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The Making of Edith Wharton's
The Book of the Homeless*

BY ALAN PRICE

During the summer and fall of 1915, the American novelist Edith Wharton put together an elaborate gift book with the aid of her publisher Charles Scribner and her longtime friend Daniel Berkeley Updike, one of America's foremost book designers and printers. The story of how The Book of the Homeless came into being reveals a great deal about literary politics and bookmaking during the First World War. Assembling contributed original works by the most distinguished authors, artists, and composers in Europe and the United States, this trio created what is arguably the most artistically varied and beautifully made book to come out of World War I.

The idea of a gift book to support war relief was not new. Edith Wharton herself had contributed to King Albert's Book, published in 1914; and The Book of France, a gift book made up primarily of French literary contributions translated by eminent English writers, was published in 1915. For her book Edith Wharton hoped for and clearly expected a pre-Christmas publication date. The actual publication of the book occurred on January 22, 1916—missing the Christmas book-giving season. For a gift book, and an expensive gift book at that, this delay was clearly a disappointment. Writing in her autobiography eighteen years later, Edith Wharton generously misremembered: "the overwhelming needs of the hour doubled everyone's strength, and the book was ready on time."1 The record from her letters shows,

* This essay profited from suggestions for revisions by the members of FACUWP (a faculty panel at the Hazleton Campus, Pennsylvania State University which comments on research in progress) and from a careful copyediting by the students in English 417 (a course in editing taught at the University Park Campus) under the direction of Professor Wilma R. Ebbitt. I am grateful to both groups at Penn State.


Edith Wharton's poem, "The Tryst," and the illustrations for this article are used with the generous permission of Ambassador William Royall Tyler.
however, that assembling material for The Book of the Homeless and marketing a book that was unavailable because of production delays left her exhausted.

THE NEED: EDITH WHARTON’S WAR CHARITIES

From the beginning of the First World War, Edith Wharton was involved in relief and refugee activities in France. In August of 1914 she founded the first paying workroom for destitute women in Paris. Her ouvrain drew unemployed women from a variety of backgrounds: “It was impossible to confine my aid to seamstresses when typists and accountants, nursery governesses and dramatic artists, cooks and concert singers were all pleading for help.” She sought an American clientele for the lingerie her workroom produced, and at the end of the first year she reported proudly that the enterprise was financially self-supporting.

She could not make that claim for her other war charities. The housing of Belgian refugees driven out by German advances was tackled first by her friend Charles Du Bos. With a group of French and Belgian friends, he formed Le Foyer Franco-Belge on November 1, 1914, but his efforts were no match for the flood of refugees. Within ten days Mrs. Wharton supplemented Du Bos’s work with her own American Hostels for Refugees. The American Hostels grew into a diversified operation with workrooms for women, day-care facilities for children, an inexpensive restaurant, a clothing depot, an employment agency, as well as affordable housing in a Paris crowded with refugees. Friends in the United States formed “Edith Wharton Committees” in several eastern cities to raise funds, and Mrs. Wharton could report in her preface to The Book of the Homeless that during the first year, the American Hostels had assisted 9,300 refugees, 3,000 of them on a permanent basis, served 295,000 meals, distributed 48,333 garments, and provided medical attention for 8,000.


She described her third major project to readers of the New York Times Magazine as “my prettiest and showiest and altogether most appealing charity.” The record of her American Hostels had been so outstanding that in April of 1915 representatives of the Belgian government asked if she would find shelter for sixty homeless Belgian children scheduled to arrive in Paris within forty-eight hours. She said she would. Success in helping refugees was apt to have startling rewards: a month later they sent her six hundred more! The Belgian government provided a small subsidy for the homeless children and the aged people who accompanied them, but Edith Wharton was forced to call again upon her committees and friends in the United States for financial help. When she surveyed her activities after a year of war, she confided to Charles Scribner, “I have raised nearly $100,000, all in small sums, and the correspondence necessitated by this work has been overwhelming; but no one living in Paris can do otherwise than strain every nerve to help.”

As she looked to the second year of the war, she knew that still more funds would be needed. Elisina Tyler, her able lieutenant, went to the United States and spoke successfully on behalf of the charities. In the meantime Mrs. Wharton was developing a money-raising idea with an artitic emphasis: “Another effort was presently required, and this time it fell to my lot to put together The Book of the Homeless, a collection of original poems, articles and drawings, contributed by literary and artistic celebrities in Europe and America.”

THE BEGINNINGS

The making of The Book of the Homeless is described in the hundreds of letters and cables between Edith Wharton and those who contributed to the artistry and the manufacture of the book. Throughout the winter and spring of 1915 she had made several trips to the French fronts, writing up her observations in a series of articles for Scribner’s Magazine. When the demands of her charities caused her to miss a
deadline, she wrote to her editor, "The only apology I can make for the delay in sending my article is the usual one of an unexpected 'rush' of refugee work here. Every American in Paris who is working at all is overworked, and we all feel that everything must be set aside for this urgent job."9

Her attention was further distracted from writing the promised articles by another project. Having secured promises of contributions from prominent French artists and authors in early July, she was ready to launch a major collaborative work. In mid-July she began sending possible contributors a prospectus (called a "circular"), outlining an ambitious gift book. She dispatched her ever dependable and hard-working sister-in-law Mary Cadwalader Jones to London with copies of the prospectus and personal appeals to the foremost writers and artists in England and America. "Minnie" Jones delivered her materials to an enthusiastic Henry James. His assignment was to pass forward her appeals, seconded by supporting letters of his own, to Hardy, Howells, Sargent, Conrad, Kipling, and others.

On July 19 James replied to his "unsurpassably distinguished old Friend" in a typewritten letter—for which he apologized with metaphorical high jinks. Casting himself in the role of a literary broncobuster, he wrote that he had prepared for the "wealth of verbiage" Mrs. Wharton's scheme was likely to require by "just catching Remington by the forelock." Having caught his mount, he sought to subdue the mechanical beast in a most Jamesian sentence:

In fact I see I must ride him, so caught, as hard and as far as my poor old heels will help me to jab into his sides; which means, less hyperbolically, that I will pass on your earnest prayers at once to the individuals you name, and back it up with my own—and also that I will of course, with the greatest pleasure, try to knock something into shape for you myself—at the same time that I promise to forge for you such a simulacrum of my script as will successfully pass in the New York market for the copy sent to the printer.10

The "simulacrum of... script" concerned a proposed auction of the manuscripts and drawings in New York. James expressed doubt that Conrad and some of the others had produced much during the first months of the war, but he promised to send forward her appeals with supporting notes of his own.

On the same day Mrs. Wharton, already counting on help from James, wrote a long letter to Charles Scribner describing the project and asking him to publish The Book of the Homeless:

Will you please read the enclosed circular and cable me if you care to undertake this publication in the autumn? Two or three books of the same kind have, as you know, been brought out successfully in England, and I believe that a similar production with such contributions as I think I can guarantee, would have a good sale in the United States, and a fair one in England if brought out in November. So far, every one I have asked has accepted, and I think I shall get few refusals as my Relief Work is beginning to be known.11

After listing the names of contributors who had either agreed or she was sure would agree, she asked, "What do you think of getting Berkeley Updike to get up the book? I am sure he would make a VERY special price for such a job."

Even before she had Scribner's answer, she was writing him again on July 22, suggesting that Maxfield Parrish might do the cover ("a refugee book-cover, of course"). She had already written her old friend Robert Grant, the Boston novelist and judge of probate court, asking him "to centralize the American contributions so that they need not be sent out to me." Again she suggested to Scribner, this time more insistently, that Daniel Berkeley Updike be employed to design and print the book:

If, as I hope, you entrust the printing to Mr. Updike, I know no one better fitted than he to attend to all the editorial part of the work, the placing of the articles in the best order, of the illustrations, etc. He would enter into it with enthusiasm, I know, and the book, if done by him, would certainly have an international bibliophile value it

9 Edith Wharton, Letter to Mr. Bridges, 19 July 1915, Princeton.
10 Henry James, Letter to Edith Wharton, 19 July 1915, Edith Wharton Papers Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. I am grateful to Alexander R. James to The Collection of American Literature, The Beinecke Rare and the Henry James Estate for permission to quote from this letter. I am also grateful Library of Yale University for permission to quote from this letter and others in the

could not otherwise offer. Would you be kind enough to
cable me your decision about publishing the book, and also
if I may write Mr. Updike on the subject, so that we may
gain time?\textsuperscript{12}

Her choice of Boston book designer and printer Daniel Berkeley
Updike can scarcely have surprised Scribner; she had made exactly
the same request when Scribner's agreed to publish her first collection
of short stories, The Greater Inclination, in 1899. Updike had been a
frequent house guest of the Whartons, first at their home in Newport
and later at The Mount in the Berkshires. He remembered that Mrs.
Wharton's generosity went far beyond putting out fresh towels and
arranging games for her summer guests. In fact, he credited her with
putting his Merrymount Press on its financial feet:

To Mrs. Wharton's thoughtful act the Press owed not
merely the prestige of printing her books, but also the
printing of many other volumes for Scribner's—indeed we
were constantly employed by the firm until it set up a press
of its own. Nothing could have helped the Press more, just
then, than the Scribner connection—for it showed that we
were not amateurs but could hold our own with larger
printing-houses; and this was all due to the friend who
used her influence as generously, intelligently, and effect-
ively then, as many times before and since, for persons or
causes that she thought deserved a "lift."\textsuperscript{13}

On August 3 Scribner cabled an enthusiastic acceptance: "Glad to
publish refugee book. All profits to be paid to societies deducting
actual expenditures. Forwarding Parish [sic] letter. Approve Updike
if he will take full responsibility for preparation. Writing. SCRIBNER"\textsuperscript{14}
And indeed he was writing. In his letter written the same day as the
cable, he began by confirming its message and generously added, "my

proposal is to place the services of this house fully at your disposal to
get the best results on the book, charging only for money actually
expended—I mean making no charge for the personal services of
anyone here, for commissions or anything of that kind; we should
make no charge either for advertising in our own Magazine or cat-
alogue."\textsuperscript{15}

Scribner suggested charging a higher price for the book rather than
trying to reach "a tremendously large sale." He was in full agreement
with her suggestion that the advertising should say "Edited by Mrs.
Wharton," which she thought "might help the sale, as so many people
from all parts of America have sent me donations for my war char-
ities."\textsuperscript{16} They later agreed to send an advertising circular to each of
the Edith Wharton Committees to boom the sale of the book.

CONTRIBUTORS

The mails were filled that summer with letters from authors and
artists answering Edith Wharton's appeal. Max Beerbohm wrote to
John Singer Sargent saying that he would send something. Joseph
Conrad confessed to Henry James that (as James had guessed) he had
not written ten pages since the previous November, "which is absurd
for a writing man—but then I am rather an absurdist altogether."
John Masefield told Berenson that he had not written in six or seven
months either, but that he would try to send Mrs. Wharton something.
Yeats sent a note along with his brief poem "A Reason for Keeping
Silent" (later revised and retitled "On Being Asked for A War Poem"),
explaining that it was all that he had on hand, and though he thought
the poem appropriate, he wished it were longer.

Almost everyone who was asked did contribute. Mrs. Wharton,
writing in her autobiography, recalled only one rejection: "I appealed
right and left for contributions, and met with only one refusal—but
I will not name the eminent and successful author who went by on
the other side."\textsuperscript{17} The defector was Kipling, who explained to James
that he was too busy with nonliterary work. Privately she also regretted
rejections from Pierre Loti and Maxfield Parrish.

There were problems with some of the more eager contributors.
As the pieces began to come in, Edith Wharton and Charles Scribner

\textsuperscript{12} Edith Wharton, Letter to Charles Scribner, 22 July 1915, Princeton.
\textsuperscript{13} Daniel Berkeley Updike, "Notes on the Press and Its Work" in Updike: American
Printer and His Merrymount Press (New York: The American Institute of Graphic Arts,
\textsuperscript{14} Charles Scribner, Cablegram to Edith Wharton, 3 August 1915, Princeton. I am
grateful to Charles Scribner's Sons for permission to quote from Charles Scribner's
correspondence.
\textsuperscript{15} Charles Scribner, Letter to Edith Wharton, 3 August 1915, Princeton.
\textsuperscript{16} Edith Wharton, Letter to Charles Scribner, 22 July 1915, Princeton.
\textsuperscript{17} Wharton, A Backward Glance, p. 349.

could see that some of them were embarrassingly out of character with the rest of the book. Encouraged by Wharton to send something “ringing,” Robert Grant sent along a spirited essay that Scribner thought “would make an excellent editorial but contributions of that kind would not justify us in asking a very high price for the book or making it a beautiful one.”

Edith Wharton wrote to Grant immediately, coaxing him to give her a poem focusing on the plight of the refugees. Anticipating other problems, she suggested that Scribner forward anything he received from John Jay Chapman: “He is so eccentric that what he writes may not be in harmony with my plan, and as I have known him all my life, I can find some excuse for leaving it out without involving you in any way.”

Even in contributions of great artistic merit there were questions of editorial taste, as when with the Suárez text she “marked in brackets two or three passages which we thought too Lesbian for publication.”

The most delicate editorial problem was Theodore Roosevelt’s introduction to the collection. Scribner had worried from the beginning about letting the fiery Roosevelt write such a key section. When he had not received it after a month, he admitted, “I have not stirred him up because there is an opinion shared in by Mr. Updike that an introduction from Roosevelt might give the book a somewhat controversial character; he is so much disliked in some quarters and has hit the Administration so hard.”

He went on to suggest lamely that “an introduction from say Mr. Choate would be free of any criticism.” However, Edith Wharton stuck to her guns and later replied sharply, “I do not agree with Mr. Updike that an introduction by Mr. Roosevelt will affect the popularity of the book, especially such an introduction as he has written.”

(He diplomatically sidestepped the fact that Scribner as well as Updike objected to Roosevelt’s introduction.) The last shot had not been fired. To his letter of October 22, Scribner added helplessly in a postscript: “I regret Col. Roosevelt’s reference to ‘our national shortcomings’ which will irritate the friends of the administration. But what can I do at this last hour? And you think it all right.”

She evidently did.

A less contentious matter was Mrs. Wharton’s own preface to the book. Scribner had quite rightly noted that a preface would give her the opportunity to “tell how the book originated and for what purpose it was made and possibly give some brief account of the charities it is to help. Without something of that kind the book does not explain itself.”

The weary editor reluctantly wrote the preface, objecting only when Updike proposed setting it in italic type. She wrote Minnie Jones, “I hope my idiotic preface didn’t arrive too late; I never sweated out anything with such anguish.”

Far from finding it “idiotic,” the New York Times reviewer commented:

Mrs. Wharton’s preface strikes the keynote of the book in its direct, simple, and graphic style, its personality, and its singleness of heart. Notwithstanding the few lines of statistics sandwiched between its sections, it is, as is almost every contribution, a piece of real literature.

**Publication History**

The original prospectus that was circulated in mid-July had stated, “The Book of the Homeless is to be published simultaneously in New York and London, in October 1915.” Sensing that this date was unduly optimistic—even if she had all of the contributions in hand—Edith Wharton shifted to a November publication date in her first letter to Charles Scribner. From his end, Scribner could see that the project was likely to be far more complicated than she foresaw and that delays would be inevitable. He cautioned her not to be impatient: “My fear is that you have underestimated the time necessary for the preparation of the book; at this time of year so many people are away and it does not seem to me possible that the articles can be written and assembled by the end of this month.”

He added, prophetically, that he thought the book would do just as well were it to come out in January.

In a letter to Robert Grant, Scribner sensibly commented: “It seems to me that Mrs. Wharton has not allowed enough time. All you can do is get the articles in as soon as possible. The book cannot be printed until the last article is received and somebody will surely be late.”

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18 Charles Scribner, Letter to Edith Wharton, 16 August 1915, Princeton.
20 Edith Wharton, Letter to Mary Cadwalader Jones, 28 October 1915, Yale.
21 Charles Scribner, Letter to Edith Wharton, 30 September 1915, Princeton.
22 Edith Wharton, Letter to Charles Scribner, 10 November 1915, Yale.
In a later letter to Grant, he wrote, “It is a more difficult matter to
get such a book into shape than she perhaps realizes, but we shall pull
through in some way.” After noting that Updike—at Mrs. Wharton’s
specific request—would attend to the makeup of the book, he wrote,
“For some reason, possibly because she wants to save us the trouble,
Mrs. Wharton does not seem disposed to put the responsibility upon
this house.”

The editorial assignment in America was almost immediately a muddle.
Mrs. Wharton, seeing no reason why they needed to be sent to
Paris, edited, and then returned across the treacherous Atlantic, had
asked Judge Grant to “centralize” the American contributions. Grant,
quite understandably, thought that his job was only to receive Ameri-
can contributions and relay them to Scribner’s in New York. Wharton
and Scribner, however, expected him to do more (though in their corre-
spondence they never specified what he was to do) and were
disappointed when he “failed” them. In mid-August Scribner des-
dcribed Grant as puzzled about his role in the whole operation “and
not disposed to assume much editorial responsibility, confining him-
self to forwarding to me the various articles as received.” This mis-
derstanding about who was to do the editorial work on the Ameri-
can side kept up for a month until finally Updike and Scribner divided
the work between themselves.

The collaboration between the publisher and the book designer
went more smoothly than Scribner’s cautious acceptance of this ar-
range ment might have suggested. In late August Scribner wrote that
he had just concluded a satisfactory meeting with Updike. Despite the
fact that they still did not have all the contributions in hand, he offered
a cautiously optimistic timetable: “It is pretty clear that the book can-
not be ready in October but I hope it will be possible to bring it out
by November, if nothing fails us.” But things did fail them, including
late contributions and tardy translations from Paris.

The mails were a problem. Edith Wharton did not trust the steamer
mails, particularly after the Arabic, torpedoed on August 19, carried
to the bottom several of her appeals to American contributors. She
frequently sent manuscripts with a ship’s passenger, apparently feel-
ing that a personal courier assured a safer arrival. In September some
contributions and translations crossed the Atlantic in the personal
custody of Mrs. Frederick Havermeyer, who was paid for her service
by the publisher with a copy of Edith Wharton’s recent novel, The
Custom of the Country. It was not until the fifth of October that an
exhausted Edith Wharton sent the last translation to New York.

Scribner was conscientious in passing things along in what for him
was frequently a troubling Paris—New York—Boston triangle: “It
does make me impatient to be obliged to send everything to Boston
and not be able to crowd the work, as we could do in our own factory
or if done under our own direction, but I shall live up to the un-
derstanding with Mr. Updike and try to help him all I can without hur-
rying him unduly.” By the middle of October he could report to
Mrs. Wharton that he had sent everything to Boston except the
dreaded introduction from Roosevelt and the preface she was to con-
tribute.

Through November, Updike and Scribner were making decisions
about the size of the book and the kind of paper for the deluxe
ditions. Edith Wharton, casting transatlantic glances over their shoul-
ders, cabled frequent questions about production and editorial mat-
ters. Scribner wrote in late November, “This morning I have a dummy
of the book showing its size, type-page and reproductions of two of
the illustrations and it is certainly handsome.” But this piece of good
news was followed by the inevitable caution: “My chief anxiety now
is that it shall be ready before Christmas; that is all dependent upon
Mr. Updike and I am sure he is trying his hardest.”

Updike was working hard at his end, but the job was a difficult one.
He remembered The Book of the Homeless as “the most ambitious”
project undertaken by his Merrymount Press during the war:

Besides the articles in prose and verse contributed by “eminent hands,”
the illustrations were to be reproductions from a number of paintings and drawings. To justify all
this material was a considerable undertaking, and, when justified, to select the various media which would do justice
to the originals was a further task.

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51 Charles Scribner, Letter to Edith Wharton, 3 September 1915, Princeton.
33 Charles Scribner, Letter to Edith Wharton, 8 October 1915, Princeton.
34 Updike, “Notes,” p. 38.
On November 27 Scribner sent the manuscripts and drawings to be sold at an auction to Minnie Jones—Edith Wharton's deputy, now in New York. A pre-Christmas publication still looked possible. Then, in a letter of December 10, he delivered the bad news:

Unfortunately Mr. Updike finds it quite impossible to have it ready before Christmas. This is a distinct disappointment and makes it difficult to know how to manage exploitation, but it cannot be helped and we must try to make the best of it.\(^{55}\)

Edith Wharton, who had recently returned to Paris from a brief rest on the Riviera, was bitterly disappointed by the delay:

It was a great blow to hear that The Book of the Homeless was not, after all, to appear till after Christmas. I had worked so hard to get the contents together, and I counted so much on the Christmas sale, that I was much depressed when your letter came.\(^{56}\)

When Scribner finally saw the galleys of The Book of the Homeless a week into the new year, he proclaimed it "a very fine example of bookmaking." Yet even on publication day, January 22, 1916, he had only five hundred copies to sell. Five days later he could make some heartening predictions about sales:

We have been handicapped by not having the copies to supply, but all our wants are now met in that respect. The book is well worth the money and in New York and where the work can be made well known the sale will be very satisfactory. It is difficult however to excite interest in other centres except by personal effort; circulars and even newspaper support seem to count for so little. Mrs. Cadwalader Jones's work in New York has been worth all the newspapers put together.\(^{57}\)

Indeed, Minnie Jones, who had performed in so many capacities, now became a highly effective one-woman publicity department. Her efforts on behalf of the auction provide a striking example of her involvement.

**THE AUCTION**

In the initial circular, Edith Wharton had announced that an auction of the contributed manuscripts and art would supplement the sale of the book. She wrote Updike, "My idea is to have this auction in a New York drawing room, and make it as fashionable as possible."\(^{58}\) The enterprising Minnie Jones dug into the project, moved the location to the American Art Galleries at 6 West 23rd Street, and independently arranged for a preview reading of the contributed works.

Under the supervision of Thomas E. Kirby, the auction began at three o'clock on the afternoon of January 25, 1916. Charles Scribner reported on the event:

I attended with my daughter and at first was quite alarmed, as the number present was not large and I feared a failure. But the right people were there; the bidding was brisk and animated; there was abundant appreciation of the pictures and articles and throughout it all an evident intention to support your work, which was really inspiring.\(^{59}\)

Scribner was himself inspired enough to pay $575 for the autograph manuscript from General Joffre, $400 for a Monet landscape, and another $100 for a pen-and-ink drawing of a Gibson girl.

Another big winner was the autographed and annotated typescript (the promised "simulacrum") of Henry James's "The Long Wards," whose price of $500 made Mrs. Wharton especially happy. When she learned that her own little poem had brought $350, she wrote to Minnie Jones in playful astonishment, "As for the kind gentleman who gave that 'faramineux' price for my doggerel, wouldn't he like to marry me and have me with it? Who on earth is he? I'm willing, anyhow!—"\(^{60}\)

\(^{55}\) Charles Scribner, Letter to Edith Wharton, 10 December 1915, Princeton.

\(^{56}\) Edith Wharton, Letter to Charles Scribner, 28 December 1915, Princeton.


\(^{58}\) Edith Wharton, Letter to Daniel Berkeley Updike, 4 August 1915, Princeton.


\(^{60}\) Edith Wharton, Letter to Mary Cadwalader Jones, 11 February 1916, Yale.
The sponsoring New York Committee pronounced the auction a great success. After deducting expenses (the auctioneer's services and those of his assistants were donated), the Committee reported that "$6,829.57 was sent out to France." In March 1916, Edith Wharton instructed Royall Tyler (treasurer of the Children of Flanders Rescue Committee and an officer of the American Hostels) that the sum of "$1,204.00 is [to be] equally divided between Hostels and Flanders. . . . The big sum is the result of the sale of the mss. and belongs of course equally to the two charities."

**THE BOOK**

_The Book of the Homeless_ was published in a trade edition at $5 a copy, an edition deluxe of 125 copies on Van Gelder paper at $25, and an edition grand deluxe of 50 copies on French toned handmade paper at $50. The deluxe editions were larger, printed on 9½ by 12½ inch sheets, with an extra title page engraved on wood by Rudolph Ruzicka. The book was published simultaneously in England by arrangement with Macmillan's, with the sheets printed by Updike and shipped across the Atlantic by Scribner's.

In late April of 1916 Scribner reported to Edith Wharton that 2,000 copies of the $5 edition, half of the $25 edition, and all of the $50 edition had been sold. Noting that these sales came to nearly $3,000, he lamented the high cost of producing the book, "which has been very great amounting to $7,500. Our own [Scribner's] expenses of various kinds are estimated at less than $1000." The following week he sent her an advance against sales of $1000. (As a standard of comparison, she was being paid $1000 per story in 1915 by _Scribner's Magazine_.)

A year later the accounting department at Scribner's reported to Minnie Jones that the publishers had paid out a total of $1,500 in advances on expected sales of the book but still had a number of copies on hand, which they were hoping to sell at reduced price. Edith Wharton, preoccupied with other projects, had advised Scribner's,

"With regard to the copies of _The Book of the Homeless_ which remain unsold, of course, it would be best to sell them at a reduced price." So the total sales of the book, set against extremely high production costs, netted only $1,500. With receipts from the auction, the entire project brought in about $9,500. Despite her disappointment over the delays in publication, Edith Wharton never regretted undertaking the project nor the results it brought. She always thought _The Book of the Homeless_ would find an audience; she wrote to Charles Scribner, "The book is certain to become very valuable some day, and I have no fear of its future." She was right. Collectors still prize the book, with the $5 trade edition wholesaling at recent book auctions for $70 and listed in booksellers' catalogues for $100.

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43 Edith Wharton, Letter to Charles Scribner, 10 November 1916, Princeton.
44 R.W.B. Lewis in _Edith Wharton: A Biography_, p. 381, notes that sales of _The Book of the Homeless_ ("amounts going to the causes") were "about eight thousand dollars" before counting the receipts from the auction, but he must be referring to the gross rather than the net revenue from sales of the book. My own arithmetic suggests that sales amounted to $12,800.
45 Edith Wharton, Letter to Charles Scribner, 13 May 1916, Princeton.
EDITH WHARTON

THE TRYST

I said to the woman: Whence do you come,
With your bundle in your hand?
She said: In the North I made my home,
Where slow streams fatten the fruitful loam,
And the endless wheat-fields run like foam
To the edge of the endless sand.

I said: What look have your houses there,
And the rivers that glass your sky?
Do the steeples that call your people to prayer
Lift fretted fronts to the silver air,
And the stones of your streets, are they washed and fair
When the Sunday folk go by?

My house is ill to find, she said,
For it has no roof but the sky;
The tongue is torn from the steeple-head,
The streets are foul with the slime of the dead,
And all the rivers run poison-red
With the bodies drifting by.

I said: Is there none to come at your call
In all this throng astray?
They shot my husband against a wall,
And my child (she said), too little to crawl,
Held up its hands to catch the ball
When the gun-muzzle turned its way.

THE BOOK OF THE HOMELESS

I said: There are countries far from here
Where the friendly church-bells call,
And fields where the rivers run cool and clear,
And streets where the weary may walk without fear,
And a quiet bed, with a green tree near,
To sleep at the end of it all.

She answered: Your land is too remote,
And what if I chanced to roam
When the bells fly back to the steeples’ throat,
And the sky with banners is all afloat,
And the streets of my city rock like a boat
With the tramp of her men come home?

I shall crouch by the door till the bolt is down,
And then go in to my dead.
Where my husband fell I will put a stone,
And mother a child instead of my own,
And stand and laugh on my bare hearth-stone
When the King rides by, she said.

Edith Wharton

Paris, August 27th, 1915
The Iberian Achievement

BY JOHN H. ELLIOTT

On April 21, 1985, Professor John H. Elliott of the Institute for Advanced Study presented the opening lecture for the exhibition entitled "Princeton and the Iberian World." As always happens when Professor Elliott lectures, his audience was enthralled both by his erudition and his ability to explain the essentials of a vast and complex subject. In order to share his remarks with the Friends of the Library who could not attend, we are printing them here.

It is an honor to have been asked to give this lecture to inaugurate the opening of the splendid exhibition in the Firestone Library devoted to "Princeton and the Iberian World." The idea behind the exhibition is very attractive—to make the Library's Iberian and Iberian-American holdings better known, and at the same time to increase the community's awareness of the Iberian world and the Iberian achievement.

Over the centuries Spain in particular has not had a good press in the Anglo-American world; but as the Hispanic element in the population of this country increases, and as Washington lurches from one crisis to another in its dealings with the countries of Latin America, the need for a better appreciation of the Iberian heritage is becoming urgent. In 1980, after the then president of Mexico, López Portillo, paid a visit to President Carter in Washington, the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes wrote in the New York Times: "What López Portillo was trying to tell Carter during his visit was: Please, understand us as a civilization and not as a series of agreements about tomatoes." What I hope this exhibition, and my lecture, will do, is to show that there is a world out there beyond the world of agreements about tomatoes, and that perhaps even tomato agreements would work better if we were more sensitive to its existence.

In many respects Princeton is one of the places that least needs...
such a message. There have been, and are, distinguished scholars of Iberian and Latin American civilization on the faculty of the University; and the very richness of the Iberian holdings in the Firestone Library bears witness to a strong and continuing interest. Yet even here, in this center of enlightenment, it seems to me, as a British student of Spain, that misconceptions still abound.

Many of us have inherited a series of images and stereotypes which appeared to define the Iberian world for once and all. Although they have a considerable pre-history, the *locus classicus* for these images and stereotypes is the article on Spain in the *Encyclopédie методique* of 1783, about which Professor Robert Darnton of the Department of History of this University wrote so entertainingly in his marvellous book *The Business of the Enlightenment.* The author of that article, Nicolas Masson de Morvilliers, a characteristic product of the French Age of Reason, saw Spain as symbolizing everything against which the *philosophes* were fighting: ignorance, sloth, fanaticism, bigotry, and all the horrors traditionally conjured up by those sinister words “the Spanish inquisition.” “What do we owe to Spain?” Masson asked. “What has it done for Europe in the last two centuries, in the last four, or ten?” Needless to say, the Spanish authorities, living up to their reputation, had the *Encyclopédie* banned.

I do not intend to spend today talking about the Inquisition—about which, incidentally, some very interesting work is being done at present—but this does not mean to say that I am planning a whitewash job. The Spaniards have traditionally regarded themselves as the victims of a *legenda negra*, a “black legend” put abroad by their northern Protestant enemies who have depicted them as monsters of fanaticism and cruelty. But all too often in the past, native Spanish historians have tended to respond with their own shining counter-thesis of a “white legend,” depicting their compatriots as paladins of uprightness and virtue. As a northern Protestant who happens to have a deep affection for Iberian civilization, I generally do my best not to stray beyond the confines of that judiciously grey in-between world to which the historian properly belongs. This afternoon, if I allow myself a few more touches of white than usual, or at least omit the more chilling passages of black, you will understand that I am doing so not out of any misguided partisanship, but because it seems to me salutary to

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remember that our own society too has its areas of darkness, and that it is more helpful to understand than to judge.

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To get some physical sense, first of all, of the scope and scale of the Iberian achievement, let us take our stance for a moment in the 1580s, at that great monastery-palace, the Escorial, in the heart of the dry tableland of Castile in central Spain, with the Guadarrama mountains rising above us. Here, at his desk in the small study of that monumental stone palace with its steep slate roofs, sits a balding, parchment-faced man with red-rimmed eyes, poring over a pile of papers. The man, of course, is Philip II, King of Spain, and since 1580 King of Portugal, too. He is now approaching sixty, suffers from gout, and works at his desk eight or nine hours a day, with his secretaries entering from time to time with another pile of papers, all of which he laboriously reads and annotates in his large, spidery hand. The work never stops. “Although I have 100,000 papers in front of me,” he writes in a note to one of his secretaries, “I thought I ought to remind you . . . ,” and so the work goes on. On one day alone he reads and signs a backlog of 400 papers piled up on his desk. “So far I have been unable to finish with these devils, my papers,” he writes on another occasion. “But I am taking some with me to read in the country.” You can almost hear the resignation in his voice. This, after all, is the price to be paid for being ruler, by the grace of God, of the largest empire the world had ever seen.

Even the Romans had seen nothing like it. The combined empires of Spain and Portugal—on which, in the words of Ariosto, the sun never set—were the first trans-oceanic empires in world history, extending as they did to Africa, the Americas and Asia. Apart from the territories in Europe which owed allegiance to Philip II (the Iberian peninsula itself, large parts of Italy, and the Netherlands), he also ruled, in his capacity as King of Castile, Central Mexico and most of South America and the Philippines. Then, in his capacity as King of Portugal—a throne that came to him with the extinction of the native dynasty of Portuguese kings in 1580—he was ruler of Brazil, of strips of land dotted along the coast of Africa, of Portuguese India (the viceroyalty of Goa), and the Spice Islands of the Moluccas in Southeast Asia. This was an enormous territory, covering a total of some 2½ million square kilometers, and it must be added zones of influence and trading outposts like the Portuguese settlement at Macao in China. How many people were subjects of Philip II is very difficult to say: eight or nine million in the Iberian peninsula; six million in Italy; perhaps ten million Amerindians. The numbers in Portuguese Asia were not, on the whole, very large, especially when you think that the total population of Asia at this time was around 250 million, compared with Europe’s 90 million.

But it is perhaps these very contrasts in the size of populations that bring the scale of the achievement home. Effectively we have something like six million Spaniards and one million Portuguese conquering and holding for 300 years or more vast overseas territories against overwhelming numerical odds. One million Portuguese, 250 million Asians? How did they do it? To be fair, I think one has to point out that there were very important differences in the kinds of empire established by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. The Spanish empire was essentially an empire of conquest and colonization covering great blocks of territory, whereas the Portuguese empire in Asia was more of a trading network with a series of occupied bases, operating on the suffering of native rulers and peoples, who found the Portuguese presence convenient. But even admitting this, the actual acquisition of this string of imperial outposts and the retention of several of them into our own days represents an extraordinary achievement for a tiny country of scarcely a million inhabitants in the 16th and 17th centuries, living on the outer fringes of Europe.

What was it that made Portugal, and then Spain following close on its heels, the first European powers to acquire overseas empires? This is a question that has often been asked, and to which many answers have been given; but to my mind nobody has yet really succeeded in offering a convincing explanation of what gives societies a sudden burst of creative energy that somehow propels them forward to the center of the world stage. It is almost as if, for a generation or two, everything meshes together—the political process, the movement of social forces, the play of cultural and spiritual attitudes—to create a surge of self-confidence that enables a society to carry everything before it. This is what happens in the Iberian peninsula in the 15th century, for reasons which can easily be listed but less easily explained.

Where Spain and Portugal are concerned, I think that most his-
Historians would attribute a high place among the explanations for their leadership in Europe's overseas expansion to the fact that they were medieval frontier societies, whose institutions and very existence were shaped by centuries of confrontation with Islam. Inevitably the idea of a Holy War against Islam bit deep into Castilian and Portuguese society, giving them certain ideals and values which particularly suited them for overseas enterprise: the concept of a war as a crusade to recover and evangelize; the concept of wealth as booty and of land as lordship; the idealization of martial values; and above all, perhaps, the sense of movement—a kind of nomadic spirit which taught them to conquer and then move on in pursuit of new glory and new riches. The Reconquista, the process of reconquering the soil of the Iberian peninsula from the Moors, was a curious combination of confrontation, coexistence and internal migration, which went on for centuries. By the 1270s or 1280s, the larger part of the peninsula had been recovered from the Moors, after some 500 years of occupation. To the west, the territory constituting modern Portugal had been liberated; and the same was true on the eastern side of the peninsula, in Aragon, Catalonia and Valencia, which together constituted a federation known as the Crown of Aragon. But the southwards advance of Castile, the central region of Spain, petered out in the late 13th century, leaving a Moorish kingdom of Granada, which would not be completely recovered by the Christians until the city of Granada fell to the forces of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492.

Along with this Iberian crusading tradition goes an Iberian naval tradition, which would be very important for later overseas expansion. You will see in the exhibition important navigational works of the 16th century, like Pedro de Medina's *Art of Navigating*. These reflected centuries of Iberian maritime experience, which grew out of the technical skills developed by Basque and Portuguese fishermen as they probed far out into the Atlantic, and by Portuguese and Castilian seamen engaged in trade with the ports of northern Europe, the Mediterranean and North Africa. You will also see some splendid maps, the fruit of a great cartographical tradition which was also developed in the Iberian peninsula in the later Middle Ages, often through members of the large Jewish community in Spain and Portugal, whose contacts made them natural agents for the transmission of information about the Islamic world.

By the 15th century, then, we find in the Iberian peninsula a well-developed tradition of warfare under the banner of the faith, but also an accumulating store of maritime knowledge and experience which could be drawn upon for overseas trade and exploration. But it is one thing to develop traditions and skills, and another for society to find the impetus and the will to galvanize them for national purpose. This is what happens first in 15th-century Portugal, where a political revolution beginning in 1483 put the dynasty of Avis on the throne, and increased the influence of the gentry and the mercantile class in the political life of the country. This seems to have led to a new sense of unity and cohesion in Portuguese society which contrasts very strongly with the discord and feuding in Castile through much of the 15th century. From 1415, when they captured the North African town of Ceuta, the Portuguese were turning their energies outwards. They were looking for new wheat-growing lands as bread prices rose at home, and for gold, sugar, slaves, and—increasingly—spices, for all of which there was a growing European demand.

The great Portuguese movement of overseas exploration and settlement, which in the course of a century would carry them right round the world, in effect combined the interests of the religious, aristocratic and mercantile elements in Portuguese society, under the direction of the crown. It was a great national effort, which in the process reinforced Portugal's sense of nationhood, as historians like João de Barros and poets like Camoens chronicled the epic achievements of their compatriots, while riches poured in to Lisbon—gold from Africa, spices from India, sugar from the Azores. These Portuguese achievements were epic by any standards: a succession of voyages down the West African coast from 1419; the colonization of Madeira and the Azores; Vasco da Gama's arrival at Calicut in 1498 and the foundation of an Asian empire following the capture of Goa in 1510; and the accidental discovery of Brazil in 1500, leading over the course of the 16th century to the gradual colonization of its coastal regions and the creation of a great sugar-growing colony worked by slaves transported from West Africa.

Portugal's spectacular successes in its overseas voyages of exploration were a major incentive to its neighbor, Castile, to get in on the act. There was a tradition of rivalry between the two, and in the last decades of the 15th century Castile and Portugal also began to compete in oceanic space. As we all know, one of the first beneficiaries of the Castilian-Portuguese space race was that visionary Genoese sea-
man, Christopher Columbus, who had his project turned down in Portugal—at this moment more interested in Africa than the Atlantic—and turned instead to Castile. His visit to the court of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 was a perfect piece of psychological timing. Isabella’s marriage to Ferdinand of Aragon 25 years earlier, in 1469, had helped her establish her own contested claim to the crown of Castile, and had led to the dynastic union of the crowns of Castile and Aragon—of the central and eastern regions of the Iberian peninsula—to create the entity that came increasingly to be known as Spain. After reasserting the crown’s authority both in Castile and the Crown of Aragon, they turned their attention to completion of the Reconquista by attacking the Moorish kingdom of Granada. The fall of Granada to their armies in 1492 was the culmination of a centuries-old ambition, and seemed to set the seal of divine approval on the work of Ferdinand and Isabella. As a thank-offering and a sign of their dedication to the advancement of the faith, they celebrated their triumph by decreeing the expulsion of the Jews from Castile and Aragon. And it was in the same mood of triumph and dedication that they approved the proposals of Columbus for the journey to Cathay, which took him by mistake to America.

The works on show in the exhibition include a copy from the Scheide Library of Columbus’ famous letter, printed in Rome in 1493, reporting on his voyage, with its memorable description of his impressions of Hispaniola. “The nightingale was singing,” he writes; there are, of course, no nightingales in the Americas. Of its inhabitants he says: “In these islands I have so far found no human monstrosities, as many expected, but on the contrary the whole population is very well formed, nor are they Negroes as in Guinea.” Here, set in the terrestrial paradise, nightingales and all, of a medieval illuminated manuscript, we have the first European vision of American man, and the beginnings of that great and terrible encounter between the peoples of two worlds. Thanks to Columbus, the Spaniards were to be, for good or ill, the standard-bearers of Europe in this encounter; for, with the exception of Brazil, the lands and peoples already discovered or soon to be discovered in the New World of America were to become the possessions of the Crown of Castile.

The discoveries, as we know, began relatively slowly, but then developed an impressive momentum; and with the discovery came the conquest or acquisition by Castile of vast tracts of land, and the subjugation of millions of Amerindians. This whole process by which Spain acquires an American empire takes only about fifty years in all. The period from 1492 to 1519 constitutes the island period of discovery, the period in which the Spaniards firmly establish themselves in the major Caribbean islands and begin probing the emerging landmass of Central and South America. In 1519 Cortés lands on the coast of Mexico with his 600 men and 16 horses; and the years between 1519 and the 1540s represent the second and really spectacular period of discovery and conquest. The Mexico of Montezuma falls to Cortés between 1519 and 1521, and the Peru of the Incas to Pizarro in the 1530s. By the 1540s small bands of Spaniards have fanned out and established their presence through vast areas of this American landmass; and the last burst of this cycle of conquest comes in the 1560s when Spain acquires in the Philippines a far-flung Pacific outpost for its American empire.

Now one of the things that made this Spanish American empire so different in character from Portugal’s Asian empire was the fact that, for Europeans, it was an entirely new world, inhabited by new peoples. Asia might be mysterious in European eyes, but as the result of centuries of contacts it had its place in the established order of things. America, on the other hand, did not. This meant that the Spaniards, as the pioneers in New World conquest and colonization, had to grapple with a totally new set of problems. One has to remember that they were faced with an extraordinary range and variety of peoples, hith-
erto quite unknown, from the Caribbean islanders to the nomadic tribes of northern Mexico, and to the highly complex settled civilizations of the Aztecs and the Incas. The discovery of these two civilizations forced their Spanish conquerors to think long and hard about the nature of the peoples they had subjugated. They had to decide what kind of people they were; how they should be treated; and by what rights—if any—Spain, which was an intensely legalistic society, was permitted to rule and exploit them.

Before the Spaniards could discuss adequately how the Indians should be treated, they had to decide what kind of people they were. They were not Moors; they were not Negroes; nor—in spite of Columbus—were they Indians. But the most worrying fact of all for those who had always assumed that the words of Christ had been carried to the farthest corners of the globe was that the indigenous peoples of America seemed not to have the faintest inkling of Christianity. This automatically placed them in a different category from Moors and Jews, all of whom were assumed to have had ample opportunities for conversion, which in their blindness and folly they had willfully thrown away. But as far as could be discovered, these peoples, who worshipped the sun or the stars, had never heard of God and still less of Christ and the apostles. How could they have been left for all these centuries in utter darkness, deprived of the light of the gospel?

In addition to this baffling theological problem, there were biological and sociological problems that were just as severe. Were they, for instance, fully rational beings, capable of receiving the Christian message? Aristotle taught that rational men lived in settled communities, but many of these Indians were nomads wandering through the forests. If these Indians, who lived a primitive life by European standards, who did not wear trousers, and who did not have the art of reading or writing as understood by Europeans—if these Indians were not exactly beasts, they seemed to have some very bestial characteristics. In some respects, indeed, they seemed defective as human beings, and in need of a special treatment appropriate to their status. A Spanish judge who served in Peru, for instance, wrote that the Indians were “naturally born and brought up to serve. And it can be known that they were born for this, because, as Aristotle says, such types were created by nature with strong bodies and were given less intelligence, while free men have less physical strength and more intelligence.”

Throughout the first half of the 16th century a great debate raged in Spain about the status of the Indians. The conquistadores saw them as serfs to be ruled and exploited; the crown saw them as vassals, to be used, but also to be protected; the friars, who embarked on a great missionary drive, saw them as souls to be saved. Many of these friars set off with excessively high expectations of the spiritual receptivity of their charges. Many of the conquerors and settlers, on the other hand, deliberately emphasized the defects of the Indian in order to justify their own domination of him. In the end a kind of consensus was reached, and it was a consensus that was largely unfavorable. While there was a growing awareness that the Indians differed widely among themselves, I think the general opinion of them by the end of the 16th century was well summarized in the contemptuous words of a Spanish captain: “All of them are barbarous peoples, as is shown by their houses, dress, food and curious clothing, of which anyhow they wear very little except in the temperate regions. And even there they did not know what stockings and shoes were, until, as a result of contact with us Spaniards, they were reduced to civility and put on clothes, and covered their bare bodies with shirt, doublet and hose, stockings and shoes, hats and cloaks.” Here, in this Spanish captain, speaks the voice that we have come to know so well down the centuries—the voice of the imperialist, justifying his rule in terms of a civilizing mission.

Given our knowledge of the course of world history since the 16th century, while we may be saddened by this, we cannot, I think, be surprised by it. The Spaniards were only the first in a long line of European conquerors and colonists to proclaim the same self-justifying message. What I think is just as interesting, and in some ways more impressive, is the fact that some Spaniards, especially among the friars and clergy, stood out against the general tendency to denigrate the indigenous peoples of America, and made strenuous efforts to understand them, and also to protect them. There was, for instance, the humanist priest and judge, Vasco de Quiroga, whose reading of Thomas More’s Utopia inspired him to found Utopian-style communities for the Indians on the shores of Mexico’s Lake Pátzcuaro in the 1530s. (You can still see his church there, with its olive trees descended from the olives he brought with him from Spain.) There was the Franciscan Bernardino de Sahagún, a pioneer anthropologist and ethnographer, who systematically studied and recorded Indian customs and traditions on the basis of questionnaires.
Or there was the Jesuit José de Acosta, the first edition of whose wonderful *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, published in Seville in 1590, is on show in the exhibition. Above all, and perhaps the most famous member of what we might describe as "the party of humanity," was the great Dominican Fray Bartolomé de las Casas whose long life (he was around ninety when he died in 1566) was devoted to the cause of the Indians.

Las Casas crossed and recrossed the Atlantic innumerable times, he lobbied endlessly at court, and he wrote some eighty separate works on the Indian question, some of them no more than short tracts, but others tomes of massive erudition. But through all these works ran a simple thesis: "all the peoples of the world are men . . . and there is only one definition of man, that he is rational." So the whole thrust of his argument was to prove the rationality of the Indians. In demonstrating that they were indeed rational—by reference to their social organization, their sophisticated architecture and so on—he brought into question the entire policy of Spain towards them, and indeed the right of Spain to be in America at all, in so far as Spaniards were there by virtue of military conquest. What was the justification for Spanish rule in the Indies? What right had Spaniards to kill, enslave or demand forced labor services?

Las Casas and his friends succeeded in arousing the conscience of some of their compatriots about what was happening in America—and what was happening was very horrible indeed, as misery, demoralization and disease took their toll of the indigenous population. And the Emperor Charles V was sufficiently concerned by reports of the sufferings of the Indians and the rapacity of the conquerors and settlers to order in 1550 that all further expeditions of conquest in the New World should be suspended until a group of theologians and royal officials had reached a decision on what was, or was not, permissible. This seems to me to be one of the most remarkable events in the history of imperialism—that the imperial power, however late in the day, should actually halt operations, in part because of concern over the moral issues involved. The Emperor's decision was followed by a famous formal debate in the town of Valladolid, where Las Casas and his rival, Sepúlveda, put the pro-Indian and anti-Indian case before the assembled judges. The actual result of the debate was something of a stalemate, but Las Casas was able to continue his campaign through the printing press, and poured out accounts of Spanish atrocities in the Indies. These became a powerful propaganda weapon in the hands of Spain's enemies, who translated them with gusto. You'll see in the exhibition, for instance, a 1656 translation of Las Casas' *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias*, under the blood-curdling title of *The Tears of the Indians*, being an historical and true account of the cruel massacres and slaughters of above twenty millions of innocent people committed by the Spaniards in the islands of Hispaniola. It is ironical that the "black legend" of Spain's cruelty as an imperial and colonizing power is in fact constructed from the evidence provided by a native of Spain, Las Casas. But it is also, I think, an impressive tribute to the vigor of debate in 16th-century Spain, a society not usually noted for freedom of thought and expression.

Tragically, though, such success as Las Casas and his friends enjoyed in persuading the crown to strengthen its protection of the Indians came too late to save most of them. The conquest and colonization of America was followed, as we all know, by demographic catastrophe. The figures, as far as we know them, are horrifying. Central Mexico, for instance, is thought to have had 25 million inhabitants at the time of Cortés' arrival in 1519. Eighty years later, in 1600, these 25 million were reduced to 2½ million. Some of this loss can be attributed to those "cruel massacres and slaughters" described by Las Casas and others. Some of it can be attributed, too, to the psychological trauma of conquest. But there is no doubt that the extinction or near-extinction of so many Indian communities was primarily caused by the exposure to European diseases—smallpox, measles, influenza—of peoples hitherto immune to them because of their geographical isolation. The same process is still at work in the forests of the Amazon today. The European conquest of America was, first and foremost, the conquest of the indigenous peoples of America by European diseases.

The extinction or drastic reduction of the native populations of the New World transformed in two generations the character and prospects of the Spanish empire of America. At first there was a tiny minority of Spaniards in a sea of Indians; but over the course of the 16th century the sea of Indians was rapidly contracting, while the numbers of Spaniards were growing, partly by natural reproduction, and partly by the immigration of 2,000 colonists a year from metropolitan Spain. By 1600 there were probably 150,000 people of Hispanic origin in the Americas, and while they were still heavily out-
numbered by indigenous Americans, whose population figures began to stabilize in the early 17th century at around the 12 million mark, the imbalance was dramatically less than at the time of the conquest. There was also a new breed of inhabitants emerging—the mestizos—born of Indian mothers by Hispanic fathers; and there was a growing African element in the population, made up of slaves brought in from Africa to compensate for the rapid shrinking of the Indian labor force. For of course, from the point of view of the Spanish conquerors, the most devastating impact of the Indian demographic disaster was on their expectation of an unlimited supply of Indian labor and services which would enable them to live like lords and “dine to the sound of trumpets,” in the words of Hernán Cortés. Instead, there was increasing competition between the settlers and the crown for a shrinking supply of the Indian labor which was regarded as essential for the working of the colonial economy. And while crown and settlers fought for Indian bodies, the friars and the clergy fought for their souls.

From the later 16th century, then, we have the pattern of a colonial society developing, based on a hierarchy of populations: Hispanic or “creole,” as it gradually came to be called; mestizo; Indian, and Black—a hierarchy that can still be discerned today in some countries of Latin America. The Hispanic community was overwhelmingly urban, for one of the great features of Spanish civilization was the town. The cities of Spanish America—Mexico City, Lima, Cartagena in modern Colombia—were self-governing units with municipal ordinances and practices based on those of metropolitan Spain; and there was a standard layout for the towns and cities which you can still see all over Latin America today: a central square, the Plaza Mayor, on which stood the church or cathedral, the town hall, and the city gaol, and the surrounding streets laid out on a gridiron plan that followed European Renaissance models. The cities were provided with food by great estates owned by prominent members of the Hispanic community, some of them tracing their descent back to the original conquistadores. New industries catering to the needs of the colonial elite were being developed locally, but luxury goods were imported from Europe or from China by way of the Philippines in the famous Manila galleon, and were paid for with the silver that was being produced in the recently discovered mines of Mexico and Peru. And the supreme ruler of this hierarchically organized society, which was divided into two great viceroys, Mexico and Peru, and a number of smaller administrative units, was the conscientious figure in black poring over his papers in the Escorial, thousands of miles away.

Nobody likes bureaucracy, and perhaps this is one reason why Spain’s achievement, like that of Portugal, in running a vast overseas empire (and holding on to it for three centuries) has not received the full recognition it deserves. The sheer scale of the achievement, when you think of the distances involved, especially in 16th-century terms, almost defies the imagination. From Lisbon to Goa one has to reckon in terms of a round trip of 18 months; from Seville to Lima, two years; from Seville to Manila, anything up to five. In other words, if a viceroy of Peru runs into trouble and requires new instructions urgently from Madrid, he will have to wait at least two years to get them, and probably—given the slowness of the decision-making process in Spain—a good deal more. You probably remember the exasperated remark of a Spanish viceroy: “If death came from Madrid, we should all live to a very old age.” But against this one has to set the remark of another Spanish viceroy, as reported by Francis Bacon: “Mendoza, that was viceroy of Peru, was wont to say that the government of Peru was the best place that the king of Spain gave, save that it was somewhat too near Madrid.” When you wanted something out of Madrid it was a long way away; but when you didn’t, it was much too close for comfort.

How was this tight control exercised? Paper became 16th-century Spain’s vital weapon in the perennial war against distance, and Spaniards were to be pioneers in the art of government by paper. Nothing quite like it had ever been seen in the western world before, and the quantities of paper used by the Spanish bureaucracy almost beggar description. Just to give you one spectacular example: when a viceroy or major official left office, a formal investigation of his period of tenure was conducted, with the taking of sworn affidavits. In 1590 one such visita or visitation was begun on the retirement of the Count of Villar as viceroy of Peru. By 1603 the judge conducting the visita had indented for 49,555 sheets of paper, and had not yet finished the job. By this time the subject of the visitation was long since dead, and had gone on to face a higher tribunal than that of the King of Spain.

All this paper needed an army of pen-pushers, and you won’t be surprised to learn that 16th-century Spain spawned a massive bureaucracy. There were layers and layers of officials, and at the top of the hierarchy in Madrid was the supreme governing council of Spain’s
American empire, the Council of the Indies, issuing laws and decrees embodied in a great compilation of the Laws of the Indies. This was an empire ruled by meticulous regulations, and run in its upper echelons by university-trained lawyers to enforce and interpret them.

The enormous demand for officials with a legal training had, as you can imagine, a major impact on the educational system of the mother country. At the beginning of the 16th century there were 11 universities in Spain. A hundred years later, there were 33; and in addition, Spain, unlike Portugal, set up universities in its overseas dominions: the University of Santo Domingo—the first university in the Americas—in 1538, 101 years before the founding of Harvard College; universities in Mexico City and Lima in 1551; and others following later. This great university expansion in 16th-century Spain meant that in the reign of Philip II Castile had an annual university population of 20,000 to 25,000 students, representing around 5½% of its 18-year-old male population, which put it far ahead of England and other contemporary European states. The only trouble was that, as so often happens, the increased demands for graduates as administrators of empire led to over-production, so that by the end of the century there were too many unemployed graduates, too many overqualified people struggling for a foothold on the bureaucratic ladder.

It was these law graduates in government service who held the Spanish empire together and made it function with a reasonable degree of efficiency along with a substantial amount of corruption, that helped to keep the wheels turning. The imperial system, then, was impressive: and the fact that the colonies remained loyal to the crown right up to the early 19th century, with no major revolts or upheavals among the creole population, is perhaps the best tribute to the effectiveness of royal authority and to the loyalty which the crown managed to inspire. But what, we may well ask, was all this elaborate system for? And what did it do for Spain?

The official answer to this question would have been that it existed to convert and protect and “civilize” the Indians and to promote the faith. This, on the whole, it managed, in the sense that the massive missionary effort in 16th and 17th-century Spanish America added to the Roman church millions of Indians, who accepted Catholic Christianity and adapted it to suit their own particular requirements. Beyond this great missionary effort—which is recorded in the manuals for religious instruction and the grammars of native languages on
view in the exhibition—the empire existed to enhance the power and the glory of the kings of Spain, who had cast themselves in the global role of champions of the faith.

It was the possession of an overseas empire that made Philip II of Spain the greatest monarch in the world; and more specifically, it was the fact that this was a silver empire which gave him resources far beyond those of his European rivals. The great Potosí silver mountain in what is now Bolivia was discovered in 1545, and the following year saw the discovery of the mines of Zacatecas in Mexico. These two major discoveries, which eclipsed the gold deposits found in the first years of discovery and settlement, transformed the prospects for Spanish America and made it of central importance both for the finances of the Spanish crown and for the economy of Europe. Between 1500 and 1650 something like 181 tons of gold and 16,000 tons of silver reached Europe from America officially, and large additional quantities entered by contraband. Spain and Europe needed this silver. The king of Spain needed it to meet his ever-growing expenses—especially the expenses incurred in war—and Europe’s mercantile community needed it to lubricate their transactions and to pay for luxuries from India and the East, with which it had a permanent trading deficit. Therefore the organization of the silver mines and the silver trade became a major preoccupation of the Spanish crown.

The whole Spanish system—and to some extent the whole European economic system—came to depend very heavily on the regular flow of precious metals from America to Europe. An elaborate transatlantic network therefore had to be developed in the 16th century to satisfy the insatiable European demand for silver, which had to be paid for by the export of European goods to the growing American market.

I’m going to describe as briefly as I can the workings of this transatlantic system because, for all its imperfections, it represents an extraordinary organizational feat, and must rank as one of the major achievements of imperial Spain. The receiving point for American silver at the European end of the transatlantic network was Seville, with its port of San Lúcar, which enjoyed a monopoly of the American trade until the later 17th century, when its place was taken by Cadiz.

By the system of the treasure fleets, which was regularized in the 1560s, two fleets left San Lúcar each year in convoy with warships to protect them from French, English and Dutch privateers. The first of these fleets, the flota, left Seville in May, destined for Vera Cruz in Mexico. The second, the galeones, left in August, and took a slightly more southerly course, making for Portobelo on the isthmus of Panama; and then, after unloading its cargoes for the colonists—wine, oil, grain, swords, books, clothes and luxury objects—it would retire to the more sheltered harbor of Cartagena for the winter.

The outward journey took five to six weeks, and the size of the fleets varies, but the average was around 60 to 70 ships. Once they had unloaded their cargoes, both fleets would winter in the Indies. The trickiest problem was to arrange the timing of the return journey to Seville once the winter season was over. The pattern was for both fleets to rendezvous at Havana, and start back for Seville with their precious cargoes of silver in the early summer, before the hurricane season arrived. To do this, the Mexican flota had to leave Vera Cruz in February, laden with silver and cochineal and other Mexican goods, and make its three to four week voyage against the trade winds to Havana.

The Isthmus fleet—the galeones—had a much more difficult assignment because it had to pick up, while en route for Havana, the silver coming from the mines of Peru. To achieve this, its voyage had to be synchronized with the transport of silver all the way from the Potosí mines to Panama. This in turn depended, in the final analysis, on the rainfall in Bolivia. If the rains came late in Bolivia, there was insufficient water-power for the mills to prepare the ore and turn the silver into bars.

From the point of view of the return journey of the fleets, the Peruvian silver should have been in Panama by March, to get to Havana on time before the start of the hurricane season. But usually the rain was so delayed in the Bolivian altiplano that it only reached Panama in May. Once the rains had fallen, and the silver had been minted, a great llama train carried it down from the mountains on the 15 day journey from Potosí to Arica. At the port of Arica, the silver was transferred to ships, which took eight days to reach Callao, the port of Lima. Here it was transferred into three or four special ships, which took twenty days to reach Panama. At Panama it was taken out of the ships and placed on the backs of mules, which took four days to cross the isthmus, where the galeones were waiting at Portobelo to pick the silver up. They then sailed for Havana, joined up with the Mexican flota, and the combined fleets were back in Seville—with luck—by the late summer or early autumn.
This, very briefly, was the mechanism of the Seville trade—a cumbersome mechanism, and one that was open to every kind of abuse. By the 17th century the scale of contraband was enormous. When the outgoing fleet of 1624 was subjected to an unusually rigorous inspection on arriving at Portobelo, it was found that 85% of the cargo was unregistered. Fraud took place on a comparable scale when silver was shipped back from America to Spain. Anyone who saw the exhibition of treasures from the sunken vessel Nuestra Señora de Atocha will remember the silver chests with their false bottoms. And yet, when all the faults of the system are admitted, it did achieve its principal objective of getting the fleets safely back across the Atlantic, with only two or three exceptions, for 200 years or more. This itself represented a heroic feat of organization, considering how dependent it was on a careful synchronization all the way along the line. It demanded in the first place reasonably accessible deposits of silver, a regular supply of Indian labor to work them, and a regular supply of mercury for the refining process. The bulk of this mercury came from the Huancavelica mines in Peru, but by the 17th century this was having to be supplemented by European mercury brought all the way from Almadén in Spain and from Idria in modern Yugoslavia. It demanded rains at the right time in Bolivia; llama trains and mules in abundance; and large fleets whose sailings had to be carefully arranged according to the winds and the seasons. When we talk, therefore, about the Spanish empire, we must think not just in terms of widely scattered territories, nor even simply in terms of a complex bureaucratic structure, but also in terms of an intricate economic mechanism requiring the most careful regulation.

What did the existence of this elaborate mechanism for ensuring a regular supply of American silver mean for Spanish society and civilization in the 16th and 17th centuries? In the first instance, it meant an enormous acquisition of power. In 1624 Sir Benjamin Rudyard told the House of Commons: "They are not his great territories which make him so powerful ... for it is very well known that Spain itself is but weak in men, and barren of natural commodities ... No, sir, they are his mines in the West Indies, which minister fuel to feed his vast ambitious desire of universal monarchy." Fortified by the silver of the Indies, the Spanish Habsburgs were able to pursue policies which gave them a commanding position in Europe from the reign of Charles V in the first half of the 16th century to the reign of his great-grandson, Philip IV, in the first half of the 17th. American empire, in other words, made possible European empire.

It also had a dramatic impact, both positive and negative, on Spain itself. This impact was visible above all in the history of two cities: Seville and Madrid. Seville, for a century and a half, was the capital of the Atlantic world. The riches of America flowed in to it, and its streets, by popular repute, were paved with silver. Over the course of the 16th century it doubled the number of its inhabitants, and by the early 17th, with a population of around 150,000, it was one of the largest cities in Europe. It also had an extremely wealthy elite, made up both of the local aristocracy who had acquired rich pickings from its connection with the Indies, and of new wealth brought back by the so-called indios—men who had made their fortunes in America. This wealth provided the basis for Seville's brilliant cultural life in the 17th century—the construction of splendid baroque churches with their altars made of silver from the Indies, and the patronage of local writers and artists, like Velázquez, Zurbarán and Murillo.

In Madrid, the story was similar, and even more spectacular. At the beginning of the 16th century Madrid was little more than an overgrown village, with some 5,000 inhabitants. But in 1561 Philip II chose it as the site of his court. Madrid in fact was an artificial capital, like Canberra or Washington, and its growth was dramatic. By the 1620s, it had over 100,000 inhabitants, and, with Philip IV on the throne, was playing host to one of the most brilliant courts in Europe. This mushroom city in the very center of the barren table-land of Castile owed its wealth, and indeed its very existence, to the fact that it had become the seat of government and the capital of a world empire. Like a great parasite, it sucked up the wealth of that empire. In many respects this was harmful to economic growth and urban development in Castile, but at the same time it provided the material basis for the spiritual and cultural life of the Siglo de oro, the golden century of Spain, the century of the great writers and dramatists, like Lope de Vega and Calderón.

Against the beneficial effects or side effects of imperial power and wealth, though, we must set the less fortunate consequences of empire, of which I suspect the most important, in the Spanish as in other empires, tend to be psychological. Those who become accustomed to ruling an empire are liable to acquire the arrogance of a master race, and 16th-century Castilians were no exception. They also come to
believe that the world owes them a living, and again 16th-century Castilians were no exception. The assumption of easy wealth in a society that had grown used to the regular and inflationary inflow of silver from the Indies played its part in transforming Castile into what a Spanish writer in 1600 called a society of "the enchanted, living outside the natural order of things"—a consumer society with a contempt for commerce and manual labor, and one that developed an increasingly adverse balance of trade as it became more and more uncompetitive. Similarly, the crown's assumption that it could count on large annual supplies of American silver led to excessively ambitious foreign policies and extravagant military expenditure. As a result, it ran up enormous budgetary deficits. It attempted to service its debts by borrowing at high rates of interest, and by fiscal policies which aggravated the country's economic problems and undermined still further its capacity to generate new sources of wealth. Nemesis came in the middle of the 17th century, when Spain could no longer sustain the position of predominance it had enjoyed for a century or so, and saw itself overtaken, militarily and economically, by the French, the Dutch and the English.

As imperial powers both Spain and Portugal overextended themselves, and in the 17th century they both paid the penalty. The 18th century would see the introduction in both countries of long overdue reforms, but neither recovered its 16th century preeminence. But while the mother countries were stagnating or painfully starting on the road to recovery, the colonial societies they had founded on the other side of the Atlantic were growing in strength and self-confidence. Portugal had only a limited future in Asia, but the 18th century was to be a century of spectacular growth for its American dependency of Brazil, with an economy based on the export of sugar, gold and diamonds. In the Spanish-American viceregalies of Mexico and Peru, the creole elites took advantage of the weakness of the mother country in the 17th century to consolidate and strengthen their positions. They began to buy their way into many of the administrative offices in their societies, and to turn themselves into powerful oligarchies as they accumulated more and more administrative and economic power into their own hands.

It is during the 17th century that one can see the emergence in Spanish-American society of the three phenomena which came to dominate Latin-American life into our own times: the growth of the large estate—the hacienda—which set the pattern of landownership; the rise of the local boss, the caudillo, at the expense of the royal official; and the development of a distinctive sense of identity, as the fourth and fifth generation of settlers acquired an increasing pride in their own lands, and began to differentiate themselves from metropolitan Spaniards. The same process was at work, in fact, in Spanish America in the 17th and 18th centuries as was at work in the British colonies in the north. And in both instances the attempts by the mother country to reassert authority in the 1750s and 1760s set up resentments which sowed the seeds of independence. The Spanish Americans came to resent the economic monopoly maintained by metropolitan Spain; they came to resent the continuing occupation of the best offices in church and state by native Spaniards; and they came to resent reforms decreed by Madrid which interfered with well-established patterns of life and behavior.

But there was also in Portuguese and Spanish America a strong residual loyalty to the crown which made them reluctant to follow the example of the British colonies and break their ties with the mother country. During the Napoleonic Wars, when the Iberian peninsula was overrun by the French, they remained largely faithful to the monarchy. It was only in the post-Napoleonic period, and primarily because of insensitive or provocative behavior by the imperial power, that they finally took the plunge. Brazil proclaimed its independence from Portugal in 1822; and by 1825 the only parts of Spain's vast overseas empire to remain in its hands were the Philippines, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. In the place of the old viceregalities there would emerge 16 individual republics. But, as I've tried to show this afternoon, these new republics, for all their diversity, were the products of a distinctive and dynamic and creative Iberian culture—a culture brilliantly captured in the exhibition that we are now about to see.
Journal at Nassau Hall, Part II

BY RUTH L. WOODWARD

The Spring 1985 issue of the Princeton Library Chronicle introduced readers to John Rhea Smith, Class of 1787, his classmates and friends, through the pages of the journal which Smith kept during his junior year at the College of New Jersey. The last entry was that of April 7, when Smith was eagerly looking forward to the spring break.

In the 18th century, the College resumed classes for the summer session early in May. John Smith and his classmates returned at that time but he did not resume his diary entries until a month later.

June 5th Monday – This day 4 weeks arrived at Princeton since which being much unsettled & irregular I waited until this day making any note of my transactions & c tho many of them very novel & worthy to engage my attention hereafter as fully as they have done—For what I have omitted it may suffice to say that I left home very reluctantly — spent 2 or 3 of the first days after my arrival at College very disagreeably. Few of the students being here — those that were having nothing to do — College itself in perfect uproar & confusion & uninhabitable to all other beings but those who had occasioned it — the scrubbers & whitewashers. Since those disagreeable days I have continued daily to become more & better reconciled to Princeton & to study & to absence from home — etc.

Scrubbing and whitewashing the rooms were a necessary part of housekeeping in Nassau Hall after a winter's constant use of the fireplaces in the students' rooms.

7th Wednesday – Rose this morning at the first bell but feeling a little sleepy laid down to nap till the 2nd but the first thing I was sensible of was James coming into the room after prayers were over — much surprised at this & no less mortified as I had never been absent before nor ever caught asleep at prayer time. . . . This day informed of the disposal of the New Society which had been the conversation for several days. Dr. Smith discourages it & advised them to join one of the established societies — Jabez Camp proposed to our Society this evening and agreed to (formerly a Whig member & concerned in this New Society).

Jabez Camp was undoubtedly miffed because of his dismissal from the American Whig Society the previous winter. He seems to have been the main instigator of the short-lived movement for a third debating society on the campus.

8th Thursday — Recitation in Navigation so useless & Green capable of giving us but very little more than our books would teach us that I thought it would be losing 2 hours to go to Recitation & so omitted it. Till this day I did not think of preparing my piece for the stage not recollecting how soon I come on (Monday)—E Rattoon very roughly used by Gilbert1 today at the door of the dining room being severely reprimanded and not permitted to come into dinner — Gilbert very wrong on it. Honored at Prayers by the attendance of some very genteel company amongst Lady West a conspicuous character at New York attended by W Sodershom (Swedish Consul) who it is said is paying his addresses to her — they were returning after a visit to Bethlehem. Walk this evening to Jugtown.

Jugtown was a small settlement at the eastern edge of the village of Princeton, which derived its name from a local pottery which manufactured jugs. It is now Nassau Street from Harrison Street to approximately Cedar Lane.

1 Ashbel Green and Gilbert Snowden are identified as members of the College faculty in Part 1 in The Princeton University Library Chronicle, Volume XLVI, Spring 1965, p. 275.
9th Friday – Received a letter from Polly today containing information of the intended speedy marriage of G. & F. & at this felt pleased & yet seemed as if I was interested in being otherwise – the reason of which I think is that marriage being the most close intimacy that is possible to contract the Friends of the person are naturally fearful least it should destroy all the attachments & so the satisfaction that you receive from information of your friend’s happiness is in one degree abated by the apprehension of its being injurious to your own.

10th Saturday – Green set off for the City (Phila.) today & told the class to prepare certain lessons for certain day if he should be more than one absent – wrote out my piece to speak on ye stage & began to commit it. All the lads of College almost out a riding today. Thew requested me to let him speak on Monday in my place that being his Society night & would have saved twice dressing – get hot enough at last & have my bed up—Higginson, Jas. Gibson & myself get some cake &c & have a little repast. Hear that the waggon in which a number of lads had gone to Kingston was broken down by another & that poor fellows were walking home, this gave me a kind of satisfaction which I could not account for unless it be that it affords an opportunity to laugh at them & by that means please yourself.

Smith’s classmate Daniel Thew was a member of the American Whig Society which met on Monday evenings, while the Clioosophic Society held its meetings on Wednesdays. Students scheduled to speak before the College were expected to dress for the occasion. Whig and Clio Society members also dressed for their meetings, which were rather serious and formal.

11 Sunday – Sermon by Dr. Witherspoon. Dr. Rush at meeting & appeared to be all attention. The Sermon very good. Recited to Dr. Smith in the Hall the first part [indecipherable word]—Walk on the Campus with Job Camp talking of Societies. Inform him that our Society had agreed to admit him—Livingston & Abiel observing us speak to me & give their sentiments that he could not be long with us I laugh & tell them what I believe was true – that they are mortified at losing him—A severe Storm of rain & lightening for 2 hours.

Dr. Benjamin Rush of Philadelphia, a member of the Class of 1760 and an extremely loyal son of Nassau Hall, is credited with being the individual who was able to persuade the reluctant Mrs. Witherspoon that her husband should leave Scotland to become president of the New Jersey college. Rush was married to Julia Stockton, daughter of Annis and the late Richard Stockton of nearby “Morven.” Mrs. Rush usually left Philadelphia during the summer months for the more attractive climate of Princeton. Her husband joined her as his medical practice allowed.

12th Monday – Had Determined to study very closely from rising till recitation time 10 o’Clock but interrupted by the lads coming in who knew Mr. Green would not be at recitation & so do not study as they should—he however arrived (from the City) this morning unexpectedly but too late for recitation—practice on my speech today—Had Pies for the first I ever saw at dinner today but being less dextrous than some of my neighbors came off not very successfully tho I had better fate than poor James my roommate who lost unfortunately part of his thumb in the fray—Dr. Rush in the hall this afternoon who as soon as prayers & the speaking was over was conducted out by Gilbert Snowden. As this was a little uncommon it was thought Dr. Smith did not wish him to hear the bills called over as this happened to be the night but the more special reason appeared afterwards—for 2 of the senior class were very severely reproved & more being admonished for improper conduct in being absent from College a longer time than was permitted them & for, as the Dr. said, endeavoring to take advantage of him by asking for less than they intended to take. I took a fine walk with J Read for strawberries but

* See L. H. Butterfield, John Witherspoon Comes to America, Princeton University Press, 1953.
found but very few — exercised a good deal today besides
in running &c and upon the whole spent a very agreeable
day, fine weather &c.

The usual form of penalty for any infraction of the rules of the
college was a public admonishment. Sometimes the reprimand was
delivered in front of the assembled college, but for lesser misde-
meanors the guilty party was chastised only before his own class.
Frequently a public admission of guilt was also required, and severe
cases demanded a written admission of guilt and a promise of better
behavior in the future.

During the summer months the orchards and fields of Princeton
seem to have suffered constant plundering by the college students.

13th Tuesday — . . . A heavy shower of rain this afternoon
which prevented my walking with J W Abiel for strawber-
ries which we had engaged to do — take a muddy walk with
Jas Read after supper — to room about dusk & surprised to
find it full for I expected to find James either asleep or
sitting alone in his study — start a song & have two or three
very pretty ones.

14 Wednesday — . . . Spoke this Evening, but having been
much out of humour at my piece had not engaged myself
in it so as to commit very perfectly to memory & being a
little embarrassed concluded it before I should have done
it. — Society Night — Jabez Camp entered, conducted him-
self well — break up late, near 12 oclock.

Camp's conduct as a former Whig would have been carefully
watched. There was great competition between the societies to attract
members who might earn the honor of delivering the Latin salutatory,
the English salutatory, or the valedictory address at commencement,
and thereby reflect honor on their societies. Camp was an accom-
plished enough orator to be chosen to represent the Clio as one of
the July 4th speakers that year. Unfortunately, he did not return for
his senior year, perhaps because of the illness that was troubling him
in the late summer of 1786. Therefore we do not know what type of
assignment he might have been given for his commencement.

18 Sunday — Attend meeting & see the ceremony of the
Sacrament — Recently performed & with a great deal of
solemnity Dr. Witherspoon officiating altogether — Green
at Maidenhead this morning & it being my turn to write
Religion I was fearful that we should have to show to Dr.
Smith which I did not wish because I had attempted to
explain & support the question directly contrary to the
manner which he intended & which it held out — fortunately Green
returned & we recited to him (who observed to me that I strayed too far) — attended meeting in the
afternoon.

19 Monday — . . . Dr. Smith very severe in examining the
bills this Evening & threatened the Seniors with calling
them before Faculty — cut some excessively by exercising
his wit upon them tho not by any means laughable. Went
to Dr. Witherspoon this Evening about papers of Papa's—
agreeably entertained with his conversation & fine dish of
tea.

There are other occasions when the usually stern Witherspoon
charmed some of the students when they had opportunities to meet
him on an informal basis.

20 Tuesday — Had a long Lecture from Gilbert today at
dinner — but so little attended to by some of the lads that
while he was speaking they were committing the violences
that he was reproaching them for.

After prayers went with Higgenson to see a meadow
mowed — . . . after supper a good deal diverted with the
crazy conduct of Hugg & some others. Came to my room
about 8 oClock & spent from that time till near 10 very
pleasantly indeed, sitting in my study without light & with-
out company — my thoughts alternately gay, & pensive, as
contemplating future prospects or indulging the pleasing
remembrance of fleet, happy, regretted scenes. Began
Algebra today.

5 The duties of the bill keeper are discussed on p. 282 of the Chronicle, Spring 1985.
21st Wednesday – After breakfast had some pretty close talk with some of the Whigs in Abiel’s room about the suspicion they entertained of one of our members standing out in the campus under their window to listen.

Eavesdropping on the meeting of a rival society would have been considered a very serious offense. When the students were initiated into either of the societies they adopted pseudonyms for society use and swore ‘sacred’ oaths never to divulge these names or any other secrets of the organization.

22 Thursday – Company in hall at prayers this Evening, Col. Morgan & his Daughter & Miss Turner from Phila. – This afternoon P. W. Livingston & Coleman (2 of the Whigs) had a very severe battle, exchanging a number of blows with their canes, tho Coleman fared by far the worst getting in fact a compleat trouncing – observed by all of Class.

Colonel George Morgan owned the farm called “Prospect,” which was separated from the campus by a turf path. An early agricultural experimentalist, Morgan planted a row of cherry trees near the campus, perhaps as a kindness to the always hungry students, perhaps to try to keep them from straying farther onto his property.

23 Friday – After prayers in the evening walk with Read, Jones, N. Snowden &c nearly 2 miles for cherries and fortunate enough to find them in tolerable plenty – tho we had like to paid for our entertainment – for we went up into the trees without ever getting the permission of the farmer not imagining indeed that he would have any objection – but he testified soon that he had by coming out in a violent rage – tho our number prevented any bad effects arising from it – return & eat some bread & cheese with Jn. Read.

25th Sunday – From rising till 8 oClock do nothing but read a paper or two in the spectator. Coffee for breakfast this morning 3rd time this Session (but never known before).

Sit with T Grant in his study till near 10 talking of the speaking on the Public Stage, its difficulties and advantages &c mentioned to me that I had improved much &c & only wanted to extend my voice, advised me to speak night before commencement.

As the end of the college year came close there was more and more preoccupation with public speaking. Oratorical skills were highly prized and the number of famous preachers and public officials who were graduates of the College of New Jersey attests to the rigor of their training. Oratorical contests, debates, and patriotic or political speeches were among the limited respectable public recreations available.

29th Thursday – Both Societies held occasional meetings today, when, in consequence of Dr. Smith’s directions three persons were appointed from each Society to speak on the fourth of July after the principal orations were delivered – Persons from ours [Clisosophic] Messrs. James Imlay, Jabez Camp & Geo Clarkson – from the Whig Socy. Messrs. Maturin Livingston, Horace Stockton & Henry Deas—after supper the campus in an uproar the Gram [Grammar School] boys cracking off crackers till dark almost.

JULY

3d Monday – An extraordinary mist prevailing all this afternoon which strangely obscured the sun. This being the bill day R. Mosby, who kept it for Senior class was sadly taken in for he had excused a number of the absentees by omitting them on bill, which G Snowden took notice of during the week & informed Dr. Smith of – a thing never done before but which exposed both bill keeper & those who he had excused. Dr. Smith very severe with the class in genl. & disappointed with individuals. Take no exercise this afternoon or indeed for a considerable time past.

The Fourth of July was observed with plenty of oratory, but much to Smith’s annoyance feasting was not part of this year’s celebration.
4th Tuesday—4th July 1786—How are the mighty fallen!—This day for 3-4 years past had been celebrated as well as many other entertainments—the day entirely devoted to relaxation & pleasure. Professors, tutors, students partaking in common of a most elegant dinner previously provided. But this year the latter part of the celebration was knocked in the head, the Faculty having determined it high treason for any student, to breakfast dine or sup out of the Steward’s Hall, who was any how within reach of it. This by the by the Steward would willingly have dispensed with—for it is very currently reported & as generally believed that his feelings were much hurt, his conscience much strained and his Purse much impaired by the Punch, ham & green peas which (mirabile dictu) were had on this memorable day. The orations delivered in the morning by S. Snowden & Ed. Graham were very well spoken & in all other respects well conducted, — a good audience—polite & attentive, the speakers complimented by Dr. Smith. In the afternoon partake with 3 or 4 select students of a nicely elegant repast—fruit, preserves, punch. At 5 o’Clock 6 other orations were delivered by Students, 3 from each Society &c, concluded with 2 very humorous ones which terminated the Literary exercises of the day. The day was ushered out by the discharge of 13 rounds from a cannon in the campus—which seemed to define more general satisfaction than had been felt before.

6 Thursday—News—News—News—Tod’s paper today being 3d published—affords some entertainment & likely to afford more—much encouraged in it.4

7th Friday—See the Singing Master Mr. Poor, whom we had engaged, meet with him in ... room & take his directions. Go with Read & Jones to walk & meeting with some cherries, purchase them & have a supper of them in my room—a wrestling spirit prevailing this evening on the campus we were much entertained—Mosby, Marsh, McClenanachan performing.

At various times singing, dancing, and French masters were hired by the students, or arranged for by their parents. These subjects were not part of the regular curriculum of the college.

Sunday—A Sermon from Dr. Smith in the morning, one which I had seen him just beginning at Saturday noon. The time of attending meeting altered—go at 10 o’clock, have an hour between, & do not dine till after 2nd sermon. Mrs. Harrison’s funeral today. Do not attend myself being busy writing on my religion question. Dr. Smith speaks on the pavement before the house, whom I hear very distinctly sitting in my room—upon his concluding the bell begins to toll & the funeral to move—the stillness of the day & the singularity of the thing rendered it very solemn. Society so crowded that many of the lads were obliged to return.

Mrs. Harrison was the wife of the village postmaster. Although this position must have assured the family an acquaintance with everyone in the town, it is hard to imagine that the church was so overcrowded that the sermon had to be delivered outdoors. Perhaps this was done because of the heat of the day.

15th Saturday—At 12 buy some whortleberries from Country people eat some & have the greatest part crushed in my pocket by a scuffle with Jones & so lose them much against inclination as they were a rarity. I Snowden, H Deas, Rattoone & myself go to the cake &c house served with pretty good fare—return time to get some leavings of dinner—almost envy S Snowden a ride which he took with Gilbert & Clarkson to bathe—take neither recreation nor exercise of any kind this afternoon unless playing Quoits for one-half an hour.

The whortleberries that Smith bought were wild huckleberries which must have left a permanent stain on his clothing. The “cake &c house” was undoubtedly one of the local inns where the college students probably partook of cake and ale.
17 Monday - The Lads all in the spirit of having a holiday today. 3 of the Seniors go over to Dr. Smith but he refuses. They plead that they should not be here till the holiday (monthly) regularly came round again but he still denies because our class would have it also & then claim that one also which was coming on - but 3 of our class go over & promise Dr. to give up the approaching one for this & he then assented tho then with some reluctance because it was monday, on which they always avoided giving one. Had determined to study in the morning & go out in the afternoon but not able College being so noisy. Set off about 4 OClock with Read & Read &c and go over on the neck where we get some apples with difficulty & paying for them - return just time for supper much tired.

No Faculty Minutes are available for 1786, but those of later years show that the faculty met sometime in July to assign the seniors their parts in the commencement ceremonies. Soon after this the seniors were excused from other responsibilities in order to concentrate on memorizing their speeches and perfecting their oratorical delivery. Those who lived nearby often returned to their homes during this period.

A rough idea of class rank can be obtained from the commencement assignments. In 1786 there was both a Latin and an English Salutatory address, which would have been assigned to the highest ranking scholars. Although scholarship was taken into account, the Valedictory address was usually awarded to the best orator. Next consideration was given to the "Intermediate Orations," and the remainder of the graduates delivered "essays." A few years later, with classes growing larger, the lower-ranking students were combined into groups of two or three to deliver dialogues. The faculty also assigned the topics that the students were to address and favorites were repeated year after year. It was not at all unusual, nor was it considered wrong, for a senior to "borrow" a speech from a former graduate, or to copy a stirring address available in print. The oratorical delivery was the important accomplishment.

20th Thursday - My turn to speak this afternoon but Woolsey requests me to let him speak in my place which consent

to. After prayers meet with our Singing Master Mr. Poor in the recitation room - a pretty large school of us - collection from all classes - amounting to 30. Begin tonight to raise the notes. Mosby, M. Livingston, Graham &c make up 2 or 3 matches for racing & take a circuit round the Campus, which I had an excellent view of from the recitation room. Just before dusk myself & others contend with J W Read & Thew at quots & beat them effectually.

22 Saturday - Begin Sheridan's Grammar this Morning. First part write Composition, only 2 there all the rest having taken physic (laughable indeed). Go with Higginson in the afternoon to eat cakes &c - return & read Sir Bertrand after having taken a pretty long & very agreeable walk over the Fields.

23 Sunday - Hear 2 Sermons from the old Dr today - return about 2 oClock, eat dinner & then sit down to my religious Composition - recite to Green & finish just time enough for recitation - after Supper walk the campus with Johnson [a senior] - the subject their approaching exam & departure he tells me that our class is far superior to his own when they were at our studies.

24th Monday - Recite the last lesson in Algebra today at which the class was much pleased, and myself far from being displeased with it. After Recitation spend nearly an hour with Higginson. Recitation in Natural Philosophy for tomorrow - set to it with pleasure & earnestness. Feel a very severe head ach [sic] this afternoon - after Supper walk with Read &c into the blackberry fields - return with my head [ache] increased.

25 Tuesday - Recite our first lesson in Philosophy - Class were in genl. very well prepared. I was in hopes we should have recited to Dr. Smith his knowledge of Philosophy
being far superior to Green's, but disappointed — study more closely than I had done before—a fever in addition to my head ach today.

Stanhope Smith was Professor of Moral Philosophy and Theology, while Ashbel Green was Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. Although Natural Philosophy was Green's subject, Smith was not only a much more experienced teacher, but he was genuinely interested in science. He later instituted a special program in which those students especially interested in the sciences could earn a certificate of achievement, a first step toward the eventual awarding of the Bachelor of Science degree.

27 Thursday — Still continue very unwell — tho obliged to study at Philosophy and that pretty closely which much increased my indisposition — eat nothing today at dinner nor anything at the other meals only a crust of bread.

28th Friday — My head ach [sic] left me pretty nearly this morning, but feel unwell still. Composition for tomorrow & to recite to Dr Smith — intend to begin it in the afternoon, but interrupted by Higginson, talk of our public speaking in the fall the prospect of it &c — a dull rainy day. Begin my composition after supper just at candlelight — sit up pretty late & almost finish a pretty long piece.

29th Saturday — After breakfast hear of Dr Smith's being unwell (and Green being gone to Philada.) do not expect to recite this morn — however a little after 11 Dr came over — first part class recite Sheridan & all except Higginson miss which was never the case in any such degree on any study before — 12 oClock before half had read their compositions — dispersed not having read mine — feel in very high spirits this afternoon, wish to go out some where but find nobody to go with. Seniors studying closely for examination — entertained for one-quarter hour with Deas & Harriot fencing – an hour before supper sit down by the fence along the Campus & hear T Grant read Byron's Narrative, afterwards read myself (like till hoarse)—

AUGUST

1 Tuesday — The Lads all fearful that something extraordinary was going to happen soon — as we had cucumers [sic] today for dinner — an ugly head ach attacked me again this afternoon — after supper walk the entry with J Read and afterwards with Inlay till perfectly tired. Much pleased with what he said on the public speaking in the fall—

2 Wednesday — The weather grown more moderate and pleasant — as it had been more like fall for some days past, than summer — still tho have a lurking head ach about me. Saw J W Abeel's father today coming to college to see John — After 2 oClock Higginson comes to my room having just left Dr Smith who had been talking to him of the speaking & compositions in the fall & of the Competitors — much pleased with what he said — Higginson further mentioned that the Dr had advised him to get some one of the class to speak a dialogue with him after the composition was over, which would tend much to distinguish him, he came to see if I would join him — this at first startled me — but on thinking readily convinced & was much elated with it — we resolve to keep the whole a profound secret & surprise all college at commencement.

Smith and Higginson, as juniors, did not expect to deliver their dialogue at the actual commencement, but rather at the competitions held the day before. Winners were determined by ballot, with anyone in the audience who was a graduate of any college allowed to vote.

4th Friday — . . . Just before prayers this afternoon Mr. Poor came in — tell the reason of not attending to the singing so well as I would wish — our studies becoming harder—

Saturday was a day of loafing after the morning recitation, some of the students went riding, Smith and Higginson played quoits, joined some other students in going for cakes and beer, and finally showed some visitors around, “walk[ed] all over college with them.”

6 Sunday — . . . 2 Sermons from Old Dr. Witherspoon — Our part's turn to write religion today & recite to Ashbel
Green—glad to meet him once more in recitation room. After recitation go down to the hall and soon as seniors done reciting Dr Smith (as was expected) gave them a very serious and valedictory lecture chiefly on the subject of their religious experiences & the benefits that had arisen & would afterwards proceed from them.

7th Monday—After prayers this afternoon go to Higginson’s room, read part of his piece for the Medal & much pleased with it—have a long chat about the other competitors & chiefly of Camp’s piece & the circumstances of it. Heard from a little lad that Sally M—e was in town. We take a walk down toward Jugtown & passing by Capt Moores saw her—Higginson & I agreed not to go in, but Ramsay stepping out & asking him he wishes to stop—feel myself in a disagreeable situation as I did not wish to make any acquaintance there or anywhere for some time—however, walking a little further, find it would not do to return without stopping as there had been an invitation and coming back in—find nothing more nor less than I expected which was to make no acquisition—Expected to have gained a dish of tea by the affair but disappointed even in this for they were of a party who were going to Trenton & the waggon soon after coming up in they went we with them till we arrived at Capt Little’s & there made our exit—Billy Ewings sister there but did not see her... 

John Dickinson, Governor of Delaware and a 1769 recipient of an honorary degree from the College of New Jersey, in September 1782 contributed £100, proposing that “the interest, of so much of it as the trustees may judge proper, might annually, or as often as they approve, be applied in procuring a gold or silver medal,” the medal to be bestowed upon the student composing the best “disputation” on one of five subjects that Dickinson listed. This was the first endowed prize offered by the College. It was not, however, awarded every year, probably only when the faculty judged the submitted disquisitions worthy of the prize. There is no record of the Dickinson Medal being awarded in 1786. Higginson did receive it the following year as a senior.

Captain James Moore is credited with heading the group of local militia who, on the day of the Battle of Princeton, burst open the door of Nassau Hall and demanded the surrender of the British taking refuge inside. He was a tanner and currier who owned land on the corner of Nassau Street and what is now Moore Street.

9 Wednesday—Examination of the Seniors came today—only 3 of the trustees prest. Those 3 (viz. Mr. Snowden, Miller & Beatty) dine with us & consequently we have better fare than usual. . . . Society met, but being directly over the library, we were obliged to adjourn on acct. of exam. there.

A committee of the trustees was expected to join the faculty in hearing the senior examinations.

11 Friday—Seniors finish examination little after 12 oClock all passed, a few distinguished as having made best exam. viz. Johnson, King, Snowden, Graham & M. Livingston—which was true in part only. The two first were offered honorary orations as they had been passed over, on the determination of honors, unjustly, or as the Faculty said their merit was not then known & attended to. Eat watermelons & pears in H. Deas’s room . . . Bayard till dinner-time. After dinner walk with Graham & have a long chat: mentions his intention of writing for the Medal as the Faculty had prolonged the time of bringing in their pieces till our Examination—A number of the class much out of humour at the distinctions made, & with very good reason, merit in several instances not only disregarded, but insulted as in the case of Tom Pollock. Higginson much vexed at the Medal affair.

Students may have been annoyed if they felt that particular friends had been unfairly treated in the awarding of honors. But just as important was the keen competition between the two societies to have the larger number of honorees.

14th Monday—Recite greatest part of the first vol. of Martin which we had been revising. Mr. Hall attended our
recitation — unable to study this afternoon having a very severe headache after supper & insensibly fell asleep—waked up by the cold & find Jas. Gibson abed go to the watch & find it to be near 2 oClock in the morning.

15 Tuesday — A holiday monthly today—spend an hour in Browns room looking at the Minutes of College — the rest of the morning in Reads where we get fencing with some files [foils] which were left there & break one. After dinner go to Jones’s room & have a compleat dueling match — Read & myself against Jones. In the evening play quots against Higginson & get the better of him—too tired to study any this evening & go to bed early.

18 Friday — Recited last part of Hydrostatics & began to review 1st Vol second time. Meet Jabez Camp in the entry & alarmed at the situation he appeared to be in — a good deal apprehensive of his having fallen into a consumption. Company in the Hall and Jn Read a little panic struck as he was to speak. Take a walk down towards the brook with Sheridan’s Grammar for my companion & striking over the fields towards Morgan’s quarry sit down there among the stones & prepare part of tomorrow’s recitation. After supper spend nearly an hour with Lewis & James listening with pleasure to the entertaining recitals of the many natural curiosities which their different countries afforded.

Rattoones room with Hughes eating Watermelons. Speak on the stage this evening, unfortunately the warmest we had had for a month past which rendered a little disagreeable. Told that I had improved considerably which I was much pleased to hear.

25th Friday — After we had done reciting, went over to Dr Smith to get part of our lesson explained & to speak to him about my public speaking, dialogue, &c. Found him alone in the parlour — had a long conference with him & recd a number of improving remarks & hints concerning my speaking.

This may be an example of an early Princeton “precept.”

26 Saturday — The weather so damp that Dr Smith could not come over to hear us recite today & have an additional recitation appointed for Monday . . . At 6 walk with Higginson down to the brook, discussing competition affairs & at night have a high dispute with Johnson concerning Martin’s demonstration of the infinite divisibility of matter.

28th Monday — This day 3 Weeks Examination to come on & I scarce begun to review. The time short & consequently feel a little uneasy as study would [be] hard & unpleasant in proportion. Higginson & myself conversing with Hughes today discovered he had some thoughts of speaking a Dialogue with somebody at Commencement, which we endeavoured indirectly to persuade him against, as Our Success in ours would depend upon its being the only one spoken.

29th Tuesday Receive a letter this afternoon from Samuel Bayard inclosing the oration he had promised to send up to me — which in genl. pleased me very much — began after prayers to transcribe it, but did it so slowly, not to finish till after 10 oClock.

Smith’s cousin, Samuel Bayard, delivered the valedictory oration at his own commencement in 1774.
31 Thursday – A very disagreeable day – a cold rain falling & severe damp pervading the rooms – feel very lifeless & unwell but recover a little after having procured some wood & make up a little fire. Sit comfortably by it & talk with Higgenson & Camp till prayers.

SEPTEMBER

1st Friday – After recitation the class speak to Dr Smith about our Examination & request him to give us from today till examination to review our studies as they were many & some of them difficult – but he did not show himself by any means favourably disposed for such a measure, & very forcibly convinced us how inexpedient he thought it by appointing us recitations which would faithfully employ us for a week & more to come.

2 Saturday – Displeased that we had been denied this time to review as it was so near Examination. After recitation have a severe tussling match with Meredith Clymer & receive several ugly strokes from his impudent brandishing of a stick – so much heated that I could not go down to dinner at the regular hour but going afterwards make out to get a crust of bread & some fragments of meat which the workmen & servants had thought unworthy to molest.

6 Wednesday – Recite Hydraulics this morning revising. After dinner go to S Snowdens room to eat watermelons & playing noisily with Browne & Johnson, Gilbert comes & reproves us. About 3 oClock go to Rattoone’s room with Hughes upon the same business but make no noise nor caught by Gilbert. Society Night but not able to meet till after supper the workmen being there – break up at 10 & come down with Hughes & Rattoone to my room & make a 3d hearty & pleasant attack upon excellent watermelon. Go to bed before 12.

7 Thursday – A cold morning & make up a fire. Johnson comes & sits with us till breakfast time. Higgenson returned from NYork today – loaded with books, & dress for our public speaking & commencement &c. Showed me his taste, which I thought very good. Tod’s paper today, but too near Examination to read it. After prayers James Gibson & myself walk down to Morgan’s quarry & study philosophy upon the stones, returning, take a seat in the Hall window & study till supper.

8 Friday – Recite Pneumatics today – Dr directs us to prepare Next Lecture for examination but not to recite & discharged from all recitations this session. Go over to the Dr with my Oration & brought it back pretty well curtailed & robbed I thought of some of its greatest beauties.

10 Sunday – Dr Smith & Green being absent, Service performed by Gilbert Snowden who after prayer & singing read a sermon & did so well as [to] please everyone, & even surprise a number who had never heard him before. In the afternoon when assembled in the hall for prayers we rec’d a most pathetic exhortation from Gilbert – so warmly & forcibly delivered that it drew tears from all, without exception.

11 Monday – Begin Euclid this morning & determine to stick at it night & day – never so much to do in so short a time & consequently never reduced to the necessity of pushing myself so hard in study.

For the next several days Smith continued to cram for the coming examination, taking time out only to write a letter home.

16 Saturday – Obliged to study more & more closely. Lock myself up in T. Grant’s room today & study till the afternoon – break off at 4 oClock unable to apply my mind any longer & nearly worn out. The affair of Wallace & Hire this afternoon, which relaxed my mind but in a disagreeable manner.

Jacob Hyer was one of the inn keepers in Princeton. Two members of the Class of 1786 were named William Wallace. James Gibson’s diary, on September 16, mentions Hyer as "the villian who came to
seize one of the students." Probably one of the Wallaces walked out of Hyer's tavern without paying his bill and was chased by the indignant proprietor.

17 Sunday — Dr Smith being at Philada. we were uncertain whether examination would come on tomorrow or not — necessitated however to study today & that pretty closely.

18 Monday — Dr Smith not being able to leave Philada. for some time — Examination to come on — a good deal contrary to expectation but happily so situated as to be able to prepare — a heavy rain all the morning — employ faithfully every moment between 6 & 10 oClock at which time begin the Delightful business. Green examines us — Finish Euclid, Algebra & English Grammar today — feel a load of a ton, at least, removed.

19th Tuesday — Bring in a plot in surveying this morning & then begin upon Philosophy — about half the class finished when Dr Smith enters the room to the general surprise & no less dissatisfaction — those who had not done began to tremble as soon as Green resigned the book to him, & from the manner in which he began & the consequences that following I was a good deal apprehensive of myself. I determined however to keep up my spirits & hope for the best & by that means realized in myself what I had often heard applied [to] others that “Fortuna favet fortibus.”—In the afternoon the class went in to receive directions on what they were to do on Navigation — & to do Dr Smith’s mathematical questions — the latter the class had not prepared & Dr Smith not being there Mr Green was requested to mention it to the Dr & have them omitted & we were dismissed to prepare on what Green [had] given us—

20 Wednesday — Just before breakfast Dr Smith sends over for me & requests me to copy off from his book the questions for the class — I could not but comply even tho I did not like it. Having finished as many as I could before examination time, took them to Dr Smith, but intimate that the class had not prepared them — he then took occasion to express his sentiments concerning the examination of some of the class & ended with directing me to tell the class that they should prepare them before they see their sentence. With this the class were provoked & had several serious debates whether to yield to Dr Smith or refuse to do them & defy him — this we were prompted to because they had already entered upon the examn. of the sophomore class & could not with propriety deny us our sentence after beginning with another class — & further because the time remaining to prepare for competition was small & would by that measure be much lessened — all our attempts however could not succeed — we were obliged to comply & were directed to prepare them for tomorrow. Thus were we obliged to apply again to close study — tho with much mortification & apprehensive that we had put Dr Smith in a proper humour to vex & harass us—N.B. Society Night — But unable to meet as our Hall was not finished.

21st Thursday — At 9 oClock march into the Library & the whole class go thro their questions & work them so nicely that Dr Smith was compelled to be pleased & reacted as mildly as was suspected he would severely. After withdrawing we returned & recd. our sentence from the Old Dr. No distinctions could well be made — but the whole class prettily complimented — & the Dr. reminding us of what was incumbent on us on being promoted to the Senior class, dismissed us with his good wishes & still better advice.

22 Friday — Reflecting on the shortness of time today between this & comment. — feel much mortified that we had lost so much at examination. My mind freed from weight of examn. — begin to feel & be sensible of the effects of studying so closely & sitting up so immoderately late as I did — so unwell that I had scarce spirit enough to enter upon the preparation of my comment. exercises — & fearful that I should not grow better as I had contracted an ugly slow fever. Begin our Dialogue however, Higginson & I going over it several times. In the afternoon carry both pieces over to Dr Smith & read them to him & receive a
number of good remarks upon them—requests that we
would speak our dialogue before him.

The journal ends abruptly with this entry. Commencement exer-
cises were held on September 27 in 1786 and the competition for
undergraduates for which Smith and Higginson were preparing the
dialogue would have taken place the previous evening. We can easily
picture him as too busy and distracted to write his daily entries during
these last hectic days.

If Smith kept a diary during his senior year, it was not deposited
with other family papers in the Library of Congress. He graduated
with his class on September 26, 1787, then returned to Philadelphia
to study law under William Bradford (Class of 1772), attorney-general
of Pennsylvania. During that period he kept a notebook of poems of
his own composition. Some contain mild complaints, such as Smith's
opinion that Bradford's students were required to spend too much
time "scribbling mortgage writs." Others show that he was quite aware
of Bradford's young wife Susan, who was much closer to Smith's age
than that of her husband. Smith may have had an adolescent crush
on Susan Bradford, or he may have been merely seeking a subject
about whom he could write poetry in the romantic tradition popular
at the time.

John Rhea Smith was admitted to the bar of Philadelphia on June
29, 1791 and began his practice from an office in his family home.
He contracted yellow fever during the epidemic that swept the city
in the summer of 1793 and was among the minority who survived.
In 1800 he was elected to membership in the American Philosophical
Society and in 1805 he was awarded the M.A. degree by the College
of New Jersey. He did not marry and apparently did not become
actively involved in politics, as did so many contemporary attorneys.
The lack of information available about his career leads to the con-
clusion that although he may have been a competent attorney, he may
have continued to procrastinate as much as he did in his student days
and so never became prominent. Smith died sometime in the 1830's.
It is probable that after retiring from his legal practice he made his
home with his brother and sister-in-law in Washington, D.C. Whatever
other legacies he may have left, his diary provides a lively and vivid
picture of life in Nassau Hall in the latter part of the 18th century.

Library Notes

PRINCETON AND THE IBERIAN WORLD

An exhibition of rare books, manuscripts, and maps can serve many
purposes, not least of which is to provide a new appreciation of the
strength of the Library's holdings in a particular field. "Princeton and
the Iberian World," which opened on April 21, 1985, was such an
exhibition. It was intended for a broad audience consisting of three
principal groups: the Friends of the Library, experts in the art of
books and bookmaking and themselves collectors; scholars, especially
those who attended the Thirtieth Annual Conference of the Seminar
on the Acquisition of Latin American Library Materials who are thor-
oughly acquainted with the bibliography of Iberian studies; and vis-
itors on campus for reunions and commencement.

"Princeton and the Iberian World" was also intended to be a didactic
exhibition, illustrating the importance of the Iberian world and its
achievements, and calling attention to the University's distinguished
and long-standing commitment to the pursuit of knowledge in the
field. Its teaching purpose was immediately apparent in the organi-
zation of the exhibition. It opened with cases devoted to "Mater
Spania" in which books, coins, maps, and manuscripts were selected
not only for their beauty and rarity, but also for their contribution to
knowledge about the background of the Iberian achievement. The
remaining cases were dedicated to themes such as "Navigation and
"Law and Government," and "Foreigners and the Iberian World." The
last two sections, "Crisis in Iberia" and "Crisis in America," dealt with
the Napoleonic period in Iberia and the revolutions for independence
in America, ending in 1825.

Many of the objects that were on display are themselves works of
art, quite apart from their scholarly content. The exhibition opened
with a late 15th-century painting of Santa Engracia, a Christian martyr
of Zaragossa, by the Armisen Master, on loan from the Princeton Art Museum. The first case included a hand-colored map of Roman Iberia, found in the Scheide Library's copy of the Ptolemy Cosmographia (Ulm: Lienhard Holle, 1482). The Numismatics Collection contributed fine coins, including Roman, Arabic, and Christian coins from Iberia, and coins minted in Peru, Mexico, and Brazil during the colonial period. From the Map Division came two maps produced by Paolo Forlani (Venice, ca. 1564); one is the first printed map of Cuba and the other is the first issue of the first edition of an early separate map of Hispaniola. The economic history of the Iberian colonies in America was illustrated by a series of etchings depicting the principal seaports and the famous "silver mountain" of Potosí, from the Graphic Arts Collection.

Many of the rare books on display are renowned as examples of early fine printing. Los tratados del Dr. Alonso Ortiz, printed at Sevilla in 1493 by "tres Alemanes compañeros," is an extremely rare work describing the momentous events of the late 15th century, including the arrival of Christopher Columbus at the Spanish court. Tratados

... from the Grenville Kane Collection, is highly regarded for the beauty of its typography. Martín Cortés' Breve compendio de la sfera y de la arte de navegar ... (Sevilla: Anton Alvarez, 1551) was opened to a "volve," one of his paper navigational instruments with movable parts. The Scheide Library's copy of Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo's Historia general de las Indias was printed in Sevilla by the house of Juan Cromberger in 1535. Cromberger's papers and typefaces are almost instantly recognizable, and the book is embellished by woodcuts depicting the people, flora, and fauna of the New World. The beautifully-printed fold-out map in Jean-Bernard-Louis Desjean, Baron de Pointis' Relation de l'expedition de Cartagene, faite par les francais en MDCCXVII (Amsterdam, 1698) is especially interesting for its fleets of ships deployed in the bay off the great Spanish fortress at Cartagena. Perhaps the most spectacular example of the bookbinder's art in the exhibition was Jean de Léry's Historia Navigationis in Brasilium, quae et americ a dictur ... (Genevae, 1586). It is bound in an elaborate and very fine brown calf, and may have been the presentation copy of the book.

Some of the manuscripts in the exhibition were examples of elegant calligraphy. A beautifully illuminated manuscript with its official royal seal, the gift of Albert J. Parreño 41, is a certificate of nobility dating from the time of Philip II of Spain. Other manuscripts, such as those from the Iturbe y Iraeta Collection of Mexican Manuscripts, were utilitarian; this collection of letterbooks and accounts is a rich source of information about the intercontinental commerce of Spain's most important colony in the New World as the colonial period drew to a close and a new nation was born.

Some extraordinarily rare treasures were also displayed. The Gesner Oriental Library's edition of Cheng Jo-tsong's Ch'ou hai tu pien was opened to a drawing of a centipede ship, the Chinese name for a Portuguese warship. Almost equally rare is Mundus novus (Augsburg, 1504) from the Grenville Kane Collection; it is the printed translation of a lost letter written to Lorenzo de Medici by Amerigo Vespucci describing his third voyage of 1501-1502.

It comes as no surprise that many of the most precious books in the exhibition were loaned by the Scheide Library, including a first edition of Pietro Martire d'Anghiera's Opus epistolarum ... (Alcalá de Henares, 1530). Peter Martyr's letters concern the discovery and settlement of America, which he was the first to call "the New World."
The Scheide family's interest in incunabula and church history prompted them to collect an extremely rare copy of an encyclopedia on heresy and apostasy from the press of Lambert Palmart, the first printer in Spain; it is Albert Valentinus' *Repertorium perutil de pravitate haereticorum et apostatorum* (Valencia, 1494). The campaign to convert the Indians to Christianity led to the establishment of the earliest printing presses in America, many of which produced bilingual—even trilingual—grammars and catechisms similar to the Scheide copy of Alonso de Molina, *Aquí comienza un vocabulario en la lengua Castellana y Mexicana* (Mexico City, 1555), printed by Juan Pablos. Mr. Scheide's copy of *Doctrina Christiana y catecismo para instrucción de los Indios* . . . , composed under the auspices of the Provincial Council held in Lima in 1583, may have been the first book printed in Peru. It is from the press of Antonio Ricardo, and is dated 1584. Only four or five copies are believed to be extant of Pedro de Agurto's *Tratado de que se deben administrar los sacramentos de la Santa Eucaristía y Extrema unción a los Indios de esta Nueva España* (Mexico, 1573).

Like the Scheide family, many of the Friends of the Library are collectors of rare books and manuscripts, and the evidence of their generosity is apparent throughout the exhibit. One of the Friends, Imrie de Vegh, donated a copy of Rafael Antúnez y Acevedo's *Memorias históricas sobre la legislación y gobierno del comercio de los españoles con sus colonias en las Indias occidentales* (Madrid, 1797), one of very few extant copies of this important treatise on the regulation of trade between Spain and her colonies. The manuscript letter of Pedro de Alvarado to the town councilmen of Santiago, Guatemala, dated March 27, 1534, was given to the Library by Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert. Alvarado accompanied Hernán Cortés to Mexico, where he saw service in the wars against the Indians and gained a reputation for vigorous pursuit of both gold and glory.

Scholars of the Iberian world owe a great debt to another collector, the Spanish Duke of Híjar, who gathered together more than 700 broadsides and pamphlets of the Napoleonic period in Spain and the revolutions for independence in America. Among them was the "Di- sertación histórico-política sobre la sucesión a la corona de España," printed at Cádiz in 1811. It reflects the fear that Fernando VII and his brothers would die during their captivity in Bayonne, thereby provoking a dynastic crisis and possibly the partition of Spain and her colonies. Fernando's sister, Carlotta Joaquina, married to the

Prince Regent of Portugal, was living in Brazil. Could she legitimately inherit the throne? The author insisted that she could, but only if Fernando, his brothers, and all their male heirs perished. To illustrate his point, he drew up a family tree of the Spanish Bourbons, handsomely printed even in the midst of war.

A comparable regard for the importance of original sources was evident in the Iberian enlightenment at the end of the 18th century. Fray João de Sousa's collection of Arabic documents from the archives of the kings of Portugal was published in a bilingual edition by the Academia Real das Sciences of Lisbon in 1790 under the title *Documentos árabicos para a historia portuguesa copiados dos originales da Torre do Tombo* . . . It is a rich source of information about the period of Portuguese navigation and discovery in Asia.

As the exhibit clearly indicated, motives for learning more about the Iberian world are, and always have been, legion. Prior to the revolutions for independence, maps and charts of the Iberian holdings in the New World were highly prized, sometimes not for the best of motives, as the pirate literature in the exhibition demonstrates. Foreigners engaged in nothing more sinister than the contraband trade were also anxious to obtain accurate information about the coasts and port cities of the Iberian possessions. Thus, when the Nodal brothers produced an accurate map of the Straits of Magellan, it was considered so dangerous to the security of the state that its publication was forbidden. Princeton's edition of Bartholomé García de Nodal and Gonzálo de Nodal, *Relación del viaje que por órden de su Magestad y acuerdo del Real Consejo de Indias hizo y suellos . . . al descubrimiento del Estrecho nuevo de San Vicente y reconocimiento del de Magallanes* (Madrid, 1621) contains one of the very few copies of the map to survive the royal censors. At the end of the 17th century, Mons. Acarete du Biscay's journal of his voyage in the interior was translated into English with the title *An Account of a Voyage up the River de la Plata and thence over land to Peru, with observations on the inhabitants as well Indians and Spaniards: the cities, commerce, fertility, and riches of that part of America* (London, 1698). As the author of the introduction to the English edition makes clear, foreign interest in the great silver mine at Potosí and the commercial possibilities of the continent as a whole was intense.

Acarete du Biscay's book holds another interest for Princetonians: it bears a bookplate from the "Library of the College of New Jersey,"
and is only one of several in the exhibition which were acquired before 1898, when the College became Princeton University. Many of those acquisitions were written by travelers, whose descriptive works were immensely popular with armchair explorers. Today, scholars consider them priceless sources for the social, political, and economic history of the Iberian world.

Finally, another type of book seems to have been popular with early librarians at Princeton. It might best be described as a moral treatise, of which Diego de Saavedra Fajardo’s *Idea de un príncipe político-Cristiano* (Valencia, 1786) is a fine example. An exhibit was a handsome edition of Saavedra Fajardo’s famous treatise, first published in Munich in 1640 and re-issued as the period of reform in Spain was drawing to a close. It is from Princeton’s collection of emblem books, and was purchased with funds given by The Elizabeth Foundation, donor of the Library’s first endowment.

“Princeton and the Iberian World” was an unusually large exhibit; it displayed 185 separate objects. Nevertheless, it only suggested the variety and depth of the Library’s holdings of rare books, manuscripts, and maps collected under widely varying circumstances by the University’s many generations of librarians, scholars, and friends.

—PATRICIA H. MARKS

THE ELMER ADLER PRIZE, 1985

A welcome increase in the amount of funding from the Friends of the Library helped generate new excitement and a proliferation of entries to the annual Adler Book Collecting Contest held in Princeton’s Graphic Arts Room on May 1, 1985. Professors Margaret Doody and Richard Ludwig served as judges, together with the curator of the Graphic Arts Collection.

First prize of $400 went to Mark Sheinkman ’85, whose collection of Photographic Essays was among the best of all the student collections seen by the curator in many years of book collecting contests. Mr. Sheinkman’s collection was described in a perceptive essay and a well-informed discussion of photographic books and collecting.

Second prize of $200 was presented to Joel Andrés Barrera ’87, whose collection of books focused on the political and literary impact of Aztec civilization on the modern Chicano experience. Mr. Barrera’s collection recalled last year’s first prize winner, a collection of Chicano writing and bibliography assembled by Roberto E. Barracan ’84 that also stressed the growing importance to minority groups of formal bibliographic record as a political statement.

Third prize of $100 went to Lance K. Lattig ’87 for his collection of art history books. Whitney B. Durell ’86 received honorable mention for his books on photography.

To call attention to the contest, an exhibition of several entries was placed in the main lobby of Firestone Library, where it remained through commencement.

The essays presented to the committee by Mr. Sheinkman and Mr. Barrera follow.

—DALE ROYLANE
Curator, Graphic Arts Collection

Photographic Essays: First Prize, Adler Book Collecting Contest, 1985

My book collection reflects my practice of both painting and photography, but for the purposes of this essay I have chosen to focus on my collection of photography books. Both in form and content, photography lends itself particularly well to reproduction in book form. Fine quality photographic reproductions of photographs in books can very closely approximate the form and appearance of photographic prints.

Except for the daguerreotype and polaroid processes, which produce unique objects (in effect, monoprints), photography is a process which lends itself to the creation of multiples. Depending on the original photograph, the photographic reproduction in a book may differ in terms of scale, tonality, and color; and some detail may be lost, particularly in darker areas. The primary distinction between original photographic prints and photographic reproductions is one of material. Both types of images are printed on paper, but photographic reproductions in books are printed with ink on paper; and photographic prints are printed with light on a light-sensitive emulsion, usually silver based. Differences of appearance reflect this difference in material and process. Both printmaking processes are essentially photographic, with ink-based reproduction depending upon photographic processes in the creation of the intermediary printing matrix.

Photographs printed in ink can, in fact, outlast photographs printed on light-sensitive paper. This was the subject of a recent exhibition
at The Museum of Modern Art titled “Photographs Preserved in Ink.” Original photographic prints were presented side by side with virtually identical ink-based reproductions, illustrating the superior archival characteristics of fine quality ink-based reproductions.

The art-market status of photographs as rare objects is predicted largely on the notion of photography as a printmaking art, emphasizing the hand of the artist in the creation of the actual object. I am more interested in the qualities of photographs as images rather than as rare objects, and I am particularly interested in groups of images as they can describe the world in photographic terms and express a subjective vision of that world. As photographs are grouped and ordered they can achieve a whole greater than the sum of their individual images.

The meaning of an individual photograph can vary widely depending on its context. In book form a photographer can control the context of his images as well as present alternative meanings for each photograph according to context, accompanying text, and the selection and syntax of other photographs. Because photographs are of this world, they can be organized to achieve a meaning in it. I am most interested in those photographers who create subjective and expressive documentary photographs which can be organized into groups to create larger statements about photography, culture, and the subjective sensibility of the photographer as an artist.

Lee Friedlander’s American Monuments is a good example of this type of subjective documentary approach to photography as well as being an example of fine book design. The book itself is treated as a work of art. Typeset in letterpress, issued in a limited edition, and bound with a special binding which allows for the exhibition of individual pages, the book is an outstanding example of photographic book design. More importantly, the images as a group present a major artistic statement on contemporary American culture, the attitude of America towards its past, America’s monuments and their contexts. Published in the year of the nation’s bicentennial, the book itself becomes a monument of American culture. In addition, the individual images are personal and formally innovative.

The focus of my book collecting will be what I consider to be the most significant work of recent and contemporary photographers. I collect photography books because I believe that photography as an art can perhaps achieve its greatest potential as an art of the book, and I find my own painting, photography, and perceptions of the world to be strongly influenced by photography as I know it through books. And if for nothing else, photographs preserved in ink in books will be of great value to future generations as documents and as records of our perceptions of our world and of our time.

—Mark R. Sheinkman ’85

Aztec Civilization: Second Prize, Adler Book Collecting Contest, 1985

Before you is a collection focusing on the Aztec civilization and its political/literary influence on modern society, more specifically, on the Chicano experience. Since childhood, the Aztecs have interested me both from a personal and literary standpoint. During middle-school I began to collect books concerning Aztec civilization, and Chicano history in general. Most of the books were found buried under piles of other used books in New York City or Texas. The collection has become quite important to me here at Princeton: as a Chicano writer interested in fusing the Pre-Colombian and European, I must have a firm grasp of the mythology, religion, and culture of my indirect ancestors. For example, the attached story, “A Lesson from Quetzacoatl,” attempts to unite the dual heritage of a Chicano town in Texas. As you can see, this collection has acquired a very practical purpose: informing and inspiring.

Knowing the history and character of the Aztecs is essential, especially if I hope to write historical/literary stories and novels such as those by the Cuban writer, Miguel Barnet, who fuses historical roots and symbols with the literary. I chose four such “historical” works to present: The Conquest of Mexico, Los Antiguos Mexicanos, The Conquest of America, and The Aztecs. Bernal Díaz del Castillo’s first-hand account is crucial to understanding the period and, especially, the conquest. Díaz, as common soldier and story-teller, is able to give us a less distorted picture than Cortéz’s self-absorbed letters to the King of Spain. Miguel León-Portilla, Mexico’s leading Pre-Colombian scholar, offers a classic study on Aztec literature, religion, culture, and character. Todorov’s The Conquest of America is enormously interesting because of his approach: using 16th century sources, he attempts—I think successfully—to enter the minds of leading actors in the conquest. Finally, The Aztecs is filled with mythology and visual images of the geography and art of the period. One tale in the book even in-
spired a story submitted to Joyce Carol Oates' creative writing workshop.

As an indirect descendent of Aztec civilization, I feel a strong need to place that heritage in perspective. For over 20 years, Chicanos have struggled with the issue. Two books which illustrate that struggle are presented next: Introduction to Chicano Studies and Aztecas Del Norte. The textbook is personally valuable to me because of its rarity and also because it is one of the few attempts to combine such theories with the educational system. Forbes' Aztecas Del Norte is a conscious attempt to link the Indian past with the present. Although I do not agree wholeheartedly with Forbes' conclusions, the book is useful because of its uncommon interpretation.

While some people wrote non-fiction books concerning the Aztec legacy, other writers chose to use literature as their "bridge." These works are valuable because of their literary techniques and historical content. Gary Jenning's Aztec gives a rich account of the civilization using the picaresque technique. Velasco's Copilli has a splendid historical edge to it. Although these two best-sellers are excellent, I consider the last two books the most significant because they consciously attempt to work out some of the same themes which I hope to tackle. For example, Alurista was the first Chicano to link the Aztec civilization with modern-day Chicanos. His poetry is multilingual and his images and illustrations very often have Pre-Colombian origins. Finally, Anaya's Bless Me, Ultima deals with the still-existent shamanistic religious tradition among American descendents of the Aztecs.

—JOEL ANDRÉS BARRERA '87

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MINA R. BRYAN
1908 – 1985

A native of Sidney, Ohio, Mrs. Bryan, the former Mina Ruese, graduated from Wooster College in 1930 and shortly thereafter went to work for John H. Scheide '96 in his library, a private collection of rare books and incunabula housed in Titusville, Pennsylvania. After Mr. Scheide's death in 1942, she moved to Princeton where she was one of two associate editors of the Princeton University Press's multivolume edition of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson under the direction of Julian P. Boyd. The first volume, edited by Professor Boyd with Mrs. Bryan and Lyman H. Butterfield, was published in 1950. Dumas Malone called it "the first fruit of one of the greatest editorial enterprises ever launched in America."

In 1945, she married Samuel S. Bryan, Jr. '17, who died in 1955. Four years later she became the librarian of the Scheide Library in its new home in Princeton, and she remained in that post until her last illness. She died of a stroke on February 14, 1985, in the Medical Center of Princeton.

Mrs. Bryan's passion for books was well known and well nourished in Titusville and in Princeton. She was a member of the Grotier Club, the Hronsithwa Club, and the Fellows of the Morgan Library, but she served even longer as Managing Editor of the Princeton University Library Chronicle and later as a member of the Editorial Board. And since the Scheide is "one of only five libraries where those greatest monuments of the first years of printing, the Gutenberg Bible, the 1457 Psalter, and the 1459 Psalter, keep company together," she was host to international Biblical scholars, correspondent with numerous other scholars, cataloguer of many other treasures, researcher for the Rare Book and Special Collections Department of Firestone Library, and personal friend of its whole staff. She knew the Scheide holdings intimately, and when the University Library called upon their owner—William H. Scheide '36—to exhibit his books and manuscripts, Mrs. Bryan's special invaluable knowledge was always willingly shared. Her fellow members of the Council of the Friends hold her in memory with sincere gratitude.

—KENNETH H. ROCKETY '16
1894 – 1984

Kenneth H. Rockey, a member of the Council of the Friends of the Library since 1947, died in New York City on December 15, 1984. He had served as chairman of the Graphic Arts Committee of the Friends from 1949 to 1951, as chairman of the Membership Committee from 1952 to 1954, and as a member of the Executive and Finance Committee since 1953.

Mr. Rockey was born in New York in 1894. He was graduated from the Mount Hermon (now Northfield Mount Hermon) School and, in
1916, from Princeton University. At first a banker, Mr. Rockey later became a business executive and corporation director, with interests in Mexico and Chile. The government of Chile awarded him the Order of Merit for his assistance to Chilean mining. He retired from active business in 1964. During World War II he organized and was the first chairman of the Price Adjustment Board of the Navy Department's Office of Procurement and Material. For his service he received the Distinguished Civilian Service Award and the President's Certificate of Merit.

An active collector of books since his undergraduate days, Mr. Rockey's interests varied and covered a number of fields: the American Revolution, early voyages of exploration, shipping, angling, fishing and first editions of his favorite authors. In the late 1940s, as an avid fisherman himself, he decided to concentrate on angling and fishing books in the broadest sense. In 1950 he established the Rockey Angling Collection in the Library with the gift of some 1,000 volumes which he had assembled in his apartment in New York. Originally additions to the collection were made only by Mr. Rockey himself, but since 1975 the additions have been purchased on an endowment given by Mr. Rockey, with the selection being the responsibility of members of the Library staff.

The Rockey Angling Collection is primarily intended for use, and it was the donor's wish "that the books shall constitute an open circulating collection designed for practical use by students." Although some volumes are of necessity kept for protection in locked cases, the greater number are placed on open shelves for browsing and circulation. The collection is housed with other collections in a special Sporting Books Room in Firestone Library which was made possible by the generosity of Mr. Rockey and other donors. It consists at present of approximately 4,900 volumes, of which about 450 (including more than 200 editions of Izaak Walton's Compleat Angler) are in locked cases. Its main strength is in the American and English 19th- and 20th-century literature of fishing in fresh and salt water. Included are printed treatises on fish, fishing, tackle, angling reminiscences, fiction and poetry of angling, scientific works and government publications on fish and fisheries, publications of angling societies, etc.

Mr. Rockey was an active supporter of his school and university. At his school he will be especially remembered for having made possible the construction of the Kenneth H. Rockey Library on the Mount Hermon campus. At Princeton he will be remembered for his generous support of student aid and for his interest in and generosity to the Library.

BERNHARD K. SCHAEFER '20
1897 - 1985

While on vacation with his wife Betsey in Victoria, Mache Island, Seychelles, Bernhard Schaefer died suddenly on March 25, 1985. Mr. Schaefer was born in New York City and attended local schools before entering Princeton. After graduating in 1920, he followed his father in a business career, beginning with W. R. Grace & Co. of New York; Kiefer, Helmke & Co. of Hamburg, Germany; Mack Trucks, Inc. in New York; and finally the presidency of Schaefer, Klaussman Company, Inc. His activities in trade associations were largely concerned with South America, particularly the coffee trade, which led to his directorship of the Associated Coffee Industries of America and presidency of the Colombian American Chamber of Commerce. He was awarded the Cruz de Boyaca of the Republic of Colombia, and the order of Knight of the White Rose from Finland. During his retirement, he spent much of his time helping the underprivileged. He served as president of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, the Children's Aid Society, and Pan American Society, and the Lutheran Society.

In 1967, Mr. Schaefer joined the Council of the Friends of Princeton University Library and remained throughout his life a generous donor and enthusiastic supporter of all Library affairs. One of his earliest gifts, in 1937, was a large scrapbook containing many autograph letters of Union generals in the Civil War, along with field orders, requisitions, and other original source material: photographs, engravings, expense accounts, inventories. The collection covers the period 1845–1890, but centers on the war and post-war years. Included are autograph letters from Generals Grant, Scott, McClellan, Sherman, Burnside, Meade and scores of others. The scrapbook was added to the Library's extensive Civil War material, including the John Shaw Birdson Collection.

In 1967, Mr. Schaefer presented to the University an important collection of over 200 Lutheran pamphlets ranging in date from 1518
to 1560. The pieces represent almost the full range of Martin Luther's printed works: sermons, devotional tracts, commentaries, controversial writings, and editions of the works of others. In discussing this gift, Princeton historian E. Harris Harbison reminded us that "few writers have transferred thought to paper as rapidly, effortlessly, and continually as Luther—particularly when he was angry. . . . In the latter part of 1519, on top of ordinary routine, he got an average of 16 pages to his printer every week. . . . A keen sense of this enormous energy of Luther, his literary facility and his sense of urgency, is impressed on anyone who looks through this recently-acquired collection." The Bernhard Schaefer gift is a fitting memorial for a man who throughout his life shared Luther's urgency and enormous energy.

ROBERT H. TAYLOR '30
1908 – 1985

On May 5, 1985, Robert H. Taylor died of a heart attack at his home in Princeton, New Jersey. For twenty-five years (1955–1980) he had been Chairman of the Friends of the Library and for far longer a major donor to the Rare Book and Special Collections Department of the Princeton University Library. In a later issue we will pay tribute to his generous contributions, his bibliophilic activities, and his own private collection. The latter was celebrated in a special double-issue of the Chronicle (Winter–Spring 1977), edited by Robert J. Winkleheiser.

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APPOINTMENTS

RARE BOOKS AND SPECIAL COLLECTIONS

On July 24, 1985, University Librarian Donald W. Koepp announced the appointment of William L. Joyce as Associate Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections, succeeding Richard M. Ludwig, who has occupied that position since 1974. Mr. Ludwig will go on leave on January 1, 1986, and will retire on June 30, 1986.

Mr. Joyce will join the Princeton University Library Staff on January 1, 1986. He brings to the position 17 years experience in the acquisition and processing of rare materials and in the provision of services to users of them. From 1968 to 1970 he was Assistant Manuscripts Librarian at the William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan; upon the retirement of his former supervisor in 1970, he became the Manuscripts Librarian. In 1972 he was appointed Curator of Manuscripts at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, and in 1977 the responsibility of Education Officer at that institution was added to his duties.

Since 1981, Mr. Joyce has been Assistant Director of Rare Books and Manuscripts at the New York Public Library, where he supervises a full-time staff of 15, and is responsible for development of the Division's programs and storage facilities, preparation of grant proposals, overseeing the budget, and reviewing and revising procedures for the continuing development and management of the Library's rare books, manuscripts, and archival holdings.

Mr. Joyce holds a Ph.D. in history from the University of Michigan, an M.A. in history from St. John's University (New York), and a B.A. from Providence College. He is a member of the Grolier Club of New York, of the Society of American Archivists of which he has recently been elected President, the Bibliographical Society of America, and the American Historical Association. He teaches at the Columbia University School of Library Services.


THE SCHEIDE LIBRARY

In early June, Janet Ing arrived in Princeton to become the new librarian of the Scheide Library, the private collection belonging to William H. Scheide '36 which has been deposited in Firestone Library since 1965. Ms. Ing was a longtime resident of California, having graduated from Occidental College in 1970. In 1977 she earned an M.L.S. at the University of California, Berkeley, and in December 1985 she will be awarded a Ph.D. in Library Studies from Berkeley. She wrote her dissertation on "Charles Whittingham the Younger and the Chiswick Press, 1852–1859."
During the last three years, Ms. Ing was Special Collections Librarian at Mills College, Oakland, California. She also taught a graduate seminar in analytical and descriptive bibliography at the School of Library and Information Studies, Berkeley. She has published an article reviewing recent scholarship on the Mainz Indulgences of 1454–1455 in the British Library Journal (1983), and various reports and reviews for Fine Print (San Francisco, 1980–1985).

New & Notable

MANUSCRIPTS

The following manuscripts were added to the Library's collections during the period from July 1, 1984, through June 30, 1985. This listing does not generally include deposited manuscripts, unless they are placed in the Library solely to make them available for research. Manuscripts in the Seeley G. Mudd Library of 20th-century public affairs papers are separately noted.

AGEE, JAMES (1909–1955). Two letters from the poet to his wife Olivia (née Saunders) summer 1936, when Agee was working in the South on his Let Us Now Praise Famous Men. Gift of the recipient, Mrs. Robert Wood.


ARENAS, REINALDO. Additions to the manuscripts of the Cuban novelist: La loma del ángel; Necesidad de libertad; Arturo; Otra vez el mar, 1982–1984. Purchase. Latin American Studies Fund.

BAKER, CARLOS. Additional biographical and other files on Ernest Hemingway used in writing Ernest Hemingway: A Life Story. Gift of Professor Carlos Baker.

BATAK MANUSCRIPT on divination, with illustrations; it is in screen form on bark, with a carved wooden binding, 19th century. Gift of The New York Times Company.

BENOLIEL, SOLOMON. Letter in Portuguese to Admiral Luis de Motta Feo, reporting the seizure by the Algerians of a ship loaded with provisions for the Portuguese fleet and requesting his intercession with the powers in Algiers, March 21, 1806. Purchase. Near Eastern Studies Fund.


BROOK, ALEXANDER (1898–1989). Typed manuscript (copy) of the unpublished autobiography of the artist, “Myself and Others,” 1979, which has many comments on the art world of the twenties and thirties. Gift of John Graves.


CABRERA INFANTE, GUILLERMO. Correspondence up to 1982 of the Latin American writer. Purchase on Latin American Studies Fund.

CARRICK, ALAN WHITE, Class of 1923. Family historical papers, comprising two commissions, 1773 and 1776; two apprenticeship indentures; and two Civil War letters from Virginia, 1861. Gift of Alan White Carrick ’23 and Mrs. Carrick.

CHARLES SCRIBNER’S SONS. Additions to the publishing archive. Authors’ corrected typescripts, including works by John Peale Bishop, Richard Harding Davis, Andrew Lang, George Meredith, Alan Paton, Robert E. Sherwood, Mrs. Humphrey Ward and others.

Also drawings: Stanford White’s design for the cover of the first issue of Scribner’s Magazine, 1886; drawings for the Scribner Publishing Company seal, 1902; Francis Cugat’s original jacket design for F. Scott Fitzgerald’s The Great Gatsby, 1925. Gift of Charles Scribner III ’73 and *77.


COBO BORDA, JUAN GUSTALVO. Letters, 1960s–1980s, received by Juan Gustalvo Cobo Borda, the Colombian poet and literary critic; also letters collected by Cobo Borda as literary editor of Eco. Purchase on Lassen and Hispanic Funds.


DISCOURSE concerning witches and magic, in Spanish, directed to the Cardinal Archbishop of Toledo, Grand Inquisitor of Spain; Madrid, 1714. Purchase. Near Eastern Studies Fund.


EINSTEIN, ELSA (d. 1936). Three letters from the second wife of Albert Einstein to Mrs. Madeline Finsheimer Mack. Gift of Mrs. Leonard Harrison.

FORD, FORD MADOX (1873–1939). Additions to the Edward Naumburg, Jr., collection of Ford, including typescripts of “Romance: an Analysis” showing which parts of the novel were by Ford and which by Joseph Conrad for 1924 Transatlantic Review; typescript of “Conrad and the Sea,” much corrected, 1924; typescript of the “Dedictory Letter to Isabel Paterson” in The Last Post. Also 30 letters, 1904–1929, from Ford to James B. Pinner; five letters, 1931–1934, to Herbert Gorman; 3 letters, 1935 and 1938, to Edward Naumburg, Jr.; and single letters to a dozen other correspondents; letters from other people including his grandfather Ford Madox Brown, and Thomas Hardy; Edward Naumburg’s file about Ford. Purchase. Rare Book and Manuscript Fund and Robert H. Taylor ’30 Fund.

GAUDIER-BRZESKA, HENRI (1891–1915). Original manuscript of the essay “Vortex” by the French sculptor, for Blast I (1915), with corrections by Wyndham Lewis. Gift of Omar S. Pound.


GÖDEL, KURT (1906–1978). Papers of the internationally renowned mathematical logician, the property of the Institute for Advanced Study, are on deposit in Princeton University Library for research use. A full inventory made by John W. Dawson accompanies the papers which cover all periods of Gödel’s life. Deposit of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton.


Seventy-five letters to Professor Ashley Brown, 1956–1980. Purchase. Rare Book and Manuscript Fund.


HAMILTON, DONALD R. Papers on atomic beams and other matters, 1946–1970. Transfer from the Department of Physics, Princeton University.


HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY. Additions to the publishing archive: minutesbooks, reports and other records, with a few letters, including three from Ezra Pound, one from Ford Madox Ford about Pound, several about Pound publications by Holt; four letters and three cables from Ernest Hemingway and eight letters to him; speeches, etc. for Holt’s birthday parties for Robert Frost, 1949 and 1959. Gift of the Columbia Broadcasting System.


Eight letters, 1855–1874 and a signed photograph. Purchase on various funds. For the Parrish Collection.


LANDOR, WALTER SAVAGE (1775–1864). Letters and other material by and relating to W. S. Landor, the English poet and prose writer, collected by his biographer. Gift of Professor Robert H. Super '35.


NORTON, CAROLINE (1808–1877). Letters and two notes, one dated April 11, 1855. Purchase. Rare Book and Manuscript Fund.

OUIDA (1839–1908). Letter from Marie Louise de la Ramée, the writer better known as Ouida, to Alice Danyell. Purchase on the Robert K. Root Fund. For the Parrish Collection.

PANOFSKY, ERWIN (1892–1968). Fifteen letters and one card from the art historian to Professor Robert A. Koch, 1949–1968, including carbons of two replies by Professor Koch to Professor Panofsky. Gift of Professor Robert A. Koch '54.

Correspondence (Xerox copies) with his disciple and friend William S. Heckscher, 1933–1968; 174 letters from Panofsky, 71 from Heckscher. Purchase. Library Fund.

PATER, HESTER M. Two undated letters to George A. Armour, Class of 1877, from the sister of Walter Pater, the English essayist. Gift of Mrs. Norman Armour.


RICHARD, CONRAD (1890–1968). The Sea of Grass: original first page, outlines and notes, being the only surviving manuscripts for this novel; The Trees, The Fields, and The Town: outlines, notes and notebooks for
the novels; 24 pages from a notebook on the Delaware Indian language compiled by Conrad Richter for use in *The Light in the Forest*. Gift of his daughter, Harvena Richter.


**Rush, Richard** (1780–1859), Class of 1797. Letters to Peter Hafner, June 28, 1827; to Mr. Niles, April 5, 1848; to Mr. Disney, 1854. Gift of Professor Anthony Brescia.

**Ryskamp, Charles.** Working papers and research material about William Cowper, the English poet, including eight notebooks by Neilson Campbell Hanney, and Xerox of Cowper manuscripts in England and America. Gift of Charles Ryskamp.


**Tarkington, Booth** (1869–1946), Class of 1893. Addition to the Booth Tarkington papers: two letters to his cousin Elizabeth Ames, March 11 and September 5, 1937. Gift of Mrs. Lewis Booker.


Twenty-six letters to Marcella Comes Winslow, the portrait painter, and one letter to Anne Goodwin Winslow, 1936–1978. Purchase. Rare Book and Manuscript Fund.


**Twain, Mark** (1835–1910). Memorabilia, including correspondence of Clara Gabrirowitsch, Mark Twain's daughter, with Madeline Finsheimer Black. Gift of Mrs. Leonard Harrison.


*La guerra del fin del mundo* manuscripts, various versions, notes and research material; motion picture scripts for work, various versions.


**Watts, Alaric Alexander** (1797–1864). Correspondence received as editor of the *Leeds Intelligencer, Literary Souvenir* annual 1824–1838, and *United Service Gazette* 1833–1847: these 80 letters include ten from
W. H. Ainsworth, three from Edward Bulwer-Lytton, two from C. L. Eastlake and others. Purchase. Rare Book and Manuscript Fund.


WILSON, WOODROW (1856-1924), Class of 1879. Additional papers: two letters to Mary Anderson, February 9, 1903 and June 25, 1912; and one letter from Ellen Axson Wilson to Mary Anderson, August 28, 1912. Gift of Mrs. Owen Reese.

Woodrow Wilson material collected by Mrs. John F. Moors, a Boston friend of Mrs. Frances Bowes Sayre, the former Jessie Woodrow Wilson, daughter of Woodrow Wilson. Includes ephemera and a few letters between Woodrow Wilson and John F. Moors. Transfer from Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

Letter from Helen Woodrow Bones to her cousin Benjamin Mandeville King, personal secretary at the White House to his cousin President Wilson, February 16, 1918. Gift of Mrs. Benjamin Mandeville King.


Family letters: three letters from President Wilson's brother-in-law Stockton Axson to Benjamin King, 1913-1914; two letters from his daughter Jessie Wilson Sayre, 1912-1915; from Edith Bolling Wilson, his second wife, to Majorie King, 1942; two letters from Mary Smith to Benjamin M. King 1916. Gift of Frances W. Saunders.

—JEAN F. PRESTON
Curator, Manuscripts

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PUBLIC AFFAIRS PAPERS

The Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library has received the following manuscripts which augment or supplement existing papers of established collections: AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION. The general correspondence files for 1980 were added to the archives by the ACLU.

ARMOUR, NORMAN '09. Additions to the files of Norman Armour, including a typescript of his recollections of the Russian Revolution and letters to or from Presidents Hoover, Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower and Nixon, and other government officials, were the gift of Mrs. Norman Armour.

ARMSTRONG, HAMILTON FISH '16. Additions to the Armstrong papers of files relating to his various government positions and his extensive personal correspondence, 1926-1972, were the gift of Mrs. Hamilton Fish Armstrong.

COMMON CAUSE. Supplementary materials, 1970-1982, mainly relating to the tenure of David Cohen, former president of the organization, were added to the archives by Common Cause.

EMENY, BROOKS '24. Additions to the Brooks Emeny collection, consisting mainly of his articles and speeches, were presented to the Library by Mrs. Brooks Emeny.

MCGOVERN, GEORGE. Personal correspondence and speeches, some campaign files and tape recordings, etc., 1944-1984, were added to his papers by George McGovern.

STEVenson, ADLAI E. '22. Additions to the Stevenson papers, including a tape recording of the State of Illinois memorial service for Governor Stevenson in July 1965, were the gift of Adlai E. Stevenson III.

—NANCY BRESSLER
Curator, Public Affairs Papers

RARE BOOKS

The following represent significant gifts and additions to the Library's General Rare Book Collections and related special collections made during the past year, 1984-1985.

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND HISTORY

An Account of a Plan which has been successfully pursued for three years, in the conducting of a Penny Savings Bank for Children, with the Addition of
a Working Fund for Females; including Direction and Patterns for cutting out every sort of wearing apparel for girls, shirts and pinafores for boys. . . . London, 1822. Purchase. Duplicates Fund.


ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE AND HISTORY. A collection of 169 volumes. The gift of Mrs. Bernard Peyton.


FORD, FORD MADox. Some Do Not (London, 1924) with presentation inscription from Ford to John Cournos, No More Parades (New York, 1925) with presentation inscription to William McFee and 26 other books (several with presentation inscriptions) as well as 12 issues of the Transatlantic Review (January-December, 1924). The gift of Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24.


MOFFETT, THOMAS. Healths Improvement: or, Rules comprising . . . the . . . manner of preparing all sorts of Food. . . . London, 1655. Purchase. Duplicates Fund.


POWELL, ANTHONY. A Question of Upbringing (1951), A Buyer's Market (1952), The Acceptance World (1955), and the nine other novels comprising Powell's sequence, A Dance to the Music of Time (1951-1975), along with his four-volume autobiography, To Keep the Ball Rolling (1976-1982). The gift of Robert C. McNamara '29.


CONTINENTAL HISTORY AND LITERATURE

D'AUTON, JEAN. Histoire de Louis XII, Roy de France, . . . et des choses memorables aduenues de son Regne, es annees 1499, 1500, & 1501 . . . &


CADABAL, ALVARO DE. Rithma en honor, celebidad y recomendacion dal illustissimo y reuerendissimo senor el obispo don Iulianide Alba. Lisbon, 1566. Purchase. Iberian Studies Fund.

CONGREGATIONE DELLE FILLIPINI (ROME). Collection of 23 documents printed in Rome by Mainardi and others relating to litigation between the Congregation and the neighboring Monastero dell’a Annunziata delle Turchine concerning the enlargement of the Congregation’s house ca. 1736-1749. Purchase. Reed Fund.


EMBLEM BOOKS


An Epitome of Gospel Mystery emblematically illustrated. [London, c. 1650] Large folio broadside engraved on a single sheet. A grand emblematic engraving, showing the spring of “gospel mystery” flowing from a fiery sun through two hearts to irrigate the Tree of Life. Text in rhymed couplets and triplets. Purchase. Reed Fund.


LUKEN, JAN. Beschowing der wereld. Amsterdam, 1708. Purchase. Reed Fund.

MEISNER, DANIEL. Thesaurus sapientiae civilis sive vitae humanae ac virtutum et viatorum theatrum. Frankfurt, 1626. Purchase. Reed Fund.


HISTORY OF SCIENCE

BEVERWYCK, JOHAN VAN. Alle de Werken, soo in de Medecyn als Chirurgye. Amsterdam, 1652. Given by Charles Eyre Greene in memory of Raymond A. Beck '43.


RUMPFF, GEORG. Thesaurus imaginum piscium testaceorum. . . . Leyden, 1711. Gift of Mr. Robert R. Porter '45 together with several other early printed books on various subjects.

SPECIAL GIFT


—STEPHEN FERGUSON
Curator, Rare Books

GRAPHIC ARTS

A selection of prints, drawings, and illustrated books added to the Graphic Arts Collection during the past year, 1984–1985, are listed below.

PRINTS AND DRAWINGS

The following are additions to the Leonard L. Milberg Collection of American Views, presented to the Graphic Arts Collection by Mr. Milberg.


CAMERER, EUGENE. View of the City of San Francisco Seen from the Residence of N. Larco, Esq., Green Street, Telegraph Hill, Looking South. Lithograph. Kuchel and Dresel, 1859.


Other acquisitions:

REDOUTÉ, PIERRE. Lily and Iris Botanical Plates. Color printed engravings by Langlois.

GILBERT, ALBERT EARL. Pine Warbler. Watercolor.

GWYNNE, JOHN A. Birds of Panama. Gouache.


CORIOLANO, BARTOLOMEO. Cupid Asleep. Chiaroscuro woodcut after Guido Reni.

TEYLER, JOHANNES. Large Classical Urn. Color printed copper engraving.
ILLUSTRATED BOOKS


JACKSON, JOHN BAPTISTE. Opera. (Chiarosuro plates after Venetian artists) Venice: Jo. Baptiam Pasquali, 1745.


LIEFFMAN, ENNO. Vom morgen ändischen Floh. Illustrated by Marcus Behmer. Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1925.


NIETZSCHE, FRIEDRICH. Also Sprach Zarathustra. Leipzig: Insel Verlag, 1908.


PETERS, GUSTAV. Das Herz des Menchen. Harrisburg, 1832.


ROSENHOF, ROESEL VON. Der monatlich herausgegeben Insecten Belustigung. Nuremberg, Fleischmann, ca. 1760.
A revised constitution of the Friends of the Library had been circulated by mail several weeks before the meeting. General discussion on the subject was limited to only one or two minor cavils, chiefly over language. The Chairman called for a motion to approve the new constitution. It was offered and passed unanimously. Its date of effect is July 1, 1985.

The Chairman announced that since last November we had lost four Council members: Rensselaer W. Lee died on December 4, 1984; Kenneth H. Rockey on December 15; Mina R. Bryan on February 14, 1985; and Bernhard K. Schaefer on March 25. She proposed that the Council approve the transfer from the operating account of $500 for book purchases in memory of each of the above members.

At 4:30 PM an overflow crowd of Friends gathered in McCormick Hall to hear Professor John H. Elliott, member of the faculty in the School of Historical Studies, the Institute for Advanced Study, give a lecture on “The Iberian Achievement.” It is reprinted in this issue of the Chronicle for the delectation of all the Friends. Those who heard it knew it was a model introduction to the opening, at 5:30 PM in the Gould Gallery of Firestone Library, of a major spring exhibition. More than 200 Friends and guests enjoyed cocktails while viewing “Princeton and the Iberian World: An Exhibition of Books, Manuscripts, and Maps.” It was installed by Peter T. Johnson and Patricia H. Marks. Mrs. Marks describes it in more detail under Library Notes in this issue of the Chronicle.

FINANCIAL REPORT

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account and on the Publication Fund for the year 1984-1985 is as follows:

OPERATING ACCOUNT

RECEIPTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash balance July 1, 1984</td>
<td>$13,884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stachelberg Fund</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues</td>
<td>36,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matching gifts</td>
<td>1,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contributions</td>
<td>51,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chronicle subscriptions and sales</td>
<td>4,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$107,588</strong></td>
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</tbody>
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EXPENDITURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XLV, No. 3</td>
<td>$4,133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XLVI, No. 1</td>
<td>6,752</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing of Chronicle, Vol. XLVI, No. 2</td>
<td>5,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing editor's salary</td>
<td>$3,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical assistance</td>
<td>7,044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibitions, receptions and lectures</td>
<td>10,206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postage, printing, etc.</td>
<td>4,731</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elmer Adler Book Collecting Contest awards</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfers to income-producing account</td>
<td>30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transfers in memory of deceased members of the Council</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$74,214</strong></td>
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Cash balance June 30, 1985

$83,374

PUBLICATION FUND

RECEIPTS

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<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Cash balance July 1, 1984</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sales</td>
<td>1,543</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$15,713</strong></td>
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EXPENDITURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress at Princeton</td>
<td>$12,001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Permissions</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>475</td>
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<tr>
<td>Postage</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$12,659</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cash balance June 30, 1985

$2,854

INCOME-PRODUCING ACCOUNT

An expendable income-producing account was established in January 1985 by a transfer of $20,000 from the Friends Operating Account. A further transfer of $10,000 was made in April. In July of each year the income of the account will be added to the principal until the funds are needed for expenditure. The income produced by this account through June 30, 1985 was $892.

FRIENDS OF THE LIBRARY BOOK FUND

During the year 1984–1985 a further distribution of $14,137 from the estate of Frederick W. Birkenhauer '10, a transfer of $500 from the Friends Operating Account as a gift in memory of Bernhard K. Schaefer '20, and a contribution of $34,228 brought the principal of the endowed Friends of the Princeton University Library Book Fund to $121,094. The fund was established in 1967 by a bequest of George A. Vondermuhll '04 and since its establishment it has been greatly enlarged by contributions from various sources. The income of the fund is used for the purchase of books, manuscripts and other material for the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections. Additions to its principal are always welcome.
Cover Note

John Seddon (1644–1700) was one of England’s best masters of pen flourishing, and this issue of the Princeton University Library Chronicle is embellished with a few examples of his wonderful command of hand à la volée. Like Seddon, penmanship masters of the period prided themselves on rendering, more or less in one swift stroke of the pen, magnificent flourishes not only of alphabets and mottoes, but pictorial garnishes of every description.

Our calligraphic ornaments are from Seddon’s second book, The Penman’s Paradise both Pleasant and Profitable, first published in London in 1694–1695. It is one of many fine calligraphic manuals in the Graphic Arts Collection of Firestone Library.

—D.R.R.

FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

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

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

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

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Donald W. Koepp, Vice-Chairman
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