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An Exile in Princeton
The Letters of Charles Thomson, 1783

By Nathaniel Burt

For a brief four months, from the end of June to the beginning of November in 1783, the capital of the United States was located in New Jersey and at Princeton. As the seat of the Congress of the United States of America, Princeton was host to the only governing agency of the brand new nation. No executive or cabinet or judiciary stood between this government and the rest of the world. Between this government and the people it was supposed to represent stood the governments of the various states. Congress was the sole ruler of the nation under the makeshift Articles of Confederation of 1781, and yet it was an almost powerless ruler. This was the same Continental Congress that had seen the Revolutionary War through to victory, but it was now faced with the almost insoluble problems of peace, a peace which was in fact not yet official. At the time of the removal of Congress to Princeton the signed copy of the final treaty of peace with Britain had not yet reached America.

The congressmen took refuge in New Jersey because of a mutiny in Philadelphia, where Congress had been most of the time since its creation in 1774. The mutiny was a comparatively staid affair. On June 21, 1783, 30 armed soldiers of the Pennsylvania line of the Continental Army picketed the State House (Independence Hall), where Congress usually met, demanding back pay. They were joined by some 250 others. There was no violence to person or property, but Congress was thoroughly insulted and alarmed. The demands of the soldiers were rejected, in part because Congress had no money to pay them. Congress then voted unanimously to move to New Jersey.
Why New Jersey? The then president of Congress was Elias Boudinot. This was not so much an executive position as an honorific one. The president merely presided. But as presiding officer, Boudinot had much prestige and influence. As a former resident of Princeton, with double connections to the powerful Stockton family (Signer Richard Stockton had married his sister, Boudinot had married Stockton’s sister), he was able to persuade Congress to move there. He promised them the use of Nassau Hall, then one of the largest buildings in the nation, as a meeting place for Congress, and very rashly also promised the congressmen board and lodging.

Why was the vote unanimous? Already a cantankerous Congress was divided into two bitterly opposed parties. On the one hand there were the centralists, who believed in a strong central government, on the other hand the decentralists who believed in strong state governments. These parties were not yet officially organized, named, or led, but they eventually evolved into the Federalists led by Hamilton and the Republicans led by Jefferson. Already they were at each other’s throats. However, in this one instance, they agreed, for totally opposite reasons. The centralists wanted to leave Philadelphia in order to sustain the “dignity of Congress” against mob violence and what they believed to be the weakness of the state of Pennsylvania in not immediately breaking up the mutiny. The decentralists on the other hand wanted to leave Philadelphia to get away from the influence of a financial oligarchy dominated by Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris. The centralists intended to return to Philadelphia as soon as the mutiny was quelled and all was secure. The decentralists intended to stay away for good. As soon as they got to Princeton, they all began to quarrel again about this and many other matters. The decentralists were in control, partly because so many important centralists like Madison and Hamilton stayed away, except for brief visits. They had already despaired of the Confederation and were seeking new ways of strengthening it.

The Articles of Confederation were indeed almost unworkable as a scheme of democratic government. Congress was totally dependent on the states for money. It had no means of enforcing its decisions and demands, it could not levy taxes or impose tariffs, and there seemed to be no orderly system of amending the Articles to make them work.

The worst single aspect of the Confederation was the voting system. It was by states, not by numerical representation. Every state had one vote, so that little Rhode Island had exactly the same political clout as mighty Virginia. A state’s vote was determined by a simple majority of the votes of its delegates, who had to be no fewer than two and no more than seven. Nine vote votes were required for important decisions, at least seven or any lesser motion. Frequently there were not enough states represented to carry on any business at all; and when voting was possible, motions were often carried by one or two strategic individual votes against the numerical majority.

As a result of this rickety structure and of the bitter centralist-decentralist battle, issues were not judged on their merits but in relation to party or province. Rhode Island, for instance, was quite naturally insanely jealous of its state power and independence. Pennsylvania inclined constantly towards a centralization based on her own riches and political experience. But even state delegations were split according to individual preferences, and all the delegations were besotted with regional hobbies.

It is no wonder then that the Confederation has gone down in history as a feeble interregnum between the war and the new Constitution of 1787-1789. The session in Princeton particularly has a reputation as a do-nothing Congress. But in fact a few very important things were done in Princeton, and others were begun there. Among the Confederation’s accomplishments was the treaty with Sweden—the first diplomatic relationship with a non-allied or non-belligerent power. Even more significant was the acceptance by Congress of western lands ceded to it by Virginia. This was the basis for the future orderly expansion of the nation, as finally determined by the Northwest Ordinance of 1787. The treaty with Sweden and the establishment of the territorial system were in fact two of the most important acts of the entire Confederacy.

In Princeton the creation of some sort of Federal City where Congress could be free of state or big-city influence was determined upon, although the details were not worked out. The absurd idea of two capitals was debated to satisfy the jealousies of both northern and southern states. One capital might be on the banks of the Delaware, north of Trenton, one on the banks of the Potomac. Congress would have to move back and forth at stated intervals; but all was in dispute. Since one of the first necessities of such a capital would be an equestrian statue of Washington, the quandary was: two separate statues? Or more economically, one portable one? Another issue endlessly de-
bated but not resolved was the establishment of a federal armed force. The decentralists fiercely opposed any such thing; the centralists thought it vital.

Neither of these two issues came near to being settled in Princeton, but a survey of a site of some 100 square miles above Trenton on the Jersey side was eventually made. The only souvenir of this fond hope is the country-suburban road now named Federal City Road which outlines the northwest corner of this survey.

One man who was in Princeton throughout the whole summer of 1783 was Charles Thomson (1729-1824), sole secretary of Congress from the very beginnings in 1774 to the change in 1789 of that body into the two houses of Congress under the Constitution of 1787. His early biography reads like an 18th-century romance. He arrived in America as a 10-year-old orphan. His mother had died in his native Ireland, his father died en route to the new world, and Charles and his five siblings had been distributed by the ship’s captain to the homes of various craftsmen in Pennsylvania. Charles was given to a blacksmith. The blacksmith thought of apprenticing him. As a bookish boy, Charles hated blacksmithing and ran away. En route a lady of substance (name still unknown) picked him up and was so struck by his intelligence that she placed him in the school of Dr. Francis Alison in Chester County, Pennsylvania. There he was a prize pupil, devoted especially to the classics, and became himself a successful schoolmaster. In 1750 he was a tutor at Benjamin Franklin’s infant Philadelphia Academy, which later blossomed into the University of Pennsylvania. He was involved with Indian affairs and was in 1758 adopted into the Delaware tribe under the Indian name of Wegh-wu-law-mo-end—the “man-who-tells-the-truth.” In 1760 he left teaching, became a merchant, and prospered. He was active as a patriot in pre-revolutionary struggles, and was nicknamed (by John Adams among others) the “Sam Adams of Philadelphia.” He was one of the few citizens there who remained steadfastly anti-British during that period, and his letters to Franklin in England were printed as pro-American propaganda. As soon as Congress was formed in 1774 he was invited to be its secretary. As such he knew everybody and everything that went on in American politics. Many of the chief actors were his friends, notably Franklin and Thomas Jefferson with whom he had lengthy correspondences. Though he was a fervent and faithful centralist and constitutionalist, he was not given office under the new government, and retired to “Harriton,” a country place outside of Philadelphia inherited by his second wife, Hannah Harriss of Maryland. He devoted the rest of his long life to biblic studies and translations. He had no children, but there were many descendants of brothers, who retained various souvenirs of Thomson’s life and career.

While in Princeton, Charles wrote a series of letters to Hannah, then living in town in Philadelphia at 4th and Spruce streets. A group of these letters have been preserved together, and have now been acquired by the Princeton University Library through the generosity of the Friends of the Library. There are 33 letters in this group, dated from June 30th to October 25th, 1783. They contain amazingly and amusingly frank accounts of the doings of Congress, its politics and its personalities, and of Princeton, a place which he grew to detest. These letters have not been previously published and contain mine of information about this crucial moment of American history. The war was just over, the country was an infant, none was yet sure whether the states would become a nation. All these doubts are vividly reflected.

What follows is in the nature of an appetizer, presenting elections from many of the letters but no complete ones. The more dense descriptions of political intrigue have been omitted in favor of those more humanly attractive passages of personal interest; but material on some subjects such as plans for a new Federal City has been included, since references are made to Princeton and New Jersey. Princeton might have become the Georgetown of a capital city on the banks of the Delaware. Perhaps fortunately the Potomac was chosen. Footnotes also are minimal since full publication, in due time, will be thoroughly annotated. Meanwhile, we present excerpts to be enjoyed rather than studied.
Dear Hannah,

By nine o'clock, the evening I left you, I arrived at Bristol, where I met the minister on his return. He informed me that a sufficient number of states had not yet met to proceed to business. He expressed a great desire that Congress would return, and was anxious that their removal should not even be known in Europe by any public act done out of Philadelphia. Next day I started a little after three and was in the boat at Trenton ferry before six. The ride thus far was exceedingly pleasant, the morning serene and the air cool and refreshing. At Trenton I shaved washed & breakfasted & waited till eight in hopes of seeing [Gouverneur] Morris. Gov. was gone fishing and though I sent him a note to inform him of my arrival, I suppose he thought it too great a sacrifice to forego the pleasure of fishing. As soon as I had breakfasted, I set forward and travelling easy I arrived at Princeton about eleven. I had a fine air in my face but the sun beams were excessively hot & scorching. I drove up immediately to Col. Morgan's which is just behind the college in a most elegant situation commanding an extensive and delightful prospect. I have a parlour below stairs & a chamber above which though small is clean cool and pleasant. Mrs. Morgan is easy, polite and agreeable as the Colonel. The town is small[,] not much larger than Newark[,] and the chief part of the houses small and built of wood. There are a number of genteel houses around & in the neighborhood. With respect to situation, convenience & pleasure I do not know a more agreeable spot in America.

As soon as I had dressed I went to the College to meet Congress. I was conducted along an entry (which runs from one end to the other through the middle of the college) & was led

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1 The French minister Chevalier de la Luzerne accompanied Congress to Princeton.
2 Gouverneur Morris (1752-1816), then assistant to Superintendent of Finance Robert Morris (1754-1806).
3 Colonel George Morgan, U.S. Indian agent at Pittsburgh, had retired in 1770 to "Prospect," the present building on the site now houses the Faculty Club of Princeton University.
4 Probably Newark, Delaware, not Newark, New Jersey.
5 I.e., Nassau Hall.

Letter of Charles Thomson to his wife, Hannah. June 30, 1783
Gift of the Friends of the Princeton University Library
up into the third story where a few members were assembled. Whether it was design or accident that led me this way, I know not. But it had the effect of raising my mortification & disgust at the situation of Congress to the highest degree. For as I was led along the entry I passed by the chambers of the students, from whence in the sultry heat of the day issued warm steams from the beds, foul linen & dirty lodgings of the boys. I found the members extremely out of humour and dissatisfied with their situation. They are quartered upon the inhabitants who have put themselves to great inconveniences to receive them into their houses & furnish them with lodgings, but who are not in a situation to board them. The letter I brought from the Pres. [John Dickinson]⁶ of the State [of Pennsylvania] was not calculated to remove their uneasiness or heal the wound [the mutiny of soldiers in Philadelphia] they had received. It was dry and laconic and contained nothing that invited a return... Ellery & Arnold⁷ had not yet arrived, so that there were not states sufficient to proceed to business... After some conversation about the news from Philad⁸ and present situation of affairs the Pres! [Elias Boudinot] adjourned Congress to meet again on Monday. He then told me he expected my company to dine with him...

I then conversed with individuals to know what steps they meant to take. Bland's⁹ dignity was so hurt that he would never return [to Philadelphia]. Izard¹⁰ could never think of returning unless the citizens of Philadelphia would make reparation for the wounded honor of Congress. Hamilton's¹¹ resentment was wholly bent against the president of the state [of Pennsylvania] and nothing but his ruin could satisfy him...

After a good deal of conversation with individuals & sometimes with several together, and no determination yet come to, where to dine, the president's servant came to inform me that dinner was ready & the president waited for me. I therefore went and dined with him. There were three or four members who dined there. After dinner I had an opportunity of con-

... It is impossible to stay and do business here and yet from the disposition that prevails there is at present but little probability of a speedy return to Philadelphia. A public & continental conference might have been made of the late occurrence; but passion as gained such ascendency that that object seems quite lost. he 4 of July is to be celebrated here, the quality of Princeton

Page and William, two boys frequently mentioned in the letters, were not children of Thomson (he was childless), but probably young slaves of Hannah's. Page was in Philadelphia with Hannah, William in Princeton. Page later became the family coachman, like the Peter of these letters.

George Bond, Thomson's assistant as deputy secretary of Congress from 1779.
are invited, and lamps it is said are to be hung up on Mrs. Stockden's cherry trees. I enclose you my Invitation card, by which you see I am loaded with honorables. And no wonder. I have the honor of breakfasting at my lodging, of eating stinking fish & heavy half baked bread & drinking if I please abominable wine at a dirty tavern. On Monday indeed I got some pretty good porter, but on Tuesday the stock was exhausted, and yesterday I had the honor of drinking water to wash down some ill cooked victuals. But we are honorable gentlemen and we are out of Philad:


Friday July 4 1783

... You will readily judge what probability there is of finding accommodations in Princeton, when I inform you that it is a small scattered village, consisting of about 50 houses most of them low wooden buildings, several of them tumbling to pieces & some new & unfinished. There are five or six tolerable good brick houses or with brick fronts two stories high & there are several good farm houses around. Mrs. Stockden's is a little way out of town. The house is large for a country house [;] it has four rooms on a floor commodious but not grand. There have been gardens & walks but they are all a waste & only the traces of them left. Here the president [Elias Boudinot] keeps his court. A little farther on & nearly opposite lives Thomas Laurens, where Hamilton lodges. Laurens has a good farm of about 300 acres. But the house is in a bad situation. Still farther from the village on the way to Philad is the farm now occupied by Mr. Clymer. It joins Mrs. Stockden's plantation. The house is well situated. It is more than a mile out of town. Here Mr. Fitzsimmons is quartered. These are the only places I have

15 Annis Stockton (1756-1801), widow of Richard Stockton (1730-1801), New Jersey lawyer and signer of the Declaration of Independence, was still living in "Morven," the large plantation and mansion inherited from Judge John Stockton, her husband's father. Thomson consistently misspelled her name in these letters.
16 Boudinot had no house of his own in Princeton, but lived at "Morven," the house of his sister, Annis, the widowed Mrs. Richard Stockton.
17 Thomas Lawrence of Philadelphia had bought the house now known as "The Barracks" in 1782.
18 George Clymer (1730-1813), sometime congressmen from Pennsylvania, had recently retired to live in Princeton.
19 Thomas Fitzsimmons (1714-1811), congressman from Pennsylvania.

... I confess I have great apprehensions for the union of the es & begin to fear that America will experience internal vulsions, and that the fabric of her liberty will be stained in the blood of her sons. Those jarring principles which were t down by common danger begin to operate, and pride & sion seem to occupy the seat of reason. Who could imagine : after ten days reflexion the only effect produced by the mutinous attempt & removal of C[ongress] has been the inning complimentary answers to the addresses of the inititants of Trenton and Princeton—addresses evidently dic d by self interest and with a view to engage Congress to fix residence among them & thereby promote their private lument & not the public good?... The representative sovignty of America is left without a sufficient number of states to any one act, and the members that remain have only to k along the streets of this pawly village, a spectacle of con up & derision to disaffected passengers....

Tuesday July 22, 1783

wait with impatience to hear how and when you got home. ope you found the family well.....
P. S. 12 o clock. This moment Mr. Izard has rec'd a letter from Jas. Rivington dated 21 informing that the Mercury pack was just arrived at New York & has brought the definitive [Treaty of Paris] & that the day appointed in England for the evacuation of New York was the 21 July. . . .

* *

Friday July 25, 178

. . . Mrs. Morgan and her brother came up in the stage yesterday. The weather was so extremely hot that the passenger suffered greatly. Some of the horses dropped down & died & the rest came in excessively jaded. It was the same with the passengers on the road, some of whom walked into this town through the broiling sun & fresh horses were sent to bring in others. I think I never felt such a night and day as yesterday and the night before. Last evening a fine breeze sprung up which continues this morning and is very refreshing. I hope you take care of your health.

. . . What the conduct of Congress will be I cannot yet divine. Many of the members are heartily tired of this place and wish earnestly to remove. Yesterday they complained bitterly of being almost stowed and suffocated the night before in their small rooms. . . . It is a mortifying consideration that private and not public views too frequently influence the conduct of men at the helm of government. The common danger which has hitherto held these states together being now removed, I see local prejudices, passions and views already beginning to operate with all their force. And I confess I have my fears, that the predictions of our enemies will be found true, that on the removal of common danger our Confederacy & Union will be a rope of sand. There must & will undoubtedly be, for the sake of security, some confederation of states: But how many of the states will be comprehended in a Confederacy or how many confederacies there will be is yet uncertain. Were I to hazard a conjecture it would be that the four eastern states will form one confederacy. Their manners, customs and governments are very similar and they are an unmixed people, being all sprung from a common stock without any great accession of strangers or foreigners. New Y will be compelled to join this confederacy either voluntarily or by force not from any of the causes afore-mentioned; But because the eastern states will not think themselves secure if Hudson's river & the northern lakes, which are the keys of the country, are kept by a people independent of and separated from them. For this purpose the state of Vermont, which has hitherto given NY some trouble, will be supported & encouraged & kept as a rod over the head of NY & if necessary used to chastize & compel it into the eastern Confederacy. New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland will form another Union. They are all states whose boundaries are fixed and confined and who have one common strong desire to possess a share of the great western territory, which they now claim as their right and as an acquisition which the present confederacy has obtained by the expense of their blood and treasure.

The haughtiness of Virginia, its great extent and its boundless claims will induce it to set up for itself. And if ever royal government is set up in N. America, here it will first erect its throne. Her first quarrel will be with the middle confederacy about the western country. Unless perhaps the people beyond the Allegheny Mountains should be induced first to set up for themselves and to claim an exclusive right to that country. In that case Virginia may attempt to subjugate them & the middle confederacy will support them against her. She may then attempt to form an alliance with the Eastern confederacy or the three Southern states which it is not improbable may league together but without any close confederacy. For such is the fiery pride of South Carolina, such the dissipation of her morals & her insolence occasioned by the multitude of slaves that she will not cordially join in any union till she is taught wisdom by sore suffering. . . . In this conflict America may be a theatre of war & her councils become famous for brigues & intrigues of policy. But where am I wandering [?] I sat down only to tell you I am well and am hurried on, I know not how, into scenes of fairy land from which I am recalled by Miss Nancy's invitation to breakfast. So I bid you Adieu. Take care of your health.

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8 James Rivington (1724-1802), Loyalist bookseller in New York.
9 James Madison and Joseph Jones were forced to occupy a room 10 feet square and sleep in a double bed.

10 Prophetic words!
Saturday July 26 1785

What an astonishing change in the weather we have here since last evening. Yesterday we had a fresh breeze all day. But out of the current of air the heat was intolerable. About 3 o clock we had a gust of wind with a little rain. After that the breeze continued from the north west, & the heat of the weather was intense so that after dark we found it only tolerable, sitting in Col. Morgan's passage with both doors open. Yet this morning I am sitting in the front parlour with a cloak waistcoat under my gown, the windows down except one left a little up to change the air, the door shut, and find myself comfortably cool . . .

. . . I saw Duane & Williamson*1 yesterday in consultation. . . They seemed to agree in Opinion & the latter seemed uncommonly pleased, which to me augurs no good, for I never knew him much pleased but when mischief was brewing, & in proportion to his pleasure I always judge of the degree of mischief. . . [The members] will either return back to Philad* or go home about their business. I shall stay till they come to some determination. . . I am sorry poor Dick*2 has lost his voice. I hope he will soon recover it & cheer his mistress. . . . [O]ne song to my charmer while I am absent will please me more than two to myself . . .

*   

Tuesday July 29 1783

. . . Mr. S. Huntington arrived yesterday with his colleague B. Huntington*3 from Connecticut, so that today we shall have eight states represented. These two have taken up their quarters in the stone house at the foot of the hill beyond Col. Morgan's cornfield. Mr. Beresford*4 who has brought up his lady [has] taken a house below Jug town. Thus are the members dispersed among the neighbouring farm houses. How far they are in a situation to conduct public business their works will manifest, and if in their present situation they long preserve respect, I shall be greatly disappointed.

I was invited to be of a party this evening at a tavern to dance & play cards. My answer was that I had resisted the allurements of Philadelphia and could not suffer myself to be drawn aside by the charms of Princeton. I therefore hoped to be excused in not accepting the invitation. Some time ago a fellow stuck up an advertisement at a tavern door that he would entertain ladies and gentlemen with an exhibition of puppets, that would divert the company in three languages & that his next exhibition would be better than the last. Some of the members proposed as there were no other diversions in this place to entertain the ladies with a puppet show. I gravely answered that it would be well to consider how this would read in Oswald's*5 next paper, in which they might expect to see this curious paragraph, "The public may be assured that the Congress of the U S are perfectly recovered from their late fright; for on—-evening last they entertained the ladies of Princeton with a puppet show."

*   

Wednesday July 30 1783

. . . we had the most dismal accounts of the heat of the weather and of the mortality in Philadelphia. You will please to observe that I have written to you every morning except Sunday and dated my letters with the days of the week . . .

. . . The house and lot you enquire about is Mr. Berrier's, on the left hand at the end of the town as you go to Mrs. Stockden's. I do not wonder at your not recollecting such a house as is described in the advertisement. I assure you it appears very different on paper from what it is in reality. The description in the newspaper reminds me of the Irishman[*]'s advertisement. His master missed a pair of yarn stocking[s], when he called his servant to account. The servant said they were lost or stolen, but he would soon get them. How will you get them? I have advertised them. You rascal [*] they are not worth the price of an advertisement and will disgrace me if you have described

*1 James Duane (1733-1797), congressman from New York, and Hugh Williamson (1755-1815), congressman from North Carolina.
*2 "Dick," Hannah's songbird, is often mentioned in Thomson's letters.
*3 Samuel Huntington (1731-1796) and Benjamin Huntington (1736-1800), congressmen from Connecticut.
*4 Richard Beresford (1755-1843), congressman from South Carolina.
*5 Eleazer Oswald (1755-1793), editor of the Independent Gazetteer of Philadelphia, a publication full of violent partisan attacks.
them. O Master! I have taken care of that, I have advertised them as silk stockings.—

... Yesterday Mr. Hamilton called on his way home, so that for about an hour 9 states were represented in Congress. The short interval was improved to ratify the treaty with Sweden. As soon as this was done he left Congress and proceeded o to his state so that we have now only 8 states in town. ... Bon has given me notice that he intends to quit the office as soon as New York is evacuated. In the meanwhile he proposes to move his family to this place and has taken for them Mr. Morgan's house at the gate where the Office is now kept. For my own part I am determined to continue. I have contributed a much as [is] in my power to erect the building & it shall tumble about my ears before I quit it. ...

*

Tuesday August 19 1783

... I found the president [Elias Boudinot] is not likely to find a house. He had cast his eyes on the house where Mr. Smith lives, which it seems belongs to the president of the College. Some intimation was given to the P. that doct[or] Witherspoon would rent this house as he lived in his own house. 86 Whether the doctor from a laudable desire of improving his income and living in contemplation to turn out his son-in-law & daughter & rent the house to the P. for a high rent, or whether any drew that conclusion from the prevailing temper of the doctor? I will not undertake to say, but the P. without farther ceremony applied to Mr. Smith & informed him that he understood Mr. W. intended to rent the house. This was a thunder clap to Mr. S. He said he had heard nothing of the matter. Mr. W. had not mentioned it to him. He did not know where to go with his family. He had put himself to inconvenience to accommodate Members as much as he could. But he supposed he must give up his house. Possibly the trustees might think they had a right to let it as the president of the College did not live in it himself. You can easily judge the feelings on both sides.

86 John Witherspoon (1723-1794), president of the College of New Jersey, and Samuel Smith (1730-1819), his son-in-law, and successor in 1795. Witherspoon

Wednesday Aug 27 1783

... The general [George Washington] had his audience. ...

... The members being all seated and the President having heightened his seat [with] a large folio to give him an elevation above the rest, 87 the general was introduced & upon entering the room bowed to the president & then to the members on the right & left who all returned the bow sitting. He was then conducted to his chair, but upon being addressed by the president he arose & stood while the president read the speech that had been prepared. As soon as it was finished, he made a reply & having finished he bowed to the president & members and immediately withdrew. ... 

Mr. Jones & Mr. Madison 88 arrived yesterday afternoon. ... 

... I shall with great pleasure meet you at Bristol & have a room prepared for your reception. ... 

We had heard of the death of Galloway 89 but not of the marriage of his daughter. I would not wish her as much disappointment as her father experienced but if she be happy it will be more than she deserves. ... 

*

Thursday Sept. 4 1783

... I am told there has been a frost on the north side of the hills round this town. We find a fire not only comfortable but necessary. I delivered William the letter you enclosed, but Page had been so careful in sealing it that it cost him a great deal of trouble to open it and after all his pains when it was opened it turned out—like the three last days debates in a certain house—just nothing. I have directed W. to prepare an answer and have it ready to go by this opportunity. I wish to promote the correspondence, as I am inclined to think the correspondence between William and Page and the Journals of Princeton, should they descend to posterity, will be equally improving and diverting.

87 To demonstrate the "sovereign power" of Congress over General Washington, then living in "Rockingham," outside of nearby Kingston, New Jersey.
88 Joseph Jones (1727-1805) and James Madison (1751-1836), congressmen from Virginia.
89 James Galloway (1729-1803), former congressman from Pennsylvania, later became a Loyalist and settled in England. He survived this rumor of his death by 20 years.
Mr. Wright informs me he has begun the bust of the general. I hope he will succeed. He is to paint both the general and his Lady. . . .


Friday Sept 12 1783

... Fitzsimmons & Montgomery arrived yesterday & Jones & Madison are expected today. We have received a warm invitation from the inhabitants of Germantown to fix upon that place for the permanent residence of Congress. They offer their public school. . . .


Monday Sept 15, 1783

... I am extremely sorry that I cannot yet give you any flattering hopes of the speedy return of Congress. They all are sensible of the inconvenience of this place, they all acknowledge it. But one drawing one way and another, another they are kept still here, which only breeds more ill humour & keeps the members ... in a constant fret. . . . On Saturday last they [Congress] agreed to accept on certain terms the cession made by Virginia to the United States of the claims that state to all the lands beyond the Ohio. This will give a great weight to the authority of Congress. It gives them the sovereignty and property of a country at least five hundred miles square. And whether they make the best use of it or not, I hope it will lay the foundations of liberty still broader by the separate jurisdictions and states that will be erected in that bounds. For by the articles of acceptance they bind themselves to lay it out into distinct and separate states of 150 or 200 miles square or as near thereto as circumstances will admit, and that each of those states shall be members of the federal union and intitled to all the benefits of it.


Tuesday Sept 16 1783

I am now inclined to believe you were right in your conjecture that those who do not wish to return to Philadelphia will while away the time till the first Monday in October [,] the day assigned for considering of a proper place for the permanent residence of Congress. . . . I thank Dick most heartily for the politeness and complaisance in endeavouring to solace his mistress with a song to charm her into good humour by his warbling notes. I hope Page rewarded him with at least two spiders. . . .


Thursday Sept 18, 1783

Another day is spent in ill humour and fruitless debates. . . . I am indeed heartily weary of this scene and if it continues much longer, I am inclined to think I shall wish to withdraw from it. Still however I entertain a fond hope that the same kind providence which has conducted us so far in our journey will open a way for the future happiness and prosperity of the United States. . . .


Monday Oct 13 1783

Saturday was spent in fruitless debates about the temporary residence. The unaccommodating spirit of some and the jealousy lay I may say the deep rooted hatred which others bear to the city of Philadelphia were displayed in the strongest colours. You will naturally ask to what cause can this be attributed. For my own part I am at a loss to determine. . . . Yesterday I took a ride to Trenton to view the banks of the river. There is a delightful spot on the Pennsylvania side for a small town. It commands a very extensive & beautiful prospect both up & down the river & over [to] Jersey & has many natural advantages; but the ground plot is rather too small. However I think it bids fair to be the place for the permanent residence of Congress and may hereafter be distinguished by the name of Statesburg. . . .

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21
Tuesday Oct 14 1783

... You cannot be more uneasy than I am at our being separated. If the submitting to these inconveniences answered any good purpose, or if it were necessary for promoting the interest or happiness of our country I could more easily acquiesce....

... Yesterday we had nine states on the floor, and today I am informed we may expect eleven. A motion was made by Mr. Mercer and seconded by Mr. Lee to adjourn to Williamsburg. This I believe was made without any expectation of being carried. For an amendment, which was offered to show that the adjournment was only for a temporary residence, was negatived by the mover and that being lost the eastern states could not give their assent & therefore the motion for Williamsburg was lost. I am told it is in contemplation with some of the eastern states to propose a coalition with the southern and reconsider the vote for fixing the permanent residence near the falls of Delaware. And this being carried, either to fix the permanent residence at or near Georgetown on Potomack, or to establish two places for the meeting of Congress, one in or near the eastern states and the other in one of the southern states. This if carried will shew such a pointed resentment against Pennsylvania and will so disoblige New Jersey, that I am confident it will throw them out of the Union. And the consequence will be that this continent will be split into three divisions, the Eastern, Middle & Southern. And all things considered I do not know but this may be for the general good & the best that can [be] done for the interest and happiness of the whole, provided the several districts confederate together for the purpose of general defence. It seems to be the order of providence that this world should be divided into a number of separate & distinct governments. ... 

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Thursday Oct 16 1783

... Nothing is yet done with regard to the temporary residence and I begin to be afraid we shall be tied down for the winter to this uncomfortable village, notwithstanding eight states have resolved "that for the more convenient transaction of the business of the United States and accommodation of Congress it is expedient for them to adjourn from their present residence."

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Sunday Oct 19 1783

... Congress yesterday passed two proclamations, one for setting apart the second thursday in December next as a day of public thanksgiving and the other for disbanding all that part of the army which had been furloughed, so that there now remains in the service of the United States only those that are at West Point & the few at Philad. which by the bye have no business there, and I am astonished the state remains silent on that subject.

But I am wandering from my subject. You see, my dear, what it is to have a politician for a husband. Instead of love letters you are only to be entertained with business or politics. ... 

I think you had as well get the rooms papered. I do not think it can ever be done cheaper. ... 

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Tuesday Evening Oct 21 1783

The dye is cast. The vote is taken and carried for a second federal town and for the removal of Congress to Annapolis. Time must determine the wisdom or impolicy of the measure. For my own part to use an expression of lord Botetourt I augur no good of it.

... However we have seen great events and we have experienced an unseen hand guiding us to them. All may terminate well.

"The ways of providence are dark and intricate "Puzzled in mazes and perplexed in errors

33 John Francis Mercer (1759-1821) and Arthur Lee (1740-1792), congressmen from Virginia.

34 Norborne Berkeley, Baron de Botetourt (1716-1770), colonial governor of Virginia.
"Our understanding traces them in vain"
Let me therefore conclude with the pious poet
"Je crains mon Dieu, que j'aye ne point d'autre crain." . . .

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Thursday Oct 23 1783

Yesterday the gentlemen from Pennsylvania attended & with them Madison & Bland in expectation the question for a second federal town would be brought on. Judge what their surprize must have been when they found it decided. . . .

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Friday Oct 24 1783

I spent a pretty curious day yesterday and will endeavour to give an account of some of the incidents. In the morning I went rather earlier than usual to the office as I wanted to compleat a piece of business. Soon after Messrs Howell and Tilton came in. . . . [T]hey wanted to consult me on an application from Mr. Gordon, who was preparing to write a history of the revolution & wished to be allowed access to the offices & to be admitted to examine all the secret papers and transactions of Congress. . . . They wanted my opinion. I told them . . . that the time and circumstances of our affairs would not admit of it. . . . Mr. Howell said he was very much of my opinion. . . .

In the afternoon I dined at the president's. Before dinner Howell attached himself to me and seemed uncommonly complaisant. In the morning the military establishment in time of peace had been under debate . . . in which he and his colleague Ellery had taken a warm part, and which they opposed with great vehemence, insisting that by the articles of Confederation the United States in Congress assembled had no right or power to garrison a single fort or keep up a single soldier in time of peace. That it rested with every individual state to provide for its own security and defence. . . .

55 David Howell (1747-1824), congressman from Rhode Island, particular political adversary of Thomson, and James Tilton (1745-1822), congressman from Delaware.

On this subject he asked my opinion. I told him that in matters of peace and war and what related to the general defence and common welfare the sovereign power of the United States was vested in Congress. That in every sovereign there was a latent power to provide for the common safety and defence[,] To deny the existence of this power would be absurd, to delineate & define it strictly would be dangerous. While it was employed for the public good and general safety no one could complain. If ever it was abused, it would be easy for the states to repress and restrain it. . . . He was pleased to say there was weight in what I said.

At dinner I happened to be seated between him and Mr. Gerry.57 I could not help smiling at my situation. The Minister of France had arrived in town and was at the table. At dinner the president who loves to talk and is not very curious in his choice of subjects started a conversation about the propriety of selling instead of removing the furniture of the president's house. Mr. Peters58 observed that the expense of removing furniture backwards and forwards must be great, that selling it at every removal would incur considerable loss. That therefore it would be necessary to have two sets, & instead of selling the furniture now he submitted whether it would not be best to keep it here till Congress returned & applying to Mr. Gerry asked whether this was not good eastern economy. I observed to my assessors that I fancied it would be necessary to sell the furniture to raise money to defray the expense of removing the papers.

This led Mr. Howell to our finances & consequently to Mr. Morris. He had a great respect for Mr. Morris and his state were perfectly sensible of the great services he had done to the United States, but they were opposed to his plans and measures. That for his own part all his opposition arose from that and whatever might be thought, it never was his intention to injure him in his private capacity or character. I told him it was not for me to enter into any gentleman's thoughts or intentions[,] I could only judge of actions. However I would put several circumstances together and leave others to form a conclusion.59 . . . In the mean while Peters had darted some strokes of wit

57 Elbridge Gerry (1744-1814), congressman from Massachusetts and another of Thomson's adversaries.
58 Richard Peters (1744-1822), congressman from Pennsylvania.
59 There follows a summary of the acts of Morris as superintendent of finance and Howell's efforts to sabotage them.
at Gerry which seemed to touch him and as he has a great inclination to be thought a wit though I hardly ever knew an who had less pretentions to it he turned to me and said . . . that he must do one of two things though he believed he would choose the last, either to stay in Congress and learn to be Salamander & live in fire, or to leave Congress. I told him Gentlemen continued in the disposition they had lately discovered it would be proper to learn the use of the sword and to come armed to debate. . . .

* *

Saturday Oct 25 1788

. . . I will not trouble you with any anxiety about my future plan of life. I can form none for happiness or satisfaction in this world, unless you are with me. I am now advanced in life and find myself much more helpless for having been so long helped and tended by you. And yet I confess I have a strong desire, to watch the workings of the present ferment, to mark the characters of the present actors and to see the issue of present measures. The Minister of France made a remarkable observation, the evening before last at the President's. "I told Col. Hamilton," said he, "he was putting the chestnuts in the fire to roast, but another might eat them. I fancy he now finds he was a true prophet." I leave you to judge what opinion he has of the late removal.

Adieu my dear Hannah, take care of your health.

iv

What happened then? On November 4th, Congress left Princeton. The winter was to be spent in Annapolis. The issue of temporary and permanent residence for Congress, or the placement of a Federal City, were not yet resolved. Congress however, did move semi-permanently to New York in 1785, after that city began to recuperate after its long British occupation. It is hard to grasp that the English were still there during July 1783 when Congress was in Princeton.

Meanwhile the centralists turned eventually to planning a new constitution, finally created in Philadelphia in 1787. The rest of course is known to everyone: Washington, brought personally to New York from Mt. Vernon by Thomson, was there inaugurated as the first true, executive president. But in the history that immediately followed, most of it back in Philadelphia, Charles Thomson had no part. He obviously craved to continue in some form, as secretary of some sort. His abrasive personality over the years had obviously alienated not only his centralist enemies but centralist friends, notably John Adams.

He went into a long and not unhappy retirement at "Harriton." His beloved Hannah died in 1807. He lived on, busy himself with Biblical scholarship and some notable translations of sacred writings. He continued to correspond with his famous friends, notably Jefferson. He lived well into his nineties and was buried next to Hannah in the small family Quaker burial ground near "Harriton."

But his bones were not allowed to rest in peace. The new Victorian cemetery Laurel Hill, on the banks of the Schuylkill above Philadelphia, was created in the 1830s, filled with ornamental plantings, winding paths, and elegant mausoleums. The backers of it thought a Founding Father would lend solidity to its reputation. Most other such deceased Fathers had already been monopolized and memorialized. But not Charles. The Laurel Hill backers arranged for a grand monument to be erected and tried to get Thomson's bones from the then owner of the family graveyard at "Harriton." The owner, Levi Morris, kin by marriage of Hannah, was a firm Quaker. He thoroughly disapproved of fancy cenotaphs as worldly show. Thomson had specifically asked to be buried next to Hannah in the family plot. Levi refused to let the bones travel to Laurel Hill. Then in 1838 the Laurel Hill gang got hold of a weak nephew of Thomson's, wangled his permission, slunk into the graveyard at dawn, and disinterred what they hoped was the secretary. These dubious remains were then inserted under the splendid new monument, and there (perhaps) Charles Thomson still lies.

He has never had the reputation he obviously deserves. No doubt, as the tone of the letters reveals, his clear eyes and sharp tongue prevented the growth of any band of partisans. Those very qualities are what make him palatable to moderns. Let us hope that, for all his aspersions on Princeton, his letters from there will help revive the reputation of one of the most steadfast, sensible, knowledgeable—and caustic—of all America's revolutionary patriots; indeed the "man-who-tells-the-truth," as the Delawares named him.
Mason and Dixon’s Map

BY NICHOLAS B. WAINWRIGHT

Readers of the Library Chronicle endowed with encyclopedic memories may remember that in its 1955 Winter issue attention was called to the Library’s important acquisition of a set of Mason and Dixon’s map portraying their famous surveys. These were completed on two sheets in 1768, engraved in Philadelphia and titled, respectively, A Plan of the Boundary Lines between the Province of Maryland and the Three Lower Counties of Delaware . . .; and A Plan of the West Line . . . which is the Boundary between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania. The curious and unique feature of this gift was that while the sheet showing the western boundary was from the engravers’ copperplate, its mate was the original manuscript of the eastern part (the boundary between Delaware and Maryland) and was actually signed by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon. Here was a puzzle. How had this happened, and where was the manuscript of the western section, the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland?²

The answer to this was provided to readers of the Chronicle in the 1964 Winter issue, when, as a result of research at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, it was revealed that the missing manuscript had been located in the Chew family papers at Cliveden, in Germantown. The set of the map given to Princeton in 1955 had a similar provenance, having evidently been a gift from Benjamin Chew in 1864 to a forebear of its ultimate donor to Princeton. Chew, who is known to have given away another set in 1863, inadvertently included the manuscript section rather than a printed one.³

Time moves on to the fall of 1982, when the Princeton University Library became the recipient of a second set of the Mason-Dixon surveys, this one in mint condition (the western sheet of the 1950s gift was slightly damaged). The 1982 acquisition, a generous gift from the Chew family, had been in their ownership since it left the hands of the printer 214 years earlier.

While much has been written about the Penn-Baltimore difficulties which finally culminated in the settlement dramatized by these surveys of the Mason-Dixon Line, a brief account of that controversy’s history and of the role played by the Chews with respect to the map seems necessary in order to set their gift in perspective.

Part of the origins of the quarrel stemmed from 1632 when Charles I gave Lord Baltimore his charter for Maryland. Among other provisions, that document granted him the territory that was to become Delaware, provided that area had not been occupied by people other than Indians. William Penn received his grant from Charles II in 1681, supplemented by a title from the Duke of York to Delaware, which the Duke claimed by right of conquest from the Dutch. The conflicting claims were bound to cause trouble.

Soon after Penn’s arrival in his province he met with Lord Baltimore who refused to recognize both the Duke of York’s right to Delaware and the validity of Penn’s title to that area. In 1685, however, Penn was able to prove that the Dutch had settled there in the early 1620s, and on this evidence the authorities in England ruled in his favor.³ Subsequent determined efforts by the Calverts to have this judgment overturned were unsuccessful. By 1731 Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, was ready to concede the question. He dictated his terms to the impoverished Penn proprietors who at that time were willing to consent to almost anything that would avoid the expense of a suit. Baltimore would brook no compromise. He produced a map which showed exactly where Delaware, known to the Penns as their Three Lower Counties, should be divided off from Maryland, and he forced their reluctant consent to the western boundary of the two provinces in his favor. Consequently he had it all his own way when on May 10, 1732, the three Quaker brothers, John, Thomas, and Richard, sons of William Penn’s second marriage, came to his house on Grosvenor Square, London, and signed the momentous agreement. On all six of its copies was engraved the likeness of Baltimore’s map.⁴

This seeming conclusion to the 50-year-old controversy was jeopardized within the year by Baltimore seeking to do all he

could to abrogate the contract. Although he had set all its essential terms, he claimed that he had been tricked. It took the Penns 27 years to force compliance with the 1732 compact. At last in 1760 the two surviving Penn brothers and Frederick Calvert, Sixth Lord Baltimore, came to terms on the boundary surveys as specified in the documents signed in Grosvenor Square.

This accomplished, new difficulties arose between the rival sets of commissioners appointed to supervise the surveys. It was not until December 1767 that Mason and Dixon were ordered to "make out from your minute books an exact and true plan and survey of the boundary lines by you run . . . giving in such plan the most exact and certain descriptions that can be given of said lines and country through which they pass." The result of this directive was a meticulous strip map of the boundaries, naming geographical features for three miles on either side of the line. All of this was set down on two large sheets, for each of which the surveyors provided attractive cartouches, under which they signed their names.

Of the 200 copies of the maps printed by Robert Kennedy only three copies were known to exist in 1955 in uncut form, as issued. However, in 1982 it was disclosed that the Chew family still owned 23 sets in precisely the same condition as delivered to Benjamin Chew in 1768.

Chew (1722-1810), termed by Governor John Penn "the ablest man in this country," the colony's Chief Justice of the Supreme Court before the Revolution, had been appointed one of the Pennsylvania commissioners for the Penn-Baltimore boundary dispute in 1750. In its latter stages he was his colony's chief representative, and as agent for the Penns he was the principal holder of Penn-Baltimore documents in the colony. Retained until recently among his papers was the 1763 contract with Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon for the surveys, some of their letters to the Pennsylvania commissioners and to Chew personally, the commissioners' minutes and account books, the bill for the engraving of the plates for the map, the manuscript of the western part of the map and its retained copies, as well as Mason and Dixon's bill for services rendered from November 15, 1763, until December 26, 1767, when they were discharged: 1,502 days, £3,256.8

These documents, as well as many others of value, were preserved by Benjamin Chew at his office and perhaps later at his residence on Third Street, next to the Powel House. It is not likely that in his lifetime they were stored at Cliveden, which he completed in Germantown as a summer home in 1767. They probably did not risk destruction there on October 4, 1777, when, during the Battle of Germantown, some of the fiercest fighting took place at the Chew house. Many years later the papers were brought out to Cliveden presumably by Benjamin Chew, Jr., who gave up Philadelphia for Germantown. After his death one of his children in a disgruntled mood sent the collection to a paper mill to be pulped. Fortunately, other members of the family succeeded in salvaging the manuscripts and returned them to Cliveden.

For many years the Chews had been deeply concerned about the future of the collection. There were numerous heirs to consider as well as perplexing legal problems. Their desire to give the papers to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania became subject to the raising of a large sum of money to satisfy obligations of trusteeship. The Gordian knot was at last cut with the decision to sell a number of Judge Chew's most valuable manuscripts which would then make possible the gift of the large accumulation of family papers to the Society. The sale was to be highlighted by the judge's copy of the Declaration of Independence, one of the finest of the 21 recorded copies of the first state of that document. In the words of a dealer, John Dunlap's broadside of the immortal document was "the most important single printed piece of paper in the history of the United States." The last one sold in the United States had fetched more than $400,000.

So it was that on April 1, 1982, Christies' in New York offered 15 lots in their catalogue Colonial American Documents including the Declaration of Independence from the Chew Family Papers. Nineteen of the lots were Penn-Baltimore and Mason-Dixon items. The sensation of the auction proved to be lot 29, "Original Drawing for the Mason-Dixon Line," the survey of the western

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1 Ibid., pp. 286-287.
2 Ibid., p. 287.
3 These have all since been given by the Chews to various libraries.
4 Christie, Manson, & Woods International, Colonial American Documents . . . from the Chew Family Papers (catalogue of April 1, 1982, auction).
boundary and mate to Princeton's manuscript of the eastern line. Its value had been calculated at $16,000, but it brought instead $360,000, the highest price ever paid for a manuscript map. Its purchaser was the Forbes Foundation. The map considerably upstaged the Declaration, which went to the Morgan Library for $285,000, subject, as was the map, to Christies' premium of 10 percent of the purchase price.9

The value of the map, as realized at the auction, is interesting in relation to Princeton's similar manuscript. Little did the late Benjamin Chew, Jr. (Princeton '37) think that day in 1963 at Cliveden when, in this writer's presence, he made the discovery that one of the Mason-Dixon maps was the original signed draft and not an engraving from it, that he had in hand what was to prove to be one of the most valuable maps in the world. It is fitting that his family should now have given the Princeton University Library so fine a set of the engravings.

9 Subsequently, on April 22, 1983, Williams College acquired a copy of the Declaration at a Christies' auction for $375,000, for a total of $412,500 with the 10 percent premium (New York Times, April 24, 1983).

Heliotropes and Romantic Ruins
Recent Emblematic Acquisitions

BY WILLIAM S. HECKSCHER

In the last few months the Library has acquired a number of emblem books and thereby strengthened its very substantial collection. Anyone engaged in studies of the cultural events of the 16th and 17th centuries is bound to find matters of interest among these new treasures. The ideal emblem combines with a brief motto a picture (in the 16th century usually a woodcut; in etching or engraving in the subsequent centuries). The third element is an epigram. The imagery conjured up by word and picture encompasses the entire cosmos, down to its smallest detail. There is no limit to the direction the emblematic concept can take. As a result, emblem books may be theological, moralizing, political, mythological, didactic, enigmatic, erotic, entertaining. Their initial intention was strictly aimed at initiates. Later on they were mostly designed to appeal to a broader public.

A substantial work recently acquired is the editio princeps (1627) of Hieremias Drexel's Heliotropium. It is the work of an outstanding member of the Society of Jesus. Drexel deals, in five chapter-like books, with man's relationship to God. The heliotrope flower, as its name indicates, steadily follows the sun face to face. It here becomes a symbol of the never-ending, ever-reeded endeavors on the part of the devout believer to strive for conformity with God's will. This Drexel exposes in a rich and brilliant imagery based on an intricate theological apparatus. The form of presentation has outgrown the original plan of the ideal emblem. An engraved frontispiece, which also serves as the work's title page, shows two potted heliotrope plants stretching upward toward the disk of the sun image inscribed The Divine Will." Each of the five lengthy books is preceded by a thought-provoking emblematic engraving. Each of the five books deals with heliotropic aspects: recognition of the divine will; total identification with the divine will; the kind of effort needed to achieve this end; impediments encountered en route; finally, the particular effort and the means required to accomplish the envisioned goal. This analysis leads to the rather bab-
ing conclusion that *Heliotropium*, a work of some 570 pages, offers no more than five emblems. Within the published work of Drexel—some 2,000 pages in all—*Heliotropium* features as an organic part of an encyclopedic totality. While this is, indeed, an edifying and didactic work, we should not overlook the fact that the heliotrope imagery proliferates in the art of the Northern Baroque (Rubens, Van Dyck, and others), where most frequently it serves as a symbol of friendship or amatory devotion.

One of the few truly popular English emblem book writers Francis Quarles (1592-1644), son of a clerk of the royal kitchen, ambridge educated, legally trained and, at an early age, possessed of a mind “set upon devotions and study.” The height of Quarles’s literary creativity and fame was reached with the publication of his *Emblemes* in the year 1635. Princeton has acquired this early edition, adding it to several other editions of this work. It is graced by a fine portrait of the poet holding a quill pen, seated in front of his family coat of arms, before a window that opens up to a view of an elegant estate; a hand offering a laurel wreath emerges from the clouds in the background. Whatever the nature of the interest evoked by Quarles’s mewhat monotonous biblical paraphrases and devotional effusions, we encounter his emblems in ever newer editions which continue well into the 19th century. The engravings were “borrowed” from Hermannus Hugo’s *Pia desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), a work of a much more gifted Jesuit writer. Quarles’s work is recently added to the Library holdings in an edition in which it features as the main part of a two-volume publication (London, 1778). The emblems are here followed by Quarles’s *Hieroglyphics*, another emblem book closely related to the first style and sentiment. A third item under the title “School of e Heart” remains anonymous and has, in fact, no relation to Quarles’s *Emblemes*. It is an Englishman’s translation of Benedictus van Haeften’s Latin *Schola cordis*, the work of a Benedictine scholar. The seemingly enigmatic title refers to it as being inscribed by “the author of ‘The Synagogue,’” who, it was pointed out (by Rosemary Freeman), is none other than Christopher Harvey (1599-1663). Not unlike the heliotrope and its symbolism, the heart (human or divine) was enormously popular with the emblem book writers. We counted some 37 monographic titles of books devoted to the heart, ranging in tendency from divine to profane and from secular to erotic. Even the frontispiece to our edition of Quarles’s *Emblemes* shows the age of a tripartite heart inscribed TRÍ NÍ TÁS.
The work of Jan and Kaspar Luiken (or Luyken), father (1649-1712) and son, is rightly renowned for the handsome prints that grace their emblem books. The Luikens, not unlike Francis Quarles, were religiously inclined but they were also the artists who furnished the pictures which give us a most wonderful description of the Holland of their time. Princeton now has one of the finest examples, the last work of Jan, who initialed each one of its 101 engravings. The title, De Bijkorf des gemoeds (1711), i.e., the “bee-hive of the human mind,” lists, profusely, divine sayings liberally taken from the Old and New Testaments. These actually follow the emblem proper which consists of a picture showing a few human actors on a beautifully precise stage, be it a landscape, a street, or an interior. Each picture bears a straight, unemblematic title. The prints, seen by themselves, might well be taken for vivid late 17th-century genre scenes. Thus we find two persons contemplating a decaying arch, a solitary wanderer with staff and knapsack over his shoulder crossing a bridge, two men on horseback facing the rock-strewn, barren heights of the Alps. The pictures are followed each by a lengthy, edifying poem that is headed by a brief motto in verse. The author draws morals from what seem to be simple genre pieces: the ruined building evokes melancholy thoughts about human frailty; the bridge shows that life without due precautions will forever be beset by dangers; the two equestrians see before them a hazardous path, their goal still far ahead—a symbol pointing to the end of life, steadily drawing nearer. The latter part of the 17th century, when the Luikens flourished, revelled in the work of the so-called Minor Masters, who specialized in a variety of genres; but their work was created without emblematical afterthoughts. The Luikens, on the other hand, injected the genre anew with emblematical ideas. In a sense, we are reminded of Boccaccio’s novelle which were in the end descendants of the late medieval example, those daring and entertaining sermons—only that Boccaccio stripped them of their moralizationes. The Luikens reversed the procedure by moralizing a form of art which long ago had been iconographically emancipated.

Princeton is fortunate in having acquired two totally different but very important editions of the work of the Milanese jurisprudent Andrea Alciati which had ushered in the emblematic vogue (1531 ff.). The first is an edition of the year 1591. One might well wonder why the Library should acquire this precious

Engraving by Jan Luiken, page 6 of De Bijkorf des gemoeds, Amsterdam, 1711
item since it already owns the edition, not only of the same but by the same publisher-printer, the Plantin-Raphele team of Leiden. Nevertheless, the two copies show some meaningful differences. The newly acquired copy (in G: Alciati bibliography No. 118) is duodecimo in size and contains numbered pages. It was obviously intended for the pocket of the cultured gentleman-traveller. It has the common set of Alciati's 212 emblems which are printed from the blocks as those of the larger sized copy (Green No. 117) might remark in passing that those very blocks were re-used by Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, 1586, which, when printed in Leiden, was the first English emblem book. These pictures in the pocket edition lack, for reasons of economy, ornate frames of the larger one. The classical commentator Claude Mignault appears, though considerably shortened at the end of the book. The larger copy (757 pages) offers the smaller one, the full number of emblems and it p Mignault's complete commentary where it belongs: after the pictures, and epigrams. Surely such arrangement made this edition more suitable for the serious student and scholar. In this essay we can now gain a closer insight into late 16th-century printing and publishing practices, an insight that only a careful side-by-side examination of the two copies can reveal.

The second Alciati item is both a curiosity and an item of utmost rarity: it is the clumsily printed edition of a Portugese Alciati manuscript, the whereabouts of which are unknown. The moment so that, lacking paleographic evidence, it cannot be securely dated. Following a suggestion made by Dr. Ya Vieira of Albany, the manuscript has been closely related to the Wechel edition of 1540 (Green No. 17), which numbers, as the manuscript, 113 emblems. From what older bibliographers tell us, there are or were only three copies of Alciati in the P Library. Our printed manuscript, edited by José Leite de Brandeconcelos (1858-1941), titled `Emblemas de Alciati, explicado Português . . . . Porto, 1917, lacks pictures (except for facsimile after the 1540 edition we mentioned before). The printed text, and we presume the manuscript also, has the Latin verses, each followed by a Portuguese translation which appears in parentheses. It lacks the epigrams whose place is taken by a brief Portuguese commentary, supposedly composed in the 16th century by a scholarly owner of the manuscript. It is a rare event to be able to examine this inherently deficient iter since there exist only two other copies in this country, one at Harvard University and the other at the University of Michigan. It represents, after all, a challenge to Portuguese scholars to try to find a satisfactory answer to the tantalizing question as to why Barque Portugal, a country of such eminent literary culture, should have almost totally missed out on *ars emblematica*, while its next-door neighbor, Spain, has such a proud record of emblematic preoccupation. Dr. Vieira is at present the only scholar working on these intriguing problems. She expects to show that, in spite of the scarcity of Portuguese emblem books, some of Portugal's literary great were significantly influenced by Alciati and others.

It is nowadays practically impossible to keep up with the steady stream of publications pertaining to emblems. There seems no room for secondary sources dealing with emblematical genres and their influence on art, drama, and poetry. The proliferation of bibliographies is almost frightening, while the greatest need, as we see it, is still a study of emblem book writers and their products in depth. In this regard, a strangely neglected author seems to be the Dutchman Adriaan de Jonge, properly known as Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575). Junius, who for some time was city physician of Haarlem and who on the title pages of his books called himself Medicus, was also a philosopher, a poet, a distinguished historian, a brilliant philologist and editor of classical authors, as well as a schoolmaster (rector) who wrote an easily overlooked but extremely worthwhile, multilingual *Nomenclator omnium rerum* (Antwerp, 1567). Junius was famous and admired, though only until the end of the 16th century. As an emblematist, he belongs to the generation that followed upon Alciati. Adding the newly acquired Hadrianus Junius, Princeton now owns five copies of the *editio princeps* of the *Emblematum*, Antwerp, 1565. Once more, a comparison seems to be rewarding. One copy, No. 4, is interleaved in order to serve as an *album amicorum*; this came to Princeton as a gift of Sylvain S. Brunswig and is perhaps the finest specimen among the five. The delicately ornamented framework is here given a most generous margin. Copy No. 1 is an association copy; a fine bookplate shows that once it belonged to David Garrick. No. 3 is distinguished by its gold-embossed leather binding whose inscriptions—consisting of three words (front and back)—pose an iconographic riddle. Front: SOLUTUS ACERBITAS MERA, i.e., Solitude—Bitterness—Unadulterated; back: DULCIS COMES TILLA, i.e., Sweet
Companion—Linden Tree. Although it is probably impo
to find a “correct” interpretation, the words seem to co
up the vision of a solitary reader of Junius’s work wrapp
melancholy thought from which he seeks escape in the sh
of a linden tree. The linden tree (tilia parviflora), ubiqui
in folklore, magic, and superstition, plays a role which is
ponderantly apotropaic: protective, soothing, healing. Le
tells that it was sacred to the Holy Family since, durin;
Flight into Egypt, Jesus sat safely underneath a linden
Moreover, when seen in a dream or vision, it pointed at sol
and melancholia, the very states of existence mentioned a
beginning of the enigmatic inscription.

Double Deception: Lester Hargrett and
His Indian Treaties

BY MICHAEL D. HEASTON

BEHIND the recent gift to Princeton of an extraordinary col-
lection of printed treaties with American Indian nations is
a many-layered tale of deception: not only the familiar duplici-
ties between governmental agents and Indians, but also a hith-
terto unknown deception between bibliographer and book world.
As the Indians were persistently to feel deceived by the treaties,
so later rare book dealers, collectors, and curators were to rec-
ognize a shrewd deception on the part of the treaties’ bibliog-
rapher, Lester Hargrett.

Official Indian-white history began on September 17, 1778,
when Andrew and Thomas Lewis (representing the United States
government) and White Eyes, The Pipe, and John Kill Buck of
the Delaware Nation met at Fort Pitt in an effort to negotiate
peace. Their successful negotiations concluded with the signing
of a treaty. Its terms stipulated that each party would assist the
other in war, that all offenses were to be mutually forgiven, and
that the United States troops would have free passage to forts or
towns of their enemies. Delaware warriors were also to be
allowed to join the troops of the United States. These basic
terms comprised the major considerations for treaty negotia-
tions until the young nation started to move westward and In-
dian land cession became the common subject of negotiation.

This first treaty negotiated between the United States and an
Indian nation would be followed by 365 treaties with other
Indian nations, tribes, and bands of Indians. It is important to
remember that before the formation of the Constitution in 1787,
our government negotiated seven treaties of peace with Indian
tribes. Yet the Founding Fathers failed to include a provision in
the Constitution concerning the Indians, their rights, and
proper treatment. This task became the responsibility of the
United States Congress, which set the course for Indian affairs
and treaties: the Indians would be treated as sovereign powers,
with the United States Senate ratifying and amending, and the
president proclaiming, any treaties negotiated with them.
The first major step to establish relations through a centralized authority occurred on August 7, 1789, when Congress created the War Department. The secretary of war had authority to establish and influence Indian affairs and to negotiate treaties on behalf of the federal government. This policy remained with the War Department until March 3, 1849, when Congress established the Department of the Interior. At this time the Bureau of Indian Affairs, hitherto the negotiating arm of the War Department, was placed under the jurisdiction of the secretary of the interior.

The period from 1787 to 1849 saw several historical watershed events, most notably the Louisiana Purchase and the Mexican War. These two major events brought into the possession the United States millions of acres of land. With this land, the United States also inherited the numerous tribes and bands of Indians scattered over its thousands of miles of unknown territory. The majority of these tribes had little or no official relations with the United States. Naturally this immense amount of new land brought pressure upon Congress from settlers, miners, land speculators, and others seeking the removal in the Trans-Mississippi West of the Eastern Indians, especially those Five Nations.

There was considerable concern for the Indian in the House of Congress, and stirring comments were made by its member Senator Peleg Sprague of Maine expressing his opinion during the Senate debate at that time. He stated: "This bill and amendment an discussion ... involve the questions and rights of the United States with respect to the Indians generally, but most especially the Cherokee's. With that people we have not less than fifteen treaties [from] 1785 and the last [in] 1819. The policy of proliferating treaties and negotiations would continue, most especially when dealing with the Indians of the West. The final result was land cessions.

The treaties negotiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs were changed and amended, but it took several years before some were proclaimed by the president. A case in point is the treaty with the Eastern Bands of Shoshoni Indians, which was concluded July 2, 1863; ratification advised, with amendment, March 7, 1864; amendment assented to August 31, 1865, and proclaimed June 7, 1869. The treaty system came to a close on March 9, 1871, when executive agreements took their place. From the government's point of view the Indians' status as sovereign and separate nations was thus concluded.

Over 60 years after the last treaty was negotiated with the Eastern Band of Shoshoni and Bannock Indians, a remarkable bibliographic discovery was made by the late Lester Hargrett, the noted Indian and Oklahoma bibliographer. While in Washington, D.C., Hargrett, who was probably seeking bibliographic entries and hunting for material for his Indian Territory Collection, uncovered, most probably in some governmental office, a cache of printed Indian treaties. Indian treaties had been printed for limited distribution during the colonial period. Many were produced by noted printers, such as Benjamin Franklin. But Hargrett was the first to discover a substantial number of treaties of the later period, most of which were unknown to bibliographers.

These folio proclamations, as far as we know, were printed for official purposes and were not intended to have wide distribution. Their size is 32 by 20.5 centimeters. The time period represented in the Hargrett discovery ranges from the 1820s to 1868, when the last treaty was signed. The quality of printing varies from printings on fine rag paper, many with a handsome ribbon, to printings on poorer grades of paper that are plainly sewn. Some were printed on blue paper. The majority bore no imprint. In fact, to my knowledge only one of these printed treaties bears an imprint in the year 1845 with the Creek and Seminole tribes, which carries the imprint of "W. Q. Force, print, Washington." The style of printing, typeface, and format remained fairly constant throughout the 40 odd years of production. There were minor changes, such as printing the dates when the treaty was concluded, ratified, and proclaimed on the front cover, and issuing one treaty with a map. Most of the treaties bear cover titles beginning: "Treaty Between The United States Of America And The..." The most unusual printing is the Choctaw Treaty of March 4, 1856, with

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1 Congressional House Bill 649 of February 26, 1847 provided for the purchase of presents for the Comanche and other Indians of Texas and the Southwest prairies. This was to prepare these tribes for possible treaties of peace. The Apache Indians, one of the more aggressive tribes of the Southwest prairies, did not negotiate a treaty with the United States until 1856.


3 Lester Hargrett at one time was the field representative for the University of Oklahoma for the acquisition of Indian materials. He compiled Oklahoma Imprints, Constitutions and Laws of the American Indian, and the Gilcrease-Hargrett Catalogue.
a bilingual text printed in double columns in Choctaw and English. There is also the variation of the Choctaw and Chickasas. Treaty, which was concluded and ratified during 1837, entitled a "Convention Between The Choctaw and Chickasaw Indian. However titled, it is listed in Charles Kappler's Laws and Treaties as a treaty.

Wherever and whenever Lester Hargrett discovered this clandestinely acquired at least 199 different Indian treaties as his personal property and set out to sell them. These treaties were relatively unknown to the rare book trade until the early 1930s, when several of them appeared for sale in a catalog issued by Maggs Brothers in London. They were priced from £2 to £21/2. Some of the treaties had been listed bibliographically in Joseph Sabin's Dictionary of Books Relating to America. There it is stated that "because of the rarity of the items this group the period covered [in this dictionary] has been extended through the year 1840." The editor was able to locate and list 105 folio treaties representing the period from 1825 to 1840. The entries were based on an examination of the first collection then owned by Wilberforce Eames. Only 33 items Hargrett's acquisition were from the 1825 to 1840 period. The majority of Hargrett's treaties from the 1840 to 1870 period were too late for inclusion in Sabin. The only other bibliographer besides Sabin to note their existence is Jessie Rader. South of Forty, which represents the holdings of the University of Oklahoma in Western Americana in 1937. It was Rader who listed for the first time the 1840 to 1868 treaties. They were examples that came from Hargrett's acquisition. Lester Hargrett had set aside a group of treaties for the University, and offered them to historian E. E. Dale who then acquired the treaties that reflected his own interests. Around 100 treaties representing the Indian tribes of the South, Midwest, Plain, and Southwest were purchased by the University of Oklahoma.

These late 19th-century treaties appeared at auction very rarely until the 1950s and then they were invariably from the Hargrett find. Few were offered for sale in any fashion until the Hargrett find, and he strictly controlled their distribution. It is interesting to note that not one of these treaties mentioned in Thomas Field's excellent Essay Towards an Indic...
instead offered small portions of the collection scattered through subsequent catalogues. Finally, in 1956, almost 20 years after the purchase from Hargrett, they issued a catalogue titled "Remarkable Collection of Indian Treaties" in which they offered 133 folio treaties (a number indicating that Hargrett had sold to the Eberstads preceding that to Goodspeed's). As in the case of Goodspeed's, the Eberstadt catalogue's success in selling the treaties was very limited. It is doubtful that either Goodspeed's or the Eberstads knew that the most active collector in the field, Thomas W. Streeter, had already purchased some of the treaties directly from Hargrett.7 The provenance of Streeter's treaties indicates that the Eberstadt firm and Goodspeed's Book Shop did sell some treaties to Streeter. The provenance of the sale notes that Lathrop C. Harper must have purchased some of the treaties but from whom is not known.

When in the 1970s Lindley Eberstadt and Mrs. Charles Eberstadt decided to sell the Eberstadt collections and stock, J H Jenkins, after several years of asking and being refused, was given the golden opportunity to purchase the Eberstadt material and did so during the summer of 1975—the largest single transfer of Americana in history. After a period of organizing, John H. Jenkins and Michael Ginsberg, the Jenkins Rare Book Company consultant, offered the collections and stock for sale to institutions, collectors, and rare book dealers from their headquarters in Texas. And through the generosity of the Levering Cartwright '26, the remaining Eberstadt treaties were purchased for the Princeton Collections of Western Americana.

The Cartwright Collection of Indian Treaties at Princeton consists of 74 different treaties covering the period of the 1850s and 1860s. This was a most important period for white and Indian relations in the TransMississippian West. The opening of the Oregon, California, and Mormon trails brought thousands of emigrants either seeking wealth in the goldfields of California or the fertile lands of the Pacific Northwest. Within 15 years the great transcontinental railroad would span the plains bringing more settlers and troops.

It is not known how many universities and other institutions like the University of Oklahoma acquired Indian treaties from Hargrett.

b became quite evident to the Indian, especially after the Fort Laramie treaty of 1851, that the white man who had come from the East to the West was there to stay. Between 1850 and 1868 the United States Government would negotiate 118 treaties. Men like Jim Bridger, Thomas Fitzpatrick (better known as "Broken Hand"), Joel Palmer, Christopher "Kit" Carson, and numerous others would help negotiate these treaties, serving as interpreters. Treaties aimed at settling the problems that stemmed from the Minnesota Sioux outbreak of 1862 and the massacre of Cheyenne Indians at Sand Creek in 1864. Peace would be short-lived on the frontier after the Civil War as more settlers and miners started moving West, bringing more racial turmoil and fighting. This would continue long after the signing of the last Indian treaty and the beginning of the executive agreements.

The Cartwright gift brings to Princeton treaties representing the Southern, Plains, Southwestern, Midwestern, and Pacific Northwest Indians. The treaties with the Southern tribes represent the last efforts of removal of Indian territory. The treaty between the United States and the Creek and Seminole tribes, in 1845, provided for the marking of boundaries of Creek lands in Indian territory and the removal of the Seminoles from Florida to share the Creeks' lands. Even after removal, the Five Nations continued to have treaties negotiated with the federal government. The Choctaws and Chickasaws negotiated in 1855 and 1856 to determine their boundaries and land cessions with the government. One of the final treaties negotiated with a Southern Indian was the March 21, 1866 treaty with the Seminoles who had fought with the Confederacy during the War between the States.8

The collection also contains an excellent group of Sioux treaties negotiated in the 1860s, involving the Yanktonai, Onk-pah-pah, O'Gallala, Sans Arc, Two Kettles, and the Minneconjou bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians. These treaties were concluded at Fort Sully, Dakota Territory, and stipulated the cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the Indians from the overland routes.

There are important Plains Indian treaties in the collection, representing the Cheyennes, Arapahoes, and others, including the Treaty of the Little Arkansas which was to set an indemnity
for the Sand Creek Massacre of Cheyenne Indians and a preliminary settlement on the limits of the Colorado Reservation. This treaty would be followed by the Treaty of Med Lodge—negotiated by General William Harney and Al Terrry—which proclaimed peace and established an Indian reservation in Kansas and Oklahoma for the Cheyennes and Ahoes.

The Southwestern tribes are represented by the Apache, manche, and Kiowa Indians. Here we find the treaty of 1867 between these three tribes and the United States by which Indians gave up their rights to Indian country. This treaty was negotiated at Fort Atkinson. Eleven years later the same tribes again negotiated a treaty, this time on the Little Arkansas River. In this treaty, which Kit Carson helped negotiate, the tribes were given the Texas panhandle.

The Pacific Northwest is represented in the collection by treaties negotiated with the Nisqually, Yakama, Mole, Nez Percé, Dwmash, Suquamish, and other allied and subordinate tribes of Indians. Among this group is the important 1867 treaty with the Lapwai Valley by which the Nez Percé gave up their reservation and received lands in present-day Idaho. This treaty was signed by the young Joseph, who would lead his tribe in war against the federal government in the 1870s.

These are only highlights from the collection, which also includes representative examples of treaties with the Seneca, Ute, Kiapoo, Snake, Chasta, Chippewa, Kansas, Winnebago, Rot River, and many lesser known tribes and bands.

As the Eberstadt stated in the foreword to their Indian catalogue: "These treaties, often the result of the white man's greed for land and gold, are in effect, the fundamental documents of our national domain." Besides the importance of these treaties, and despite the muddying of the bibliographical water by Lester Hargrett, their rarity should not be underestimated. It is true that Hargrett located a large number, or at least seemed so at the time. Even though he gathered around 10 different treatise, in some cases acquiring several copies of each, my research leads me to believe that there were not more than 10 copies of most of the treaties discovered. The almost 40 years of marketing of these treaties to collectors and academic institutions has nearly exhausted their numbers. Time will tell, but it is my frank opinion that many Americana dealers will be scratching their heads, wondering why they sold them for two to five hundred dollars each.

If Lester Hargrett had not discovered these treaties, I believe that they would have been destroyed by the governmental agency from whom he acquired them. The real result of his deceptive marketing is not only a wider distribution of them in academic institutions but an assurance of their preservation.
The Mexican As Modern Medici

By Thomas Whitridge and Patrick Kennedy

The Mexican gift book—extravagant productions presented by officials of the Mexican government and Mexican corporations as marks of esteem to their most distinguished patrons—is a phenomenon of the last decade. The competition to surprise the recipients, usually at Christmastime, with ever more lavish masterpieces of modern printing has been, at least temporarily, halted by the economic crisis which developed at almost exactly the same time as the last of these great books appeared. This splendid work, Sahagún’s Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España, is almost certainly the most costly modern publication ever created to be given away. It is described here by the creators, two young designers in New York City.

Shortly after its completion the first set of the work to come across the border was seen in the studios of Ink, Inc. by Mrs. Christian Aall, who with characteristic spontaneity and considerable generosity saw the Princeton University Library become the first in the United States to possess a set of these handsome volumes.

Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España is the work of fray Bernadino de Sahagún, a Spanish Jesuit brother sent to the New World in 1526 to convert the recently conquered Aztecs. He took to task, however, much more than conversion. Learning the native Nahautl, he recorded the agriculture, society, customs, religion, and gods of an entire culture before it was assimilated by the advancing Europeans.

Though the Historia was not published in his lifetime, Sahagún left several manuscript versions. The most beautiful and complete of these is known as the Florentine Codex. It was produced in 1565 to form part of the dowry of a Spanish infanta who married a Medici prince. The project had the church’s blessing and was well endowed; it was to be a priceless object. Sahagún trained Indian scribes to transcribe his Spanish text into facing columns of Nahautl. Teams of scribes, burning as many as 200 candles, are reported to have worked through the night to meet the deadline. Since the Nahautl ran shorter than the Spanish text, the columns of empty space were filled with...
colorful illuminations and arabesques depicting the natural and social worlds.

In early 1981 the Mexican publishing house Promexa proposed to Banco Nacional de Mexico (Banamex) that they publish a grand edition of Sahagún's *Historia*. In 1976 a facsimile of the codex had been issued by the Mexican government, printed in Italy in an edition of 1,600 copies. This made the full manuscript text available to scholars for the first time. Promexa obtained a typescript of the text translated into modern Spanish, and was quick to envision a printed edition lavished with as much attention and labor as the original copy. In a country idealistically dedicated to educating a large illiterate populace it is to Promexa's credit that its prior publications include inexpensive classics and highly illustrated books previously unavailable to the mass market. Promexa was now eager to have its imprint on a production intended for the foremost publishers and private libraries in the country.

To Banamex the proposal was welcome indeed. Major Mexican banks had for a number of years been involved in a fierce rivalry as to which could produce the most elaborate and expensive publications as Christmas gifts. Promexa proposed a limited edition of 5,000 copies produced entirely in Mexico. The minister of culture at Banamex proposed a more limited edition with a larger budget. The exchange of sample printing, paper and binding that ensued between Banamex and Promexa, with the bank's blessing, sought foreign assistance and came to New York.

Ink, Inc. is a small design and publishing house in Manhattan dedicated to advancing the tradition of fine printing. We have the remarkably good fortune to have Promexa introduced to us by Roger Black, art director at the *New York Times Magazine*. This was in March. The immediate proposal was for 500 double volume sets to be completed for Christmas. Nine months is an inconceivably short time for such an undertaking, but the excitement and anticipation of creating a noble and deserving work will forever be an irresistible challenge. We agreed to present to Promexa and Banamex, within two weeks, our design solutions together with budget and best schedule if indeed we were asked to carry out the work.

No formal contract was signed, but Banamex nodded their approval to the samples and production estimates, and agreed to a one-third deposit to cover the first months of production.

A handshake acknowledged the agreement. Books were to be designed bearing all the qualities of fine incunabula. Our frightfully real task was to produce them. It would now be necessary to choreograph a combination of processes, materials, and craftsmen. The highest quality at the fastest pace was the order.

We were in Promexa's offices to expedite proofs two months later. Sideheads had to be written, as did captions for the plates, and both needed to be keyed into the mounting pages of the text. All was proceeding smoothly when Banamex suddenly preferred to postpone delivery and payment until the Christmas of the following year. It was a disappointment to slacken the pace, but it was also a relief and delight not to be the one...
asking for an extension. The first set of finished books was delivered from the bindery in May, and the last sets were bound in August 1982.

It was a natural decision to set and print the text from machine type. The illustrations, unsuitable for reproduction by letterpress process, were printed via four-color offset lithography and "tipped" between signatures. The Press of A. Colish in Mount Vernon, New York, was contracted for typesetting and printing the text. A. Colish is close to Manhattan and one of the few shops in the United States today to offer monotype composition. They also had the press capacity to print the schedule the 800 pages in two and in some places three color. The 10 by 14 inch format was derived from the maximum size of their twin 28-inch Heidelberg cylinder presses.

Deciding on a typeface for the text involved many proof much discussion, and lengthy debate. Historically accurate typography was required, pleasing to the eye, bold yet graceful. Spain, having no distinguished foundries of her own, was influenced by and dependent on type foundries and printers in Italy, France, and the Netherlands. We settled on Erhardth, face cut in Amsterdam by Nicholas Kis during the latter part of the 17th century. In 1565, Spain printed more books outside her borders than any other country, the Netherlands being her premier supplier. Erhardth is a refinement of a Roman letter that would have been in use during Sahagún’s lifetime. Matrices made especially for the project were obtained from England by A. Colish. Janson capitals, also cut by Kis, were used for the display titles and as intermittent initials. Tudor Black, a blac letter derived from the Spanish round hand, was also employed lending the page an ecclesiastical overtone.

If the typography of our edition were to reflect the spirit of hand embellishment found in the Florentine Codex, it would be necessary to commission original artwork. Rather than simply reproduce the product of a calligrapher’s hand, it seemed desirable to design ornaments specifically related to the text. Patrick Kennedy, our artist in residence, rose to the test. He drew a dozen block initials and 16 headpieces which distinguish major divisions of the text. The headpieces were drawn for three-color letterpress printing and each has a small corresponding device in both one and two colors. The device was used to fill pages within a section and appeared at the taperect chapter endings. The floriated initials are based on motifs seen

Fray Bernardino de Sahagún

Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España

TOMO PRIMERO

PRIMERA VERSIÓN INTEGRA DEL TEXTO CASTELLANO DEL MANUSCRITO CONOCIDO COMO CÓDICE FLORENTINO

INTRODUCCIÓN, PALEOGRAFÍA, GLOSARIO Y NOTAS DE ALFREDO LÓPEZ AUSTIN Y JOSEFINA GARCÍA QUINTANA

Fomento Cultural Banamex

MÉXICO 1982

Title page of the Ink, Inc. edition of Sahagún
Gift of Mrs. Christian Aall
HISTORIA GENERAL DE LAS COSAS DE NUEVA ESPAÑA

Prologue

No, cierto, es la menos noble joya de la recámara de la predicacion evangelica el conocimiento de las cosas naturales, para poner ejemplos y comparaciones, como vemos el Redemptor haberlo usado. Y estos ejemplos y comparaciones, cuánto más familiares suelen ser a los oyentes, por y en el lenguaje más usual del estrellar dichas, tanto serán más eficaces y provechosas. A este propósito se hizo ya tenso, en hara costa y trabajo, este volumen, en que están escritas en lengua mexicana, y en que ciertas propiedades y maneras exteriores y superiores que se podían aleccionar de las criaturas, aves y peces, árboles y yerbas, flores y frutos más conocidos y usaos que hay en esta tierra, donde hay gran copia de vocablos y mucho lenguaje muy propio y muy común, y materia muy gruesa. Será también esta obra muy oportuna para darles a entender el valor de los criaturas, para que no las atribuyan divinidad; porque a cualquiera criatura, que van a ser iminentemente bien en el bien, la llaman taotl; quiere decir "diablo". De manera que a lo que le llaman taotl por su lindera: al mar se le llama tlapilteytl, "niño muy lindo"; tlapilteytl, "muchachos muy traviesos o malo". Otros muchos vocablos con que se compone esta misma, de la significación de los cuales se puede conjecturar que este vocablo taotl quiere decir "cosa adornada en bien o en mal". Así que el presente volumen se podrá tener o intuir como un tenso de lenguaje y vocablos de esta lengua mexicana, y una recámara muy rica de las cosas que hay en esta tierra.

Mr. Author's title

Tienen, amado lector, en el presente volumen, un bosque con gran diversidad de menciones, menciones y fangas, donde hallarán árboles silvestres de todo género, y bestias tierras, y santos, cuantas desempeñan. Tienen un jardín poblado de árboles frutales y de todas maneras de yerbas, donde hay fuentes y ríos de diversas maneras. Así lleno de

Prologue of Book 11 of the Ink, Inc. edition of Sahagún

Gift of Mrs. Christian Aal

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Chapter ending of Book 10 of the Ink, Inc. edition of Sahagún

Gift of Mrs. Christian Aal
Porque algunos se han enredado, y aún todavía dura el envajo cerca de ciertas cuentas que estos naturales usaban antiguamente, tengo por cosa que resulta poner aquí la declaración de tres maneras de cuentas que usaban, y aún en algunas partes las usan.

Es la primera cuenta la división del año por sus meses. Es el caso que ellos separaban el año en decimocua partes, y a cada parte le daban veinte días. Estos se pueden llamar meses de manera que su año tenía decimocua meses, los cuales contienen trócinicos y setenta y dos días, y los cinco que sobran para ser año cumplido no estaban en cuenta, sino llamaban "días baldos" y "sacatés", porque a ningún dios eran dedicados. El fin a que enderecaban esta división es que cada mes o cada veinte días los dedicaban a un dios, y en ellos le hacían fiestas y sacrificios, excepto que en dos meses hacían fiesta a cuatro dioses, dedicando diecisésis días al uno y otros dos días al otro. Y así, con ser los meses decimocua, las fiestas que celebraban en ellos eran veinte. Esta cuenta se llama calendario, donde todos los días del año se dedicaban a los dioses, excepto los cinco que, como está dicho, los tenían por baldos y sacatés. Esta cuenta, que es el calendario que estos naturales tenían de tiempo sin memoria, se tiene qué hacer con las otras dos cuentas que luego se dirán.

La segunda cuenta que estos naturales usaban se llama cuenta de los años, porque contaban cierto número de años por la forma que se sigue: tenían cuatro caracteres puestos en cuatro partes en respecto de un círculo redondo. Al uno de estos caracteres llamaban ce ḣači, que quiere decir "una caña". Este carácter era como una caña verde pintada, y en respecto del círculo estaba hacia el oriente. Al segundo carácter llamaban ce tlepahi, que quiere decir "un pedernal", hecho a manera de hierro de lanza, uñido la mitad del con mango. Este estaba puesto hacia la parte del septentrional en respecto al círculo. El tercer carácter era una caña pintada, que ellos llaman ce tachel. Este puesta hacia la parte del occidente en respecto del círculo. El cuarto carácter es la semejanza de un conejo, que ellos llaman ce tache'. Este puesta hacia la parte del meridiano en respecto del círculo. Contaban por estos caracteres cincuenta y dos años, dando a cada uno de los caracteres trece años. Y contaban esta manera: ce ḣači, ce tlepahi, ce tachel, ce tache', y así dando vueltas por estos caracteres hasta que en cada uno se cumplieran trece años, los cuales todos juntos son cuatro veces trece, que hacen cincuenta y dos años. El fin o intención de esta cuenta es renovar cada cincuenta y dos años el pacto o consejo o juramento de servir a los ídolos, porque en el fin de los cincuenta y dos años hacían una muy solemnne fiesta y acaban bien año nuevo, y se celebraban todas las fiestas de los dioses y de todas sus almas, y también tenían profecía o oráculo del Duenneo que en uno de estos periodos se habría de acabar el mundo.

La tercera cuenta que estos naturales usaban era el arte para adivinar la fortuna o venir a conocer las cosas que suceden a hombres y mujeres. Era esta manera: que tenían veinte caracteres. Al primero llaman cişereti; el segundo, ḣeči; el tercero, cači; el cuarto,
in the original manuscript, while the letters themselves are a rendering of Janson.

Just as it was necessary to commence typesetting immediately so it was to begin printing as pages were approved. In fact first of two volumes would be at the bindery as the second still beingpaged and proofread. It thus became necessary even before the page count was determined, to specify your quarto and have the paper made.

Our paper specifications described more a handmade sheet than stock made on a Fourdriner machine. Specifications called for an acid neutral, all rag, textured stock, not boardy but with good drapability, a sheet that would not make noise when pages were turned, and which was receptive to letterpress printing. Banamex was further desirous of having their logo a bicentennial dates combined to appear as a watermark in the stock. Although a sheet with laid lines seemed most appropriate, our initially tight deadline made this impossible.

The stock was manufactured by the Monadnock Paper Makers of Bennington, New Hampshire. They customarily make rives papers and produced for us a beautifully textured sheet with excellent drapability and little sound. It was well up to specifications and relieved a growing dread. The stock was produced in two lots, the second surface-sized and in a different dimension for the offset printer who was to print the illustrations.

In Mexico a book is often revered more as a physical object than for what it may contain or represent. Our binding needed to reflect just how precious a parcel it was, with a display of handwork and expensive materials. Silver clasps, silver corners, satin ribbons, and wooden slipcases were suggested to us, and rejected.

For the spine material we selected a beautifully grained, richly tanned Nigerian goatskin from Harrolds, England. As in Spanish bindings of the period, the spine is divided by five raised bands (originally cords) and like these books the title is printed on a leather label and pasted into one of the panels on the spine. Japanese red silk was used on the boards. René Solis, co-director of Promexa, did exhaustive research on hand marblers and Michel Duval of Liencourt, France, was commissioned to make the red, black, and gold endleaf papers. The top edge of each book was gilded, and material imported from the Netherlands was used on the slipcases. Harcourt Bindery in Boston did the handwork.

Apparently no written agreement had ever been made between Banamex and Promexa; we certainly never received anything resembling a purchase order from either of them. But when the books were completed, everyone was pleased, and somehow miraculously, everyone has been paid.

LA PRESENTE EDICIÓN DE LA HISTORIA GENERAL DE LAS EXPLORACIONES DE NUEVA ESPAÑA
ESTÁ LIMITADA A 200 EJEMPLARES CON LAS SIGUIENTES CARACTERÍSTICAS:
LOS VOLÚMENES FUERON IMPRESOS EN LA PRESS OF A. GOLDBERG EN NIGHT FAYON, N.Y.
EN SU COMPOSICIÓN SE UTILIZARON LOS MESTIZOS DEMASIADO, JASON Y VIGEL NEGRO,
FUERTES QUE FUERON DESPEDIDOS AL CONOCER LA IMPRESIÓN.
LOS ORNAMENTOS Y LETRAS CAPITALES FUERON DISEÑADOS ESPECIALMENTE POR PATRICK KENDRICK.
LAS ILUSTRACIONES A COLOR FUERON REALIZADAS POR EUREKA OFFSET PRINTING COMPANY
DE LA CIUDAD DE NUEVA YORK. AMBOS VOLÚMENES FUERON IMPRESOS
EN PAPEL 100% DE TRAPO FABRICADO PARA ESTA EDICIÓN POR THE MONADNOCK PAPER MILLS
DE RENSHAWN, N.H. LA ENCUCHEACIÓN SE LLEVÓ A CARGO EN LOS TALLERES
DE LA HARCOURT BINDERY DE BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS, Y SE UTILIZARON LOS
SIGUIENTES MATERIALES: SERA PAPEL DE INGLESA, AMARILLO, DE
PAPIER MANUFACTURÉ DE MICHEL DUVAL, LIANCOURT, FRANCIA
Y PIEL DE CABRA DE NUEVA CORUÑA COMPRADA POR HARROLD
DE BOSTON, INGLATERRA. EL DISEÑO DE LA OBRAS
FUE CONCEBIDO POR ROGER BLACK.
Y LA PRODUCCIÓN ESTUVIÓ BAJO
LA SUPERVISIÓN DE INK, INC.,
AMBOS DE NUEVA YORK.
The wealth of visual materials in the Graphic Arts Collection and the Princeton University Library's special collections do much to increase the general appeal of library exhibitions. Several recent displays created by the Graphic Arts Division of the University Library were deliberately organized to demonstrate how historical and even literary subjects can be pictorially enhanced using original prints, drawings, and illustrated books.

"London Observed: A Graphic Arts Exhibition of Historic Prints" took as its ambitious subject no less than the history of the city of London. By restricting this display to prints and illustrated books, the multifarious aspects of this grand city were sifted down to a highly visual sequence of 150 engraved illustrations. These prints, in many cases created by contemporaries who were eye-witness observers, recorded the history and development of one city from the first woodcut views found in English incunabula to the fine foggy images of Gustave Doré in 19th-century wood engraving and to the early 20th-century photographs of Alvin Langdon Coburn.

It says a great deal about the extent of the Library's holdings that we are able to gather together pictures that relate, without glaring historical gaps, such a complex story. Beyond this, many of the prints and drawings of this show revealed an aesthetic richness possible only in the collections of a major research library such as Princeton's.

Encouraged by the success of the London exhibit, which closed October 10, 1982, the staff of the Graphic Arts Collection began planning a similar venture, this time for the early history of American cities in prints and drawings. Leonard L. Milberg '53 who had provided the centerpiece for the London exhibition, the great 1842 portfolio of hand-colored lithographs, Thomas Shotter Boys's *London As It Is*, offered to loan his entire collection of early American views. In addition, he made possible a fully illustrated catalogue, *Pride of Place: Early American Views from the Collection of Leonard L. Milberg '53*. The research involved brought to light several important early American prints at
Princeton of which the curators had been totally unaware, including the early *Scenographia Americana* series, until now lost among unsorted and uncatalogued material. The show and its accompanying catalogue were oriented towards the artists themselves, giving long overdue recognition to such excellent topographical artists as William James Bennett (1787-1844) and John William Hill (1812-1879). Both were English artists who, during their travels in this country were captivated by its scenic beauty. Bennett was also one of the best early 19th-century printmakers in aquatint. All of his known American city views were shown together for the first recorded time. John William Hill was the second-generation son of a highly artistic American family. In order fully to represent his special talent, two of his early watercolors of New York street scenes were borrowed from the New York Public Library for the exhibit. These together with our own Hill watercolor of Boston made up a luminous alcove of mid-19th-century America. “Pride of Place” opened on April 24 with a lecture by Sinclair Hitchings, Keeper of Prints at the Boston Public Library, followed by a grand reception for the Friends of the Library. At the time of Alumn Reunions in June, the entire Class of 1953 honored Leonard Milberg with an extraordinary gathering in the exhibition hall of the Library. As a capstone recognition of this American view exhibition, the American Print Collectors Society convened from many parts of the country to view “Pride of Place” in August.

As part of these events, Leonard Milberg has been extremely generous to the Graphic Arts Collection. Following the establishment of an endowed fund, he has added 40 extremely important early American city views, including the splendid watercolor of Boston by John William Hill together with the folio engraving based upon it. These gifts represent a strong new development for the Library’s collection of American graphic arts, and build upon the existing strength of our Sinclair Hamilton ’66 Collection of Early American Illustrated Books 1670-1870. The American city views add welcome new artistic dimensions of color and scale to our collection. Another alumni gift should also be acknowledged here. William Prickett ’47 stepped out from the Princeton alumni wings to present, just in time to be included in the printed catalogue, four extremely rare and important early Philadelphia views by William and Thomas Birch (1755-1834; 1779-1851).

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A very well-attended Graphic Arts exhibition was the showing
of the private collection of another alumnus collector, Charles Rahn Fry '65. "The Stencil Art of Pochoir: French Color Prints 1920-1930" was festively opened on November 9, 1982, and was reluctantly closed January 15, 1983. French pochoir prints present in true pigment color the full spectrum of the jazz age in the Paris of the 1920s and 1930s. They not only represent a pictorial compendium of the modes and manners of the Parisian haut and démodées, but are the perfect graphic embodiment of the signature style of the period, art deco. Charles Fry, with the dedicated zeal and enthusiasm of a true collector, has managed to find nearly every print and portfolio issued. The Graphic Arts Collection still receives requests for the nearly out-of-print brochure, and has acquired since the exhibition several of the finest French pochoir portfolios.

Following the French pochoir show, an exhibit of contemporary prints by the German artist Alfred Pohl was displayed in the Graphic Arts Gallery. Pohl came to America for the opening, and gave a very successful demonstration of his "disappearing woodblock" technique for student members of the Colophon Society here at Princeton. As part of his visit, Pohl created a limited edition of a three-color woodcut, "Memories of Princeton," which is available from the Graphic Arts Collection at 10 dollars per print.

THE ELMER ADLER BOOK COLLECTING CONTEST, 1983

The annual Elmer Adler Undergraduate Book Collecting Contest was held in the Graphic Arts Collection on Thursday May 5, 1983. A wide variety of interests was demonstrated by this year's entrants whose themes included such unusual ones as the interaction of reality and imagination in art and literature, historical novels about the sea, and children's books from around the world. Judges Jamie Kamph, Richard M. Ludewig, and Dale Roynace awarded first prize to Eve Ward '84 for her collection of books on Scotland. Second prize was shared between Charles Eric Brodax '86, Ann Elizabeth Kurth '84, and Fitzhugh Scott Strang '84. The book collecting prize is a legacy from Princeton's first curator of Graphic Arts, Elmer Adler.

—DALE ROYLANC, Curator of Graphic Arts

During the past academic year (1982-1983), the Library acquired by purchase for the General Rare Book Collections well over 1,100 books. Their range in subject matter is great. As in past years, they reflect the areas in which the rare book collections are strongest, namely, English and American literature and history. Added to these purchases were 184 gifts of various sorts, the most outstanding of which is the gift of many 18th-century French belleslettres works from the library of the late Professor Ira O. Wade. A survey of the numerous acquisitions reveals the following categories of purchases: poetical miscellanies of 18th-century England; emblem books; 17th-century English plays; several outstanding first editions of the Danish existentialist philosopher, Søren Kierkegaard; translations of Russian novels into English; European social history; literature relating to the English stage in the 18th and 19th centuries; rare books on the Near East; history of science; modern Latin American literature; Edwardian novels; and books of the Renaissance.

In many ways, these current acquisitions reflect the very nature of the General Rare Book Collections; they are a microcosm of the enormously varied University Library collections. Indeed, the totality of the special sub-collections within the General Rare Book Collections is yet to be determined, but we do know from our recently completed Guide to Selected Special Collections of Printed Books and Other Materials in the Princeton University Library that their number is nearly 200. This past year, as in other years, we have tried to add to some of these sub-groupings, but our desire to do so is always controlled by availability of both funds and books, to name only two limitations.

Since the academic year 1979-1980, the Library has been a member of the Research Libraries Group and consequently has been utilizing its automated shared cataloguing system, called RLIN (Research Libraries Information Network). Records for all the recent acquisitions acquired for the General Rare Book Collections are now found in RLIN.

The following are only some of the year's more outstanding acquisitions.
We continue to add to our collection of the printed works of selected contemporary Latin American authors, a collecting program begun in conjunction with the Manuscript Division's effort to acquire the papers of several leading contemporary Latin American authors. This year we added books by José Donoso, Reinaldo Arenas, Carlos Fuentes, and Guillermo Cabrera Infante.

In 1974, we received as a gift from Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert an object long used in the New World for the recording of events and the keeping of accounts. It is called a quipu and consists of a bundle of knotted cords. It was used by the Incas between the 13th and 16th centuries and was recorded to be in use in the 19th century in the interior of Peru and Bolivia. This year we added a study of the quipu published in Naples

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in 1750. The circumstances of its publication make a long story indeed, since the book was written as a defense of a work claiming to have been translated from quipus. The defender was a learned Neapolitan inventor and linguist, Raimondo Sangro (1710-1771), and his book includes several plates printed in color demonstrating knots for "master words," Peruvian songs, and so forth.

Also in the area of Americana, we have added Heinrich Alting's *Theologia eleuctica nova* (Amsterdam, 1654), once in the library of Jonathan Edwards, theologian and president of Princeton at the time of his death in 1758. The Library already owns nearly 60 books once belonging to Edwards.

We have also added the subscription proposals for printing an 18th-century ethnography of American Indians by a Scotsman, David Doig, who had been Deputy Provost Marshal General in West Florida. The projected book, *The Manners and Customs of the American Indians*, was evidently never published. The proposals have been unrecorded heretofore, and they contain reports of numerous circumstances of Doig's 23-year residence in America.

**Thaddeus Burr Wakeman, Class of 1854**

During the early part of 1883, the greater portion of the library of a late 19th-century Baltimore ship captain, James H. Graff, became available on the antiquarian book market. His library consisted of more than 330 "yellowbacks" (now in the hands of a Philadelphia bookseller) as well as a gathering of books on socialist and radical political themes. From the latter group, the Library recently acquired seven books, including one by a member of the Princeton Class of 1854, Thaddeus Burr Wakeman. Born in Connecticut, Wakeman came from a staunch Presbyterian family and evidently was expected to enter the ministry. At graduation, he declared he could not do so, and instead he read law in a New York City law office. He was admitted to the bar in 1856, and practiced in New York City for many years. Instead of theology, his mind turned toward political thought and religious free thinking. A newspaper obituary declared him "one of the most advanced advocates of liberalism in this country." His early politics were anti-slavery, and after the war he was a follower of Horace Greeley. After 1868, he was active in Free Thought movements in New York; leader in the Humanity Society; president of the Manhattan Liberal Club; and president of the National Liberal League and the New York State Free Thinker's League. He was editor of *Man*, a liberal journal, as well as the *Torch of Reason*. Wakeman was known for his oratorical skills (he was a perennial convention speaker, according to one historian). The book recently acquired is Wakeman's address before the Committee on Charitable and Religious Societies of the Assembly of the State of New York on March 23, 1881. Entitled *Liberty and Purity: How to Secure Both Safely, Effectively and Impartially*, it was delivered in opposition to a bill to increase the powers of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, which had succeeded in establishing the Comstock Postal Laws which aimed at excluding all mail "designed to incite lust."

Wakeman was a controversial character, no doubt, and it is interesting to observe that only one of his 24 books is found today in the Library's Princetoniana or so-called "P" collection. The "P" collection gathered books, pamphlets, autograph albums, bound manuscripts, and pictures relating to Princeton and its alumni. The earliest known date of existence for the "P" collection is 1905. At that time it amounted to 3,585 volumes, including the large collection of Princetoniana presented by Professor William Libbey, Class of 1877. Active collecting stopped about 1948. In the collection, some Princeton writers, such as Booth Tarkington and John Witherspoon, are well represented, but Wakeman's works are conspicuously lacking.

**Restoration and Other Seventeenth-Century English Plays**

The Library has been diligently collecting English Restoration and other 17th-century plays since the 1930s. Records of the early collecting are nonexistent, but our knowledge of acquisitions made during the past 20 years is quite complete. Since 1963, the Library has added 176 plays to the existing collection of about 700 volumes. During that 20-year period, the rate of acquisition has averaged about eight plays per year. This past academic year, we collected a bonanza of more than twice our usual annual find—17 plays to be exact. To us this seems extraordinary, in light of the fact that a recent specialized antiquarian dealer's catalogue listed 116 Restoration plays, and we had them all! The titles of the plays reflect many of the political and social interests of the day, such as the Glorious Revolution...
(The Late Revolution: Or, The Happy Change. A Tragi-Comedy, As it was Acted throughout the English Dominions in the Year 1688. London, 1690. Wing L558); love and marriage; and religion.

Edwardian Novels

In the Spring 1981 issue of the Library Chronicle we announced the purchase of a collection of Edwardian novels. During the past academic year, this collection has been completely catalogued on RLIN under a grant from the United States government as part of the Higher Education Act, Title II-C. This past year we purchased from a Philadelphia bookseller another collection of Edwardian novels consisting of many titles that augmented the holdings of authors' works included in the 1981 purchase. Also rounding out this year's purchases are many novels by women authors. Again under Title II-C, cataloguing of this recently acquired collection of 667 volumes has been completed. The cataloguing was based on the processing of the 1981 purchase, thus allowing a considerable saving of time and effort.

English Poetical Miscellanies

But these are not a thousandth Part Of Jobbers in the Poets Art, Attending each his proper Station, And all in due Subordination; Thro' ev'ry Alley to be found, In Garrets high, or under Ground: And when they join their Pericranies, Out skips a Book of Miscellanies.


Recently purchased from a Princeton bookseller is a collection of English poetical miscellanies published between 1625 and 1800. In its entirety, the collection consists of 86 titles in 71 volumes. These 86 join more than 200 other editions of English poetical miscellanies for the same period already in the Library. Although it is not known exactly when the Library began to gather these miscellanies, impetus for collecting them came in 1935 when the first comprehensive bibliography of English poetical miscellanies was published. The Princeton copy of Case shows intensive use by the Associate Librarian, Lawrence Heyl, as he began to search and purchase miscellanies for our growing collections. Mr. Heyl not only annotated entries for copies held by Princeton but also noted variations of Princeton copies with the published descriptions.

Miscellany, as a term meaning a collection of literary works gathered together in one volume, was first used in 1638. Nonetheless, poetical miscellanies had existed in England at least since 1557, the year in which Richard Tottel published his famous Songs and Sonettes, written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Haward late Earle of Surrey and other, today known as Tottel's Miscellany. In fact, some claim that the London, 1557 edition of Chaucer's Works ought to be called the first English poetical miscellany since it contains some 20 pieces not by Chaucer. In any event, since they first appeared, poetical miscellanies were enormously popular in England. Their popularity is evidenced by the large number of miscellany editions issued under the same title both during Elizabethan times and afterwards. (Tottel's Miscellany alone went through nine editions between 1557 and 1587. Many of the editions were completely read to pieces; in some cases, proof of their existence is based on only one surviving copy.) In addition, titles of miscellanies proliferated, with about 85 per year being issued at the end of the 18th century.

The role of poetical miscellanies in English literary life is only partly understood. They sometimes contained the first appearance of an author's work. Notable examples are the publication of Alexander Pope's first poetical work in volume six of Tonson's Poetical Miscellanies (London, 1709), or playwright Nathaniel Lee's first publication in Musarum Catabrigiensium Threnodia (Cambridge, 1670). Another example, as well, is that of Anne Finch, Countess of Winchilsea, née Kingsmill (1666?-1702). Her Pindaric ode, The Spleen, was first published in A New Miscellany in 1701. A fourth example is John Locke's first appearance in print, a poem in John Owen's Musarum Oxoniensium ἐλάποςοπια, published at Oxford in 1654. Indeed, the foundation stone of any collection of English romantic poetry—Lyrical Ballads, a collection of poems by Wordsworth and Coleridge (Bristol, 1798)—from one point of view looks entirely like a kind of poetical miscellany. Like other miscellanies, none of the poems is signed (many are now famous, such as "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" and "Lines written a few miles above Tintern Abbey") and no editor's name appears on the title page.

What a modern scholar says of Elizabethan miscellanies is true for all:

Yet modern readers ... are surprisingly unfamiliar with the miscellanies, and no bibliography has yet recorded their full number without omission or error. Their varied interests for present scholars remain largely unexplored. The collections shed light on the history of taste and on the directions of change in poetic theme and technique. Their story reveals the practices of a flourishing book trade and patterns of imitation and interaction between poets and poetic types. Literary conventions passed in and out of their development, shaping one volume or filling out substance in another. Yet of the many questions they raise, only one, perhaps the least fruitful, has been pursued at all: identification of the authors of the many anonymous poems. The miscellanies have not been assessed as a phenomenon or as a form; nor have their gatherings of poetry been studied in particular literary contexts.3

ADDENDA

"Wit's Descant on any Plain-song": Seventeenth-Century English Character Books

Character is a complicated concept stemming from the Greek word meaning "to scratch." Such a graphic, literal meaning has given way to the many figurative uses common today—the distinguishing traits of an object; the qualities of the human personality; one's reputation; an odd or eccentric person; a "character" actor; the behavior of a moral or immoral person.

Some writers of 17th-century England focused on these concepts, and a number developed a literary genre called a "character." Collections of these short descriptions of types of individuals were known as character books. They wrapped in a shrewdly persuasive rhetoric worldly wisdom, moral insight, satiric observation, humor, and entertainment. Today they seem to have few counterparts, but, perhaps, the newspaper cartoon or The Preppy Handbook come closest to the spirit of the character book.

The work of the Greek writer Theophrastus served as the model for the earliest English character books. He was first translated into English in 1616, and has remained available in English in varying editions down to the present. These early translations of Theophrastus were generalized "type" portraits, intended to personify abstract concepts. At the outbreak of the Civil War, so-called "controversial" characters appeared, usually as eight-page pamphlets in quarto format. Unlike "type" portraits, "controversial" characters had a particular focus but left their subject unnamed. In 1675, there was a small and successful outburst of quarto format "type" characters, but these were overtaken by a wave of "controversial" broadside and folio characters in 1680-1689. These related directly to the Popish plot, religious controversy, and political infighting. Thereafter the character book appeared less frequently until the Glorious Revolution of 1688 inspired a brief outburst (1688-1691). In the subsequent early years of the 18th century, Ned Ward reverted to the "type" character book in his works on the army and navy that were frequently reprinted.

Because of the specific circumstances surrounding the writing and publishing of character books, these intriguing half-sheet broadsides, four- and eight-page pamphlets are extremely scarce today. In 1982, the Library had the remarkable fortune to acquire 55 of them. Most are known in only one or two copies, and a great majority of them date from the 1680s.4

Sir Thomas More

In November 1980, the Library received a collection of early printed books by and about Sir Thomas More. Beheaded in 1535 and declared a saint in 1935, More was a complex man whose central role in the rise of the English nation makes him a fascinating individual for many collectors. The gift is the collection of Canon F. Sidney Bancroft of the Class of 1927, who began collecting More many years ago.

The collection includes more than 125 volumes, of which 42 were printed during the era of the hand press. These 42 include many editions of Utopia, including a translation into French published in 1643. The earliest edition of Utopia in Canon Bancroft's collection is one printed at London in 1516. The Library already has the first edition of Utopia (Louvain, 1516) and the


4 We are grateful to Mr. John Brott-Smith for supplying a great deal of information contained in this note.
Bancroft collection greatly augments our holdings of subsequent editions.

The facts about More's life have been manipulated in the past to serve the needs of political ideology or religious opinion. Evidently with such a fact in mind, Canon Bancroft collected several of the important early biographies of More, including an early edition of the biography (1626) on which all subsequent ones are said to be founded, that of William Roper, More's son-in-law. Also included is a biography by Thomas Stapleton, the rector of New College, Oxford. Stapleton's *Tres Thomae* translated Roper's English work into Latin and added other material. The biography by Cresacre More, Sir Thomas's great-grandson, published in 1642, borrowed from both Roper and Stapleton. To the narrative, Cresacre More added stories of "decorative miracles," as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th edition) puts it.

—STEPHEN FERGUSON, Curator of Rare Books

**RECENT ACQUISITIONS—MANUSCRIPTS**

The most important Princeton manuscript purchased this year was a group of 33 letters from Charles Thomson (1729-1824) to his wife Hannah Harrison, written from Princeton in 1783 during the meeting of the Continental Congress of which he was secretary. It adjourned from Philadelphia on June 24, 1783, and the letters to Hannah begin on June 25 and continue throughout the Princeton sessions until October 25. The letters are full of comments on personalities involved, on the fragile union of states, on discussions about the site for a future capital, and about western lands. The letters are extraordinarily revealing of these critical days in the nation's early history. Nathaniel Burt discusses them in the lead article in this issue of the *Chronicle*. They will be fully edited and annotated by John Morrin and Eugene Sheridan and then published in hardcover by the Library in 1984. Firestone Library is the proper home for these Princeton letters, and we are delighted with the generous response of so many Friends who rallied round to enable us to make this purchase.

This report intentionally omits certain other items, such as a gift of some early letters from James Agee (1909-1955) which are restricted during the lifetime of the donor. We are nevertheless glad to have them in safekeeping in the Library for future researchers. Nor do we mention acquisitions that have already been described in the *Chronicle*, XLIV (Spring 1983), such as the large group of Pearl Buck papers from the David Lloyd Archive, the gift of Andrea Lloyd; George Washington's letter about his teenage stepson given by Mr. and Mrs. William M. Cahn, Jr. '33, in memory of DeWitt Millhauer; or the Richard Wagner letters purchased this year through the Friends of the Library and the subject of Professor J. Merrill Knapp's article.

**Artists' Letters**

At the special urging of a faculty member, we purchased several individual artist's letters, including a 1924 letter in French from Tony Garnier the architect (1869-1948) to Jean Badovici, founder and editor of *L'Architecture vivante*, about the Monument aux Morts at Lyons. Another is a letter from Alexander Calder written in 1957 about one of his wire groups. It is interesting how the very different personalities of the artists are reflected in their handwriting. These letters were purchased as a gift of the Friends of the Library.

**Philip Ayres (1638-1712)**

The household account book for the Drake family of Shar-does, near Amersham, Bucks., England, 1698-1707, was purchased with funds provided by Robert H. Taylor '30. Philip Ayres was a poet living in the household of Montagu Drake, as tutor to the young Montagu Garrard Drake; after the boy's father's death in 1698 Ayres kept the household accounts for Mrs. Drake. The 130-page account book is entirely in the poet's handwriting, and includes purchases of books and other articles for his young pupil. As no letters or literary manuscripts survive in the hand of Ayres, who was a friend of Dryden's, these accounts gain an importance beyond their factual content as the fullest examples extant of his hand.

**Guillermo Cabrera Infante Papers**

Guillermo Cabrera Infante (1929-- ), novelist, short story writer, and motion picture critic, is one of the foremost Spanish-language writers of the 20th century. Clever puns and consid-
erable humor pervade his satirical creations. Considered Cuba's best motion picture critic, Cabrera Infante served as the editor of the literary supplement Lunes of the newspaper Revolución. After the Castro government banned its publication, he joined the Cuban diplomatic corps in 1962 and served in Europe until 1965, when he defected in Madrid. Since 1966, Cabrera Infante has lived in London, and as a British subject, he is the only major English writer who writes in Spanish. This point parallels the circumstances of the Spanish Romanticist José María Blanco-White (1775-1841), who also lived in England and whose papers are in the Manuscript Division. The Cabrera Infante papers span the period from 1961 to 1982 and include draft versions of Tres tristes tigres, Vista del amanecer en el tropico, O, Exorcismos de estíllo, Arcadia todas las noches, and La Habana para un infante difunto, as well as screen plays, The Mercenary, Wonderwall, Birthdays, Vanishing Point, and Under the Volcano. They were purchased through the Friends of the Library Fund; Lassen-Doherty Fund; Latin American, Romance Language and Literature, Iberian, and General Library Funds.

Charles I of England (1600-1649)

A holograph letter is a recent gift. It was written on July 26, 1645 to Charles's nephew, Prince Rupert, during the English Civil War and shortly after the Battle of Naseby on June 14, 1645, a victory for the Puritans and a turning point in the war. The king would not accept defeat, and he refused to accept any settlement that he believed was abhorrent to God—for God should “not suffer rebels to prosper.” He writes to his loyal nephew Prince Rupert about troops coming from France and supplies from Ireland for the royal cause, but all in vain for the Royalists. Charles I was executed January 30, 1649; his son succeeded him in exile.

With the king’s letter is a holograph letter from his queen, Henrietta Maria, to the Marquess of Argyle. The queen writes in French (she was the daughter of the French King Henri IV) from Paris, August 20, 1650, after the execution of Charles I. She speaks of her son, now king, and the forced removal of one of his servants called Arden. Both letters are handsomely bound in red morocco gilt, with a beautifully painted miniature of Queen Henrietta Maria inlaid inside the upper cover. These letters are the gift of Dr. Howard T. Behrman.

Jorge Edwards Papers

Jorge Edwards (1931- ), diplomat, journalist, novelist, and short story writer, served in the Chilean Ministry of Foreign Affairs until the overthrow of the Allende government in 1973. While Edwards served as head of mission to Cuba for Allende, serious disagreements between the two leftist states developed, which Edwards documents in his work Persona non grata. His Paris posting was with Ambassador Pablo Neruda. During the past decade Edwards resided in Spain, but now writes in Chile. The papers include correspondence from 1960-1980 and various draft versions for short stories and novels as well as the historical work Persona non grata. There is substantial literary correspondence with Chilean authors such as José Donoso ’51, Pablo Neruda, and Enrique Lihn, and with the Peruvian novelist Mario Vargas Llosa; political correspondence emanates mainly from Edwards’s colleagues in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; an extensive family correspondence documents socioeconomic conditions under the various Chilean governments that ranged from conservative to Christian Democratic to Marxist and finally to military dictatorship. This material was purchased on the Latin American and General Special Collections Department Funds.

David S. Elkind ’73 Gift

Mr. Elkind has given the Library several very different American letters, some of them of especial interest for the associations they reveal between people. There is for instance a letter from Horace Greeley (1811-1872), editor and political writer, to William H. Seward (1801-1872), governor of New York, about appointments in New York City. The letter is dated 1839 which was before either man became well known as an anti-slavery leader. Here is a frank exchange of views at an early stage in both careers. Another letter is from Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), written from Salem in 1849, inviting Charles Sumner to lecture in Boston. It was not until after 1851 that Sumner became famous as U.S. senator and anti-slavery orator. There are also three letters from John Burroughs (1837-1921) the author and naturalist, and five sheets of Burroughs’s manuscript about poetry and criticism, with corrections by Walt Whitman (1819-1892). Burroughs and Whitman met in Washington
in 1863, and for 10 years they were closely associated. It is fascinating to see this literary combination.

**Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882)**

"Wealth" is one chapter in Emerson's *The Conduct of Life*, published in Boston in 1860. The autograph manuscript of this essay with many corrections and rearrangements is written on several kinds of blue paper, lined and unlined, on 81 leaves variously paged 1-167. This is the sort of manuscript that shows the writer at work, thinking, revising, and changing until he is satisfied. The volume has a charming photograph of Emerson tipped in, and the last page of an autograph letter to James Thomas Fields at the beginning of the volume. "Wealth" is a gift of William Elfers '41, an Emerson collector who has already given Princeton other important items from his collection, including the page proofs of "An Essay on Character," corrected by Emerson for the *Atlantic Monthly*, 1865, but never published there.

**Zelda Fitzgerald (d. 1948)**

A scrapbook kept from childhood until 1926, with photographs, clippings, dance programs, a lock of hair, souvenirs of family scenes and of European trips was purchased from the Fitzgeralds' daughter, Mrs. C. Grove Smith, through Professor Matthew Brucoli, with funds from the Friends of the Library. This scrapbook helps provide a vivid recreation of F. Scott Fitzgerald's wife. Princeton already has very large manuscript holdings of both Scott and Zelda Fitzgerald, to which this scrapbook is a welcome addition.

**Violet Hunt (1862-1942)**

In her declining years (1930-1939), Violet Hunt wrote 65 letters to Oliver Stonor, a literary aspirant, encouraging the young man to write and describing her own state of mind. With these letters are some 60 letters dated 1944-1960, from Douglas Goldring (1887-1960) to the same Oliver Stonor, partly about Violet Hunt and her biography of her former husband, the novelist Ford Madox Ford, and about problems with Hunt's literary executor. Both groups of letters provide interesting
glimpses of the English literary scene, and particularly of Ford Madox Hueffer who changed his name to Ford in 1919. They were purchased as a gift of the Friends of the Library.

David Lloyd George (1863-1945)

Lloyd George was the famous English minister of munitions (1915-1916) who became prime minister (1916-1922). A notebook containing brief pencil jottings for some of his stirring speeches during World War I is the gift of Mr. and Mrs. J. Harden Rose '51, in honor of the graduation of their son, Andrew Carnegie Rose '82.

Professor Maurice Kelley Gift

Professor Kelley collected reproductions of John Milton's autographs, initially to identify and date the revisions in Milton's De Doctrina manuscript, and gathered them in six large albums. They contain all the known examples of Milton's hand (written during the period from 1622 to 1669), of Milton's various amanuenses, of Milton's family and associates (in the hope of identifying some of the different amanuenses), and of state papers written by Milton as Latin Secretary under Cromwell (175 of them). The gathering of these facsimiles has led to the discovery of new manuscripts (including three hitherto unknown Milton signatures) and to the solution of other problems of Milton in date and canon. Each facsimile has been carefully described and documented by Professor Kelley. This gift will be invaluable for future Milton scholars.

Erwin Panofsky (1892-1968)

Fifty-seven letters to Mrs. Alfred Barr, Jr., written between 1932 and 1958, are very full letters, almost all in English, to a fellow art historian. The letters concern art historical subjects, as well as Panofsky's move from Nazi Hamburg to New York City, with much discussion of unfolding events and of several returns to Hamburg and to New York University, with and without family. Intrinsically important because of the status of Panofsky as an art historian, the letters are also interesting in the general picture they present of the movement of scholars out of Hitler's Germany to find freedom for the continuance of their scholarly activity. Panofsky eventually settled at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. These letters are the gift of William S. Heckscher.

Morgan Family Papers

The correspondence of Josephine Perry, of her parents (General and Mrs. Alexander Perry), her husband (Junius Spencer Morgan '88), her children Sarah and Alexander, and other relatives including the Adams family, the Bulkley family, and others, is a recent large gift. Mrs. Junius Morgan kept all her correspondence (there was space in the large attic at Constitution Hill, Princeton), and there are hundreds of letters every year from her girlhood days on (she was sent to school in Paris). She was a voluminous correspondent who had many relatives and friends. She undertook numerous good works and some letters have been separated out as of interest to Women's Studies. The bulk of the letters are from about 1880 to about 1920, and there are special groups on the birth of the Morgans' son Alexander in 1901, and about the Princeton wedding of their daughter Sarah in 1914. The European trip of 1924 is particularly well documented and includes bills for hotels and for purchases. In 1909, Junius Morgan decided to live in Paris, and there is a group of letters and papers showing his wife's concern about this decision. His own letters mostly predate 1909 and seem to be more social than bibliographical despite his position as Associate Librarian at the University, donor of the Junius Spencer Morgan Virgil collection, and book advisor to his uncle, J. Pierpont Morgan. Altogether the papers reflect life in the upper echelons of society in New York City, in Princeton, and far beyond, in days very different from our own. They are the gift of A. Perry Morgan '46.

Roger Sessions (1896- )

String Quartet No. 1 in E minor (drafts and sketches in pencil on 192 leaves of a loose-leaf notebook) was a gift of Frances Alice Kleeman. Published in 1938, the work had been commissioned by Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge for performance at the Library of Congress. This notebook was reportedly sold in Princeton during World War II as part of a fund-raising drive for wartime charities and bought at that time by Miss Kleeman. It is a welcome addition to the large group of Ses-
sions’s manuscripts given to Princeton over the years by Pro-
fessor Sessions himself.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAPERS

The Manuscript Section of the Seeley G. Mudd Library ac-
quired the Hans A. Widenmann ’18 papers consisting of his
 correspondence, speeches, and photographs as well as his re-
ports in the field of international finance written mainly during
1941-1976 when he was a partner in the firm of Carl M. Loeb,
Rhoades & Co. They were the gift of Elizabeth A. Widenmann.

The Clarence B. Randall papers, including his journals, ar-
ticles, and speeches written mainly during the 1950s when he
served as Chairman of the Commission on Foreign Economic
Policy and as a Special Consultant to President Dwight D. Ei-
senhower, were presented to the Library by Mrs. Mary R. Gilkey
and Mrs. Miranda Hunter.

—JEAN F. PRESTON, Curator of Manuscripts

RECENT ACQUISITIONS—GRAPHIC ARTS

During the last year the Graphic Arts Collection moved ahead
both in important new acquisitions and in improved under-
standing of appropriate directions for our collection develop-
ment. While the collection holds many fine original examples
and extensive reference works on all of the arts of the book,
including calligraphy, typography, papermaking, and fine bind-
ing, it is first and foremost a selective gathering of original prints
and drawings as they relate to the book and its illustration.
Master drawings and fine prints created as independent works
of art are clearly the province of the Art Museum. Library
prints, drawings, and photographs nevertheless embrace in book
context some of the most beautiful and valuable of graphic
works, particularly in the realms of historical prints and book
illustration.

Drawings for Book Illustration

Watercolors, pen and ink drawings, tempera and even oil
paintings have been created by many artists as delineations for
the engraved images of printed illustration. Such drawings, like an author's manuscript, are much closer to the artist's first inspiration, and reveal a great deal about the creative process involved in book illustration.

The recent gift of an 18th-century pen and ink drawing by Johann Melchior Füssli (1677-1736) from Mrs. Erich Kahler makes an excellent example. The drawing, beautifully rendered, shows a lively skating party framed in an elaborate late Baroque encadrement, with a quick scribble to the engraver on how to finish the inner frame (fig. 1). Created as an illustration for a ponderous four-volume work called the Kupfer-Bibel . . . Physica Sacra oder Beheiligte Naturwissenschaft, published in Augsburg and Ulm in 1731, the drawing has a vivacity of spirit conspicuously lacking in the engraved work made after it.

Good drawings for illustration often have an artistic immediacy and spark of life extinguished in the labor of copy or the fatigue of engraving. They also have a subtle ability to humanize. An example recently transferred from the Rare Books Division to the Graphic Arts collection of American drawings is a small watercolor by Robert Fulton (1765-1815). It is a charming example of early American romanticism, and gives an intimate glimpse of an unexpected sentimental side to the American inventor's nature (fig. 2).

American drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection were most dramatically enriched, however, with the gift of a spectacular watercolor of Boston harbor in 1853, by John William Hill (1812-1879). This fine painting with its engraved counterpart, two gouache drawings of New York street cries (fig. 3) by Niccolino Calyo (1799-1884), and two watercolors of local New Jersey scenes by Augustus Kollner (1813-1906) were among the many important new gifts of Leonard L. Milberg '53 towards the development of the Graphic Arts Collection.

A fine group of English drawings for book illustration, including sketches by Hablot Knight Browne (1815-1882), George Du Maurier (1834-1896), John Leech (1817-1864), Frederick Leighton (1830-1896), and John Everett Millais (1829-1896), have been recent transfers from the Rare Books Division. All have been fully catalogued and placed with the Graphic Arts collection of English drawings. Significant purchases on the Graphic Arts Fund in 1983 included a pencil drawing by John Tenniel (1820-1914) and an album containing 24 sketches by Thomas Stothard (1755-1834) illustrating scenes from The Hermit by Thomas Parnell.
Fig. 2. "Love's First Interview"
Watercolor drawing by Robert Fulton
Graphic Arts Collection

Fig. 3. Nicolino Calyo, "The Oil man"
Gouache drawing from a series of New York street cries
Graphic Arts Collection
Gift of Leonard L. Milberg '53
Fig. 4. Barry Moser, “Cat and Chessmen”
Wood engraving from Lewis Carroll’s *Through the Looking Glass and What Alice Found There*, Pennyroyal Press, 1982
Graphic Arts Collection

Fig. 5. Two tales from *The Arabian Nights*
Princeton, New Jersey, Pynson Printers, 1983
Graphic Arts Collection
Modern Illustrated Books and Private Presses

The most outstanding of contemporary American wood engravers, Barry Moser, has been producing in recent years sumptuous illustrated editions in contemporary American printing. Moser’s Alice in Wonderland and Through the Looking Glass, issued in two folio volumes in 1982, have been acquired for the Graphic Arts collection of modern illustrated books. Any reader who met Alice in the original Tenniel wood engravings may find this modern Alice a bit unsettling. Once down the rabbit hole, however, Moser’s illustrations take on their own wonder, and make up a brilliant new illustrated version of Lewis Carroll’s great classic (fig. 4). The Moser Alice is printed by the Pennyroyal Press in West Hatfield, Massachusetts, and expands this private press into a true publisher of artists’ books.

Modern private press books occupy an important collecting area in Graphic Arts. Recent important additions have included a major collection of San Francisco’s Grabhorn Press, the gift of Isabel Shaw Slocum.

A new private press resurgence seems increasingly evident across the country. The best of these presses are producing books in the finest of craft traditions and represent a reflowering of the book arts as thoroughgoing as any of the printing revivals since William Morris himself. A Princeton alumnus collector of private press books, Paul Ingersoll ’50, has recognized the importance of these fine press books, and in addition to the formation of an extensive personal collection, has established for the Graphic Arts Collection at Princeton a new fund for the purchase of this type of book.

As a final note on modern private presses, it is exciting to record here the founding of our own small student press, “The Pynson Printers,” a name taken in homage to the celebrated New York press established during the 1920s and 1930s by the first Princeton Curator of Graphic Arts, Elmer Adler. Our small but excellent press facility is located in the Visual Arts Building at 185 Nassau Street, and has just inherited an extensive repertoire of types as a gift from the printing plant of the Princeton University Press. These faces, in “crisp as new” condition, include such classic designs as Bauer Bodoni (seven fonts, 24-48 pt.), Baskerville (four fonts, 24-48 pt.), Garamond (20 fonts in Roman and italic, 24-48 pt.), and Optima (nine fonts, 24-48 pt.), as well as such rare faces as Weiss, Legend, and Augustea.

It is fortunate to be able to preserve the types that are rapidly vanishing in our new age of computer typesetting and photo-offset printing. Particularly valuable to us in Graphic Arts are full sets of two of the most beautiful of modern faces, Bruce Rogers’s Centaur (12 fonts, 36-72 pt.) and Eric Gill’s Perpetua (seven fonts, 24-48 pt.). Just printed, using some of these new types and a group of antique wood-engraved blocks in the Graphic Arts Collection, is our Pynson Printers edition of two of the most famous of all tales from The Arabian Nights, “The Enchanted Horse” and “Aladdin and the Magic Lamp” (fig. 5). Like our earlier sold-out edition of “An Alphabet of Objects,” this edition of 50 copies, with hand-colored woodcuts and hand-set types, has been entirely produced by a small group of undergraduates interested in the art of printing.

—DALE ROYLANCE, Curator of Graphic Arts

RECENT ACQUISITIONS—THEATRE

Alexandre Benois Study

On June 12, 1911 Petrouchka premiered in Paris, produced by Diaghilev, with the title role danced by Nijinsky to music composed by Igor Stravinsky. Equally revolutionary in the creation of this important production was Alexandre Benois (1870-1960), its designer.

In pencil and watercolor on a single sheet of cream wove paper are four of Benois’s preparatory studies for sets, with a final pencilled note stating: “recherchez d’une nouvelle formule.” This would seem to indicate the Princeton University Library has acquired, through purchase, one of the earliest ideas for the Petrouchka set designs.

Bérain Costume Design

An exquisite watercolor rendering for the costume of a dansseur of the early French ballet has been presented by Allison Delarue ’28 in memory of Marian Hannah Winter, who was an international authority on the subject of pre-Romantic ballet. The design is for the role of L’Amour, and has been attributed to Jean-Louis Bérain fils (1674-1726). Done in pastel shades of pink, blue, green, and yellow, the costume may well have been
intended for a production at the Académie Royale de Musique, where Béralin fils collaborated with the composer André Capra on many operas and ballets.

Richard Penn Smith Papers

A rare find in early American theatrical memorabilia enabled the Theatre Collection to acquire some remarkable manuscripts by Philadelphia writer Richard Penn Smith (1799-1854). Smith, who was also a lawyer, wrote plays, short stories, and novels, several of which are represented in this collection. There is also a diary with occasional entries dated between 1828 and 1844, which provides a vivid cultural history of Philadelphia life during that period.

A portion of this important collection of American literature was purchased with monies from the William S. Dix Fund.
Vardaman Collection

Mansel Boyle, later known in Vaudeville circuits as "Vardaman, the Auburn-Haired Beauty," was born in 1877, probably in Butte, Montana. Around the turn of the century he became a variety show entertainer, gaining considerable success and acclaim as a female impersonator. This collection is of particular interest for its completeness of record: business records, correspondence, reviews, photographs, scrapbooks, and music are all represented. Since vaudevillians travelled extensively, few of them kept much in the way of material records of their careers. Vardaman's career went on until about the mid-1920s, after which no record of him has been found.

One of the rare items in the collection is a magazine on beauty care which was published under the name of Julian Eltinge, who was probably the most famous American female impersonator as well as a contemporary of Vardaman.

Tennessee Williams Papers

Shortly before Williams's death on February 25, 1983, several of his typescripts or carbon copies of original typescripts were purchased for the Theatre Collection. Among the works represented are Baby Doll, Period of Adjustment, Suddenly Last Summer, Summer and Smoke, and The Glass Menagerie. Several of these are early treatments of scripts as finally performed and published.

—MARY ANN JENSEN, Curator of the Theatre Collection

RECENT ACQUISITIONS—MAPS

The Richard Halliburton Map Collection enjoyed significantly increased funding for acquisitions during 1982-1983, thus permitting the purchase of cartographic materials heretofore noted for their inclusion on Map Room desideratum lists than their presence in the collection's filing cabinets and bookshelves. These included detailed and current street maps of major foreign cities, photo mosaics of the surface of Mars, numerous thematic atlases, and definitive topographic coverage of Canada and Mexico.

Worthy of special note is the receipt of The National Atlas of India (Calcutta, 1982), an eight-volume work of encyclopedic scope, and undoubtedly the largest atlas of its type ever published. Twenty-five years in production, this is a monumental publication of unquestioned authenticity which will serve as an invaluable reference source for readers who seek knowledge of the Indian sub-continent and its myriad culture patterns. It is printed on highly durable cartridge paper and bound in loose-leaf format, thus expediting removal of superseded material and insertion of more current data.

High quality reproductions of historical maps and charts continued as a major source of materials designed to fill gaps in the collection. Typical was a hand-pulled restrike from the original copperplate by Antonio Ysart which portrays San Diego Province in New Spain in 1682. Ysarti's map was the earliest engraved in the New World. The restrike copy is printed on 100 percent rag stock in a special limited edition and was a gift of the Friends of the Princeton University Library.

—LAWRENCE E. SPELLMAN, Curator of Maps

RECENT ACQUISITIONS—WESTERN AMERICANA

Two recent gifts to the Princeton Collections of Western Americana—Levering Cartwright's gathering of American Indian treaties and Sally Aall's gift of the Ink, Inc. edition of Sahagún—are the subjects of separate essays in this issue of the Chronicle. In their differences—the one comprising undorned but official government instruments, the other a classic text presented as a consummate work of art—these two gifts suggest the diversity of material the collection acquires each year. And in representing both the importance of the voices preserved and the craftsmanship of the presentation, they are also congenial neighbors of another recent arrival in the collection: the volumes of Western American interest from the Grabhorn Press collection of Myles Standish Slocum '09.

The collection was presented as a gift to Princeton in 1964, but a life interest was retained by Mr. Slocum's widow. Shortly after her death in 1980 the volumes left their handsome California surroundings in the Slocum residence across the road from the Huntington Library in San Marino, and arrived to enrich greatly the Princeton holdings not only in graphic arts but Western Americana as well.

The 30th year book of the Class of 1909 notes that Mr. Slocum had taken up "the new hobby" of book collecting. The hobby soon accelerated into a consuming enterprise that kept his years...
of retirement in southern California every bit as active as those that had previously been devoted to a productive career in engineering. As his collecting became more focused through his associations as a member of both the Zamorano and Grolier clubs, one of his principal collections became a gathering of Grabhorn Press imprints. It grew into a collection whose comprehensiveness extended to the Grabhorns' most ephemeral and elusive productions.

Famous for their stylistic unity (even a novice bookman can recognize a Grabhorn title across any room fortunate enough to possess one), the books are immensely diverse in subject matter, ranging from Nathaniel Hawthorne's *A Rill from the Town Pump*, printed in 1920, the press's first year in California, through *Twelve Wood Block Prints of Kitagawa Utamaro Illustrating the Process of Silk Culture*, the Grabhorn's final imprint in 1965. But within the reach from Oedipus to Steinbeck, from the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* to Ukiyo-e, the press's location on California's edge of the nation saw that local subjects were celebrated more frequently than any other. Among the nearly 600 imprints the Grabhorns created, a good quarter of them may be classified as Western Americana.

Edwin Grabhorn was made a member of the Book Club of California within six months of his arrival in 1919 in San Francisco, and it was this organization which almost instantly brought the Grabhorn Press to the attention not only of a large audience of discriminating bookmen in general but also to collectors of Western Americana in particular. It was under the Book Club's imprint that the Grabhorns produced such landmarks as H.M.T. Powell's *The Santa Fe Trail to California, Maps of San Francisco Bay, The Maps of the California Gold Region 1849*—1857, and *Diseños of California Ranchos*—all costly rarities today. It was this success that motivated the production of other monuments of the West outside the Club's sponsorship. These ranged from such necessities as Henry R. Wagner's *The Plains and the Rockies* to such luxuries as Ansel Adams's *Taos Pueblo*. But the extraordinary aspect of the Slocum gift is not that it contains these great works, but that Mr. Slocum’s net was thrown wide enough for the obscurer products of the Grabhorn Press: for high school annuals from schools discriminating (and rich) enough to commission them from such caring craftsmen, for Bohemian Grove plays, for exhibition catalogues, eulogies, broadside invitations, tributes, bookplates. Frequently their contents are associated with persons or events significant enough to lend importance to any ephemeral scrap, but even when this is not true, the craftsmanship itself justifies their preservation. No product of the Grabhorn Press, whatever its purpose, was produced without a concern for form that assured it a future.

—ALFRED L. BUSH,
Curator, Princeton Collections of Western Americana
Friends of the Princeton University Library

SPRING LECTURE AND RECEPTION

The Council of the Friends held its spring meeting in the Graphic Arts Collection of Firestone Library on Sunday, April 24, 1983, at 3:00 PM. Among the items on the agenda were the election of the Council members for the Class of 1983-1986, including two new members (Richard W. Couper and Charles Rahn Fry ’65), and a lengthy discussion of the advisability of soliciting the entire membership of the Friends for funds to purchase a group of 33 letters written from Princeton by Charles Thomson, secretary of the Continental Congress, to his wife Hannah in Philadelphia during the months of June to October, 1783, when Congress was meeting in Nassau Hall and Princeton was, briefly, the nation’s capital.*

At 4:30 PM an enthusiastic, overflow crowd of Friends assembled in McCormick Hall to hear Sinclair Hamilton Hutchings, Keeper of Prints at the Boston Public Library, give an illustrated lecture on “The Forgotten Migration: British Artists in a Young America.” What he had to say about John Hill, Joshua Shaw, George Harvey, and William James Bennett, among others, could not have been more skillfully organized to introduce his listeners to the exhibition which opened at 5:30 PM in the main gallery of Firestone Library. More than 250 Friends, guests, and members of the Library staff enjoyed cocktails and canapés while viewing “Pride of Place: Early American Views from the Collection of Leonard L. Milberg ’53.” The exhibition was installed by the Curator of Graphic Arts, Dale Roylance, and his assistant, Nancy Finlay. They also, for the occasion, prepared a handsome 66-page illustrated catalogue, published through the generosity of Mr. Milberg. The collection of 130 watercolors, aquatints, engravings, and lithographs extended to the second-floor gallery in the Graphic Arts Collection and remained on view until September 29.

For the April 24 opening, Alexander D. Wainwright installed

* The response from the Friends was both immediate and generous. See the lead article by Nathaniel Burt in this issue of the Chronicle.

in one case in the Robert H. Taylor Collection a small auxiliary exhibit in honor of the late Daniel Maggin, a member of the Council from 1968 to 1982. Included were his first gift to the Princeton University Library, an autograph letter by John Witherspoon to Benjamin Rush, dated London, April 2, 1768; a letter patent, in Latin, dated December 20, 1385, with the Great Seal of Richard II of England; the autograph manuscript of “The Ghost’s Touch,” a short story by Wilkie Collins; the first four books by John Galsworthy, published between 1897 and 1901 under the pseudonym “John Sinjohn”; and a remarkable gathering of Shakespeare quartos, presented by Mr. Maggin and his son, Donald L. Maggin ’48, ranging from the first (1598) edition of Love’s Labor’s Lost to a 1703 edition of Hamlet.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account and on the Publication Fund for the year 1982-1983 is as follows:

OPERATING ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

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Membership drive 2,343
Transfer to Latin American manuscript account 10,000
Transfer to Acquisitions Fund 5,000
Total  $64,583
Cash balance June 30, 1983  $17,380

PUBLICATION FUND

RECEIPTS
Cash balance July 1, 1982 $ 6,341
Sales 1,380
Contributions 6,150
Total  $13,871

EXPENDITURES
Max Beerbohm and The Mirror of the Past $ 2,026
“Guide to Selected Special Collections” 384
Advertising 405
Postage and miscellaneous 181
Total  $ 2,996
Cash balance June 30, 1983  $10,875

FRIENDS OF THE LIBRARY BOOK FUND

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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

NATHANIEL BURT '36 is a novelist, poet, composer, and historian. His most recent books are First Families: The Making of an American Aristocracy and Palaces for the People: A Social History of the American Art Museum.


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MICHAEL HEASTON, after many years with the Jenkins Company, established his own antiquarian book firm in Austin, Texas.

THOMAS WHITRIDGE and PATRICK KENNEDY founded Ink, Inc., a graphic design house and “printing brokerage,” in New York City in 1979.
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