the Roses (and of Shakespeare) whose concept of life in England at that time is principally one of clashing arms and violence, we recommend the above manuscript which was presented to the University Library by Robert Hill Taylor 'go. Quite a different picture emerges from this document, namely one of a large class of industrious Londoners going about their daily occupations and continuing all the usual activities and business of life in spite of the turbulence of the times and the rule of a more than usually trying, hedonic king.

Very few Great Wardrobe account books of this reign have survived (part of one is in the British Museum, Harleian Ms. 4780). The Public Record Office in London lacks the Great Wardrobe orders and Pipe or Great Rolls of the Exchequer corresponding to the Princeton manuscript. The orders, consisting of individual strips of parchment initiated by the king, were translated into Latin, and copied in abstracts on the long rolls to which the orders were attached. Together they were immediately available for comparison with the entries in the Account Book presented annually to the Treasurer for payment by the Keeper of the Great Wardrobe.

The term Great Wardrobe was used because of the bulkiness of the commodities with which it dealt, the great indicated the size and not the dignity of the office. Though primarily a storehouse and purveyor, it was also the financial agent and banker of the royal household. Its fixed quarters were in London, but located entirely separate from the court.

As stated in the Princeton Account Book, the Great Wardrobe collected “the fierme and rente of all the mansions, tenements and shopspe apperteynyng and belonging unto the Grete Warderobe” (f. 7). It kept records of the King’s expenses and of bequests to him from deceased friends (f. 51). It “payed for draperie, pellityry, and skynnery, mercery and dyers thynge,” viz “shertes, hosen, sokkes, tools, nayles, paints, tykkes, fiderbidds” and “reparacion of the Kings’s carre” (f. 39-56). It also paid the wages of divers “taillours, skynners, seamstress” (for making of “shettes and shertes of Holand clothe”), roofers, carpenters, glaziers, “gardyners,” and those employed in the packing and transporting of baggage, as “a jakette wrought with goldsmith werke from London unto York” (f. 61). It saw to the “bylding of a newe countyngh hous,” and paid for its “tymbre, lokkes and keyes, boltes and other irinwirk, sowdouere, glasse, tynne, plater of Parys, rosyn, lyme.”

The Great Wardrobe provided as well for the proper arrangement for feasts such as the King’s Maundy, and that of St. George and the Garter. An interesting, detailed account is given (f. 99-111) of the “exequies and burying” of the King’s son, Prince George, Duke of Bedford, who died in March 1479, probably of the plague.

The variety and quantities of apparel supplied for such occasions is remarkable, and the book abounds with entries as (f. 88) “To the right high and mighty Prince. My lorde Richard Duke of York, son unto oure saide souverain Lord the Kyng. A nyght gowne of blac veluet furred with a furre of sable bakke used of his own store performed with xxvj sable wombes. A long gowne of black satyn furred with blac bogy [i.e. sheepskin]. A longe cote of blac velvet lined with white clothe. And crynyssy velvet to cover with my lords curas. And the said nyght gowne with ye sleves furred with martton wombes. And to the color cufkes and here by nethe ij hole sables.” A costume for the King, described on f. 76 consisted of “A roob of blue wollen clothe for the fest of All Sowles and Obymes conteigne: A mantell, a hoode and a kyrtell, the said mantell furred with vj tymbre Do and xix ermyyn bakkes used and with xxvij tymbre Do and x newe ermyyn wombes and the color of ye same mantell furred with iij newe ermyyn bakkes. The kyrtell of ye saide Roobe furred with xxxi tymbre Do and a wombe of used menyver pure. And the color cufkes and venes furred with xxvij ermyyn bakkes. And the hoode of the same Roobe furred with iiiij tymbre and xij ermyyn bakkes vj shertes made of xxvij elles of fyne holand clothe/ xij hede coverchiefs made of xij elles of fyne holand clothe. And xx coverchiefs made of xvi elles of fyne holand clothe. And the mantell of ye saide roobe garyssht with a lace of blue silk with iij botons of blue silk.”

Or, a costume for the king (f. 77): “To oure saide Souverayn

* See illustration for reproduction of this page.
Lorde the Kyng. A longe gown and a demy gowne of blac velvet bothe gownes furred with blac bogy. And viij yards of blac sarmentsynet for lynyng of a demy gowne made of grene velvet and also a shorte gowne made of ye same grene velvet of the kings owne store/ iiij peyre of botews lyned with blac velvet. A cloke of blacc chamelot lyned with blac clothe/ and the cape thereof lined with blac velvet vij sherts xxxvj kovercheiffes of fyne holand clothe/. And to have in store divers stuffs necessarye/ as poynets of silk/ laces of silk/ ryban of silk for girdelles/ ffranche gloves, hosen of murrey black and grene clothe ffranche bonetts, hatts of wolfe/. Shoon of divers sorts/. Bootes and spurre".

To many who consult this manuscript, of all its contents, perhaps the most interesting entry will be the one on f. 96. There, in a list of persons to whom the King grants "a roobe of the liveree of the most nobel Brederhood of Saint George and of the Garter," the queen is named first; next come the two princes (the youths who were murdered in the Tower), followed by their sisters, the ladies Elizabeth, Cecily and Mary, and immediately after these is named their much maligneled uncle, later Richard III: "To the right high and myghty Prince Richard, Duke of Gloucester . . . V yerds scarlet, a fur of cc wombes menyver pur contayning v tymbre and cx garters . . ."

The compiler of this volume was Piers Curteys who, in the introduction or preamble on f. 1, gives his title as "Yoman of the Wardrobe for the Roobes of the most excellent and moste drad Prynce Edward by the grace of God Kyng of England and of ffrance and Lorde of Ireland." He served under Edward IV for twelve years, first in the capacity of "our servant," five years later as "our good and well beloved servant Piers Curteys, grome of our Robes," and by 1478 he became Keeper of the Great Wardrobe, over which he presided until Edward’s death in 1483 and continued to serve under Richard III and through the third year of Henry VII. Edward paid him an annual salary of £20 plus £80 as a reward (f. 73) in addition to "stuff for summer and winter clothing, cloth, myniver pure, pers, tartaryn, menyvers gross."

The book is addressed to Dr. John Morton, Bishop of Ely, Treasurer of the Exchequer, William Essex, remembrancer, and to Richard Sheldon and John Clark, auditors.

It is a folio volume of 114 leaves of vellum, written by several scribes in bold flowing bastard script. Only the address and a summary in Latin on f. 73 are in chancery hands. There are numerous large initials embellished with penwork. The only comparable volume for Edward’s reign is B. M. Harley 4780, accounts of Piers Curteys for 1480-81, consisting of only 50 ff. It probably was written by the principal scribe of the Princeton manuscript but gives the impression of haste and has no decoration.

The armorial ex libris and book stamp of Viscount Charles Maynard (1690-1775) are the only indications of former provenance, but we were informed by Mr. R. L. Storey, H.S.A., Assistant Keeper in the Public Record Office, London, that this volume was probably taken from the Exchequer archives during the reign of James I, who gave away large numbers of historical documents to his favorites.

The volume is bound in 18th century green morocco, with simple panel tooling over paper boards. The end-papers have the watermarks of Jean Villedary and Adrian Rogge of Amsterdam for whom Villedary worked from 1758 to 1812. Much of Rogge’s produce was made expressly for the British market.

Among the books in the Princeton University Library that are most important for an understanding of the duties and history of the Great Wardrobe are: Frederick Devon, Issues of the Exchequer, 1857; T. F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England, 1920-1935; and A. R. Myers, The Household of Edward IV, 1959.

The manuscript has value to future historians, biographers and stage costume designers. In addition it will assuredly also have an appeal because of its archaic language and spelling, and its handsome script.
IN rising to address a public assembly in this pleasant town of Princeton, allow me to say that there is something in the solid and venerable aspect of the place, in its historical associations as the scene of one of the most important battles of our Revolution, and for a time the seat of the Continental Congress, and in the recollection that a president of its noble institution of learning was one of the leaders in that Revolution, and that from these learned shades have gone forth more statesmen than from any other college, to shape the polity of our Republic and direct its workings—not to speak of the illustrious men whom it has trained up for other walks of life—in all these there is something which inspires a kind of awe, and I naturally dread to encounter the grave judgment of those whom I see before me. But, inasmuch as I do not mean, fortunately for myself and those who hear me, to hold the audience long, the dread will soon be over.

Before I congratulate the public and all the friends of good learning—and this includes, of course, the friends of the College of New Jersey—on the opening of this beautiful building as the College Library, let me congratulate the gentleman to whose liberality we are indebted for it, and for the provision made for the gradual enlargement of the collection of books which it is to contain. He is one, I am happy to say, who prizes the uses of wealth beyond its possession; and, instead of clinging to it while life lasts, and only then directing how it shall be disposed of when he can possess it no longer, he forces it to go from his hands upon an errand of beneficence. He has his reward in seeing how worthily thus far it has performed the office on which he sent it forth.

I read the other day, in a book published in 1889, that the library of New Jersey College then consisted of eight thousand volumes. At present, with the aid of the benefactions of Mr. Green, to whom I have just referred, I am informed that the number will exceed a hundred thousand—a number equal to that of several of the public libraries of Europe which have long been famous—while provision is made for its future increase from year to year. If in the next half century its increase should be in the same proportion, it will take its place among libraries of the first class in the Old World—the accumulations of many centuries. It is well that the library should keep pace in its growth with the institution to which it belongs. Under the present wise and fortunate administration of the college, the course of study prescribed to the students has been greatly enlarged; new branches of learning and scie-
ence have been added; new professorships have been created, fellowships endowed, and prizes proposed to reward the diligence of the students. A library amply stored has become more important than ever, for with a wider sphere of study there must be wider and deeper research.

To form an adequate idea of the value of books, it is only necessary to suppose a state of things which should cause their sudden destruction. I do not recollect that any author into whose works I have looked has ever taken the trouble to imagine and describe the condition to which the immediate annihilation of books and manuscripts would reduce the human race. It may be said that such an event is altogether impossible. Nay, not so,—improbable, I grant—improbable, if you please, to the utmost limit of improbability—but still possible. Let us suppose the white ant—the insect pest which in South America devours and destroys books and manuscripts with such fearful voracity that, as Humboldt avers, they have not left in an extensive district a single manuscript a hundred years old—to become unexpectedly numerous in all civilized countries. Let us suppose it to multiply as strangely as the sugar-ant in the West India island of Grenada, when, coming from nobody knew where, it invaded the plantations in vast armies, forming dams across the streams with their drowned bodies, over which the living ones crossed to the opposite bank, devouring everything before them which had animal or vegetable life, desolating the fields and gardens, and threatening to drive the human race from Grenada, until, in 1780, the beneficent interposition of a terrific storm of wind and rain annihilated the vast mass of insect life and delivered the island. Imagine the white ant, produced in like numbers, by means as mysterious, invading the haunts of men everywhere, creeping into our libraries and publication offices, and consuming every printed page and every manuscript, and everything on which the pen or the press can leave its trace. Into what confusion and dismay would society at once be thrown! The reader of the daily gazette from that moment would find himself ignorant of what was going on in the world, and would long in vain to learn what had happened since yesterday. In the crowded city he would find himself a hermit. The reader for entertainment would miss his accustomed refreshment; the inquirer after knowledge would find no path open to his researches; the daily reader of Scripture would look about him in vain for the sacred volume. The tribunals would be forced to grope their way without statutes or lawbooks; the advocate would have no precedents on which to found his arguments save those which he might possibly remember or invent for the occasion. All the records of the past, all the lessons of history, all the discoveries of science, all the conclusions of philosophy, all that the poets have woven into song, all that has been written down of moral and religious truth, would be lost, and be as if they had never been, save such portions of these priceless treasures as might be retained in that treacherous repository, the human memory; and how soon, by the process of oral transmission, might that portion become changed and corrupted and encumbered with spurious additions! In the places of worship, half-remembered litanies would be stammered, half-forgotten hymns given out in halting metre and sung to tunes imperfectly collected, and mutilated passages of Holy Writ repeated to unmodified congregations.

In such a state of things we should become deeply sensible of our immense obligations to the past. For it is to the past that we owe what we are, both in body and mind. The past ages have moulded the age in which we live to the shape it now wears; but for the past, man would be helplessly in a savage state. Every advance in civilization, every shining example of active virtue, every wise or sacred precept of human conduct, every triumph of art and skill, everything, in short, that stores the mind with wisdom, or instructs the hand, or enlightens the conscience, is of the past, and books are the repositories in which they are laid up for the use of mankind from generation to generation. Destroy the volumes in which they are contained, and you blot out the past ages, with all that they have done for us, and the human race would drift hopelessly into barbarism.

And now we stand under a roof dedicated to the great minds of the past—the temple of a thousand venerable memories. The illustrious ones who have passed the gates of death before us may have left their material part in graves marked by some known memorial, or their dust may be scattered to the winds, but here is what the earth still possesses of their higher nature. Here are their words, still animated by the living soul, and here is the record of their glorious example. It matters not where their bones are laid while we have among us, in the volumes which this structure will contain from century to century, this remnant of the immortal spirit. May none enter among them without an emotion of reverence; may none who come to hold converse in these al-
coves with the mighty minds of other years fail to recognize with gratitude the providence which, through the invention of letters, has enabled those whom God endowed with eminent gifts of intellect to speak to their fellow-men of all succeeding time, and has thus in part repeated the doom of death.

Library Notes

BOOK OF BOOKS

During the period from May 15 through September 30 the Library presented in the main gallery, in honor of the Sesquicentennial of the Princeton Theological Seminary, an exhibition called "Book of Books, The English Bible and Its Antecedents." A related display of "Maps of the Holy Land," prepared by the Curator of the Maps Division, showed the work of early map-makers and pointed out ways in which the concept of "the Holy Land" found cartographic expression in guides for navigators and pilgrims and in publications of biblical archaeologists. A display in the Princetoniana Room, described more fully below, recalled the beginnings of the Princeton Theological Seminary and its relationship to the College. A preview of these exhibitions with a reception for faculty and students of the Seminary was held on the afternoon of May 15.

The "Book of Books" exhibition, built around the English versions of the Bible which have exercised a decisive influence on the language and literature of the English-speaking world, was based to a large extent on the private collection of William H. Scheide, with supplementary material from the Princeton Theological Seminary, the American Bible Society, and the Princeton University Library itself. A leaflet available to visitors, which was distributed to subscribers with the last issue of the Chronicle, contains a brief guide to the exhibition and records the more important of the items shown. Four outstanding pages selected from the exhibition are reproduced in the present issue of the Chronicle, through the courtesy of Mr. Scheide. The following notes provide a commentary on these illustrations:

1.—Wycliffe Bible. The Wycliffe Bible, the first complete translation into English, from St. Jerome’s Latin Vulgate version, was completed about the year 1382, in Chaucer’s time. It was inspired and partly done by John Wycliffe (ca. 1328-1384), who was aided by Nicholas of Hereford and other Oxford scholars. Soon after its completion this text was revised by John Purvey and most of the surviving manuscripts are in this later form. The manuscript in
the Scheide Library, from which the page containing the beginning of the Gospel of St. John is reproduced here, was written in England about the year 1410. It is the only manuscript of a complete Wycliffe Bible now in the United States. Few such manuscripts have survived, presumably because they were originally handed from person to person for reading until they became worn out or were confiscated by authorities of the Church when they were discovered. Another early 15th century manuscript of the Wycliffe Bible—but of the New Testament only—is also in the Scheide Library. Although the Wycliffe version was known in manuscript form to later translators and although some of its phrases were transmitted through subsequent versions (beginning with William Tyndale's New Testament in 1525 and Miles Coverdale's complete Bible in 1535), it remains outside the main line of the great printed versions. It was eventually printed—but then mainly for historical and scholarly purposes—partially in 1531, and completely in 1850.

2-3.—The Great Bible. The Great Bible, so-called because of its size, was the first vernacular translation to be officially authorized for use in English churches. An injunction to the clergy, issued by King Henry VIII's Secretary of State, Thomas Cromwell, specified that it be "set up in sum convenient place within the ... church that ye have cure of, where as your parishioners may most commodiously resorte to the same and read it." The text was prepared by Miles Coverdale, who skilfully combined the best of the existing versions (Tyndale, Coverdale, "Matthew"), in which he himself had had a large share. The printing of the first edition was begun in 1538, under Coverdale's direction, in Paris. Although a license had been obtained from King Francis I, strained relations with England soon led to interference by the Inquisition and to the transfer of the whole enterprise (including numerous finished sheets, as well as type, presses and printers) to London, where it was brought to completion in April 1539. The woodcut title-page of this first edition—reproduced here—is the work of an unknown designer, although it has often in the past been ascribed erroneously to Hans Holbein. At the top of the composition The Almighty blesses King Henry VIII, who hands copies of the Bible to Archbishop Cranmer (at his right) and to Thomas Cromwell, Secretary of State (at his left). Below this, the Archbishop and the Secretary of State (distinguished by their coats of arms at their feet) in turn distribute copies of the Book to the clergy and to the laity, who raise their voices in praise of the King. Seven editions of the Great Bible appeared between 1539 and 1541. The title-page of the sixth edition of 1541, printed in London by Edward Whitechurch, is also reproduced. Since this edition was published subsequent to the dismissal and execution, in 1540, of Henry's Secretary of State, Thomas Cromwell, the latter's arms have been removed from the title of the officially authorized Bible, leaving a blank circle in their place. These successive title-pages thus serve as a reminder of the close connection between the politico-religious strife of the 16th century and the printing and reading of the Bible in England. The Great Bible itself, and its successor, the Bishops' Bible of 1568, remained the "Church Bible" of England—as distinguished from the Geneva Bible of 1560, which became pre-eminently the Bible of the home—until superseded in 1611 by the King James authorized version.

4.—King James Bible. The new English Bible of 1611, "appointed to be read in Churches," is quite properly called the King James Bible, for it was at the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, called by the King to confer on religious toleration, that the question of a new version was first raised. King James I, in the words of the translators in their dedicatory preface to the completed work, was its "principal Mover." The actual work of translation was done by a Committee of Revisors divided into six teams—two working at Oxford, two at Cambridge, and two at Westminster. The Committee's work was in turn reviewed by twelve delegates meeting at Stationers' Hall in London. Robert Barker, the King's printer, published the original edition of this most influential of all English Bibles in 1611. The engraved title-page of the first edition, reproduced here, is the work of a Flemish engraver, Cornelis Boel, the same who had illustrated the popular emblem books of divine and profane love by Otto van Veen, or Vaeius. Reflecting the iconographical conventions of the time, Boel's title-page for the English Bible presents, at the top of the page, the Sacred Name, the Holy Dove, the Agnus Dei, and a group of Apostles, each with his traditional identifying attribute. St. Matthew, on the left, and St. Mark, on the right, are engaged in writing out the Gospel. Symmetrically flanking the words of the title proper are Moses, on the left, and Aaron on the opposite side. Below, in the center, is the pelican feeding her young with blood from her own
breast, and, completing the composition at the two lower corners of the page, Saint Luke and Saint John.

THE COLLEGE AND THE SEMINARY

"The College and the Seminary" was the title of an exhibition commemorating the sesquicentennial of the Princeton Theological Seminary, held in the Princetoniana Room from May 15 through September 30. At the beginning were displayed certain documents from various collections of the Library concerning the founding of the Seminary in 1811-12 and the early relations between the two institutions. These included a few pieces about the teaching of science in the College at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. Other documents showed how the College and the Seminary cooperated in the first years of the existence of the latter, especially with regard to housing Seminary students and the use of funds for training for the ministry men who did not have money enough of their own. One small group of letters from William Allen to Samuel Miller is of particular note because it relates to the famous Dartmouth College Case. Allen was the son-in-law and executor of the estate of John Wheelock, the president of Dartmouth College who attempted to make it Dartmouth University. He provided in his will that a portion of his estate should go to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for Princeton Theological Seminary if the court should decide that Dartmouth would remain a college. Less than a year after the Seminary authorities petitioned the New Jersey legislature for the incorporation in New Jersey of a Board of Trustees Allen wrote to Miller asking if there was a corporation in New Jersey to whom Wheelock's heirs could present a deed. Samuel Miller, a director and professor at the Seminary and a trustee of the College, was represented by other selections from his papers, and miniatures of him and his wife, lent by G. Oliver Sayler.

The remainder of the exhibition was designed to show the publications of various members of the faculties of the College and Seminary on three subjects of interest to them: the nineteenth century revision of the Bible, the revision of the Westminster Confession, and the relation between religion and science. Princeton professors naturally shared a concern for Bible history, and the writings of William Henry Green on this subject are especially noteworthy. A descendant of Jonathan Dickinson, he was for many years a professor at the Seminary, declined the presidency of the College in 1868, and was chairman of the Old Testament section of the American Bible Revision Committee. We borrowed from the Scheide Library the Thomas Bradford, 1702 edition of The Constitution of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; Containing the Confession of Faith, and followed it with a number of publications concerning the revision of the Westminster Confession. Francis Patton, President of the College was represented, as well as Benjamin Warfield, Professor at the Seminary, and Henry van Dyke, a graduate of both the College and the Seminary and later a professor at the College. The awareness of both the College and the Seminary about the problem of reconciling religious beliefs with new scientific discoveries was shown by the establishment of two professorships. In 1865 Charles W. Shields became Professor of the Harmony of Science and Religion in the College; in 1881 Francis L. Patton was made the Seminary's Professor of the Relations of Philosophy and Science to the Christian Religion.

It will readily be perceived that the visual appeal of the books and documents in this exhibit was limited and there was no picture of an atomic bomb mushroom to enliven the display. Princetonians and Presbyterians in particular who wish to study more about the conflicts expressed in these relics would find a good beginning in The Broadening Church by Lefferts A. Loetscher.

—E.E.C.

RUBBINGS OF NEW ENGLAND GRAVESTONES

The Graphic Arts room was fortunate in having from April 20 through June 30 an exhibit of unusually sensitive rubbings made from New England gravestones by Ann Parker and Avon Neal. Miss Parker, a photographer, and Mr. Neal, a writer with a keen interest in archaeology, began their collaboration in Mexico, where they took a series of rubbings from the ancient Mayan stucco reliefs at Palenque. Back in this country they were surprised to
discover, and were soon caught by the freshness and originality of provincial New England gravestones—those stones, especially, which were carved in the inland villages rather than in the more populous coastal towns. There they found the ingenuity of the true "primitive" had flowered for a time. They have traced the work of certain local stonemasons, most of whom were also farmers or craftsmen of other sorts, and have been able to establish the identity of some of them. The rubbings on display, made for the most part from 18th-century stones, come in general from those areas of New England which seem to have produced the freshest and most original gravestone sculpture. No attempt was made to represent all styles of cutting or all themes.

The proofs have a lyrical quality owing to the subtle method of rubbing and the various tones of ochers and umbers which the artists have used on a white Japanese paper. The colors lend a life and grace lacking in usual black and white rubbings. The artists carefully work over the surface of the stones with several silk pads loaded with different colored inks. The work is painstaking and slow—certain demanding stones requiring several hours of careful work. Each has his special techniques of rubbing and so work is divided between different types of stone and relief. Miss Parker and Mr. Neal have concentrated on the designs at the top of the stones, rather than the complete monument, thereby limiting the scope of their project to manageable proportions. It is fortunate that these rubbings have frozen for posterity a precise record of the stones, more of which disappear each year through the ravages of weather and vandalism. They catch subtleties which are often impossible to see in the stones themselves and offer moving proof of the inherent sense of beauty and order shared by the colonists and farmers of rural New England.—Gillett G. Griffin

THE PRINCETON LIBRARY IN NEW YORK

In May 1962, the New York Board of Regents granted an absolute charter to The Princeton Library in New York, an educational corporation affiliated with the Princeton University Library in Princeton. It is located in the new Princeton Club of New York on West 43rd Street. The Library has among its purposes to assist and support the Princeton University Library, and to maintain a library in Manhattan for the use of members of the Princeton Club, alumni, visiting scholars, accredited members of historical, literary or comparable organizations, and individuals not necessarily alumni of Princeton.

The Library is now in full operation from 11 a.m. to 10 p.m., staffed by a professional librarian and an assistant. Recently its illuminated exhibition cases displayed "Some Princeton Authors": manuscripts, first editions, letters of Booth Tarkington, Woodrow Wilson, F. Scott Fitzgerald and a score of contemporary writers. During the summer of 1968, Samuel Chamberlain's beautiful original photographs for his book, Princeton in Spring, will be on display; to be followed by an exhibit of the history of the Triangle Club and later, exhibits of literary subjects are being planned to tie in with lectures and bookish evenings.

The need for a library of this type was recognized by Dean Mathey '12, and it was through his leadership that the Library was planned and brought to completion. The room was designed by his classmate, Arthur C. Holden, and the result is a spacious area on the fifth floor of the new Princeton Club building, occupying most of the front, or south, side of the building. It is handsomely furnished with contemporary and antique furniture, with shelves from floor to ceiling of polished cherry wood. Many colorful and amusingly appropriate early 19th century prints, caricatures of literary celebrities and framed autographs, received by the Library as gifts, adorn its walls. Exhibition cases occupy one wall and continue in the hallways, where, in separate glass-enclosed shelves, are located the Princetoniana Collection and the large bulletin board which displays book reviews, reading lists, and reminders of literary events in New York and Princeton: lectures, exhibitions, readings, and seminars.

The Library as presently organized is directed by a Board of Trustees, consisting of Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24, Chairman, Stuart Keebler '46, Secretary, Daniel Maggin, Treasurer; and Robert H. Taylor '30, Sinclair Hamilton '06, Arthur C. Holden '12, Dean Mathey '12, Kenneth H. Rockey '16, Mrs. Mina Bryan, and William S. Dix, ex-officio. The Librarian is Miss Josephine Antonini. The Trustees have distributed guest cards for the use of Princeton or other university scholars, or accredited members of historical or literary organizations. The continuation of interesting exhibitions of books, autographs, prints, photographs—or any forms of collecting hobbies—is particularly desirable, and we hope that readers of the Chronicle will make suggestions.

We hope, in New York, to be able to furnish in miniature, in
very comfortable surroundings, what the University Library offers
the casual reader, the scholar, the researcher. We are striving to
live up to what our name implies, a Princeton Library in New
York. If we achieve that, it will be a consummation of the patient
work, the vision, the good taste, and the generosity of two eminent
and very loyal Princetonians, Dean Mathey and Arthur C. Holden.
—EDWARD NAUMBURG, JR. '24

CERACCHI AND MADISON, AN ADDENDUM

The publication in the last issue of the Chronicle of Ulysse
Desportes' well-documented article on the Italian sculptor Giu-
seppe Ceracchi and his medallion portrait of James Madison has
prompted the re-examination of a Ceracchi letter, hitherto not
fully identified, in the Library's Andre deCoppe Collection of
American Historical Manuscripts. The letter in Italian written by
Ceracchi to an unidentified correspondent from Amsterdam, July
28, 1792, lacks the conjugate leaf or cover which no doubt origi-
nally gave the name of the addressee. A docketing notation on the
verso of the existing sheet—"Ceracchi Jos: July 18 [sic for 28],
1792"—indicates that the recipient was an English-speaking per-
son, while the contents of the letter point to an American. In all
likelihood this American was none other than James Madison.
Comparison of the form and the handwriting of the docketing
with the similar notations on other letters positively known to
have been received by Madison further confirms the internal evi-
dence of the letter itself.

Ceracchi's letter was written shortly after his return to Europe
from his first sojourn in the United States, during which time he
had made Madison's acquaintance and launched his project for
a Monument to American Liberty. It is little more than a word
of greeting to his "Stimatissimo Amico"—similar to those he had
written a few days earlier, on July 16, to Thomas Jefferson and to
Alexander Hamilton (both cited by Mr. Desportes in his article)—
designed to remind Madison of his continuing concern with the
projected monument and also of his "pura stima per i vostri meriti
personali." The letter thus takes its place in the story of Ceracchi
and Madison, and is placed on record here as an addendum to Mr.
Desportes' study.—H.C.R., JR.

New & Notable

ADDITIONS TO THE DOUBLEDAY COLLECTION
KIPLING, T. E. LAWRENCE, CONRAD

Since the publication in the Spring 1961 issue of the Chronicle
of an article describing the initial instalment of the Frank N.
Doubleday and Nelson Doubleday Collection,1 further gifts have
been made by the donors, Mrs. Nelson Doubleday and her chil-
dren. As a result of these recent accretions Rudyard Kipling is
even more fully represented than before, while several new names
have been added, the most notable being T. E. Lawrence and
Joseph Conrad.

The Kipling correspondence, beginning in 1895, when the Eng-
lish author and Frank N. Doubleday first became acquainted in
the United States, has been rounded out with more letters from
Kipling, and a few from Mrs. Kipling, to F. N. D., to Mrs. Double-
day, and to their son, Nelson Doubleday. With this group of let-
ters, totaling nearly one hundred and fifty pieces, the Princeton
Library is fortunate in having what is perhaps one of the most
extensive and consistently interesting bodies of Kipling corre-
spondence extant. Among the recently added letters several ad-
dressed to Mrs. Doubleday in the years before World War I, when
the Kiplings were busy cultivating the fields and gardens of Bat-
eman's, their new home at Burwash in Sussex, are a pleasant re-
mind of the botanical enthusiasms that formed one link in this
enduring transatlantic friendship. Mrs. Doubleday—Neltje De
Graff Doubleday (1865-1918), whose popular nature books such as
Bird Neighbors and Nature's Garden, published under the name of
Neltje Blanchan, have been familiar to a generation or two of
Americans—spared no pains in shipping American wild flowers
across the seas to her English friends. One of Kipling's letters, writ-
ten in May 1913, joyously acknowledges such a shipment: "Got 'em
nearly all inl! They come in the pink of condition on a drizzly
wetish day—ideal weather for planting . . . we forsook all for an

1 "Into the Hold of Remembrance," Notes on the Kipling Material in the Double-
day Collection," XXII, No. 3 (Spring, 1961), 105-117, with eight illustrations.
hour and walked round with Martin and the dogwoods and the trilliums (or trillia is it) and the dog-tooth violets and the asters. Trilliums under East yew hedge; dog woods in the south-west bed. Azaleas (bless you for the azaleas) to thicken & glorify our existing stocks in the walled garden. It's a splendid year for azaleas by the way—and so on and so forth. I only wish you had been here to have assisted. . . . I'm a bit bothered about the moccasin-plants—can't quite pick a site to suit me: and bitter experience has taught me that the pitcher plants must not be put in the sides of our roaring mad little brook. I'll find a still pond for 'em. And this time we've massed everything in clumps. Martin, left to himself, spreads 'em out in thin lines. Likewise the aster seeds (as well as the asters themselves) have 'duly come to hand' and by the blessing of Allah this autumn should be a New England autumn in the Reserve Garden."

The last of the Kipling letters, written to Nelson Doubleday in 1935, are concerned mainly with the publication of A Kipling Pageant, but here again, a fleeting glimpse of earlier years in New England rises from the "hold of remembrance." In Marienbad, on August 22, 1935, Kipling wrote of "a most perfect climate and a dream of a golf-course," then added: "I never saw—outside of Vermont—woods and hills to match these."

In addition to the letters written to various members of the Doubleday family, another unrelated group of some forty Kipling letters has also come—via the Doubleday family—to the Princeton Library. Extending from 1891 through 1922, this series was written to William Heinemann or his associates; the letters were apparently culled from the Heinemann files and presented to Frank N. Doubleday when he acquired an interest in the London firm in the early 1920's. Also among the additions to Princeton's Doubleday Collection is a scrapbook concerning Kipling's illness in New York in 1899, compiled by the proprietor of the Hotel Grenoble, and including the doctors' daily bulletins. Among the printed items is an extensive series of the separate issues of Kipling's poems and short stories printed by Doubleday in order to secure U.S. copyright before they were collected in book form. Of these, 'Proofs of Holy Writ' (1934), one of Kipling's later stories, is worth mentioning here in an issue of the Chronicle where English translations of the Bible are discussed. In this ingenious tale, Kipling—himself a connoisseur of the English Bible and "fencer-in-words"—imagines that the revisors of the

King James Bible have asked Shakespeare's advice on a difficult passage of The Prophets (Isaiah, LX). "Will" and his friend Ben Jonson are portrayed at Stratford diligently comparing the various versions which they have spread before them, until they achieve at last the perfect phrases which will shine down through the centuries. Kipling's story, which appeared in The Strand Magazine (April 1934), was eventually included in the posthumously published "Sussex Edition" of his collected works (Vol. XXX, Uncollected Prose, 2) and in its American counterpart, the "Burwash Edition" (Vol. XXIII), but is not as readily available as his earlier and better known stories. Nelson Doubleday thought highly enough of 'Proofs of Holy Writ' to have it reprinted as a small book—"ten copies privately printed, February 1942"—which is now in the Doubleday Collection at Princeton, but unrecorded in the standard Kipling bibliographies. In a prefatory note to this edition, Alexander Woolcott relates that the story grew out of table talk at The Club, in London, about the baffling excellence of the style of the King James Bible. On this point, according to Woolcott, John Buchan spun a theory for the amusement of those present. Whereupon, "Kipling leaning across the table, asked: 'May I have that?, much as he might have asked for his fellow-member's portion of gooseberry fool, should Buchan not happen to want it himself. The result was published in . . . The Strand Magazine the following year."

The beginning of F. N. Doubleday's acquaintance with "Colonel Lawrence of Arabia," later "Private Shaw," is recalled by the second Mrs. Doubleday in a memoir which she contributed, after her husband's and Lawrence's deaths, to the volume edited by Arnold Walter Lawrence, T. E. Lawrence, By His Friends (1937). The first meeting, as Mrs. Doubleday recalled it, took place in London in December 1918 at a dinner given by Sir Evelyn Wrench, soon to be followed by another at Brown's Hotel, arranged by Doubleday, at which Rudyard Kipling and his wife were also present. Kipling had canceled another engagement in order to be present, for, according to Mrs. Doubleday, "he considered Lawrence the most romantic figure that had come out of the war." Indeed, the name of Kipling recurs frequently in Mrs. Doubleday's reminiscence, as it does in the letters of T. E. Lawrence now forming part of the Doubleday Collection at Princeton. Of these thirty or so letters, covering the period from 1928 to 1934, several are printed
in David Garnett's edition of *The Letters of T. E. Lawrence* (1938), including the one dated September 18, 1930, written when F.N.D. was recovering from an operation, which Mrs. Doubleday refers to as "really a masterpiece, very much longer than any we had received before . . . written from a fisherman's hut up in Scotland."

The Lawrence letters now at Princeton stake out the scenes of Lawrence's post-war career: London, Clouds Hill in Dorset; then Karachi, Miranshah and other points in the Far East; back to England again, with Plymout, Hythe, Southampton, and always Clouds Hill. They include numerous details about Lawrence's own writings—*The Seven Pillars of Wisdom, Revolt in the Desert,* and supply some of the background of *The Mint*; a copy of the latter, in the limited edition printed by Doubleday, Doran & Co., in 1936, has now come to the Princeton Library as a part of the Doubleday Collection. The Lawrence letters abound with comments on his contemporaries and on his reading of the books that were sent to him by his American publisher-friend. Of Christopher Morley's *Where the Blue Begins* he remarked: "A fertile mind, lacking synthesis & the power of thorough visualisation. Defective technique. I don't see why he should sell in thousands, any more than other best-sellers: but he is ingenious, original, & inoffensive." Of the other Shaw: "You would like Mrs. Shaw. She is quaint & comfortable, and fresh, & kind. G.B.S. is exciting, per contra. Together they are like bacon and eggs, a harmony in blue & silver. I fear I talk nonsense."

In 1938 Lawrence re-read some of Kipling's works when he himself was in India. "I see now," he wrote to F.N.D., "that his India isn't very deep: and that his natives are not individualised, & his scenery only very limited. 'Properties' you might call them. What remains to him is a swiftness of phrase, a perfection of style which gets through marvellously, in the most finished way, and knocks you all over a heap. An incredible fencer-in-words. The collected volume of his poetry is being read, over to cover. Why? For the same reason: to try to surfeit myself. Vain hope. The man is too great to be cured of." Closer to home, in 1930, Private Shaw of the R.A.F. related how he flew over Kipling's estate at Bateman's on his way back from Folkestone: "We tilted the moth up on one wing-tip and spun round & round over his garden. I wonder what he said; and can guess it nearly. That's where you & I have the advantage over Mrs. Doubleday. She couldn't guess, ever, what an angry poet would say!"

After Frank N. Doubleday's death Lawrence wrote of him to his son Nelson, in 1934: "I should have written before about Effendi. . . . When your cable came I was not astonished, but saddened. Not again to write a letter to Effendi, in the endeavour to cheer him up! I was at Chalfont lately, and passed Milton's Elm, which stands by the roadside, in the way of the new traffic stream. They lopped all the head off it, because it was dying. Then it died, and because it had been Milton's elm, they propped its stump with concrete and labelled it. Now the road authorities want the ruin cleared away. Milton apart, I think the poor tree would be glad to go. And I wondered often that Effendi had the heart to go on living. He must have felt his helplessness—after his days of power—so terribly. . . . I was very proud and glad when Effendi became my U.S.A. publisher, and I hope that you and I will meet again, when you get across to England eventually."

"You know," Lawrence had once written to F. N. Doubleday during the early years of their acquaintance, "publishing Conrad must be a rare pleasure. He's absolutely the most haunting thing in prose that ever was: I wish I knew how every paragraph he writes (do you notice they are all paragraphs: he seldom writes a single sentence?) goes on sounding in waves, like the note of a tenor bell, after it stops. . . . He's as much a giant of the subjective as Kipling is of the objective. Do they hate one another? . . ." The letters written by Joseph Conrad to F. N. Doubleday are a further reminder of the warm personal friendships that grew out of the business dealings between the American publisher and "his" English authors. Although the tone is considerably more formal than that of the Kipling or the Lawrence letters, Conrad nevertheless interspersed his references to work in progress with personal details that indicate his high regard for Doubleday and confidence in him. The forty or so letters in the group now at Princeton—only a few of which have been printed in G. Jean Aubry's *Joseph Conrad, Life and Letters*—extend from 1914 through 1924, the year of Conrad's death. They thus cover the period when he was at work on *The Arrow of Gold, The Rescue, The Rover,* and when he was preparing new prefaces for the collected edition of his works being issued by Doubleday. Also included in this period is Conrad's visit to the United States and to the Doubledays at Ef-
fendi Hill on Long Island. A whimsical note from Jessie Conrad, dated from Oswalds in Kent, June 14, 1933, and duly stamped, acknowledges the receipt “from Mr. and Mrs. Doubleday, with many grateful thanks,” of “one renovated rejuvenated husband.”

In addition to letters the recent Doubleday gift includes a set of corrected galley proofs of Victory, as well as the original typescript, with many autograph corrections and additions, of the new preface note, dated September 25, 1919, that Conrad wrote for his A Personal Record (1908), when it was to be reprinted in his collected works. In this note he returns again to the fact of his not writing in his native language, concerning which there existed some misapprehensions—arising, he thought, from an early interview and article by Hugh Clifford. “The impression of my having exercised a choice between the two languages, French and English, both foreign to me, has got abroad somehow. That impression is erroneous. . . .” “The truth of the matter is,” Conrad explains in a memorable passage, “that my faculty to write in English is as natural as any other aptitude with which I might have been born. I have a strange and overpowering feeling that it had always been an inherent part of myself. English was for me neither a matter of choice nor adoption. The merest idea of choice had never entered my head. And as to adoption—well, yes, there was adoption; but it was I who was adopted by the genius of the language, which directly I came out of the stammering stage made me its own so completely that its very idioms I truly believe had a direct action on my temperament and fashioned my stiff plastic character. . . . All I can claim after all those years of devoted practice with all the remembered anguish of its doubts, imperfections and falterings in my heart, is the right to be believed when I say that if I had not written in English I would not have written at all.”

—H.C.R., JR.

TALLMADGE PAPERS

As a memorial to Mrs. Edith Bolling Wilson, her friend, Mrs. H. Blakiston Wilkins of Washington, D.C., has recently presented to Princeton an album containing a carefully preserved portion of the papers of Mrs. Wilkins’ ancestor, Benjamin Tallmadge (1754–1835). Although this collection of some 85 separate pieces, including both original manuscripts and contemporary issues of newspapers, represents but a fragment of the Tallmadge archive—now scattered in a number of widely separated depositories—

the materials it contains are of major importance and represent some of the most significant aspects of Tallmadge’s long and influential career.

Carefully mounted and annotated in a large folio volume, as are all the materials of this gift, is a flyleaf, dated 1758, from Jonathan Edwards’ Original Sin, bearing the signatures of five generations of Tallmades headed by that of Benjamin’s father, the Reverend Benjamin Tallmadge, who, by his own tutoring, prepared his second son and namesake for entrance into Yale College in 1769. The young Benjamin’s accomplishment at Yale is memorialized in this collection by his engraved baccalaureate diploma of 1773 bearing the signatures of Naftali Daggett, the acting President of Yale College, and of Jonathan Trumbull, Governor of Connecticut.

The recent graduate was soon in Wethersfield superintending the preparatory education of sons of Connecticut gentlemen and spending much of his leisure, if seven of the letters preserved in the Princeton album are characteristic, reporting in verse, to such old college friends as David Humphreys, the rapidly accelerating revolutionary feelings and actions in the Connecticut countryside. Midway in his rhymed confidences of January 1774 to the future aide-de-camp of Washington, Tallmadge comes to the local news of more-than-local significance:

Now to old Wethersfield I’ll turn
(You know our Souls for freedom burn)
. . .

David, you know some poultry acts
(Good Men report them to be facts)
Have through the British Senate passed
And by the King himself been grac’d
Depriving Boston of true freedom
To drive us where there Demon leads ’em.
Our Patriots of this town and place
Have often talk’d with open face
Condemning all such wicked measures
To keep some lazy Dogs in pleasures.
Town Meetings often have been call’d
Dean show’d good Sense, the Sheriff bawl’d
And did his best to show his learning
But talked so fast, ’twas past discerning.
. . .
Depend upon't, within this Town
If search was made, there might be found
As large a Mess of Solid Sense
As could be found some miles from hence.
For you must note that there are yet
In this same place a noble Set
Of Beings Who by Knaves Rogues
Are sometimes nicknamed Pedagogues.
To Sister Boston We've decreed
To send our aid and that with Speed,
Each man may use his own free pleasure
To follow or reject the measure;
To send his mite amongst the whole
Or show his Nothingness of Soul.

Tallmadge was all too soon given expansive opportunities to
show his own soul in the matter and by October of 1779—the
date of the earliest Washington letter in this collection—he was a
Major, a surviving participant of the battles of Long Island, White
Plains, Brandywine, Germantown and Monmouth and the officer
to whom Washington had entrusted immediate direction of the
more important of the Continental Army's secret service and in-
telligence missions. Tallmadge was, in fact, fast earning the po-
tition which Douglas Southall Freeman recognized as that of the
person whom Washington held in 'higher regard as an officer, and
in more affectionate regard as a man than any other of his staff
or line.'

Happily an important part of the confidential correspondence
between Tallmadge and Washington directing the intelligence
mission of the war is preserved in Mrs. Wilkins' gift. Including
more than two score of Tallmadge's drafts and retained copies of
letters addressed to Washington (dating between November 1778
through November 1788), the series also contains five of Washing-
ton's letters to Tallmadge and the General Orders of 14 October
1779 which instruct two of Tallmadge's secret agents to collect
all the useful information possible by mixing among the "Officers
and Refugees" and by visiting "the Coffee houses and all public
places" in New York City. In Washington's letters he orders,
through Tallmadge, intelligence officers to observe British ship-
ning in "the Sound," being careful "in observing the size and num-
bers of all Vessels and whether there may be troops on board, either
in coming, to, or going from New York..."; he attempts to set up
shorter communication routes between headquarters in Morris-
town and Staten Island; he acknowledges the receipt of "two Phials
containing the counterpart and Stain" for one of the intelligence
agents and patiently instructs the agent to "avoid making use of
the stain upon a Blank sheet of paper (which is the usual way of its
coming to me). This circumstance alone is sufficient to raise suspi-
cion. A much better way is, to write a letter a little in the Tory
Stile, with some mixture of family matters, and between the lines
and on the remaining part of the sheet, communicate with the
Stain the intended intelligence. Such a letter would pass thro' the
hands of the enemy unsuspected, and even if the Agents should
be unfaithful, or negligent, no discovery would be made to his
prejudice, as these people are not to know that there is concealed
writing in the letter, and the intelligent part of it would be an
evidence in his favor." Subsequent letters (the latest Washington
letter in the collection is dated 15 October 1788) leave in Tall-
madge's hands responsibility for at least two ambitious, important,
and highly secret intelligence maneuvers.

Considering the fact that Tallmadge was in an unrivalled po-
tion to recognize the demanding responsibilities of the intelli-
gence service in the American war and most especially the perils
to an apprehended spy, it is little wonder that he felt a genuine
sympathy for the young man posing as "Mr. Anderson" who was
put in his charge as prisoner late in September of 1780. It was
Tallmadge's own acute observations that convinced him of the
importance of his prisoner, and perhaps his confident yet sympa-
thetic demeanor which finally brought "Anderson" to request a
pen and paper on which he revealed to Washington his identity
as Major André, the Adjutant General of the British Army in
America.

As the one person of major authority to be with André almost
continually from the time of his capture as "Mr. Anderson" until
his delivery as a spy to Washington, Tallmadge became sincerely
attached to his prisoner. In a letter not in the present album Tall-
madge admitted that he saw André as "a young fellow of the great-
est accomplishments. He has unbosomed his heart to me, and
indeed, let me know almost every motive of his actions so fully
since he came out on his late mission that he has endeared himself
to me exceedingly." Calling to Tallmadge a few minutes before his
execution, André "expressed his Gratitude to me for Civilities in such a way, and so cheerfully bid me adieu, that I [wrote Tallmadge] was obliged to leave the parade in a flood of Tears."

Tallmadge's respect for André was evident more than a quarter of a century later when the request of one of the captors of André for an increase in the pension originally granted him for this deed came to be debated in Congress. Tallmadge, then a Representative of Connecticut, on the authority of his many conversations with André, opposed the request and insisted that André had been turned over to the American Army "only because [his captors] could probably get more for his apprehension than for his release." André had reported to Tallmadge that "could he have given to these men the amount they demanded for his release, he would never have been hung for a spy." Not only are contemporary accounts of the Congressional debates on this matter preserved in this collection in single issues of newspapers dating to February and March of 1817 covering opinions from New York, Washington, Baltimore and Ohio, but more than a dozen letters continue the discussion of André's captors. These letters include recollections of Tallmadge's colleagues in the war, such as James Dole, Tallmadge's Sergeant-Major, and Major Lemuel Trescott, letters to and from various newspaper editors, letters from Timothy Pickering and Erskine Sanford, an intimate letter from Tallmadge to one of his daughters, and, finally, an exchange of letters, written in 1893, with the historian Jared Sparks concerning this incident.

But these Revolutionary debates and reminiscences were an occurrence of Tallmadge's later years. As a younger man, with the Revolution immediately behind him, he turned energetically to other pursuits. Even before the end of the conflict Tallmadge was among the signers of the Newburgh Petition which urged the Continental Congress to set aside a tract in the Ohio Country for their purchase. Investing much of his talent and resources in the development of the Ohio Company, Tallmadge became its treasurer in April of 1792. This important enterprise which absorbed much of his time until its dissolution in 1796 is represented in the Wilkins' gift not only by an Ohio Company subscription form bearing, among others, the signature of Alexander Hamilton and Hamilton's signed certification of his purchase of five shares of the company's holdings, but, more important, by Tallmadge's diary (begun September 14, 1795 and continued through March 11, 1796) of his journey to Marietta and his inspection of much of the land possessed by the company.

In his final years Tallmadge was not only petitioned by Jared Sparks for information about Major André, but also by that early, masterful and audacious autograph collector, the Rev. William Buell Sprague. To his seemingly irresistible and insistent request for "a few original letters from distinguished men, to be added to my collection of autographs" from Tallmadge's own "files of correspondence," came an obliging response which Sprague himself describes as "the largest (I think the very largest) and most valuable parcel of original letters that have ever been furnished me." In what was apparently his characteristically masterful manner, Sprague put off the request accompanying the parcel that some of the letters—at least the Washington letter—should be returned at some later time, by enclosing a transcript in his own hand of Washington's letter of 28 November 1780 in which the General thanks Tallmadge for his "judicious planning and spirited execution" of his "successful enterprise upon Fort George"—the capture and destruction of one of the most important British outposts on Long Island and perhaps Tallmadge's most notable military achievement.

The juxtaposition of these two letters in the same hand is not only a curious reminder of the significance of Tallmadge and his papers and the melancholy fact of their dispersal, it also pointedly enhances the arrival of this rich fragment of the Tallmadge archives at a permanent home. Preserved for the use of all who may wish to take refreshment or wisdom from the words and actions of some of the most distinguished personages of America's past, it will also remain an appropriate memorial to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.—A.L.B.

YUNG-LO TA TIEN

The Yung-lo ta tien is frequently referred to as "The Great Encyclopaedic Library of Yung-lo" since it was compiled at the order of the Emperor Yung-lo (1402-1424) who appointed a committee of scholars to collect in one body the substance of all of the classical, historical, philosophical and literary works hereto published. The stupendous work which embraced Buddhism, Taoism, astronomy, geography, the occult sciences, medicine as well as the arts, was compiled by a team of some three thousand scholars working over a period of four years. Copied entirely by hand, it contained
in all some 11,095 volumes, totalling some four hundred million words.

The manuscript of this encyclopaedia was kept in Nanking. In 1562-1565, two additional copies were made and housed in Peking. It was presumed that one of these copies, as well as the original manuscript, perished by fire at the fall of the Ming dynasty (1644). The surviving copy—gradually depleted through the years and severely damaged by the looting of the Boxer Rebellion in 1900— is reduced to some eight hundred volumes, scattered in libraries throughout the world.

The Gest Oriental Library has recently acquired a set of the photolithographic edition of the Yung-lo ta tien. This edition, published by the World Publishing Company of Taiwan in 1962, was edited by the well-known Chinese lexicographer, Yang Chia-lo. He spent more than thirty years searching for still-existing volumes and finally succeeded, by means of photo exchanges with various libraries as well as individual collectors, in gathering together some 690 volumes for reproduction, a Herculean task which will benefit scholars for centuries to come.—SHIH-KANG TUNG

THE PENCIL OF NATURE

In 1838 William Henry Fox Talbot, then on a honeymoon in Italy, tried to capture in some sort of visual form the scenes and vistas that he and his bride were enjoying. Talbot was not an artist, but a scientist. He had with him a new device called the camera lucida, in which one took sight through a prism and was thereby enabled to trace the outlines of landscapes and objects onto a piece of paper. Talbot found the drawings clumsy and disappointing, so he turned his mind towards the problem of somehow fixing an image on paper by means of light itself. He worked for several years on photography with successful results, but shelved the project in favor of other experiments. In 1839, when news of Daguerre's experiments and discovery leaked out, Talbot determined to establish his own priority before Daguerre publicly announced his process. Thus the two earliest photographic processes were shown to an eager world at about the same time.

Talbot was the inventor of photography on paper, which supplanted the Daguerreotype in a dozen years. He conceived the principle of the positive from a negative, worked out the halftone screen for printing, and experimented with photography of objects taken at high speed with an electric spark.

In 1844, while his discovery was still fresh in his mind, Fox Talbot published an account of it entitled The Pencil of Nature, illustrated with twenty-four original calotype photographs to demonstrate the new process. This book, a great monument to Talbot, was the first to contain photographic illustrations. Only twenty-five copies of the book are known, most of them incomplete.

Princeton is fortunate in having acquired for its Graphic Arts collection, through the generosity of David H. McAlpin, one of the four complete sets to be found in this country. The Princeton copy, which was formerly in the library of the Camera Club of New York, is the finest copy in America.—GILLET G. Griffin

RECENT ACQUISITIONS - MANUSCRIPTS

During the period from July 1, 1962, through June 30, 1963, the following manuscript collections, representing integrated groups of papers, were added to the Library's holdings:

R. R. BOWKER COMPANY. Publishing records from the period of World War II, papers reflecting the company's close connection with the developments which the war brought to publishing. 6 cartons, the gift of the R. R. Bowker Company.

COWPER, WILLIAM (1731-1800). The Hanway Collection of William Cowper, formed by the late Professor Neilson Campbell Hanway. Some 400 of the letters of William Cowper, many of which include autograph manuscripts of his poems. Of special significance among the letters in the collection addressed to Cowper are those of his friends, the Reverend John Newton and the poet, William Hayley. The Collection was described by Charles Ryskamp in the Chronicle, Vol. XXIV, No. 1 (Autumn, 1962). The gift of Robert H. Taylor '30.

JOHN Day COMPANY. The publisher's records and editorial correspondence are noted briefly in the Chronicle, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Winter, 1963), p. 146. The gift of Richard J. Walsh, Jr.

GREEN, JOSEPH COY '08. Personal papers, mainly those relating to his career in diplomacy, 1916-1953. Included are papers connected with his work as a member of the Belgian Relief Mission of 1916, the American Relief Administration mission to Rumania and the Caucasus after World War I, and to his assignment as Ambassador to Jordan, 1952-1955. 16 cartons. The gift of Joseph Coy Green.
HALLIBURTON, RICHARD '21. Papers, including typescripts and manuscripts of his books and articles, photographs taken during his extensive travels, maps, notebooks, and a long series of letters to his parents. 12 cartons. The gift of the author's father, Wesley Halliburton.

HEMINGWAY, ERNEST. A selection of letters representing one of Ernest Hemingway's most important correspondences, that with General C. T. Lanham, has been given by General Lanham as part of an anticipated larger gift of his letters from Ernest Hemingway. The correspondence is described by Carlos Baker in the Chronicle, Vol. XXIV, No. 2 (Winter, 1963), p. 101. The Library has received, similarly, selected letters from a series of 45 written by Ernest Hemingway to Henry Strater '19 as the gift of his son, Michael Henry Strater '51, and a letter of Ernest Hemingway to George Slocombe, as the gift of F. Dale Warren '19.

TALLMADGE, BENJAMIN (1754-1835). A collection of papers of Benjamin Tallmadge and other members of the Tallmadge family, including correspondence between George Washington and Benjamin Tallmadge and of documents concerning Major André. A more extended description will be found elsewhere in this issue of the Chronicle. Gift of Mrs. H. Blakiston Wilkins.

The Library has received the following single manuscripts, or groups, which supplement existing, established collections:

ADLER, ELMER. Approximately 160 letters of Elmer Adler. The gifts of the recipients: Herman M. Cohn, Lawrence Thompson and John T. Winterich.

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. Correspondence and other papers for the year 1959, added to the Union's archives. 11 cartons.

AUDUBON, JOHN JAMES. An autograph letter of John James Audubon to William Bakewell, 20 May 1805; seven letters of Lucy Bakewell; with several letters of Benjamin Bakewell and others to members of the Gifford family in England. The letters are the subject of the article, "Mr. Audubon's Lucy," in the previous (Winter, 1963) issue of the Chronicle. 28 pieces. Acquired by purchase.

* Near Eastern manuscripts are not included in the present report.

BARRINGER, DANIEL MOREAU '79. Additions to his papers, which relate largely to the subject of Barringer Crater, in Arizona. The gift of Brandon Barringer '21.


DULLES, JOHN FOSTER '08. 59 photographic projection slides, mounted on glass, taken during John Foster Dulles' stay at the Paris Peace Conference, 1919. Gifts of Mrs. John Foster Dulles.

FITZGERALD, F. SCOTT '17. Carbon copies, with author's corrections, of two short stories of Scott Fitzgerald, "Afternoon of an Author," and "The Ants at Princeton," and three autograph letters to Andrew Turnbull were the gift of Andrew Turnbull '42. An autograph letter and a telegram of Scott Fitzgerald to F. Dale Warren '19 were presented by Mr. Warren; a typed letter to Ralph Block was presented by Mr. Block.

FORD, FORD MADOX. Some Do Not, autograph manuscript of the novel, in large part the gift of Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24. 60 letters of Ford Madox Ford to James B. Pinker, 1901-1930, were acquired by purchase as was a collection of 14 letters about Ford, by such literary figures as John Dos Passos, T. S. Eliot, Ernest Hemingway, Hugh Walpole, and Thornton Wilder. The letters are the subject of a note, by Richard M. Ludwig, in the previous (Winter, 1963) issue of the Chronicle, p. 148.

HARPER AND ROW, PUBLISHERS. Files of editorial correspondence with some forty authors. The gift of the publishers.

HOWELL, LEMUEL C. An additional memorandum book and daily journals of Lemuel C. Howell, of Troy, New Jersey, 1839-1856. Gift of Mrs. A. E. Moore.

HULETT, GEORGE AUGUSTUS '92. Additions to the papers of George A. Hulett, Professor of Physical Chemistry at Princeton University. The gift of Mrs. George A. Hulett.

MACREADY, WILLIAM CHARLES. Approximately 20 letters of the actor, acquired by purchase.

MORE, PAUL ELMER. 19 letters to P. R. Coleman-Norton '19. The gift of P. R. Coleman-Norton.

PARRISH COLLECTION. 51 letters, a holograph poem, and four photographs have been added by purchase to the Morris L. Parrish Collection: William Harrison Ainsworth (1), Wilkie Collins (8), Thomas Cooper (1), Mrs. Craik (5), Louise de la Ramée ("Ouida") (1), George Du Maurier (1), George Eliot (1), Mrs. Gaskell (1), Thomas Hughes (1), Charles Kingsley (2), Charles Lever (1), Bulwer-Lytton (1), George Meredith (2), Charles Reade (10), Robert Louis Stevenson (1), Anthony Trollope (9), Frances E. Trollope (1), Frances M. Trollope (9), Charlotte M. Yonge (3). In addition, an autograph poem of Louise de la Ramée ("Ouida") and four photographs of Robert Louis Stevenson.

PARROTT, THOMAS MARC '88. Approximately 50 letters exchanged between Thomas Marc Parrott '88 and his parents, 1893-1895. Gift of the estate of Thomas Marc Parrott.

STREET, JULIAN. Additions to the papers of Julian Street were presented by Mrs. Julian Street. Letters of Theodore Roosevelt to Julian Street with manuscripts, photographs, and other papers relating to Theodore Roosevelt were the gift of Julian Street, Jr. '25.

SOUTHARD, SAMUEL. Two autograph letters, acquired by purchase.


VAN DYKE, HENRY '73. 19 letters to various correspondents. Acquired by purchase.


Letters of Woodrow Wilson to various correspondents were received as gifts of Mrs. Henry A. Barton, Julian Beaty '06, Paul Bedford '97, Leo H. Hirsch '31, Mrs. Arthur M. Machen, Edward Rickett, Mrs. John Q. Stewart, Mrs. Perry W. Terhune, and Horace V. Wells, Jr. A series of some 42 letters to Judge John W. Wescott, with related papers, a letter to Hiram Bingham and one to Frank Cobb were acquired by purchase. A small group of letters of related interest was acquired as the gift of Lawrence C. Woods, Jr. '22.


Other additions of manuscripts and related material:

ADDISON, JOSEPH. Autograph letter to William Conolly, 28 October 1714. Presented by Mr. and Mrs. Herman W. Liebert in honor of Robert H. Taylor '30.


BUHLER, JOHN ROBERT. Diary, entitled "My Microscope," kept while a student in the College of New Jersey, 1845-1846, and a notebook of college exercises, recitations, examinations, and sketches. Gift of Miss Marion Atkinson.


CARRIGHAR, SALLY. Author's typescript and galley proof of her novel, The Glass Dome. Gift of Sally Carrighar.

CHANDLES, R. Heraldic notebook containing 87 original drawings of crests of British personages, dated 4 September 1723. Gift of J. Monroe Thorington '15.


COOLEY, PAUL, of Milford, New Jersey. A manuscript diary, 1899-1907. Gift of Mary Cooley.

DOUGLAS, NORMAN. Two autograph letters to his son, 1929-1930. Acquired by purchase.


EMERSON, RALPH WALDO. Autograph letter to a Mrs. Arnold, 23 February 1856. Gift of William Elfers '41.


Fithian, Philip V. Autograph letter to Enoch Green, 26 January 1775. Acquired by purchase.

GARRETT, GEORGE PALMER, JR. '52. The Reverend Ghost, corrected typescript. Gift of Willard Thorp.

GRIFFITH, WILLIAM. Several letters received from literary friends, Gift of Chester S. Moeller '40.


HARWOOD, THOMAS. Autograph letter to his publisher, written from Litchfield, England, 2 August 1798.

HAYLEY, WILLIAM. Autograph letter, with several lines of verse, 4 April 1781. Acquired by purchase.


HINDEMITH, PAUL. "Sonate für Bratsche," 1937, autograph manuscript. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Oliver Strunk.


MAYA HIEROGLYPH. A Late Classic Maya hieroglyph, believed to be an insignia of a Maya of noble rank, incised on shell, seventh or eighth century A.D., the first pre-Columbian American document to come to Princeton's Collections. Gift of J. Lionberger Davis '00.


MURCH, HERBERT SPENCER. Selected correspondence, 1902-1943, and photographs. Gift of Albert Elssasser.


RUARK, ROBERT. Uhuru, multilithed copy of "next to final draft." Gift of Harold Matson.


SHELLABARGER, SAMUEL '09. The King's Cavalier, autograph manuscript with notes. Gift of Mrs. Samuel Shellabarger.

SHERIDAN, RICHARD BRINSLEY. Signature on a grant to King's Theatre, Haymarket, 1 October 1778. Purchase.

SMITH, LOGAN PEARSELL. Two photographs added to the Logan Pearsell Smith Collection, the gift of Howell J. Heaney.


STRONG, JOHN RUGGLES. Two autograph letters to Arthur M. Curry, 1907-08. Acquired by purchase.


VAN DYKE, PAUL '81. Catherine de Medicis, Queen of France, carbon copy of the typescript, with corrections. Gift of Miss Marguerite McClenaghan.

WAGNER, RICHARD. "Der Fliegende Holländer," autograph manuscript of a leaf of the score. Gift of Christian A. Zabriskie.


WILCOX, GRANVILLE. 20 letters to his father and parents written while a student in the College of New Jersey, 1852-1856. Acquired by purchase.


—A.P.C.
to the committee which arranged the Elmer Adler exhibition held at the Grolier Club in New York from March 20 to May 31, 1963, to use this article as the introduction to the display of the four aspects of Adler’s life which were illustrated in the exhibition cases.

The casual visitor must have been impressed with the work of a prolific, sincere, creative man of impeccable taste, who fought for his ideals and who discovered and advanced many talented disciples. But his friends and colleagues saw in the show Adleriana and personal mementoes, nostalgic reminders which caused many smiles and a retelling of countless anecdotes of good times with a personality that could range from the forbidding, the crotchety, to the completely charming warmth that made up the complex nature of the Squire, as he was called by the undergraduates. It must be stated here that the preparation of the exhibition was easy, because E.A. seemed almost to be peering helpfully over our shoulders—for every book, every broadside, every letter, note, some notes, explanations in his beautiful calligraphy, intended, I am sure, for the guidance of a future biographer, bibliographer, or curator.

First to be shown were the early days in Rochester, New York, his birthplace—family portraits, photographs of E.A. as a baby and small boy, his early collecting efforts, and even a letter from his grade-school teacher to his mother, assuring her that Elmer might, in time, learn to spell. The later Rochester period was represented by examples of his first designing efforts, and lay-outs, as advertising manager of his family’s clothing business. His collecting of Whistler etchings, the design for the catalogue of the collection, his work in behalf of the local art and historical museums, his hand in many cultural activities, were shown in considerable detail. The inherent good taste which was to mark his entire life emerged early, at a time when Elbert Hubbard influenced a drab, ugly period of book-making.

The exhibition devoted most space to the second period of his life, when he had fled the family business and environs, to move to New York City to indulge his love for books and printing and to found the Pynson Printers. A majority sampling of the more than one hundred books designed or printed by his firm—broad-sides, memorial books, commercial advertising, early recognition of the genius of Bruce Rogers and other contemporary typophiles—occupied about half the Club’s cases. His work for Alfred Knopf, especially in the designing of Willa Cather’s early works, his scold-
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