THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CHRONICLE

VOLUME XLII • AUTUMN 1980 • NUMBER 1

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Prospect: The Search for a Garden

BY FREDERIC C. RICH

The gardens of the estate known as Prospect have endured, in varying forms, for well over 200 years. Prospect never has been the home of families of enormous wealth, nor have its gardens been counted among the greatest in America. Its conception and development, however, reflect the evolving tastes of the American country gentry, that class to whom the largest number of American gardens have belonged. This essay describes a search for the many faces of Prospect, each successively obscured as the owners, architects, and gardeners of 215 years imposed their own vision of natural beauty upon the hillside in Princeton. It has been a search for photographs, plans, sketches, descriptions—and for some order among the many contradictions that they contain.

The first man to develop the site as a farm was Jonathan Baldwin, who purchased the lot from Thomas Norris in May 1760. Our major clue to the character of Prospect at this time comes from an "Inventory of Damages done by the Enemy to Inhabitants of Middlesex," which lists itemized estimates of damages to Prospect by the British troops in the winter of 1776-1777. This document refers to crops of potatoes, oats, corn, hay, and wheat, and describes a woodshed and 2,000 "Pannels of Fence" as "destroyed." The house stood on the approximate site of today's Prospect and was accessible by a road from Nassau Street which followed the path that today leads from the Firestone Library kiosk through the Prospect gates. "During Mr. Baldwin's occu-

2 Ibid., p. 168.
pany, the history of the place was presumably that of any farm of respectable mediocrity. 4

In 1779 the farm was acquired by the well-known Indian agent and expert in horticulture and agriculture, Colonel George Morgan. Thanks to Morgan's proclivity for keeping records of changes made to the gardens, and a contemporary pencil sketch (Plate I) of the center of the farm, it was possible to reconstruct Prospect's layout during his tenure as owner. Accurate reconstruction was made difficult, however, by a "Morganmania" that infects most writing on Prospect and tends to exaggerate the virtues of the place under the Colonel's ownership.

The lot was a high point in central New Jersey and commanded a view of the Atlantic on a clear day. The land at the rear sloped steeply to the south of the house and slightly down to either side. The house was two and one-half stories high, had three dormer windows on the south side to take advantage of the view, and was surrounded by a garden lot of three acres enclosed by a rail fence. The three-acre fenced area is said by Collins to have included the house, barns and stables, a milkhouse, and "other outbuildings." The other outbuildings mentioned in the Colonel's journal include a smokehouse, a carriage house, a poultry house, and a "Long House near the meadow." To this, John Faris adds a "formal garden" and a vegetable garden. As to the latter there is little doubt, since Morgan mentions the location of his "garden" in a 1786 journal entry, and lists numerous vegetables—Indian corn, potatoes, turnips, pumpkin, "pease," and beans—in his "Botanic Observations anno 1787 at Prospect."

The existence of a "formal garden," however, is highly questionable. A contemporary pencil sketch shows no sign of formal flower gardens, Morgan makes no mention of them in his journal, and they would have been unusual for a country farm at this time. Faris's description must result from the retrospective application of the romantic tastes and visions of his own time: "This formal garden was a thing of beauty: those who would gain an idea of it need only to look at the garden of to-day [1932], and remember that this carries out many of the plans of the revolutionary owner. . . . The garden at Prospect has come down by direct descent, so that the wonderfully attractive grounds are in every sense the

4 Collins, p. 167.
5 Ibid., p. 171.
6 "A Memorandum of Trees Planted at Prospect & of other Work done by George Morgan," bound journal, Princeton University Library, Manuscripts Division.
grounds of long ago." This latter assertion is entirely without merit, since the basic plan of the gardens as they existed in 1832 was created in 1849 by John Notman and bore no relation to the trees, shrubs, and meadows that Morgan had planted.

Upon purchasing Prospect, Colonel Morgan immediately began to repair the damages done by British troops two years before. Within ten days, expenditures appear in his account book for "ditching," fencing, and masonry work. In April 1780, he started "A Memorandum of Trees Planted at Prospect & of other Work done by George Morgan." As a "scientific farmer," he listed numerous experiments on cherry trees, strains of corn, wheat, and the extermination of pests. He discovered the Hessian fly, which was doing widespread damage to the colonial wheat crop. The journal of Manasseh Cutler describes his visit to Prospect in July 1787: the "garden, principally employed in experiments," contained long rows of Indian corn from different seeds collected "from the different latitudes on the Continent, as far North as the most northern parts of Canada and south as far as the West Indies." For his work, the Colonel received the first medal given in American agriculture from the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture.

A reconstruction of the layout and plantings at Prospect under the Colonel never has been attempted. This first effort is based largely on the entries in the "Memorandum," and reference to a contemporary pencil sketch. It also depends on accounts of practices which prevailed in colonial gardens, assumptions of standard planting distances, and a significant amount of educated guessing where no clues are available. It undoubtedly will be revised as new accounts, journals, and other documents come to light.

The first reconstruction (Plate ii) estimates the appearance of the three-acre fenced garden lot at its height in about 1786, and thus is denser with experimental trees (many of which soon died and were removed) than is the sketch. Evidence from the Colonel's scientific records has been treated with greater weight than the questionable vision depicted in the sketch. The fenced area was approximately square, with an abutment at the southeast corner which framed the house and contained several outbuildings. The area was divided by a lane, running slightly west of the center.


Collins, p. 173.
lined on both sides with experimental cherry trees planted in 1780. The major focus of the area north of the house and east of the lane was a large oval, at least 400 feet in circumference, consisting of 20 elm trees. At the south side of the oval, just north of the house, the elms enclosed nine large cherry trees, survivors of a larger grove sacked by British troops. The interior of the oval, or “Circus” as Morgan called it, was framed by four more elms planted to form a square. The entire oval was planted with roses and thorn transplanted from the southern meadows. These apparently were arranged in “ditches”—presumably furrowed strips containing the plain and elegant plants in some sort of symmetrical pattern. North of the oval, after 1786, in the northeast corner of the fenced area, was the “garden,” which consisted of vegetables, a variety of fruit trees, berries, and several horse chestnuts.

Before 1786, this same sort of garden was presumably directly to the south, and slightly to the west, of the house. This area is shown as meadow in the sketch, with no remnants of plants or trees. Still to the south of the house, and in the eastern section of the abutment, five or six large cherries survived from before 1776. Apparently part of an old row, one remained almost directly in front of the house, with four or five others (depending on whether one believes Morgan’s journal or the sketch) in a row, about 15 feet apart, starting at the eastern extreme of the fenced area. Slightly to the north of this row, clustered around what is apparently a well and pump house, were two white mulberry trees (cut and removed in 1794) and a plum tree (cut in 1793). Still further north were two rows of cherry trees. The first, starting at the northeast corner of the house, contained Kentish and Morello cherries planted in April of 1785. Later that year the cherry nearest the house died and was replaced by a bass tree. The second row roughly on axis with the first, perhaps slightly to the south, was planted as an experiment with shortened branches on April 20, 1780. Neither of these rows is depicted in the view of 1797.

All the planting within the fenced garden surrounding the house was planned with definite reference to the site of the house and other outbuildings, and executed in symmetrical patterns, usually rows. The elm oval or circus was the major feature in the north. It breaks the linear and right-angular monotony of the lane and fence, although this motif is repeated by the square of elms on the interior of the oval. The Colonel seems to have been conscious of preserving the view to the south (positioning his house on that side of the garden so that few trees would screen the upper meadow beyond), and protecting the property from Nassau Street and the college campus to the north. In 1786, he planted additional cherry trees “extending East & West parallel with the College campus, and some on the east side of said campus.” One can presume that the west side of the land north of the house was densely wooded with elms.

The second reconstruction is of the entire northern portion of the farm (Plate 1). The three-acre fenced garden was perched on the top of the hill, with the unterraced land sloping steeply to the south. To the east of the garden, in the area now traversed by Washington Road, the Morgans located their family graveyard. It was surrounded by a hedge of sweetbrier and contained scattered large chestnut and elm trees. Although largely destroyed by the cutting-through of Washington Road and the construction of 1879 Hall, this area maintained some of its 18th-century character into the beginning of the 20th century. To the south of the graveyard, the Colonel in 1782-1783 planted a 120,000 square foot apple orchard of 500 trees, 20 feet apart. Although he reports in 1784 that they were threatened with total destruction by the locust, some old apple trees, presumably from the 18th century, existed in this spot as late as 1893, before being destroyed for University construction.

Directly to the south of the fenced garden was the upper meadow, cleared to afford a view of the Jersey highlands from all areas of the house and yard. Further down the slope, the upper meadow was bordered by several English walnuts planted in 1784, and a row of old apples, cherries, a mulberry, a willow, and a walnut from before 1776. Below this the Colonel kept his beehives, described by Manasseh Cutler as 64 swarms of bees in a line “which I judged extended more than 15 rods” (437 1/2 feet, or slightly wider than the entire width of the fenced garden). Beyond this to the south was the lower meadow, planted with wheat, barley, flax, buckwheat, oats, rye, and China wheat.

No owners of Prospect except the wives of Princeton presidents at the end of the 19th century were to take an interest approaching Colonel Morgan’s in the gardens of Prospect. From Colonel Morgan the farm passed to his son John who sold it in 1805 to John I. Craig. Craig, in 1824, sold the place to John Potter. Little or noth-

9 Faria, pp. 267-268.
ing is known of Prospect during the Potter tenure before 1849. The house remained essentially the same, and presumably some sort of formal flower garden was planted, given the tastes of mid-19th-century America and the wealth of the Potters. Both these factors were reflected clearly in 1849 when the face of Prospect was completely changed by the famous Philadelphia architect, John Notman. The old house was razed and replaced with a large mansion in the style of a "Tuscan Villa." To complement his creation, Notman also designed a formal garden for the south of the house. A copy of Notman's plan, incorrectly dated as 1843, is included as Plate iv. The garden is not on axis with any particular feature of the house—the closest, the bay in the dining room, is slightly east of the center path—but the garden frames and caps the whole of the house. Notman provides for two terraces directly behind the house, but the garden itself slopes gradually downward from north to south.

The basic layout is in the familiar trident or patte d'oe form, with three paths radiating away from the house and a large "drive-
way" at the base of the terraces. Each pathway ends in a small semi-
circular walk and clump of roses, providing an accent at the end of each visual axis and softening an otherwise abrupt effect. Each group of rose bushes was highlighted by a stone vase containing flowers. The paths were of tightly packed white gravel. Within the four interior parterres formed by the paths, bordering the "drive-
way" and the major semicircular path around the garden, were rectangular beds of flowers. The semicircular motif is again repeated by two flower beds located on either side of the center of the southeast and southwest paths.

The gardens were laid out by William Petry, who was borrowed by the Potters from Commodore Stockton at Morven, where Petry had created gardens of renown. In a letter of recommendation, Mrs. Stockton wrote of Petry, "He was among the first to transplant large native trees from the woods to the lawn." Petry certainly had no opportunity to exercise that particular skill in the formal gardens designed by Notman, but it is undoubtedly his influence that eventually determined the final character of the

11 Rice, p. 209.
northern section of the estate. After leaving Morven, Petry was commissioned to plan the streets and plant trees for the new town of San Francisco.\textsuperscript{13}

Unfortunately, we have few clues about the northern, more informal part of the gardens. The tastes of the time, and for at least 30 years thereafter, preferred the neat, "pretty" symmetry of Notman's formal garden. A contemporary description betrays this preference: "Nothing is allowed to mar the rich green of the close-cut lawns or the hard smoothness of the gravel-walks, or the symmetry of the beds of flowers. Everything is in its place, and its place is appropriate to it."\textsuperscript{14} The first photographic evidence of the garden tends to confirm this description. Though undated, it can be estimated as circa 1857 from the state of campus construction visible to the west. There is a wide lawn area beyond the roses, and no shrubs or trees to the south to mar the vista that gave Prospect its name.

Clues to the layout of the rest of the garden tend to be sparse and contradictory for the remainder of the century. The most important problem is presented by the area to the west of the house. A map of the Princeton University campus in 1887, by D. C. Miller (see Plate v), shows a formal, Y-shaped path enclosed by an extended semicircle—a variation on the main garden. However, it also shows two parallel semicircular paths in the main garden. Photographic evidence contradicts this, and thus throws the map's credibility into question. Unfortunately, most photographs are of the main garden, and the area to the west of the house is only partially visible. After a careful study of all the pictures, one must conclude that there was never such a formal Y-shaped layout in the area. There is evidence, however, that the area was formally planted as part of the garden. A picture dated 1863 clearly shows that the area west of the house was planted at that time with vegetables, probably corn. Another photograph, which can safely be dated before 1880, shows that the south terrace had been continued around to the west side of the house and planted with box, and a lawn installed extending in the area of the old vegetable garden. This lawn presumably joined the green which had existed since 1849 to the west of the garden, south of the site thrown into question by the 1887 map.

\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., p. 8.
In 1878, Prospect was acquired by the University from John Potter’s son, Thomas, and designated as the official residence of the president. A description of the place during the tenure of its first University resident, Dr. James McCosh, mentions the “splendid Cedar of Lebanon,” still thriving at the northwest corner of the house, and geraniums, tuberous begonias, anemones, and blue canterbury bells growing in the garden. Mrs. McCosh imported roses from Belfast.15

The gardens remained essentially static for the next 20 years. A description from 1893 and photographic evidence show that Notman’s plan was largely preserved.16 The beds were filled with cannas, geraniums, coleus, ageratum, and sweet alyssum. In the meadow that stood in the 18th century between Colonel Morgan’s fenced garden and the sweetbrier-bordered graveyard, President Patton’s horses and cows grazed next to an 18th-century stone barn. Farther to the south, where Palmer Hall stands today, was a large vegetable garden bordered with white violets. Below that were a few old apple trees which probably had been planted by the Colonel in 1783. There is absolutely no evidence to support a description from 1879 that describes the back of the house as “beautifully terraced . . . and below the terraces some small lakes, one above the other, and connected by pretty waterfalls.”17

Although Prospect never again received a total redesign like that of 1849, the year 1904 commenced three decades of almost constant revision and a revival of interest in the garden. It was in that year that Mrs. Woodrow Wilson had Petry’s small, narrow beds broadened and joined to form the present triangular borders for each parterre. A pool with a fountain was placed in the center of the garden, and a large group of cedar trees planted at the corners as accents, and to the rear as a background to the garden. The rose gardens were developed west of the formal garden, and a long pergola was built in the area near the present Brown Hall. The addition of the pergola, covered with roses and accented by a sundial placed near the garden, climaxed the development of this ambiguous area west of the house and garden. Peonies, jonquils, iris, and dahlias were introduced into the formal plantings.18 Later, the erection of a wrought iron fence around the entire property decisively cut off the southern view as the primary axis. The focus of the garden turned inward.

16 Ibid., p. 10.
17 Stockton, “Prospect,” p. 966.
18 Hibben, “Prospect,” p. 11.
Mrs. Wilson’s work was short-lived. The gardens deteriorated when the house was unoccupied for two years between the administrations of Wilson and John G. Hibben. The pergola built by Mrs. Wilson rotted and collapsed. When Mrs. Hibben, who was genuinely interested in the gardens, became the mistress at Prospect, she began her own program of improvements. By 1920 she had succeeded in transforming the grounds to a more natural English-type garden. She wrote that her “ideal” for Prospect was Canon Buchanan’s garden at Salisbury: “a fit illustration for Paradise. . . . A wide grass path went down the center of it, and on either side were the loveliest flowers I have ever seen. At one end of the path the graceful spire of Salisbury closed the vista, and at the other end there ran a little river.”19 The semicircular steps to the radiating paths were eliminated completely, and the roses which had remained were removed. The area west of the garden, now referred to as the “lower lawn,” was planted with Killarney roses and white pansies in circular beds surrounding the sundial set in its center. The old central path designed by Notman was replaced with flagstone “stepping stones” to the pool. The garden was converted to a spring bloom emphasis, with delphiniums, anchusa, sweet william, canterbury bells, foxgloves, pansies, pinks, and forget-me-nots.20

Mrs. Hibben’s proclivity for the English was nourished and encouraged by Mrs. Beatrix Farrand, the popular landscape and garden consultant of the 1920s and 1930s. Mrs. Farrand encouraged the planting of box, ivy ground covers, and “dignified and attractive stretches of grass.”21 She removed the sundial from the lower lawn, created a “bubble” to prevent the abrupt end of a path in that area and made numerous other changes. Shrubs were planted around the lower lawn and to the west of the house; their growth eventually eliminated these areas as lawn or field. By 1934 the house was covered with garlands of wisteria, and “box bordered paths” leading down into the garden.22

From this time on, attention was not focused on the southern prospect, nor on the flower beds and lawns, but on the planting of unique and rare trees. Ironically, the garden had come full cir-

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20 Hibben, “Prospect,” p. 11.
21 “Notes of Consultation at Prospect” (recommendations by Beatrix Farrand), March 17, 1927, typescript, Princeton University Archives.
22 Farris, pp. 867-868.
cle back to the "scientific" emphasis of Colonel Morgan. Under the shade of some of the elms planted by the Colonel in his oval circus in the front yard of the house, James Clark, the head of University horticulture, planted and experimented with rare and unusual trees as the Colonel had done 170 years before. He rediscovered in China the seed of a species once thought extinct, *Metasequoia glyptostroboides*, and planted it in Prospect. He also helped develop a strain of Himalayan pine that bears his name—*Pinus griffithi-clarkii*.

Standing in Prospect today, one is hard pressed to imagine its appearance during most of its existence. Whittled to less than four acres, it stands as a closed green enclave in the midst of University buildings. Gone are the meadows and fields which once endowed it with a picturesque and expansive quality; the woods which once protected it from the creeping influence of Nassau Street have been cut. The oval of elm trees planted by Colonel Morgan is now represented by one or two towering survivors. The shrubs and evergreens scattered around the formal gardens are now monumental walls that confine the once indefinitely radiating spokes of color.

Prospect has always been true to its time, reflecting evolving American visions of horticultural beauty. Its owners and planners consistently have injected prevailing tastes with enough creative inspiration to make the gardens exceptional. The individual contributions of Colonel Morgan, John Notman, William Petry, Mrs. Woodrow Wilson, Mrs. John Grier Hibben, Beatrix Farrand, and James Clark have not been mixed to the degree that the genius of any is obscured. It is only by studying each that one begins to succeed in the search for Prospect Garden.
Joseph Smith and *A Book of Commandments*

**BY PETER CRAWLEY**

WHEN Charles Woodward, an unremitting critic of Mormonism, offered his collection of early books on Utah and the Mormons at public auction in 1880, he began his description of his copy of *A Book of Commandments for the Government of the Church of Christ* with the assertion, "People who know just enough of Mormonism to call the *Book of Mormon* the 'Mormon Bible'... will read with distrust or indifference, if they read at all, the assertion which I unhesitatingly make, that this book [*A Book of Commandments*], if valued by its importance, would bring a larger price than was ever paid for a single volume." The hyperbole of anyone eager to sell a book, of course, should be excused. Nonetheless, from the time of Woodward's sale, *A Book of Commandments* has been the chief desideratum of any collector of Mormon Americana, and its price has always set records for Mormon books. At the time of its printing it bore the westernmost imprint in the United States. For the scholar, *A Book of Commandments* is of first importance since it contains the earliest versions of that which is most distinctly Mormon—the revelations to Joseph Smith. It is of interest to the layman because no other Mormon book has a more colorful history.

The Princeton copy of *A Book of Commandments* is bound in full red morocco. Lettered in gilt at the bottom of the backstrip is the name, "M. W. Pratt"—undoubtedly Mathoni Wood Pratt, a son of Parley P. Pratt. This copy was acquired by the Salt Lake City businessman Herbert S. Auerbach. After his death it was offered for sale at Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, on October 28, 1947, and again with other Auerbach books at Sotheby and Company, London, on November 4, 1957. It appeared a second time at Parke-Bernet at the Peter Decker Sale on November 19, 1963, where it was purchased by Irving Robbins of San Francisco. In 1975, at the dispersal of Mr. Robbins's collection, Princeton acquired the book through the generosity of William H. Scheide.

1. Charles L. Woodward, *Bibliotheca-scallawagiana* [New York, 1880], p. 4. The *Book of Mormon* was first published in Palmyra, New York in 1830; *A Book of Commandments in Zion* [Independence], Missouri in 1835, and the *Doctrine and Covenants* in Kirtland, Ohio in 1835.


'A6. The difficult circumstances surrounding its publication explain why only a few more than a dozen copies of the first edition of this work are known to have survived.

*A Book of Commandments* and its subsequent editions record the passage of Mormonism from a loosely organized, anti-creedal, familial group of "seekers" to an established church possessing a variety of unique doctrines and led by a man, Joseph Smith, who was believed to be the divinely appointed mouthpiece of God. Moreover, the publication of *A Book of Commandments* and its later editions helped to bring about this fundamental evolution and marked its progress.

☆

A description of the development of Mormonism begins with a discussion of the so-called "primitive gospel" movement, an important aspect of the religious context out of which Mormonism was born. Emerging in New England, the South, and the West between 1750 and 1830, the adherents of this movement responded independently yet with striking similarity to the revivalism and sectarian conflict that characterized evangelical Protestantism. The followers were led by laymen usually with no formal training in the ministry. These leaders shared a biblicist point of view; they tended to reject the pessimistic predestination of Calvinism and anticipated mass conversions to Christianity as the harbinger of an immanent Second Advent; and they taught that the established churches were corrupt, having departed from the ancient, primitive Christian faith. Two other important attitudes characterized the movement. The primitive gospelers were *egalitarian* in that they were highly critical of a hierarchal or professional clergy. They held that religion should be more personal, more independent of organized institutions. In addition, they were *anti-creedal*. Deploying the disunity and conflict among the established churches resulting from widely differing interpretations of the Bible, they attacked this problem not by imposing an authoritarian statement of doctrine but by eschewing any dogma beyond the most fundamental principles enunciated in the scriptures.

Yet Mormonism during its earliest months differed from other
primitive gospel movements in a number of ways, particularly in its rejection of the infallibility of the Bible and in its possession of a new volume of scripture, The Book of Mormon. More fundamentally, it differed from them in that in the midst of this egalitarian, anti-creedal group stood a man who claimed to speak with God. Other primitive gospelers—Elias Smith, for example—had had initiating visions; but after Joseph Smith received his first vision in 1820, he continued to receive revelations. Inevitably as new converts sought the revealed will of the Lord through Joseph Smith, his prophetic stature grew to the point of overwhelming preeminence and his revelations took on the weight of scripture and became part of an expanding body of dogma. Indeed, this extraordinary position of Joseph Smith was explicitly acknowledged the day the church was formally organized, on April 6, 1830, in Fayette, New York, when he received a revelation designating him a “seer, a translator, a prophet, an apostle of Jesus Christ.” Embryonic Mormonism embodied intrinsic tensions which over the next eight years increased to the point of rupture.

Signs of these tensions, which were brought about by the inherent incompatibility between Mormonism’s primitive gospel origins and the increasing authority of Joseph Smith, were not long in coming. Three months after the church was organized Oliver Cowdery wrote to Joseph Smith in Harmony, Pennsylvania, that one of the revelations (B of C xxiv, D & C 20:97—“And truly manifest by their works that they have received of the Spirit of Christ unto a remission of their sins”) was in error; and he commanded Smith “in the name of God to erase those words, that no priesthood be amongst us.” A few days later Joseph Smith visited Cowdery who was staying with the Whitmers in Fayette, New York, and after a lengthy discussion convinced him and the Whitmers that the phrase was indeed proper.6

During the last week in August 1830, Joseph Smith moved with his family to Fayette and there discovered that Hiram Page, supported by his in-laws the Whitmers and Cowdery, had been receiving revelations directed at the body of the church—a situation hardly surprising in a congregation in which all were expected to enjoy the benefits of divine inspiration. In response, however, Jo-

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6 Chapter xxii in A Book of Commandments and section 21 in the current edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. Henceforth references to A Book of Commandments will be abbreviated B of C, and those to the Doctrine and Covenants, D & C.

Joseph Smith received a revelation (B of C xxx, D & C 28) which declared that “no one shall be appointed to receive commandments and revelations in this Church excepting my servant Joseph Smith, Jr.” At a conference of the church on September 26th, Page’s revelations and the ensuing revelation to Joseph Smith were discussed; and in a dramatic step away from an egalitarian conception of the church, Page renounced his revelations and the conference agreed to support Smith. The same issue arose again in February 1831 when a woman by the name of Hubble began receiving revelations to the confusion of some of the church members. This occasioned a revelation to Joseph Smith (B of C xlv, D & C 49) which underscored that of the preceding September: “And this ye shall know assuredly, that there is none other appointed unto you to receive commandments and revelations until he [Joseph Smith] be taken, if he abide in me. But verily, verily I say unto you, that none else shall be appointed unto this gift except it be through him, for if it be taken from him he shall not have power, except to appoint another in his stead.” As late as April 1833, Joseph Smith wrote to a church member in Missouri that “it is contrary to the economy of God for any member of the Church, or any one, to receive instructions for those in authority, higher than themselves;... If any person have a vision... it must be for his own benefit and instruction.”

Another strain appeared in June 1831 when the office of high priest was introduced into the church. Up to this point, every worthy man in the church was a member of a lay priesthood, holding the office of elder. Now certain members were singled out for higher office—a move toward a hierarchal priesthood that in later years, at least, was severely condemned.

These stresses erupted into an open, unresolved dispute with the attempt to print the revelations to Joseph Smith in book form. Three months after the church was organized, Joseph Smith and John Whitmer began to arrange and copy the revelations that Smith had received up to that time. During this early period, manuscrip.
Cowdery, and John Whitmer were appointed to supervise publication.  

Not until December was the Book of Commandments in press. The following February, Phelps took out a copyright, and in June he was far enough along in the printing to begin thinking about bindings.  

By July 20, 1833, five 32-page signatures had been struck off, leaving one, possibly two, signatures yet to be printed. That afternoon a large group of Missourians swarmed into the printing office, threw the press and type out of an upper story window, and then pulled down the building. How the Book of Commandments survived is the most colorful part of its history. One batch of sheets was rescued by Mary and Caroline Rollins, described years later by Mary: 

When the mob was tearing down the printing office, a two story building, driving Brother Phelps' family out of the lower part of the house, they (the mob) brought out some large sheets of paper, saying, "Here are the Mormon commandments." My sister, 12 years old (I was then 14) and myself were in a corner of a fence watching them. When they spoke about them being the commandments, I was determined to have some of them. So while their backs were turned, prying out the gable end of the house, we ran and gathered up all we could carry in our arms. As we turned away, two of the mob got down off the house and called for us to stop, but we ran as fast as we could, through a gap in the fence into a large corn field, and the two men after us. We ran a long way in the field, laid the papers on the ground, then laid down on top of them. The corn was very high and thick. They hunted all around us, but did not see us. After we were satisfied they had given up the search, we tried to find our way out of the field. The corn was so tall we thought we were lost. On looking up we saw some trees that had been girdled to kill them. We followed them and came to an old log stable, which looked like it had not been used for years. Sister Phelps and family were there, carrying in brush and piling it up on one side of the stable to make their beds on. She asked us what we had. She told her and also how we came by them. She took them and placed them between her beds. Subsequently Oliver Cowdery bound them in small books and gave me one. 

Some time later when the press had been moved from the street, another batch of sheets was salvaged by John Taylor of Kentucky, a twenty-year-old convert of seven months: 

In 1833 at the time of the destruction of the printing press in Independence, Jackson Co. the printed sheets of the Book of Commandments and the pieced type and press were thrown in an old log stable by the mob. I asked Bp. Partridge if I might go and get out some copies of the Book of Commandments. He said it would most likely cost me my life if I attempted it. I told him I did not mind risking my life to secure some copies of the commandments. He then said I might go. I ran my hand into a crack between the logs and pulled out a few at a time until I got as many as I could carry, when I was discovered. A dozen men surrounded me and commenced throwing stones at me and I shouted out "Oh my God must I be stoned to death like Stephen for the sake of the word of the Lord." The Lord gave me strength and skill to elude them and make my escape without being hit by a stone. I delivered the copies to Bp. Partridge who said I had done a good work and my escape was a miracle. These I believe are the only copies of that edition of the Book of Commandments preserved from destruction. 

12 "The Book of John Whitmer," Journal of History, 1 (1908), 35. History of the Church, 1, 266. "Journal History," 30 April 1832, original manuscript in the Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah.  


14 For a discussion of what the finished Book of Commandments probably would have contained, see Peter Crawley, "A Bibliography of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints in New York, Ohio, and Missouri," BYU Studies, 12 (1972), 485-486.  

15 Mary E. Rollins Lightner to the Editor, 12 February 1904, Deseret Evening News, 20 (February 1904), 54. See also "Diary of Mary Elizabeth Rollins Lightner," typescript in Brigham Young University Library.  

16 "Statement of John Taylor dictated to Leo Hawkins and George A. Smith," 15 April 1865, original manuscript in the Historical Department, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Salt Lake City, Utah. See also "Journal History," 20 (July 1883). For biographical information on John Taylor (not to be confused with the third president of the Latter Day Saints Church), see Frank E. Eshom, Pioneers and Prominent Men of Utah (Salt Lake City: Utah Pioneers Book Publishing Company, 1915), p. 190; and In the Circuit Court of the United States . . . the Reorganized Church . . . vs. the Church of Christ . . . Complaint's Abstract of Pleading and Evidence (Lamoni, Iowa, 1893), pp. 185-194.
Copies of A Book of Commandments were assembled in other ways as well. William E. McLellin reported that he put together his copy by gathering up the sheets as they blew about the streets of Independence. A few sheets were sent up to Kirtland as they were printed. Surviving copies of the Book of Commandments occur in two states: with and without a border of fleur-de-lis figures on the title page, in a diversity of bindings, many obviously homemade. The reason for the different title pages is not known; perhaps Phelps had been experimenting, and because only a small number of the first signature were salvaged, both states were used to compile copies of the book. Those revelations printed in the Book of Commandments reflect the primitivist nature of early Mormonism: two-thirds of the 65 “chapters” are personal communications to individuals; none, with the possible exception of chapter xvi, breaks new theological ground.

The destruction of the Mormon press in Independence was the prelude to a series of violent confrontations that ended with the expulsion of the Mormons from Jackson County in November 1833. Six months later, armed with a promise of assistance from the governor of Missouri, Joseph Smith led a military expedition out of Kirtland, Ohio, aimed at recovering the Mormon holdings in Jackson County. Only after they arrived in Missouri in June did the Mormons learn that the governor had withdrawn his support; and with little hope of returning the Latter-day Saints to their Jackson properties without the aid of Missouri militia, Joseph Smith disbanded his troops.

Zion’s Camp, as this expedition was called, marked another major step in the growth of Joseph Smith’s authority. Its failure precipitated some dissension; but the fraternal aspects of the Camp insured Joseph Smith against suffering a loss of stature from the experience. One can now only guess at the effect this departure from the egalitarian congregation of 1829 had on David Whitmer. Under any circumstances, after disbanding the Camp, Joseph Smith met with the leaders of the church in Missouri. Consistent with chapter xlv of the Book of Commandments, he ordained Whitmer his successor. Whatever the reasons behind this ordination, it does demonstrate the influence David Whitmer still exerted on the young church. A similar elevation of Oliver Cowdery would occur in December.

A second attempt to print the revelations was launched in September 1834. At a meeting of church authorities on the 24th it was agreed to publish a new edition at the printing office Oliver Cowdery had been operating in Kirtland, Ohio, since the preceding December. Again this was to be an undertaking of the Literary Firm. Nine months later the book was in press, and by mid-September 1835 the first copies were delivered by the Cleveland binder.

This second edition bears a new title: Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints. It prints nearly twice as many revelations as does A Book of Commandments, many with substantial changes reflecting the development of the governmental structure of the church, a few such as sections 91 and 7 (D & C 76, 88) containing sweeping theological statements. The first third of the book is comprised of seven “Lectures on Faith.” These lectures, written by Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon and delivered before a school of the elders in Kirtland during the winter of 1834-1835, treat such basic theological themes as the necessity and effect of faith, man’s relationship to God, and the nature of salvation. The most distinctive idea—that God and Jesus Christ are separate beings—appears in the fifth lecture.

Again David Whitmer protested. The Doctrine and Covenants he declared was “a creed of religious faith,” in primitive gospel terms, a strong denunciation. The force of these objections was sufficient to warrant a response in the preface of the Doctrine and Covenants: “There may be an aversion in the minds of some against receiving any thing purporting to be articles of religious faith, in consequence of there being so many now extant; but if men believe a system, and profess that it was given by inspiration, certainly, the more intelligibly they can present it, the better. It does not make a principle untrue to print it, neither does it make it true not to print it.” Here in two sentences is the evolution of

21 Saints’ Herald, 31 (1884), 563.
22 P. Crawley to Joseph Smith III, July 1872.
23 This chapter (D & C 19) defines “eternal punishment” as “God’s punishment.”
25 For a commentary on one close to Whitmer, see Ensign of Liberty of the Church of Christ (March 1847), pp. 4-5.
26 Whitmer, p. 53: Ensign of Liberty, pp. 6, 19, 33, 43: History of the Church 3, 52, note.
28 Whitmer, p. 51.
Mormonism summarized. The opening part of the first sentence enunciates the anti-creedal stance of the primitive gospellers. The remainder of the statement describes the position to which Joseph Smith and his later converts inevitably had moved.

Other changes were occurring in Kirtland as well, all tending to concentrate Joseph Smith's authority and spread it to every aspect of life. In 1835 the Mormons began publishing a partisan newspaper, the Northern Times, and dabbling in Democratic politics. In November of that year Joseph Smith performed the first marriage under religious rather than civil authority. By 1837, Mormon polygamy had moved beyond theory. It was economics, however, that brought these tensions to a head. The failure of a note-issuing, joint stock company founded by Smith increased the anxiety of the old guard over Smith's authoritarian position. Their worry that the church was drifting away from its original primitive form deepened to disillusionment. Warren Cowdery, Oliver's brother, forthrightly expressed this in an editorial in the July 1837 issue of the Messenger and Advocate: "If we give all our privileges to one man, we virtually give him our money and our liberties, and make him a monarch, absolute and despotic, and ourselves abject slaves or fawning sycophants. If we grant privileges and monopolies to a few, they always continue to undermine the fundamental principles of freedom, and, sooner or later, convert the purest and most liberal form of Government into the rankest aristocracy."

On January 12, 1838, Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon rode away from the disintegrating Mormon community in Ohio and headed for the new colony called Far West that was forming in Caldwell County in northern Missouri. Meanwhile dissension in the Mormon camp was rife. Oliver Cowdery, David and John Whitmer, and W. W. Phelps were in open rebellion, incensed by what they believed to be an effort on the part of some of the church leaders to "unite ecclesiastical and civil authority, and force men under the pretense of incurring the displeasure of heaven to use their earthly substance contrary to their own interest and privilege." Their dissidence drew intemperate responses from Joseph Smith's galvanized supporters. On March 10, four days before Joseph Smith reached the new Mormon settlement in Far West, 

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26 "Oliver Cowdery Letterbook," 90 January 1838, original manuscript at the Huntington Library.
Phelps and John Whitmer were excommunicated from the church; a month later Cowdery and David Whitmer were excommunicated—victims of an evolution they could not accommodate.

Adding fuel to this conflagration, Phelps and Cowdery were in possession of a press, and in May they began to assemble it with the intent of publishing a newspaper. One can only guess at the extent to which this posed a threat to the Missouri Mormons. Under any circumstances, in mid-June the Mormons ordered Cowdery, the Whitmers, and Phelps out of the county and apparently confiscated the press.27 Six months later the general animosity between the Mormons and the Missourians passed the point of combustion. The Latter-day Saints fled into Illinois, but their leaders, Joseph Smith, his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, Parley P. Pratt—the father of Mormon pamphleteering—and others were detained in Missouri to begin jail terms of many months in Liberty and Columbia.

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After his escape from Liberty jail, Joseph Smith began to teach openly many of the most distinctive doctrines of Mormonism. The flood of new ideas following on the heels of Smith's incarceration together with the hints that earlier surfaced in Kirtland show that, for the most part, these distinctive doctrines were in Smith's mind before the Nauvoo, Illinois, period (1840-1844).28 To what extent the solitude of Liberty jail affected the doctrinal development of Mormonism is now difficult to assess. What does seem clear is that, free from the inhibiting influence of David Whitmer and the old guard, Joseph Smith walked away from Liberty eager to discuss

28 The fifth "Lecture on Faith" asserts that the Father and Son are distinct beings. Truman Coe's article in the Ohio Observer of 11 August 1836 shows that the Mormon concept of a corporeal anthropomorphic God existed in Kirtland. See BYU Studies, 17 (1977), 347-356. Lorenzo Snow reported that his famous couplet "As man now is, God once was; as God now is, man may be," was prompted by a comment of Joseph Smith's father in Kirtland in 1836; see Eliza R. Snow, Biography and Family Record of Lorenzo Snow (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Company Printers, 1881), pp. 9-10, 46. While he languished in Columbia jail, Parley Pratt wrote "A Treatise on the Regeneration and Eternal Duration of Matter," printed in his Millennium and Other Poems (New York: W. Molineux, 1849), which contains a clear denial of an ex nihilo creation and the earliest statement of the Mormon belief in a finite God.
openly theological ideas that were only whispered of in Kirtland.

Moreover Mormonism emerged from Liberty jail with a new attitude toward the printed word. During the years 1830-1838, Mormon pamphleteers produced just three theological tracts, all published away from the main body of the church—Orson Hyde’s Prophetic Warning (Toronto, 1836), Parley Pratt’s Voice of Warning (New York, 1837), and his Mormonism Unveiled: Zion’s Watchman Unmasked (New York, 1838). During 1840 they published more than 20. Gone forever were the anti-creedal constraints of the primitive gospeler.

In Nauvoo, Illinois, Joseph Smith’s position as a prophetic leader reached a point of equilibrium between the primitivism of the early church and the authoritarianism of northern Missouri. With apparently little unease he directed the Latter-day Saints to invest their money in a church-sponsored hotel (D & C 124) and delivered sweeping theological discourses like the one given at Ramus, Illinois, on April 2, 1843 (D & C 150). At the same time he could take a classical primitive gospel stance, as in the case of Piatiah Brown whom the Nauvoo authorities were about to censure for teaching unorthodox doctrines. Chiding these authorities for “acting like Methodists,” Joseph Smith added: “Methodists have creeds which a man must believe or be asked out of their church. I want the liberty of thinking and believing as I please. It feels so good not to be trammeled. It does not prove that a man is not good because he errs in doctrine.”

In January 1842, Ebenzer Robinson, the church printer in Nauvoo, announced that he was making stereotype plates for another edition of the Doctrine and Covenants. Not until after the death of Joseph Smith in June 1844 was this edition printed. It added only seven revelations to those published nine years before in Kirtland, plus a statement on the lynching of Joseph and Hyrum Smith in a Carthage, Illinois jail. Twice more, in 1845 and again in 1846, editions were printed from the same stereotype plates in order to supply the needs of the Latter-day Saints for the years to come while they built the Mormon kingdom in the Great Basin of Utah—a fitting symbol that the evolution was complete, that the church leaving Nauvoo would be the church that would flourish in the West.

The Princeton Collection of Ethiopic Manuscripts

BY EPHRAIM ISAAC

Even before he became a trustee of Princeton University in 1905, Robert Garrett ’97 had developed a keen interest in manuscripts of various provenance. While his original concern with the countries of the Near East came as a result of his early travels with his mother and two brothers in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt when he was still a small boy, his Princeton education and in particular his participation in the American archaeological expedition to Syria in 1889-1900, led by Professor Howard Crosby Butler ’92, further stimulated his interest.1

For Garrett, the Syrian expedition was also the occasion of his first meeting with Enno Littmann, a young German Semitist. Garrett was impressed by Littmann and by his knowledge of the Semitic languages. Once, during the course of this expedition, Garrett went off to Egypt for about two months and returned with a manuscript of a Coptic prayer book. On rejoining the archaeological party, he asked Littmann to identify the work, “for I was sure he could read all the languages of that part of the world.” When Littmann failed to do so, Garrett comments, “we joshed him no end until finally, with some petulance, he said: ’When our trip is over, let me have the manuscript and I will give you a translation of it in three weeks.’” Garrett did not take Littmann up on this; nonetheless, his admiration for Littmann did not change a bit for he concluded “the book was unimportant, and anyway I knew he could do it.” It is fortunate that Garrett was such a perceptive individual, for Littmann was to play a central role in advising him in the acquisition of some of his important Arabic and Ethiopic manuscripts. It was upon Littmann’s advice that Garrett was able to acquire about 2,400 valuable Arabic manuscripts from the Dutch publishing house of E. J. Brill in 1901; and it was through Littmann that nearly all of his Ethiopic manuscripts were bought in Ethiopia.

1 See American Journal of Archaeology, 4 (1900), 415-440.
It was shortly after the completion of his doctoral work in Ethiopic philology at the University of Halle\textsuperscript{9} that Littmann joined the American archaeological expedition. After Garrett acquired his Brill collection of Arabic manuscripts, he needed a curator and a cataloguer, and so it was determined to bring Littmann to Princeton University Library. Upon his arrival in 1902 he began editing the Semitic inscriptions gathered in Syria by the American expedition, and later worked at cataloguing the Garrett collection of Arabic manuscripts.\textsuperscript{4} He was sent to the Near East for the second time with the Princeton expedition to Syria (1903), and finally to Ethiopia during the academic year 1905-1906.

According to Garrett, "Littmann wanted to go to Abyssinia to pursue his studies of Ge'ez, the classical language of that country, and in the dialects of Tigre and Tigrinya. I agreed to finance his journey, with the understanding that he would take advantage of the opportunity to gather together some Ethiopic manuscripts for me. This he did and the substantial number of Ethiopic scrolls and other items now at Princeton came to me mostly—though by no means all—in this way.\textsuperscript{4}" Littmann himself describes the objectives of the Princeton expedition to Ethiopia as having been threefold: to study a) the inscription and ruins of ancient Axum; b) the two main languages, Tigré and Tigrinya, of northern Ethiopia; and c) to collect Ethiopic manuscripts.\textsuperscript{6}

While Littmann was in Ethiopia, there came almost simultaneously an offer he could not refuse, probably because of his love of his native Germany as well as his primary commitment to Ethiopic studies. He was invited to head an archaeological expedition to Ethiopia under the auspices of the German Emperor, Wilhelm II. Garrett reluctantly agreed to Littmann's request to modify the original plan of the Princeton expedition, undertaking primarily the study of the languages,\textsuperscript{7} fulfilling the task of collecting manuscripts to the degree that it was possible, and leaving the archaeological objective chiefly for the German project.\textsuperscript{8} In the fall and winter of that academic year, Littmann collected in Axum about 316 manuscripts (149 codices and 167 magical scrolls). Of these, 248 manuscripts (101 codices and 147 scrolls) were sent to Princeton, while the remaining 68 (48 codices and 20 scrolls) were given by Littmann to the Royal Library of Berlin.\textsuperscript{9}

Soon after the completion of the Princeton expedition to Ethiopia, the Trustees of Princeton University and President Woodrow Wilson voted on March 8, 1906 to appoint Littmann Professor of Semitic Languages at a salary of $2500. But Princeton could not compete with the German Emperor, so in October 1906, seven months after his appointment to a professorship, Littmann resigned from his important Princeton post to return to his native country, where he later succeeded Theodore Nöldeke at Strasbourg and Julius Wellhausen at Göttingen. He finally settled at Tübingen, having also lectured in many other German universities in the course of his career. The Trustees lamented that Littmann's departure "not only deprived us of a very able curator of manuscripts but also has lost to us his courteous and competent advice in the cataloguing of Oriental manuscripts.\textsuperscript{10} Somewhat later Garrett recognized that "[Littmann] came and remained for several years, and I think it is correct to say that these events constituted the beginning of the Department of Oriental Languages and Literatures of Princeton University.\textsuperscript{11}

The study of Semitic languages and literatures in Europe and the study of African cultures in American universities received an initial impetus from interest in Christianity in Ethiopia. While Ethiopic scholarship in Europe, particularly on the continent, now continues to retain a position of prominence within the European humanistic tradition and claims some of the earliest chairs in this field, ironically Ethiopic (Ge'ez) scholarship is conspicuously absent in America today, at a time when African studies and Semitic scholarship are thriving.

During the early years of this century, Semitic and African scholarship was supported by Princeton University under Garrett's patronage. In 1942, Garrett formally presented to the University his extensive acquisitions, a veritable library containing one of the world's great private assemblages of manuscripts.\textsuperscript{12} A bibliophile

\textsuperscript{10} Trustees Minutes, Princeton University Archives, October 20, 1906.
\textsuperscript{11} The Princeton University Library Chronicle, 10 (April 1949), 110.
\textsuperscript{12} See Princeton University Library Chronicle, 1 (Spring 1949), 19 ff.; 3 (June 1948), 119 ff.; 19 (Spring and Summer, 1948), 185 ff.
and a successful banker, Garrett had acquired over the years an especially large body of Islamic (Persian, Arabic, Turkish) manuscripts from European sources and in the markets of Istanbul, Alexandria, Cairo, Beirut, and elsewhere in the Near Eastern and African countries. Among these numerous volumes, bought not only for their artistic merit but also for their textual importance, is the largest collection of Ethiopic manuscripts in the United States, representing almost all categories of Ethiopic literature and ranging in date from about the 15th to the 19th century. Thanks to Garrett and his endeavors, the Princeton University Library today can boast of a great literary treasure: a collection of ancient Oriental manuscripts not only from Asia and various Moslem countries but also from Ethiopia, the oldest Christian country in the Black world, a collection written in the classical Afro-Semitic language called Ge'ez, known as “Ethiopic” in the West.

The Princeton Ethiopic collection comprises 150 codices and 170 scrolls, which I have catalogued in two separate parts. The first deals with the description of the Garrett Ethiopic codices, and also includes the two slate tablets in the same collection. The scrolls, which form one of the largest gatherings of Ethiopic magical works in the Western world, are described in the second part of this forthcoming work, entitled A Catalogue of Ethiopic (Ge'ez) Manuscripts in the Robert Garrett Collection, The Princeton University Library.

The codices, the first category of this collection, are various manuscripts of Biblical, pseudopigraphic, theological, liturgical, and legal works, as well as hasâb (calendrical), dersân (hymnological), gâdâl (hagiographical), ma'ke' and salâm (‘image’ hymns and prayers), and religio-magical texts. These manuscripts contain not only interesting original classical Ethiopic compositions but also preserve some important versions of ancient works of other Christian and Jewish origins. A recent work entitled Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus (Vienna, 1979) by Professor Otto Neugebauer of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, for instance, demonstrates that the ancient Alexandrian Jewish calendar is nowhere preserved so well and so completely as in classical Ethiopic texts.

Two of the most well-preserved volumes, that of The Four Gospels and Dersânâ Mikâ'él, both come from the Magdalâ collection of Emperor Theodore (1855-1868), looted by the British soldiers in the Anglo-Ethiopian War of 1868. Most of the manuscripts from that collection were brought to England and eventually deposited in the British Museum, but a few remained in private hands, whence Garrett successfully acquired them. The copy of the Book of Enoch found in this collection is one of the 23 manuscripts used by R. H. Charles in his Oxford edition of the Ethiopic Enoch. At the time of the publication of this work, the manuscript was still in Garrett’s possession. No scholar of early Christianity and intertestamental Judaism can ignore a full study of this text which is found complete only in its Ethiopic version. The Qėrlós manuscript in the collection, a version of the work of the great theologian Cyril (d. 444 A.D.), including his De Recta Fide, is a well-preserved codex of some antiquity. Most of the Garrett volumes, still in their original bindings, are invaluable to serious textual scholars.

While Princeton’s holdings of some 300 classical Ethiopic (Ge’ez) manuscripts are smaller than the well-known Ethiopic collections in three major European libraries (the Vatican Library, the Bibliothèque Nationale, and the British Library), its collection of magical scrolls surpasses in size and selection all other collections in Europe. Moreover, the collection of some 170 magical scrolls can be claimed to be the best Ethiopic source in the world, both in terms of the quality and quantity of its contents. These scrolls are of importance for the study of Ethiopian and general magic as they are for the study of traditional African religions and the history of medicine in Ethiopia and East Africa.

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15 I have also consulted the Princeton manuscript extensively for A New Translation of the Book of Enoch with Introduction and Notes (Duke-Doubleday Pseudographia, forthcoming).

16 One of the first important modern studies of Ethiopian magic, a German doc-
The Princeton Ethiopic magical manuscripts are cylindrical rolls, each consisting of one or more (most commonly three) strips of parchment (about 5 inches in average width) sewn together with leather threads. They vary in length (about 5½ feet in average), and according to one Ethiopian traditional theory, the length of a particular scroll corresponds to the height of the person for whom it was originally intended or written. The writing is generally in black ink, with red ink used for incipits and names of divinity. Most of the Princeton scrolls come from northern Ethiopia and from a period of the 18th or 19th century; however, there are several that can be dated at least two centuries earlier, a few even going back as far as the 15th.

In respect to design, each scroll normally contains a long column (sometimes two columns) of writing illuminated by one or more abstract colored pictures. These illuminations can be exquisite, exhibiting some of the most imaginative and unusual examples of Ethiopian art. Whereas occasionally one finds an ordinary headpiece of geometric design, in most cases we have complex drawings that connote the magical philosophy that lies behind the pictures. Thus a geometrical configuration or merely a chain of several large and bold eyes may depict visual interpretations of the evil eye. As in some Greek amulets, such representation may be an attack against the evil eye, imprisoning it and fettering it. The fish-like creatures found in some of the illuminations may represent the snakes which are often associated with charms and sorcery, as in Graeco-Roman tabellae devotionum or Gnostic symbols. Likewise, some of the magical rings and concentric circles remind one of the Medieval "circuli sunt munimenta quadam que operantes a malis spiritibus reddunt tutos" (see Princeton scroll 64, picture 4, as an example). In the early church the cross was regarded as a seal against evil; and making the sign of the cross on different parts of the body was believed to protect one from various dangers. The use of the cross as a magical object in Ethiopia has given rise to the many multicolored and varied spiderlike designs found in numerous scrolls. In Ethiopia, perhaps more than in any other Christian country, the cross has been used as the basis for some of the most intricate original religious
art objects; likewise, it is used also in many varied forms in the magical illuminations of the scrolls, sometimes incorporating Ethiopian and African motifs. Finally, many of the scrolls exhibit pictures of guardian angels (Michael or Gabriel, for instance) holding raised swords in their right hands, and sometimes surrounded by cherubic figures or faces; the picture of St. Susenyo on his horse spearing the demoness Werzelyá appears in a few scrolls. Worrell compares this to the representation of Michael piercing Baskania in Poimandres or Solomon on horseback piercing a female demoness in Byzantine art.\(^{17}\) For the lover of the aesthetic, the magical drawings and pictures in our scrolls represent a rich and interesting collection of beautiful works. Beyond that, however, they are a resource not only for those who appreciate Ethiopian and magical art but also for those studying traditional African art.

The literary content of the scrolls is most fascinating. While they contain a large number of magical symbols, words, and phrases (ἐπιγραφή, incantation)\(^{18}\) not readily intelligible to the non-expert, we find in these writings many simple prayers and stories which shed light on their contents. Since it was believed that the major causes of most illnesses were demons and malevolent spirits which entered the body often by the medium of the evil eye, it was necessary for the healers to be in touch with the supernatural world and to know the characterization of the various demons and evil spirits in order to control or expel them.\(^{19}\) The healer used secret names to gain power over evil spirits. Solomon was well known for his power over demons and shedim,\(^{20}\) and his name was used as a magical formula and hidden in an acrostic arrangement of the name in the prayers known as the Net of Solomon\(^ {21}\):

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\( ^{17}\) Ibid.


\( ^{19}\) Because there is power in a name in Semitic and African traditions, the real names of people may be hidden or changed as needed. In Ethiopia individuals may have double names: their given and their Christian appellations; even among non-Christian peoples in Ethiopia (as elsewhere in Africa) the names of certain individuals (babies, brides, chiefs, important people) may not be explicitly pronounced, to avoid attention from evil spirits.


For “SLMN” read Solomon. The name should be read following the arrow as indicated; “H” and “F” are extra magical letters.

This formula is usually found in association with a legend about how Solomon caught the demons like fish in a net by uttering his magical incantatio. The demons capture, bury, and bring him before their king who challenges Solomon’s power. Then the story is elaborated. The demons in the form of blacksmiths come between a husband and his wife while they are cohabiting and thereby beget demonic offspring (cf. Princeton scroll 70, prayer 1). These blacksmiths utter “Lofham” and attack Solomon, who overpowers them. The king of the demons is then forced to confess all his mischiefs: miscarriage, death (particularly of women and children), madness, and secret intercourse with women who give birth to monsters. So Solomon’s name combined with “Lofham” has acquired an exercising power just as it has among other Christians and Jews. An important place is given Solomon in Jewish magic, for he is believed to have special authority over demons; and much use is made in Christendom of his name, his seal, and his portrait. Josephus alludes to Jewish exorcists who, in Vespasian’s time, drew demons out of sick people through their noses, using rings with wonder-working roots discovered by Solomon. In Ethiopian magic, as in Medieval Christian magic, Solomon sometimes appears with another famous magician, Alexander the Great.

As among early Christians the name of Jesus is used in the Ethiopian scrolls as a powerful charm against all kinds of evil spirits. Likewise, the Trinitarian formula is very important; practically all of the magical prayers commence with that formula. As in Greek magical papyri, the various names and titles of God in Hebrew, such as El-shadai, Adonai, or the names of Jesus, such as Emmanuel, give rise to numerous ephelia grammata. The names of the angels Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Phanuel, Uriel, Surafel (seraphim), Kirubel (cherubim), Afeb (Ophanim), Suryal, the name of Mary, and the names of saints can be invoked against evil charms and evil spirits (Princeton scroll 28, picture 2). The various names of evil angels, strange words (Greek, Arabic, etc.), and names found in other magical literature may be invoked to frighten, expel, and destroy evil spirits.22 Such expressions in the scrolls as Saravey, Sabat (from Hebrew); Tòos, otois, alf (from Greek); antikos, sador (from Latin); bismullah r-rahman r-rahiim, lam yahid walam yulad (from Arabic); gnostic sounding abracadabra such as whole rows of vowels or letters; and other secret African terminologies were very meaningful to the initiate.

Sometimes the magical power or formula is found incorporated into an elaborate story. The most common such story is the legend of St. Susenjos and Werzelza, which is the basis of a prayer for the protection of suckling babies as well as for pregnant women, and against spontaneous abortion. There are many versions of the legend, but the one that seems to be the oldest is found in Princeton Ethiopic scrolls 62/6 and 161/5. St. Susenjos was son of Peter Susi (Walda Petros Susi)23 of Antioch and lived in the time of Emperor Diocletian (c. 309 A.D.). When he was still a pagan, he was sent to Nicomedia with an order to renovate idols and their temples; there he met a priest who converted him to Christianity. Upon his return to Antioch he found his demonic sister murdering infants and drinking their blood; she was believed to be appearing in the form of birds and serpents, so he killed her together with her son whose father was a demon. He was martyred on Miyažya 26 (c. April 18) which is also his date in the Ethiopic Synaxarion where we find this same story.24

The different version found in most of our scrolls recounts the story of an old woman, a witch, or a demoness called Werzelza who enters the house of a man called Susenjos, kills his newborn baby, and departs to a lonely place where she joins her evil compan-


23 In the Ethiopic Book of Enoch, for instance, we find the names of the fallen angels and their activities. Cf. Enoch, 6:36.

24 Susi may be a nickname for Susenos.

25 A similar story is found in the Ethiopic Synaxarion reading for Miyažya 26. For an introduction to the Ethiopic Synaxarion, see Ignazio Guidi, Patrologia Orientalis, 1 (1905).
The archangel Michael, with a salutation song to the archangel above
Princeton Ethiopian scroll 28

Abba Samuel, Ethiopian saint of Wadabä monastery, riding on a lion
Princeton Ethiopian scroll 154
ions. Upon discovering this tragedy, Susenyo straightaway mounts his horse and pursues the demoness. He meets another old woman (another witch?) by the roadside and learns from her that Werkzelia is hiding in a nearby garden (or bush). There Susenyo finds Werkzelia surrounded by numberless demons. He prays to Jesus Christ for a victory over these demons and evil spirits. Thereupon, he hears a voice telling him that his prayer is heard and his wish is granted. So Susenyo proceeds against Werkzelia and vanquishes her by piercing her side. Though it is not clear exactly what happens thereafter (whether Werkzelia is actually killed or is saved by the exorcism of the seven archangels), the enemy of newborn babies does promise not to harm anyone who stands under the protection of Susenyo’s name. Amulets that carry this story are believed to be strong weapons against infant mortality.26

Most authorities believe that the Susenyo story is a combination of pagan and Christian legends. Attempts at identifying Werkzelia (e.g., Hebraic barzal; Hellenistic Baskanla, Coptic Berzelia; Teutonic Ursula) have not been successful, but it has not been difficult to identify Susenyo as the martyr of Diocletian’s time. Our Ethiopic story seems to have its parallel in Byzantine (Greek and Slavic) legends of Sisinii and his sister Meletia.27 In the Manichaean tradition, Sisinios was the name of the successor of Mani. Both Bassett and Littmann think that the Manichaeans promoted the propagation of old Babylonian folklore, and that the Bogomiles of Bulgaria, who drew many of their beliefs from the Manichaeans, popularized the legend of St. Sisinios. Following Reizenstein, Worrell has also examined other early Christian and gnostic elements in this story.28 In the final analysis, the Christian legend may be rooted in the Jewish story of Lilith.

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26 Worrell examined 31 of the Princeton scrolls that contain the Susenyo and Werkzelia legend. He also presents a Greek version of the story as edited by Leo Allatius in De Tempis Graecorum recentioribis (Cologne, 1645), and discusses other Greek, Egyptian, and Syriac parallels of the story. Many versions of the Ethiopic legend have been edited by scholars: Sylvain Gubaut, "La légende de Susenyo et de Werkzelia d’après le ms. éthiop. Griaule no. 297," Orientalia, NS, 6 (1937), 177-183; K. Fries, "The Ethiopic Legend of Socinius and Ursula" in Actes de huitième Congrès Intern. d. Orient (Leiden, 1893), pp. 55-70; R. Bassel, Les Apocryphes éthiopiens IV: Les Legendes de S. Terdik et de Susenyo (Paris, 1894); Enno Littmann, "The Princeton Ethiopic Magic Scroll" in Princeton University Bulletin, 15 (1906), 91-42.

27 See M. Gaster in Folklore, 11 (1899), 129-162.

(ultimately Babylonian Lamaštu), the mother of the mazigim and shedim, the demons who kill babes at birth and hurt pregnant women, whom we also meet in Aramaic inscriptions on magical bowls of Assyria and Babylonia. (It should be noted that there is a Babylonian Lilith [masculine Lilu] but her function is different from the Jewish Lilith. In Ethiopian lilit means bat, a feared creature even in antiquity).

Another story used in the incantations of the scrolls concerns the story of ’Aynat (cf. “ain,” eye) or Nadarâ (cf. Arabic an-Nazarah, “the evil eye”). According to several scrolls, the ’Aynat or Nadarâ was a witch whom Christ and his disciples saw while traveling by the Sea of Galilee. She had a frightening visage: her dazzling eyes sparkled like gold and were as blinding as lightning; her limbs were like a chariot; and a fire several cubits high (e.g., 10, 68, or 9,000, depending on the scroll) was issuing from her mouth. This witch is credited with affecting the balance of things: she causes ships to overturn, horses to fall, milk to turn into blood, and babies to be separated from their mothers. Jesus pronounces words which paralyze her and his disciples burn her, scattering her ashes to the four corners of the earth. ’Aynat too is evidently related to Lilith and the description of her eyes is not unlike the description of Lilith’s eyes in Jewish legends.

We do not have the magical concept of the evil eye in the Bible. But according to numerous Biblical passages, goodwill and malevolence are mirrored in the eye. Later Jewish midrash connects death with the evil eye as in the case of Anania, Azaria, and Misael who were said to have been killed by the evil eye. At least two rabbis were said to have had dangerous eyes: Rabbi Yohanan could transform people to a heap of bones, and Rabbi Eliezer ben Hycan had eyes that could burn things whenever he was barred from a place of study. The eye is said to be connected to the heart and reflects various emotions such as love and desire, pride and hatred, anger and tranquillity. The powers attributed to the eye have parallels in many cultures, including their ancient Egyptian and Babylonian roots. Do we also not attribute psychological characteristics to eyes in our daily speech? No wonder that, according to our Ethiopic scrolls, the eye is the most potent medium for the transmission of various illnesses.

There is no society in which magic has not played a significant role. The gods of the Sumerian Akkadians wore amulets to protect themselves and to ensure victory. Ea-Enki, the young god of the creation epic, “Lord of Incantation,” killed Apsu with a spell he recited during his struggle with Tiamat and Apsu, the primeval pair. Marduk was pronounced king after he had proven himself in magic performance. Eli, the god of Ugarit, removed King Keret’s malady by exercising it seven times.

In the Biblical world, diviners, soothsayers, sorcerers, witches, charmers, and various types of magicians were well known. King Saul ran for help to the witch of Endor in the time of his crisis (1 Sam. 28: 3, 7); and King Manasseh believed in and practiced magic (2 Chron. 33: 6). Examples of the role that magic played in Jewish history can also be adduced from post-Biblical Jewish and related literature. Tobias was instructed by Raphael, the angel of healing, to use fumigation to dispel evil spirits at his wedding (Tob. 6:16-17; 8:2-3). Josephus tells us that Eleazar used Solomon’s ring and herbs to drive away evil spirits before Vespasian (Antiquities 8:2-5). In the New Testament we read of the Magi (Matt. 2:1 ff) and hear of Simon Magus who practiced magic arts and astounded the Samaritan people (Acts 8:9).

Elsewhere in the ancient Near East, magic was so prevalent and the literature on the subject so extensive that it is not necessary for us to review the subject here. To appreciate its real importance or at least the impression it had on people in that world we must recall what Philo and Cicero said, that “no Persian can become a king before first mastering the science of magic.”

The science of magic seeks to subvert the course of nature. Whereas the so-called magic of our times is nothing but mere visual illusion, in the ancient world magic was a serious discipline

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20 Pr. 22: 19; 27: 2; Isa. 5:16; 13: 18; Deut. 15: 9.
21 Sanhedrin 95a, Cf. Aboth 2: 11; Berakoth 5b; Pesahim 26b.
22 Abodah Zarah, 28b.
23 Job 42: 5; Prov. 10: 16; Matt. 5: 22; 2 Pet. 2: 14; 1 John 2: 16; Aboth 5: 13, 19; Berakoth 20a; Pesahim 50b.
25 Ibid., Tablet I, pp. 60-63.
26 Deut. 18: 10; 1 Sam. 28: 3, 7; Isa. 3: 2-3; Jer. 27: 9.
which had important social and medical functions. It was to be approached with care and sensitivity for it was believed that if handled carelessly magic would not only be worthless, it would be dangerous. In this respect, one can speak about magic that is malignant and disposed to do mischief, create hatred and strife, execute vengeance, change human beings into animals, or kill and destroy. Yet magic was intended to be benevolent in its disposition. Charms and incantations could be used to expel demons, to undo the evil works of malevolent magicians who communicated with evil spirits, to cure illness, to raise the dead, and to support life. Even such great prophets and personalities as Moses, Joseph, and Daniel are ascribed the knowledge of benevolent magic. On the other hand, the law and the Prophets prohibited malevolent magic (Deut. 18:10; Mic. 5:11 ff.) and even recommended death for it (Lev. 20:27). We learn from post-Biblical Jewish literature that malevolent magic was introduced into the world by such fallen angels as Asael (Enoch, 6 ff.) and Beliar (Ascension of Isaiah), or the Cainites, descendants of Cain (Book of Jubilees, 4 ff.), or Lilith (Adam’s wicked wife) and her descendants.

In Ethiopian culture magic played these opposite functions, taking its place between orthodoxy and heresy. Officially, the Ethiopian Church, like other orthodox churches, condemns magic, that is, malevolent magic. Unofficially, however, some of its priests and many of its scribes (known as dabitarā) are left alone to practice it for the purpose of healing the sick. It is clear from the scrolls in the Princeton collection that malevolent magic was known in Ethiopia; however, nearly all of the scrolls that emerge from religious circles are devised to counteract malevolent magic, to heal the sick, and to foster life. Numerous prayers are written for the purpose of undoing the work of malevolent magicians who perform their charms using diverse types of objects just as a pharmacist uses various chemicals: salt, cottage cheese, lemon, beer, perfume, hair, toenails, saliva, partridge eggs, clay, fishbones, python bones, skeletons, flax, goat lung, chicken gizzard, camel’s milk, and monkey skin (cf. Princeton scrolls 77 and 81). The use of such exotic substances to perform malevolent magic is ascribed without exception to people of all national origins known to the writers of the scrolls: Ethiopians, Arabs, Jews, Egyptians, Turks, Franks. Although the writers clearly believed in the existence of evil magic and its potent effect upon people, they do not seem to have entertained any approval of it or betrayed any interest in it except in combating it. One may conclude that they felt abusus non tollit usum, and pursued their own magic.

The use of Ethiopic magical scrolls for the study of magical literature is a well-established scholarly tradition. The scrolls contain magical prayers designed to expel demons and evil spirits, undo charms, and cure various illnesses. However, the basic philological historical approach to the study of these scrolls leads us not only to the understanding of magic and its meaning but also to an appreciation of the history of medicine and diseases in Ethiopia during the past 500 years.

The scrolls show how Ethiopians, like other people, are preoccupied with the avoidance of illness, the preservation of health, and the continuity of life. By studying the scrolls it is possible to identify some, if not all, of the diseases from which Ethiopians suffered. We learn that they were plagued by migraine and other types of headaches, colic, chest pains, and rheumatism. Though these seem to be the most common maladies, they may tell us even more about other diseases for which these ailments are but symptoms. After these illnesses come others such as smallpox, malaria, influenza, and various diseases that are accompanied by fevers. A category still more difficult to decipher includes tefridā, legéwon, zär, nagargär, disk gedälē, and the like; in many of these cases what we are faced with may be psychosomatic diseases, spiritual, or mental disorders. Special attention is paid to infant mortality as well as to childlessness, sometimes attributed to vaginal hemorrhage.

Beyond the magical prayers, it is difficult to see or understand the nature of the physical treatment, if any, that was administered to the afflicted. Various types of plants and roots are mentioned in these writings, but the preponderant emphasis is on spiritual healing. It is said that if scrolls are read for the sick, or if the afflicted

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28 In addition to the works mentioned in the above references, see for instance, Sylvin Greba, “Prêtre magique contre la pleurésie,” Aethiopica 2, No. 3 (1984), 87; Maxime Rodinson, Magie, médecine et possession à Gonder (Paris: La Haye, Mouton & Co., 1967); Stefan Sreclay, “Prêtres magiques éthiopiens pour délivrer les chemins” (mfato be Saray),” Rocznik Orientalistyczny, 18 (Warsaw, 1975).

simply carry scrolls with them, the illness will be cured. When scholars have given as much attention to the medical and pharmaceutical aspects of this literature as to its magical aspects, we may begin to learn more about the history of medicine and disease in Ethiopia. We may also learn for our times something about the psychological component of healing: how much of a role does confidence in one's doctor play in one's health; how much can modern psychologists learn from an historical approach to the study of human illness, using magical literature; and what is the power of the spoken word in human feeling and well-being? Freudians may perhaps learn something from sorcerers since the magician has been here much longer than the doctor.

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**Library Notes**

**JULIAN PARKS BOYD**

1903-1980

Julian Parks Boyd was born in Converse, South Carolina, on November 3, 1903, and died in Princeton on May 28, 1980. He received his B.A. degree from Duke University in 1925 and also did his graduate work there. He was editor of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, director of the New York State Historical Association, and librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania before coming to Princeton as University Librarian in 1940, a post he held until 1952 when he became a member of the Department of History. During his twelve years as University Librarian, called by one of his colleagues "among the most fruitful years which the Library had yet enjoyed," Mr. Boyd was responsible not only for the construction of Firestone Library (it opened in the autumn of 1948) but also for the acquisition by the University of several of its most important collections of books and manuscripts—the Rollins, Kane, Parrish, Garrett, McCormick, Adler, and Hamilton Collections.

In 1944, Mr. Boyd had begun editing *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson* and continued as editor until his death. He served as president of the American Historical Association in 1964 and as president of the American Philosophical Society from 1973 to 1976. He was decorated a Commander of the British Empire and was awarded eight honorary degrees.

A memorial service was held in the University Chapel on June 12, at which time the following tribute was one of several read in his honor.

* More than just a word, death is a reality. To be or not to be! For me Julian Boyd's passing bell creates a very special void. Stilled are the invincible spirit and dauntless vitality I have admired and loved for 57 years.

  Julian had an eminent career and a happy life. He did not finish the monumental project on which he had embarked. Beset by
the perfectionist's thief—time—his contribution is both more demanding and more enduring. He pioneered in a vast, unexplored field, setting standards of meticulous research, painstaking accuracy, and informed judgment which will shine as a beacon in the years ahead. Originality and craftsmanship mark his legacy.

Julian's professional achievements provide but one measure of the man. Holmes and Brandeis carried on a running debate on the relative merits of intellect and character. Julian Boyd had both—a rare fusion of what Jefferson called talent and virtue. In addition, he epitomized an endowment peculiarly his own. This distinctive quality was elegance. His very presence, speech, and literary style, even the timbre and cadence of his voice, spelled elegance. In Julian Boyd elegance was innate.

His happiness was special, too. He enjoyed it in the ancient Greek sense: "the exercise of vital powers along lines of excellence in a life affording them scope." Symbolic was the felicity of his English prose.

Julian Boyd was the essence of man living, thinking, searching, man fulfilling himself in the lonely emptiness of the universe.

Julian was blessed, both in life and in death. Success in the most elevated sense rewarded everything he touched. In word and deed, he showered devotion on his wife, Grace, and his son, Kenneth. This affection radiated to his friends. To know Julian Boyd was ennobling.

Julian was fortunate even in death. It struck precisely as he would have wished, while his mind and spirit were still alive. The friend we all know and love simply slipped away.

Death can touch with a mercifully gentle hand. So it did with Julian. Sara Teasdale's exquisitely consoling poem, "The Old Enemy," tells us why:

Rebellion against death, the old rebellion
Is over; I have nothing left to fight;
Battles have always had their need of music
But peace is quiet as a windless night.
Therefore I make no songs—I have grown certain
Save when he comes too late, death is a friend,
A shepherd leading home his flock serenely
Under the planet at the evening's end.

—ALPHEUS THOMAS MASON
McCormick Professor of Jurisprudence, Emeritus

“A Quorum Called Out of the Kingdom: One Hundred and Fifty Imprints from the First Century and a Half of Mormonism” filled the library's exhibition gallery from May 28th through October 5, 1980. The gift in 1947 of the Western Americana collection of Philip Ashton Rollins ’89 brought major Mormon rarities to the Princeton University Library. Additions from other collectors, especially J. Lionberger Davis ’00, Dr. J. Monroe Thornton ’15, and David N. Pierce ’67; an active program of exchange with libraries in Utah and Missouri; and the generosity of William H. Scheide ’36 have enabled the library to amass an extraordinary Mormon collection. The sesquicentennial of the founding of Mormonism seemed an appropriate occasion to suggest the comprehensive nature of the Princeton collections.

Through its first century and a half Mormonism cut across America, both in space and time, in ways especially instructive of American culture generally. Mormonism's habit of holding to the edge of the frontier for much of its early history has made it an object of study whose appeal has transcended the usual parochial focus of religious history and currently gives it a special fascination for the anthropologist. Rather than accept the responsibility of singling out the 150 most significant publications from the first century and a half of Mormonism, the exhibition has attempted to balance the desire to call attention to imprints of importance with the task of suggesting the range of the Princeton holdings.

The exhibition spanned the 150 years from the book that started Mormonism, the 1830 Book of Mormon (in two copies, one from the Scheide Library and one purchased by the Friends from the collection of Elmer Adler) to a recent pamphlet by Ervil LeBaron, the self-styled prophet of a dissenting sect of Mormonism, currently in the national news for motivating the assassinations of leaders of two rival religious organizations in the 1970s. Between these two extremes the exhibition attempted to touch on major areas of Mormon history and culture and to suggest the diversity as well as the unifying threads of the movement.

The life of Joseph Smith was represented not only by such celebrated rarities as the 1833 Book of Commandments (the gift of William H. Scheide ’36) and the 1841 Document showing the testimony given before the judge of the fifth judicial circuit of the State of Missouri, on the trial of Joseph Smith, Jr., and others, for high treason (the gift of David N. Pierce ’67), but also by a letter
The 1846 Nauvoo announcement of the Mormon intention “to send out the Western country...a company of pioneers...”

The Princeton Collections of Western Americana
Gift of the Friends
situations imposed by the presence of federal marshals whose purpose was to prevent cohabitation in the territory: *The Underground Road, Winding the Clock, and Are You Getting Much Now?* must have all been produced in the mid-1880s (gifts of David N. Pierce '67). Described by Harriet Beecher Stowe as the "twin relic of barbarism," polygamy motivated sensational literature that could justify sex as a subject in 19th-century America by using it as a means to denounce a false religion. That Mormonism was the favorite subject of the late 19th-century sensationalist press was represented by a case glistening with gilded cloth bindings with such titles as *Mormonism Unveiled; The Mormon Wife; Salt Lake Fruit; Life in Utah or the Mysteries of Mormonism; Les Harems au Nouveau Monde, and Female Life among the Mormons.*

Other exhibits suggested the diversity of the cultural involvements of the Mormon frontier: mathematical treatises, music, alphabetic reform, Indian vocabularies, fiction, and an inordinate concern with academic and educational pursuits. The latter was represented, among other works, by issues of the primitively printed miniature periodical for children produced in the midst of the southern Utah deserts in the 1860s, *The St. George Juvenile* (the gift of Dr. J. Monroe Thorton '15). Drama was of such importance in the Mormon world that a full case was reserved for it. Here were copies of E. W. Tullidge's two printed plays with manuscript stage directions: the 1870 *Oliver Cromwell* and the 1887 *Ben Israel.* Near these plays were letters from Brigham Young manifesting his concern for the Salt Lake Theatre of the time. Yet another case documented an interest in drama of a radically different nature: the persistent literary genre of the Mormon temple exposé, from Van Duzen's *Startling Disclosures* (New York, 1849) through Talmage's *The House of the Lord,* which was the official attempt to silence the whole genre.

The popular misconception of Mormonism as a monolithic institution was dispelled by the exhibition of imprints of some of the hundreds of dissenting churches descended from Joseph Smith's original organization, including groups as diverse as those represented by Joseph Morris's *The Spirit Prevails* (San Francisco, 1886), James Strang's *The Book of the Law of the Lord* (St. James, 1851), both acquired through the William Watson Smith 1892 Memorial Fund, and Alva Amasa Tanner's *A Castaway Mormon* (Oakley, Idaho, 1919), the gift of David N. Pierce '67.

The exhibition surrounded a major case containing the books regarded as scripture by most of the Mormon churches: the Bible in both its 1611 King James (London) version, the gift of William H. Scheide '36, and in its 1867 Plano, Illinois version; *The Holy Scriptures, Translated and Corrected by the Spirit of Revelation,* By Joseph Smith, Jr., *The Seer,* purchased on the Gulich Fund; *The Book of Mormon* (Palmyra, New York, 1830), lent by the Scheide Library; *A Book of Commandments* (Zion, Missouri, 1833), the gift of William H. Scheide '36; and, perhaps the most controversial of Mormon works, *The Pearl of Great Price* (Liverpool, 1851), lent anonymously. These last four titles have moved people and motivated history in America and abroad for a century and a half, and are today read as scripture by some five million people.
RECENT ACQUISITIONS—MANUSCRIPTS

The following manuscripts were added to the Library’s collections during the period from July 1, 1979, through June 30, 1980. The list does not include manuscripts already described in the Chronicle earlier this year for New and Notable, manuscripts deposited, and photocopies received of manuscripts elsewhere. Manuscripts in the Seeley G. Mudd Library of 20th-century public affairs papers are separately noted, as are Parrish Collection manuscripts and books.

AMERICAN HISTORY. One letter each from Presidents Grant and Harding. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William M. Cahn, Jr. ’33.

AMERICAN WOMEN AUTHORS OF THE 19TH CENTURY. A group of 84 manuscript pieces (poems, letters, notes, etc.) by 19th-century American women authors, to complement the Miriam Y. Holden Collection on the History of Women. Purchase: Taylor Fund.

ASSOCIATION ON AMERICAN INDIAN AFFAIRS. Additions to our collection. Gift of the Association on American Indian Affairs, Inc.


BURROUGHS, JOHN. Part of his manuscript Literature, about Wordsworth and Whitman, with associated letters.

COSSIER, HAMILTON ’22. Correspondence, account books, ledgers, blueprints of “Southlawn,” photographs and related material. Gift of Hamilton Cottier ’22, with additions since his death from his widow.


FITE, PROFESSOR WARNER. Five letters, 1921-1936, with related material. Gift of Faith D. Waterman.


GALSWORTHY, JOHN. Letter to Mr. Wellings, June 8, 1922. Purchase: Taylor Fund.

GILBERT, SIR JOHN. Letter to Sir Francis Cowley Burnand, October 1, 1881, with a sketch in ink. Purchase: Taylor Fund.

GOETZ, JOHN R. TLS to Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Foster, November 24, 1964, regarding Allen Tate’s birthday. Gift of John R. Goetz.

GONZALEZ, JUAN. Calligraphic legal manuscript, in Spanish, Valladolid, 1581. Gift of Alberto Flores C., M.D.


HARRISON, BENJAMIN. Fourteen letters to or relating to President Benjamin Harrison, grandfather of the donor. Gift of Benjamin H. Walker ’44.

HEMINGWAY, ERNEST. Copies of 93 letters from Hemingway to Harvey Breit, 1950-1957, from originals at Harvard; and printed additions to the Ernest Hemingway Collection. Gift of Professor Carlos Baker.

HESS, HARRY H. Additions to the scholarly papers of Professor Harry H. Hess. Gift of Mrs. Hess.

IVANCICH, ADRIANA. Three letters from Adriana Ivancich to Charles Scribner, 1950, relating to her designs for the book-jacket for Ernest Hemingway's *Across the River and into the Trees*, with rough drawing attached. Gift of Charles Scribner, Jr. '43.

IVOR, DR. RUTH. Forty exhibition photographs taken in Prague in 1965 by Dr. Ivor. Gift of Dr. Ivor.


KAHLER, ERICH VON AND ALBERT EINSTEIN. Four photographs: one of Erich von Käehler, two of Albert Einstein, and one of Einstein with others. The Einstein photographs are in color, and three are signed. Gift of Mrs. Erich von Käehler.

MANN, THOMAS. ALS to Dr. Albert Einstein, Princeton, 18 December 1938. Purchase: Kienbusch Fund.

MARQUAND, ALLAN, Class of 1874. Additions to the Allan Marquand Papers. Gift of Mrs. Douglas Delany.

MARQUAND, HENRY GURDON. Album containing clippings of Marquand's obituary. Gift of Mrs. Douglas Delany.

MASON, ANNA KATHARINE. Five travel diaries 1897-1910, including journeys to California, Alaska, Jamaica, Europe, and Mexico. Gift of Mrs. James Monroe Thorington.


MIXTEC MANUSCRIPT. Painted vellum scroll in the style of a Mixtec manuscript. Gift of Mrs. J. Goddard.

PARROTT, THOMAS MARC '88. Three photographs of Professor Parrott, 1895, and one photograph of Dr. Gassmeyer, inscribed to Professor Parrott, August 9, 1893. Gift of Professor Maurice W. Kelley.

PEMBROKE, THOMAS, 8th Earl of. ALS to Lord Townshend, March 10, 1725, regarding illegal printing of *The Duke of Ormond's Complaint*, enclosing the broadside.

PULESTON, DENNIS. Research notes and professional papers of Dennis Puleston, Mayanist and Professor of Anthropology, University of Minnesota. Gift of Olga Stavrakis.

REIF, PAUL. Forty-five manuscript music compositions by Paul Reif, 1959-1976. Gift of Mrs. Reif.

RICHTER, CONRAD. Ideas, titles, chapter outlines, proofs, and a broadcasting adaptation of her father's novel *The Light in the Forest*. Gift of Harvena Richter.

SCHWARZSCHILD, MARTIN. Correspondence, 1936-1978, and papers regarding the stratoscope experiments, 1955-1972. Transfer from the Department of Astrophysical Sciences.

SCHWEITZER, ALBERT. ANS from Dr. Schweitzer in French with translation, and related material, 1950. Gift of Mrs. Charles F. Clark.


STANHOPE, LADY HESTER LUCY. ALS to the British Consul at Smyrna, May 27, 1824. Purchase: Taylor Fund.


STEWARD, GEORGE BLACK, JR. '06. Diaries, 1906-1911, photographs, and photograph albums; speeches, engagement calendars, with related material about the Syrian Protestant College, Beirut. Gift of Frank Stewart '39.

STREET, JULIAN. Letters, scrapbook, photographs concerning The Ohio Lady by Booth Tarkington and Julian Street; correspondence; wine lists, etc.; prompt copy of Rita Coventry dramatized by Hubert Osborne from Julian Street’s novel; and other additions to the Julian Street Collection. Gifts of his widow, his son Julian Street, Jr. ’25, and his daughter Mrs. C. Hunt Lewis.

SYMONS, ARTHUR. Corrected typescript of The Sinister Guest. Gift of Bob Lee Mowery.


TATE, ALLEN. Thirty-five letters, 1957-1978, from Allen Tate to his friend and colleague Professor John W. Clark, Department of English, University of Minnesota.

TATE, CAROLINE GORDON. Additions to the Caroline Gordon and Allen Tate Papers, including the manuscripts of Caroline Gordon’s novels Green Centuries and The Women on the Porch. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Percy H. Wood.

VAN DYKE, HENRY, Class of 1873. TLS to Mr. Chase, April 13, 1901. Gift of Herbert P. Carter ’24.

VERGILIUS MARO, PUBLIUS. Vellum roll of part of The Aeneid, 5.9 x 264 cms., mid-15th century Italian, in a tiny humanist hand. The roll format is the only one known for a Vergil text. Purchase: Taylor, Zabriskie, and Friends of the Library Funds.

VINCENT, WILLIAM, Dean of Westminster. ALS, to his publisher, with six pages of publisher’s accounts for Vincent’s Periplus, Part 2, 1800-1805. Purchase: Taylor Fund.


WILSON, MARGARET WOODROW. Photograph of Margaret Woodrow Wilson, Princeton, 1911. Gift of Dr. and Mrs. Murray Geller.


WITHERSPOON, JOHN. Lecture notes taken by John and Samuel Sharpe Dickinson of Witherspoon’s lectures on Moral Philosophy, Criticism, and Chronology, 1790-1791. Purchase: Savage Fund.

WOODRUFF, ELIAS. Receipt to General Anthony Wayne, Princeton, November 19, 1787, for his son’s room and board at Princeton. Gift of Dr. Henry Bartholomew Cox ’59.

YOUNG, C. A. "Measures of the Polar and Equatorial Diameters of the Planet Mars," AMS by Professor Young, Princeton, 1879, with drawings. Gift of Mrs. Sarah Kuiper Roth.

PARRISH COLLECTION

The Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelist acquired by purchase, in part through the generosity of Mrs. Donald F. Hyde and Robert H. Taylor ’30, the following: William Harrison Ainsworth, three letters; William Black, three letters; Edward Bulwer-Lytton, six letters; Wilkie Collins, two letters; Dinah Craik, three letters; Louise de la Ramée (Ouida), three letters; Thomas Hughes, five letters; Charles Kingsley, eight letters; Charles Lever, one letter; Charles Reade, one letter; Anthony Trollope, 17 letters; Mrs. Frances M. Trollope, one letter; Mrs. Henry Wood, one letter; letters from Henry M., Ada and Muriel Trollope and other material relating to Anthony Trollope from the files of Michael Sadleir; a pen-and-ink and watercolor drawing by Frederick W. Palmthorpe of Colonel Newcome at the "Cave of Harmony."

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAPERS

The following manuscripts representing comprehensive collections or integrated groups of papers were added to the holdings of the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library:

BROWN, J. DOUGLAS ’19. Personal papers, primarily concerning industrial relations, the social security system, manpower, and higher education have been presented by the Dean of the Faculty, Emeritus, at Princeton.

PATE, MAURICE ’15. Personal papers which refer to his service in worldwide relief operations during the years 1916-1946, mainly in association with Herbert Hoover, and as Executive Director of the United Nations Children’s Fund, UNICEF, 1946-1965, were the gift of Mrs. Pate.
The Mudd Library has received the following manuscripts which supplement existing papers or established collections:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. Additions to the archives by the ACLU included general correspondence and closed legal files for 1975, as well as records of the Amnesty Project.

BALDWIN, ROGER N. An oral history interview with Roger Baldwin at Columbia University in 1961 and several other items by or about Mr. Baldwin were added to the Baldwin papers by the ACLU.

BEALE, HOWARD K. Notes concerning Theodore Roosevelt were added to the Beale collection by Mrs. Beale.

DULLES, JOHN FOSTER '08. Copies of the first three installments of formerly closed files relating to Secretary Dulles from the Dwight D. Eisenhower Library were purchased on the John Foster Dulles Fund to supplement the personal papers of John Foster Dulles. After the files are completely declassified and sent to Princeton over a three-year period, they will be housed in the Manuscript Division of the Firestone Library.

EBERSTADT, FERDINAND '13. Family correspondence, documents, and memorabilia were added to the Eberstadt papers by Frederick Eberstadt '48.

EDDY, WILLIAM A. '17. Letters to his wife from abroad during 1941-1943, academic degrees, official appointments and citations, and several photographs were added to the Eddy papers by Mrs. Eddy.

EMENY, BROOKS '24. Correspondence and conference files mainly relating to the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938-1953, and the Atlantic Council of the United States, 1964-1979, were added to the Emeny collection by Mr. Emeny.

LEE, IVY '98. Volumes of material dated 1916-1944 assembled on behalf of the clients of Ivy Lee and T. J. Ross and Associates were received from T. J. Ross and Associates, Inc.

LILIENTHAL, DAVID E. Records placed on deposit in the Princeton University Library from January 1966 through October 1977 were added to the Lilienthal papers as a gift from Mr. Lilienthal. In addition, a microfilm of Mr. Lilienthal's official papers as a member of the Board of Directors of the Tennessee Valley Authority beginning in 1933 and as its Chairman during 1941-1946 was purchased from the TVA on the David E. Lilienthal Fund.

MCGOVERN, GEORGE. Files concerning special campaign issues, some reading copies of speeches, scrapbooks of clippings, and printed books relating to the 1972 presidential campaign were added to the McGovern papers by Senator McGovern.

MORSE, DAVID A. Copies of records in the National Archives from the Labor Department relating to Mr. Morse's positions as Assistant Secretary of Labor, Under Secretary of Labor, and Acting Secretary of Labor, 1946-1948, as well as letters, speeches, photographs, and other items, 1958-1979, were added to the Morse papers by Mr. Morse.

PHLEGGER, HERMAN. A transcript of an oral history interview in 1977 entitled "Sixty Years in Law, Public Service and International Affairs" from the Bancroft Library of the University of California at Berkeley was purchased on the John Foster Dulles Fund to supplement the Phleger collection and an earlier interview in 1964 in the John Foster Dulles Oral History Collection.

STEVENVSON, ADLAI E. '22. Several speeches delivered in 1956 and 1959 which are recorded on tape or film were added to the Stevenson holdings by Morris S. Novik and Senator Adlai E. Stevenson III.

THOMPSON, FRANK, JR. Records in 1977 of the 95th Congress, First Session, were added to the Thompson papers by Congressman Thompson.

TILLET, PAUL D., JR. "F.B.I. Files" recently received from the United States Department of Justice were added to the Tillet papers by Mrs. H. Hubert Wilson.

VERSAILES TREATY, WORLD WAR I. Mimeographed copies of the Conseil Supérieure de Guerre, Versailles, 1918, with a presentation inscription to Lieutenant Pierre Bédard from Captain A. Portier, the French member of the Secretariat of the Conseil. Gift of Mrs. Pierre Bédard.

—JEAN F. FRESTON, Curator of Manuscripts
RECENT ACQUISITIONS—BOOKS

The following is a listing of significant additions to the printed book holdings of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections between July 1, 1979 and June 30, 1980, not previously noted in the Chronicle.

AMERICAN LITERATURE AND HISTORY

BURT, STRUTHERS '04 and KATHARINE NEWLIN BURT. A collection of their published works (46 volumes together) with many volumes containing inscriptions and annotations by the authors. [Philadelphia, Boston, New York, and other cities, 19—]. Gift of their daughter Mrs. J. B. Atteberry.


JAMES, WILL. The drifting cowboy. New York, 1925. With an inserted autograph letter from the author to Struthers Burt (22 April 1925) and a signed drawing by the author (1927). Gift of Mrs. J. B. Atteberry together with a number of other books associated with Mr. and Mrs. Struthers Burt.


POPE, ALEXANDER. An essay on man, in four epistles. Lansingburgh, [N.Y.], 1790. Printed with the type used for printing Benjamin Franklin’s Bagatelles at Passy. Purchase: Hunt Fund.


CONTINENTAL EUROPEAN HISTORY AND LITERATURE


BELLEGRARDE, JEAN BAPTISTE MORVAN DE. Reflexions upon ridicule or, What it is that makes a man ridiculous. London, 1706. Purchase: Root Fund.

BELLEGRARDE, JEAN BAPTISTE MORVAN DE. Reflexions upon ridicule or, What it is that makes a man ridiculous. London, 1739. Purchase: Root Fund.

[BOUTET, CLAUDE]. Ecole de la mignature, dans laquelle on peut aisément apprendre à peindre sans maître. Lyon, [1679]. Purchase: Reed Fund.


[FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS DE SALIGNAC]. The adventures of Telemachus. Jena, 1749. Second edition of the first full-length book in English to be printed in Germany. The first edition was issued at Jena in 1726. Gift of Dr. Ruth Ivor together with three other books.


JARRY, ALFRED. A collection of 180 books and pamphlets as well as 143 other items by or about Alfred Jarry and the Collège de Pataphysique. [Paris, 19—]. Gift of Charles K. Warner.


LA MOTTE-FOUQUÉ, FRIEDRICH HEINRICH KARL, FREIHERR DE. The magic ring: a romance, from the German of Frederick, baron de la Motte Fouqué. Edinburgh, 1825. Purchase: Sturges Fund.


RICHER, ADRIEN. Vie de Jean-Bart, chef d'escadre sous Louis XIV. Amsterdam, [1780]. Purchase: Reed Fund.


TOTTI, RANIERI. Gli amanti furiosi, favola boscareccia ... Venice, 1597. Purchase: Reed Fund.


ENGLISH LITERATURE AND HISTORY

Amatory poems, selected from many literary characters, by one who has sacrificed largely at the shrine of the favourite goddess. [London?], Privately printed, 1800. Purchase: Class of 1875 Fund.


BRATHWAITE, RICHARD. The English gentlewoman, drawne out to the full body ... London, 1693. Purchase: Osgood Fund.


COWLEY, ABRAHAM. The second and third parts of the works of Mr. Abraham Cowley ... London, 1689. Purchased in memory of Norman F. Carroll '09.


[DIBBIN, CHARLES]. The songs, choruses, and serious dialogue of the masque called the institution of the Garter ... London, 1771. Purchase: Root Fund.


Hayward, John. The first part of the life and raigne of King Henrie the IIII. London, 1599. Gift of the estate of Professor Daniel Seltzer '54.


POWNAIL, THOMAS. Principles of polity, being the grounds and reasons of civil empire. London, 1752. Pownall’s own copy with extensive autograph revisions throughout. Evidently the revisions date after Pownall’s governorships in America, the last of which ended in 1760, when he returned to England. Purchase: King Fund.


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EMBLEM BOOKS

BUNDETO, CARLOS. El espejo de la muerte, en que se notan los medios de prepararse para morir. . . . Antwerp (i.e. Amsterdam), 1700. Purchase: Friends of the Library Fund.

[Harvey, Christopher]. The school of the heart; or, the heart of it self gone away from God brought back. . . . London, 1676. Purchase: Reed Fund.


HISTORY OF SCIENCE


NANSEN, FRIDTJOF. Fraen over polhavet den norske polarfærd 1893-1896. Christiania, 1897. First edition of the narrative of the Arctic expedition which reached the farthest north latitude yet attained in 1896 (86° 14'). The author later became a diplomat and won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1922. Purchase: Surdna Foundation Fund.


THOMSON, ALEXANDER. The family physician; or, domestic medical friend . . . New York, 1802. Purchased in memory of Paul C. MacPherson '14.


MISCELLANEOUS


Coleccin de las aplicaciones que se han haciendo de los Bienes, Camas, y Colegios . . . Lima, 1772. Purchase: Reed Fund.


MORFI, JUAN AUGUSTIN. La nobleza, y piedad de los montanez por . . . Cristo de Burgos. Mexico, 1775. Purchase: Reed Fund.

—STEPHEN FERGUSON, Curator of Rare Books
Annual Meeting and Dinner

The annual meeting and dinner attended by 162 Friends, guests, and members of the Library staff, were held in the Firestone Library and in the former Chancellor Green Library on Friday evening, April 18, 1980. An exhibition, “Let Joy Be Unconfined: Three Centuries of Ballet,” was on display in the Gould Gallery where the guests gathered for cocktails. Robert H. Taylor, chairman of the Council, presided at the annual business meeting.

Frank E. Taplin of the Council of the Friends submitted the list of proposed Council members for the Class of 1980-1983 and those names were unanimously elected by the members present. Two new members were welcomed to the Council: Mrs. Gordon M. Marshall and Mr. Duane Reed Stuart, Jr. ’27.

The chairman reminded us that just over 50 years ago the Friends of the Library was founded at a dinner given by Philip Ashton Rollins ’89 at the Union Club in New York City on March 28, 1930. Three months later the first issue of Biblia, “a publication devoted to the interests of the Princeton University Library” and the predecessor of the Chronicle, appeared under the aegis of the Council and its first chairman, Mr. Rollins.

The chairman then introduced the speaker of the evening, the doyenne of American choreographers, Agnes de Mille. Instead of recalling her own work in the development of American ballet, Miss de Mille delighted her audience with spirited observations on cultural shock, the younger generation, the vagaries of our communications media, and the sometimes alarming voices of the future.

Financial Report

During the winter, the Friends received a gift of $13,847 upon dissolution of a trust established by Mr. Frederick W. Birkenhauer. The gift also comes as a memorial to the Class of 1910. The money has been added to the principal of the Friends of the Li-

Library Book Fund, thus raising its endowment from $6,989 to $20,836.

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account for the year 1979-80 is as follows:

Receipts

- Cash balance July 1, 1979: $10,732
- Dues for 1979-1980 as well as special and matching gifts: $42,672
- Chronicle subscriptions and other sales: $5,290
- Annual dinner, April 18, 1980: $3,160

Total: $61,854

Expenditures

- Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XL, no. 3: $5,728
- Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XLI, no. 1: $4,686
- Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XLI, no. 2: $4,512
- Chronicle and other publication production expenses: $1,058
- Transfer to Acquisitions Fund: $10,000
- November Council Dinner: $964
- Annual dinner, April 18, 1980: $5,881
- Membership drive: $2,119
- Exhibition expenses: $2,802
- Postage and printing: $2,286
- Clerical assistance: $4,610
- Editor’s salary: $2,424
- Miscellaneous: $674

Total: $45,744

Cash balance June 30, 1980: $16,110

Publication Fund

Receipts

- Balance July 1, 1979: $484
- Sales: $332
- Contributions: $560

Total: $1,076

Expenditures

- Total: $0

Total: $1,076

Balance June 30, 1980: $81
CERTAIN SMALL WORKS
Robert H. Taylor
Of Collectors and Collecting; The Writer’s Craft; Anthony Trollope
164 pp. 9 illus. 1980. $10.00

F. SCOTT FITZGERALD’S ST. PAUL PLAYS, 1911-1914
Four plays written for the Elizabethan Club of St. Paul, Minnesota
Edited with an introduction by Alan Margolies
166 pp. 8 plates. 1978. $12.00

FINE BINDINGS: GOTHIC TO MODERN
Jamie Kleinberg Shalleck
European Handbound Books in the Princeton University Library
32 pp. 8 plates. 1978. $2.00

HARPSICHORD MUSIC OF HANDEL
Opera Overtures: Amadigi, Steipone, and Admeto
Oratorio Overtures: Samson and Athalia
Two Fugues: G minor and A minor
Performed by Edward Parmentier
Explanatory notes by J. Merrill Knapp
Stereo LP 1976. $7.50

SMYTH REPORT ON THE ATOMIC BOMB
Offprint of three Chronicle articles about the publishing history and bibliography of the official report on the first atomic bomb (Printing and the Mind of Man, 423)
45 pp. 13 illus. 1976. $2.00

FATHER BOMBO’S PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA
ed. Michael Davitt Bell
The first American novel, written in Nassau Hall in 1770 by Philip Freneau ‘71 and Hugh Henry Brackenridge ‘71
130 pp. 4 plates. 1975. $10.00

THOMAS MANN, 1875-1955
Stanley Corngold, Victor Lange, and Theodore Ziolkowski
62 pp. 9 plates. 1975. $3.00

DR. PANOFSKY & MR. TARKINGTON:
AN EXCHANGE OF LETTERS, 1938-1946
ed. Richard M. Ludwig
151 pp. 8 plates. 1974. $10.00

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK: A REAPPRAISAL
ed. Robert L. Patten
258 pp. 44 plates. 1974. $10.00

ESSAYS ON THE ROSSETTIS
ed. Robert S. Fraser
117 pp. 11 illus. 1972. $10.00

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON: A CATALOGUE OF COLLECTIONS IN THE DEPARTMENT OF RARE BOOKS
Alexander D. Wainwright
142 pp. 8 plates. 1971. $12.50
Princeton University Library Publications

WILLIAM BLAKE, ENGRAVER
Charles Ryskamp
intro. Geoffrey Keynes
A Descriptive Catalogue of an Exhibition
61 pp. 12 plates. 1969. $3.50

AN OTOMI CATECHISM AT PRINCETON
intro. Gillett G. Griffin
76 pp. 1968. $3.00

SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS
FROM THE CHESTER BEATTY LIBRARY
62 pp. 8 illus. 1967. $1.25

WILDE AND THE NINETIES
ed. Charles Ryskamp
75 pp. 12 illus. 1966. $3.50

THE PORTRAIT OF JOHN MILTON AT PRINCETON
John R. Martin
42 pp. 24 illus. 1961. $7.50

ON PLAYS, PLAYWRIGHTS, AND PLAYGOERS:
SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTERS OF
BOOTH TARKINGTON
ed. Alan S. Downer
110 pp. 12 plates. 1959. $3.00

Princeton University Library Publications

A LETTER FROM BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TO
BENJAMIN VAUGHAN CONTAINING SOME
OBSERVATIONS ON THE PRODIGAL
PRACTICES OF PUBLISHERS
intro. Carl Van Doren
14 pp. facsimile. 1949. $4.00

PAUL ELMER MORE
A Bibliography
Malcolm Young
40 pp. 1941. $2.00

Also Available, Published in Germany:

THE NEW WORLD IN THE TREASURES
OF AN OLD EUROPEAN LIBRARY
Catalogue of an Exhibition
on loan from the Herzog August
Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, held
in Princeton University Library
September 24-October 17, 1976
164 pp. 86 illus. 1976. $5.00

Address:
Princeton University Library, Department of Publications,
Princeton, New Jersey, 08544. Checks payable to Princeton
University Library.
FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

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

Membership is open to those subscribing annually twenty-five dollars or more. Students may join for five dollars. Checks payable to Princeton University Library should be addressed to the Treasurer.

Members receive The Princeton University Library Chronicle and occasional publications issued by the Friends, and are invited to participate in meetings and to attend special lectures and exhibitions.

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