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The Gothic Revival Comes to Princeton

BY VIRGINIA AND DONALD EGBERT

A watercolor drawing of 1813 (Frontispiece), now in the Princeton University Library, has brought to light the first faint indications of the Gothic Revivalism later so prominent in Princeton architecture. The drawing, by the Baroness Hyde de Neuville, shows that a church affected by the Gothic Revival was under construction in the village of Princeton at a time when only a few city churches had been built in America in that style. So interesting was the church to this cosmopolitan visitor that she made it the subject of apparently her only Princeton drawing.*

The Baroness and her husband were then living, as refugees from Napoleon, on a farm outside New Brunswick.† During their

*This watercolor has recently been acquired by the Princeton University Library with funds contributed by the Friends of the Library and by the late Bernard Kilgore, formerly Elder of the First Presbyterian Church of Princeton. It was purchased from the Kennedy Galleries, New York (American Drawings, Pastels and Watercolors, Part One: Works of the Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries, Catalogue of an Exhibition Held at Kennedy Galleries, Inc. March 14th through April 28th, 1967, 28-33; fig. 57). The watercolor measures 4 1/2 x 7 inches; in the lower left corner is the inscription “Mercredi 27 8bre 1813 Princeton’s church”; in the lower right corner, “Girardin et Mercy.” Sometimes the Baroness inscribed her sketches in French, sometimes in English, and other times in a mixture of both.

†Mr. Donald Sinclair, Curator of Special Collections, Rutgers University Library, has informed us of the site of this farm, where the Baroness and her husband raised Merino sheep. Their house, which overlooked the Raritan River, was located about two miles west of the center of New Brunswick on what is now Neuville Drive off Easton Avenue, where the residence of Dr. and Mrs. David Denker now stands. The Baroness retained nostalgic memories of her life there, referring in a letter of 1822 to her husband and herself as the “ci devant fermiers du Rariton” (letter to William Short, in Short-La Rochefocauld correspondence, Library of the American Philosophical Society). Mr. Yvon Bizard kindly called our attention to this letter.
years of exile, 1807 to 1814, and later from 1816 to 1822 when Jean-Guillaume Baron Hyde de Neuville served as Louis XVIII’s Minister to the United States, these indefatigable sightseers traveled extensively in America. Wherever they went the Baroness carried a sketchbook, and her drawings and watercolors form a delightful record of what she saw in New York, Albany, Balston Spring (Spa), Niagara Falls, in New Haven, Connecticut, and also in many places in Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Tennessee, and New Jersey.

On October 27, 1813 the Baroness came to Princeton. From the porch of the College Inn or possibly a nearby house on Nassau Street, she sketched the new Presbyterian church under construction across the road. In the foreground of her picture, facing the artist, are a young boy and a little girl, whose names, Girardin and Mercy, are inscribed in the right corner.

When the Baroness made her watercolor, the church was rising on the site of the Presbyterian meeting house of 1766 where John Witherspoon had preached, where British and later American soldiers had been stationed in the Revolution, and where in 1783 General Washington and the Continental Congress had attended the Commencement of the College of New Jersey. Before dawn on the last Sunday of February 1813 this historic meeting house had burned. The undaunted congregation (which after the Rev.

The Presbyterian trustees decided that a general subscription shall be opened for rebuilding the church on the same ground on which it formerly stood, and on the same plan with the former meeting house, or with such improvements or alterations as the corporation or the building committee, appointed by the congregation shall think proper." The first reaction of the trustees was apparently a desire to reproduce the original meeting house. The church seal adopted in 1793 (Fig. 1) and a contemporary pew plan (Fig. 2) show a typical rectangular meeting house with two doors in the long, north entrance façade, fronting on Nassau Street, the pulpit in the center of the opposite wall, three aisles running from north to south, two longer aisles from east to west, and stairs in the northwest and northeast corners leading to galleries on three sides.

The Baroness’ watercolor of the new church (Frontispiece) and a pew plan of 1815 (Fig. 3) reveal, however, that the build-


3 Since the Baron and Baroness had no children, Girardin and Mercy were presumably the children of friends. In the collection of the New-York Historical Society there is a drawing by the Baroness inscribed "Girardin 1812," showing a little boy seated on a stool.

4 Andrews’ article in the Journal of the Archives of American Art, cited in note 2, understandably took for granted that the Baroness’ watercolor represented the ruins of the original meeting house that burned in 1813. The identification of the building depicted in watercolor with the second building on the site was made by Virginia Egbert when she was preparing material for a pictorial exhibition in connection with the bicentennial celebration of the First Presbyterian Church in 1966. Professor Arthur S. Link called to her attention the illustration in Andrews’ article. When she compared this with the representation of the original meeting house depicted on the church seal adopted in 1793 (see note 7 below), which Andrews could not have known, she realized that it was a question of two different buildings, and that the Baroness’ watercolor must instead represent the second edifice on the site in course of construction. Brief mention of her identification is included in Arthur S. Link, ed., The First Presbyterian Church of Princeton (Princeton, 1967) p. 13, n. 45, and also in C. Greiff, M. Gibbons, and E. G. C. Mennies, Princeton Architecture (Princeton, 1967), Fig. 223.

5 Manuscript of the Minutes of the Trustees and Congregation of the First Presbyterian Church 1784-1885 (on deposit in the Speer Library, Princeton Theological Seminary, where Miss Isabelle Stouffer kindly made them available), March 1, 1813, p. 99.

6 Ibid.

7 The design on the church seal presently in use conforms exactly with the following description of the seal made in 1793. "Device, On a Field, the Church of Princeton, proper; of the second, Sunny Rays of Light, emanating from an Eye, and dispersing a Cloud hanging over the Church,—with this motto, Speramus meliora." (MS. Minutes of the Trustees, March 18, 1793, p. 25). However, according to P. J. Conkwright, the lettering of the present seal suggests that it probably was not made before 1806; the original seal may have been destroyed in the church fire of 1855. It should be added that although the seal offers the clearest surviving representation of the original meeting house, the general form of that building is depicted in various paintings of the Battle of Princeton by C. W. Peale and John Trumbull, or on drawings made in preparation of such paintings, as Howard C. Rice, Jr., points out in his article, "Lost Horizon," in this issue of the Chronicle.
ing committee of local notables* must have been a progressive group with ideas for "improvements" and "alterations," because it abandoned the old meeting house plan in favor of a basilical plan with the church oriented toward the eastern apse. The doors were now therefore placed at the west end flanking stairs to a balcony and at the end of two long aisles which divided three blocks of pews. A contemporary sketch of the new plan superimposed on the old one, indicates that the foundations of the original meeting house were used (Fig. 4). The Baroness' painting shows that the church had walls of brick, an apse in the form of half an octagon (inside it was semicircular), and windows pointed in imitation of Gothic arches, even though the doorheads were of Classical form with an entablature supported on consoles. Despite the basilical plan of the building, it still recalled a meeting house in lacking a tower and steeple, features doubtless still considered too "popish" in Princeton, where the Presbyterian church was then the only one—aside from the Quaker meeting house, several miles away at Stony Brook.

In this building, then, even more than in most other Gothic Revival examples in America before 1830, the Gothic elements were chiefly confined to such obvious features as pointed arches or other details that could be culled from books like Battye Langley's *Gothic Architecture, Improved by Rules and Proportions* (1742) and John Britton's *Architectural Antiquities of Great Britain* (1805-1814). In these British books, too, there was little understanding of the Gothic of the Middle Ages. Langley's subtitle, "... improved by rules and proportions," reflects not the true Gothic but the Classic tradition stemming from the Renaissance. From such a book, no real conception of Gothic structure could be derived, nor could it have been arrived at from the highly romanticized views of actual Gothic buildings in books like Britton's *Architectural Antiquities*.

Yet even though the Princeton church as depicted by the Baroness Hyde de Neuville was a particularly primitive example of early American Gothic Revival, it nonetheless constituted an important innovation for American church architecture in general and especially Presbyterian church architecture. Apparently all but one of the relatively few earlier Gothic Revival churches actually built in this country had been made for Roman Catholics or Episcopalians whose emphasis on liturgy and long tradition inclined them more easily toward the newly fashionable Gothic style, and the one exception was designed by an architect of Episcopalian background.* Still at that time when the international romantic movement was encouraging the revival of the Gothic together with other past styles, such eclecticism was being reinforced in the United States by the general American tendencies toward individualism and freer expression that had become increasingly stronger in the post-Revolutionary period.† It was therefore only to be expected that many religious groups would soon adopt the Gothic Revival.

The question arises as to where the idea of using a Gothic Revival style for the new Princeton church had come from. In those early days Princeton ordinarily turned toward Philadelphia for inspiration in the arts, as the portraits made for the College

* Earlier designs for American churches in Gothic Revival style had included Latrobe's alternative and unused design for Baltimore's Roman Catholic Cathedral, 1805; St. Mary's Roman Catholic Seminary by Godefroy in Baltimore, 1807; Latrobe's St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Washington, 1807; Mangin's Old St. Patrick's Roman Catholic Church on Mott Street, New York City, 1809; Federal Street Church, Boston, 1809 (designed by Bulfinch, whose mother came from the leading Anglican family of Boston, for the Rev. W. E. Channing, the maverick Congregationalist who was soon to become Unitarian); John McComb, Jr.'s uncompleted design for the Wall Street Presbyterian Church, New York City, 1809; John Holden Greene's St. John's Episcopal Church, Providence, 1810; and the new façade added to St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church on South Fourth Street, Philadelphia, about 1810. One should add here that, although the above are accepted by architectural historians as examples of Gothic Revival style, it is often difficult to distinguish Gothic Revival from Gothic Survival. For instance, the second building for Trinity Church in New York—erected 1798-99 after the original church on the site built 1667-98 had burned during the Revolution—was designed with Gothic pointed windows, Gothic pinnacles, etc. However, in this case the examples were apparently survivals intended to recall the original Trinity Church. And that church, like many other provincial Anglican churches, had been built in a Gothic style in accordance with a tradition that had never died out, and that therefore represented a survival of Gothic. In some difficult cases it is even necessary to know the intent of the designer and the client if one is to distinguish accurately between Gothic Survival and Gothic Revival. It might be added that in the case of the Federal Street Church at Boston, as we have indicated, the architect, Bulfinch, may well have had in mind the associations of the newly fashionable Gothic Revival style with religious architecture of the past. But his near-Unitarian, and thus religiously "progressive" client, Channing, may have thought of the Gothic Revival as simply the latest, most progressive, hence most "modern" style.

by Charles Willson Peale, Thomas Sully, and others attest. We know, also, that on behalf of the new church Ashbel Green, President of the College, who until 1812 had been pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, sought information in that city concerning regulations for the sale of pews. But the architectural inspiration for the new church apparently did not come from Philadelphia: according to George Bishop Tatum, leading authority on the history of Philadelphia architecture, the only Gothic church design at that early date was the new façade added about 1810 to St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church on South Fourth Street—and the Presbyterians of Princeton would hardly have chosen this as their model. In New York, however, there was a leading architect who was a staunch Presbyterian with Princeton connections and who had already shown an interest in using the Gothic Revival style for church architecture. This architect was John McComb, Jr. With James Mangin he had designed the handsome Classical New York City Hall (1803-1812), but he was also active in the vicinity of Princeton. Only four years before the rebuilding of the Princeton church, at nearby New Brunswick he had begun Queens College, the original building of what is now Rutgers University. And only two years after the church was rebuilt he was the architect for an important building in Princeton itself, Alexander Hall at the Theological Seminary. Although these two buildings were in a Georgian style, we know that he had also been attracted to Gothic.

In the copy of Sir William Chambers' *A Treatise on the Decorative Part of Civil Architecture* (3rd edition, London, 1791) that McComb is known to have owned by 1808, he marked the following passage:

> To those usually called Gothick architects, we are indebted for the first considerable improvements in construction; there is a lightness in their works, an art and boldness of execution; to which the ancients never arrived: and which the moderns comprehend and imitate with difficulty. . . . One cannot refrain from wishing that the Gothic structures were more considered; better understood; and in higher estimation; than they hitherto seem to have been.12

13 MS. Minutes of the Trustees . . . January 28, 1815, p. 117; February 11, 1815, pp. 122, 126.
12 We are indebted to Mrs. Agnes A. Gilchrist (recipient of a 1957 ACLS grant for her study of John McComb, Jr.) for pointing out that Chambers' book was included in an 1803 list of books owned by McComb and for telling us of the marked passage in it.

FIG. 1. SEAL OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, OF PRINCETON, N.J. 
Adopted in 1793, this seal shows the original 1766 Presbyterian meeting house. 
Courtesy of First Presbyterian Church

FIG. 2. PEEF PLAN OF THE 1766 PRESBYTERIAN MEETING HOUSE 
showing the two entrance doors on the long side fronting on Nassau Street
First Presbyterian Church Papers
FIG. 3. 1815 PEO PLAN OF SECOND STRUCTURE OF THE
FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, BUILT IN 1813-1814
The long side of the church still ran parallel to Nassau Street.

FIG. 4. 1813 PEO PLAN OF THE FIRST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
A partial plan of the 1813-1814 second structure of the church
is shown superimposed (dotted lines) on the pew plan of
the 1784 meeting house.

First Presbyterian Church Papers
Inspired possibly by Sir William Chambers' enthusiasm and by the Gothic buildings he himself had seen on a European trip, McComb made in 1809 the first of several Gothic style elevations proposed for the Wall Street Presbyterian Church (Fig. 5). In that very year his collaborator on the New York City Hall, Mangin, built Old St. Patrick's Roman Catholic church in New York in a Gothic style. McComb's designs of 1809 for the Wall Street Church, which were more elaborate and considerably more Gothic than the Princeton Church of 1813, were not accepted. Apparently the New York Presbyterians were not ready for this style already being adopted for a few American Roman Catholic and Episcopalian churches.

McComb had always had close personal associations with Princeton: he had even lived here from 1777 to 1783 while his Princeton-born father, also an architect, served as quartermaster in the Continental Army. Considering all his Princeton connections, it is tempting to believe that, as a Presbyterian and well-known architect, he might have had some influence on the building committee's decision to rebuild their church at Princeton in the Gothic style.

The minutes of the trustees of the church unfortunately do not reveal either the source of this new idea or the reaction to it. A tantalizing entry for November 20, 1813 records that the "Trustees had the building committee and Mr. Samuel Gilles the contractor for rebuilding the church before them and after various conversations upon the rebuilding of the church adjourned." The minutes are otherwise filled with the perennial problem of raising the necessary money. Committees were appointed to seek funds from the trustees of the College and from friends in Philadelphia. The College gave money and a recitation room for worship services. During the months of rebuilding, however, the students, who formerly had worshipped regularly in the church, began holding separate services, and were never again to return as a group to the church.

The work on the new building progressed slowly under the supervision of Samuel Gilles, but finally, on June 29, 1814, the

12 Mrs. Gilchrist also gave us further information concerning the several Gothic designs made by McComb for this church, which are now in the New-York Historical Society.
13 See note 9.
14 MS. Minutes of the Trustees . . . November 20, 1813, p. 60.
president of the building committee announced that the "church will be ready to hold Divine Service in on the next sabbath," even though work on the interior and on the pews had not been completed. Some trouble with Gilles had evidently developed, because already in April there had been conversations between Richard Stockton, son of the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the trustees respecting the "contract and conduct of Mr. Gilles." In August, the building committee settled with Gilles, discharged him after cancelling his contract for finishing the church, presented their account to be examined by the congregation, and then resigned. It was therefore decided to appoint one person rather than a committee to superintend the completion of the building. At a fruitless congregational meeting three men were elected one after another to supervise the work, but each in turn declined. On the following day Andrew Galliard, a carpenter, agreed to finish the interior of the building. Some months later an elegant glass chandelier was presented by Dr. Elias Boudinot of Burlington, who had been the distinguished President of the Continental Congress when it met at Princeton, and was still a trustee of the College. He was also a founding trustee of the new Theological Seminary whose first building was so soon to be designed by John McComb.

Edward Allen, an undergraduate at the College, class of 1815, must have observed the construction of the Presbyterian church. Some years later, in 1829, when he was pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Wantage, Sussex County, N.J., his own new church was built in a primitive Gothic Revival style (Fig. 6) with certain marked resemblances to the earlier Princeton structure. Both had pointed windows down the sides as well as in the center of the towerless front. The window there in both cases was flanked by two entrance doors with classical entablatures on consoles. The smaller and simpler wooden church at Wantage, however, lacks the apse and galleries, so that there is only a single row of side windows. Still, the building was clearly modeled on the church at Princeton that the Reverend Mr. Allen knew so well.

The Wantage church stands today but that at Princeton built under so many difficulties in 1813-1814 suffered the same fate as its predecessor, burning down in 1855. It in turn was replaced by the present Greek Revival structure located at right angles to the previous church. Thanks to the Baroness Hyde de Neuville's watercolor we have the only surviving image of that 1813 church, probably the earliest Gothic Revival Presbyterian church built in the United States.

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21 MS. Minutes of the Trustees . . ., August 29, 1814, p. 103.
22 MS. Minutes of the Trustees . . ., August 30, 1814, p. 103.
24 The general resemblance of the Wantage church to the 1813 Gothic Revival church at Princeton was called to the authors' attention by Elizabeth G. C. Menzies, who also took the photograph of the building. The date of its construction, 1829, was supplied by Howard E. Case of the Sussex County Historical Society. M. Halsey Thomas, Princeton University Archivist, helped identify Rev. Edward Allen of the First Presbyterian Church of Wantage with Edward Allen, class of 1815.
Lost Horizon
The Princeton Skyline in 1790, drawn by John Trumbull
BY HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

The two versions of the view of Princeton reproduced here were drawn by the American artist John Trumbull, who dated them December 10, 1790. The pencil sketch in the collection of the late Hall Park McCullough (Fig. 2) was lent by him to the Princeton Library for an exhibition in 1951 and a photograph of it was made at that time for the Library's files. This sketch was recorded, but not illustrated, in Theodore Sizer's authoritative check list of Trumbull's work (1950), and also in Henry L. Savage's iconography of Nassau Hall (1956). It has recently been reproduced in the revised edition of Sizer's book (1967) and in the pictorial history of Princeton by Constance M. Greiff, Mary W. Gibbons and Elizabeth G. C. Menzies.

The companion drawing (Fig. 3), a pen and sepia wash version of the view shown in the pencil sketch, is recorded as "unlocated" in both editions of Sizer's book. It was rediscovered in September 1967 by Elizabeth G. C. Menzies, who recognized it at Rockingham, Washington's Headquarters at Rocky Hill, New Jersey, a few miles from Princeton. This "lost" Trumbull drawing has been on display at Rockingham, with other historical souvenirs, for the past twenty years or more, although not obviously identified as Trumbull's work. The tiny drawing, measuring 2 7/8 x 4 5/8 inches, is framed between two sheets of glass, so that Trumbull's own inscription on the verso (in which he erroneously wrote "Trenton") for Princeton, and dated the battle January 2, instead of January 3, 1777) is visible only when the frame is removed from the wall. Thanks to Miss Menzies' keen eye (which had been conditioned by her familiarity with the pencil sketch), and with the kind permission of the Supervisor of Historic Sites, who maintains for the State of New Jersey the twice-moved Berrien House at Rocky Hill, Trumbull's missing wash drawing is reproduced here, presumably for the first time.

Both drawings were once in the possession of John Trumbull's nephew-in-law, Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale, then of his son of the same name, and then of his grandson, a third Benjamin Silliman. In 1896 they were sold with other Trumbull drawings from the Silliman collection at an auction in Philadelphia conducted by Stan V. Henkels. Both views of Princeton, pencil sketch and wash drawing, are described in Henkels' Catalogue No. 770, as items 19 and 20. This catalogue description enabled Theodore Sizer to note the existence of the wash drawing in his check list of Trumbull's works, although he was obliged to record it as "unlocated" in both the 1950 edition of his book and in its 1967 revision.

It was at this same Henkels' sale in 1896, when numerous other Trumbull drawings were dispersed, that Junius S. Morgan purchased the series of six preliminary studies for "The Battle of Princeton," which he presented to the Princeton University Library in 1904. Another small sketch for Trumbull's "Princeton," listed as item No. 17 in the Henkels' sale catalogue, was acquired by the Library in 1958.

3 Theodore Sizer, with the assistance of Caroline Rollins, The Works of Colonel John Trumbull, Artist of the American Revolution. Revised edition (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1967), Fig. 189.

9 Henkels' Catalogue No. 770, items 11-18. The six studies are reproduced in the Princeton University Library Chronicle, XII, No. 1 (September 1950), as illustrations to Theodore Sizer's article, "Trumbull's The Battle of Princeton." The article is reprinted in the 1957 edition of Sizer's The Works of Colonel John Trumbull (pp. 143-146), where these six drawings appear as Figs. 175-180. Another article by Sizer, on Trumbull forgeries, "The Failure of Falseness," first published in the Chronicle, XXII, No. 2 (Winter, 1951), pp. 51-57, is also reprinted in the new book, pp. 175-179. Fig. 207, Theodore Sizer, who died in June 1957, did not live to see the publication of his last book. It is a pleasure to recall here his long-standing interest in the Princeton Library's Trumbull drawings. We regret that we cannot share our recent discovery with him.

William I. Homer, "A Drawing for Trumbull's The Battle of Princeton," The Princeton University Library Chronicle, XIX, No. 2 (Spring-Summer, 1958), 212-214, Plate VII. This drawing is also reproduced in Sizer (1957), Fig. 181. On the verso of the sheet (reproduced in the Chronicle) are a few notations.
Before examining the Princeton views as pictorial documents relating to the historical development of the town, it may be of interest to place them in the context of Trumbull’s life and works and to note their relationship to his other studies for his well-known battle painting. As Theodore Sizer has pointed out, a nearly complete series of the artist’s sketches for his historical composition, “The Death of General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton” (its full title) has survived, thus making it possible to trace the evolution of the painting, step by step, from inception to conclusion.

“The Death of General Mercer” was conceived as one in a series representing the most important events of the American Revolution, which Trumbull began in the 1780’s in London, when he was studying there under Benjamin West, another transplanted American-born artist. “The Object of this Undertaking,” Trumbull wrote, “[is] to assist in preserving the Memory of the illustrious Events which have marked this Period of our Country’s Glory, as well as of the Men who have been the most important Actors in them. . . . Historians will do Justice to an Era so important; but to be read, the Language in which they write, must be understood;—the Language of Painting is universal, and intelligible in all Nations, and every Age.” The artist’s plan, furthermore, called for prints to be engraved from his original oil paintings. During the five year period from 1784 to 1789, working chiefly in London with occasional visits to the Continent, Trumbull completed small oil paintings of the first two subjects in his series, “The Death of General Warren at the Battle of Bunker’s-Hill” and “The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack of Quebec.” He also “considerably advanced” his “Declaration of Independence,” “Battle of Trenton,” “Surrender of Yorktown,” and “Death of General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton.”

seven preliminary drawings for the latter, now in the Princeton University Library (one of which, No. 4, is dated May 10, 1786), were presumably all done during this London period.

Following the established tradition for commemorative historical paintings, Trumbull chose a dramatic incident as subject. The composition of the painting was an essential preoccupation, as the sequence of preliminary studies for the Princeton painting clearly indicates. Although the paintings are artificially-composed heroic scenes, rather than what we think of today as “realistic representation,” Trumbull nevertheless sought authenticity in such details as flags and uniforms, in portraiture, and in local scenery. For example, when he was in Paris in 1786, he discussed with Thomas Jefferson (then Minister to the French Court) the room in the Pennsylvania State House where the Declaration of Independence had been signed, he painted Jefferson’s portrait, and also took life portraits of several of the French officers who had participated in the surrender of Yorktown. Thus Trumbull could claim that each of his pictures “would contain Portraits of the principal Characters who were present at the Scene represented.”

Before returning to the United States in the autumn of 1789, Trumbull had made arrangements for the publication of the first two prints in his projected series. Indeed, one of his reasons for revisiting his native land (where he was to remain until 1794) was to obtain support for his great undertaking. In the course of his travels in quest of “subscribers,” he could also gather material for the work in progress. Numorous life portraits, for example, would be added to his portfolio.

“I arrived in New York on the 26th of November, 1789,” Trumbull recalled in his autobiography, “where I found the government of the United States organized under the new constitu-

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10 Death scenes obviously attracted Trumbull. What he called “my first attempt at composition,” done at his home in Lebanon, Connecticut, in 1774, is a painting representing “The Death of Paulus Aemilius at the Battle of Cannae,” Sizer (1967), Fig. 159. In 1786, at the time he was making his preliminary studies for “The Death of General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton,” he also did a sketch of “The Death of Hotspur,” a scene from Shakespeare’s _King Henry the Fourth_, Sizer (1967), Fig. 211. It is obvious, too, that he was influenced by Benjamin West’s “Death of General Wolfe at Quebec” (1770).


12 A page of Trumbull’s notes for the colors of uniforms worn by the French officers, listed by Sizer (1967), p. 100, is reproduced in _The Papers of Thomas Jefferson_, XII (1955), facing p. 66.
tion, General Washington President."  

13 After a brief visit to his family and friends in Connecticut—Trumbull was then thirty-three—he returned to New York where Congress was in session. "All the world was assembled there," he wrote, "and I obtained many portraits for the Declaration of Independence, Surrender of Cornwallis, and also that of General Washington in the battles of Trenton and Princeton, and in April, 1779. I offered my subscription for the first two engravings from the pictures of Bunker's Hill and Quebec, which had at last been contracted for with Mr. Müller of Stuttgard in Germany, and Mr. Clements of Denmark. I obtained the names of the president, vice president, ministers, seventeen senators, twenty-seven representatives, and a number of citizens of New York."

A specimen subscription blank, completed by Trumbull and signed by him, July 19, 1779, is in the Princeton Library (gift of the late Harry Shaw Newman) and is reproduced here. The

Received the 19th Day of July 1779 of
Lauenburgh Squire
the Sum of
being One Half of the Subscription for
Two Prints, one representing the Battle of Bunker's Hill, and the other the Death of General Montgomery; which I promise to deliver according to the Proposals, published in London, and dated November 10th, 1778.

Anthony C. Poggi
Mr. Trumbull

N.B. Every Subscription receipt is to be valid, must be signed by A.C. Poggi, and that in America, countersigned by J. Trumbull, Esq., as well as the Person approved by him to receive them.


14 See the "Proposals," cited above, note 9. Arrangements for the publication and distribution of the engravings had been made with Antonio C. Poggi, a London print dealer. The Montgomery at Quebec was engraved in London in 1772 by J. F. Cemens, a Danish engraver; the Warren at Bunker's Hill was not completed until 1798, by Johann Gotthard Müller of Stuttgart. These two were the only engravings completed as a part of the "proposed" series. The "Declaration of Independence" was engraved only in 1828, by Asher B. Durand. Such engravings as were eventually made of other subjects were generally done independently and often with no supervision or initiative on Trumbull's part. The Battle of Princeton, for example, never became part of the series of prints as originally planned;
FIG. 2. JOHN TRUMBULL, "THE COLLEGE AND VILLAGE OF PRINCETON," 1790
Pencil drawing, actual size
Estate of Hall Park McCullough

FIG. 3. JOHN TRUMBULL, "THE COLLEGE AND VILLAGE OF PRINCETON," 1790
Wash drawing, actual size
Rockingham, Washington's Headquarters, Rocky Hill, N.J.
Courtesy of Supervisor of Historic Sites, State of New Jersey
subscriber, it will be seen, was Samuel Meredith (1741-1817) of Philadelphia, who was at the time treasurer of the United States under the new Constitution. Meredith, incidentally, had participated in the Battles of Trenton and Princeton as lieutenant-colonel of the 3rd Battalion of Associates, known as the “Silk Stocking Company.”

Trumbull’s remarks on the full-length life portrait of General Washington, which he began in July 1790 for the corporation of the City of New York, provide a valuable commentary on his methods of work and intentions. Since the portrait was commissioned for the City of New York, it appropriately commemorates the evacuation of the city by the British in 1783: “In the background [is] a view of Broadway in ruins, as it then was, the old fort at the termination; British ships and boats leaving the shore, with the last of the officers and troops of the evacuating army, and Staten Island in the distance.” The artist then adds this significant comment: “Every part of the detail of the dress, horse, furniture, &c., as well as the scenery, was accurately copied from the real objects.”

During the autumn of 1790 Trumbull was in New England, then “returned through Connecticut to Philadelphia, to which place Congress had adjourned from New York.” It must have been, therefore, during this journey that the artist passed through Princeton, pausing there on December 10, 1790, long enough to sketch on the spot the view of “The College & Village of Princeton” which has prompted the present article.

The following spring Trumbull was in the South, still adding portraits to his portfolio and names to his subscription list. In April he visited the scene of the surrender of Yorktown. A drawing made at the time is endorsed by the artist: “Yorktown in Virginia, April 29, 1791, as seen from the point at which the British Army entered between the two lines of the allied troops of America and France at the Surrender in ’81; distance from the advance works, 270 yards.” This is a panoramic view in three parts on small sheets approximately the size of those used for the

18 The extant engravings of it are mid-19th century copies or adaptations. See, among others, the wood engraving in Henry W. Harrison, The Battlefields of the Republic from Lexington to the City of Mexico (Philadelphia, 1857), reproduced in Sizer (1900), after Fig. 94.
Princeton views. At Fredericksburg Trumbull made sketches of the sons of General Hugh Mercer as guidance for the portrait of their deceased father in the Princeton painting. That autumn he journeyed to the upper Hudson Valley. A sepia and wash drawing of "The Cohoes Falls on the Mohawk River, near Albany" is dated September 27, 1791. The following day, September 28, Trumbull visited the Saratoga battlefield and sketched "Saratoga, scene from the rising ground nigh the church, on which was Gen. Gates' marquee." Pursuing his journey over the Green Mountains into the Connecticut Valley, he added to his sketchbook on October 1 a view of "The Great Falls [Bellows Falls] of the Connecticut River at Walpole, one hundred and ten miles above Hartford." These sketches are approximately the same size as the Princeton views. Although such landscapes are not necessarily related to Trumbull's series of historical paintings, it is evident that the Princeton, Yorktown and Saratoga views were sketched with the great scheme in mind as authenticating memoranda for the scenery—"accurately copied from the real objects." They belong to what Sizer calls Trumbull's "best period," his "years of feverish activity and promise."

Whatever his intention may have been when making the sketch of Princeton in 1790, Trumbull appears to have made little, if any use of it when completing several years later his "small oil" version of "The Death of General Mercer at the Battle of Princeton."

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22 Charles Coleman Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale (Philadelphia, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Vol. 42, Part 1, 1953), No. 904, pp. 221-228, Fig. 357. This painting, which originally hung in the Pennsylvania State House (Independence Hall) is now in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

23 Sellers, No. 509, p. 290, not illustrated. Donald D. Egbert, Princeton Portraits (Princeton, 1947), p. 285, Fig. 218. This is the so-called "Wilson-Munn" portrait, bequeathed to the University in 1923 by Charles Allen Munn, Class of 1881. It now (1968) hangs in the Faculty Lounge in the Firestone Library. This is not to be confused with Princeton's other Peale portrait of Washington which hangs in the Faculty Room in Nassau Hall. The Nassau Hall portrait was commissioned by the Trustees of the College of New Jersey in 1783 and completed in 1784.
are viewed—not from the front or Nassau Street side—but from the rear, as they would have appeared to the American assailants when approaching the spot in the course of the battle.

John Trumbull, in the preliminary drawings done in London in 1786, situated his "scenery" in the same way as Peale had done (Figs. 4, 5). Nassau Hall is summarily indicated, though only as a large and nondescript structure on the horizon. Trumbull's 1790 "on the spot" sketch eventually provided him with the building's exact features, showing clearly the projecting rear wing and the cupola (Figs. 2, 3, 6). But a comparison of the authentic view and the final "small oil" version of the painting, completed about 1797, shows no significant corrections (Fig. 7). Indeed, in flat contradiction of the documentary sketch, the buildings on the horizon are regrouped to form an aesthetically pleasing mass—a noble pile befitting the heroic subject. Nassau Hall lacks its cupola, while a building close to its right is capriciously topped with a pointed steeple. Only perhaps in the general sweep of the horizon line can one detect even a slight reminiscence of the 1790 sketch.

We thus come to the conclusion that Trumbull's 1790 sketches of Princeton are less significant as preliminary studies for his battle painting than as self-contained landscapes, interesting in their own right as pictorial documents.

Examining them for what they can tell us of the Princeton skyline in December 1790, it must first be noted that the view is drawn in two sections or strips. Sketching from left to right across the upper half of the small sheet, Trumbull then continued the view across the lower half. When placed end to end the two halves form a single panorama (Fig. 6). It will also be noted that the recently rediscovered wash drawing lends meaning to the faint lines in the lower part of the pencil sketch. Although one must tread cautiously on the hallowed ground of the Princeton battlefield, the scene of many subsequent skirmishes between local antiquarians, the following interpretation of Trumbull's view is proposed:

The view was sketched, as Trumbull's own annotation states, "from the Field on which the Battle was fought." This field had no precise limits, either in 1777, or fourteen years later when Trumbull made his sketch. The site preserved and officially designated in 1946 as the "Princeton Battlefield State Park" represents only a portion of the area over which the opposing forces moved for a few hours on the morning of January 3, 1777. The scene of action ranged from today's "Park" northeastward to Nassau Hall itself. Present Mercer Street and its extension (Cross Road 583) did not then exist; it was laid out only in 1807. Open fields stretched over the high ground where heavily-shaded residential streets now extend back from Springdale Road and the Graduate College. There must therefore have been an unobstructed view over the whole area.

Trumbull seems to have made his sketch from a point near the present Graduate College or adjacent golf course. Beyond the tree and fence in the foreground is the "ravine" mentioned in accounts of the Battle. This depression is still traceable from the dip in Mercer Street at Hibben Road, through "Frog Hollow," then along the course of the brook running through the golf course, along Alexander Street, and eventually into Stony Brook.

Looking across the "ravine," Trumbull's panorama shows at the far left a plain rectangular meeting-house without belfry or steeple. This is the Presbyterian church, the first of the three edifices which have successively occupied this site. It corresponds to the other known representations of the structure: the church seal and Charles Willson Peale's "perspective" (Fig. 1).

To the right of the church is the President's House (later known as the Dean's House and, as of 1968, headquarters of The Alumni Council), the residence of President John Witherspoon when Trumbull made the sketch in 1790. The small mass summarily indicated in the interval between the President's House

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27 The "small oil" is in the Yale University Art Gallery. Sizer (1697), Fig. 169.
29 See above, this issue of the Chronicle, Virginia and Donald Egbert, "The Gothic Revival Comes to Princeton," Fig. 1.
and Nassau Hall may represent a house or houses along Nassau Street.

Nassau Hall is shown from the rear, with its original belfry, the first of the three which have crowned its twice-gutted shell. The central section projects, but less than does the present, more recently constructed faculty room.

To the right of Nassau Hall is another house, perhaps the one referred to in some descriptions as the "steward's house." Then the ground stretches out to "Prospect," Colonel George Morgan's farm—"Baldwin's Farm"—at the time of the Battle in 1777. This large house on the crest of the hill, surrounded by barns and outbuildings, is shown in more detail in Maria Templeton's watercolor, dated 1797, seven years after Trumbull's sketch.20

From "Prospect" the ground slopes away fairly steeply to the southeastward. Beyond the line of this slope another farm appears. This is probably the Horner-Sergeant-Olden farm, to the east of present Washington Road (then non-existent). The site was later occupied by Joseph Olden, who built the early nineteenth-century house on Ivy Lane, opposite the Stadium, now occupied by the Dean of the Chapel.21 A 1968 counterpart of Trumbull's panorama would be punctuated at about this spot by Princeton's first fifteen-story skyscraper.

Finally, a blunted line indicates the valley of Stony Brook as it merges with the Millstone River (Carnegie Lake), and another, the distant horizon.

20 See H. C. Rice, Jr., "Prospect: The Seat of Mr. Morgan at Princeton," *Princeton University Library Chronicle*, XXV, No. 3 (Spring, 1964), 201-211. The Templeton view is also reproduced in Greiff, Gibbons and Mezles, *Princeton Architecture*, Fig. 50.
21 Varnum Lansing Collins, *Princeton Past and Present*, revised edition (Princeton, 1946), No. 48, where it is noted that this is one of the oldest properties in Princeton.

Benjamin Young Prime, Class of 1751:
Poet-Physician

BY C. WEBSTER WHEELOCK

When Benjamin Young Prime of Huntington, Long Island, entered the College of New Jersey in 1748, he was fourteen years of age—thirteen years older than Aaron Burr's infant institution at Newark. The son of a clergyman and co-founder of the Suffolk Presbytery, he brought to his undergraduate years an early interest in the classical and modern languages and in virtually all forms of natural science. When Prime received his diploma in September, 1751, he had laid the groundwork for both his professional and literary careers.

For the next five years the young man served a double apprenticeship. While working as an assistant to Dr. Jacob Ogden of Jamaica, New York, he busily experimented with several of the poetic types that were to become staples of his more mature verse: translation, ode, topical satire, meditation. A Latin piece addressed to President Burr shortly after graduation, "Ad Reverendum ac honorandum Domi Aaronem Burr," recalls with gratitude the opportunities for inquiry and discussion in the small college community.2

The poet's Alma Mater was not backward in recognizing his continuing enthusiasm for the things of the mind. In 1754 the College of New Jersey awarded its recent alumnus an honorary Master's degree, and two years later Benjamin Prime received an invitation to return to the institution as a tutor. The period which the young scholar spent as a junior officer in the College, the academic year of 1756/1757, was the first year of its residence in Nassau Hall at Princeton as well as the final year of Aaron Burr's term as president.

Prime had written a few poems while at Newark, but none of

1 Upon attaining his majority in 1755, Benjamin Prime dropped the "s" from the middle name which he had inherited from the prominent Southold family of his mother, Experience Youngs.
2 This poem is in a gathering of miscellaneous manuscript poems in the collection known as the "Prime Family Library" at the Library of the Princeton Theological Seminary.
them was ever seriously intended for publication. So it is that an elegy which he composed at the end of his stay in Princeton may be the first instance of professional bellettristic writing on the part of any member of the College. "An Elegy on the lamented Death of his Excellency Jonathan Belcher, Governor of New Jersey; and the Rev. Aaron Burr, President of Nassau-Hall" later appeared as the third item in a collection of twenty poems entitled The Patriot Muse, printed at London in 1754. Most of the 265 lines in this work lament the passing of the man whose administration as second president of the College of New Jersey saw him first the writer's principal instructor, then his friend and senior on the faculty. There is an affecting depiction of the funeral procession which conducted Burr's body to its resting place in the Princeton cemetery:

Behold his reverend brethren first of all
In solemn state sustain the gloomy pall;
See too his pupils in long order come.
And wait upon their master to the tomb; . . .

Another poem by Prime, a review of the atrocities committed against the English garrison at Fort William Henry in the same year, is likewise a product of his term as tutor at Nassau Hall; but perhaps the most singular creative undertaking of this brief period is a series of verse-letters dated from May to October and purporting to be "A poetical Correspondence between Palemon & Æmilia." The story that emerges from this pseudo-pastoral exchange is of a youth seeking to gain the affections of a pious young poetess in the area, his moral and artistic analogue from the opposite sex. It is unfortunately impossible to determine if Æmilia," as she appears in the developing correspondence, was a real-life resident of Princeton and an actual "Friend" of Palemon-Prime.²


⁴ News of this defeat in the French and Indian War seems to have reached Princeton in August, 1757. Governor Belcher, trustee and benefactor of the College, his funeral orator, survived him by only twenty-four days.

Fatality and his personal letters are preserved in the College archives. An excerpt from the Palemon-Æmilia correspondence is printed below. The background for the inception of these verses is more fully discussed in Appendix C to the American Poet (Princeton University, 1967).

The eleven letters now fill two-dozen pages in the collection at the Princeton Theological Seminary Library; they constitute one of the six verse-gatherings surviving among Benjamin Prime's private papers. The poetry itself follows the eighteenth-century fashion of composition by heroic couplet, and the sentiments on display make few departures from the current conventionalisms of the pastoral mode. The series' chief interest is as a footnote to the early history of the College. "Palemon," observing that his relationship with the girl has drawn aspersions upon her innocent character, announces his decision to depart "N—s—u H—I & all its Joys" for the sake of his correspondent's reputation.

In the character of this academic shepherd Prime explains that there is another, and obscurely-linked reason for his resignation from the college faculty. A painful disagreement with John Ewing, Prime's fellow-tutor and later Provost of the University of Pennsylvania from 1779 to 1802, had subjected the poet to some antagonism within the student body, and he did not consider it advisable to offer himself any longer as a target to this opposition. Whatever the facts of the case, Benjamin Prime's offer to resign was accepted by the Trustees at their Commencement meeting on Thursday, September 29, 1757, a motion being passed to "present him with the sum of Ten Pounds over and above his salary."

Following this brief interlude in the world of teaching, the attention of the 23-year-old Huntingtonian reverted to his proposed medical career. In 1758 he left the home of his father Ebenezer and settled far out on Long Island at East Hampton, where the private practice of physic took up his time for somewhat longer than a year. Business may not have been good, however, for he soon returned to the Huntington area in order to pursue his chosen profession. Two more years at the old location demonstrated the need for more advanced training in medical science, and the young man resolved to travel in Europe for further study en route to a degree.

On June 16, 1762, Prime sailed for England aboard a packet which was several times attacked by French privateers in the crossing. He commenced his advanced training at St. Guy's Hos-


⁶ This information is found in the Preface by Nathaniel S. Prime to the anonymous and posthumous collection of his father's verse published at New York in 1843. Muscipsula sive Cambromyomachia: The Mouse-Trap, or The Battle of the Welsh and the Mice; in Latin and English: with Other Poems, in different lan-
pital in London, acting as a “dresser,” or apprentice under the second surgeon. At the conclusion of this internship he was able to travel for a brief time in France, principally around Paris. Upon his return to London he registered for a course of evening lectures on anatomy in the Borough of Southwark and undertook the study of obstetrics with two of the city's ranking “men-midwives.”

In the spring of 1764 Prime journeyed to the University of Leyden in Holland—then, with Edinburgh, one of the two great medical faculties in Europe. His dissertation, begun during the period of obstetrical training, was accepted for a degree by that university on July 7, 1764, two years after his arrival abroad. About the time that The Patriot Muse was published by “John Bird, in Ave-Maria-Lane” at London, Benjamin Young Prime's dissertation, De Fluxu Mutili Menses, was printed by Theodore Haak of Leyden: a curiosity if not a landmark of medical literature. The new M.D. recrossed the ocean to land at New York on November 13 of the same year.

Not much more than a month later Prime took up residence in New York City. He had prepared himself at considerable expense for a professional practice in the metropolis, and it appears to have been his intention to remain there on a permanent basis. Circumstances, nevertheless, were to intervene after a decade of mixed fortune and frustration which would bring the forty-year-old physician back to the country town of his birth. Benjamin's aged father Ebenezer was growing increasingly unable toward the eve of the Revolution to support himself and his third wife. By the mid-1770's the son was prepared to recognize the relative failure of his hopes for prominence in a big-city career, and it may have been with some relief that he decided to return to Huntington to care for his parent.

Benjamin Prime was the sole surviving male in the Long Island branch of a fourth-generation colonial family; it was incumbent upon him to perpetuate the heritage attached to the name of the Primes. For a wife he chose the widow of a local clergyman, Mary Wheelwright Greaton. Their wedding took place on Sunday, December 18, 1774, less than two years before their enforced flight into exile from the family homestead. While living in New York City at the time of the Stamp Act, the doctor had written the popular lyrics of an anti-administration broadsheet which earned him the reputation of a fierce rebel. When hostilities broke out and a British amphibious operation forced the Colonials to desert the western portion of Long Island, Prime knew himself to be a marked man.

He gathered up his wife, infant son, and most portable belongings and fled across the sound to New Haven, Connecticut, where he remained in exile with his young family for the seven-year duration of the War of Independence. In Connecticut the Primes suffered the hardships of having no permanent place of residence, of depending upon an unstable income from Benjamin's disrupted medical practice, and of knowing that their Huntington property was subject to enemy confiscation. In spite of his inability to gain a position in the Continental army (owing to a lifelong circulatory disorder) Benjamin Prime grew increasingly enamoured of the patriot cause as the struggle for sovereignty in America continued. At the news of Brigadier Benedict Arnold's defection to the English camp the poet hastened to compose a lengthy and virulently indictment of the infamous turncoat, The Fall of Lucifer.

Yorktown became a matter of history in late October, 1781, and the fall of Lord North's war ministry gave assurance of an imminent conclusion to the conflict. It was not until early December, 1783, however, that the last of the British occupation force was evacuated from Long Island. When it was finally safe for him to return to his ancestral home, the poet-physician discovered that his father's extensive library had been looted and that many of the family possessions had been destroyed by the departing garrison. The few remaining years of Prime's life were devoted by necessity to the recovery of his lost property. Rapidly succumbing to his chronic illness, burdened with the responsibilities of supporting a family of five children, the middle-aged patriot waged a losing battle until the time of his death in 1791. In that year appeared the longest and most ambitious of his verse-publications,

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10 The Fall of Lucifer, An Elegiac Poem on the Infamous Defection of the late General Arnold. Hartford, Printed by Hudson and Goodwin, 1781. The preface is dated Hartford, January 1, 1781. Evans No. 17152.

11 Three daughters had been born to the Primes during their Connecticut exile. Nathaniel Scudder Prime, their second son and youngest child, was born after the
an admirable survey of the events and figures in the recent war entitled Columbia’s Glory, or British Pride Humbled (New York).

Even though a number of the direct descendants of Benjamin Young Prime rose to eminence in the fields of journalism and divinity, alone among his family’s literary personalities the eighteenth-century doctor exhibits the capacity to endure in his writings. Living at a period of American history in which the composition of polite verse was necessarily relegated to the status of an avocation, the Huntington poet produced in excess of 400 pages of poetry, more than half of which was printed for him and published during his lifetime.

During the middle third of the eighteenth century in America few men had the time or the inclination to indulge in belletristic writing. No verse-writer with the qualifications of an Ebenezer Cook or an Edward Taylor is believed to have flourished during the period. No literary name shines at this time with the brightness of the galaxy of poets known as the Connecticut Wits—men whose creative activities were concentrated in the final two decades of the century. So it is that modern anthologizers are constrained to exhibit a gap between circa 1730 and the early productions of Barlow, Dwight, and Trumbull in the 1770’s.

Benjamin Prime has left a poetic chronicle of most of the important events in this span of years. The collection of twenty pieces printed at London in 1764 (as The Patriot Muse) might justly claim for him the title “American Poet of the French and Indian War.” His song for the Sons of Liberty at the time of the Stamp Act has been recognized as one of the finest of its type to emerge from the pre-revolutionary period, and Columbia’s Glory, or British Pride Humbled, his long poem on the personalities and incidents in the War of Independence, is a fitting capstone to an artistic career which lasted nearly forty years.

Among Prime’s surviving manuscripts are verse-commentaries on contemporary medical and theological mores, excursions into social satire, and observations on phenomena from the world of the natural sciences. The corpus as a whole records the reactions of an alert, well-educated mind to the circumstances surrounding life in late eighteenth-century America. Such a record is too helpful to our understanding of the times to lapse again into obscurity. The following sampling is intended to demonstrate the range and quality of his accomplishment and is made from both the manuscript and printed segments of the Prime corpus.
A SELECTION OF VERSE BY
BENJAMIN YOUNG PRIME

Ad Reverendum Domnæ Joannem Maltby,
dilectum aequæ ac honoratum olim Collegii,
Neo-caesariensis Tutorem, ad Bermudam disessurum

[1751. Manuscript.]
Ah nunc abis? Tutor venerabilis,¹
Et deseres maestos Juvenes, quibus
Jucunda sunt et grata semper
Imperium regimenque vestrum?
Non amplius nobis faciem tuam
Spectare fas est? non licet amplius
Audire vestrae tam benigna
Consilia et documenta linguæ?
Quae dura Fors, quae saeva necessitas,
Te diripit nobis, Academiam
Nostram gubernatorem digno,
Atque bono spoliat parente?
Sed hocce cur dixi? te aulæ advocat
Terræ Deus, vitae sitentibus
(Nec nos te alurno vult beare
Amplius) alumæ apere fontem:
Itum, Dei jussu, itum], pede prospero,
Tutusque sulces aequora caerula,
Adsit Deus custos periclis,
Deque viam facilem et secundam!
Sique amplius non est redeundum, ibi
Prospera vivas, Omnipotens tibi
Adstet Deus praesens amicus,
Cum absuerint homines Amici!
Sis longus aevi-seroque terminus
Adsit tuae vitae, atque diutius
Cum hic non morandum, certa servi
Praemia te maneant fideli!

On General Braddock's Defeat²

[1755. Published in The Patriot Muse, 1764, pp. 9-11.
The excerpt reprinted here includes only the first 40
lines of this 87-line poem.]
Erewhile from Eastern shores well-pleas'd we heard
Fame's silver trumpet sound; th' harmonious blast
Rung through the land, and spread a gen'r'al joy.
Joyful the news and welcome to our ears!
That foes perfidious perish'd in their crimes,
Or left possessions by incroachment gain'd,
Vanquish'd by heav'n, and our victorious arms;
That foes disguis'd, were forc'd to drop the mask,
And stand confess'd, all fiend-like as they are,
Like Satan once, touch'd by Ithuriel's spear.³
That Nova-Scotia now no longer groans¹
Beneath th' usurping tyrant; but, once more
Redeck'd, acknowledges her rightful lord,
Disdains proud Louis, and submits to GEORGE.
But oh! the strange vicissitude of things!
How soon the scene is chang'd! black low'ring clouds
Rise in the West, and frown upon the land;
Hoarse thunders bellow, shake the continent,
And make our cities tremble, while they sound
Through all our provinces our foul defeat;
In awful language tell, how Gallic fraud
Prevail'd o'er English valour; how the slaves
Of Louis, mix'd with barb'rous savages,
With British chiefs and free-born soldiers strow'd
Monongahela's banks? Must villains thus
Succeed in their iniquitous designs,
And insolently triumph o'er the just?
Deceitful treaty-breakers thus elude
The vengeance due to violated faith;
Thus unchastis'd escape, and see the sword
Of justice fall, thus blunted, to the ground,
Must bold usurpers leap the bounds prescrib'd,
Unjustly seize dominions not their own,

¹ In an attempt to capture Fort Duquesne (Pittsburgh) this commander of the
British forces in America permitted 1400 regulars and 450 Colonials under
Lieutenant Colonel George Washington to be routed by a mixed army of 900
French and Indians at the Battle of the Wilderness, July 9, 1755.
² Milton, Paradise Lost. IV, 810-826.
³ An allusion to the still-controversial deportation of the French Acadians from
this nominally British possession at the outset of the war.
And hold them uncontroul'd? Must they yet live,
And prosper in their villainous attempts,
While honest men die in their own defence?
MUR. BRADDOCK,\textsuperscript{6} HALKETT,\textsuperscript{6} SHIRLEY,\textsuperscript{7} and a train
Of heroes brave, in long succession, fall
Victims to the ambitious aims of France,
And scarce one hostile villain bite the ground? . . .

\begin{center}
\textit{A poetical correspondence}
\textit{between Palemon & Æmilia: Nº I}
\end{center}

[1757. Manuscript.]

To You Æmilia, lovely Virgin, sues
From her fair Mansion the Nassovian Muse
To You She dedicates her humble Lays
And asks your Friendship while She sings your Praise

\begin{quote}
While all around Creation's fairest Part
The lovelier Sex from Wisdom's Road depart
The wild Commands of Vanity obey
And in dull Trifles waste their Time away
You led by Reason with the prudent few
Fair Truth's delightful flow'ry Paths pursue
On elevated Themes your Thoughts employ
And taste Delights none but the wise enjoy
Mere Toys engage the less considerate Fair
The little Arts of Dress are all their Care
Patches & Paint Rings Ruffles Lawn & Lace
Engross their Meditations at the Glass
There long they stand impertinently gay
With vast delight their pretty Selves survey
Improve the rosy Blush with studious Care
Compose the Topknot & adjust the Hair
Make every Charm in perfect Lustre rise
And learn to play the Lightning of their Eyes
But You Æmilia act a wiser Part
By Reason taught you've learn'd a nobler Art
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{6} Major General Edward Braddock (1695-1755). He was slain at the Monongahela River in the course of his first clash with the French enemy in America.

\textsuperscript{7} Colonel Peter Halkett, ranking officer of the incomplete 44th Irish regiment in support of Braddock. Halkett overran the trapped English vanguard south of Fort Duquesne and was promptly killed by ambushers.

\textsuperscript{7} William Shirley, Jr. The son of Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, he received an appointment as Braddock's secretary, which paved the way for his death at the Battle of the Wilderness.
Such Ornaments as these you cannot prize
Too well you know wherein true Beauty lies
A Library supplies the Toilette's Place
Knowledge your Dress & some fair Page your Glass
These give you Charms of a superior Kind
Th' exalted lasting Beauties of the mind
Hence tis your Converse every Bosom warms
And in your Person more than Beauty charms

While some t'amuse a thoughtless Hour demand
The painted Cards, a pen adorns your Hand
Fir'd by the Muse far nobler Joys you feel
Than thoughtless Miss at Ombre or Quadrille
But no vain Themes your raptur'd Tho'ts engage
Your Bosom glows not but with sacred Rage
To Virtue consecrated are your Fires
And Themes like these alone the Muse inspires
Love's wondrous Pow'r & Friendships gen'rous Flame
Fair Nassau Hall & noble Belcher's Fame...

May 21st 1757

Palemom

An Elegy on the Lamented Death of his Excellency
Jonathan Belcher,* Governor of New Jersey; and
The Rev. Aaron Burr,* President of Nassau-Hall

[1757. Published in The Patriot Muse, 1764,
pp. 17-25. The complete Elegy runs to 265 lines.]

Quis desiderio sit pudor aut modus
Tam charorum capitum?

Scarce had we heard fame's brazen voice proclaim

* Born Cambridge, Mass., 1681/82; died Elizabeth (town), N.J., 1757. Belcher was
appointed governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, but, failing to please
both colonial and royal interests, he was dismissed in 1741. After rehabilitating
himself with the government in England, he was appointed governor of New
Jersey (1746), where he was active in establishing the College of New Jersey. Gove-
ner Belcher's library, presented by him to the College, was the first extensive gift
to what is now the Princeton University Library. See "Jonathan Belcher, Notes on
a Recently Acquired Portrait of an Early Benefactor of the Princeton Library,"

* Born Fairfield, Conn., 1715/16; died Princeton, N.J., 1757. He graduated from
Yale College in 1735, becoming pastor of the First Church, Newark, New Jersey, in
1738. Ten years elapsed before he succeeded Jonathan Dickinson as head of the
College of New Jersey, in which capacity he served, both at Newark and Princeton,
until his death from a fever on September 24, 1757. This Aaron Burr was the
father of Colonel Aaron Burr (College of New Jersey, Class of 1772) who later be-
came vice-president of the United States.
Canadia's glory, and our country's shame,
The rapid conquests of the aspiring Gaul,
Montcalm's success, and William-Henry's fall;
When this sad tale (so slow succeeds to slow,
Like Job's successive messengers of woe)
Augments our grief, as though too small before,
The best are mortal—Belcher is no more!

Belcher no more!—how awful is the sound!
The stroke how fatal and how large the wond!
A wound, Casarian! ye must long deplore,
And know your former halyon days no more.
Yourself can witness, how his gentle sway
Aw'd not by pow'r, but charm'd by love, t'obey;
How oft his care the public storm assuag'd,
When discord rose, and bold sedition rag'd;
How nobly firm to heav'n's eternal laws,
With ardor he espous'd religion's cause;
How, at his frown, the fiend oppression fled,
And monster vice conceal'd her odious head;
 Cheer'd by his smiles, how misery grew gay,
And injur'd virtue wip'd her tears away:
How, ever anxious for the public good,
E'en while half-cold life's languid current flow'd;
With patriot-zeal his gen'rous bosom glow'd.
Such was the man, Casarian thou hast lost,
His people's glory, and his country's boast;
Such was the ruler, lately at thy head,
Now laid in dust, and mingled with the dead.
Who can but mourn when worth, like his, expires?
Sure such a loss a gen'r'al woe requires;
A conscious gloom let ev'ry visage wear,
And ev'ry heart sustain a mournful share;
Let floods of sorrow stream from ev'ry eye,
And ev'ry bosom heave a pensive sigh;
Let ev'ry rank, and ev'ry age deplore
The good, the pious Belcher, now no more.

But you it most behoves to mourn his fall,
Ye blest inhabitants of Nassau-Hall,
To heav'n's kind smiles, and his paternal care,
You owe your leave to breathe Parnassian air;
Kind heav'n by him bestows the joys you feel
In the calm mansions where the muses dwell;

'Tis by his means you trace art's flowery fields,
And taste the fruits which blooming science yields;
By him you soar on philosophic wings,
And drink the nectar of Castalian springs;
Come then, with me in filial sorrow mourn,
And, with your tears, bedew a patron's urn.

But ah! behold another stroke is giv'n,
Nor yet exhausted are the shafts of heav'n;
A blow severer still (but God is just)
Renews our sorrows, disappoints our trust,
And oh! amazing! brings great Burr to dust.

Scarce has the venerable preacher paid
The debt funeral to his Belcher's shade;
Scarce spoke the virtues of a friend so dear,
And o'er his ashes shed a mournful tear.
When the dear man receives his summons too,
Leaves us in tears, and bids the world adieu.
The sov'reign hand of Providence adores,
Submits to fate, and is what he deplores.

Belcher and Burr, by tenderest bands ally'd,
Each other's comfort, and Casaria's pride,
Two kindred souls! ere they resign'd their breath,
Pleasant they were, nor separate in death.

We, in their fall, two cruel wounds deplore,
The first was painful, but the last is more;
When Belcher fell, distressing was the blow,
But Burr's sad exit consummated our woe:
Before, our sorrows were too great to bear,
But now we're plung'd in absolute despair.
Though dear to all, though honour'd far and wide,
In good old age th' illustrious Belcher dy'd;
Replete with years, he to his grave was borne,
Just in his season, like a shock of corn;
But Burr fell early, hardly past his prime,
Mow'd down untimely by the scythe of time;
While useful projects in perpetual bloom
Promis'd a richer harvest yet to come.

Invidious death! how cruel was thy dart
To balk our wishes thus! perform'd his part,
Belcher approv'd behind the scenes retires;
In all the pomp of action Burr expires:
A long day past, in heav'nly splendor drest,
Belcher's bright star sat glorious in the west;
But hapless Burr! fate quench'd his lucid ray,  
In all the glory of meridian day.

Ys faithful Guardians of fair Nassau-Hall,  
Attend obsequious to the heav'nly call!  
Come o'er your orphan-charge your sorrows shed,  
And mourn it's chief among the silent dead.  
You long have known him, with unwearied pain,  
Assiduous toil, nor has he toil'd in vain;  
How many, once instructed by his care,  
E'en now declaim with honour at the bar,  
In sacred eloquence employ their breath,  
Or rescue mortals from the jaws of death!  
Short was his sleep; long ere the dawning light,  
He rose laborious and abridg'd the night;  
Rose to his work, impatient of delay,  
And in continual labours spent the day;  
Then cast on the protection of the skies  
The infant college, ere he clos'd his eyes.  
Thus did he act the faithful regent's part,  
Thus his dear charge lay ever on his heart;  
Thus his improvement in the arts reveal'd,  
His growing fitness for the chair he fill'd;  
Where can ye find the man (oh who can tell?)  
To rear and teach the rising school so well?  
Ah! who so well as he can bear the sway,  
And awe and charm the students to obey,  
Or who so well the scenes of art display?

COME, ye his well-lov'd pupils, next draw near,  
And pay the doleful tribute of a tear,  
His death demands it of you: . . .

. . .

But not alone does animated breath  
Lament his absence and bewail his death;  
The august pile, which oft his presence knew,  
Seems to bemoan her absent master too:  
For while I walk along the spacious dome,  
Or wander musing through each silent room,

The plaintive echoes of my sounding tread,  
Methinks, complain, and tell me, Burr is dead!  
While the fair Hall, in gloomy sable hung,  
Seems to deplore the silence of his tongue. . . .

Strophon's Farewell  
or Absent Delia

[1761, Manuscript. Only the first seven and the last stanzas of the poem are printed here.]

I.

Pensive I enter on the Road,  
Quit kindred-Delia's dear Abode,  
And bid the Nymph adieu;  
Homeward reluctant I return,  
My too contracted Visit mourn,  
And Joys departed rue.

II.

Ah cruel Fate that thus removes  
The gentle Maid that Strophon loves,  
Fair Delia from his Eyes!  
Ah cruel Distance to divide  
A Nymph and Swain so near ally'd  
By Nature's tender Ties!

III.

But Delia still employs my mind  
(Delia, dear Object left behind!),  
Nor Absence can controul—  
So in all Regions, still the same,  
The Needle with mysterious Aim  
Points constant to the Pole.

IV.

Tho' I converse with jolly Swains  
On fair Arcadia's spacious plains,  
Or mingle with the Fair;  
Yet ah! disconsolate I feel,  
Absent and solitary still,  
Since Delia is not there.

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20 The Trustees of the College: men such as Gilbert and William Tennent, Samual Blair, Edward Shippen, John Reading, and Andrew Johnson—influential clergymen, merchants, and civil officers from the middle colonies.

21 In a footnote to a manuscript poem on the death of Samuel Davies, the president of the College who died in 1761, Prime intimates that he had taken part in Aaron Burr's funeral ceremony.
V.
In vain the Sun's meridian Rays
Shed o'er the Earth a beaming Blaze,
Or gild the azure Skies,
Since now no more my ravish'd Sight
Beholds those Beams that shine so bright
In lovely Delia's Eyes.

VI.
While Birds sweet-warbling cheer the Plains
With sprightly shrill melodious Strains,
I loathe the tunefull Noise:
Ye jovial Songsters, O forbear—
Your cheerfull Musick wounds my Ear
Without my Delia's Voice.

VII.
But let the Turtle's Voice alone,
Cooing her solitary moan,
In the thick Shade repine;
None but the melancholy Dove,
While She repeats her Tale of Love,
Sings Notes akin to mine.

... 

XIV.
Without my Delia nought can please;
Nothing can give my Bosom ease,
While, Delia, far from Thee.
Ahh! Thou art my continual Theme,
My Thought by Day, by night my Dream—
O Delia, think on Me!

The celebrated Ode of Sappho
translated into English Sapphic

[1760. Manuscript. Printed in Muscipula (1840), pp. 54-55.]
Blest as th' immortals is the youth who nigh thee,
Sitting attentive to thy Voice melodious,
Hears thy soft accents and beholds thy kind smiles—
Rapture-inspiring.

This my heart charm'd; this stupefy'd my senses;
Smit by thy beauty soon as e'er I saw thee,
Tongue ty'd I gazed, and in soft Confusion
Speechless ador'd thee.

Glow'd my fond Bosom; soon the subtle, keen flame
Gild thro' my members: with ideal murmurs
Loud my ears tingled, and a Cloud of darkness
Hung o'er my Eye-lids.

Trembling all over and bedew'd with sweats—
Tarnish'd my visage with a dying paleness—
Breathless I sunk down, with the pleasing Languors
Well-nigh expiring.

The same attempted in French:

Heureux autant que les dieux mêmes sans doute
Est le jeune homme qui proche à vous assis,
Le Son de votre voix écoute,
Et voit vos doux et aimables Souris. [1]

C'est ce qui embarrasse ma poitrine;
Ceci me donne des ravissemens de coeur,
Car en regardant votre charmante mine,
Me manque la parole tout à l'heure.

Ma Langue s'engourdit; très vitement
Courent par tout mon corps des subtils feux—
A les Oreilles J'ay du Tintement;
Sombres nuës obscurcissent mes yeux.

Noyé d'une froide sueur et tout tremblant,
Mon âme a peine a garder son sejour.
Je tombe, Je me pâme, languissant,
Pale, haletant et demi-mort d'amour.

An Excellent New Song,
For the Sons of Liberty in America

In Story we're told, How our Fathers of old,
Brav'd the Rage of the Winds and the Waves,
And cross'd the Deep o'er, To this desolate Shore,
All because they were loth to be Slaves; Brave Boys,
All because they were loth to be Slaves.

Yet a strange Scheme of late, Has been form'd in the State,
By a Knot of political Knaves,
Who in Secret rejoice, That the Parliament's Voice,
Has condemn'd us by Law to be Slaves; Brave Boys,
Has condemn'd &c.

But if we should obey, This vile Statute the Way
To more base future Slavery paves,
Nor, in Spite of our Pain, Must we ever complain,
If we now tamely yield ourselves Slaves, &c.

Counteract then we must, A Decree so unjust,
Which our wise Constitution depraves;
Lo! all Nature conspires, To approve our Desires,
For she cautions us not to be Slaves; &c.

As the Sun's lucid Ray, To all Nature gives Day,
And a World from Obscurity saves;
So all happy and free, George's Subjects should be;
Then Americans must not be Slaves; &c.

Heaven only controuls, The great Deep as it rolls,
And the Tide that our Continent laves,
Emphatical roars, This Advice to our Shores,
"O Americans! never be Slaves; &c."

Hark! The Wind as it flies, Tho' controul'd by the Skies,
While it each meaner Obstacle braves,
Seems to say, be like me, always loyally free;
But ah! Never consent to be Slaves; Brave Boys, &c.

To our Monarch we know, Due Allegiance we owe,
Who the Scepter so rightfully waves;
But no Sovereign we own, But the King on the Throne,
And we cannot to Subjects be Slaves; &c.

Stupid Simpletons tell, How we mean to rebel,
And yet all each American craves,
Is but to be free, As we surely must be,
For we never were born to be Slaves; &c.

But whoever is Spite, At American Right,
Like insolent Haman behaves, Or you'd Wish to grow great, On the Spoils of the State;
May he and his Children be Slaves! Brave Boys; &c.

Tho' against the Repeal, With intemperate Zeal,
Proud G——lle, so brutishly raves:
Yet our Conduct shall show, And our Enemies know,
That Americans scorn to be Slaves; &c.

With the Beasts of the Wood, We will ramble for Food,
And lodge in wild Deserts and Caves
And live Poor as Job, On the Skirts of the Globe,
Before we'll submit to be Slaves; &c.

The Birthright we hold, Shall never be sold,
But sacred maintain'd to our Graves;
Nay, and ere we'll comply, We will gallantly die,
For we must not and will not be Slaves; Brave Boys,
We must not, and will not be Slaves.

12 When the Jews were subject to the tyranny of the Persian ruler Ahasuerus, his principal minister Haman tried to effect the destruction of Mordecai and his people for refusing to abase themselves before the king and his minions. Esther 3, 1-15.
13 George Grenville (1712-1770), Prime Minister of England during the period when the ill-advised Sugar Act (1764) and Stamp Act (March 22, 1765)—the occasion of Prime's "Song"—were promulgated, fought the repeal of the controversial internal levy until George III revoked the bill in March, 1766.
On the Death of Dr. Nathaniel Scudder

Who was slain in a skirmish with a party of Refugees at Shrewsbury in New-Jersey October 16th 1781. An Elegy.

[1781. Manuscript. Printed in Musripula (1840), pp. 66-71. The first eighteen stanzas, the elegy proper, are omitted here.]

Thus sung thy friend, by fond affection mov'd To drop the tears of sorrow o'er thy urn, But soon, by conscious sentiment reprov'd, Saw greater reason for himself to mourn!

So bright, blest shade, thy deeds of virtue shine, So rich, so doubt, thy recompence on high, My Lot's far more lamentable than thine: Thou liv'st in death, while I in living die.

With great applause hast thou perform'd thy part Since thy first entrance on the stage of life— Or in the labours of the healing art, Or in fair Liberty's important strife.

In med'cine skillfull & in warfare brave, In council steady, uncorrupt, and wise, It was thy happy lot, the means to have, To no small rank in each of these to rise.

Employ'd in constant usefulness thy time— And thy fine talents in exertions strong— Thou dy'st advance'd in life tho' in thy prime, For, living useful, thou hast lived long.

But I alas! like some unfruitful tree That useless stands a cumb'rer of the plain, My faculties unprofitable see And five long years have breath'd almost in vain:

While, all around me (like the busy swarms That ply the fervent labours of the hive Or guide the state) with ardor rush to arms, Or some less great, but needful bus'ness drive.

I see my time inglorious glide away— Obscure & useless, like an idle drone— And unconducive each revolving day, Or to my country's int'rest or my own.

Great hast thou liv'd and glorious hast thou dy'd, Tho' trait'rous villains have cut short thy days; Virtue must shine, whatever fate betide: Be theirs the scandal & be thine the praise.

Then to my soul thy memory shall be From glory bright, as from affection, dear; And, while I live to pour my grief for thee, Glad joy shall sparkle in each twinkling tear.

Thy great example, too, shall fire my breast: If heav'n permit, with thee again I'll vie; And, all thy conduct well in mine exprest, Like thee I'll live, tho' I like thee should die.

13 The Author alludes to his want of employment in his profession in Connecticut and his disappointment of an Employment in the Army.—B.Y.P.
Library Notes

SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND OF EXPERIENCE
AND
MISS CAROLINE NEWTON’S BLAKE COLLECTION

Miss Caroline Newton of Berwyn, Pennsylvania, has presented to the University Library one of the finest copies of Blake’s Songs of Innocence and of Experience. Miss Newton’s gift was the occasion of a special Blake exhibition at the entrance to the main exhibition gallery during the months of November and December. Most of the items in this exhibition were on loan from Miss Newton’s personal collection.

This copy of Songs of Innocence and of Experience, Shewing the Two Contrary States of the Human Soul is copy U in the Keynes and Wolf census. It consists of 54 plates on 54 leaves (watermark 1815) printed in red-brown and brilliantly painted with watercolors and opaque pigments, heightened with silver and gold. Each plate is within a single framing line. The plates are foliated by Blake 1-54.

The earliest record of this copy was in C. and J. Rivington’s Catalogue of Books, London, 1824. The copy of the catalogue in the University Library was shown, opened to item 11,795, which described the copy as “engraved in relief on copper, and coloured to imitate drawings, by the Author.” It was priced at eight guineas. So far as we now know, this was only the second time that one of Blake’s illuminated books was advertised at a public sale of books. (In 1813 a copy of Songs of Innocence and of Experience had been sold in London at auction—which copy we do not know.) Copy U was afterwards owned by Thomas Edwards of Halifax, Yorkshire (the brother of the man who published Blake’s illustrations to Young’s Night Thoughts), and sold in an auction of his books and manuscripts in London, May 15, 1882. It was later in William Beckford’s collection. Beckford, who built Fonthill Abbey and wrote the Gothic novel Vathek, was one of the first important collectors of Blake. This copy was sold with his books in 1882; then bought by the London firm of Quaritch, who used it for a facsimile edition in 1893. In 1895 it was bought by William A. White of Brooklyn who was probably the greatest of all the collectors of Blake. It was bequeathed by Mr. White to his daughter, Mrs. Hugh D. Marshall, and later acquired by her brother, Harold T. White. He gave it to his second wife at Christmas 1917. The copy was recently acquired for Princeton University Library by Miss Caroline Newton, through Mr. John F. Fleming of New York. It has previously been exhibited in the two most important exhibitions of Blake in America: at the Grolier Club in New York in 1905 and at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1939.

Blake’s Songs of Innocence (1789) were his first successful attempt to create poems and illustrated books in a form and content which were distinctively his own. In Songs of Experience (1794) he showed the states of disappointment and sorrow contrary to the lyrical joy of the earlier volume. The more somber moods of experience are reflected in the subjects, the symbolism, and even in the technique of engraving the plates. The earliest copy of the combined issue of the Songs is 1794. Those copies produced before 1795 are printed in light tones (usually of brown), rather similar to the earlier copies of Songs of Innocence. From 1795 to 1802 the tones grow darker, and gray and black inks are sometimes used for the printing. From 1802 to 1815 there is no fixed color. After 1815 Blake always used a bright red-brown or orange-brown for the printing ink. The watercolor illuminating follows a pattern from simple to bright to elaborate and brilliant after 1815. The copy given to Princeton University Library by Miss Newton represents the culmination of Blake’s work: rich and splendid, heightened with gold and silver, the pages brought out with framing-lines. It is most likely the earliest one of six complete copies which were so painted by Blake. Without doubt it is the most beautiful and important work of Blake at Princeton.

In the first case at the entrance to the main gallery with this copy of the Songs was another copy, lent by Miss Newton: copy j in the census. It is printed uniformly in red-brown and painted with watercolor washes (also 54 plates on 54 leaves). The watermark on eleven leaves is J WHATMAN 1811; it is therefore a posthumous printing, possibly colored by Mrs. Blake. The copy was formerly in the collection of Miss Newton’s father, A. Edward Newton. In the same case was Blake’s Poetical Sketches (1783),
the first edition, of which only twenty-two copies are recorded. (This is the T. G. Arthur—G. D. Smith—A. E. Newton copy.) Poetical Sketches is the earliest of Blake's poetical works and the only one (besides the first book of The French Revolution) which was printed in ordinary type. The introduction ("Advertisement" by the Reverend Henry Mathew) to the book begins: "The following Sketches were the production of untutored youth, commenced in his twelfth, and occasionally resumed by the author till his twentieth year. . . ."

The next case contained original pencil sketches by Blake from Miss Newton's collection. The subjects of three of them are unidentified. The fourth was probably for a rejected illustration of Comus (the watermark of the paper is 1809). At the head of the gallery was a very large and impressive wash drawing by Blake: "Job and his Family Restored to Prosperity" (reproduced in this issue).

Among the other works of Blake lent by Miss Newton for the exhibition was a copy of America. The title page is dated 1793 and it was the last book finished by Blake in that year. Miss Newton's copy is number D in the Keynes and Wolf census. It consists of eighteen plates on ten leaves printed in dull green and blue and left uncolored. It was formerly in the collections of William A. White and Cortlandt F. Bishop.

There were also two glowing examples of Blake's color-printing. One was plate eleven from The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, the top part only of that plate. It has been inscribed by Blake, "Death & Hell" "Teem with Life," to replace the original engraved text. In this revised state it was apparently used to form one of the two copies of A Small Book of Designs. One of these copies (twenty-three plates) is in the British Museum; the other has been broken up, the plates scattered, and only about ten of them are now known. Both copies seem to have been executed in 1795-1796, the period when Blake was experimenting with color-printing. All of the plates are elaborately color-printed, and in this case finished with bright opaque pigments. This plate was formerly in the possession of Herbert Gilchrist, son of Alexander Gilchrist whose biography of Blake (published in 1869) resurrected him from near oblivion and instantly established his reputation. It was obtained from H. Gilchrist about 1893 by Carl Edelheim; given by him to his son-in-law A. Edward Newton, and by him to his daughter, Miss Caroline Newton. The other plate was also formerly in the collection of A. Edward Newton. It is plate nine for The First Book of Urizen, and like the other plate, it comes from copy B (Keynes and Wolf census) of A Small Book of Designs. The second plate is numbered (13) and inscribed in Blake's autograph, "Eternally I labour on."

Some of the rarest items lent by Miss Newton were the title page, frontispiece, and plates 1, 7-13, 18-19 of For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise. All of the plates, with the exception of 13, 18, and 19, are dated May 17, 1793. Most of the plates of For the Sexes: The Gates of Paradise were first used in Blake's earlier work For the Children: The Gates of Paradise, which was issued in 1793. Later, about 1805-1810, alterations and additions were made in these plates, a new title page was engraved, and three plates were added to form a total number of twenty-one. Miss Newton's plates represent the final state of the prints (ca. 1820). Only four copies of the earlier version have survived, and six of the second (one of them incomplete). With plate nine was shown Miss Newton's bookplate which reproduces Blake's design for that plate.

In a case by itself was a fine impression of Blake's engraving of "Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims"—the fourth state, after 1810. Another case was devoted to the Illustrations of the Book of Job (1825). A number of the plates could be shown because Miss Newton's copy consists of the original sheets of the first edition, unbound, exactly as they came from the press, with all the edges uncut. They are large-paper proofs, printed on India paper watermarked "J. Whatman 1825."

One case showed a selection of Blake's engravings to illustrate the works of other men. During a large part of his life Blake's principal earnings came from this kind of engraving, most of it after designs by other artists. The most interesting and original of these artists was Henry Fuseli (1741-1825), who was born in Zurich and came to England in 1763. Fuseli became Blake's friend and admirer, probably through Joseph Johnson, a leading publisher and a central figure in the radical dissenting group in London. Johnson published about half of Blake's engravings up to 1806. In all Blake made illustrations for approximately eighty-five works and editions thereof. One plate in the exhibition was "Tornado" for the third edition of Erasmus Darwin's Botanic Garden, Part I (London: J. Johnson, 1795). It is based on a design by Fuseli. Blake had also engraved at least five of the ten plates
in the first edition (1791) of Part I of Darwin's poem. Beside the plate made for *The Botanic Garden* were four plates for Charles Allen's *New and Improved Roman History* (second edition, London: J. Johnson, 1798), presumably after designs made by Fuseli.

There was a copy of Robert Blair's *The Grave* (first edition, 1808), illustrated with twelve plates by Louis Schiavonetti after the original designs by Blake, certainly the best known designs by him. The bookseller R. H. Crome commissioned Blake to make forty drawings for Blair's poem, and proposed to have twenty of them engraved. Only these twelve were executed. Blake expected to do the engraving also, but Crome assigned this work to Schiavonetti. To illustrate still another technique of Blake's engraving there was a proof copy of the fourth state (1825) of the engraved portrait of Wilson Lowry (1762-1824), F.R.S. (1812). (The technique used was similar to that of the *Illustrations of the Book of Job*, on which Blake was working at the time.) Lowry was an engraver who invented a number of technical processes and instruments related to engraving. He was a friend of John Linnell and Blake, who engraved this print together after a drawing by Linnell from August to December 1824. Blake and Lowry had worked together on a plate for Rees's *Cyclopædia* in 1819. (The portrait of Lowry and the print of "Tornado" were formerly in the collection of W. A. White.)

A last case showed a small sample of the work of William Blake drawn from the collections in the University Library. Most of these came from the collection given by Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert and described in *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, Volume XXI, Number 3 (Spring, 1960), 172-175. Before Mrs. Lambert's gift the University Library had no original manuscripts, drawings, paintings, or illuminated books by Blake. One of the most notable in Mrs. Lambert's gift was copy L (in the Keynes and Wolf census) of *Visions of the Daughters of Albion* (1793). Two great rarities were Blake's *Designs to a Series of Ballads* by William Hayley (1802) and an example of Blake's "wood-cutting on pewter," the two plates for Hayley's broadside ballad *Little Tom the Sailor* (1800). There are probably no more than five or six copies of each of these known. With these was the fair copy of Blake's poem "I asked a thief to steal me a peach," in Blake's hand, signed and dated "Lambeth 1796." All of these items were part of Mrs. Lambert's collection. Blake's watercolor (1802) of the monument erected to William Cowper in the church at East

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WILLIAM BLAKE

*SONGS OF INNOCENCE AND OF EXPERIENCE*, CA. 1815
(Copy 'U' in the Keynes and Wolf Census)
Princeton University Library
Gift of Miss Caroline Newton
Dercham, Norfolk, was also in this case. The design for the monument was made by Hayley and executed by John Flaxman. Blake, who lived near Hayley in Sussex from 1800 to 1803, made the watercolor for Hayley to be sent to Flaxman or to one of Cowper’s relatives. Near the watercolor was Cowper’s copy of the first edition of Darwin’s *Botanic Garden*. This was sent to Cowper for review (the reviews appeared in the *Analytical Review* for May 1789 and March 1793). Cowper’s copy was opened to Blake’s plate, “Fertilization of Egypt,” which was based on a design by Fuseli. The last two items are part of the Hannay Collection of William Cowper which was presented to the University Library by Mr. Robert H. Taylor in 1962.—CHARLES RYSKAMP
RECENT ACQUISITIONS—BOOKS

The following pages note significant additions to the Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections from May 1, to December 31, 1967.


ARNOLD, MATTHEW. Twelve volumes, chiefly first editions, including inscribed copies and variants, and among them a copy of Thomas Arnold's Thirteen Letters on our Social Condition, Addressed to the Editor of the Sheffield Courant. The gift of Robert H. Taylor '30.

BAUHARMAIS, EUGÈNE DE, PRINCE D'EICHSTÄTT. Tactique Navale Additionnelle et Mouvements Nouveaux a l'Usage des Can-


BESSON, JACQUES. Theatrum Instrumentorum et Machinarum. . . . Lyons, 1582. Purchase.


BOOKPLATES. A collection including albums of representative plates together with books and periodicals concerning the art and collecting of bookplates. Given in memory of Gilbert McCoy Troxell by Mrs. Troxell.


EMERSON, RALPH WALDO. Eight volumes by or containing contribution by Emerson for the Herman Elfers Collection of Ralph Waldo Emerson. The gift of William Elfers '41.


FRENCH LITERATURE AND HISTORY. Approximately forty volumes
concerning primarily the period of the Revolution. From the Library of Gilbert Chinard.


IBSEN, HENRIK. Twenty-six volumes principally first editions of the works of the Norwegian playwright, encompassing his entire life’s work. An Ibsen Collection in Honor of Robert H. Taylor ’30. The gift of the Department of English.

JONES, D. *A Discourse upon the Great Fire of London, In the Year, 1666*. Boston [n.d.] The gift of James Tanis.


LAWES, HENRY. *Ayres, and Dialogues, for One, Two, and Three Voyces*. London, 1658. Purchase.


LUTHER, MARTIN. Thirty-five additional works by Martin Luther or relating to him, his contemporaries, and the Reformation, including Philipp Melanchthon’s copy of *Biblia cum Summariis*. . . Lyons, 1522, and the 1517 Basle edition of the Ninety-five Theses. The gift of Bernhard K. Schaefer ’20. [For remarks on the Schaefer Luther Collection see *Chronicle*, XXIX, No. 1 (Autumn, 1967), 103-106.]

LUTHERANS IN GEORGIA. *Ausziliche Historie derer Emigranten, oder Vertriebenen Lutherer aus dem Erzbisthun Salzburg*. Leipzig, 1732-34. The first authentic account relating to the establishment of a colony by Salzburg emigrants in Georgia. Purchase.


MAPS. Twenty-one colored maps, mainly of Europe, from seventeenth-century atlases. For the Map Division. The gift of the Reverend Mr. William S. Chalmers ’29 and Mrs. Chalmers.


NEW JERSEY (COLONY) SURVEYOR GENERAL. *General Instructions by the Surveyor General, to the Deputy Surveyors of the Eastern Division of New Jersey*. [New York? 1747] Purchase.


SPANISH AMERICANA. ARENAS, PEDRO DE. *Vocabulario Manual de las Lenguas Castellana y Mexicana*. . . Mexico, 1728.—Franc-

TATE, ALLEN, The Mediterranean and Other Poems. Privately printed, 1936. Copy 2 of five final press proofs signed by Allen Tate and Lew Ney, the designer and printer. The gift of Mr. Tate.


VICTORIAN BOOKBINDINGS. Six additional examples of nineteenth-century bookbinding for the Robert F. Metzdorf Collection of Victorian Bookbindings. The gift of Mr. Metzdorf.


THE COUNCIL

At a meeting of the Council held on November 29, 1967, Richard M. Huber, Chairman of the Membership Committee, reported that there were as of that date 1,316 Friends of the Princeton University Library.

Upon the Treasurer’s recommendation the Council voted to approve the transfer of $7,000 from the free balance of the Operating Account to the Acquisitions Committee Fund. Of this amount $2,000 is to be allotted for additions to the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists.

Memorial resolutions for Paul Bedford and Bernard Kilgore were read.

It was announced that the next annual meeting and dinner of the Friends will take place on Friday, May 24, 1968 at the Princeton Inn, and the speaker will be A.N.L. Munby of King’s College, Cambridge. The second presentation of the Donald F. Hyde Award will be made at that time.


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The color reproduction of Baroness Hyde de Neuville’s sketch of Princeton’s first “Gothic Revival” church (1819), included as the Frontispiece to this issue of the Chronicle, has also been printed in the form of a folding card suitable for correspondence or greetings. The cards, with matching envelopes, are available at fifty cents each from the Princeton University Library. Mail orders may be sent to the attention of Mrs. Waage. The cards are also for sale at Bainbridge House, headquarters of The Historical Society of Princeton, 118 Nassau Street, Princeton, N.J., and at the sales desk of the University Art Museum.

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FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1937, is an association of bibliophiles and scholars interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other materials which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to those subscribing annually ten dollars or more. Students may join for three dollars and seventy-five cents. Checks payable to Princeton University should be addressed to the Treasurers.

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

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Chairmen will welcome inquiries and suggestions.