Renaissance Emblems

Observations Suggested by Some Emblem-Books in the Princeton University Library

By William S. Heckscher

During February and March an exhibition of emblem-books, arranged with the assistance of Mr. Heckscher, was held in the Princeton Library. To suggest the attractions of the Renaissance emblem, "this curious world of great formal beauty and spiritual acuteness," Mr. Heckscher has kindly prepared this article for the Chronicle.

Among the illustrated books of the Renaissance the emblem-books are perhaps the most engaging. They are, perhaps also, the most eloquent manifestations of popularly accepted esoteric notions which vastly contributed to the formation of the

The Princeton University Library abounds exceptionally fine collection of emblem-books—in the open stacks of the Firestone Library, in the Department of Rare Books, in the Graphic Arts Division, in the Marquand Library, and elsewhere. Their presence in Princeton reflects the cultivated taste of donors rather than a concerted scholarly effort aiming at balance, let alone completeness.

Wherever in the following notes I make reference to the edition of an emblem-book, I lend to make specific reference to a copy in the Princeton Library. The Rare Book Room of the Library has Hadrianus Junius, Emblemata (ed. princeps), Antwerp, 1509—a well-read copy from David Garrick’s library. I found the following editions of emblem-books not recorded by Prat (1940, ed. below): Gilles Corrozet, Les Blasons Domestiques, Paris, 1865; Claude Paradin, Devises Heraultes, Paris, 1815; Filippo Pichelli, Mondo Simbolico, Venice, 1678.

great post-medieval styles, especially mannerism and baroque. Their makers, forever conscious of tradition, at the same time turned emblem-books into sensitive mirrors of the sentiments of their day. Emblem-books have a curious way of being gregarious. This aspect I shall discuss presently. Provided we are willing to be drawn into their magic circle, they will lead us back to long-forgotten modes of what one might call planned associative thinking and observing. They bear witness to a delight in experiencing the surrounding world of objects, be they nature-produced or man-made. The sine qua non of their creation as individual works of art is unrivaled precision and love of détails. These gifts we have largely lost, accustomed as we are to seeing things merely as stage and background to vague notions of pleasure and displeasure, as mere petites perceptions, thrust upon us by the torrents of life and time. In the seventeenth century the moral and didactic quality of things visible was obvious to anyone who felt that "the Heavens, the Earth, nay, every Creature, [are] but Hieroglyphicks and Emblemes of His Glory" (Francis Quarles). In the year 1531 Andrea Alciati, the great North Italian lawyer, humanist, and lexicographer, published the first Emblemata liber. The Greek word emblema, still known to medieval philologists, was used to describe any kind of mosaic or inlay-work. With Alciati it acquired its specific meaning. Each of Alciati's emblematum consists of three elements: motto, picture, and epigrammatic stanza. The motto is a short dictum or title (such as festina lentement; ilicitum non sperandum; ex literarum studiis immortalitatem acquiri, or simply Ira; Sirenes; de morte et amore). It is invariably associated with a picture. The picture must not try to illustrate the motto, and vice versa. The two elements rather must complement one another as in a happy marriage. Obviously, the devising of emblems had to be largely a matter of wit, invention, and inspiration—hence the emblems' great attraction to both the mannerists of the sixteenth century and to the metaphysicians of the seventeenth. The picture (also "device," "impressa") was generally spoken of as the Body, the motto (or lemma), consisting of tradition of not more than five words, as the Soul of the emblem. The baroque codifiers and rigorists of the emblem scorched the use of the human figure (but not of parts of human anatomy); they banned vulgar objects, and creatures merely imagined, as well as color. Since most emblems were made to inspire, to warn, to encourage, to persuade, the emblematic picture should, wherever possible, show present and future action. An impressa, after all, is literally "an undertaking." The third of the three elements constituting an emblem, less strictly defined, consisted of either some epigrammatic verse or some prose passage, designed to pull picture and motto together. In designing his emblems Alciati, we may presume, started with the epigram; picture and motto came later. Emblems were either heroic or moral or didactic. Perhaps the fact that the first true emblem-book, though composed by an Italian humanist, appeared on German soil (at Augsburg, with illustrations after designs by Jörg Breu) and that...
it was dedicated to Alciati by a German humanist and student of hieroglyphs, Conrad Peutinger, will go far to explain the peculiar character of this little book, destined to become the ancestor of an almost limitless progeny. Early sixteenth-century humanism, and especially that of the Italian brand, was still fundamentally hostile to the intrusion of any kind of picture into a book where it might exhibit pretences of competing in importance with the text. The German humanists were much less inhibited in this respect. Conrad Peutinger, e.g., was the author of the first corpus of classical inscriptiones to be illustrated (Augsburg, 1506). The Renaissance emblems were not born in full panoply. Alciati and his successors were heirs to a rich tradition of pictures intimately associated with accompanying texts. An important source of inspiration was the epigrams which the ancients would write to elucidate works of art, many of which are preserved in the Greek Anthology. More or less independently, the middle ages had perpetuated this habit of joining words to a picture in the so-called tituli, poetic labels often bodily affixed to stained-glass windows, chalices, reliquary-shrines, and other parts of ecclesiastical furniture. The tituli would not try to say once more what could be seen in the works of art but would, just as the Renaissance emblems, aim at complementing their physical appearance. Sugerius, a twelfth-century abbot, for example, might write verses on the gilded doors of St. Denis which told the reader that their contemplation would lead to the "True Light where Christ is the Door." The early Christians had, in fact, in imitation of imperial usage, proceeded on emblematic lines when in the catacombs and elsewhere they inscribed the word IXOYX ("fish") beside the picture of a fish, an acrostic whose five letters were taken as the initials of the Greek words for "Jesus Christ Son of God, Saviour," whereby an apparent caption revealed itself as, in truth, a concealed motto. The didactic tendency coupled with the desire to communicate information in only a select few is unmistakable. Late medieval heraldry fulfilled a similar function in that members of the nobility revealed identity and character through the so-called "charges" (pictorial devices which often contained punning references to the bearer's name) while mottoes announced, to the initates, sentiments contained in but not necessarily illustrated by the pictures. Lorenzo de' Medici's scarf comes to mind in which blossoming and withering roses were accompanied by the pearl-embroidered motto Le tens revient. The humanists of the fifteenth century, finally, added a new impulse when they discovered the Egyptian hieroglyphs which, at least so they thought, had been used by the Egyptian priests to provide the privileged classes with secret instruction. A hieroglyphic handbook, Horapollo's Hieroglyphica, purporting to be the Greek translation of such a priestly code, became one of the most sought-after texts of the early Renaissance. Many of its strange devices, such as a serpent biting its tail ("the Universe") or falling dew ("indoctrination"), became part of the grammar and vocabulary of the Renaissance emblems. Leon Battista Alberti (d. 1472) set a new fashion when he taught "writing through objects" (rebus) in an attempt to emulate the Egyptians. After him, in the generation preceding Alciati, a Dominican professor, Francisco Colonna, composed The Dream of Poliphilo (ed. prince, Venice, 1499), a fantastic novel, some of whose woodcuts showed hieroglyphs true and imagined. Colonna perhaps more than any other author encouraged the emblematic mode which saw its first fruit in Alciati's little book. Emblematic imagery remained a living force far into the eighteenth century—in America, even into the first half of the nineteenth. It stood in a vivid relationship of give and take with a vast variety of fields, such as Dantesque Death and the artes mortuiores, animal fables and hierosolivia (the latter being the descendants of the Physiologus which explained animals moraliter, in bono et in malo), artes memorandi, riddles, album versi, found in the academic alba amicorum, dedications and title-pages, prognostications, memorial monuments, funeral orations, the trappings of princely entreprises, degrees, intermezzi, masques, ballets, operas, books on alchemy, fortune-telling books, mythological compendiums, hieroglyphic bibles, series of the five senses, books on calligraphy, series of portraits, cookbooks, books on estates and crafts, advertisements such as inn, trade and brothel signs, religious tracts, nursery rhymes, masonic charts or monitors, and, last but not least, the iconologies.


2 This group is closely allied with that of the rebus, a tradition which goes back in Christian art, to the pictures of the catacombs. For a late-medieval example, d., e.g., the so-called "Child's Bible" (early fifteenth century), in which a phrase such as "lovers of pleasure" will be represented by the picture of a woman's writ being grasped by a man's hand.
In the following pages I propose to discuss a few cases which, I hope, will help to illuminate the form and function of the Renaissance emblem.

At times we find that seeming trivia encountered in an emblem-book may open up unexpected vistas. A comparatively simple example is that of Achille Bocchi's *Symbolicarum Questionum ... Libri Quinque*, Bologna, 1555. The book is graced by interesting but not distinguished engravings by Giulio di Antonio Bonasone. It is perhaps not very astonishing to find that the artist, who in his own words imitando pinxit et celavit, made ample use of High Renaissance compositions, ranging from Raphael and Michelangelo to Jerome Bosch. Under the motto *archana visus curiosus, qui (he who pries into secret things with overabundance of curiositas, perishes)*, we find a faithful representation of Raphael's "Transfiguration of Christ" (Fig. 1). In conjunction with its motto the emblem offers a decidedly undogmatic interpretation of the Gospel account of the one occasion when the Son of Man specifically chose to reveal himself to a select few among his disciples as the Messiah. Princeps has not only the *editio princeps* of Bocchi's work but also the *editio secunda* (1574), which turns out to be of much greater interest, for the copperplates, before being used again, were retouched by Agostino Carracci. In view of the fact that Bocchi's emblem-book made High Renaissance compositions easily accessible to the members of the *Academia degli Incamminati* (1584 ff.), its importance as a transmitter, hitherto unrecognized, of the very substance that went into the making of the Bolognese baroque, will be appreciated.

The earliest known representation of a telescope (*perspicillum*), a specimen purchased at the Frankfurt Fair of 1608 (and therefore also one of the earliest made), occurs in the portrait of its proud owner, Simon Marius (Mundus Jovialis, Nuremberg, 1614). Only two years later, in 1616, we encounter what seems to be the earliest telescope-allgory, in a series of the five senses, engraved

13 Mrs. Dora Panofsky drew my attention to Bocchi's importance. For Agostino Carracci's retouching activities, cf. Mario Prass, *op. cit.*, p. 99. For the importance of Agostino's specific "learned" role in particular and, in general, for the importance of the return to the High Renaissance in the genesis of the baroque, see Walter Erichsen, "Der anamnestische Stil um 1550," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg*, 1928-1929, VIII (1930), 214-249, especially p. 219.
after drawings by Hendrik Goltzius (1568-1617). It appears as part of the equipment of Venus and Cupid—a group conventionally associated with the sense of sight. It is from here, we may conjecture, that the telescope was quickly absorbed by the emblems. Emblematisms represent it, among others, as an allegory of jealousy; for it blows up small things out of all proportion and, if reversed, makes important things appear small. In Johan de Brune’s Emblemata of Zinme-swerck (ed. princ.). Amsterdam, 1644 (Fig. 2), we see an aristocratic member of the leisure class as he trains his telescope on a point well below the horizon. The motto “De Nijd vind baet in anders quaed” (“Jealousy finds pleasure in another’s misfortune”) is explained in the poem, which offers a typical example of the widespread ridicule and censure with which “the newly discovered art” was greeted in popular writings. The telescope, although indeed a complete novelty, was in a sense nothing but an improved seeing aid. To be sure, eyeglasses and magnifying glasses had been regarded, throughout the late middle ages, as helps in discovering revealed truth. As a point in history when we witness the first serious clashes between the old truth and the new, between faith and science, seeing aids, it seems, began to be associated with the evils of false learning, curiositas, and other related forms of hybris.

I am not aware that it has ever been pointed out that through John Gay’s The Beggar’s Opera there runs, like a leitmotiv, a

11 The telescope in emblems is frequently used to illustrate what Quarles calls “optick abuse.” Paolo Muccio, Emblemata (ed. princ.) [Bologna, 1688], emblem 111, p. 17, allegorizes it with the ill-shielded lover. The learned Filippo Picinelli (Mundus Symbolicos, Cologne, 1687, II, 200) takes the telescope as an explanation to Matt. 7:13: “And why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother’s eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye?” Herman Hugo, Fines Docta, Paris, 1653, Pl. 14, shows the Soul looking through a telescope down a country lane at the end of which there appears Death holding palm and sword, and above him a vision of the Last Judgment, with the inscription from Bent. “277: O that they were wise, that they understood this . . . ,” an obvious inversion of the general trend.

12 For a parallel case in English drama, see Thomas Tomkis’ Almanac (1616); cf. Hugh G. Dick, “The Telescope and the Comic Imagination,” Modern Language Notes, LVIII, No. 7 (Nov., 1943), 544-545; also my article cited in note 1 above, note 117.

13 The earliest unmistakable reference to a seeing aid is found in 1597 in a poem counseling a “blind” Jew: “Pour ton bien je veux / Mettre un beryl a tes yeux / Qui te sera d’un grand profit”; see Jean Brisebarre de Douss, L’Encoché de la Fey, quoted by V. Welin, “Apologies des lunettes,” Ascendé, XXV (1935), fig. and text on p. 438.

14 E.g., for an early example, the singing monk who wears glasses of “false learning.” Jerome Bock’s St. Anthony altarpiece, Lisbon; thus interpreted by D. Bax, Ontolering van Joren Bosch, The Hague, 1948, p. 73.
series of emblematic images—in the words of the beggar-poet: "I have introduc'd the Similes that are in all your celebrated Operas: The Swallow, the Moth, the Bee, the Ship, the Flower, &c." We may choose the moth and see how it fits into the emblematic tradition. In the Fourth Air (Act I, scene 4), Mrs. Peachum shows herself in great concern over the infatuation of her daughter Polly for Captain Macheath:

If Love the Virgin's Heart invade,
How, like a Moth, the simple Maid
Still plays about the Flame!
If soon she be not made a Wife,
Her Honour's sing'd, and then for Life,
She's—what I dare not name.

There is hardly a moral or amatory emblem-book which does not have a picture of a moth (or moths) attracted by the flame of a candle under mottoes such as "For one Pleasure a thousand paynes," *cuius vivus placet caduce a morte*, including the well-known palindrome *in girum imus nocte et consumimur igni*, or *brevis et dannosa voluptas* (Fig. 3). In this moralistic sense Shakespeare and Torquato Tasso had the image.

We should, however, not forget that the emblematic image of moth and candle as used by Mrs. Peachum is only a late outgrowth of the myth of Psyche (a Greek word which means both soul and moth) that had reached the West in Hellenistic times. Psyche was the soul of a mortal who in striving for a reunion with the divinity had suffered physical death but achieved, in the end, having been purified by the flames, life everlasting. Reverberations of this idea are still found in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*. The myth, transformed into a fairy tale, is told to comfort a disconsolate bride of one day who has been abducted and who has every reason to fear a permanent separation from her husband.²²


²³ Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, Act II, scene 9, line 749: in Tasso's *La Gerusalemme Liberata*, Canto IV, stanza 94, Armida, chaste but voluptuous, is in the candle, Fustadio, young and rash, the moth. Medieval literature, it seems, was not familiar with the moth-candle image but it had the candle alone as a symbol of the world which, like the burning candle, "sein erden wirt / emitten do niicht nit"; cf. Hartmann von Aue, *Das arme Heinrich*, line 84 ff.

²⁴ In Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* it is Psyche who burns Eros with the oil from her lamp: classical art, however, has scenes depicting the torment of Psyche where Eros in turn singes her with his torch.
The Renaissance was by no means unaware of the metaphysical implications of the motif. Leonardo da Vinci expresses it as follows:

... the hope and the desire for repatriation and for the return to our first state is similar to the urge which drives the moths into the light... this wish is the quintessence, the very spirit of the elements, which finds itself imprisoned by the soul, and always longs to return from the human body to Him who has sent it forth.18

The dual meaning of moth and candle—amorous as well as metaphysical—was not forgotten in the eighteenth century. A great poet like Goethe skillfully mixed both in his "Gott und die Bajadere" (1798), in which we learn that the Indian widow who joins her lover of one night on the funeral pyre discovers that she joins the deity through death in flames. The motif haunted Goethe, who, some sixteen years later, in his "Selige Sehnsucht" (Westöstlicher Divan) further developed the philosophical idea of man's desire for reunion with the divine existence. There the greatest secret of life, the "strib und werde," appears under the image of candle and moth. What here may seem metaphysical speculation alone had grown—as so often in Goethe's work—from a personal experience which, mutatis mutandis, was closely related to the emblematic tradition that had led Mrs. Peachum to the use of candle and moth. Goethe, as a young man, had experienced his relationship to Charlotte von Stein as an emblem, as it were, in which at first the poet himself, then his beloved, took the part of the moth. Seeing Charlotte at a court ball but unable to address her, he is reminded of "the moth around the light" (February 24, 1776); on March 3, 1781 he tells Charlotte how by mistake he had tried to dip his pen into the flame of his candle ("as I was about to tell you that I love you infinitely, my pen seemed to long for the fiercest and purest element"). In the same year Goethe acquires for Charlotte an intaglio which he wishes her to use as a seal for her letters to him; "it represents Psyche with the moth on her breast, cut in yellow agate-stone. I feel like calling you forever my beloved soul."19

18 For a complete quotation as well as for a very profound confrontation of the death concepts of Leonardo and Michelangelo, see E. Panofsky, Studies in Iconology, New York, 1939, p. 182 and note 59.
19 See Goethe, Briefe an Frau von Stein, ed. A. Schöll, Frankfurt, 1885, I, 85, 306, 347, 375. Goethe's "Gott und die Bajadere," if taken as the emblematic stanza in the
Undoubtedly both John Gay and Goethe shared in common their knowledge of the emblematic rendering of moth and candle. As he grew older, Goethe gradually outgrew the commonplace idea of boundless erotic yearning. In the end he returned to the original meaning which interpreted death in flames as the realization of an esoteric longing for spiritual rejuvenation and rebirth.

To show the obvious, that the emblematic habit was not confined to emblem-books in the narrower sense alone, I feel I can do no better than to point at beginning and end of an emblematic conceit which, with all its involutions and changes in this particular but by no means atypical case, ranged from one of Christ's parables via Shakespeare down to English baroque writing. I shall begin with Francis Quarles (1592-1644), a metaphysical poet of the generation between Shakespeare and Milton. Quarles was the author of Emblemata (1639), a book of lasting beauty by virtue of its literary rather than pictorial merits.

Quarles's emblem 11 (Book III) pictures a shipwrecked sinner swimming to the shore, where a helpful angel is waiting with outstretched arms (Fig. 4). The poetic explanation (grouped around the theme: "Oh, shall my rock-bethreaten'd soul be drown'd?") presents us with a wonderful allegory, depicting sinful life under every conceivable image of nautical stress and distress. It begins:

The world's a Sea; my flesh a Ship that's mann'd
With lab'ring Thoughts, and steer'd by Reasons hand:
My Heart's the Sea-mans Card, whereby she sails;
My loose Affections are the greater Sails:
The top sail is my Fancy, and the Guts
That fill these wanton sheets, are worldly Lusts.

The conceit of the amorous sailor occurs in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida (Act I, scene 1), with which, as we know, Quarles was familiar. I believe it is possible to say that the following picture of candle and moth, should also be seen in the light of I Cor. 15: 59, "... and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing": this particular aspect of "antike selbstverbrunnenheit" and "christlicher Martyrium-Enthusiasmus" has been discussed by Franz Joseph Dölger, Antike und Christentum, Münster, 1929, I. Heft 4, [264]-[270]. For the concept of Psyche, see also H. W. Janson, "The Putto with the Death's Head." The Art Bulletin, XIX, No. 5 (Sept., 1927), 424. For folkloristic belief identifying the butterfly with the human soul, cf. J. G. Frazer, The Golden Bough, New York, 1935, XII, general index, s. v. "butterfly," "butterflies.

ing passage, in which Troilus expresses hopes of reaching the elusive Cressida through the good services of Pandarus, influenced Quarles's lines just quoted:

Her bed is India, there she lies, a Pearl,
Between our Ilium, and where she recides
Let it be cald the wild and wandring flood,
Our selfe the Merchant, and this sayling Pandar,
Our doubtfull hope, our conuoy and our Barke.

In one of the boldest reversals in post-medieval literature, Shakespeare here introduces the merchantman of Christ's parable (who sells his all to purchase the one precious pearl of great price,
Matt. 13:45 as the lascivious lover in quest of a depraved woman’s love. Cresida’s hoped-for embrace takes the part of the kingdom of heaven. Obviously there is something fateful about the transmutations of an emblematic motif which begins and ends in a religious image. Christ’s parables, needless to say, are themselves archetypes of the emblematic habit. What moved Christ to use this particular image? Since pearl-references in the Old Testament are more than dubious, we must assume that Christ had access to some contemporary source of information in which the pearl was extolled for holding what Pliny calls “the highest position of all things of preciousness.” While naturally Christ remained unaware of Pliny’s writing, he can hardly have avoided hearing about the mercatores gemmarum aut margaritarum, the pearl and perfume salesmen of the Mediterranean basin, who operated under the special protectorate of Aphrodite. More important still, he may have been familiar in some form with the Iranian myth of the pearl whose possession was the prerequisite of the return to heaven of the Mandaeans prince and messiah Hibil. The inner affinity between Christ’s pearl-parable and the myth of the pearl was revealed when, about A.D. 200, its tenor was incorporated into one of the earliest Christian hymns found in the New Testament Apocrypha known as the Acts of Thomas. Here we learn that the young prince from heaven endures hardships and worldly temptations before he succeeds in returning the pearl from Egypt, where it was guarded by an evil serpent. If, for a moment, we regard the theme of Christ’s parable (redemption of the human soul) as the emblem’s motto, we may point at a picture or image which nicely fits the mythical parallel conjectured on. I have in mind an oil lamp (North African ? cf. fourth century A.D.) (Fig. 5). The lamp has for its body a three-horned serpent (or dragon) who holds in his beak the precious pearl, symbol of the soul held in the captivity of its own sinfulness. The light of the oil-lamp, situated at the end opposite to the dragon’s beak, is, of course, the symbol of the soul’s hope for ultimate liberation.

Quarles, then, by turning Shakespeare’s bold inversion of Christ’s parable back into the stream of religious thinking, reveals both the soundness of his religious instinct and the sure hand of the accomplished metaphysical emblemist.

Finally, I should like to mention briefly an authentic emblem-book produced in America: Religious Emblems, by William Holmes and John W. Barber, first published in New Haven in 1846 (copy in Yale University Library), of which Princeton has several later editions. Freeman in her English Emblem Books does not mention it, while Praz (II, 80) lists only a London edition, 1868. Both Holmes (“minister of the Gospel”) and John Warner Barber (1708-1885) were residents of Connecticut. Barber, a prolific and interesting American illustrator and writer, was also a native of the state (East Windsor, Hartford County). “The drawings,” declares Barber in the preface, “and the engraving of the cuts, were for the most part executed by the writer of the preface; the work itself is written by Mr. Holmes.” To those familiar with the religious tem-

Let not the water-flood overflow me, neither let the deep swallow me up.
Ps. lix. 15. — He sent from above, he took me, he drew me out of many waters.
Ps. xlviii. 16.

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per of America in the mid-nineteenth century, it does perhaps not come as a surprise to find an outstanding emblem-book at such a late date. The mixture of traditional elements (e.g., the passions of man represented by a charioteer unable to control his horses) with others unthinkable outside of America (ranging from slavery to ill-gained wealth symbolized by moneybags marked with dollar signs to a wretch rescued from the cataracts, i.e., Niagara Falls, by a regal figure) (Fig. 6), makes the book an important American spectulum spiritualis.32

Admittedly the few examples which I have given here, interpretation as well as association provoked by the study of some of Princeton’s emblem-books, are conjectural to different degrees. They will have served their purpose if others will be attracted to this curious world of great formal beauty and spiritual acuteness, ever ready to help us “to sweeten the back rash distempers of a deluded age.”33

32 I am grateful for help in identifying dates and particulars of this book to Professor R. G. Solomon, Kenyon College, Mrs. Ethel M. Dempsey, Free Public Library, New Haven, and Miss Emma H. E. Stephenson, Yale University Library, who, in addition, furnished me with phonetic material. The Heart of Man, Harrisburg, 1891, sometimes claimed as an American emblem-book, is merely the translation of a German work, J. E. Gossner, Das Herz des Menschen [n.p.], 1812, and possibly only a reprint of the English edition, Calcutta, 1829.

The success of Religious Emblems was such that Barber was encouraged to publish in New Haven in 1860 a second emblem-book, entirely of his own authorship, entitled The Book of Similitudes: Illustrated by a Series of Emblematic Engravings, also The Principal Events Connected with the Religious History of the World. A copy of this book is in the Hamilton Collection of the Princeton Library.

33 The material for this essay was gathered while I had the privilege to be in Princeton as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study. I am happy to have this opportunity to record my heartfelt gratitude to the librarians of the Princeton University Library who have, at all times, been most liberal with scholarly advice. I feel deeply indebted to Mr. Howard C. Rice, Jr. and to Mr. Alexander D. Wainwright, who, having suggested the topic to me, encouraged me to pursue it, and to Miss Julia Hudson and Mr. Alexander P. Clark in particular for hospitality and advice. Miss Shirley Ellis, State University of Iowa, helped me by reading the manuscript.

Jonathan Edwards at Princeton
With a Survey of Edwards Materials in the Princeton University Library

BY HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

AN EXHIBITION held in the Princetoniana Room during November and December, 1953, commemorating the 250th anniversary of the birth of the American theologian and philosopher Jonathan Edwards, Princeton’s third president, provided an opportunity to recall the circumstances of Edwards’ connection with Princeton and to survey the materials available in the Library for the study of his life and works. Although many editions of Edwards’ writings refer to him as “late President of the College of New Jersey” or as “President Edwards,” his tenure of office was actually limited to a tragically brief period of only five weeks, from February 16 to March 22, 1758.

Jonathan Edwards followed with sympathetic interest the fortunes of the College of New Jersey from the time of its founding in 1746. During the Great Awakening, while still minister at Northampton in Massachusetts, he had formed close ties with the “New Light” Presbyterian ministers in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, with men like Ebenezer Pemberton, Aaron Burr, Jonathan Dickinson, and Gilbert Tennent, who were among the founders or supporters of the new seminary designed to promote piety and learning in the “southern” provinces. From such brother ministers and from laymen like Governor Belcher, Edwards received news of the infant college, which he relayed to other correspondents in Boston and to still others in England and Scotland. He wrote in 1749, for example, to Mr. John Erskine of Kirkintilloch, that “Mr. Burr, the President of the College, is a man of religion and singular learning, and I hope the College will flourish under his care.”

On June 28, 1752, Edwards’ daughter Esther was married to President Burr, and moved to Newark, where the College of New Jersey was then located. Soon afterward his son Timothy became

Edwards sorrowfully took leave of his flock at Stockbridge in mid-winter and reached Princeton on February 16, 1758. On the day of his arrival he was formally inducted into office by the Board of Trustees. One week later, on the twenty-third of February, he was inoculated for smallpox, which was prevalent in the neighborhood of Princeton. As a result of the inoculation, he died a month later, on March 22, 1758, at the age of fifty-four. Two weeks later Edwards' widowed daughter, Esther Burr, died from the same cause. The following autumn Edwards' wife, Sarah Pierrepont Edwards, died unexpectedly in Philadelphia, where she had gone to care for her grandchildren. Thus, within a year, Jonathan Edwards and his wife, his daughter, and his son-in-law were all buried in the Princeton cemetery. Many years later his erring grandson, Aaron Burr, Jr., was laid to rest beside them.

Very few documents concerning Edwards' brief passage through Princeton are extant. One of these is an account found in the biography of him written by his friend and contemporary Samuel Hopkins.4 "While at Prince-town, before his sickness," Hopkins wrote, "he preach'd in the College-hall from Sabbath to Sabbath, to the great acceptance of the hearers: but did nothing as president, unless it was to give out some questions in divinity to the senior class, to be answered before him; each one having opportunity to study and write what he thought proper upon them. When they came together to answer them, they found so much entertainment and profit by it, especially by the light and instruction Mr. Edwards communicat'd in what he said upon the questions, when they had deliv'red what they had to say, that they spoke of it with the greatest satisfaction and wonder."

Hopkins' faintly sketched picture of Edwards conducting what twentieth-century Princeton students would call a preceptorial conference is an attractive one, and one which gives added significance to the concluding section of the recent Edwards exhibition in the Library. The examination papers, reading assignments, and course outlines collected for the exhibition showed that the questions propounded by Jonathan Edwards are still a subject for discussion at Princeton today. During the past two years Edwards' writings have figured in courses offered by the University's Departments of English, History, Religion, and Philosophy, and in the Special Program in American Civilization. For example, "Evi..."
dences as to the motives behind Jonathan Edwards’ Concept of the Nature of Man” was one of the subjects for discussion given last year to students in English 557, a course in American literature. A senior thesis in the field of American History was written last year on the subject “Jonathan Edwards and the Great Awakening.” Philosophy students were asked last spring, as part of an examination, to compare and contrast the philosophies of Edwards and Emerson, while an entire semester course offered by the Department of Religion was devoted to “St. Augustine and Jonathan Edwards.” During the fall of 1953 seniors participating in the conference of the Special Program in American Civilization discussed “Jonathan Edwards and the Reconstruction of Calvinism” as part of their study of religion in American life.

Although there are several Edwards memorials in Princeton today—a portrait in Nassau Hall, a statue in the University Chapel, his grave in the Princeton cemetery, a dormitory and a street bearing his name—none of these is perhaps as significant as the fact that his own writings are still studied and discussed in the University’s classrooms nearly two centuries after his death. Time has confirmed Edwards’ own judgment of himself, which he expressed to the Princeton Trustees when considering their offer of the presidency of the College: “So far as I myself am able to judge of what talents I have, for benefiting my fellow creatures by word, I think I can write better than I can speak.”

EDWARDS MATERIALS IN THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Jonathan Edwards’ brief connection with the College of New Jersey accounts, indirectly, for the fairly extensive Edwards materials in the Library today. These do not form an integrated collection or family archive, derived from a single source, but represent rather the accumulation over the years of single items—books by Edwards, books bearing his signature, original letters and occasional scraps of manuscript, and memorabilia—acquired, through gift and purchase, by the college of which Edwards was once president.

PRINTED WORKS


Publication.4 This volume, which is dedicated to James Thayer Gerould, former Librarian of Princeton, who laid the groundwork for it, conveniently locates copies of the books listed. The Princeton University Library has approximately 160 of the 546 items recorded by Johnson, while the Library of the Princeton Theological Seminary (chiefly in its notable Sprague Collection)5 has approximately 100; between them these two libraries have roughly two-thirds of the total. In interpreting these figures it must be borne in mind that Johnson’s count includes successive editions of each work, so that the absence of a given number does not, of course, mean that the text is not available in some other form. Since the publication of Johnson’s listing the University Library has acquired several additional Edwards items,6 and it is hoped that the collection may eventually approach completeness. Among the significant volumes still lacking are: Edwards’ first printed work, God Glorified in the Work of Redemption, Boston, 1731 (Johnson No. 1); the first edition of his famous Enfield sermon, Sinners In The Hands of an Angry God, Boston, 1741 (Johnson No. 62); and his funeral sermon for David Brainerd, True Saints, when absent from the Body, are present with the Lord, Boston, 1747 (Johnson No. 187).

PORTRAITS AND MEMORABILIA

Princeton possesses no original life portrait of Edwards.8 The painting that hangs in Nassau Hall, with those of the other presidents, is a mid-nineteenth-century copy of the Joseph Badger portrait (now at Yale), which has served as the prototype for most of the familiar engraved likenesses of Edwards. Among the modern posthumous portraits of Edwards Princeton owns the original plaster model for the bronze relief in the Northampton church executed in 1906 by the sculptor Herbert Adams and presented by him to the University.9

4 The distribution of this book is handled directly by the Princeton University Press, from which copies are still available. Price: $7.50.
6 See, for example, note by Thomas H. Johnson in the Chronicle, XII, No. 3 (Spring, 1951), 190-192.
8 Cf. H. N. Gardiner, ed., Jonathan Edwards: A Retrospect, Being the Addresses Delivered in Connection with the Unveiling of a Memorial in the First Church of Christ in Northampton Massachusetts on the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of His Dismissal from the Pastorate of that Church, Boston, 1901, pp. viii-x, 163-168, Illus.
Edwards memorabilia in the Library include: a silver porringer which once belonged to Edwards' maternal grandparents, Solomon and Esther Stoddard (presented by Mrs. Alexander Smith); a brick from the well of the Edwards homestead at East Windsor, Connecticut (presented by William B. Goodwin); a piece of a christening blanket said to have been used for Edwards' baptism in 1703 (presented by the Misses Chaplain); a gavel made from wood of the mahogany stair rail once in the Edwards house at Northampton (presented by N. F. Van Horsen '94); a sermon wallet and a fragment of cloth used on the Communion table in the Northampton church during Edwards' ministry there (presented by Mrs. Frederick H. Free, Jr. and Mrs. Joseph Hulbert Rice, in memory of Joseph Hulbert Rice). Such Edwards' "relics" are interesting evidence of the esteem in which Jonathan Edwards was held by later generations and of the legendary position he came to assume in the annals of American Protestantism.

MANUSCRIPTS

The Princeton Library has no group of materials which can be described as "Edwards manuscripts" or "papers"; these are to be found chiefly in the Yale University Library and in the Andover-Harvard Theological Library at Cambridge. The eight items at Princeton in Edwards' hand—not including the scraps found in his Bible and described below—are all fugitive pieces, collected as autographs or "specimens of Mr. Edwards' chirography," and acquired at various times, chiefly through gift. The very fact that these are wails and scraps, and therefore likely to be overlooked, may justify placing them on record here. Several of the letters have been published, although incompletely, while others are apparently unpublished. Despite the fact that they are unrelated to one another, each document has some intrinsic interest when read in the general context of Edwards' life and writings.

The first of these Edwards letters was written in 1742, during the Great Awakening, a year and a half after George Whitefield's visit to Northampton, at a time when Edwards was preaching some of his most famous revival sermons, and the same year that he published his Some Thoughts Concerning the present Revival of

Religion In New-England. Addressed to a brother minister and former pupil, the Reverend Joseph Bellamy, of Bethlehem, Connecticut, the letter faithfully reflects Edwards' preoccupations and labors at this very active moment in his career.

1. Edwards to Joseph Bellamy

Northampton Jan 21, 1742.

Rev'd & Dear Sir,

I received your's of Jan. 11, for which I thank you. Religion in this and the neighbouring Towns has now of late been on the decaying hand; I desire your Prayers that God would quicken & Revive us again, and particularly that he would greatly humble, and pardon, and quicken me, & fill me with his own fullness, and, if it may consist with his will, improve me as an Instrument to revive his work. There has been the year past the most wonderful work amongst Children here, by far, that ever was: God has seemed almost wholly to take a new Generation, that are come on since the late Great work seven years ago.—Neither Earth or Hell can hinder his work that is going on in the Country. Christ gloriously triumphs at this day. You have probably before now heard of the great & wonderfull things that have lately been wrought at Portsmouth, the Chief Town in New-Hampshire Government: There are also lately appearing Great things at Ipswich, & Newbury, the two biggest Towns in this Province, except Boston, and several other Towns beyond Boston, and some Towns nearer. By what I can understand, the work of God is Greater at this day in the Land, than it has been at any time, Of what cause have we, with exulting hearts, to Agree to give Glory to him who thus rides forth on the chariots of his Salvation, Conquering & to Conquer, and Earnestly to pray that now the sun of Righteousness would come forth like a bridegroom, Rejoicing as a Giant to run his Race, from one End of the Heaven to the other, that nothing may be hid from the Light & heat thereof.

’Tis not probable that I shall be able to attend your meeting at Guilford; I have lately been so much Gone from my People, and dont know but I must be obliged to leave em again next week about a fortnight, being Called to Leicester a Town about half-way to Boston, where a Great work has lately broke out, and probably soon after that to another place, and having at this Time some Extraordinary affairs to attend at Home. I pray that Christ our Good Shepherd will be with you & direct you & greatly strengthen & bless you.

Dear Sir, I have none of those Books you speak of to sell, I have only a few that I intend to send to some of my Friends. I have
already sent you one of my New-Haven Sermons\textsuperscript{12} by Mr Lyman of Goshen, nevertheless I have herewith sent another, that I desire you would give to Mr Mills if he has none, but if he has dispose of it where you think it will do most good. I have sent one of those Sermons I preach'd at Enfield,\textsuperscript{13} as to the other I have but one of 'em in the World.

I am dear Sir
your affectionate & unworthy Brother & fellow Labourer

Jonathan Edwards.

Addressed: To the Rev'd Mr Joseph Bellamy Pastor of the Ch at Bethlehem
Thos.


A glimpse of Edwards's creative mind at work is provided by the first of the manuscripts, which consists of notes for sermons written on two sides of a piece of newspaper. Since this scrap was torn from a copy of the Daily Gazetteer, No. 3211, March 3, 1748/9, and as we may doubtless assume that the gazette was put to this incidental use not long after it was received and read, we thus have an approximate date for the notes. According to his habit, Edwards numbered the sheets on which he made such notations, and preserved them as "miscellanies" for future use. They were the raw materials for his sermons, which were in turn drawn upon for more exhaustive doctrinal treatises. The line drawn through the last part of these notes probably indicates that this portion had been used in some sermon. The subjects here touched upon are, of course, central in Edwards's thought. Successive generations of biographers have repeated the tradition that from his solitary ride and walks Edwards would return home with numbered pieces of paper pinned to his coat as "remembrancers" of his thoughts on important subjects. Then, on going into his study, he would take them off, one by one, in regular order, and write down the train of thought, of which each was intended to remind him." Although

\textsuperscript{12} The Distinguishing Marks Of a Work of the Spirit of God, Applied to that uncommon Operation that has lately appeared on the Minds of many of the People of this Land, \ldots \ A Discourse Delivered at New-Haven, September 9th 1741, Boston, 1741. This sermon was reprinted the following year by Benjamin Franklin at Philadelphia, and several times subsequently; see Johnson, Printed Writings, Nos. 59-60.

\textsuperscript{13} Sinners In the Hands of an Angry God. A Sermon Preached at Enfield, July 8th 1741, At a Time of great Awakenings \ldots , Boston, 1741. This most famous of Edwards's sermons was reprinted many times; see Johnson, Printed Writings, Nos. 68-69.
no pinhole is discernible, it is Nevertheless tempting to think that the scrap of overwritten newspaper preserved at Princeton is one of Edwards' "remembrancers."

2. Notes for Sermons. Ca. 1743-1744

That They should be preserved to the End that G. who had begun a Good work in Them would perform it to the day of X that They should be glorified, & they should not be condemned that nothing should separate Them from the Love of X (Rom. 8)

That they should be the subjects of a glorious Resurrection at the last day.

That they should mount up with wings &c—
1 Cor. 15: 1 Thea. 4: 15 &c—
that They had better things than those that were in apostate [?], things that accompanied salvation. Heb. 8. *

Tis declared that He [who] believes shall not come into condemnation. That He [who] is born of G. cannot die. That They that go out were not of us. By Faith we enter into Rest. Heb. 3 & 4 chaps. & innumerable other Places this is spoken of as the proper term of final salvation.

* That They had unfeigned Love. 1 Pet. 1:22. that their minds were pure.—2 Pet. 5:1. That They should be his crown of rejoicing on the day of the Lord Jesus.

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That they should judge the world judge Angels (Here see Taylor's Key. p. 58)
To observe how unreasonable it is to suppose that the apostle speaks to the Heathen in 2 Cor. 5:20,21. where he says we pray you in X stead be ye reconciled to G. as Taylor supposes. p.94,95 margin of his Key

Original Sin

Tis plain that there is a universal tendency that mankind are born [...] to sin & damnation either in the nature they are born with or circumstances they are born under.

& a tendency to etc. mix & destruction as a Just expectedness to it. which are the same Thing in the Present Question [...] the Tendency The G[ospel] is plain for the Fact. That there is no mention what for. I presume none will deny it *Taylor owns These were God Thoughts & [...] and sin. & They don't deny this asked for [...] MS: s pp. Present ed in 1909 by John H. Scheide '36. Reprinted in facsimile here.

As is well known, Edwards' ministry at Northampton came to 77
8. top. x I must resign [. . .]
8. top / not only de jure but de facto Pastor.—this deny, I might say it but afterward. accepted defeat, might not admit to the Irregularity.
8. top. instanced that I dont seek the Peace, that I would be settled over a few to the destruction of the whole
8. middle.—to procure a Council in order to install me
I should have gone if it had not been for this
8. Readiness to settle in the Place
8. about so long before as He knew—I knew nothing about it
I had no Respect to it
8. Bottom as if I had already foregone the opportunity of settling at Stockbridge & had determined to settle here
9. I declare that I have no inclination—settled aversion
9. [. . .] to [. . .] it was in defence of others & at their desire
9-10 I [. . .] nothing against a separation I was persuaded it would never to my proposed separation—continued complaints of the [. . .] manifest before the [. . .] which I thought ought to be taken
I never manifested my inclination or any inclination but on the [. . .] of the settled occasion, but might work great Injustice in the manner of it
10. Engaged to stay at Northampton as a Minister
M:5; p. Purchased in 1951. At the bottom of the page is written in another hand. "I regret that I have not Rev. Edwards' signature, but the above is his clerihography. E. A. F[eb]ody."
8. The page is mounted on a sheet which once formed part of an autograph album.

The next letter, written in the spring of 1754, the year after Edwards had moved to Stockbridge, to the Reverend Aaron Burr, President of the College of New Jersey, emphasizes anew the close bonds that linked Edwards to like-minded ministers in other parts of America and in England and Scotland. This "epistolary circuit" is also well illustrated in a letter written by the Reverend John McLaurin of Glasgow in the autumn of 1751. McLaurin here relays to an Edinburgh correspondent the American news he has just received from the Reverend Thomas Prince of Boston, including the following "bulletin": "As to Mr Edwards that after his Dismission from Northampton he had three Invitations to other Settlements: two to large Churches of New England people much


7. Bottom. That I had not the Pastoral Care. Providence had discharged me.
pleasanter as to worldly accommodations than the Settlement at Stockbridge of which the Revd Mr Prince says that it is an Indian town above 160 miles right out in the Wilderness west of Boston: that the Church there consists both of English & Indians but chiefly of Indians, where being but about 12 or 14 English families yet in the place, but Mr Prince says he expects that Mr Edwards will soon draw many more to it." In the same communication McLaurin also summarizes the news he has received from Prince about the Reverend Ebenezer Pemberton, "minister at New York & a chief promoter of the Interests of the New Jersey College," who has been earnestly entreated by his friends "to take a voyage both to South & North Britain to solicit Help for that important Interest."

The "great design" of the College of New Jersey is the principal subject of Edwards’ letter to Burr, printed below. The promoters of the College were looking toward their brethren abroad for help, and various plans for a fund-raising tour were being discussed. President Burr was among those being mentioned as a possible leader of such a mission.

4. Edwards to [Aaron Burr]

Sheffield May 6. 1754.

Rev. & dear Sir,

I thank for your Favour by Williams your Pupil, and also for your other Letters received before. My not answering them before now was not in the least owing to want of Respect, or any disposition to uphold any misunderstanding; But partly from the multitude of affairs which have continually press'd my mind; which yet would not have prevented my writing if I had known of any good opportunity. I heard nothing of Mr Josiah Williams's going in the winter, 'till after He was gone: If I had, I should doubtless have wrote by Him.—As to the affair of the Report of what you said concerning my Book on the Terms [of] Communion &c from the Credit I give you, it [. . .] Representation, I fully believe you have been [mis]presented: and therefore don't think it worth [. . .] to make an uproot in tracing the matter to the original. I would pray you to give your [mind no further] uneasiness about that

matter, as th'o' anything remain'd with me to occasion disaffection: I assure [you] there is nothing of that nature. You are pleased to ask my Thoughts concerning your proposed voyage to great Britain for the sake of N. Jersey College. You have Those nearer to you that [know] ten times as much of the Circumstances & necessities of the College, that are vastly more able & in fitter Circumstances to advise you: Gov. Belcher & the Trustees in particular. There doubtless might great advantages be obtained by your going to England & Scotland, & spending about a year in great Britain, more than by all Letters that can be written. The only doubt is whether the College won't extremely suffer by your being so long absent. But of that I am not a fit Person to judge. One Thing I will venture to give you my Thoughts, viz: That since you have not had the small pox, if you can find a skilful prudent Physician, under whose care you can put your self, you would take the small pox by Inoculation before you go, after properly preparing your Body for it, by Physick & diet:—If you go, it will be necessary you should take some Companion with you. I know not who you have there: But I have been favoured with some acquaintance with Mr. Wright,18 whom I should think would be a very suitable Person to go as your Companion on such a design. If I were going, He would be very agreable to me; I should not expect to find one more agreable or fitter for the Purpose.

I heartily thank you for your kind offer with respect to the Education of my son [Timothy]. 'Tis probable I shall send Him before long: I have [. . .] Wright to take care to provide a good Place [. . .] and generous disposition [you] have manifested, I shall have dependence on your Fatherly care of Him.

If you go to great Britain, I shall be ready to do my utmost to forward the design of your going in my next Letters to Scotland.— Mr. Wright can inform you something of the State of Things in

18 John Wright, Princeton Class of 1754, ordained in 1755 by the Presbytery of New Castle, installed in 1755 as pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Cumberland, Virginia. In a letter addressed to John Erskine, July 7, 1752 (Dwight, "Life," pp. 496-497) Edwards speaks of Wright in these terms: "Mr. John Wright, a member of New-Jersey College: who is to take the degree of Bachelor of Arts, the next September; is now at my house. He was born in Scotland; has lived in Virginia; is a friend and acquaintance of Mr. Davies; has a great interest in the esteem of the religious people of Virginia, and is peculiarly esteemed by President Burr; has been admitted to special intimacy with him; and is a person of very good character for his understanding, prudence, and piety. He has a desire to have a correspondence with some divine of his native country, and has chosen you for his correspondent, if he may be admitted to such a favour. He intends to send you a letter with this, of which I would ask a favourable reception, as he has laid me under some special obligations."
Stockbridge. You may perhaps do much to promote our affairs in London. But I hope to write to you again about these matters before you go. In the mean time, asking your Prayers I am dear Sir,

Your Friend & Brother,
Jonathan Edwards.

MS: 6 pp. Presented in 1918 by F. R. Pyne, II '95. The manuscript is torn in several places; conjectural readings have been supplied between square brackets. The name of the addressee, probably originally present on a missing second sheet, has been supplied from internal evidence. Printed incompletely, and without identification of the recipient, in Vergilius Farm, ed., Puritan Sage: Collected Writings of Jonathan Edwards, New York [1958], pp. 637-638.

As matters turned out, Burr did not undertake the journey to Europe, and it was not until the following year (in November, 1755) that Samuel Davies and Gilbert Tennent set out on a money-raising tour abroad. Edwards returns to the subject, and incidentally explains why Burr did not finally go, in a letter written to the Reverend John Erskine two months after the letter printed above: "I suppose there has been a trial before now, whether a national collection can be obtained in Scotland, for New-Jersey College: unless it has been thought prudent, by such as are friends of the affair, to put it off a year longer; as some things I have seen, seem to argue. There was a design of Mr. Pemberton's going to England and Scotland. He was desired by the Trustees, and it was his settled purpose, to have gone the last year; but his people, and his colleague, Mr. Cummings, hindered it. . . . Since that, President Burr has been desired to go, by the unanimous voice of the Trustees. Nevertheless, I believe there is little probability of his consenting to it; partly, on the account of his having lately entered into a married state. On the 29th of last month [June], he was married to my third daughter [Esther]." It seems likely, therefore, that Burr was not at this time inoculated, as Edwards had suggested. His advice, however, takes on more than passing interest when we recall that inoculation for smallpox was to be the cause of the death of both Edwards and his daughter Esther six years later.

The marriage of Esther Edwards and Aaron Burr further strengthened the ties that bound Edwards to the College of New Jersey. In September, 1752, he journeyed to Newark, where he was present at the College commencement, and where, on the twenty-eighth, he preached a sermon, subsequently published under the title True Grace, Distinguished from the Experience Of Devils (New York, 1753; Johnson No. 181).

The next two letters were both written the following year from Stockbridge. The first, with its mention of such worldly matters as "good paper," serves to remind us that it was at the frontier settlement of Stockbridge, in the midst of pressing daily responsibilities, that Edwards completed the writing of such important theological works as his Freedom of Will and Original Sin. The second, although addressed to his son-in-law on the subject of his daughter, is nevertheless not a personal family letter, but rather an "official" recommendation, written from the pastor of one church to another, which is doubly significant in view of the fact that the "qualifications necessary to lawful communion in the Christian sacraments" had been at the heart of the controversy between Edwards and his congregation at Northampton.

5. Edwards to John Ely

Mr Ely

Stockbridge, Aug. 27, 1753.

Sir

Please to send us by Deac Brown five or six yards of tow-cloth and also 5 or 6 yards of Check that which is good & serviceable & reasonable & if you have any good Paper send me a Couple of Quire. And take on account of these Things. Herein you will oblige your humble Servt.

Jonath. Edwards.

P.S. Please also to send 5 sets of knitting needles of the common size.

Addressed: To Lieut. John Ely at Springfield.


6. Edwards to Aaron Burr

Stockbridge Sept. 17, 1753.

To the Rev. Mr Aaron Burr Pastor of the Church of Christ in Newark, to be communicated
Reverend & beloved,

By this I would inform you that a meeting of the Church of Stockbridge on the 14th Instant, It was unanimously voted, that whereas Mrs Esther Burr, formerly Edwards, a member of this Church, has in divine Providence been removed from hence to dwell at Newark, she be recommended to your stated Communion
as a member in full standing; having heretofore been admitted in such standing in this Church, by Recommendation from the 1st Church of Northampton, and having so remain'd without offence during her continuance here.


The next letter, written to Edwards' Boston friend and correspondent the Reverend Thomas Prince, was delivered by his son Timothy Edwards (1738-1819), who was to complete his studies at the College of New Jersey in 1757, after the College had moved from Newark to Princeton. The letter is concerned mainly with the fortunes of the Indian mission school at Stockbridge, which was then caught up in the larger intrigues of the Seven Years' War, known in colonial America as the French and Indian War. The last of the Edwards letters now in the Library was written on February 28, 1758, less than a fortnight after Edwards' arrival in Princeton to assume the presidency of the College. This reminder to the College treasurer reflects a concern that Edwards had earlier expressed to his widowed daughter, Mrs. Aaron Burr, when he had written to her some weeks earlier: "I know I can't live at Princeton, as a President must, on the salary they offer,—Yet I have left that matter to their [the Trustees'] Generosity—I shall have no money wherewith to furnish the House." The brief note to Sergeant, written a week after the fatal inoculation and a month before his death, is one of the few Edwards letters extant with a Princeton date line, and is probably one of the last letters he wrote.

7. Edwards to Thomas Prince

Rev. and hon[1]t, Sir,

Stockbridge Sept. 15, 1755.

My son, a member of N. Jersey College, waits on you with this, if God permit, to pay his, & my duty to you. For him, I ask your Prayers & Blessing.—I had dismiss'd Mr. Hollis's scholars (not having heard any thing from him) about the middle of last July, agreeable to your advice. But soon after, I received a Letter from Him, dated the last April; wherein He desires me to increase the Number of his Boys to sixteen; on which, I restored his School, and increased it; so that it now, in the whole, consists of 11. I have

reserved room for four or five Mohawk Boys; intending to try if I can obtain some, tho' Mr. Hawley's Influence: Tho' I have no great Expectation of it, so long as the war continues, Mr. Hollis desires me to draw a Bill upon him for what money I want. I have tho't of going this week to N.York and N.Jersey, and propose to endeavour to sell my Bill there. I have prepared a large Paquet for Mr. Hollis, giving him a very large and particular account of his affairs, and intend to send it with the Bill. Two of my Children are ill, which makes my setting out this week on my Journey something uncertain. I desire your Prayers for them, & for us all. My wife joins in most respectful Salutes to you, Mrs Prince & Miss Sally. I am Sir,

Your most obliged son & servt.

Jonath. Edwards.

Rev. Mr. Prince.

Addressed: To the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince Minister of the Gospel In Boston.

Endorsed: Mr. Jonathan Edwards

Stockbridge. Sept. 15.

Boston. 1755.

MS: 2 pp. Presented in 1920 by Miss Jeannie Moore. Mounted in an extra-illustrated copy of Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration of the Founding of the College of New Jersey and of the Ceremonies Inaugurating Princeton University, New York, 1876, facing p. sff (pp. 709-724 (Ex). cop.1). This volume was formerly in the collection of Adrian H. Joline '70.

8. Edwards to Jonathan Sergeant

Sir,

Princeton Feb. 28, 1758

This is to desire that when you come next to this Place, you would come prepared to pay me an 100 £, for so much will be due to me from the College Treasury, in the month of March approaching. I also shall desire to borrow an 100 £ of the College the next May, which the Trustees have consented to. This with humble service to Mr Sergeant is from Sir

your humble servt

Jonathan Edwards.

Mr. Sergeant

Addressed: To Mr Jonathan Sergeant College-Treasurer at Newark.

MS: 2 pp. Purchased in 1940.

BOOKS FROM JONATHAN EDWARDS’ LIBRARY*

The following books, which can be identified as having belonged to President Edwards, form part of a small Edwards Collection.

* Compiled by Alexander D. Walnwright '39.

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shelved in the Eighteenth-Century Room with the books from the library of President Witherspoon. The Edwards Collection consists of some sixty volumes from the libraries of James Pierpont, Mary Pierpont, President Edwards, his son Jonathan Edwards, Jr., Class of 1765, and other members of the Edwards family. All but a few of these volumes came to Princeton in 1897 as the gift of John De Witt '61.

1. Bible, Aureliae Allobrogum, Excudebat Petrus de la Routiere, 1609. [Ed 5147.1609]
   The New Testament is imperfect, lacking the first two preliminary leaves (including title-page) and pp. 1-16; the title-page of the Old Testament has been trimmed and mounted on front flyleaf. Inscribed on back flyleaf: "Mary Pierpont: Her Book A. D. 1786." Inscribed by Edwards on leaf on which title-page of the Old Testament is mounted: "Jonathan Edwards's Book 1751." With a notation by Edwards on inside front cover as to which "Parts of the Old Testament are written in Chaldee." On f. 42 of the New Testament are the following inscriptions: "Eleazar Brainard [...]. Andover 1819" This Bible I bought of Mr. Moor, while a member of Y College—Mr. M. obtained it of the Lewis family in Southington Conn.—It is more valued by me on account of its having the name of President Edwards in it. In what way it descended from the President, is unknown to me. E. Brainard. ... Presented by Miss Frances Brainard to Wm. H. Prestley at Oxford Ohio A. D. 1885. And by him Presented to the Library of the College at Princeton New Jersey. Oct. 1889." Pasted to the inside back cover is a letter from W. H. Prestley, Pastor, First Pres. Ch., Kankakee, Ill., Oct. 18, 1885, to President Francis L. Patton, stating that he is presenting the book to Princeton. In the Manuscripts Division are four slips of paper bearing notations in Edwards' hand which were formerly laid in this volume; three consist solely of references to passages in the Bible, while the fourth appears to be a memorandum concerning sugar, cloth, a trunk, etc.

2. Boston, Thomas. The Sovereignty and Wisdom of God displayed in the Afflictions of Men, together with a Christian Deportment under them. Being The Substance of several Sermons on Eccles. vii. 13. Prov. xvi. 19. and 1 Pet. v. 6. To which are added Some Sermons on the Nature of Church-Communion, from 1 Cor. x. 17. ... Edinburgh, Printed by W. Cheyne for David Duncan, 1745. Bound with: Boston, Thomas. The Everlasting Espousals: Being a Sermon Preach'd at the Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, August 1714. ... The Fifth Edition corrected. Edinburgh, Printed by Thomas Lumlsden and John Robertson, 1745. Bound with: Boston, Thomas. The Mystery of Christ in the Form of a Servant, Briefly Enquired into, and Practically Improved; In a Sermon preached at the Administration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. With A further Improvement of that Mystery, both as to Faith and Practice; preached after the Administration of that Ordinance, ... Edinburgh, Printed by T. Lumlsden and J. Robertson, 1752. [Ed 1651.1]

Jonathan Edwards' name has been clipped from the front flyleaf, but the following in his hand remains: "Book. 1751." Presented in 1897 by John De Witt '61.

   Bound in painted paper skin over calf. Inscribed on inside front cover: "Edward's; on inside back cover: "T. Edwards." Inscribed: calling card of Dr. William Fitz-Hugh Edwards. Also inserted are two unidentified clipping (ca. 1814 and 1815) concerning this copy; they state that the book originally belonged to David Brainard, was bound for him by the Indians, was left in the house of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton at the time of Brainard's death, and had remained in the Edwards family since that time. Presented in 1907 by Mrs. William F. H. Edwards.

4. Cooper, William. Three Discourses concerning The Reality, the Extremity, and the absolute Eternity of Hell Punishments. ... Boston, Printed by S. Kneeland and T. Green for Joseph Edwards, 1731. Bound with: Cooper, William. Divine Teaching to be sought, that we may be led into Divine Truth. A Sermon Preach'd February 1737. 1737, 2. ... Boston, Printed for J. Edwards, 1731. [Ed 5798.606]


7. Mastricht, Peter von. Theorico-Practica Theologia, qua, Per singula capita Theologia, par exequita, dogmatica, elenchitica & practica, perpetue successione conjugatur. Editio Nova, Priori multa emendation, & plus quam tertid parte auctior. ... Trajecti ad Rhenum, Ex officina Thomae Appell, 1699. 2 vols in 1. [Ed 105150]


10. Milner, John. A Practical Grammar of the Latin Tongue, Wherein All the Rules for understanding that Language, are given in English; some, necessary to be got by heart, made the Text, others immediately subjoin’d in the form of Notes. ... London, Printed for John Gray. 1739. [Ed 2517.644]


12. Parker, William. The Late Assembly of Divines Confusion of Faith Examined. As it was presented by them unto the Parliament. Wherein Many of their excesses and defects, of their confusions and disorders, of their errors and contradictions are presented, both to themselves and others. ... London, 1671. [Ed 5695.698]
    With the following inscriptions on title-page: “Radel Prince”; on verso of leaf preceding title-page, “To The Reyd Mr Edwards from J. K. Febry 1752.”; on recto of leaf preceding title-page, “Erasmus Sergeant. 1/6/’79” and “Oliver Partridge Bot of Dct. Sergeant for 1/6. 1784.”; on verso of title-page, “Oliver Partridge his Book Bought of Eras. Sergeant 14th Dec. 1784.” The “Reyd Mr Edwards” has been identified, perhaps incorrectly, with Jonathan Edwards. The source of the book has not been recorded.


14. Shepard, Thomas. Three valuable Pieces. Via Select Cases Resolved; First Principles Of the Oracles of God, or, Sum of Christian Religion; Both corrected by Four several Editions: And a Private Diary, Containing Meditations and Experiences Never before Published. ... With some Account of the Rev. Author. ... Boston, Printed and Sold by Rogers and Fowle, 1747. [Ed 5012.554]

15. Sherlock, Thomas. The Use and Intent of Prephesy, in the several Ages of the World. In Six Discourses, Delivered at the Temple Church, In April and May, 1724. ... To which are added, Four Discertations, and an Appendix. ... The Fifth Edition, Corrected and Enlarged. ... London, Printed for John Whiston, 1749. [Ed 1051.47]
The Theological Seminary Library

BY KENNETH S. GAPP

One of the major functions of the Chronicle is to make better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. The Library, however, is only one of the several libraries in Princeton serving scholars. Among these is the library of the Theological Seminary. Though the Seminary has no official connection with the University, its library has from its very beginning been open to the faculty and students of the University, while the privileges of the University Library itself have been extended to the faculty and students of the Seminary ever since the Seminary was established in Princeton in 1812. It seemed fitting to the Editors, therefore, to publish in the Chronicle the following brief account of the Seminary Library, written at their request by the Librarian of the Seminary.

When the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church undertook to found a theological seminary, the new institution was located in Princeton upon the invitation of local residents and officials of the College of New Jersey. The “Plan” of the institution as presented to the General Assembly of 1811 originally contained an “Article VII. Of the Library.” It stated that “To obtain ultimately a complete theological library, shall be considered as a leading object of the Institution,” and specified the procedures to be followed in acquiring books, required the General Assembly to vote annually on the sum of money to be spent for books, stated that the librarian should be elected by the Assembly, and gave general directions about library rooms and the use of books.1 This article represented the point of view of those who had urged that the General Assembly should establish one.


rather than several, theological seminaries precisely because the combination of funds in one institution would encourage the formation of a larger theological library than would otherwise be possible and would thus result in greater benefits to the Church as a whole. This part of the “Plan,” however, was never acted upon by the Assembly, and when the institution began its work in 1812, the directors possessed no explicit authority to establish a library on as large a scale as the first plan proposed. The professors and students were graciously granted the privilege of using the library of the College of New Jersey without fee “subject to such rules as may be adopted for the preservation of books, and the good order of the same,” by virtue of an agreement between the General Assembly and the College.

Nevertheless, all persons in the institution—directors, professors, and students—immediately began the collecting of books, which were housed in the home of the first professor, Archibald Alexander, who acted as librarian until his death in 1831. Shortly after the erection in 1817 of Old Seminary (renamed Alexander Hall in 1893), these books were moved into a second-floor room of the new building, and placed in charge of a deputy librarian. This is the collection of books which was named the Green Library in 1835 in honor of Ashbel Green, President of the Board of Directors from 1812 to 1848, one of the early benefactors of the library. The so-called John M. Mason Library, shelved as a separate collection of about twenty-four hundred volumes in another room on the same floor of the building, was received as a gift from the General Synod of the Associate Reformed Church in 1812 and was surrendered to a continuing minority of the Synod in 1838 when application was made for its return.

The hopes of the year 1830 for “the erection of two buildings ... one for a library, and one for a chapel” were approved by the General Assembly, but the Trustees, who assumed control of the library after the incorporation of the Seminary, found it expedient to ask for funds for the chapel only. Yet early prints of the Seminary campus show the proposed library (which was never erected) to the west of Old Seminary in a position corresponding to the original site of the chapel to the east of Old Seminary. In 1839, the building problem was placed in the hands of a committee of Trustees composed of William W. Phillips, James Lenox, and John Bryant. When no early solution to the difficulties of raising funds was found, James Lenox, the noted New York
philanthropist, assumed the whole responsibility for the new building. He purchased the lot along Library Place between Mercer Street and Stockton Street, erected a charming library of brown sandstone, and presented both lot and building to the Seminary upon its completion in 1842. His deed of gift required the institution to remain under the control of, and faithful to the teachings of, the General Assembly (Old School) of the Presbyterian Church, and contained the additional covenant that “... the premises ... upon which is now erected the building intended to be used for the library to the said seminary, shall at all times or times hereafter, be appropriated for the use of the library belonging to the said seminary, and not as a place of residence, or of carrying on any trade, business, or occupation without the said library establishment; but any spare ground, being part of said premises, not wanted for the use of the said library establishment, may be used for the erection of any other public edifice or building connected with the said seminary.” The original contracts with the builders are preserved in the New York Public Library. Joseph Tucker of New York was the mason, and Robert Henry was the carpenter, but the name of the architect has not been found in any known source. The building originally had heavy green blinds to secure the windows and a floor of Italian marble tile. The gallery front over the reading alcoves is of “open Gothic work panels” and the ceiling is beautifully groined. It was opened for the use of readers in 1843, and is reported to have become overcrowded nine years later.

In 1852 the librarian, William Henry Green, Professor of Biblical and Oriental Literature, who succeeded Archibald Alexander after the latter’s death in 1851, supervised the recataloguing of the collection on cards 9½ by 10½ centimeters in size, which are still preserved in an antique catalogue case. The procedures were based on those recommended by Charles C. Jewett of the Smithsonian Institution, and made use of a card catalogue, a bound catalogue, and a shelf catalogue. The bound manuscript catalogue was for the use of the public and the catalogue cards were to be used chiefly to keep the bound catalogues up-to-date and to facilitate the issuing of printed catalogues. Although the recataloguing project cost only $150.00, the librarian expressed the hope that the making of catalogues would in the future be greatly simplified by the current proposal that the Smithsonian Institution prepare stereotype plates for books commonly owned by many libraries. Despite these efforts, the bound catalogues were not always kept up-to-date. In 1870 it was necessary to consult four separate bound catalogues, and the necessity of consulting a fifth bound catalogue was escaped only because the fifth catalogue was then lost.

The rules of the library in force in the eighteen fifties show that the building was open twice a week for the borrowing of books, although students apparently could obtain the key to the building at any time from the assistant librarian. Students were expected to pay a fee of one dollar a year for the use of the library, but some are reported to have escaped payment of the fee by not using the library or by asking their friends to borrow books for them. Privileges for persons not connected with the Seminary were described in these words: “The Faculty of the College of New Jersey, Clergymen residing in Princeton, and other persons at the discretion of the librarian may enjoy the privileges of the library, under proper restrictions, upon their becoming responsible for the safe return of books loaned to them, or for the payment of their full value, in case of their injury or loss.” After 1868 the building was open two hours every weekday.

Shortly before his retirement as librarian in 1871, Professor Green suggested that the College and the Seminary jointly employ a full-time librarian who would divide his time between the two institutions. When this proposal was thought to be impractical, Professor Charles A. Aiken became librarian, and served from 1871 to 1877. In 1877 William Henry Roberts was elected librarian and devoted full time to his duties in the library. He was well qualified for the responsibility, for before entering upon his course of studies in the Seminary he had served as a statistician in the Treasury Department in Washington and as an “assistant librarian” he had participated in the preparation of the catalogue at the Congressional Library.

In 1878 the librarian assumed supervision of the reading room, which the student organizations had maintained since 1823, originally located in Old Seminary, later in Stuart Hall, and again in Old Seminary in 1892, when the Princeton Association connected with the Fifth Avenue Presbyterian Church paid the expenses of refitting suitable quarters for it.

The establishment of the Green fund in 1879, by Sarah H. Green, Caleb S. Green, and Charles E. Green, provided that one-third of the income from the capital fund of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars should be used for the increase of the library
and for the payment of the librarian’s salary, on condition that not more than one-half of that part of the income be paid for the librarian’s salary and for incidental expenses. The terms of the gift also provided that in case any of the interest from the remainder of the fund was not needed for the purposes for which it was designated (for instructors’ salaries and for maintenance of grounds and buildings) the whole annual surplus (provided no deficit occurred in the capital funds) should be used for the purchase of books.

The original library building had become much overcrowded over the years since its erection. When no other solution to the need for additional space was found, James Lenox, who had showered countless gifts of books upon the library, was prevailed upon to erect another building. This, the red brick building designed by Richard Hunt, was placed at the rear of the library lot, facing in the opposite direction. Lenox had written on September 12, 1877: “The additions to the Library lot will include an additional place for books—and two dwelling houses, but I have never appropriated these further than supposing that the book part might be given up to daily reading, and consultation—while the other old gothic library might be reserved for the more curious and valuable MSS. and works, which would be more rarely visited.”

Upon the completion of the building in 1879, the books were moved into the new building, and the older building (which had no protection against the risk of fire) was used to store “pamphlets, Bibles with exceptions, duplicates of works little used, unbound magazines, text books, and the Alumni Library.” During the next decade the old building fell into poor repair, and is reported to have assumed somewhat the appearance of the haunted house of the neighborhood until it was reopened as an additional reading room in the fall of 1904. Proposals made at regular intervals to join the two buildings by a passageway failed to remedy the unfortunate division of the library collection and services between two buildings, although in 1925 a modern bookstack with a capacity of about fifty thousand volumes was annexed to the rear of the second library building.

The more detailed records of the year 1879 give us an analysis of the reading done by students. About 29% of all books borrowed were characterized as secular in tone: 7% periodicals, 6% biography, 4% philology, 3% history, 2.5% translations, 2.5% philosophy, 2.5% poetry, 2%, fiction 0.5%, miscellaneous 1.5%. Theological reading comprised 71% of the total, as follows: exegetical theology 30%, church government and homiletics 17%, didactic and polemic theology 10%, apologetics and ethics 9%, church history 4%, and missions 2%. The librarian thought that this exhibit was “exceedingly satisfactory.” In the following year he reported that the circulation of books amounted to an average of seventy-three books per man, and that he considered that the library was the best used theological library in the United States.

In 1886, largely through the efforts of W. H. Roberts, although the project had been planned as early as 1854, the library issued a printed catalogue under the title Catalogue of the Library of Princeton Theological Seminary, Part I—Religious Literature (Princeton, N. J., C. S. Robinson & Co., 1886, xv, 453 pp.).

Upon the resignation of Roberts in 1886, Joseph Heath Dulles became librarian, and served until 1911. In 1907 he associated with himself William Boyd Sheldon as assistant librarian. It was in the years of his librarianship that renewed attention was given to the development of the collection of books by sound policies of purchase. In 1896 he changed from the oversized catalogue card to the standard-size card by the simple process of revising and rewriting the old cards. In his free time Mr. Dulles also prepared the biographical sketches for the Necrological Reports and Annual Proceedings of the Alumni Association.

Upon Dulles’ retirement in 1911, Sheldon became librarian, and laid the foundation for the modernization of the library’s internal routines. Although it was not thought wise to follow the exact procedures suggested by Ernest Cushing Richardson in the brochure issued by the Committee on Bibliography of the American Library Association, Project 13A: Recataloguing 1300 Titles in Religion (Washington, D.C., October, 1933), the use of Library of Congress cards was introduced and a recataloguing project was undertaken. After the accession of the present librarian in 1924, the staff was enlarged, much of the non-religious literature was recatalogued and reclassified in the pattern set by the Library of Congress classification schedules, a beginning was made on the larger problem of reclassifying theological literature in a modified Library of Congress pattern, the circulation routines were modernized, and the enlargement of the book appropriations made possible a much more active policy of purchase.

There is now the assurance that, following the recent activity of the President and Trustees of the Seminary, a new building will
soon be erected which will unify the collections and services of the library.

The development of the book collection followed a pattern which is probably quite familiar in educational institutions. At first, professors, directors, and students gave the earliest books and collected volumes from their friends for the library. At the annual meeting of the directors, each member of the board was asked to report about the volumes he had collected, and the totals for each man were recorded in the minutes. Later, increasing sums of money were appropriated for books, large and impressive gifts were received, alumni scattered through all the mission fields of the world contributed volumes of importance, and finally annual appropriations large enough to permit a well-formulated policy of purchase rounded out the scholarly resources of the institution.

As far as figures go, the library possessed about 4,000 volumes in 1823, 9,000 in 1850, 31,070 volumes and 8,900 pamphlets in 1879, 66,544 volumes and 26,992 pamphlets in 1900, 108,533 volumes and 37,177 pamphlets in 1920, 152,759 volumes and 51,804 pamphlets in 1940, and on May 31, 1953, 184,642 volumes and 51,082 pamphlets, a total of 235,724 items.

The earliest appropriation was $100.00 in 1812, with which were purchased two copies of Parkhurst’s work on the Hebrew language, six copies of Wilson’s introduction to the Hebrew language, and two Hebrew Bibles. The first recorded gift from across the Atlantic Ocean came, surprisingly enough, from Dublin, when Benjamin McDowell sent nineteen volumes and two hundred unbound pamphlets in 1818. As early as 1819 the directors had duplicates to sell, but unfortunately the auctioneer to whom the duplicates had been entrusted abscended with them. In 1820-1821, one of

8 In addition to the printed items, the library contains a collection of manuscript material, which is valuable chiefly for the history of the Seminary and of the activities of its faculty and students. The library has an important Greek lectionary of the Gospels dating from about the thirteenth century (Kenneth W. Clark, A Descriptive Catalogue of Greek New Testament Manuscripts in America, Chicago, 1907, pp. 175-176), manuscripts and typescripts relating to churches in New Jersey, and many collections containing sermons and a few letters of Ebenezer Prime, the manuscript relating to later members of the family, Great local interest attaches to the personal events from 1836 to 1870. On deposit are the autograph letters that were (Albany, 1834), and the original manuscript of Charles Hodge’s greatest work.

the directors, Divie Bethune, solicited books while traveling in England. No details of his success are given, other than that volumes were received from abroad, although it may have been through his solicitations that in 1824 a finely bound set of Charles Simeon’s Horae Homileticae was presented by William Wilberforce, M.P. The professors were authorized in 1826 to appoint an agent in Europe. This function was fulfilled by the young Charles Hodge, who initiated business dealings with European dealers during the period of his study abroad and maintained close communications with them through his whole life. Many invoices for the books ordered by him have been preserved and are now in the library of Princeton University, while a few are also in the Seminary Library.

Donors in the early period, in addition to the professors, direc tors, and alumni, included such persons as Asbel Green, who gave a set of Walton’s Polyglot still in use today, Samuel Bayard of Princeton, Richard Ralston of Philadelphia, who offered a Dutch Bible and a Chinese New Testament, Elias Boudinot, William B. Sprague, John Krebs, and many others. James Lenox presented volumes regularly from 1854 to his death in 1880. Some of his gifts were trade editions of his favorite authors of Scottish piety; others were expensive books of religious scholarship, and still others, such as the 1697 edition of John Smith’s The Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles, were perhaps books which he gave from his own library when he was able to secure more desirable copies. Alumni gifts came in greater profusion after 1841; the John Breckinridge library was obtained in 1841, and in 1851 over one thousand volumes on missions and travel in missionary countries came from the student society of Illinois. But from 1854 to 1881 there were received about fifty or a hundred volumes and thirty-six hundred pamphlets from Samuel Agnew of Philadelphia, who was active in forming five or six special collections on such theological subjects as the divinity of Christ, baptism, the Sabbath, and church government. Other donors in the latter half of the century were R. L. and A. Stuart, Stephen Collins, Nicholas Murray, R. K. Rogers, Wendell Prime, Charles Scribner, and Robert Carter of New York. Other friends of the Seminary established funds for library purposes, such as the Green fund already mentioned, the Dulles fund, the Hamill fund for missionary books, the Kennedy fund for Church history, the Stuart fund for binding, the Benson fund for hymnology, and
the Buchanan fund. Few institutions have been more fortunate in the generosity and wisdom of those who have taken an interest in the development of its library.

Several gifts merit more detailed description. In 1824 Mrs. Susan Boudinot Bradford gave the first of the volumes of the library of Elias Boudinot which had been bequeathed to the Seminary on condition that Mrs. Bradford enjoy the use of them during her lifetime, and in later years other volumes were received as Mrs. Bradford was gracious enough to relinquish them to the Seminary. The books ranged from sermons and contemporary works of piety to political and financial treatises. Among the gifts were, for example, the second edition of the Rights of Man, by Thomas Paine, Philadelphia, 1791; William Gordon's The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment, of the Independence of the United States of America, New York, 1789; and David Ramsay's The History of the Revolution of South-Carolina, from a British Province to an Independent State, printed at Trenton in 1785.

In 1848 was received the library of Charles Nisbet, first president of Dickinson College, of whom Joseph A. Alexander in giving "Some Account of an Old English Manuscript in the Nisbet Library" writes in the January 1858 issue of The Biblical Repository and Princeton Review: "The books which he gathered around him were in all the languages common to the learned, and besides these, in Spanish, Dutch and German, the last of these tongues being little studied at that time either in Great Britain or America. What remains of his store, now forming a part of the Library of Princeton Seminary, in virtue of a gift from his grandchildren, Bishop McGosky and Mr. Henry C. Turnbull, serves to show the odd turn which governed his selection. For one standard book, there are fifty curiosities. These are in various languages and on out-of-the-way subjects. He evidently was a fancier of pocket-volumes, 3dmo. editions, Elsevier classics, and wonderful treatises on alchemy, astrology, and the like. One finds there among other rare things the identical copy of Nostradamus, about which he corresponded with the Earl of Leven, and which, betwixt jest and earnest, he used to quote as prophetic of French and American disasters."

The latter book may have been a copy of the Amsterdam printing of 1668, Les Foyers Centuries et Prophéties de Maître Michel Nostradamus, although the copy at hand bears no indication of provenance.

In 1858 also came the first of a remarkable collection of pamphlets assembled by the Reverend William B. Sprague, an avid collector of books, pamphlets, and autographs. The original donation consisted of more than seven hundred bound volumes of pamphlets, most of them early American imprints; in the following year he presented over one hundred more similar volumes, and in 1878 almost two hundred additional volumes of pamphlets were received. These, catalogued by author only, have been kept as a separate collection, and still form the central core of the library's holdings of religious Americana. It is largely due to this donation that the library contains every known first edition of the Massachusetts election sermons issued between 1721 and 1829. Strangely enough, Sprague's own election sermon of 1825 is lacking in his collection of pamphlets, although it is found elsewhere in the library. The receipt of this collection the librarian estimated that the collection as a whole contained approximately twenty thousand pamphlets in all. Many of these pamphlets were doubtless used in the preparation of Sprague's nine volumes of Annals of the American Pulpit.

In 1885 the library acquired a valuable collection of books illustrating the Puritan literature of England from 1550 to 1700. This had been purchased by friends of the Seminary from the library of the English scholar A. B. Grosart. Originally consisting of about two thousand volumes, the collection has been increased through the addition of books of similar content from the library's other collections. Although mainly religious in content, the scope of the collection is much broader than the term "Puritan Collection" would seem to imply. While only items from A through E have been listed in Wing's Short-title Catalogue . . . 1641-1700, most volumes printed before 1641 are located in Bishop's Checklist of American Copies of "Short-title Catalogue" Books.

The Benson Library of Hymnology, received in 1951 by the bequest of the Reverend Louis FitzGerald Benson of Philadelphia, numbers over nine thousand volumes and is supported by an endowment of ten thousand dollars. Although music scores themselves find no place in the collection, every other aspect of hymnology is well represented. Here are editions after edition of the musical anthems by Sterndehl and Hopkins, Tate and Brady, Isaac Watts, and others, hymnbooks of all major religious denominations, hymnbooks edited by individuals without official ecclesiastical sanction, religious poetry, and books about hymns and hymn writers. Numerous American imprints offer items of considerable
interest. There are, for example, the first, second, and third editions of the *Neu-vermehrte und vollständiges Gesangbuch*, German-town, 1758, 1769, 1772, and the *Neue und verbesserte Gesang Buch* appears in editions of 1797, 1799, 1807, 1813, 1814, 1828, 1848, and 1850. A separate dictionary catalogue is maintained for this collection, although author cards are also in the main catalogue.

These donations and similar gifts from numerous other friends of the Seminary, together with the wise purchasing of important works of learning over many years, have resulted in a superb collection of books. The main strength of the library as a whole is, of course, in the central areas of theological study: the Bible and biblical studies, theology, and the history of doctrine, and church history. In these areas the collection of books is very extensive and serves to document the development of foreign and American religious scholarship to a surprising degree. As a working collection for theological scholarship, the library exhibits a remarkable breadth of outlook and great attention to many detailed aspects of theological literature.
has been arranged according to geographical areas, following the classification system used by the Army Map Service Library. "Theatre Area Indices" supplied by the Army Map Service, which indicate clearly the major geographical divisions of the world, with their numerical designations and subdivisions, have proved an invaluable aid in classifying and filing the maps.

In addition to these maps in the main library building, there are also important collections of sheet maps in several of the departmental libraries. The Guyot Hall collection, comprising some eighteen thousand items which serve for teaching and research in geology and other natural sciences, is especially useful. Furthermore, it must be stressed that sheet maps represent only a portion of the Library's resources in this field. Bound atlases and guidebooks, for example, are not at present grouped with the unbound "flat" maps, but remain scattered throughout the stacks, according to the general subject-classification scheme used for printed books. Many of the most useful maps are, of course, folding sheets or plates bound into books, defying systematic cataloguing or indexing. Taken as a whole, the maps in the Princeton Library represent almost every conceivable type, and cover all areas of the world.

Although the Library has placed no special emphasis on the acquisition of "old" maps as such, the maps acquired over the years for current purposes have gradually taken on historical significance, while many rare collector's items have from time to time been added. Many of these rarer maps are to be found in the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, in general as folding maps bound into books. The Grenville Kane Collection, with its fine group of early editions of Ptolemy's Geography and its notable early Americana, includes many rarities, such as the only known copy of the first state of Johann Ruyssch's 1597 world map. The McCormick Collection includes still other fine early maps, while a copy of the "White Hills" map of New England, the first map printed in America, has recently been added to the Sinclair Hamilton Collection. Mention should also be made of


3 Sinclair Hamilton, "John Foster and the 'White Hills' Map," Chronicle, XIV, No. 4 (Summer, 1948), 177-182, illus.
the atlases and early maps presented by Stanley Bright '02, and of the remarkable group of maps forming part of the Philip Ashton Rollins Collection of Western Americana. Finally, the Manuscripts Division also houses its share of maps, among which are the hand-drawn maps by Berthier of the marches and camp-sites of Rochambeau's army in America in 1781-1782, and such items of local Princeton interest as Colonel Azariah Dunham's map of the division line between Middlesex and Somerset Counties (1766) and John Notman's 1846 plan for the grounds of "Fieldwood," known to present-day residents of Princeton as the Marquand estate, a portion of which has recently been presented to the borough as a municipal park.

COLLECTOR'S CHOICE

A representative selection of the work of the English illustrator Walter Crane (1845-1915), lent by Mrs. George L. Patterson, was exhibited in the cases outside the Graphic Arts Room from October 15 through November 15. Perhaps the most appealing item in the exhibit was the illustrated manuscript of an unpublished collection of stories about Michael Mouse (a household pet), written by Crane for his own children. Another illustrated manuscript lent by Mrs. Patterson was "Lancelot's Leavies," written in 1884 for the artist's son Lancelot. Nathaniel Hawthorne's A Wonder Book, in the 1893 "edition de luxe" illustrated by Crane, was shown with six of the original drawings for the book. Walter Crane's most famous book, The First of May, by John R. de C. Wise, was represented by the Boston edition of 1881. A monumental textile design of a peacock among grape leaves and flowers, which won a prize in the craft exhibition for which it had been made in 1911, was featured in one case. The Absurd A.B.C. was exhibited as typical of Crane's books for children. Several letters (one to Oscar Wilde), sketches for illustrations, and an original drawing for one of the fairy tales by the brothers Grimm completed an exceptionally colorful exhibit.

The second "Collector's Choice," on view from November 20 through December 30, consisted of a selection of items from the


Chronicle, X, No. 8 (Apr., 1949), 144.
Parson Weems collection of John S. Williams '31. An itinerant clergyman-bookseller, Mason Locke Weems (1759-1825) acted as agent for a number of books of his own authorship. The best-known of these was *The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington* (first published ca. 1800). This little book, which was responsible for the famous hatchet and cherry tree story of the youthful Washington (inserted first in the edition of 1806), became a national best-seller of its day, running to some seventy editions. It was present in the exhibit in the 1809 Elizabethtown edition (Number 6 in the Ford-Sceel bibliography) and in several later editions. Also exhibited were early editions of the biographies of General Francis Marion, Baltimore, 1814, William Penn, Philadelphia, 1822, and Benjamin Franklin, Philadelphia, 1829, as well as a number of Weems's moralizing tracts, including *God's Revenge against Murder; or The Drowned Wife*, Philadelphia, 1808, *God's Revenge against Gambling*, Philadelphia, 1812, and *The Drunkard's Looking Glass* [Philadelphia], 1818.

**ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN SEALS**

Thirty-five of the Princeton University Library's ancient Near Eastern cylinder and stamp seals have been described by Cyrus H. Gordon, of Drosis College, in an article entitled "Near East Seals in Princeton and Philadelphia," *Orientalia*, New Series, Vol. 22, Fasc. 9 (1955), 242-250, Plates LVII-LXX. The article includes reproductions of impressions of the seals. Mr. Gordon had previously published in the *Chronicle* a general account of the Library's collection of stone seals from Mesopotamia and adjacent areas, "Seals from Ancient Western Asia," (XII, No. 1 [Winter, 1951]), 49-54, in which he described twelve of the Princeton seals, impressions of all of which were reproduced. He has also written for the *Chronicle* a description of the fifty-four seals presented to the Library by Robert Garrett '97 in 1952 (XIV, No. 1 [Autumn, 1952], 45-46).

**CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE**

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**NEW & NOTABLE**

**LAFAYETTE TO JEFFERSON**

After receiving a copy of the Library's recent publication, *John Witherspoon Comes to America*, by L. H. Butterfield, Stuart W. Jackson, of Gloucester, Virginia, sent to the Chairman of the Friends' Committee on Publications an original Lafayette letter from his collection, with the request that it be presented to the Princeton Library in honor of his friend Julian P. Boyd. The letter, which is entirely in Lafayette's hand and signed by him, was written on March 27, 1781, to Thomas Jefferson, then Governor of Virginia. Although no place is given in the heading, it is clear from the text that Lafayette wrote the letter while he was on his way northward from Williamsburg to Annapolis. This very lack of precision as to place indicates the mood of uncertainty in which the letter was written and suggests the unsettled conditions prevailing when the Governor of Virginia received it.

Since the beginning of the year 1781 the state of Virginia had been threatened by British forces under the renegade general Benedict Arnold, who was using the bridgehead established at Portsmouth as a base for raids against the towns of the interior. To relieve the harassed Virginians, Washington, on February 20, ordered Lafayette to hasten southward from the Hudson with a detachment of Continental troops. The Virginia militia as well as the regulars under Steuben already there were also to come under Lafayette's command for an attack against Arnold at Portsmouth. On March 8 a French naval squadron under Destouches left Newport, Rhode Island, for the Virginia coast, in order to protect Lafayette's troops when they should be ferried down Chesapeake Bay and to provide naval support for the land operations. Lafayette left his forces at the head of the bay and proceeded in advance to Virginia. By March 16 he was in Williamsburg, actively engaged in preparations for the projected attack on Portsmouth, and was
thus in frequent correspondence with Governor Jefferson, although
the two men did not meet at this time. Meanwhile, the French
squadron under Destouches had engaged the British on March
16 but had failed to force an entrance to Chesapeake Bay and had
sailed back to Newport. Although this fact was not immediately
known, it was apparent to Lafayette by the end of the month that
naval support could not be counted on.

It was at this crucial moment—on March 27, 1781—that Lafa-
yette, after he had decided to return to his waiting troops at
Annapolis, penned to Jefferson now at Princeton. "Since
the return of the British fleet in the Bay, With A Number of
Vessels supposed to Be transports from New York," he began
in his correct but occasionally gallicized English, "I Have Entirely
lost Every Hope of An immediate Operation Against Portsmouth.
How Much the disappointment is felt By me, Your Excellency
Will Better judge than I Can Express." Then, without dwelling
on his own disappointment, he continued, with that tact which
characterized his dealings with the Americans and which endeared
him to them, "I am truly Unhappy that so much trouble, so many
Expenses Have been the only Result of our Enterprise to Relieve
Virginia. But knowing that the French fleet and troops were to
Sail on Such a day, fully Convinced that on their Arrival Nothing
Could prevent our Success, I Could Not But Be Sanguine in My
Hopes, and of Course Presuming in our Preparations."

As matters turned out, Lafayette brought his troops southward
to Virginia a month later—be and Jefferson were therefore to meet
briefly for the first time, at Richmond—but it was not until six
months later, after a summer of indecisive raids and counter-raids,
that the British were at last evicted from Virginia. The final
campaign, that ended in the victory at Yorktown, achieved—on a
much larger scale—the synchronization of land and naval opera-
tions that had been unsuccessfully attempted in March, 1781, when
Lafayette had written to Jefferson "that On our part We Have
Been perfectly Ready, and that With A Naval Superiority Our
Success Would Have Been Certain."

The letter presented by Mr. Jackson to the Princeton Library
has the added interest of being one of the very first letters in a
correspondence which was to continue for nearly half a century
more, until Jefferson's death in 1826. It thus memorializes the
beginnings of an extraordinarily fruitful friendship between two
men whose words and deeds have left an indelible mark both on
their own age and on later generations. The complete text of the
letter has been published in the Princeton edition of The Papers
of Thomas Jefferson (V [1958], 861-868), where it may be read in
the context of related correspondence.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

In the autumn of 1953 Henry E. Gerstley '20, who had in 1951
and again in 1952 notably strengthened the Library's outstanding
Stevenson collection, presented to Princeton a third important
group of Stevensoniana—portraits, manuscripts, and first editions.
Two portraits of Stevenson are included in Mr. Gerstley's gift: a
pastel by Count Girolamo Nerli, dated 1894, which has been
reproduced as the frontispiece to Volume XXIII of the Vailima
Edition of Stevenson's works; and a bronze reduction from
Augustus Saint-Gaudens' circular bas-relief. The manuscript ma-
terial in Stevenson's hand consists of the manuscript of the essay
"Random Memories: Rosa Quo Locorum," written on stationery
of the Union Club, Sydney; an amusing undated letter written
from Samoa to "the one civil autograph collector, Charles Robin-
son"; drafts of two letters in Samoan addressed to a Samoan chief,
scribed on a double sheet dated July 13, 1894, in one of which
Stevenson requests that his servant Soimo be excused from mili-
tary service on account of illness; and a pencil drawing, signed, of
a village with mountains in the background. From Stevenson's
Vailima library comes a notebook containing engineering data
kept by his father during the 1890's. Among the thirty-one printed
items are a copy of the second issue of the first edition of The
Charity Bazaar, printed about 1871; six of the "toy-books and
nuggets" printed by Lloyd Osbourne, Stevenson's stepson, in 1881
and 1886 (Not I, And Other Poems, with a note written by Ed-
mund Gosse, March 27, 1926, stating that this is one of two copies
given to him by Stevenson; To M. I. Stevenson; Black Canyon;
"A Martial Elegy for some lead Soldiers"; a proof, printed in blue,
of Stevenson's woodcut of the meeting of Robin and Ben, under
which he has written: "The Pirate & The Apothecary 5th Proof";
and the announcement leaf for The Graver & the Pen); and an
unbound proof copy of the 1914 edition of The Hanging Judge
with marginal corrections and queries.

1 For descriptions of Mr. Gerstley’s two previous gifts, see the Chronicle, XIII, No. 5 (Spring, 1958), 167-168; and XIV, No. 8 (Winter, 1959), 165.
JAMES ELROY FLECKER

The Library has purchased on the Neilson Abeel ’24 Memorial Fund manuscripts of the English poet James Elroy Flecker, whose early death in 1915 terminated the all-too-short career of a literary figure who has been called possibly the greatest lyrical poet after Yeats. Of particular interest are seventeen autograph letters to his publisher, Grant Richards, written in 1907 and 1908, believed to be among Flecker’s earliest surviving correspondence. They are all the more significant in that relatively few of the poet’s letters have survived; many of his more important letters, such as those written to Rupert Brooke and T. E. Lawrence, are presumed lost. The earliest letters written to Richards date from before the publication of Flecker’s first book of poetry, *The Bridge of Fire*, in 1907. The correspondence deals with this volume of poems, with the prose fantasy *The Last Generation*, some short stories, and with the first version of Flecker’s only novel, *The King of Avalon*. Other acquisitions of Flecker manuscripts on the Abeel Fund include autograph translations written in connection with examinations in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish languages, which he studied at Calus College, Cambridge, while preparing for diplomatic service in the East, and the manuscript of the poem “Golden.”

CORRESPONDENCE OF SAMUEL PUTNAM

A portion of the correspondence of the late Samuel Putnam, author, critic, and translator, has been acquired by the Library through the generosity of Carl Otto v. Kienbusch ’06. The collection of some seventeen hundred items includes letters addressed to Samuel Putnam by various friends and literary associates and carbon copies of letters written by Putnam.

Samuel Putnam (1892-1950) was a member of the generation of American expatriates living in France during the twenties and early thirties, described so perceptively by him in *Paris Was Our Mistress* (1947). He served as Paris literary correspondent for the *New York Sun* from 1929 to 1933 and founded and edited, with Peter Neagoe, *The New Review*, a “little magazine” which attempted “to evaluate the new developments in science and to equate them with experiments in literature” but which survived for only five quarterly issues during 1931-1932. Putnam translated some fifty French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese works into English, including *The Portable Rabelais* (1946), the complete

*Don Quixote* (1949), and three of Cervantes’ exemplary novels (1950). He received in 1947 the Pandia Cologera award for an “outstanding contribution to Brazilian literature.”

This correspondence file covers the years of Putnam’s stay in Paris and in the little village of Mirmande in the foothills of the Basses-Alpes, where he and his family joined other American exiles gathered in a “runaway colony” of artists and writers who had deserted Montparnasse. It contains letters from, among many others, Richard Aldington, Robert McAlmon, James T. Farrell, Maxwell Bodenheim, Stella Bowen, Henry Miller, Ezra Pound, Ford Madox Ford, William Seabrook, and H. L. Mencken.

A MAUGHAM MANUSCRIPT

Somerset Maugham has presented to the Library the original manuscript of his novel *Theatre*, the story of the life of a brilliant actress on the London stage, written in 1936 and published the following year by Heinemann in England and by Doubleday in this country. The manuscript, which is simply bound in black leather, with its title and the name of the author stamped in gold on the front cover, is entirely in Maugham’s autograph and is written in blue ink on 425 leaves of ten by eight inch lined paper, with the author’s corrections in red. Extensive revisions written on the blank reverse sides of the leaves increase considerably the actual amount of manuscript content beyond that indicated by the count of the numbered leaves themselves. Arrangements for acquiring the manuscript—the only manuscript of a full-length Maugham novel in the Princeton Library—were made by Frederick W. Frost ’32, a friend of the author and a collector of his works.
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THE FRIENDS
OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY
Volume XXV, Number 2
Winter 1954

CONTRIBUTIONS
A total of $4,898.80 has been received from Friends. Edwin N. Benson, Jr. ’99 made possible the purchase of an early Audubon drawing, which will be described in a forthcoming issue of the Chronicle. From Rudolf A. Clemen came a donation for general book purchases. Sinclair Hamilton ’66 established a fund to help maintain the Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books. Mr. and Mrs. Donald F. Hyde made a further contribution to the fund used mainly for the purchase of additions to the Parrish Collection. Nineteen letters written by Joseph Reade, Class of 1796, were acquired through the generosity of Carl Otto v. Kienbusch ’06. The cost of the restoration of the Rittenhouse orrery continued to be borne by Bernard Peyton ’17. The Department of Music is greatly interested in obtaining microfilm copies of unpublished music of Bach, and William H. Scheide ’36 has generously supported this program. Robert H. Taylor ’39 enabled the Library to secure for the Parrish Collection the manuscript of Wilkie Collins’ novel Poor Miss Finch. Through Mr. Taylor’s courtesy, a donation was received from the Surdna Foundation. Louis C. West continued his support of the numismatic fund.

GIFTS
From Robert Garrett ’97 came fifty-one volumes on early manuscripts and Islamic art and history, as well as 108 volumes of Princeton interest. Henry E. Gersley ’20 presented a group of Robert Louis Stevenson items, which is described in “New & Notable.” Sinclair Hamilton ’66 added thirty-four books to the Hamilton Collection, including a copy of The Whole Genuine and Complete Works of Flavius Josephus, New York, 1792, with numerous engravings, in a contemporary American binding. Harold R. Medina ’09 presented material relating to the United States Government’s recent anti-trust suit against seventeen investment banking houses. Two pen-and-ink drawings by Aubrey Beardsley, given in memory of the late A. E. Gallatin, were included among several additions to the Beardsley Collection received from J. Harlin O’Connell ’14. Kenneth H. Rockey ’16 gave eleven first editions of Sinclair Lewis and William McFee. From T. F. Dixon Wainwright ’31 came approximately 350 volumes, including publications of the Limited Editions Club and books on photography.


The Friends of the Princeton Library, founded in 1950, is an association of bibliophiles and scholars interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has raised gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other materials which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

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The Princeton University Library Chronicle
Published four times a year: Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer
Subscription: Four dollars a year

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19 Broad Street, New York 3, N.Y.