SEPTEMBER, 1957, may come to be remembered in literary annals as the Cozzens month. Only the author, his publishers, his friends, and that loyal band of readers who long ago formed one-man evangelist societies were prepared for the explosion—there is no other word for it—that followed the appearance of *By Love Possessed* on August 26. Within five weeks the bookstore sales of Cozzens' twelfth novel exceeded the regular hardcover distribution of all his other novels combined. The Book-of-the-Month Club, *The Reader's Digest*, and Hollywood paid him handsomely for secondary rights.

But gratifying as this financial success must be to a man who published his first novel thirty-three years ago, the current critical acclaim must also warm his heart, no matter how he feels about critics. Brendan Gill, in *The New Yorker*, was among the first to declare this novel Cozzens' masterpiece. Malcolm Cowley, James West, Orville Prescott, John Fischer, and every other major reviewer welcomed the book as a distinguished novel, even though some of them, notably Richard Ellmann in *The Reporter*, raised relevant objections, at the same time admitting that "*By Love Possessed* is so pleasant to read that it is almost savage to seize upon its flaws." Cozzens has had popular recognition in the past: *Guard of Honor* won the Pulitzer Prize for 1948, and four of his novels were Book-of-the-Month Club choices. But the critics, both professional and academic, have been slow to acknowledge his achieve-
ments and his growth, to give him the unqualified recognition that his twelfth novel has now earned. In 1949 Bernard De Voto, writing from Harvard's Easy Chair, chastised "the exalted caste who are called literary critics," who were loath to recognize "one of the finest talents and one of the most expert skills at work in American fiction" because "his novels are written. The word has to be italicized: they are written. So they leave criticism practically nothing to do." De Voto was not wholly correct; the novelists Brendan Gill and Mark Schorer had in their reviews of Guard of Honor raised the Cozens banner high for the best novel to come out of World War II. Other reviewers had warmly praised The Just and the Unjust six years before. But the serious recognition—in the literary sense—of a serious novelist has been slow in coming. Cozens has waited long for the deeply satisfying kind of critical study which the poet Louis O. Cose 40 published as "The Complex World of James Gould Cozens" in American Literature (1955). Doubtless we shall now have an epidemic of Cozens studies. We can only assume that the author knows they are long overdue, just as his faithful readers know that the very qualities which have been everywhere proclaimed in reviews of By Love Possessed, the enormous scope, the narrative power, the evocations of moral responsibility, were all present in varying degrees in his earlier novels.

Some of these studies, particularly the longer ones, will want to take cognizance of the large body of material which Cozens has given to the Princeton University Library. His papers and manuscripts fill fifteen file boxes; he books from his library number well over eight hundred. They are a scholar's gold mine. And exactly as one would expect of so comprehensive an intelligence as Cozens', they reflect wide reading, painstaking craftsmanship, and an absolute devotion to his art. The book titles indicate the kind of reading which has been Cozens' vocation and avocation, his source books and his hobbies. Quite possibly they intermingled. A random list clearly reflects Cozens' work: A History of the Cuban Republic, Lecky's Wrinkles in Practical Navigation (could the author's name have served Cozens years later in Castaways?), Gay's Typhoid Fever, MacCallum's Text-Book of Pathology, Notes on Pennsylvania Criminal Law and Procedure, Wellman's The Art of Cross-Examination, Airmen and Aircraft, Benét's Military Law and The Practice of Courts-Martial, The Army Air Forces

in World War II. Here would be proof enough of Cozens' professional competence if we did not already know that to write The Just and the Unjust he visited the near-by Doylestown Court House and filled himself with lawyers' shop talk, to write The Last Adam he read medicine and checked his manuscript with several doctors, and that he did the same for the theology of Men and Brethren, the ship mechanics of S.S. San Pedro. But Cozens would be the first to deny that he only "researched" his best books. Guard of Honor proves him right; he lived much of this one. And By Love Possessed is so crowded with profound observations, so ideally a mirror held up to nature, that his older readers see it as an accumulation of years of astute introspection, the natural outcropping of this one man's honest curiosity about the human condition.

The Cozens manuscripts tell us far more about the man and his methods of composition than any bookshelf can. Included in the gift are two boxes of personal correspondence (much of it concerning his published work) and two boxes of papers relating to his World War II service. They give us an intimate look at a man who dislikes personal interviews and public appearances, who refuses to comment on his own work. "I have never known a writer," he said, "speaking about his own work who would not have been wiser and more estimable if he had just shut up." Cozens so distrusts the subjective observation that he even tries to discipline himself out of his own work (Ask Me Tomorrow being the exception). But in the letters we read Cozens clear. They are dated from the early thirties to the present. Most of them are from his American and English publishers, from his readers (inquiries and compliments abound), from his friends (especially Air Force officers) and from students and a few critics. The carbons of his replies are preserved as well, and they reveal without exception an immensely patient, generous, sober-minded man, a professional writer in love with his profession, an alert, acquisitive mind humble before knowledge. In 1949, for example, he wrote his Harcourt, Brace editor:

... I was conscientiously making my way through Mons Sheen's new work when the rude thought struck me that I had never seen a fuller and richer use of the classic fallacies and this soon set me to collecting them and that soon set me to realizing my meager college logic was far behind me and
I was rusty about analyzing them. So when I could (this is a long story) I stopped in at the university library at Princeton where Mr Young is always obliging. This time he obliged me with a shy youngster, an instructor in philosophy, writing his thesis, and directed him to go through the stacks with me. He was so bright and respectful that though it could not have taken him two minutes to realize I was a dope and an ignoramus it took me a couple of hours to learn from him what I daresay you and other educated men well know; that what Mons Sheen and Aristotle and I quaintly thought of as 'logic' was a childish little game or exercise in quibbling by which it was absurd to think of demonstrating anything—except perhaps the user's ingenuity in making false assumptions and his weakminded inability to hold to any point. The youngster thought it might be a good idea, if I was interested, for me to acquaint myself a little with such elementary matters as the propositional calculus and the functional calculus of first order because without them there was nothing much he could do for me; you just had to have a technique for exact expression because without it you could not see what was wrong with traditional logic and until you saw that you would just go on thinking you thought. It consoled me to find that with the books before me I was not too long in getting his point—not that I expect to learn to think.

There are few American novelists more modest about their intellect, or with less cause to be. From the year Cozzens left Harvard (1934, at the end of his sophomore year), he commenced rather than ceased learning. Kent School and Harvard never challenged his mind in the way his own desire to record life challenged it. He had to see in order to know. He wrote to one of his readers in 1934:

*Simply put down, when I write, what the things I have seen and known look like to me. I try not to intrude what I think. It is my idea that an author's talent for writing, if he is lucky enough to have one, is the only thing of any interest or importance about him. To attempt to instruct his readers is a piece of impertinence since they are either too stupid for instruction, or quite intelligent enough to instruct themselves on the basis of any true things the writer may have called convincingly to their attention.*

What Cozzens has called to our attention, in more than thirty years of writing, is a distillation of his observations minus his own personality. This detachment has led more than one critic to call him aloof, cerebral, superior. Or as Time put it (perhaps with little awareness of their own double entendre), "Cozzens is really alien grain in the American corn." He aims to be; he has spent his life avoiding sentimentality. He wrote a fellow novelist in 1948 that too often in American fiction

*hogwash... is mistaken for Deep Feeling. I am well aware that the public likes it. I am well aware that the line is a fine one and my intense aversion to what seems to me false and maudlin... unfit us as a dispassionate judge; but there's nothing I can do. I could not write with pleasure and certainly not with conviction what did not seem to me real or true. Much that is both may be outside my perception; but of course I don't believe it, and couldn't be brought to.*

Writing to still another novelist, who in 1944 was enjoying the success of a best seller, he was even more certain of his own dicta:

*When I read it in ms. it was a matter of concern to me that it was so painfully true. I mean, not just true about the writer, but also in a disturbing way true about any reader with enough perception to take in those personal truths. Of course they (we) all compliment ourselves on our dear love of truth, but I think it is eyewash and that the public (we) never really enjoyed the classic process of catharsis unless it was good and remote in the persons of kings or gods. I thought that there might not be enough people who would submit to read what they were bound to find so disturbing. The normal remedy would be to call it a distorted or partial picture and so dismiss it. The counter-remedy is to apply the simple compulsion that makes the reader, whether he likes it or not, have to find out what happens next. In print—whether it ought to or not, that does make a difference—that compulsion seems to me to come out strong. This is really art, often so much more important than mere truth. When you have, as you have, both, you have something and I hope you’re enjoying the general acknowledgment of it.*

*Between the publication of S. S. San Pedro (1931, his fifth novel) and The Just and the Unjust (1942, his tenth) Cozzens*
worked diligently at achieving this combination of truth and art, balanced so as to turn his reader to self-contemplation at the same moment it gripped him with a compelling narrative. His heroes—Dr. George Bull, the Rev. Ernest Cudlipp, the young writer Francis Ellery, the small-town lawyer Abner Coates—are indescribable characters, so “right” as to be uncanny, considering the variety of professions they represent. But Cozzens never captured a large audience, in spite of book-club distribution. His letters during these years give every indication that he would not be deterred from writing as he had to write, more in the nineteenth-century mode than in the contemporary. Jane Austen and George Eliot were his models: a clearly stated “subject” developed by a well-articulated plot, often low-pressure characters, always a serious digging into the roots of human behavior and the thoroughly understood motivations behind this behavior. When Guard of Honor arrived in 1945 we knew we were in the presence of a writer who by dogged practice had prepared himself to write a great novel. Cozzens told his English publisher soon after the American edition was in print, in a time of paper shortage in England:

...I was disconcerted on my own account to find myself running over 600 pages. I had often contended that there was no excuse for a novel of more than 400 pages. Anything over that was just proof of incompetence...but when I came to write Guard of Honor I found myself in a difficult situation. What I wanted to write about here, the essence of the thing to be said, the point of it all, what I felt to be the important meaning of this particular human experience, was its immensity and its immense complexity.

This feeling had grown on me as my so-called military service drew on and I began slowly to realize that through no fault (or indeed merit) of my own I was being shown the Army Air Forces on a scale and in a way that was really incredible. I was coming to know about, I had to know about, more of its innumerable phases than anyone with real command duties would ever have time to know. Not many officers, and I would guess not any, had reason or opportunity to fly into and look over such a number of airfields and installations of a variety quite unbelievable. With the exception of the CG himself, in whose office I was at the end working, I don't think anyone had occasion to sit down with and listen to so many of the air generals...

With my head full of all this, I could see I faced a tough technical problem. I wanted to show that real (as I now saw it) meaning of the whole business, the peculiar effects of the interaction of innumerable individuals functioning in ways at once determined by and determining the functioning of innumerable others—all in the common and in every case nearly helpless involvement in what had ceased to be just an "organization" (I think it ceased to be that when it grew past the point where one directing head could keep the whole in mind) and became if not an organism with life and purposes of its own, at least an entity, like a crowd....

I saw that I would have to show it, with all that that meant in many scenes, many words, many characters. I would just have to write off as readers everyone who could not or would not meet heavy demands on his attention and intelligence, the imagination to grasp a large pattern and the wit to see the relation which I could not stop to spell out between this & that.

Cozzens was not only prepared but willing to take these risks. A lesser talent would have balked at the scope or quailed at the potential loss of audience. The point is this: the intellectual detachment is here a virtue, the aloofness toward his public almost a necessity; and Cozzens was able to couple these attitudes with his skill at drawing three-dimensional human beings. From General "Bus" Beat down to T/5 Mortimer McIntyre, the people in this novel are alive. They are alive because they are contradictory. Back in 1936 Cozzens had written one of his readers: "I think a person can be at the same time officious and devoted, self-important and self-sacrificing, insensitive and sympathetic. Indeed, I think that is exactly what most people are most of the time. I regard it with indulgence." Twelve years later he was demonstrating more clearly than ever before that this indulgence could suggest to him a splendid observing intelligence (the patient, tolerant Colonel Ross) and this view of personality (the insoluble, the contradictory) could create a cast of characters wholly credible, individually compelling. The highest accomplishment of this novel may be its "immense complexity," in that a whole "world" (here Ocanara Air Base, Florida) is so neatly articulated. But it is also possible that without Cozzens' knowledge of and concern with man as individual it would never have come alive. He suggests
this dual concern in a letter to an ex-Air Force general who, he hoped, would read his manuscript for errors:

As in my trade we use everything, the AAF and the war effort are used as occasion or excuse to go on about Life. Though long and hard, it is fun. You will certainly find sad though I hope short slips in the incidental attempt a writer always makes to show the reader that a writer knows everything—in this case, all about (a) the Army (b) the higher echelon (c) military aviation (d) life, I hope you will be willing to strike out for me wherever you think is wrong.

A year later, in one of his rare critical statements, Cozzens unconsciously described his own achievement when he reviewed Oliver La Farge’s history of the Air Transport Command, The Eagle in the Egg (The New York Times Book Review, July 24, 1949):

Whatever else may have distinguished them, no great number of the many “war books”—whether memoirs, military history or fiction—have been much distinguished by what it is simplest to call adult intelligence. That is, not many have addressed themselves and their material to readers reasonably well acquainted with human beings and human experience, not born yesterday, and not insensible to statements merely self-serving or to sentimental nonsense and bonehead contradictions in terms or facts. Such readers cannot read far in “The Eagle in the Egg” without the grateful awareness that here they are in good hands, safe from nonsense, on the way to seeing believable aspects of a real war, with no fool for a guide. Good sense informs the whole book.

Guard of Honor shows good sense and adult intelligence and scope. Cozzens’ readers expected no less of him in his latest novel.

The eleven boxes of typescript are further documentation of Cozzens’ perfectionism, his will to learn by doing, by canceling out the insufficient action or the inadequate word. The manuscripts of his three youthful novels are not here. The collection begins with The Son of Perdition (printer’s copy), continues through Castaway (in four versions), Men and Brethren and Ask Me Tomorrow (printer’s copies), The Just and the Unjust (a final draft), Guard of Honor (printer’s copy), and By Love Possessed (printer’s copy, corrected galleys, and hundreds of sheets of early versions). S. S. San Pedro and The Last Adam are missing. Apart

I. James Gould Cozzens. By Love Possessed

“B” Version, Part Three, Chapter One
The night had been disturbed by one dream, and Arthur Winser now struggled to leave them. He was confused and aware that the alarm clock had rung and that he had shut it off. He had identified the sound of steady rain outside the open window; but in the bedroom the deep darkness of early morning, the delayed dawn of a rainy day, had diffused even that part of the middle of the night. He lay in bed, waiting to awake, to live, with some sense of the dream, but not in the dream. The half-awakened mind seems, under such pressure or according in its use, with a sarcasm of annoyance, "We will, Dunleavens, the lady you say is my wife. There's nothing wrong about it."

In the bedroom, he found himself, studying Dundy—an old pasty face, the prominent Adam's apple, the scraggly, dirty-looking suit, the air of uncertain, vainly attempted authority. Dundy wore of course one or the other of what everyone had decided must be two suits. They were hardly to be distinguished—both drab, both threadbare, both in their meanlessness of cut and material. The year before he had bought cheap in a poor shop in a poor quarter of some German university town. Arthur Winser feels angry; the fact that Dunleavens was somehow defenseless, watchful, that he could not answer him as he ought to be answered. The vehicle of words would disintegrate you yourself as well as the. "Oh, go away!" He saw Dundy a light push;
[Image of a page from a book with a diagram and text]

IV. James Gould Cozzens, By Love Possessed
Final Version, Part Three, Chapter One

V. Julius Caesar
Stentonius, 'Viliae Duodecim Caerum
Kane Manuscript 44, Princeton University Library
from the published work there is a group of six completed and ten incomplete short stories, four fragments, and two unpublished novels: Ignorant Armies (undated) and The Careless Livery (ostensibly a rewriting, dated Villa Igica, Palermo; East Marion, L.I., 1927). Lynn Riggs’ play based on The Son of Perdition (in typescript) completes the collection.

Inspecting these manuscripts is sheer pleasure, like looking into Cozens’ mind. Here are visions and revisions. Titles were particularly troublesome. The Son of Perdition was at one time called Foreign Strain. Cozens preferred Bodies Terrestrial or A Cure of Flesh to The Last Adam; Alfred Harcourt did not. Ask Me Tomorrow had two earlier titles: Young Fortunatus, the first choice, was changed to It Was the Nightingale (until someone, more than likely, discovered the Ford Madox Ford memoirs by that name published seven years before). The Summer Soldier was changed to The Just and the Unjust, in spite of a 1912 novel written by Vaughan Rester under that title. Guard of Honor and By Love Possessed were Cozens’ choices; he would not alter them.

Page one of the manuscript version of Ask Me Tomorrow confirms the suspicion that Cozens was consciously eliminating the first-person observation from his work. In 1955 he wrote an inquiring student that

Ask Me Tomorrow is autobiographical to the extent that... In 1925 and 1926 I was living in Europe. Under the circumstances described (though much detail is fictitious) I spent some months tutoring a nice kid who suffered from infantile paralysis while I also tried to act the published author which I then was... and to manage an affair of the heart. I think the only thing I did even fairly well was teach the kid some Latin.

The opening of this novel is a joltingly melancholy description of Florence. Doubtless it is how Cozens felt about the city at twenty-two. His typed manuscript reads, “I am writing of ten or more years ago, but it seems unlikely that anything I have mentioned has changed.” In print the sentence is altered to: “This was ten or more years ago, but it seems unlikely that any of the things mentioned have changed.” And later in the same paragraph whole sentences are removed before printing, notably this observation: “I suppose this patronizing attitude, into which I see that I have slipped, is what makes Americans so hated.”
All seven of these manuscripts deserve close study for exactly this kind of stylistic revision, but none is as rewarding as *By Love Possessed*. Cozzens has preserved a first and a second text (so labeled in his own hand), the final printer's copy, the corrected galleys, and hundreds of assorted sheets of versions abandoned or altered during the novel's eight years of incubation. He wrote his editor in 1950:

The book is called as of now: *By Love Possessed*. It has to do, I'm afraid at length, with a lawyer no longer young who finds his personal life in crisis (but you know me; I'll have it so hedged and qualified that the salesmen, poor willing brutes, won't hardly know it's a crisis and will just have to say as usual it's Significant) arising out of a conflict between the works of human thinking and the works of human feeling. It has long been my opinion that in the affairs of life the Law's rational design to have the facts and to prevent more from being made of them than unassisted reason makes is in flat opposition to the usually triumphant emotional wish (sometimes merely sentimental; sometimes gravely religious) to down mere 'facts' and to rise over them by a different logic where feeling counts as Higher Knowing.

I have to acknowledge that I work under a limitation here in that such Knowing is utterly beyond me; yet, I think it is true when I say I have no hostile feelings and no wish to deride what I do not understand; on the contrary, seeing it as I see it, I find it affecting—an example of the general wistful human persistence in make-believe. Naturally I will deal only with what I am able to know, which is the cold dismay or unhappily amazement which those whose minds can get no higher than the Law's level of common sense must find themselves experiencing when they come up against the goings-on whose origin is spiritual—specifically, my lawyer's difficulty in imagining what can possess his wife in slowly going Catholic. I don't see this as a matter to handle with theological arguments or expository conversations on doctrine or discipline, which puts me to the slightly awkward technical necessity of having his wife away when the book opens and still away when it ends. I mean to make what points I can in action—not, I hope I needn't say, the acting-out of tracts or theses, but in my own relation to a young lawyer son, to another who died in the war, and to a considerably younger daughter, which I will try to illuminate as well as I can by selected developments in the legal cases in which he is at the moment professionally engaged.

The history of the growth of this novel is only hinted at here; the evidence is prolific in the preserved sheets. In the course of the work's revision, Arthur Winner "lost" his Catholic wife and "gained" two others: Hope, who died in childbirth, and Clarissa, his second wife. The Catholic wife became Marjorie Penrose, and with her creation new complications began. Julius Penrose being one of them. The law offices of Orcutt & Winner became Winner, Tuttle & Winner as, probably, Noah Tuttle came into being. An especially fascinating sheet lists "Ralph's Case" followed by seven alternatives for the placing of this pivotal character, Ralph Detwiler: a) R is Helen D's brother; b) R is the banker's son; c) R is the son of Mrs. X, NT's secretary; d) R is NT's nephew"; and so on. When, one wonders, did Cozzens make his final choice? And when did he discard this opening page of the novel?

All Tuesday morning, in a gloom more like evening than morning, the November rain continued. It came down so hard that a low spray was raised over the pavement of Court Street and the fast run-off of cold water nearly filled the gutters. Across Court Street, behind veil on veil of rain, the white marble shape of the Brocton County Court House loomed dull in its stand of big trees. ... Arthur Winner, at his desk in his private room in the law offices of Orcutt & Winner, looked back from this mournful morning beyond the windows.

The manuscript marked "first text" has a radically altered first page:

When he came into the unadorned room with bright lights that Joe Harbison used for his office Arthur Winner's first care was to give Helen Detweiler a look of encouragement or reassurance. From Helen's grateful answering look, he immediately saw that she needed neither; and though he was glad of this in one way, in another that candid perfect confidence in Helen away when increased Arthur Winner's discomfort. On the telephone Helen's voice had been unsteady and high, full of fear; but that was half an hour ago. Now—perhaps, indeed, on the very word that Mr. Winner was coming—Helen feared no more. Faith cast fear out.
Within another five thousand words Arthur Winner is deep in the examination of Ralph Detweiler’s denial of the rape charges. The “second text” has a new epigraph (from Cymbeline), new section titles (I. Halloween; II. All Saints’ Day; III. November Second), and a substantially altered tone in the opening page though the ensuing action remains the same:

Love, Arthur Winner thought, might come to this. By means of it the heart defeated the head. Love was the heart’s freedom from the bonds of thought. Love set aside the bitter findings of true experience. Love could know for a fact what was not a fact; love untroubled believed the unbelievable; love wished, and made it so. In this, its seeming weakness, was love’s strength. Love’s unreality, realities assailed in vain. They might as well wound the loud winds, kill the still closing waters—

Was this too much to say? No, Arthur Winner thought, it was not too much to say! Arthur Winner’s first concern, when he entered the bare room with bright lights that Joe Harrison used for his office as Justice of the Peace, had been to give Helen Detweiler a look of encouragement or reassurance. He had now Helen’s look in answer. It was thankful enough; but it showed him that Helen had already wished herself her own encouragement, wished her way to her own hectic reassurance. The vehemence of her feelings gave her means to believe what she needed to believe.

Is it too much to say that the steps from this text to the splendidly conceived opening paragraph of the printed version may have been legion? When did Arthur Winner’s mother “grow” into the narrative, so that we might see at once, in the first paragraph, her French girt clock with its unsettling motto: omnia vincit amor? In these three words we have the title; and the verb is the master. Cupid vincit. When, indeed, did Cozzens decide to transfer Arthur Winner’s thought on love (not “too much” at all) to Arthur Winner, Sr., in still another context, on still another page, and leave us with the devastating question: “Would someone, sometime, read the motto; ponder this figured triumph of unreason, see the joke?”

By Love Possessed is now ours to read. We have only begun to study it.

# For further examples of Mr. Cozzens’ revisions, see Places I-IV.

The Novels and Short Stories of
James Gould Cozzens

I. NOVELS


II. SHORT STORIES

"Lions Are Lower Today," Saturday Evening Post, CCII (February 15, 1930), 36 ff.
"Some Day You'll Be Sorry," Saturday Evening Post, CCII (June 21, 1930), 44 ff.

We’ll Recall It with Affection,” Saturday Evening Post, CCIII (October 4, 1930), 12-13 ff.

# Acknowledgment is made to Miss Bernie Baumgarten for her kind assistance in compiling this list.
Benjamin Franklin Defends Northwest Passage Navigation

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY BERTHA SOLIS-COHEN

Probably the earliest expedition to locate a shorter and safer commercial waterway between Europe and Asia by means of a Northwest Passage was sent out by Denmark. This expedition reached Greenland, and perhaps the North American mainland at Labrador, in 1476. The 1497 Northwest Passage explorations of John Cabot, who discovered that continental land separated the Atlantic from the Pacific, established England’s claims to the eastern coast of North America, and her claims to the western coast resulted from the 1579 Northwest Passage expedition of Francis Drake, who took possession in the name of Queen Elizabeth and named the coast “New Albion.” In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as well as later, numerous Northwest Passage expeditions sailed from England and elsewhere, including John Smith’s attempt from Jamestown in 1608. Henry Hudson’s 1610-1611 Northwest Passage expedition wintered in Hudson Bay and, because of a mutiny, Hudson and some of his men were put in a boat and deserted when the others returned to England. That expedition established England’s claims to the Hudson Bay region. French explorations along the Atlantic coast did not establish claims except in the region of the St. Lawrence. French, English, and Spanish explorers sought the passage through various parts of the continent, including the Great Lakes, Canadian rivers and lakes, the Mississippi and its tributaries, as well as the Atlantic coastal plains and the western rivers of the Pacific coast.

Spain, controlling the South Seas, feared rivalry for commercial advantages and some reports of Northwest Passage discovery were suppressed or disclaimed by the Spanish. Perhaps the account or official report of the 1640 Northwest Passage voyage of Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte (Bartolomé de Fuentes) was suppressed, forgotten, or buried in official secret records. This account, disputed by some but generally accepted, greatly influenced international search for the short route between North America’s oceans. According to the English translation of De Fonte’s journal
or Letter, the Admiral received orders from Spain and the Viceroy of New Spain and Peru to take a fleet into the Northwest Passage to stop Boston navigators believed to be searching for the passage into the Pacific; and also to search for the Davis Strait entrance to the Northwest Passage. De Fonte commanded his flagship, the "St. Spiritus," when he sailed from the Callao of Lima, Peru, in April, 1640, accompanied by Vice-Admiral Don Diego Penelosa in the "St. Lucia," Pedro de Bernardo in the "Rosaria," and Philip de Ronquillo in the "King Philip." They sailed up the western coast of North America, the account stated, to the Archipelago of St. Lazarus and ascended the Rio de los Reyes into Lake Valasco, place names given by De Fonte. The Admiral had Bernardo leave his ship there and proceed by canoes and boats to seek Davis Strait. De Fonte himself left his other ships at Lake Belle and advanced by boats along rivers and lakes until, beyond Lake de Fonte and the Strait of Ronquillo, he met and halted somewhere near Hudson Bay a ship from Boston commanded by Captain Nicholas Shapley and owned by Edward Gibbons, who accompanied that expedition. The meeting of men from the Atlantic with men from the Pacific was the event which established in many minds the presence of a Northwest Passage through Canada. Although De Fonte's official report was not made public, other members of the expedition may have kept journals, and, in any event, men who had been on such an adventure must have discussed their experiences after their return.

If there had not been some knowledge or information concerning it, mention of the expedition would not have appeared in publications. In William Hack's "Buccaneer's Atlas" of 1683 De Fonte's place names were given on the map, William Dampier's A New Voyage round the World, London, 1695, had some such place names and Dampier noted that if he had had an opportunity he would use the South Sea approach to either Northeast or Northwest Passage discovery. In Northwest Passage discovery, he declared, navigators would have the advantages of spring and summer weather if they started their voyage from California and would no longer fear wintering in the Arctic; they would be sailing from the known to the unknown but if the passage was discovered, would be approaching home, instead of sailing away from home. If the Northwest Passage was not located, they could winter at Japan, Korea, or China. Nicolaas Witsen confirmed in 1705 the existence of a De Fonte or Fuentes in his Noord en oost Tartaryen. Lugtenberg's 1706 map of "Terra de Yesso" (above Drake's New Albion) had the Straits of Anian—the name that was being extended to include any part or all of the Northwest Passage—connecting the Pacific Ocean with Hudson Bay. James Petiver, in 1708, presented in the April and June issues of his The Monthly Miscellany: or, Memoirs for the Curious the English translation of the De Fonte Letter. In 1719 the Hudson's Bay Company's explorers were searching for the entrance to the Northwest Passage used by the Boston navigators in 1640.

The Bering explorations in the 1720's, planned by Peter the Great, were proposed by Dutch merchants anxious to ascertain whether Asia and North America were joined together or separated by water. Bering navigated Bering Strait in 1728 and the greatest question of that period was accepted as decided by Bering. Although the Russian explorers did not sight North America, evidence of the nearness of continental land was observed. At St. Petersburg the new discoveries were recorded on a map by Joseph Nicolas de L'Isle at the Royal Academy of Sciences there. Bering planned to return and search for the Northwest Passage, and De L'Isle, who had received from England a manuscript of the De Fonte Letter, added the De Fonte 1640 route to the map which was used by the explorers in 1740-1741. Although Bering and his associates did not locate the Northwest Passage, they coasted northwestern North America (Alaska) and discovered the Aleutian Islands, explorations that led to the Russian fur trade in Alaska and the English fear that Russia might succeed in navigating the Northwest Passage first.

Pierre François Xavier de Charlevoix published his history and description of New France in Paris in 1744, and it soon appeared in German translation.

1 The Monthly Miscellany: or, Memoirs for the Curious, London, April and June, 1708. The sections on the De Fonte Letter were reprinted in London by Thomas Jefferys in 1728 as The Great Probability of a North West Passage, "deduced from Observations on the Letter of Admiral De Fonte, Who Sailed from the Callao of Lima on the Discovery of a Communication between the South Sea and the Atlantic Ocean; And to intercise some Navigators from Boston in New England, whom he met with, Then in Search of a North West Passage. Proving the Authenticity of the Admiral's Letter." For Charles Swaine as the author of The Great Probability, see Bertha Solla-Cohen, "The Great Probability of a North West Passage .... " The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, XXXIX, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1935), 319-350.

2 "Carte de nouvelles découvertes au nord de la mer du Sud, tant à l'est de la Sibérie et du Kamtchatka, qu'à l'ouest de la Nouvelle France," Paris, 1735.

in English translation.4 In relating his explorations in North America Charlevoix noted two probable Northwest Passage routes that influenced many explorers: one through the Missouri River connections with the Western River flowing into the South Sea; and the second through Canadian lakes and rivers; both of which were navigated in later years. A map by Nicolas Bellin in the book showed connections between Hudson Bay, Lake Superior, and rivers and lakes leading to the Pacific Ocean.

Arthur Dobbs, a member of the Irish Parliament, had been advocating Northwest Passage discovery by the British before they might have to wrench the passage from the Russians and had promoted an expedition under Captain Christopher Middleton which explored for the Hudson Bay entrance in 1741-1742. Afterward, Dobbs accused Middleton, in print, of having misrepresented his explorations in order to satisfy his former employers, the Hudson’s Bay Company; and Middleton defended himself in print. Dobbs also denied Russian claims that northwest North America extended far to the northwest instead of trending northeast from California. Both of these contentions of Dobbs were later proved untrue. In 1744 Dobbs published An Account of the Countries Adjoining to Hudson’s Bay, which included a discussion of the Dobbs-Middleton controversy and also recorded Dobbs’s belief in the De Fonte Letter, of which he gave a somewhat abbreviated account.

Through the insistence of Dobbs, Parliament offered in 1745 an award of twenty thousand pounds for the navigation of the Northwest Passage from Hudson Bay to the South Sea by subjects of the King in an English vessel or vessels. Dobbs sent out another expedition and in this 1746-1747 exploration of Hudson Bay it was believed that the explorers were near one or more openings which might have been navigated in 1645 by the Boston navigators. The two explorer-authors of the published accounts of the expedition both advocated another expedition in the course of which they believed the discovery and navigation of the Northwest Passage would be completed. Henry Ellis, who decided to publish an account of the voyage after his return to England, noted in his one-volume book that he hoped men from England would complete the discovery before foreigners succeeded in such a venture.5 The “Clerk of the California” wrote his account during the voyage, having planned before he set sail from England to publish it.6 Both men included the De Fonte account, taken largely from Dobbs’s book.

The Clerk of the “California” (whom I have succeeded in identifying as Charles Swaine) came to the American colonies to obtain support for another expedition. He received in 1750 his passport from Governor Samuel Ogle of Maryland and was promoted by Benjamin Franklin, who, with his friends, formed the Northwest Committee and organized the Northwest Company, securing subscribers from men in various colonies for the financing of an attempt to open trade with Japan, China, and the East Indies through the Northwest Passage. If the opening in Hudson Bay was not discovered, the Labrador coast was to be explored for the improvement of trade, fishing, and whaling. Franklin’s Northwest Passage expedition was unable to enter Hudson Bay in 1753 in time for the short exploring season because of the unusually heavy ice in Hudson Strait. A portion of the Labrador coast and inland territory was explored and charted from around Cape Mudfort to around Cape Harrison, and much of the vast cod fishing grounds was sounded. While Davis Inlet proved not to be an opening into Hudson Bay and a shorter route without the dangers of Hudson Strait, as some thought, many favorable reports on rivers, ports, fish, animals, sea fowl, trees for lumber, falls for power, and so forth were brought back. A second attempt was made in 1754 but ill fortune resulted in the necessity of returning home from Labrador while still on the outward voyage. The charts and journals of these two expeditions were better than those hitherto available, and while Franklin no doubt intended to make them public, he did not. Perhaps French and Indian affairs were more urgent at the time. Some colonial and English publications of the day mentioned the Philadelphia ventures and some reprinted the longer account of the 1753 voyage from The Pennsylvania Gazette, a Franklin publication.

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5 Henry Ellis, A Voyage to Hudson’s Bay, by the Dobbs Galley and California. In the Years 1746 and 1747, For Discovering a North West Passage, London, 1758.

6 In accounts of a Voyage For the Discovery of a North-West Passage by Hudson’s Strength, to the Western and Southern Ocean of America, Performed in the Year 1746 and 1747. In the Ship California, “By the Clerk of the California,” London, 1748-49.

One of Franklin's favorite journals was The Gentleman's Magazine, a London monthly, which contained many items on Northwest Passage explorations. Such items in 1754 included discussions of De L'Isle's defense of De Fonte and a copy of the map of De Fonte's discoveries which De L'Isle had presented to the Royal Academy of Sciences in Paris in April, 1750. The Gentleman's Magazine also discussed a letter published in Berlin in 1753 by a Russian marine officer who had been with Bering, as well as comments made by Dobbs.1 If the De Fonte Letter was true, the writer commented, it was almost proof of a passage to the South Sea from Hudson Bay. Investigations had revealed the existence of both Gibbons and Shapley families and a family named Fuente or De Fuente had been employed by Spain in the South Seas.

Writings of De L'Isle contained references to two De Fonte accounts.2 Besides the Letter there was a 1640 Spanish manuscript journal written by a man on the Admiral's ship; that manuscript in the eighteenth century was in the possession of Don Manuel Morel. Antonio de Ulloa, on a scientific expedition in South America, was permitted by Morel to copy the Spanish document. When De Ulloa was returning to Europe on a French vessel in 1745, the ship was captured by the English; the officer was made a prisoner and his papers, including the Spanish copy of the original document, were confiscated. De Ulloa was a member of both the Royal Society of London and the Royal Academy of Sciences of Paris. He informed De L'Isle that the manuscript he copied was similar to the De Fonte Letter except for the episode of the Boston ship. It is probable that the author of the manuscript remained on shipboard in Lake Belle when De Fonte advanced by boats to meet the explorers from Boston.

The Royal Society of London, of which Franklin had been made a member in 1756, asked Franklin to serve on its council sometime after he arrived in London in 1757 as agent for the Province of Pennsylvania. Practically from its inception the Royal Society had been interested in arctic and Northwest Passage exploration, and


...had continued to co-operate with the British Admiralty in promoting such voyages. Franklin was in England when Quebec fell to the English in 1759 and Montreal the following year, and he strongly advocated, among other things, retention of Canada at the close of the French and Indian, or Seven Years', War. Acquisition of Canada (and Louisiana) would extend the British Empire, he declared, check French encroachments on the English colonies, encourage settlement and trade, increase commerce and naval power, and promote English manufacturing by the necessity of supplying the increased population in America. There may have lurked in the back of Franklin's mind a fond hope that Canada would be opened up for world trade and that British influence around the world would be extended through navigation and control of a Canadian Northwest Passage.

Many publications were appearing at this time which included accounts of Northwest Passage exploration and discovery. Miguel Venegas, a Mexican Jesuit, wrote a history of California which was published at Madrid in 1757, with an English translation appearing in 1759.18 Venegas, who omitted all Northwest Passage accounts that "lacked necessary authentication," stated that little credit was given to the De Fonte "narrative." He also noted that Spanish attempts were to open up a short way to the coast of California from the New Indies and the old and said that the world knew of the repeated attempts by the English to locate the Northwest Passage, the last one being undertaken in 1753. The newspapers gave information of the English design to cross the South Seas from the East Indies and erect fortifications and make settlements above California toward Hudson Bay. Fearing that the English might succeed in navigating the Northwest Passage, Venegas urged the Spanish to protect their American settlements and the western coast of California so that the English would not become masters of the Spanish territories.

Another book was published in that period that is still an authority on the history of exploration in the North Pacific: Voyages from Asia to America, printed in 1761 for the Royal Geographer, Thomas Jefferys, was the English translation of a book on the recent Russian discoveries in North America written by Gerhard Friedrich Müller of the Royal Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. While Müller omitted discussion of the De Fonte Letter...
because of its uncertainty, he presented the new Russian discoveries. The editor of the translation, who was probably Jefferys, reviewed the Russian attempts at Northeast Passage discoveries. On the republished map of the discoveries in North America inserted in the book appears "Río de los Reyes according to the pretended Journal of Admiral de Fonte in 1640, according to Mr. de Lisle." Jefferys changed this to "Río de los Reyes as mentioned in Adm. de Fuentes Journal" in a "new map" in the same book, "A large Map of Canada, extending to the Pacific Ocean, containing the New Discoveries made by the Russians and French." This new map, like the map of 1755 by Dr. John Mitchell, presented British claims in defiance of the conflicting claims of the French. Jefferys showed western connections by rivers and lakes from the Pacific to Hudson Bay, according to the map of Ochagach, the Indian; and also indicated a supposed "Communication between Manton-River, and the Missouri or Mississippi." Other "new maps" in the book are "A Copy of De Lisle's and Bache's fictitious Map" and "A Map of the N.E. parts of Asia, and N.W. parts of America, Shewing their Situation with respect to Japan, taken from a Japanese Map of the World, brought over by Kempfer and late in the Museum of Dr. Hans Sloane."

Although the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope was shorter than rounding South America, the editor observed, it was more tedious to navigate and so other possible shorter routes had been considered, with the following results: attempts to cut a canal from the Mediterranean Sea to the Indian Ocean through the Straits of Babelmandel (Suez) were found to be impracticable; insurmountable obstacles were believed to prevent construction of a canal through the Straits of Darien (Panama); expeditions to navigate the Northwest or Northeast Passage had been unsuccessful, and the Russians had now proved it was impracticable to utilize a Northwest Passage, which might be shorter, might have open water and but little ice around the North Pole, but would be blocked at entrance and exit by ice. Thus future explorations should be for the Northwest Passage. The very year this book was published, the Hudson's Bay Company's navigators were exploring Chesterfield Inlet for an opening into the Northwest Passage. After explorations were completed the following year, it was said that there was not any such opening in the inlet.

Benjamin Franklin to Dr. John Pringle
Craven street, May 27, 1782

Dear Sir,

In Compliance with your Request, I sit down to give you my Reasons for believing as I do, that De Fonte's Voyage is genuine. You know I would have postponed this 'till my Return to Philadelphia, where my Papers might enable me to relate with more Precision the Facts that incline me to that Opinion; but as you

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The Royal Society and the Admiralty were secretly considering Northwest Passage exploration from the Pacific and when Commodore John Byron sailed for the South Sea in 1764, he carried secret directions for returning via the Northwest Passage. In 1766, then, Northwest Passage discovery was of great importance. It was also that year when the terms of the coming peace treaty were to be formulated; and Franklin was expecting to return to America. Sailing being still precarious, Dr. John Pringle, Franklin's friend as well as fellow member of the Royal Society, urged Franklin to put in writing his arguments in defense of the authenticity of the De Fonte Letter and the 1640 navigation of the Northwest Passage through Canadian rivers, lakes, and bays. This Franklin did in detail in a letter dated May 27, 1762.

Dr. Pringle evidently gave the letter to the prime minister, the Earl of Bute. In 1869 it was described in Notes and Queries by Evelyn P. Shirley, who had found it while "looking over some papers relating to the colonies which belonged to the minister Lord Bute." The letter was sold at auction in London in 1928 as "the property of the late Rt. Honble. Lord North" and was acquired by Andre de Coppet (1824-1853), a member of the Princeton Class of 1915. It now forms a part of the Andre de Coppet Collection of American Historical Manuscripts, which was bequeathed by Mr. de Coppet to the Princeton University Library.

13The letter is enclosed in a sheet of paper (watermarked 1869) on which has been written: "Dr Franklin en the voyage of Admiral B. de Fonte. found amongst the papers of the Earl of Bute 1762.""14Evelyn P. Shirley, "Dr. Franklin on the Voyage of Admiral Bartholomew de Fonte," Notes and Queries, Fourth Series, IV, No. 96 (Nov. 13, 1869), 496-497; reprinted in American Bibliophile, II, No. 5 (Dec., 1869), 59.


insist on my doing it here before my Departure, you will excuse unavoidable Defects.

The only Account of this Voyage at present existing, as far as we know, is that publish'd by Pettiver, in a periodical Work call'd Memoirs for the Curious, for the Months of April and June 1708. It is there intitled, "A Letter from Admiral Bartholomew De Fonte, then Admiral of New Spain and Peru, and now Prince of Chili; giving an Account of the most material Transactions in a Journal of his from the Calo [sic] of Lima in Peru, on his Discoveries to find out if there was any Northwest Passage from the Atlantic Ocean into the South and Tartarian Sea." Whoever reads it there, will easily perceive it to be an Abridgment and a Translation, and bad in both respects. If a Fiction, it is plainly not an English one. But it has none of the Features of Fiction. Entertainment does not appear to be aim'd at in it, nor does it seem calculated to promote any Scheme of a new Voyage for Discovery, as the Country is not describ'd to be wealthy, and the Passage for Ships from Sea to Sea is deny'd: "Tis in short a mere dry Account of Facts, which, tho' all possible and probable, are none of them wonderful like the Incidents of a Novel.

That the Spaniards should now deny the Reality of this Voyage, is natural enough, jealous as they are of the maritime Power of their Neighbours, and apprehensive for their extensive Settlements on the Coasts of the South Sea. They deny it however but faintly. And they seem far from being convinced that there is no practicable Water Communication between the two Seas by the Northwest; as in a late Work of Miguel Venegas, a Spanish Mexican Jesuit, publish'd at Madrid in 1758, the making a strong Settlement & erecting Fortresses on the Northwest Coast of California is warmly recommended to secure the South Seas against the English, who may possibly come into those Seas thro' such Passage.

The Description given by De Fonte of his Passing thro' the Archipelago St. Lazarus, & of the River Los Reyes, is a natural One; the little Fall of Water out of Lake Belle into the River Los Reyes, till half Flood; and the Flood beginning to set gently into Lake Belle an hour & quarter before High Water, the Lake itself fresh, & the Water of Los Reyes fresh 20 Leagues distance from its Mouth, are all natural and consistent Circumstances: The Fish mention'd as found in Los Reyes and Lake Belle are proper to those Latitudes and to fresh Water; and when he comes to describe Lake De Fonte, which by its other Circumstances you find must be Salt Water, tho' he does not say it was so, yet the Fish he mentions are northern Salt water Fish. The Description of the Birds, Beasts, Trees, Wild Fruit & Berries, are likewise all such as we know are proper to the Northern Parts of America. That the Country grew sensibly worse as they came farther Eastward tho' in nearly the same Latitude, is a singular Circumstance not likely to be observ'd in a Work of Invention; but from other Accounts of the Difference of Cold in the Same Latitudes on the Eastern & Western Coasts of the same Continents must undoubtedly be Fact. In North America, on the Eastern Coast, from 50 Degrees Northward, all Vegetation is extremely check'd by the Severity of the cold Northwest Winds, which blow three quarters of the Year, and make the Winters excessively hard. While the Western Coast of Europe in the same Latitudes, has plenty of strong Vegetation, large Growths of Timber, &c. and is comfortable for human Habi-
tation. Again the Eastern Coast of the European & Asiatic Conti-
inent in those Northern Latitudes, viz. Kamtschaka, &c. is exactly in the same Circumstances with the Eastern Coast of America; while the Western Coast of America, opposite to Kamtschaka, is as happy in respect to Climate and Vegetation as the Western Coast of Europe. See the Observations of Mr. Steller the Russian Botan-
ist, who was employ'd in their late Discovery of America, Page 479, 480 of the Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LI. Part II. for the Year 1769—He says, "The American Land is in a much better State with regard to the Climate, than the farthest Eastern Coast of Asia. The Mountains of Asia, are ruinous, cleft, & broken, cover'd with perpetual Snows; no Wood nor Herbs grow on the Coast, except in the Valleys, where is seen small brush Wood, & still Herbs. On the contrary, the Mountains of America on the opposite Coast, are cover'd on the Surface, not with Moss, but with fruitful Earth or Mould, and therefore are decked from the Foot to the very Top of them, with thick and very fine Trees. In America, even the Sea Shores at 60 Degrees Latitude, are woody; but in Kamtschaka, at 51 Degrees Latitude, no Place set even with small Willows and Alder Trees is found nearer than 20 Versts from the Sea, birch Trees not nearer than 30 Versts, Pitch Trees

26 Georg Wilhelm Steller (1709-1746), who accompanied Bering as naturalist on the expedition of 1741-1741. "An Account of that Part of America, which is nearest to the Land of Kamtschaka; extracted from the Description of Kamtschaka by Pro-

50 Versts: at 60 Degrees there is no Wood in Kamchatka." The above from Steller. Now we know the Eastern Coast of America in those Latitudes, viz. Labrador, Hudson's Bay & Greenland, to be in nearly the same State that he describes of Kamchatka. The Moravians who have a Mission in Greenland, carried from New York the Timber to build their Church & House, no Wood being found there. They carried also Earth for their Garden. Father Gabriel Marest, a Jesuit, who was some time at the Fort on Bourbon River, now called York River, in Hudson's Bay, Lat. 57° 57', in his letter printed in the Travels of the Jesuits,17 "the Soil is very barren; there is little Wood, & that very small; for about 30 or 40 Leagues about the Fort there are no Timber Trees, owing to the excessive Cold and almost continual Snows, &c."7 P. Charlevoix says of the same Bay, "There are not more affreux que le Pays dont elle est environnee; de quelque cote qu'on jette les yeux, on n'aperçoit que des Terres incultes & sauvages, & des Rochers escarpés, qui s'élevent jusqu'aux Nuées, qui sont entrecoupés de Ravines profondes, & de Vallées stériles, où le Soleil ne pénètre point, & que les neiges & les glaçons, qui ne fondent jamais, rendent inhabitéables." Steller assures us from his own Observation, that the Western Coast is a fine Country. Therefore any one passing thro' Lakes and Rivers from the Western to the Eastern Coast, as De Fonte says he did, must observe, if he took any Notice of the Country at all, that it grew sensibly worse & worse, the farther he went Eastward. In a Paper of mine long since wrote, there is an Hypothesis that accounts for the almost constant blowing of N.W. Winds, in those cold Countries, for the Coldness of those Winds, and the Tempering they receive in passing over a Sea, which I will not here repeat, as you have a Copy of that Paper.18

The late Russian Discoveries afford another probable Circumstance in favour of the Truth of De Fonte's Account, by his Description the Northern Part of America appears to be Land broken and divided by large Lakes communicating by Straights and Rivers; this State of the Country would afford an easy Communication to the People of the N.E. Coast of North America, who live by Whale-Fishing, & have those singular Kind of light Boats, made of

Skins, and cover'd all but a Hole for one Person to sit in, which they close round their Bodies with a kind of Purse-Mouth, to prevent any Entrance of Water. Now the Russians in crossing the Western Sea, met with People and Boats that answer this Description exactly, employ'd in the same Way, using the same kind of Instruments, & having the same Manner. They had moreover Iron Knives, which no Indians can make, & which these northern Indians buy of our Hudson's Bay Company, or of the Danes at Greenland. As these People live by the Produce of the Sea, and every Man has one of this kind of Boats, we may not suppose that they pass freely in those Boats thro' such Lakes & Passages, fishing in either Sea, as the differing Seasons occasion the Whales, &c. to appear in one or the other at different Times.

Again, by the Account of De Fonte's Passage out of Lake Belle which was fresh Water, into Lake De Fonte which appears to be Salt Water, thro' the River Parlementiers, it seems that this latter Salt Water communicating with the Eastern or Atlantic Sea, was lower in its Level than the Salt Water of the Western Seas; for a little before High Water, he found that the Tide flow'd into Lake Belle on the Western Side; & there was only a small Fall out of it at other Times; whereas in coming out of that Lake on the Eastern Side in his Boats, he found a Descent of Water to Lake De Fonte by 5 several Falls or Rapids, which in the whole he computed might amount to about 52 feet Perpendicular. It is not taken Notice of as a wonderful Thing that there should be any Difference of Level between the two Seas. No Attempt is made to account for such an Improbability. And one would think no Writer of a feign'd Voyage, who desir'd to have it receiv'd as true, would of Choice invent and insert a Circumstance so objectionable. The Facts seem to be simply related, without Attention to the consequent Difficulty. Now if it should be found from subsequent Considerations, that there ought to be a considerable Difference in the Level of the two Seas, the Improbability of such a Thing at the Time the Journal was written, affords another internal Evidence of the Truth of that Journal. And that Lake De Fonte must be suppos'd by the Writer to communicate with the Atlantic, appears from this, that in the Strait Ronquillo leading out of that Lake, Admiral De Fonte, as he says, found a Ship from New England, trading with the Natives for Furs; of which Ship more hereafter.

As to the Difference of Level in Seas, it is well known, that strong Winds have a considerable Effect on the Surface of the Sea; moving the Waters so as to raise them on some Coasts and depress

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them on others. Occasional Winds produce these Effects occasionally on the Coasts of Britain, Ireland, Holland, &c. Constant Winds in other Countries produce the same Effects more constantly. The Trade Wind blowing over the Atlantic Ocean constantly from the East, between the Tropics, carries a Current to the American Coast, and raises the Water there above its Natural Level. From thence it flows off thro' the Gulf of Mexico, and all along the North American Coast to & beyond the Banks of Newfoundland in a strong Current, called by Seamen the Gulf Stream.

In those Northern Latitudes the Winds blowing almost constantly Northwest, as appears by the Voyages of Middleton, Ellis, & others, the Water is move'd away from the North American Coast towards the Coasts of Spain & Africa, whence they get again into the Power of the Trade Winds, & descend by Circulation. Thus the North West Winds keep the Level of the Sea lower in the North East Seas of America, as the Easterly Trade Winds accumulate it on the Coast between the Tropics. But if one could not assign the Cause of such Difference of Level in the same Ocean, the Fact must nevertheless be allow'd; since so long & so strong a Current as that of the Gulf Stream, thro' all the Latitudes of variable Winds, can only be accounted for, by its having a considerable Descent, and moving from Parts where the Water is higher, to Parts where it is lower. Now the very same Cause, viz. The almost constant Northwest Winds blowing in the Northern Region, which carry the Waters away from the North East Coast of America, bring them to & accumulate them on the N.West Coast. And by all Accounts of Voyages in those N.Western Seas, particularly that of Sir Francis Drake, that of Sebastian Viscaino in 1602, & the late Voyages of the Russians, the Northwest Wind is there a kind of Trade Wind, and blows violently. And if Winds may produce a Difference of Level in the same Ocean, they certainly may in different Oceans, where the free Communication is obstructed by a Continent or by Islands.

About the Year 1752, a Person who had been Clerk to the California, in a Voyage made by that Ship and the Dobbs to Hudson's Bay, in Search of a N.West Passage, apply'd to me to promote a Subscription for another Attempt. He put into my Hands, among other Pieces relating to the Probability of such a Passage, Mr Dobbs's Account of this Letter of De Fonte's, wherein I found Mention of his Meeting with a Ship from Boston in New-England, commanded by one Shapley, & own'd by Major General Gibbons of that Country, who was on board, trading with the Natives in those Parts. As this was a very remarkable Circumstance, and, if true, would show that the Lake De Fonte, & the Strait Ronquillo, where Shapley's Ship was found, communicated with the Atlantic in or near Hudson's Bay, there being no probability that a Boston Ship would go down to the Straits of Magellaan & up the Western Coast of America, a Voyage of more than 3000 Leagues, to trade with the Indians in those Northern Countries, when they could meet with the same kind of People & Trade so much nearer home in or about Hudson's Bay, I resolved to make Enquiry concerning it. De Fonte's Description of Capt. Shapley is, that he was the greatest Man in the Mechanical Parts of the Mathematics that he ever met with, having fine Charts & Journals which he purchase'd of him for 1000 Pieces of eight; and of Major Gibbons, that he was a fine Gentleman. I imag'ned that some Remembrance of such Persons and such a Trade from New England, if they ever existed, might still be found there. Accordingly I wrote to Mr Prince, a great Antiquarian of that Country,19 and then employ'd in writing a chronological Account of its first Settlement, and all the remarkable Events of its History, desiring he would enquire and inform me if there had been such a Person as Seimor Gibbons, Major General of the Massachussetts Bay in New England about the Year 1640. In Answer he acquainted me, that about 10 Years before, De Fonte's Journal in Manuscript had been put into his Hands with the same Request, by Capt. Warren (afterwards Admiral Warren) then Commander of the Station Ship at Boston; that he readily found in their old Records that a Major General Gibbons liv'd at that time in that Colony; but that his Christian Name was not Seimor but Edward. As to Captain Shapley, not finding any Mention of him, he apply'd to a Deacon Marshal, then above 90 Years of Age, to know if he had ever heard of such a Person. Deacon Marshal told him, he remember'd that when he was a Boy, there was much Talk among the Boys of a Capt. Shapley, and of his great Learning, he having, as they express it, learnt as far as the Black Art: That he liv'd & dy'd at Charlestown (a Town near Boston) but more of him he could not remember. Mr Prince then went to Charlestown, where he found some of the Descendants of Capt. Shapley, and his Will on the Records of the Town. He therefore gave Credit to the Voyage in general, but suppos'd a Mistake as to Major General Gibbons bein' himself on board the Ship with Capt. Shapley, his Name being

Edward & not Seimor; but said, he possibly might have a Brother
of the Name of Seimor; who might be with Shapley. I wrote again
to Mr Prince, that the Major’s Christian Name being mention’d
in the following plain Manner, “having given the brave Naviga-
tor Captain Shapley for his fine Charts and Journals, 1000
Pieces of eight, and the Owner of the Ship Seimor Gibbons a
Quarter Cask of Peruan Wine.” &c, where some Title is given to
Shapley, and the Major, tho’ allow’d to be a Gentleman of Rank,
call’d only by his plain Christian & Sur Name, as a Quaker would
have call’d him, and in a manner not agreeing with Spanish Po-
liteness, I suspected that what was put down Seimor by the Copier
of the Account, might in the Original be the Spanish Title of Com-
plement, Seignior, which they write Señor or Sennor; if Sennor, it
was an easy Mistake, by supposing the first Stroke of the first (n)
to be an (i), then the second Stroke of the first (n) join’d to the two
Strokes of the second (n) would make the (m) and so turn Sennor
into Seimor. Mr Prince however did not seem satisfied that the
Major General could himself be with Shapley; but I have since met
with the following Particulars relating to him. In the New
England Chronology printed at Boston 1796,20 I find he liv’d near
Charlestown in 1630. [Charlestown (sic) was the Residence of
Shapley when at home, & this makes a Connection between them
the more probable.]21 The Words are, “About a Mile distant [from
Charlestown] upon the River, runs a small Creek, which takes its
Name from Mr Edward Gibbons, who dwelt there for some Years
after, & became Major General.” And in a Book, call’d Remark-
able Providences, by Increase Mather, printed at Boston in New
England, 1684,22 there is a Story of him thus introduced, page 14.
“Remarkable was that Deliverance mention’d both by Mr Jane-way
& Mr Burton, wherein that gallant Commander Major Edward
Gibbons of Boston in New England, and others, were concerned.
The Substance of the Story is this. A New England Vessel going
from Boston to some other Parts of America, was thro’ the Con-
tinuance of contrary Winds, kept long at Sea, so that they were in
very great Straits for want of Provision.” After relating many Cir-
cumstances of their Distress, and their casting Lots that one might
die to be eaten by the rest, & their going to Prayers before they
would actually kill the destin’d Victim; the Relation concludes thus:
“One of them espies a Ship, which put Life into all their
Spirits. They bear up with their Vessel, man their Boat, and beg
like perspiring humble Supplicants to board them, which they are
admitted. The Vessel proves a French Vessel, yes a French Pirate.
Major Gibbons petitions them for a little Bread, and offers Ship
and Cargo for it. But the Commander knows the Major, (from
whom he had received some signal Kindnesses formerly at Boston)
and replied readily and cheerfully, Major Gibbons, not a Hair
of you or your Company shall perish, if it lie in my Power to pre-
sure you. And accordingly he relieve them.” There is No Date
to this Account, but the Book professedly relates all Events of the
kind that had happened to New England People since the Settle-
ment of that Country, and Speaks of this Account as taken from
former Books: Then we find in the Relation compar’d with De
Fonte’s Acc’t, the following Circumstances of Character that agree,
viz.

Mather
1. Gallant Commander; one
that when at home show’d
Kindness to Strangers, &
gain’d their Esteem.

De Fonte
1. A fine Gentleman.—modest
Gentleman.—made me a
Present of Provisions. I preat
him to accept a Diamond
Ring.

2. A Major, of Boston, in New
England.

2. Major General of the largest
Colony in New England.

3. Us’d sometimes to make Voy-
ages to other Parts of America.

3. Was in the Ship with Shapley
on the N.E. Coast of America.

4. The Ship & Cargo his own,
he offer’d them for Provisions
to the Frenchman.

4. Was Owner of Shapley’s Ship.

5. His Name Edward Gibbons.

5. His Name Seimor Gibbons.

This only Difference I have already endeavour’d to account for;
and if I have conjectured truly, this very Difference is a farther
Proof that the Journal is really a Translation from the Spanish,
and not, as some have supposed, an English Fiction. I will now
only add; that from Manuscript Journals I have seen & read in
Boston, and other Accounts, I know that some of those Seamen
who had been employ’d in Discovering Hudson’s Bay, settled
afterwards in New England, & were engag’d in constant yearly
trading Voyages from Boston thither, which continu'd down with some Interruptions from the French, till the Establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Reign of Charles the second. At home I have a Number of Letters & Papers that give farther and stronger Light in this Matter; they are bundled together with the Manuscript Journals of the two Voyages I promoted from Philadelphia, which proved indeed unsuccessful, but the Journals contain some valuable Information; and the Charts taken of the Coast, Harbours, and Islands of Labrador, for a considerable Extent, may be useful. As you have express some Curiosity in this Affair, I wish them in your Possession; and if any Accident should happen to me in my Return, I desire my Executors may consider this Letter as an Authority for sending them intire to you. With the greatest Esteem, I am,

Dear Friend,
Yours affectionately

B Franklin

P.S. My Opinion upon the whole is this, That though there may probably be no practicable Passage for Ships, there is nevertheless such a Passage for Boats as De Fonte found & has describ'd; & That the Country upon that Passage is for the most part habitable, & would produce all the Necessaries of Life.

I intended to sketch a little Map, expressing my Idea of De Fonte's Voyage, as you desired. But I find one done to my Hand, which I send you annexed. I only think it places the Entrance of Los Reyes too far South, which Entrance I conceive, by the Distance sailed, 866 Leagues from Cape Abel, ought to be near Lat. 60—and that it carries the Strait Ronquillo too far North, which I imagine should enter Hudson's Bay between Lat. 60 & 62, where I have made two crooked red Lines. The Bay North of Cape Elias discover'd by the Russians, is perhaps the Entrance of the Archipelago St. Lazarus, describ'd by De Fonte, leading to Rio Los Reyes.

[Attached to last page:]

"A General Map of the Discoveries of Admiral De Fonte, and other Navigators, Spanish, English, and Russian, in quest of a Passage to the South Sea, By Mr. De l'Isle Sepr. 1752."

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32 The material mentioned is still among the missing Frankliniana.
34 From Gerhard P. Müller, *Voyages from Asia to America, For Completing the Discoveries of the West Coast of America*, London, 1751.

Map attached to letter from Franklin to Dr. Pringle, May 27, 1762
deCoppet Collection, Princeton University Library
The Iconography of the Kane Suetonius*

BY J. WILSON FERGUSON

The Kane Suetonius, the copy of the Vitae Duodecim Caesarum in the Grenville Kane Collection of the Princeton University Library, is in many respects an exceptional manuscript. It is, in fact, one of the most treasured and exhibited of all the manuscripts at Princeton. Signed by Milanus Burrus, whom we know to have been employed in an atelier supplying books to the Visconti, rulers of Milan and Pavia, this manuscript is dated 1493. An excellent and detailed discussion of the provenance and authenticity of this work and of its relationship to other manuscripts of the period appeared in an article by Miss Dorothy Miner in the Chronicle in 1949.2

The real focus of interest, however, the feature which makes this Suetonius truly outstanding, is its illustrations. There are twelve colorful miniatures, one for each Caesar, situated at the beginning of each life. These "portraits," an examination of which forms the core of this article, are exceptional not only in their inclusiveness and conception but also in their preservation. Only the first miniature, that of Julius Caesar, is somewhat rubbed, as is so often the case with the pages of illuminated manuscripts.

These miniatures take a good deal of their interest, moreover, from the fact that illustrated editions of Suetonius from this and earlier times are rather rare. The book itself was well known, and, indeed, Suetonius' accounts formed substantial parts of the medieval replications of the first twelve Roman emperors; but it was seldom illustrated. The only other illustrated Suetonius which has come to my attention is that in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which has only three of its original twelve miniatures remaining. This manuscript, however, is contemporaneous with that of Milanus Burrus, and the pictures were apparently the product of the same atelier. They certainly share similar concepts and patterns.3

The Princeton manuscript and its miniatures appeared at an important, even a critical, stage in the history of art and of Europe. Through an iconographical examination of these twelve "portraits" we may hope to learn something of the change from Gothic to Renaissance in art and to see in them the reflection of some of the historical developments of the fifteenth century.

Julius Caesar

The first miniature, which serves as a frontispiece to the whole book, is that of Julius Caesar. As has been mentioned, this picture is the only one to have sustained any damage, but even here the rubbing is not serious enough to cause any diminution in beauty or incalculability. Caesar is presented in armor, a colossus astride the world he has conquered (see Plate V). In one hand he holds a naked sword, in the other a spear with a red pennon. The plume of his helmet supports a bird, while his head pieces a banded representation of the sky from which Sol and Luna beam upon him. In a border around this central figure are ten smaller pictures showing scenes from Caesar's life and monuments connected with him.

The aspect of the central figure is decidedly medieval. The costume, as are the costumes of all the Caesars, is contemporary with the artist. The representation is of Caesar the conqueror, his basic medieval reputation, one of the great pagan heroes. The world he dominates, with its castled towns, mountains, and valleys, the lack of perspective, and the inability to keep the representation within the border are also medieval, but a note of realism and accurate delineation of figure are present as aspects of a newer spirit.

The only iconographical difficulty in connection with the central figure is the bird which perches on the plume of Caesar's helmet. It looks rather like a dove, but the dove hardly fits in with Caesar's reputation or representation. As a symbol of the Pax Romana, moreover, the dove belongs to Augustus rather than to Julius. If, however, we can assume the artist to have been rather a poor ornithologist, which is by no means certain, the bird may

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1 Seymour de Ricci, with the assistance of W. J. Wilson, Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada, New York, 1939-40, II, 189, No. 46.
3 For purposes of comparison, see Montague R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 1912, pp. 319-319 and Pl. XCVI.
be a parrot. This bird is connected with Caesar by a medieval legend according to which, as a youth, the future dictator was greeted during a walk by a parrot speaking the words "Ave Caesar." This was held to be an omen of his future greatness and the precocious bird became his emblem. Such may or may not have been the artist's intention.  

The surrounding scenes show a more modern conception. The first five, beginning at the upper left-hand corner and proceeding counterclockwise, show Caesar, viewed from various angles, in a chariot drawn by four horses. These represent the five triumphs of the dictator, a record number, which he celebrated after the civil wars. In these triumphal scenes he holds either a scepter or the small naked figure of Bonus Eventus, a frequent participant in Roman triumphs. Although he is constantly shown in armor, Caesar wears either a helmet or a laurel wreath, both customary to triumphs.  

The next two scenes, numbers six and seven in order, present Caesar wreathed and enthroned. In the first he holds his rod of rule in the left hand and extends the right, a position probably intended to show him dispensing justice. The second reveals the rod in the emperor's right hand with his left holding a golden sphere in his lap. This latter appears to be an orb and the scene to be Caesar ruling.  

The eighth scene displays Caesar, still wreathed, being stabbed by two others in front of the throne depicted in the two preceding panels. It is interesting to note that, contrary to Suetonius' account, the dictator is here stabbed near a throne (instead of in the Senate) and in the back. Perhaps this latter is meant to indicate the treachery involved in Caesar's assassination.  

The next representation is of a pyramid surrounded by a ball. This pyramid was a famous monument in medieval Rome and was believed to be the tomb of Romulus. Its appearance here is testimony to Caesar's reputation as the second founder of the city of Rome and as the absolute founder of her empire, placing him on an equal plane with the revered Romulus. There are also some not altogether conclusive indications that Caesar himself was thought to have been buried in such a tomb.  

The last panel of the border presents a city which can only be Rome, once again a symbol of Caesar's role as "liberator of the city" and "father patriae." Caesar was, moreover, considered the allegorical guardian and champion of Rome in the Middle Ages. This is a most impressive and Gothic representation of Julius Caesar, seen primarily in his role of world master and empire builder. It is interesting, however, that another act for which he was famed in the Middle Ages, namely calendar reform, is ignored. There seems to be nothing in the miniature which depends upon Suetonius' text alone, although some of the border panels seem to follow him to a small extent, and the artist appears to have based his conception of Caesar upon what he knew from general sources and what he believed others would recognize.  

Augustus  

The second miniature depicts Augustus Caesar in his famous consultation with the Tiburtine sibyl, a legend popular in the late Middle Ages and frequently represented by fifteenth-century painters and book illuminators. This legend, primarily a product of the sixteenth century, relates that Augustus visited the sibyl to inquire whether he should consent to allow himself to be worshiped with divine honors, which the Senate had decreed to him. The sibyl, after three days of meditation, took the emperor apart and showed him an altar above which, in a celestial opening, appeared a beautiful virgin holding an infant in her arms. At the same time a voice was heard saying, "This is the altar of the son of the living God." Hearing this, Augustus caused the spot to be sealed in a sacred and refused divine honors for himself. This was, according to the legend, the foundation of the church of Ara Coeli.  

This, then, is the scene reproduced in the Kane Suetonius. Only the altar is missing. Augustus occupies the left half of the pic-

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7 Arturo Graf, Roma nella memoria e nelle immaginazioni del Medio Evo, Turin, 1886-89. All my estimates of the medieval reputations of the early Roman emperors are based substantially on this work. For Julius Caesar, however, see also Friedrich Gundolf, Caesar; Geschichte seines Ruhmes, Berlin, 1949.  
8 For a reproduction of the miniature, see Walters Art Gallery, Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, Baltimore, 1956, pl. LXXVI.  
9 Nichols, op.cit., pp. 95-98.  
10 This altar is absent from all representations of this scene after 1540 excepting only Roger van der Weyden's "Bladelin Altarpiece" and renditions dependent on it. See Erwin Panofsky, Early Netherlandish Painting, Cambridge, 1953, I, 277, 409.
In this representation, Tiberius is shown clothed in a cloak of bright red and crowned with laurel. This wreath is an interesting classical touch, and all the subsequent emperors in the series are also so crowned. Beneath his robe Tiberius wears armor, the shoulder pieces of which represent leonine faces. Around the collar of the robe and descending from right to left hangs a golden chain adorned with pendent drops, a most elegant raiment.

In his right hand the emperor holds a short sword, or perhaps a longish dagger, with a four-sided blade. It appears ready for use but is not obviously directed to any object. The fact, however, that Tiberius’ left hand is clenched around a heart which he regards frowningly may be no coincidence. This heart, while red, is not bleeding nor has it any wounds. Although there seems to be no overt iconographical tradition which explains this attribute, the conclusion seems inescapable that this representation refers to Tiberius’ cruelty in general and to his responsibility for the crucifixion of Christ in particular. That there is no plain indication that the heart held and possibly threatened by the emperor is that of Christ may be the result of prudence on the part of the artist. To show the sacred heart of Christ being handled and threatened by such an unsavory character may have been considered sacrilegious. Christian implications would, however, seem to have been inescapable to a fifteenth-century viewer of this miniature.

It is of interest that the medieval legend of Tiberius and St. Veronica, as valid a source of illustration as that of Augustus and the sibyl, is ignored. But perhaps the artist wished to indicate that the most important events of the reigns of the second and third Caesars were the birth and death of Christ. Here, in any case, we have a dependence on a reputation both classical and medieval for the significance of the miniature.

Caligula

The name of Caligula was also one of evil import in the Middle Ages, again a tradition stemming largely from Suetonius’ portrayal. Our artist has, accordingly, placed him in a vainglorious and malevolent posture (see Plate VI). The fairly young emperor, wearing ornate but civilian dress and crowned with laurel, stands alone. In his right hand he grasps the rod of office; his left holds a twisted cornucopia in the mouth of which a basilisk rests. In
the upper left is a circular inset, comprising a female face backed by a silver-blue crescent, at which Caligula gazes with discontent and toward which he raises his scepter.

The basilisk and cornucopia seem to symbolize Caligula's gift of tyranny and misrule to Rome instead of the fruits of peace and plenty which ordinarily issue from such a horn, the attribute of abundance. The basilisk was a legendary animal, perhaps based on the cobra, having a rooster's head and a snake's tail. Hatched from a rooster's egg, it was supposed to be able to kill with both its glance and breath. This unappetizing monster became the attribute of calumny, conspiration, and malevolence, a symbol of the spirit of evil and (or) the devil. Quite a resident for a cornucopia!13

That the cornucopia itself is twisted is of interest, standing as it does for the barreness and decay of the empire under Caligula. Such a cornucopia, in a Christian context, can also be an attribute of heresy, especially if associated with reptiles.14 and, although this is probably not wholly applicable here, the artist's intention must have been apparent to a contemporary beholder.

As to the circular face toward which the emperor looks and gestures, this can be nothing other than the moon, and the situation seems based on a short passage in Suetonius. Here it is recorded of Caligula that, "at night he used constantly to invite the full and radiant moon to his embraces and his bed."

This is, it seems, what is happening here. Naturally the moon, much to the emperor's disgust, always refused the honor.

In this miniature, therefore, where there was no great medieval legend nor obvious religious significance connected with the reign, the artist turned to the manuscript text for his scene and to a generally accepted characterization, based largely upon Suetonius, as a basis for symbolic attribution. This, along with an acute realism of delineation, makes this "portrait" the most "modern" of all the miniatures.

Claudius

The emperor Claudius is represented as an elderly, rather tired and discouraged figure. Alone in the picture, he holds his scepter in his right hand. In his left he holds a large and rather stylized mushroom, one with a polished and discernible knob at the bottom. His civilian clothes are plain but elegant, and his head supports the customary laurel. In the upper left-hand corner of the miniature there is a phoenix, rising from its funeral pyre on the way to its home in the sun, which is shown in the border. Claudius, however, pays no attention to it.

The mushroom, for it can be nothing else, is explained by Suetonius' account of the emperor's death. Not only was Claudius extremely fond of these fungi, but his wife, wishing to see Nero succeed, killed him by feeding him a poisonous variety. This murder has been a famous case throughout the years, and there has been considerable speculation as to the exact method used. The Renaissance thought, and the best modern scholarship agrees, that the deadly Amanita (Amanita phalloides), whose poison takes effect only after some delay, would have been the best species to be used.

This type of mushroom, moreover, is distinguished by a large knob at the base of the stem.15 Our artist was probably well aware of this and indicated as much by the knob on his painted mushroom. Certainly the best methods of poisoning were well known in fifteenth-century Italy.

The phoenix is always a sign of rebirth, the legend of its self-cremation and resurrection being famous.16 In this context it appears to refer to the revival of the Roman empire under the good, if not brilliant, rule of Claudius. The warrant for such an attribute, however, is to be found in Claudius' general reputation rather than in his characterization by Suetonius, who called him lazy and stupid.

Once more, then, we have a representation in which the symbolism is drawn partly from Suetonius and partly from a general tradition.

Nero

The miniature devoted to Nero in the Kane Suetonius is unique in the series in being the only one divided into two compartments, the emperor occupying the lower (see Plate VI). He is there presented as a musician grasping a triangular stringed instrument rather awkwardly by its lowest extremity. This is part of a repre-

16 Valentina P. and R. Gordon Wason, Mushrooms, Russia, and History, New York [1957], I, 55 ff.
17 White, op. cit., pp. 139-138.
sentational tradition which reaches back to classical times, for both antique statues and coins showed Nero as a lyre player. This miniature is not, however, based on any classical model but expresses the tradition in fifteenth-century terms. Dressed in non-military splendor (his robe is of gold), the emperor carries a wand in addition to his ‘lyre.’

The upper chamber, which fills about one third of the whole miniature, contains two figures occupied with musical instruments. A female figure, who personifies music, is dressed in long flowing robes, sits upon a bench, and tunes a lute. She holds a second, smaller stringed instrument in her lap. At her feet sits an elderly man, voluminously dressed and adorned with a long forked beard and a Jewish skullcap. He taps with twoammers upon an anvil. This is Tubal-cain, who, as the result of a textual misreading of “Jubal,” became accepted in the Middle Ages as the biblical inventor of music. The correctness of this identification of the group is indisputable in the face of an illustration in the Ambrosian Codex where almost identical figures are presented and labeled.  

Just what the artist had in mind here is a bit obscure. Certainly the representation of a musical Nero does not seem to need any explanation since the emperor’s musical bent figures large in all histories of his reign. Yet the idea of contrasting him with Tubal-cain makes good sense in that it opposes a character personifying “good” or sacred music with one personifying “bad” or secular music. He may, of course, merely have wished to show the “goddess” of music in connection with, or perhaps supervising, her most illustrious disciple.

Galba
Otho
Vitellius
Nero was the last of the Julians, and the reigns of the next three emperors were too short to be spectacular, too short to provide a reputation that could be represented by an illustrator. Of the last six of Suetonius’ twelve Caesars, in fact, only Vespasian is significantly attributed. The only characteristics which are shown are age and soldierliness.

Galba, who was both old and a general and who won the throne in the field, is presented in full armor with a long naked sword in his hands. He wears, however, a laurel wreath and does not appear to have passed fifty.

Otho is dressed in civilian clothes which reveal his youth. He merely holds a wand and looks generally ineffective, which he was. He was, apparently, considered so unattributable that the artist allowed one hand to remain empty and slightly extended.

Vitellius, the last of these short-term emperors, is shown as a youthful individual, whereas he was really fairly mature. He wears armor under a cloak, but his legs are clothed only in red hose. His right hand holds a long spear, which rests on the ground and which may be intended to indicate this emperor’s German background, while his left rests on his wide belt.

What seems to have happened is that the artist had little of significance to express about these men and merely presented them as different types so as to avoid repetition.

Vespasian
With Vespasian, however, such procedure was no longer necessary, for this emperor had a solid history and an extensive medieval reputation. He was both restorer of the empire and conqueror of the Jews, and, since this latter event was interpreted in medieval legend as a revenge for the crucifixion of Christ, Vespasian had a considerable reputation as a good emperor.

The emperor is shown wearing a loose cloak over full armor and crowned with laurel. In his right hand he holds an upright sword, the blade of which pierces the border of the miniature. In his left arm he carries a city, consisting mostly of a large building distinguished by a central dome and surrounded by a wall containing regularly spaced gates. This can only be Jerusalem and the temple, the conquest of which was considered in the Middle Ages as the most significant act of Vespasian’s life. Suetonius, however, gives this incident no particular stress, and here again the artist follows the current tradition rather than the text to make his figures recognizable.

While it has seemed impossible to make any thoroughgoing symbolic evaluation of the colors used in this series of miniatures, it is no doubt significant that the background for the “portrait” of Vespasian is solid gold. Such a golden background occurs only four times, and it is probably no accident that it was reserved for the four good emperors: Julius, Augustus, Claudius, and Vespasian.
Titus
Domitian

With the pictures of the sons of Vespasian the artist returns to
the insignificance of the three emperors succeeding Nero. Titus and
Domitian are presented as types of young princes. Both wear purely
civilian clothes, sport laurel wreaths, and carry swords. Titus has
a long blade which he holds in both hands, much in the manner of
Galba, while his brother’s is not quite as long and rests on his
right shoulder. Domitian’s left hand lies on his belt, a posture
similar to that of Vitellius, and he wears a chain like that which
adorned Tiberius. The artist has not only run out of subject
matter but of variety.

The predominant elements of style in these miniatures are
Gothic, but, as we have noted from time to time, this is modified
by a growing realism, especially in details of foreground and dress.
All this is rather typical of Lombard work of the period. So also
is the use of a purely decorative background, influenced to some
extent by contemporary conventions in tapestry. Several borders,
for example, are decorated in Kufic script, very popular in orna-
tmental tapestries of the period, and—though the custom origin-
ated in Sienese trecento painting—particularly popular in
France.

The influence of French art is also strong in other stylistic ele-
ments, as can be seen by comparison with many French miniatures
of the period. Nor is this surprising since the Kane Suetonius was
illuminated in Milan. Lombardy was always under northern
rather than Italian influence, was, indeed, the last home of Gothic
art in Italy. Yet here in these Milanese miniatures we find the new
manner insinuating itself. It appears in the Giottotseque deline-
ation of hair, in the pseudo-classical wand of office, in the elabora-
tion of manner and attitude, in the perfection of detail. This is
not yet an archaeological realism in the treatment of classical sub-
jects such as was developed later in the century and which found
its climax in the work of Andrea Mantegna, but the germ is pre-
sent, the threshold has been crossed. This mingled existence of
Gothic and Renaissance elements is, moreover, characteristic of
Milan in this period, for the new style did not conquer Lombardy

until the reign of the Sforzas (ca. 1450) and never completely suc-
cceeded in eradicating its older rival.

The dependence of this Lombard art on northern, and particu-
larly on French, style also illustrates the position of Milan in the
political world. This state was always to some extent under French
protection or control, and the French interest was strong in
internal Milanese affairs. Less than a century later, in fact, Milan
provided the gate of entry for the extension of French power and
armies into Italy, an incursion which ruined Milan, disrupted the
Italian state system, and led to an almost total domination of the
peninsula by non-Italians.

The first third of the fifteenth century was not, however, a pe-
riod of transition in art and politics alone. We can see in this
artist’s choice of motifs a bit of the new intellectual ferment. Some
of his choices of subject matter, in the seven cases where the figure
is significantly attributed, are based purely on medieval tradition
or reputation, but in the cases of Caligula’s moon and Claudius’
mushroom the artist seems to have gone straight to the text, defi-
nitely a humanistic impulse. In other cases, such as Tiberius and
Nero, it is difficult to disentangle the influences of Suetonius and
of the medieval tradition in which his account played so large a
part. The new trend appears, however, in the reference of the
traditions to a classical text.

The Kane Suetonius reflects the transitional nature of its pe-
eriod in other respects too. We have already observed the tenden-
cies of its illustrations toward archaeological realism and humanis-

m. The very fact that someone desired a copy of such a book,
or felt it necessary to own and display such a book, bespeaks the
renewed interest in the classics which animated the times. We can
see, however, that the understanding of the personages recorded
was still primarily Gothic, not classical. Men were starting to
think of classical figures in a classical setting, but not as yet in
principle, so that only a few classical elements crept in. That sense
of history which distinguished the High Renaissance was forming,
but was not yet triumphant, when Tiberius could be depicted as
a contemporary tyrant crowned with laurel.

For a reproduction of the “portrait” of Domitian, see Miner, op. cit., plate facing
p. 49.
“AFTERNOON OF AN AUTHOR”

The Princeton University Library has published this autumn, as the sixth in the series of occasional publications sponsored by the Friends of the Library, *Afternoon of an Author*, a selection of uncollected stories and essays by F. Scott Fitzgerald ’17, with an introduction and notes by Arthur Mizener ’30. Every member of the Friends has been invited to accept a complimentary copy of the book (for which a handling charge of $1.00 has been made). The publication price is $3.00. Because of high manufacturing costs, it has not been possible to offer additional copies to Friends at a reduced price, as in the past.

*Afternoon of an Author* contains fourteen uncollected short stories and six uncollected essays by Scott Fitzgerald and includes reproductions of photographs from the author’s scrapbook in the Princeton Library. The selections from Fitzgerald’s uncollected work are evenly distributed over the course of his career as a writer, beginning with the autobiographical essay entitled “Who’s Who—and Why,” which he wrote for The Saturday Evening Post in 1920, and ending with “News of Paris—Fifteen Years Ago,” a story found among Fitzgerald’s papers, apparently written in 1940, and posthumously published in *Furioso*. Among other things, the book includes, from the early period of Fitzgerald’s career, the wry essays about his financial difficulties called “How to Live on $60,000 a Year” and “How to Live on Practically Nothing a Year,” and the penetrating essay he wrote in 1926 about Hemingway’s *In Our Time*. From the middle period of his career there are three uncollected stories about Basil Duke Lee, a story called “One Trip Abroad,” printed in 1930 and bearing an evident but as yet unanalyzed relation to *Tender Is the Night*, and a brilliant story entitled “Outside the Cabinet-Maker’s,” which is the first clear manifestation of the mood and style which were going to dominate Fitzgerald’s work in the final period of his career. From that final period there are six stories, three representative ones from the group of seventeen he wrote about Pat Hobby and three characteristic examples of the other short stories he wrote in this period; there are also two pieces which are neither quite story nor quite essay, “Afternoon of an Author” and “Author’s House.” In them, in that almost offhand but nonetheless beautiful and luminous style which characterized his last period, Fitzgerald gives more of his own understanding of his career as a writer than he does any place else in his work.

It is the intention of *Afternoon of an Author* to include a selection of the best of Fitzgerald’s uncollected work in order to make a more generous sample of that work available to the interested reader. It is also the book’s intention to make it possible for the reader to trace the way Fitzgerald’s sensibility and his craftsmanship changed and matured throughout his career. The introduction and the notes which have been provided for each of the selections by Arthur Mizener, author of the biography of Fitzgerald, *The Far Side of Paradise* (1951), are meant to assist the reader in this process.

The publication of the book was made possible by the kind permission of Fitzgerald’s daughter, Mrs. Samuel J. Lanahan, who several years ago presented her father’s papers to the Princeton Library.

**THE AFTERTHOUGH OF REBELLION; OR, PRINCETON IN 1807**

Sir Augustus John Foster (1780–1858) served a succession of Their Britannic Majesties at a variety of foreign capitals during the course of his public career. His most important assignments—at least where students of American history are concerned—took him to the United States during the Age of Jefferson. From 1804 to 1808 Foster was in Washington as Secretary of Legation; in 1811 he returned as Minister and continued in that capacity until the outbreak of Anglo-American hostilities the following year forced his departure.

The diplomat did not confine himself, however, to the banks of the Potomac, and he spent much of his time traveling about the country. In the course of his wanderings he passed through New Jersey and stopped en route at an educational institution already generally referred to as Princeton but still officially known as the
College of New Jersey. It was hardly a "university" then, despite Foster's generous use of the term, and it would not technically become one for another eighty-nine years.

As became a good British tourist, the diplomat recorded his impressions of the college, thus continuing a habit begun when he first arrived in this country. Throughout his American years he kept careful notes of what he saw, heard, and overheard, and in his later life he made two efforts to organize these materials into a coherent narrative. The manuscript of his first version, brief extracts from which were published in The Quarterly Review in 1847 (LXVIII, 20-37), is preserved in the Henry E. Huntington Library at San Marino, California. The second draft, which Sir Augustus considered his "final" one, is in the Library of Congress. In 1954 a modern edition of these "Notes," prepared by Professor Richard Beale Davis of the University of Tennessee, was published by the Huntington Library under the title Jeffersonian America. While this edition is based on the Library of Congress version, Dr. Davis has indicated all important variations between the two texts. The excerpt below appears on pages 284-285 of this work.

Before I left the state I made a visit to Princeton which was then considered as one of the best universities on the American continent and was particularly frequented by young men from the southern parts.

The college is situated at a distance of about fifty-three miles from New York and forty-two from Philadelphia. It consists of two large buildings of stone in one of which all the students reside and a room with a closet is assigned in it to every two individuals. The town contains but a single street. The situation is very elevated and there is a view from it over an extensive plain entirely covered with woods. No garden or pleasure ground is attached to this house which is removed from the street by a grass plot. Next to the lodging house stands the second building where dinner is served up for all in a long plain room of which the roof is supported by arcades, the whole being white-washed without any painting or portraits or ornaments whatever. Six tables were laid out every day at one o'clock with places for twenty persons at each. A professor always presided and the discipline was said to be very strict, for the young men were not permitted to enter a tavern nor even to walk two miles out of the town without leave. There had, however, lately been a meeting to remonstrate against the severity of the discipline, and several students had been expelled for riotous proceedings; or had, of themselves, taken their departure. There were about 120 still remaining and the riot had I understood been occasioned by the violent expulsion of a young man who in a frolic had with some others been amusing himself with blowing up a certain small building [privy] adjacent to the lodging house.

John Randolph had been of this university and told me that hard drinking in his time was as much the fashion there as it was at Oxford, but instead of bad wines they used to drink peach brandy, toddy, punch and other mixtures. Nevertheless, notwithstanding these excesses, he spoke favourably of the classical education to be acquired at Princeton and assured me that it was not the fashion as it is at Oxford for young patriots to make it a boast that they never open a book, and that they avoid as much as possible to make the acquaintance of reading men, which I was obliged to confess I heard had sometimes been the case at least at Christ Church College. The examinations for degrees were described to me as severe at this university though I understood them to be chiefly a trial of the understanding and the reasoning faculties as well as of the student's proficiency in the classics and general history; mathematics and divinity were not so much attended to as with us, nor was it necessary as at Oxford for candidates for honours to know nearly every passage in the Old Testament.

The riotous proceedings of the Princeton youths above alluded to were not more puerile than those of Cambridge a few years ago when the staircases of the tutors were daubed with paint and a bridge blown up at Trinity College. It is, however, to be said in favour of English and American universities that their inmates do not maltreat each other with broadswords as those of the German universities do; neither do the professors pander to the easily excited passions of youth, for fear of losing their pupils, in the petty rivalry of one little state with another, where their chief salary is made to depend not on payments from the colleges but from the students themselves, whereas in the English places of education the salaries of tutors are regulated by law or custom.

5 Foster uses this word in the Huntington Library version.
their incomes are not so entirely made up of what they receive from their pupils."

The exact date of Foster's visit to Princeton is not clearly indicated in either of his texts, but internal evidence clearly places that event in the spring of 1807. The "riotous proceedings" which he describes almost certainly are connected with the Great Riot of March and April of that year. Neither of the two most complete histories of Princeton, however, mentions the explosive "frolic" cited here. The account given by Thomas J. Wertzenbaker, whose Princeton, 1746-1896 (Princeton, 1946, pp. 136-144) is based on official sources, states that the dismissed students were charged with insolence to faculty members and townsfolk, with intoxication, and with bringing liquor into the college buildings. John Maclean, president of the institution from 1854 to 1858, speaks only of "gross and repeated violations of the rules" in his History of the College of New Jersey (Philadelphia, 1877, II, 75-79). However, a more recent and less formal account (Alfred Hoyt Bill, A House called Morven, Princeton, 1954, pp. 77-78) succinctly declares that the offending students burned "the steward's fence and the new cloaca." All authorities, nonetheless, agree with Foster that "the severity of the discipline" helped to create an atmosphere of dispersion.

Of the two buildings described by the traveler, "the lodging house" apparently was Nassau Hall, newly rebuilt after the fire of 1802. The second building was Philosophical Hall, begun the following year and demolished in the 1870's to make room for the Chancellor Green Library.

Foster became acquainted with several highly-placed alumni of Princeton during his first tour of duty in the United States. Among these were Secretary of State James Madison (B.A., 1771; LL.D., 1879), "a little man, with small features rather wizened" whom the Briton found "rather too much the disputatious pleader" but withal "a social, jovial and good-humoured companion full of anecdote" (Jeffersonian America, p. 135); Vice-President Aaron Burr (B.A., 1772; LL.D., 1803), "a little man, well mannered and rather agreeable but looked mysterious and unquiet" (ibid., p. 289); and Senator Jonathan Dayton of New Jersey (B.A., 1776; A.M., 1783; LL.D. 1798), "a great rake" who believed that "a reward should be offered for the discovery of a new pleasure" (ibid., p. 280). But the single alumnus that Foster chose to quote was a man who received no degree from Princeton and whose academic connection with the college was exceedingly brief. John Randolph of Roanoke, the noted Congressional orator from Virginia, "was of this university" for less than four months, matriculating in September, 1787 (after serving an unhappy apprenticeship in the college's grammar school, the "subterranean abode of noise and mirth"), and departing soon after Christmas that year to attend his mother on her Virginia deathbed. (William Cabell Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, New York, 1922, I, 72-74.) But then the diplomat apparently found this untypical Princetonian, so Anglophile that he ordered his boots from Hob's of London (Jeffersonian America, p. 166), more congenial and more sympathetic to Britain than most of the public men whom he encountered in Jeffersonian America.

-WILLIAM H. GAINES

"VIRGINIA IMPARTIALLY EXAMINED AND LEFT TO PUBLIC VIEW..."

Members of the Board of Directors and subscribers to the Chronicle have already received the folder describing the Library’s autumn exhibition of rare books, manuscripts, and maps relating to the history of Virginia from the days of Queen Elizabeth to the beginning of the nineteenth century. A few further comments, concerning the provenance of the materials on display, are offered here as an indication of how the Princeton Library's Virginia holdings have accumulated.

In general, the Library’s exhibitions are not loan exhibitions, but are based on its own collections, with occasional items borrowed from other institutions or private collections, when these enhance or complete the theme being treated. In the case of this Virginia exhibition, everything on display is from the Princeton Library itself, with the exception of four items: an additional copy of the first edition of Spenser’s The Faerie Queene, 1590-96 (lent by Professor Charles Grovenor Ogden); an additional copy of Mrs. Aphra Behn’s play, The Widdow Ranter or, The History of Bacon in Virginia, 1690 (lent by John R. Brett-Smith) — each of these for the purpose of providing two “openings” in the same book; a Queen Elizabeth I sixpence (lent by Miss Maria Rice Miller); and a wooden Indian (disinterred from the basement of Nassau Hall).

How does the Princeton Library happen to have so much fine material on early Virginia? Part of the answer to this question might be sought in those traditional links forged in the eighteenth
century between Virginia and Princeton, which are outlined in the final section of the exhibition. In accumulating over the years, by accident or design, material concerning its own graduates, Princeton has, in the process, collected manuscripts, scarce pamphlets, and memorabilia transcending the parochial considerations which provided the initial impetus. This accounts in part at least for the varied documents relating to such men as: James Madison, Class of 1771; the Reverend Samuel Davies, fourth president of the College, who previously served as a minister in Hanover County, Virginia; Samuel Stanhope Smith, Class of 1769, the first principal of Hampden Sydney Academy in Virginia; later the seventh president of the College of New Jersey; Philip Vickers Fithian, Class of 1772, who was employed as a tutor in the household of Robert Carter, a Tidewater plantation owner of Westmoreland County; Henry Lee, Jr., Class of 1775—"Light-Horse Harry" of Revolutionary War fame; Andrew Hunter, Jr., Class of 1772, and Samuel Beach, Class of 1783, both Princeton students from Virginia.

The great strength of the Library's Virginiana, however, is of comparatively recent date. The present exhibition would not have been possible twenty-five years ago. For the early period of Virginia's history, for example, it draws heavily upon the collection of Cyrus H. McCormick '79, presented to the Library in 1947 and 1948 by his widow, Mrs. Marshall Ludington Brown, a collection which has Virginia as its principal theme; and upon the Greenville Kane Collection, acquired in 1948, in which the Virginia material is included in the larger framework of early Americana. The McCormick Virginiana have been described in the *Chronicle* (X, No. 1 [Nov., 1948], 3-15) by Louis B. Wright in his article, "Materials for the Study of the Civilization of Virginia"; while the Virginia material in the Kane Collection has been surveyed by Boles Pembrose in "The Greenville Kane Americana," the *Chronicle* (XI, No. 1 [Autumn, 1949], 4-25). Arthur A. Houghton, Jr.'s gift to Princeton of one of the twelve recorded copies of Thomas Harriot's *A briefe and true report of the new found land of Virginia* (with its illustrated supplement of De Bry's engravings from John White's American drawings), Frankfurt, 1590, has likewise been described in the *Chronicle* (IX, No. 2 [Feb., 1948], 97-98).

Among the rarities in the McCormick collection is one of the three extant manuscripts of William Strachey's *The Historie of Travell into Virginia Britannia*, compiled about 1612, but not published during the author's lifetime. It was first printed in 1649, by R. H. Major (from the British Museum manuscript) for the Hakluyt Society; a new edition by Louis B. Wright and Virginia Freund, based this time on the Princeton manuscript (judged by the editors as the most accurate), was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1953. Another McCormick manuscript (not mentioned in Mr. Wright's above-noted *Chronicle* survey) is a contemporary manuscript copy of the "Bermuda Charter" of 1615, in which title to the islands, which had been acquired by the Virginia Company in its third charter of 1618, was transferred to the newly constituted Somers Island Company "in consideracon of the sume of two thousand pounds of lawfull money of England." This manuscript awaits further study by some historian, who will doubtless wish to collate it with the other extant versions of the document.

The McCormick collection of autographs of Virginia governors has been drawn upon for the section of the exhibition covering the last half of the eighteenth century. A still richer "source of supply" for this period is, however, the Andre deCoffpet Collection of American Historical Manuscripts, described in the *Chronicle* (XVI, No. 4 [Summer, 1955], 166-181). From this magnificent collection come George Washington's surveys of Virginia lands, Virginia paper currency, as well as letters of Washington, Lafayette, Nathanael Greene, Rochambeau, and others, providing a first-hand documentary account of events in Virginia during the Revolution. The manuscript journal of J. S. Glennie, a Scotch traveler—also in the deCoffpet Collection—includes an account of Virginia in 1811, and, among Glennie's skilful water-color illustrations, a little-known view of the Byrd estate at Westover on the James River.

It would be misleading, however, to attribute all of the Library's Virginiana material to the extensive collections just mentioned. The resources of a library like the one at Princeton form a great pool into which flow streams and rivulets from many sources, and to which each "little drop of water" makes a contribution. In the context of the Virginia exhibition, for example, may be seen a fine Lafayette letter presented to the Library by the late Stuart W. Jackson, of Gloucester, Virginia, in honor of Julian P. Boyd (see the *Chronicle*, XV, No. 2 [Winter, 1954], 105-107), as well as Joachim du Perron's manuscript journal of the Siege of Yorktown, with maps, presented by Mr. Jackson in 1949 "in sincere admiration of the learning and writings of my friend Dr. Gilbert Chinard." One of Du Perron's maps was published by the Library in 1942, in an
edition of five hundred copies (now out of print), as A Map of 
Yorktown, "By Joachim du Perron, Comte de Revel, With Notes 
Biographical, Nautical & Cartographical on the Journals & Maps 
of Du Perron, 1781-1782, by Gilbert Chinard, Robert G. Albion, 
and Lloyd A. Brown." The manuscript maps of another French 
officer, Louis Alexandre Berthier, many of them showing localities 
in Virginia—which came to the Library in 1930 through the gen-
erosity of the late Harry C. Black '09—still await adequate publi-
cation.

Three leaves from the Farm Book kept by Thomas Jefferson at "Monticello"—included in the section of the exhibition devoted 
to Jefferson—were presented to the Library in 1900 by Roger W. 
Barrett '97 as a gesture of appreciation to the editors of the Prince-
eton edition of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, because, as Mr. 
Barrett wrote at the time, "your outstanding work on the Jefferson 
papers has forged a link between the names of Jefferson and Prince-
ton." (See the Chronicle, XII, No. 2 [Winter, 1951], 93-94.) The 
Library's nearly complete run of the successive editions of Jeff-
erson's Notes on the State of Virginia (described by Mina R. Bryan 
in the Chronicle, XVI, No. 4 [Summer, 1950], 202-205) comes from 
almost as many sources as there are editions. A group of original 
drawings made during a journey from Virginia to Tennessee in 
1856-1857 by David English Henderson—a contemporary of the 
better-known "Porte Crayon" (David Hunter Strother)—came to 
the Library from George Henderson '09 (see the Chronicle, XII, 
No. 4 [Summer, 1951], 222). Finally, two rare broadsides printed 
in the 1780's, from the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American 
Illustrated Books, supply an account of the "wonderful Discovery," 
by two Virginia gentlemen "of undoubted veracity," of "a Hermit 
who lived upwards of 300 years," and who "might have lived 200 
years more" had he not taken his first draught of [New England?] 
rum.

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Mr. Feldman was especially successful in bringing together a considerable group of almanacs, anthologies, and journals of the Goethe period and it would be difficult to duplicate the material of this sort which has thus come to Princeton. We shall now, for instance, own one of the few sets of the periodical Nemesis (1814 ff.), which once occasioned a celebrated conversation between its editor, Heinrich Luden, and Goethe, on the relationship between poetry and politics. Perhaps the most elegant part of the new collection is made up of more than two hundred Goethe items ranging from first printings of his early works to rare editions of nearly all his later writings. This impressive section includes not only miscellaneous works by Goethe's contemporaries Sulzer, Lavater, and Herder but particularly by his associates in the Sturm und Dong movement; Gerstenberg's Ugolino (1758) and Lenz's Hofmeister (1774), for example. While we cannot match the Speck Collection at Yale—one of the most impressive Goethe libraries anywhere—the Princeton Library will now have singularly comprehensive resources for the study of the central period in German literature.

But what will most effectively enrich our present holdings is a large body of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century German books in a variety of fields, mainly fiction, travel, and memoirs. From such baroque tales as Ziegler's Asiatische Banite (1688) and his Historisches Labyrinth (1701) to the works of Wieland, Hippel, Musaeus, Schnabel, and Heine nearly all important novelists will now be available in excellent editions. Some encyclopedic works of that period, often exquisitely illustrated, will be of much interest: Joh. G. Job's Anleitung zu denen Curtis s Wissenschaften (1717) was a most popular handbook of physiognomy, astrology, and chirodomy (see Plate VIII); Heinrich Hesse's Teuscher Gärten (1740) is one of the most elaborate accounts of eighteenth-century horticulture; Philipp von Zei.s Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam (1664) and Leo Flaminius' Itinerarium per Palæstina (1681) are outstanding examples of baroque topography.

The collection also contains an unusually extensive body of seventeenth-century German poets: Moscherosch, Fleming, Gynphius, Hofmannswaldau, Picander, and Christian Günther all appear in notable editions. It would be difficult to give in brief an adequate account of some of the superb items of still earlier

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*For a description of an important collection of Goethe material presented to the Library by Benno Elkan in 1951, see Walter Slu, "A Recent Gift of Goetheana," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, XIII, No. 3 (Spring, 1952), 169-175.---En.
German printing: there are two editions of Jacob Ayer's *Historischer Processus Jus* (1597 and 1625), a work which contains one of the first references to Doctor Faustus; Walther Ryff's *Neue vollkomen Distillier-buch* (1597) is one of the most richly illustrated specimens of a sixteenth-century herbal and book of distilling. An Aldine publication of 1518 (Peregrinus) has the distinction of coming from the library of Othille and Wolfgang von Goethe and of containing the signatures of its eight consecutive owners between 1519 and 1858.

Mr. Feldman took particular interest in illustrated works of the last two centuries and the Library will now have many attractive examples of Chodowiecki's work and that of other eighteenth-century engravers. There are two or three dozen splendid samples of modern German presswork, such as blocks of the Brenner and Avalun Press, of the Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, and of some of the great German designers of the past fifty years.

But it would be one-sided to see the chief value of the Kienbusch Collection predominantly in its rare editions or, indeed, in its modest but attractive autograph and manuscript material. More than half of the Feldman items are works of historical and critical scholarship in various areas of Germanic studies.

The volumes in this collection will be shelved in the relevant sections of the Library and will be identified as belonging to the Kretzschmar v. Kienbusch Collection by an engraved bookplate with colored central arms to commemorate the donor's family and in particular his great-grandfather, who, as chief forester of Ernest, Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, was, during the Napoleonic wars, himself a witness to much of the life and history that is reflected in this distinguished gift.—VICTOR LANGE

**TRAVEL LITERATURE**

Timothy N. Pfeiffer '08 has recently enabled the Library to acquire three interesting works which enrich its already extensive holdings of early travel literature, so well exemplified in the Grenville Kane and Cyrus H. McCormick collections. The first of these is the handsomely printed and illustrated *Historiale Description de l'Afrique, Tierce Partie du Monde*, published at Lyons in 1556 by Jean Temporal. As explained in the publisher's foreword, this work is a translation into French of travel accounts collected by the great Venetian geographer Giovanni Battista Ramusio, published in Italian as *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* at Venice in 1550 and in many subsequent editions. Among the preface pages added to the French edition are verses addressed by Temporal to "Rhamusio docte Venetico," who "deuss son grand Cosmographe ancien s'est eleve en esprit plus hautain..." Temporal evidently intended to publish a translation of Ramusio's entire work, but actually never proceeded beyond two volumes (bound together in the Princeton copy) dealing mainly with Africa, which represent only about three quarters of the contents of Ramusio's first volume. Temporal's book thus made available in French soon after their publication in Italian by Ramusio such accounts as the description of Africa by Leo Africanus (still an important source on Moslem Africa), the description of Ethiopia by Francisco Alvares, as well as briefier accounts by Ca da Monte, D. Gama, Cabral, and Venalio. These latter all taken from a still earlier compendium, Montalboddo's *Paesi novamente retrovati*. In addition to the maps copied from Ramusio's work, Temporal's publication also includes numerous other woodcuts, many of which—like the title-page frame which had earlier served for an edition of Aristotle issued by Sabon of Lyons in 1544—had probably done duty in other works. Of interest, for example, is the allegorical figure of Africa taken from a classical medal in the collection of the Bailli du Chouf. Taken as a whole, this *Historiale Description de l'Afrique* is textually interesting as evidence of the expanding geographical horizons of the French Renaissance mind, while its illustrations well demonstrate the process by which the renewed interest in classical antiquity and the revelation of newly discovered lands merged to create an imagery of fabulous countries peopled by god-like pagan heroes.

In the second of the new acquisitions, Esquemelin's history of the buccaneers, one of the widely read travel books published more than a century after Ramusio and Temporal, heroic navigators cast in the classic mold have been replaced by adventurers and "heroes" of quite another sort. The story of the English and French buccaneers in the West Indies related by Esquemelin (usually called Esquemeling in English and Oexmeline in French), who had himself participated in their exploits against the Spaniards, was first published in Dutch at Amsterdam in 1698 as *De Americaansche Zee-Roovers*. It was soon translated into other European languages and has been reprinted countless times. Indeed, it may be considered the prototype and fountainhead of most later pirate stories, including those relating to Sir Henry Morgan. Since
the Library already possessed (in its Grenville Kane Collection) the first editions of Exquemelin in Dutch (1678), in Spanish (Piratas de la America, 1681), and in English (Bucaniers of America, 1684), it is gratifying to report the addition to this series of the first edition in French, published in Paris in 1686 as Histoire des Avanturiers qui se sont signale dans les Indes. These editions differ considerably from one another, both in the texts and in the illustrations, thus reflecting the diverse national preoccupations of the publishers, as well as their concern with the important stake involved in control of the West Indian islands.

Still another trend in travel literature, and another far horizon, is represented by the third of the newly acquired works, the Avantures du Sr. C. Le Beau, Avocat en Parlement, ou Voyage curieux et nouveau, Parmi les Sauvages de l’Amérique Septentrionale, Amsterdam, 1758 (two volumes, with maps and plates). The Library’s copy of this work bears a presentation inscription from the author: “Presenté à Monsieur Campdel. Par son très humble & très obéissant Serviteur Cl: Le Beau, à Leyde ce 50. gbre 1739.” Incorporated into Claude Le Beau’s adventures, along with much information about life in the forests of French Canada, is the sentimentally romantic tale of a dispossessed young man sent by a tyrannical father to seek his fortune in the colonies. This “preromantic” hero waded and won a winsome savages named Marie Capa-
taganipi (she had sojourned with the masts at Montreal), only to suffer betrayal, and finally to escape through the wilderness to the city of “Baston, Capitale des Colonies Angloises,” whence he returned to Europe—to write his book. Le Beau’s sentimental adventures foreshadowed a genre that was to become increasingly popular and lead eventually to such a work as Chateaubriand’s Atala.

FITZGERALD’S “RUBÁIYÁT”

The Library has received, by gift from Robert H. Taylor ’30, a fine copy of the Rubáiyá of Omar Khayyám, London, 1859, a work whose fame and merits still justify its inclusion in such a list of “the hundred great English books” as that drawn up at Princeton over twenty years ago. This list has been a useful measure of the Princeton Library’s strength as compared with that of other major libraries. When it was printed in Bibliá in 1936 (VII, No. 1 [Feb., 1936], [15]-[26]), Princeton had 19, as against 79 for Harvard, 74 for Yale. With the Rubáiyá the Library now has 78. The current addition is for several reasons a particularly inter-

eating one. Fitzgerald’s masterpiece exists in four versions, published respectively in 1859, 1868, 1872, and 1879, of which the Library held, before Mr. Taylor’s gift, only the fourth. The 1868 edition is the longest by nine quatrains and for that reason has been chosen as the standard text by some editors—illogically if one believes that an author knows what he is doing when he re-
vies. As a matter of fact Fitzgerald not only improved on Omar himself in his selection, ordering, and free treatment of the original quatrains, but remodeled the poem a little nearer to his heart’s desire with every alteration. Thus the opening, as he originally wrote it:

Awake! for Morning in the Bowl of Night Has flung the Stone that puts the Stars to Flight: And Lo! the Hunter of the East has caught The Sultan’s Turret in a Noose of Light.

reached its final brilliance only in the third edition:

Wake! for the Sun who scatter’d into flight The Stars before him from the Field of Night, Drives Night along with them from Heav’n, and strikes The Sultan’s Turret with a Shaft of Light.

And in the last stanza the simple change of And when Thyself with shining Foot shall pass in the first edition, to

And when like her, oh Sáki, you shall pass

in the third and fourth, beautifully illustrates Fitzgerald’s success in giving his poem the continuity which he did not find in his original. These comparisons have always fascinated lovers of the Rubáiyá and the obvious literary profit in them has helped make Fitzgerald one of the most collectable of authors. He was predestined to become so from the moment when Rossetti and Swinburne discovered the work in its original humble form on the penny stall of Bernard Quiritch and began to sound its praises. They bought six copies each and returned for more to find the price raised to twopence. The Princeton copy was owned by the great Orientalist Lord Strangford, who may well have bought it before even this degree of inflation had been reached. A bound-in letter from him, presenting the volume to William Spottiswoode,
himself an accomplished linguist, is interesting enough to reproduce entire.

I send you that translation of Khayyam that I mentioned to you yesterday. It is very crude and affected, certainly; but curious, original, and in parts very fair. The early stanzas are very bad: from 24 onwards they are much closer; some, such as from 29-30, 45, 46, 47, 49, 54, 57, 58 are quite literal. The Kuzo-Nama is his own imitation, or reproduction of the spirit of the original with some of its expressions—at least there is nothing corresponding to it in my copy. The whole is got up under the inspiration & perhaps with the help of Cowell.

This is the commentary of an exciting scholar who had presumably discovered the poem without the aid of the literary enthusiasts. E. B. Cowell was not, of course, a collaborator with Fitzgerald except in the sense of being the inspirer and guide of his Persian studies. Both men were greatly interested in the Omar manuscript and would have been glad to study the early collection in the Garrett Collection at Princeton, a document said to contain quatrains not found in any other source.—James Holly Hanford

THE SPACKMAN COLLECTION OF CHESS BOOKS

During the past two years the Princeton University Library has received as the gift of William M. Spackman 87 more than five hundred chess books and magazines. This in itself is an important increase in Princeton's holdings in a field in which institutions only rarely have regular funds for purchases and gifts, if at all, are usually made without regard to the actual requirements. In this particular case, the collection, while probably not originally gathered with this idea in mind, constitutes an almost organic development of the E. B. Cook Chess Collection, which was left to Princeton about forty years ago, and supplements the additions which Princeton receives, as the depository for "Chess," through the Farmington Plan.

The Cook Collection, gathered by a prominent representative of the art of problem chess who died in 1915,1 was one of the three American chess collections aimed at "completeness," which, at the turn of the century, collectors still could hope to attain, but which only John G. White, whose collection is now in the Cleveland Public Library, actually attained to a remarkable degree. But even with this aim at completeness, the Cook Collection necessarily is limited to chess literature published before 1915, and since then chess literature, in all its branches, has greatly increased. The Farmington Plan, in effect since 1948, not only does not bridge this gap, but even in its most thorough and diligent execution cannot provide all the material of real importance in the field of chess, because some of the most important publications, especially records of chess tournaments, are often preserved only in ephemeral bulletins issued during the progress of the respective chess events.

This is where the Spackman collection comes in: about half of the collection is devoted to chess tournaments since 1915, and especially since World War II, a period when one such event literally chased another. Hardly any of the more important chess tournaments or matches is not represented, and wherever this is the case, it can be hoped that sooner or later Mr. Spackman will add an appropriate item to his collection—for fortunately he has been adding to his original gift, and always with the idea of filling real gaps.

The size of the Spackman collection in this branch of chess literature and for this period is all the more remarkable as Mr. Spackman never was a "collector" in the usual sense; he was not, and is not, interested in "collecting" rare items but gathered his collection for practical purposes as "handapparatus" in his work as editor of the games and openings sections of The Chess Correspondent—one of the finest and most scholarly jobs ever done in chess literature. He was therefore usually satisfied with one item covering a certain chess event, even if, as in the cases of some of the recent matches for the chess championship of the world, a dozen or more books, pamphlets, or bulletins were published in several languages. On the other hand, his collection contains some of the most elusive items, those that are never mentioned in the national bibliographies, including Yugoslav, Russian, and South American typed or mimeographed bulletins issued day by day during the progress of the tournaments covered.

The rest of the Spackman collection also reflects its origin as the working library of a chess editor—it contains the current and classical books of master games and on opening, middle game, and

1 See Albrecht Buschke, "Chess Libraries in America; A Sketch of Their Formation and Provenance," The Princeton University Library Chronicle, II, No. 4 (June, 1943), 147-153.
end game, most of which should be represented in every large college or public library (such as Bilguer’s *Handbuch des Schachspiels*, the different editions of *Modern Chess Openings*, *Practical Chess Openings*, etc.), but luckily the greater portion of the other half of the collection consists of runs of domestic and foreign chess magazines, publications that the regular player of limited means could not afford to subscribe to for years, but which he should have an opportunity to find accessible for reference in nearby public institutions. There are—to name only a few—long runs of the Australian chess magazine *Chess World* (formerly *Australasian Chess Review*, then *Check!*), of the Argentine *Enroque*, of the American *Chess Review* and *Chess Life* and, of course, *The Chess Correspondent* (formerly *Bulletin of the Correspondence Chess League of America*, “CCLA”—some now pretty hard to find), of the Russian *Shakhmaty v SSSR*—now indispensable for any serious student of the game of chess—and, last but not least, of the venerable *British Chess Magazine*, now in its seventy-seventh year, of which the Cook Collection contained already the first third of a century. Fortunately, Mr. Spackman, before offering his collection to Princeton, made it a special point to continue *The British Chess Magazine* where Mr. Cook had left off, so that the file of this periodical in Princeton is now almost complete.

—ALBRECHT BUSCHKE

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**FINANCIAL REPORT**

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account for the year 1956-57:

**RECEIPTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balance July 1, 1956</td>
<td>$297.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues for 1956-57</td>
<td>6,815.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues for 1957-58</td>
<td>5,838.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions to <em>Chronicle</em>, Vol. XVIII</td>
<td>456.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subscriptions to <em>Chronicle</em>, Vol. XIX</td>
<td>32.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous numbers of <em>Chronicle</em></td>
<td>108.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reserved for printing of <em>Chronicle</em>, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3 and 4</td>
<td>2,070.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anonymous contribution toward publication costs of Vol. XVII, No. 4</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Council dinner, December 5, 1956</td>
<td>58.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Friends dinner, May 10, 1957</td>
<td>618.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Additional toward Friends dinner, May 8, 1956</td>
<td>240.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contribution from David H. McAlpin ’20 for lecture</td>
<td>50.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**$16,714.55**
EXPENDITURES

Printing of *Chronicle*, Vol. XVII, Nos. 3 and 4 $2,559.58
Printing of *Chronicle*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 and 2 1,674.26
Reserved for printing of *Chronicle*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 3 and 4 1,925.74
Advance subscriptions to *Chronicle*, Vol. XIX 32.40
Postage and printing 749.54
Travel expenses of speaker at Friends dinner 175.00
Undergraduate book collecting contest prizes 50.00
Needs Committee 836.97
Membership drive expenses 401.92
Council dinner, December 5, 1956 93.15
Friends dinner, May 10, 1957 894.45
Honorarium for speaker to Colophon Club 50.00
Transfers to Book Fund 2,000.00
Advance dues for 1957-58 to be expended that year 5,838.00

$16,617.95

Balance June 30, 1957 $96.60

Contributions to the Friends Book Fund during the year 1956-57 totaled $8,214.35 and to "Needs" $5,475.60.

PUBLICATION FUND SUMMARY

RECEIPTS

Contributions received $8,175.57
Received from sales 8,180.76

$16,356.33

EXPENDITURES

Printing and binding $9,054.24
Mailing expenses 1,562.28

$11,516.52

Balance $4,840.81

The figures which cover transactions in connection with *The Arte of Angling* are included in the summary, but a separate statement on this title is in order. In addition to the contribution from Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06 of $4,000.00, sales netted $7,766.89, making a total of credits of $7,766.89. There are also a few outstanding bills for which payments are still to be received. The expenditures for printing, binding, promotion, and mailing total $4,140.39. Thirteen hundred copies were printed, of which 558 free copies were sent to Friends upon their request. There remain in stock only thirty copies.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Since the last quarterly report in the *Chronicle*, several contributions have been received. Robert H. Taylor '36 enabled the Library to secure part of the manuscript of Charles Reade's play *The Countess and the Dancer*. A contribution was received from Alfred C. Howell for the purchase of books for the Poetry Room.

Generous contributions from Peter H. B. Freylinghusen '04, Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06, and Sterling Morton '06 made it possible for the Library to acquire the papers of Samuel L. Southard, of the Class of 1804. A donation came from Albert S. Wright '00 to cover the cost of arranging and cataloging the papers. Mr. Kienbusch also very generously made possible the purchase of the entire stock of the bookseller Theo Feldman. The Feldman purchase is described by Professor Victor Lange in "New & Notable," while the Southard Papers will be the subject of an article in a later issue of the *Chronicle*.

GIFTS

Elmer Adler has given an additional group of correspondence and other material for the Adler Papers, thirty-five books on a variety of subjects, many with inscriptions by the authors, a letter from Eric Gill to Lady Carmichael, January 24, 1926, and a letter from John Hay to an unidentified recipient, January 10, 1853. Included in a gift from Hubertis M. Cummings '07 were seventy-three water-color drawings of English scenery by Henrietta Gream Antrobus (1855-1904), to be added to a collection of sixty-nine similar drawings by Mrs. Antrobus presented by Mr. Cummings in 1949. Among a number of items received from Wallace de Witt '12 were the class autograph album of Wallace De Witt, of the Class of 1857, and the manuscript of De Witt's commencement address at Princeton, June 16, 1857. Arthur C. Holden '12 has given 108 volumes of poetry. From Alfred C. Howell has come a small col-
lection of editions of the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*. Sinclair Hamilton '06 has added six books to the Hamilton Collection. Five files from his personal papers, containing correspondence, clippings, and pamphlet material relating to Princeton University, have been given by Andrew G. Imbrie '95. Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06 has presented nearly two hundred volumes on angling. A group of nineteenth-century English literary autographs, including letters of Charles Kingsley, Charles Lever, Frances Trollope, and Charlotte M. Yonge, has been received from Robert F. Metzendorf. William A. B. Paul '18 has given the watch, quarter and station notebook kept by Admiral William Bowden Sims (1858-1906) when a cadet-midshipman on the U.S.S. "Tennessee," 1880. Some thirty books and periodicals on chess have been presented by William M. Spackman '17, for whose various gifts of chess material, see Mr. Buschke's account in "New & Notable." A copy of the first edition of Fitzgerald's translation of the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, London, 1893, has come as the gift of Robert H. Taylor '00 (see "New & Notable").

Gifts were received also from the following Friends: Brandon Barringer '21, Herbert Cahoon, Frank Christ '59, Alexander P. Clark, Rudolf A. Clemen, Clement W. Fairweather, Jr., Charles E. Feinberg, Joseph C. Green '08, Leslie I. Laughlin '12, Harold R. Medina '09, James B. Merriweather, Charles S. Presbrey '06, Landon T. Raymond '17, Henry L. Savage '15, Bernhard K. Schaefer '59, Lewis B. Traver, Alexander D. Wainwright '59, and Louis C. West.
Gifts to the
Princeton University
Library

IN 1755 the Princeton University Library received some 474 volumes from its first patron, Governor Jonathan Belcher, and down through the years it has acquired many of its most cherished collections by gift. This leaflet has been prepared for the information and convenience of potential donors, who often have questions about procedures.
Gifts of Money

About half of the Library's current acquisitions are purchased with the income from endowed funds and from the principal of other special funds given for the purpose. Permanently endowed funds for the purchase of books and other materials in broad fields of interest to the donor may be established by gifts of one thousand dollars or more. The investment of these funds is handled through the University's investment pool, but the income is used by the Library in careful observance of the intentions of the donor. The Librarian will be happy to confer with anyone concerning subject fields in which new funds would be of great assistance to the Library.

Gifts of money to be used entirely for current purchases or special projects are also welcome. While unrestricted gifts obviously meet the widest variety of needs, the Librarian can suggest a broad range of Library activities for which gifts might be applied.

Special bookplates are designed and inserted in all books acquired through endowed funds and major gifts, and the name of the donor is added to the regular bookplate inserted in other gift books.

Gifts of Books

The Library welcomes also gifts of books within the scope of its collecting activities, which are based upon the demands, present and anticipated, of the University's program of teaching and research. The scope of the Library's collections is broad, but there are obviously good books which would have little value at Princeton. Similarly, the present strength of the Library makes it inevitable that many collections which are offered contain volumes which are not needed because they duplicate volumes of which the Library already has an adequate number. Since the cost of cataloguing and shelving an inexpensive volume may exceed the cost of the book itself, financial considerations force the Library to keep only those books which are needed.

Potential donors are thus advised to consult the Librarian before presenting books. If a list or catalogue of the collection is available, the Library staff will gladly check it and report which volumes would be welcome as gifts. If there is no catalogue and the books are available for inspection near Princeton, a representative of the Library will be glad to call and make a report. Sometimes donors are willing to present entire collections which obviously contain some books needed by the Library, with the understanding that those volumes which prove to be duplicates or otherwise not needed may be disposed of to the advantage of the Library. (The Library frequently offers surplus books to other libraries on informal exchange and also conducts occasional sales to students and others of the University community, which are of great value in stimulating an interest in good books.) In each instance the Librarian seeks to be sure that the donor understands the terms on which gifts are being accepted.

All books are normally shelved for ease of use according to the established subject classification system of the Library. In other words, it is not practicable to provide separate permanent shelving for collections unless they are of unusual unity and importance.

The name of the donor is placed on the Library bookplate as books are catalogued, and special bookplates may be designed for major collections to supplement the bookplate of the collector.

Gifts of Manuscripts

The Library provides special care and housing for manuscripts. Its strong collections range from Egyptian papyri to the author's typescripts of recent novels, from individual signed letters to extensive personal and pro-
fessional files. They cover a wide range of subjects and anticipated use. Potential donors of manuscripts of any kind are invited to consult the Librarian.

Since recent correspondence files of future scholarly importance may contain material so personal in nature that the donor is unwilling to have it made generally available at once, the Library upon occasion accepts manuscript collections with the understanding that they are to be completely closed to access for a term of years or consulted during a specified period only with the permission of designated persons. Procedures have been set up for insuring the scrupulous adherence to the wishes of the donor as presented in the formal or informal deed of gift.

A gift of unpublished manuscripts transfers the physical property rights to the Library, but the common law literary property rights remain with the author or his heirs. These literary property rights may be transferred also by a formal instrument to the Library if the author wishes thus to facilitate research; the Library then acquires the right to grant permission for the first publication of manuscript material. Otherwise this right remains with the author or his heirs, and the Library requires from each user a statement that he understands this situation before preparing photographic copies of manuscripts for him.

Gifts of Art Objects

The scope of the Library's collecting policy does not include objects of art in general, and potential donors of such collector's items as paintings and sculpture are usually referred to the University Art Museum. The Library does however maintain a collection of contemporary original prints for lending to students for their rooms, a collection of examples illustrating the various processes of the graphic arts, various collections of the original work of illustrators (Cruikshank and Beardsley, for example), and collections of art objects directly related to books and authorship or of historical importance. These categories obviously overlap the collecting policy of the Art Museum at some points, and the Librarian and the Director of the Art Museum work together in deciding the most appropriate location for art objects which are offered the University. Potential donors may approach either.

Memorial Gifts

Gifts of individual books or collections make appropriate and lasting memorials and may be identified by memorial bookplates. Endowed book funds may bear permanently the names of persons memorialized, thus presenting the bookplates in growing collections to succeeding generations of students and scholars in perpetuity. Even small memorial gifts in lieu of flowers are welcome, and the Librarian customarily sends a personal note to the next-of-kin announcing that a gift has been made. When the Harvey S. Firestone Memorial Library was erected it was decided that individual areas in the building, from small study cubicles to large rooms, might be designated as separate memorials by those making appropriate contributions to the building fund. Most of these spaces have been assigned, as attested by the memorial plaques, but a few remain unassigned. The Librarian will welcome inquiries.

Bequests

Bequests to the University for the support of the Library may be made in the form of memorial funds. These memorials may include the endowment of book funds for the purchase of books in the general fields of the arts, sciences, and engineering; the endowment of various library staff services, comparable to endowed chairs in the instructional
FORMS OF BEQUEST

GENERAL

I give and bequeath to the Trustees of Princeton University, a corporation existing under the laws of the State of New Jersey, and located in the Borough of Princeton, County of Mercer, in said state, the sum of ........................................ Dollars to be used for the general purposes of the University at the discretion of its Board of Trustees.

SPECIFIC LIBRARY BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to the Trustees of Princeton University, a corporation existing under the laws of the State of New Jersey, and located in the Borough of Princeton, County of Mercer, in said state, the sum of ........................................ Dollars and direct that the income therefrom shall be used for the support of the University Library, that is to say: (Here specify in detail the purposes).

Approved by the Trustees' Committee on the Library, October 24, 1957.

[ 6 ]