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Books for a Burgundian Courtier:
Evidence for Two Early Flemish Illuminators’ Shops

BY ANNE H. VAN BUREN

PRINCETON owns a fifteenth-century illuminated manuscript that casts light on the early history of book production at the court of Philip the Good, third Duke of Burgundy (Figure 1). Together with two manuscripts in European libraries it forms an unusual group of dated and localized works, written by one scribe for one patron, that reveal the peripatetic circumstances under which certain books were written and document indirectly the work of illuminators in an obscure period. They testify also to the intellectual climate and artistic expectations of the Burgundian court before the mid-1440's, when the Duke changed the character of his library by commissioning several sumptuously illustrated histories and romances, one of which is the well-known Chroniques de Hainaut.¹

According to their colophons, the Princeton manuscript and its two companions were transcribed between September, 1437, and February, 1439, for Louis de Chantemerle, Lord of La Clayette, near Mâcon in Burgundy, where the ruins of the family seat still stand today. In the seventeenth century the church of Notre Dame in Dijon still contained the tomb of Louis' father Philibert, who was councillor and chamberlain to one of the Dukes of Burgundy. Philibert died on December 17, 1419,² only two months after the

¹ A. H. van Buren, “New Evidence for Jean Wauquelin’s Activity in the Chroniques de Hainaut and for the Date of the Miniatures,” Scriptorium XXVI (1972), forthcoming.

² According to P. Palliot, La Frise et parfaite science des armoires (Paris, 1604), p. 352, the inscription on the painting above the tomb said he served “Monsieur le
assassination of the second Duke, John the Fearless, in the presence and with the probable connivance of the Dauphin, the future Charles VII of France. In the ensuing break with the king, several French noblemen, like the powerful Croÿ brothers, shifted their allegiance to the new Duke, Philip. Louis de Chantemerle did so too (though he was the royal bailiff and judge in Mâcon) and by 1432 he was councillor and maître d'hôtel, or steward, to the Duke. His office consisted in directing the purchase, preparation and serving of food for the numerous and well-fed Burgundian court. Four noblemen held the office at a time, each serving in turn three months out of the year.

The high point of Chantemerle’s career appears to have been his appointment as one of two ambassadors to accompany the Duke’s first cousin, Agnes of Cleves, to Spain for her marriage to Carlos, prince of Viane and heir to the king of Navarre. The marriage contract was signed in Douai on June 26, 1438, and fifteen months later, on October 17, 1439, the groom’s mother acknowledged the delivery by Chantemerle and Guillaume de Lalaien of the bride’s rich dowry of jewels, plate, linen and tapestries—but only one book, a Missal for her private chapel. The marriage treaty was ratified twice, on November 9 and on December 17. The rest of Chantemerle’s career is unrecorded in published sources. It is known however that he married Françoise de Chastellus, probably late in life, because their children, Huguet and Françoise, were minors at the time of their father’s death on April 30, 1465.

The year before his mission to Spain Chantemerle decided to add three books to his library. He chose a didactic work and two devotional works, all in French and all popular for more than a century. They were to be transcribed by his own clerk, Jehannin (a diminutive form of Jehan or Jean) de Costimont.

First, in the early fall of 1437, Costimont transcribed Jean Golein’s *De l'information des rois et des princes*. This text is one of the numerous “princes’ mirrors,” actually handbooks of political education, that were written in the Middle Ages. Its four books discuss the spiritual and political estate of the king, his discipline of himself and his subordinates and, successively, the civic-religious virtues of wisdom and justice. Costimont’s manuscript is now in the Arsenal Library in Paris, which it entered in the eighteenth century after leaving the Chantemerle library and passing through at least two other collections. It is a fairly large volume, written on stiff parchment in a cursive script, and it contains the following colophon at the end:

Transcript par Jehannin de Costimont, Clerc et serviteur de loys seigneur de chantemerle et de la clayete [sic] Conseiller et maister dostel de tres excellent et puissant prince mon seigneur le duc Philippe de Bourg[oine] et de Brabant en la ville de brouelx es mois de septembre et octobre lan de grace mil quatre cens Trente et sept

J. Costimont

which both localizes and dates the transcription: in Brussels in September and October, 1437. On the first page there are six large

7 Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, ms. fr. 18,849, Gilles le Boyer’s *Chronique de Normandie*, has the Chantemerle arms and birdcages; M. Pequeux, “Répertoire des manuscrits de la bibliothèque de l’Arsenal peints aux armes de leur premier possesseur (XIIIe-XVIe siècles),” *Bull. de l’Institut de Recherche de l’Histoire des Textes*, 4 (1956), 139. Although the emblems were painted in the same manner as in the Princeton manuscript, they were added to marginal decoration of the 1420’s, and the two miniature spaces were left unfilled. The script is not Costimont’s. I am grateful to Miss Carla Bozolo for examining this manuscript for me.

8 Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal, ms. 5199: parchment, 11 x 13 x 1 leaves; 2 cols.; 35-35 lines; text area: 200 x 150 mm.; colophon, fol. 130v; four miniatures, marginal decoration and initials; Pequeux, *Bull. de l’I.R.H.T.* (1956), p. 133; G. Samaran and R. Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, I (Paris, 1959), 187, pl. XCV, with the traditional erroneous identification of the text as a translation of Aegidius Romanus’ *De Regimine Principum*. Actually, Golein’s original was the anonymous *Liber de Informazioni*, based on the notes of a group of Paris Dominicans whom Saint Louis ordered to write a program for his political reforms; W. Borges, *Die Fürstenpflege des hohen und späteren Mittelalters* (Leipzig, 1938), pp. 313, 322, 336 f.

Duc Philippe de Bourgogne et de Brabant,” which is impossible, since Philip did not become Duke of Brabant until 1430.


*Père Anselme, Histoire généalogique (Paris, 1735), VII, 5, “A Claude de Beauvoir, seigneur de Chastellux,” was chamberlain to Philip the Good; I owe this information to Miss Carla Bozolo.
armoriel shields (Figure 2); the one on the upper left corner of
the miniature's frame, with quarterings containing nine black-
birds as a pun on the family name, is Chantemerle's and the other
three on the frame are those of his ancestors. The two in the lower
margin are later additions (the rampant lions in the lowermost
right shield and the one directly above it on the frame are dif-
ferently painted). The prologue and the last three books are illus-
trated by miniatures in ink and a grisaille wash that is only occa-
sionally relieved by a touch of red (Figures 2 to 4). Each one is
framed in gold, lined with red and blue, and surrounded by sprigs
of gold leaves interspersed with colored blossoms. I shall postpone
discussing the illumination until I have described the other two
manuscripts.

Early in 1438 Costimont transcribed the text of Laurent du
Bois' Somme le roy, a devotional handbook related to the "princes' 
mirrors." This is the main text in the Princeton manuscript,
which closely resembles the Arsenal manuscript in every way.10
The quality of the parchment, the size and layout and the script
are the same, and the colophon is similar (Figure 5):

Et transcript par Jehannin de Costimont Clerc et serviteur
de loys seigneur de chantemerle et de la clayete, conseiller et
maistre d'ostel de tres excellent et puissant prince monseig-
ne[ur] le duc Philippe de Bourg[oine] et de Brabant A arras
es mois de Janvier et fevrier lan de grace mil quatre cent
trente et sept.

J. Costimont [sic]

In reading the date of the transcription, allowance must be made
for the fact that the Burgundian year began on Easter day, so that
the date is, by modern reckoning, January and February, 1438.
Unlike the earlier manuscript this one was written in Arras. The
Chantemerle arms are in the initial on the seventh leaf, and a
bird cage (alluding to the singing blackbirds) is in four others,
two of which are accompanied by the letters S and E, probably the
first letters of Louis' unknown motto.11 There is only one mini-
ature (Figure 1): a frontispiece painted in the same technique
as the Arsenal miniatures, except that several colors, magenta, blue,
red and black, are used for the washes. The decoration surround-
ing it is also similar to that in the Arsenal manuscript.

As was done frequently in the Middle Ages, the Somme le roy
was bound together with two other texts: the Apocalypse of Saint
John in French and, following it on the same leaf, a treatise en-
titled De noblesse espirituelle. They are on thinner parchment
and the ink is paler, which means that they were written at a
different time from the Somme le roy, and Costimont merely
signed each one of them without giving a date, so that there is no
way of knowing when they were done. The spaces he left on these
leaves for illuminated initials were never filled. Later on, Chante-
merle's heirs gave the volume to the Minimes of La Clayette. It
passed into private collections and finally into that of Sir Thomas
Phillipps, from which it was bought for Princeton in 1969.

In August, 1438, Costimont began to transcribe the Homilies
on the Gospels of Pope Gregory the Great. This manuscript was
also eventually given to the Minimes of La Clayette and is now
in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.12 While the size, layout and
script are similar to those of the other two manuscripts, the colo-
phon ends somewhat differently:

... et sont transcriptes p[ar] moy Jehannin [sic] de Costimont,
clerc et serviteur de loys seign[eur] de chantemerle de la clay-
ete, conseiller et maistre d'ostel de tres excellent et puissant
prince monseigneur le duc Philippe de Bourgogne et de
Brabant es mois daoust septembre octobre novembre decem-
bre et janvier [sic] lan de grace mil quatre cens trente et huit.

J. Costimont

9 Berge, p. 313.
10 University Library, Princeton no. 105: parchment; 1 + 175 (one blank) + 1
leaves, unnumbered, 2 cols.; 32-33 lines; text area: ca. 200 x 140 mm.; colophon: fol.
124 f.; scribal signatures: fols. 154, 175 v.; one miniature; marginal decoration and
initials; nineteenth-century binding: Sotheby and Co., Catalogue . . . . , 28 November,
1967, lot 105, pp. 64 1., pl. 18.

11 Table of contents; chs. 84, 153, 161.
12 Bodleian Lib., MS Canon Miscellaneous 510: parchment; 1 + 170 + 1 leaves;
2 cols., 58 lines; text area: ca. 220 x 160 mm.; colophon: 169 v.; one miniature; mar-
ginal decoration and initials; late-eighteenth-century binding; H. O. Cox, Catalogus
Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleiana; Pars tertius: Codices graecos et
latinus Canoniceos complectens (Oxford, 1855); O. Pielert and J.J.G. Alexander,
(listed as French and with the year misunderstood). I am grateful to Dr. Albinia
de la Mare for checking my observations of this manuscript.
Although the date is given as a period of six months in the year 1438, it is actually, because of the delay in the Burgundian calendar, the last five months of 1438 and January, 1439. The place where the transcription took place is not mentioned. Unlike the other two manuscripts this one contains no armorials, and the illumination on the first leaf, a single column-miniature in tempera and an acanthus and flower half-border (Figure 6), is also quite different. The same marginal decoration occurs on a later leaf.

Considered all together, the colophons indicate that Costimont spent a good deal of his time during a period of seventeen months in transcribing books for his employer. He wrote the 133 leaves of the Arsenal manuscript in two months and the 124 of the Princeton Somme le roy in a similar period of time. The fact that he took six months to complete the Oxford work (which is only half again as long) suggests that he was busier with other duties in the fall of 1438. Perhaps there were many letters and reports to write and accounts to keep in connection with his lord's projected trip to Spain. What is most surprising, however, is the information that Costimont wrote the first manuscript in Brussels and the second in Arras, which was more than two days' journey away on horseback.

This change of location can be explained by the movements of the Duke and his court. Because his dominion over his rebellious provinces was unsure during the first half of his reign, Philip the Good was constantly moving about his realm in order to rule it directly. His movements can be traced by means of the dates and places mentioned in official documents, especially in the letters patent containing his orders, which were emitted daily by his secretaries. And wherever the Duke went, his enormous court went also. From September 2 to October 15, 1437, the Duke was in the Brussels area: Termonde, Ghent, Louvain and, most of the time, Brussels itself. This is precisely when Costimont was transcribing the Arsenal manuscript in Brussels. By October 18, the Duke was in Arras. He spent November and December in Hesdin and returned to Arras for Christmas, staying (except for two visits of less than a week to Lille) until the following April 15. During

that January and February Costimont was transcribing the Princeton manuscript in Arras. Evidently Chantemerle, as one of the Duke's stewards, took part in these movements, even though he was not on duty for more than three months during this period. And just as evidently, Chantemerle's household, including his clerk, accompanied him. Because Chantemerle was with the court during those months and considering that he was surely present when the marriage contract of Agnes of Cleves was signed in June 1438, the Oxford manuscript was probably written where the court was residing in the following fall. Except for two short visits to Namur, the Duke spent the period from September 1, 1438 to February 10, 1439, in Brussels.

Chantemerle was probably not the only Burgundian courtier to take his household with him as he followed the court and to keep his own clerk busy transcribing books as they moved. The peripatetic writing ten years later of an honorary secretary to the Duke himself, Jean Miélot, is well documented. Miélot's autographic copy of Le Miroir de la salvation humaine, in Brussels, has colophons saying that it was transcribed in Lille, Brussels, and Bruges in 1448 and 1449, information which corresponds exactly to the court's sojourn in Lille in 1448, its removal to Brussels on February 5, 1449, and its subsequent move to Bruges on the following May 17. Other books translated, and some transcribed, by Miélot in Brussels in 1451 and in The Hague in 1456 also correspond to documented sojourns of the court. Unlike Costimont, however, Miélot, who was paid specifically for composing and writing books, seems to have had no routine secretarial duties to interfere with his literary efforts.

Whereas Miélot's books were written in the fully developed Burgundian bastard script, of which he was one of the first practitioners, Costimont's hand testifies to the state of Burgundian book scripts ten years earlier. It is a very sloping, angular form of the French bastard, somewhat enlarged, with long loose descenders

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12 All the information following on the movements of the Duke is from H. van der Linden, Itinéraires de Philippe le Bon, duc de Bourgogne et de Charles, comte de Charolais (Brussels, 1940), pp. 175-94, 297-90, 349-59.
16 A. Pinchart, Archives des arts, sciences et lettres, III (Ghent, 1881), 46.
and caddels, and it resembles the hand of Guillebert de Mets, who also wrote books for the Burgundian court in the 1430's. In the work of both scribes the dark ink, large letters and fractured strokes, reflecting both a concern for legibility and the lingering influence of the Gothic textura, reveal tendencies which were to culminate in the large, black and readable Burgundian bastard.

The illumination of the three books was done under varying circumstances. The marginal decoration in the Arsenal and Princeton manuscripts is the same: in fact the line and leafwork around the Princeton miniature is identical to that around the third and fourth miniatures in the Arsenal book (Figures 1, 4) and the working procedure, whereby the gold and tempera frames were painted after the miniatures were done, was the same for both manuscripts. The fact that one hand was responsible for the four Arsenal miniatures and the single Princeton picture is clear from their compositions and figure types. Four of the compositions are practically identical: a symmetrical court scene built around a central perspective established both by groups of figures and by orthogonal and parallel horizontal lines. (The lines were so basic to the miniaturist's thinking that they were ruled in ink, sometimes without regard for the fact that they would show through the thin wash on the human or clothing forms superimposed on them [Figures 2, 4]). The short rounded-headed human figures have beady eyes, peculiar beak noses and turned-down mouths; they turn stiffly and hold their arms straight before them. However, because their varied poses are skillfully presented by economical caricatural strokes, these figures enliven the dull compositions.

This miniaturist, whom I shall call "the Chantemerle Master," was not an inventor. The four pictures in the Arsenal Information des rois contain precisely the same iconographic details as a copy of the same text made thirty years earlier for John the Fearless.

The last scene, showing a king administering justice, is a reversal (except for the figures of the criminal and the executioner) of the last scene in the earlier manuscript (Figures 4, 5). The continuous narration in the earlier miniature, which shows the criminal both in the tumbril and on the platform, has now been concentrated in the moment when the criminal, having been taken from the cart, kneels with his head on the block and the commanding officer on horseback raises his baton to signal the axe's fall. Duke John's manuscript was not itself the model for Chantemerle's, however, because the steps leading to the platform are unconnected with its turreted entrance. The access to the platform is clear in the picture by the Chantemerle Master, who not only modernized the costumes but, by eliminating the corps of soldiers in the middle ground and making the platform frontal and symmetrical with consistent orthogonal lines, deepened his space according to the conceptions of the 1430's.

The fact that the Chantemerle Master's justice scene reverses the one in the earlier manuscript may mean that his model was an engraving, rather than a drawing or a finished miniature, and it is noteworthy that the executioner appears left-handed. Whatever the cause of the reversal, however, by modernizing the costumes, increasing the debt and concentrating on the crucial moment, the Chantemerle Master gave the scene a new dramatic realism.

The Princeton manuscript, on the other hand, could not be illustrated by the traditional cycle for the Somme le roy text, because Costimont had left only enough space for a frontispiece. He had probably copied an unillustrated text. Nor does a model for a frontispiece seem to have been available, because, instead of making a traditional presentation scene like the one in Duke Philip's slightly earlier, otherwise unillustrated, copy of the same text, the Chantemerle Master chose to illustrate the first rubric:

17 Paris, Ars. ms. 5070, and Brussels, B.R., ms. 9559-96 (Le Siècle d'or . . . , Cat. 1, 2; pl. 12).
18 Brussels, B.R., ms. 9475 (La Librairie . . . , Cat. 38, pl. 25). In all the Bibliothèque Royale catalogues, the text of this manuscript (and that of B.R. ms. 9096 and 948) is given as De Informatione (recte: Erudizione) Principium, the Paris Dominican compendium developed from the notes which were the basis of Golein's model (Berges, p. 508 f.). Actually this text is identical to that of Chantemerle's Arsenal manuscript.
21 Brussels, B.R., ms. 9544 (La Librairie . . . , Cat. 49).
“(le) Roy Loys de France . . . se fait souvent lire devant ses enfants” (Figure 1), using elements taken from the manuscript he had just illustrated for Chantemerle. The basic composition and most of the figures exist in the two Arsenal miniatures whose borders are identical to the Princeton border: the king, one courtier on his left and a similar, but reversed, author figure can be found in the second Arsenal miniature (Figure 3), while the four royal children on a bench and the dog are reversals of similar figures in the third. In addition, the courtiers on the king’s right contain elements of those in the same position in the first Arsenal miniature (Figure 2).

Although the identity of the Chantemerle Master is unknown, the colophons provide clues to the location of his workshop. I must point out first, however, that the fact that the same illuminator was responsible for two of the books Costimont transcribed probably does not mean that the illuminator was Costimont himself, since the colophons never call him other than “clerc.” Nor does it mean that the illuminator travelled about with the court: there is no documentary evidence that illuminators were attached to the Burgundian court before 1441. The apparently limited patronage provided by the Duke and his courtiers during this early period would not have made it worth an illuminator’s while to follow them on his own initiative.

Instead, the Chantemerle Master seems to have been located in Arras or near there. Assuming (since this was usually the case and there is no evidence to the contrary) that Chantemerle had his books illuminated as soon as they were written, there was no time to have the Arsenal manuscript done in Brussels, because its transcription was being finished just when the court left that town on October 17, 1437. There was ample time during the Arras stay, however, to have both it and the Princeton Somme le roy decorated, because the court was still there six weeks after the transcription of the latter text was finished. It is unlikely that the books would have been sent far away from Arras to receive such modest illumination.

Little is known about fifteenth-century Arras illumination. A Champion des dames that was written for the Duke in the monastery of Notre Dame in Arras in 1451, seems to have been sent to

Lille (less than a day’s ride away) to be illuminated. Its tempera and gilt decoration and miniature are by an illuminator who worked in manuscripts made under the direction of Jean Miélot, after he became canon of St. Peter’s in Lille. This illuminator’s style resembles that of Jean le Tavernier de Audenarde, with whom he once collaborated. Nevertheless, the single example of this Champion des dames does not mean that there were no illuminators in Arras, where the great Abbey of Saint Vaast had for centuries produced manuscripts, at least for its own use.

Though it is not possible to determine the sources of the Chantemerle Master’s style (except that caricatural pen and wash drawings were made in northwest France and the southern Netherlands and that fine twigs of line work spring from the corners and mid-points of frames with quatrefoil motifs in the corners in manuscripts that may have been made in Ypres during the early years of the century) there are significant echoes of his technique and style in work done a generation later in Lille. Jean Miélot, Jean Tavernier, the Master of the Champion des dames (named after another manuscript than the one written in Arras) and the Wavrin Master (who may well have been Jean d’Ardeny of Lille), all made ink and watercolor drawings. The last two specialized in quick drawings of human figures in contemporary dress. Although the Wavrin Master was a highly schematic draftsman and original artist, his work has basic characteristics in common with that of the earlier and more prosaic Chantemerle Master. His frontal, symmetrical indoor scenes also emphasize parallel hori-
I have already pointed out that Costimont probably transcribed the Gregory in Brussels because the court was there at the time. The court stayed on for five weeks after the transcription was finished—time enough to paint the two half-borders and column miniature; again the small amount of decoration suggests that the illuminator’s shop was in or near Brussels. The court moved on to The Hague next, but the decoration of the Oxford manuscript has nothing Dutch about it. Instead, the bar-attached-acanthus and flowers-in-turf design resembles that of manuscripts made in western France—in Brittany and Maine for example. Since some French craftsmen moved to the prosperous Netherlands in search of work when the French market was cut back after the end of the Hundred Years’ War, the presence of a French illuminator would not have been unique in Brussels or in Ghent, less than a day’s ride away. And it was probably in Grammont, only half a day’s ride away, that the French Mansel Master took over, in about 1440, the illumination of a Decameron that Guillebert de Mets had written for the Duke. Chantemerle’s Oxford manuscript suggests that the Cicero too was illuminated in or near Brussels and the Chroniques de Hainaut likewise. The evidence is not conclusive, because certain illuminators are known to have moved about, but it supports other evidence that seems to connect the Chroniques with Brussels or Ghent.

In addition to this valuable information, Chantemerle’s books also provide insight into the intellectual atmosphere and taste of the period. For example, in 1440 with an Angers calendar, by a follower of the Master of Marguerite d’Orléans, and Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS 698, made for the Count of Maine before his second marriage in 1443 (Ficht and Alexander, no. 755, with an erroneous date). Duret Jean, who was born in Paris, is documented in Bruges from 1451 on; A. Parmentier, Indices op de Brugse Poortersboeken (Bruges, 1956), p. 600 f., and in Bruges from 1455 on; Pinchart, IL 156, 190 f.

Guillebert de Mets is documented in Grammont in 1432 and in 1434, and his work was not unique in France. The illumination of his Decameron (cf. note 17) was begun by the Flemish-speaking Master of Guillebert de Mets around 1450, judging by the costumes in his miniature. Around 1449, by the same criterion, the Mansel Master (who read French, and whose style is French; M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry [London, 1967], I 15 ff.) painted over the earlier master’s work, on fols. 170v., 182 and 182v., and finished the book. There is little evidence for the traditional view that this manuscript was made in Paris.

Duret Jean (cf. note 53) Simon Marmion and Lyonet Liéde are documented simultaneously in two towns. It is less likely, however, that second-rate illuminators or those who painted only margins would have moved about. I intend to discuss the localization of the Chroniques’ workshop in a book on the new romances commissioned by the Duke.
the Burgundian court during this period. The three dated texts, as well as the two shorter ones in the Princeton manuscript, are all religious or didactic. Except for the Apocalypse they are hortatory in nature, instructions for living and governing according to God’s will. It is remarkable that such preoccupations could coexist with the ruthless power politics and intrigue that permeated the Burgundian court. And, Chantemerle could commission a book on good government and the administration of justice during a time in which he seems hardly ever to have returned home to exercise his duties as bailiff and judge in Mâcon.

It is equally significant that he was willing to accept books of poor quality, compared not only to the great Parisian production of the beginning of the century but even to contemporary French production. In his books the parchment is heavy and stiff; the script is loose and often careless and the number of lines on a leaf is not even constant. The illuminators’ technique, even that of the Chantemerle Master, is crude. All three manuscripts have a relatively large format for such short texts, realistic miniatures and margins painted in flat colors—all of which give the books a bold, showy aspect.

Such religious content and unrefined illumination characterize most of the manuscripts of this period that survive from the Duke’s library. Though Philip bought religious and didactic books throughout his reign, during the 1430’s and early 1440’s he seems to have acquired little else. This may have been due to the influence of his Duchess, Isabel of Portugal, whom he married in 1430, and who supervised closely the education of their son, Charles, from the time of his birth in 1435. Both Chantemerle’s Somme le roy and his Information des princes have contemporary

80 The exceptions are: a treatise on arithmetic bought in 1431 (De la Fous Melicoci, “Dons et courtoises de Philippe le Bon et de Charles le Téméraire aux savants, aux artistes et aux gouverneurs des princes de la maison de Bourgogne, Massager des Sciences Historiques de Belgique [1858], p. 221); a copy of Ptolemy’s Cosmography commissioned from the court astronomer in 1441 (ADN B [1969], fol. 93v, unpublished); an Avicenna in 1449 (G. Doutrepont, La Littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne [Paris, 1905], p. 205); a few, largely literary and historical, manuscripts on paper: (“La Librairie . . .”, Cats. 137, 145, 179, 184, 191, 193); Guillebert de Mets’ Decameron (Cl. note 15) and his description of the City of Paris (La Librairie, Cat. 110); and four historical works confiscated from the treasury of the Hainaut in 1455 (Doutrepont, 18, n. 2).

Figure 4. De l'Information des princes
Bibl. de l'Arsenal, ms. 3199, fol. 117.

Figure 5. De l'Information des princes
Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9475, fol. 94v.
counterparts, containing similar texts, in the Ducal library. Those books are only slightly finer manuscripts, of about the same size and format and with only a little more illumination—which means that they were somewhat more expensive. Chantemerle seems to have been following the Duke's example, as well as he could within his means.

Chantemerle's three manuscripts have considerable documentary value for the history of book production at the Burgundian Court. They reflect the interest in edifying literature that dominated it during the 1490's and also the courtiers' taste for showy books with realistic illustrations and their acceptance of a low standard of book production. Their most important contribution, however, lies in their unusually informative colophons, which show that books were sometimes transcribed by clerks attached to the court and then sent out for illumination by local commercial workshops. They make it possible to identify one such shop in the region of Arras and another one (which was later to provide a great impetus to Franco-Flemish illumination) in the region of Brussels. We may hope that other books of this early period will be studied—no matter how poor their quality—for they may reveal as much as the Princeton manuscript and its two companions about the history of the patronage of Philip the Good and his court.

The Duke's Somme le roy is Brussels, B.R., ms. 9544 (La Librairie ... Cat. 49, pl. 87). This manuscript does not correspond to the extant document which says that a Somme le roy was bought, together with a Roman de Sidrac from Guillebert de Mets in 1451 (Duseignev, 208).

Though he did not commission it, the Duke bought another "prince's mirror," Henri de Gauchi's translation of the Aegidios Romanus, Brussels, B.R., ms. 9774 (La Librairie ... , no. 99), probably soon after it was made around 1480, because in 1451 he considered the "l'histoire triste [sic] est un envoi" (B.R., ms. 904), Jean Wauquelin's translation of the same text, fol. 1v: La Librairie ... , Cat. 100.

Chantemerle's other texts do not have extant Ducal counterparts. Although the invenire made at the Duke's death (which is not complete) lists five copies of the Apocalypse in French (J. Barrol, Bibliothèque protochrétiennne ou librairies des fils du roi Jean, Charles IV, Jean de Berri, Philippe de Bourgogne et les siens [Paris, 1890], nos. 734, 735, 805, 806, 808), none has survived, and there is no mention of either the Homilies of Gregory the Great or De noblesse spirituelle.
Woodrow Wilson to John Foster Dulles:  
A Legacy

BY RONALD W. PRUESSEN

It was 1913, a few days before Woodrow Wilson's inauguration, and twenty-five-year-old John Foster Dulles received a note from a former Princeton classmate. "Is Woodrow going to make you Sec. of State?" it asked; "presumably you are coming down to Washington to see Woodrow get tight. I mean you are coming to get tight to see Woodrow down Washington. . . " While its tone was hardly serious, this note provides one of the earliest hints of a relationship with Woodrow Wilson that can be seen as of considerable importance in the life of John Foster Dulles. Although many years separated the two men and their tenures in respective offices, the spirit and thoughts of the former had a way of persistently casting shadows across the decades. Wilson, for his part, probably never realized he had had an influence on the much younger Dulles. Yet that he had is undoubted: Dulles himself was consciously and explicitly to concede the fact on numbers of occasions.

The earliest contact between the two men is perhaps already obvious. Young Foster Dulles entered Princeton as an undergraduate in 1904 and departed as valedictorian in 1908; Wilson, of course, was the University's president during these years. No evidence suggests any particular contact between the two individuals, other than the rather tenuous bond that joins a student and a university head. From all accounts, Dulles did refuse to join one of the Prospect Avenue eating clubs, choosing instead to dine with a few friends at a boarding house: perhaps this indicates a sympathy on his part for the sort of zealous reformism that made Wilson's reputation at Princeton and eventually drove him from it.  

After Princeton, even hesitant contact with Wilson disappeared —and what is more, seemed unlikely to reemerge. A year at the

1 J.M.T. Finney to Dulles, undated, John Foster Dulles Papers, Princeton University Library. (Hereafter cited as "Dulles Papers.")
2 A number of interviews in the "John Foster Dulles Oral History Project" deal with Dulles's Princeton years. See, for example, interviews with Joseph Green, Gerard Lambert, Everard Miller and Timothy Pfeiffer.
Sorbonne for Dulles was followed by admission to George Washington University Law School. While there, he lived with his grandfather, John Watson Foster, a long-time resident of Washington. It is the elderly Foster and his background that suggest something of the unlikelihood of any future connection between Dulles and Wilson. A Republican wheelhorse from Indiana during the 1870s, Foster had been consistently rewarded for services rendered by being named to diplomatic posts in Mexico, Spain and Russia. Ultimately, he became one of Benjamin Harrison’s Secretaries of State. His role in his party continued well into the twentieth century, when he devoted most of his time to a career as an international lawyer, and there are clear signs of his efforts to bring his young grandson into the same fold. In free time during his law school days, for example, Dulles was a bearer of messages between Republican leaders and Senators and the imposing Taft who occupied the White House. Much of the young man’s social life, in fact, seems to have revolved around the executive mansion. There are even hints of an attraction to the President’s daughter Helen.

Despite the odds, another member of the Foster-Dulles family circle did eventually provide an entrée into a later Democratic administration. The man was Dulles’s “Uncle Bert” (married to grandfather Foster’s daughter) who is better known as Robert Lansing. Beginning his diplomatic career in the then functioning Anglo-American Arbitration Agency, Lansing moved steadily up the ladder of the State Department after 1913. The new Wilson administration, indeed, proved particularly comfortable for him and he was, of course, eventually appointed Secretary in 1915.

During his climb and particularly after his major appointment, Lansing proved to be something of a deus ex machina in his nephew’s life. Dulles had left Washington after law school in 1911 and with his grandfather’s aid had entered the prestigious Wall Street law firm of Sullivan & Cromwell. He quickly developed the same international bent as his grandfather, acquiring as his first clients American and French bankers with interests in Latin American business ventures. Engaged in his own career, Dulles’s contacts with his uncle were to prove interesting and valuable. As early as 1913, Lansing offered him a legal position with the Anglo-American Arbitration Agency. While Dulles was advised by his senior colleagues at Sullivan & Cromwell that it was a little too early in his career to accept a post in Washington, he did not hesitate to use Lansing’s proffered assistance on other occasions. In 1916, for example, a former Washington friend, Emiliano Chamorro, asked Dulles to intercede with the State Department concerning impending elections in Nicaragua: Chamorro had doubts about his abilities to win the presidency in what he felt was going to be an unfair election administered by the existing government. Dulles agreed to talk to “Uncle Bert” and the American representative in Nicaragua shortly delivered “instructions” for the conduct of the elections. (Chamorro was subsequently elected.) Later in 1916, acting in behalf of Sullivan & Cromwell clients, Dulles appealed to Lansing to send naval vessels to Cuban waters to quell a revolution then underway. Two destroyers were sent and Dulles even ended up carrying messages back and forth between the State Department and a revolutionary representative who had come to New York. Lansing called on Dulles’s services too. Soon after the entrance of the United States into World War I, he convinced his nephew to undertake a special mission to Central America in order to check for appropriate anti-German sentiments in that area. By 1917, all in all, Dulles had had a fair amount of both official and unofficial contact with the Wilson Administration.

To be sure, none of his involvement with the State Department brought Dulles into immediate touch with Woodrow Wilson. This was to come, but only at the end of the war. After enlisting and being drawn into army intelligence, Dulles found himself working as an assistant to Vance McCormick at the War Trade Board. His work there and his contacts with the information gathering agencies of other wartime bureaus brought him to Paris in late 1918: there he assisted in organizing the intelligence services available

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3 See Dulles’s correspondence, 1909-1912, and his early engagement calendars and diaries; Dulles Papers.
8 John Watson Foster to A. S. Sullivan, February 15, 1911, Dulles Papers.
to the American delegation at the Peace Conference. His contact with McCormick and his relationship to Lansing, however, destined him for much more once the Conference was underway. Almost immediately he was drawn into the circle of principal economic advisors surrounding the President and there participated in some of the most crucial deliberations among the Allies. Officially, his position became that of "legal adviser" of the Americans on the various Paris committees negotiating the reparations issue. As such, his advice and aid went to key men like Thomas Lamont, Bernard Baruch and Norman Davis. He frequently acted as spokesman for the delegation and actually drafted most of the reparations clauses in the final peace treaty, including the infamous "war guilt" clause.

It was in this context that immediate contact with Wilson himself emerged. The President quickly came to include Dulles in the Paris meetings on economic and financial matters, listening to his advice, reading his numerous memoranda and allowing him to perform crucial services for the delegation. The President by and large worked well with his advisors and Dulles for one viewed his new relationship with Wilson enthusiastically. On the subject of reparations, with which he was most preoccupied, Dulles was generally able to observe a satisfying unanimity between himself, his fellow delegates and the President. His own arguments on the subjects, mirroring those of his colleagues, were directed toward insuring that German reparations would be kept to a minimum. This would have to be guaranteed if the world emerging from the Great War were to know some sort of stability and prosperity. Germany, the line of reasoning ran, was a state of such size and power that it was of central importance to the economic health of Europe—and therefore of the world. Grave weakness in such a country, caused by the economic dislocations of a heavy debt, would have catastrophic reverberations elsewhere.10

Although generally in agreement with this reasoning, on one crucial occasion, interesting particularly because of its relevance to Dulles, Wilson did not line up with his advisors on a reparations issue. He found himself persuaded by the British and French to agree to the inclusion of "pensions" in the total German obligation. His own American advisors were distraught because this doubled what they had hoped would be the maximum reparations figure and they made repeated efforts to change Wilson's mind. At one meeting on April 1, 1919, for example, all the senior economic advisors tried to dissuade the President from allowing the inclusion of pensions. He remained unmoved. After everyone else had spoken, Dulles tried to reason that the basic logic of the American position simply did not mesh with the President's decision. In an exchange that says more of Wilson than it does of Dulles, the former Princeton head lashed out at the former student: "Logic! Logic! I don't give a damn for logic. I am going to include pensions." The advisors found it advisable to disperse at that point.11

The unsatisfactory nature of this particular interchange and the outcome of this particular issue did not, however, much dim for Dulles the rather shining qualities surrounding these days. Wilson, for example, before leaving Paris, caught a pleased Dulles totally off-guard by asking him particularly to remain and continue work on unsettled matters. "My request is justified by the confidence we have all learned to feel in your judgment and ability," the President wrote, "and I am acting upon the opinion of the men with whom you have been collaborating, as well as upon my own, in making this earnest request." In explaining the delay of his return to the firm to William Nelson Cromwell, Dulles wrote "The matters referred to in the President's letter are the Financial and Reparation Clauses of the Treaties with Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey, in respect of which matters I am now in general charge as the principal American adviser in this sphere."12 Before finally returning to New York, Dulles found himself sitting as well on the Supreme Economic Council and the Interim Reparation Commission. There was an obvious satisfaction with Dulles on Wilson's part that outweighed for the younger man the disappointment stemming from the pensions issue.

Instrumental too in overcoming disappointment was Dulles's own abiding enthusiasm for his Chief as statesman and, particularly, reformer. On a day two decades later, when Dulles was trying to explain his unwillingness to participate in a second world war,

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10 Dulles's role at Paris and Versailles in 1918-1919, as well as the general activities of the delegation with which he was involved, are amply documented in Philip Mason Burnett, Reparation at the Paris Peace Conference: From the Standpoint of the American Delegation (2 vols., New York: Columbia University Press, 1949).

11 Ibbid., I, 775-777.
he evidenced an attitude toward Wilson amply demonstrative of this. "I was willing and eager," he recalled, "to see the United States go into the World War under the leadership of Wilson. I felt that he had perceived and might correct the inherent defects in our present world system." It was this kind of respect, envisioning participation in the creation of a better and saner world order, that made of these first years of government service a permanent source of satisfaction for Dulles.

After Wilson departed from Paris in the spring of 1919, he had no more direct contact with the young Foster Dulles he had left behind. Dulles himself returned to New York and Sullivan & Cromwell a few months later. Wilson, of course, was by then already mounting a crusade to snatch a victory for his peace schemes from the jaws of Senatorial defeat. His strenuous efforts brought him nothing but physical collapse. From then until his death in 1924, he never again saw Dulles.

Nevertheless, while it is true that Dulles lacked personal contact with Wilson himself after 1919, it is equally certain, and more significant, that he remained enthusiastic about what might be called Wilsonianism. In the decades that followed American participation in World War I, John Foster Dulles invariably adhered to a position described in the abstract by historians as "liberal internationalism," a position much associated with Woodrow Wilson. A rejection of "isolationism," a call for responsible American participation in world affairs and a disgust with American failure to join as promising an organization as the League of Nations are among the characteristics to be associated with those men who followed in the footsteps of Wilson after the failure of the Treaty of Versailles in the United States Senate. Dulles can certainly be included in any list of such men. During the 1920's and 1930's, for example, he belonged to almost all of the "internationalist" organizations that sprouted in the United States. He was an active and contributing member of, among others, the Foreign Policy Association, the Council on Foreign Relations, the American Peace Society, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the National Council for the Prevention of War. He also worked actively with organizations like the Bar Association of the City of New York on campaigns to encourage American membership in the World Court. Even more demonstrative of his "internationalism" than his organizational connections are some of his particular activities during the inter-war period. In the early 1920's, for example, he worked with Secretary of Commerce Herbert Hoover in an attempt to convince President Harding of the desirability of American entrance into the League and ratification of the Versailles Treaty. Failure with the Republicans caused a temporary flight to the Democrats in 1924 when Dulles served as foreign policy advisor for fellow New Yorker and presidential candidate John W. Davis. His policy memoranda to Davis read like a full and sweeping denunciation of isolationism. He lambasted, for example, "our timidity with regard to such great problems as Reparation, Allied Debts, World Court and League of Nations which vitally affect our welfare," and in a particular citation struck out against the Republican Administration's attitude toward reparations as one which "strikingly illustrates the futility and folly of a policy of attempted isolation." Davis's loss in 1924 and the subsequent rise of kindred internationalist Herbert Hoover brought Dulles back to the Republican fold in 1928.

In addition to such political activities, Dulles's very career was concomitantly based upon the premises of internationalism. His clients at Sullivan & Cromwell were most frequently major banking houses and corporations engaged in international financial and commercial activities. He himself spoke and wrote extensively during the 1920's and 1930's about the importance of economic ties between the United States and the rest of the world.

If a common adherence to internationalism were all that bound John Foster Dulles to Woodrow Wilson in the years following World War I, it would be a weak reed indeed to hold up any contention of a significant legacy being handed down from one generation to another. It is totally unlikely that Wilson proved to be the basic source of Dulles's internationalism. There were too many other streams feeding into that river. A family headed by an aca-

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13 Dulles address to the Economic Club of New York, March 1939, Dulles Papers.
14 Dulles's organizational ties can be tabulated by skimming through the correspondence for the 1920's and 1930's, Dulles Papers.
15 "An Opinion with Respect to Adherence by the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice," February 1943, Dulles Papers.
16 Dulles to Herbert Hoover, April 5, 1921, Dulles Papers.
17 Dulles to John W. Davis, July 18, 1924, with enclosure, Dulles Papers.
18 See Dulles's addresses and articles, 1920's and 1930's, Category I.B.1, Dulles Papers.
ademic cleric who believed in getting his family to Europe every summer; a grandfather and an uncle who were both international lawyers, diplomats, and secretaries of state; an undergraduate and graduate education that had always made room for the study of languages and international law; a legal career that began with clients having worldwide interests: the most that can be said, taking these factors into account, is that Woodrow Wilson provided reinforcement for Dulles’s already existent internationalism.  

And yet, there was something more than a vague common adherence to internationalist tenets that bound the maturing and increasingly successful Dulles to Wilson. That this is so became particularly clear after the mid-1930’s, so clear indeed that Dulles himself was perfectly cognizant of it. Beginning in 1935, in an article entitled “The Road to Peace” which he wrote for the Atlantic Monthly, Dulles began to develop a habit of thinking that can be described as philosophical in nature. In that first article, in a number of subsequent addresses and papers, and ultimately in a thoughtful book entitled War, Peace and Change that was published in 1939, he began grappling with questions he had never explicitly coped with before: what is the nature of man? what are the characteristics of human society? why do men and nations fight with each other? what can be done to build a road to peace? In the course of his intellectual struggles, Dulles came to believe that in addition to internationalist trappings, he had absorbed something of the deepest substance of the worldview of Woodrow Wilson.

It was in the course of the 1930’s that, like many of his contemporaries, Dulles came to look upon his world as one heading briskly toward new wars and catastrophes. Spurred particularly by the devastations which the Depression seemed to be wreaking on the fabric of developed societies, he became fearful of the future. Initially, the serious problems of his internationally-oriented clients brought home in a potent day-to-day fashion how damaged was the traditional structure of world society. Major banking house clients like Morgan’s and Lee, Higginson found themselves grievously burdened with debts on which foreign governments and corporations were defaulting. Dulles had worked with such bank-

ing houses with heavy investments in Germany, for example, and found himself delegate to a number of “debt conferences” in Berlin during the early 1930’s: one problem after another concerning German repayments developed at these and a major portion of the debts held by Americans were never honored.  

Corporate clients, as well, like the International Nickel Co., found themselves hamstrung during the Depression by an increasingly inflexible international currency exchange system and ever-mounting tariff and quota systems which made normally profitable trade most difficult. Such economic problems and their developing political repercussions were obvious on every hand to Dulles and engendered a considerable pessimism. When being consulted by President Hoover about the possibility of a moratorium on reparations and international debts, for example, Dulles gave vent to his fears that “there is danger of the whole system breaking down.” As one historian has described this period with the benefit of hindsight, “The foundations—economic but also psychological and moral—of the old world order had simply disintegrated.” Dulles found himself in the middle of that process and was all too aware of it.

A particular component of his negative assessment of international developments during the 1930’s was a sense of disbelief and ultimate horror concerning the probability of yet another major war in the course of his lifetime. In his Atlantic Monthly article, “The Road to Peace,” he wrote:

It is bewildering that the world should again be moving toward war. We know that we ourselves want peace and we feel that peoples everywhere at heart desire it. Throughout the world, statesmen proclaim their devotion to the cause of peace. Not only by word but by formal compact they have bound their nations to peace as never before. . . . Yet . . . we sense that we are inevitably moving on toward war.  

21 Notes on Conversations Concerning Moratorium and Memorandum Left with President, June 1931, Dulles Papers.  

An interesting examination of many of these forces in Dulles’s early life can be found in his sister’s account: Eleanor Lansing Dulles, John Foster Dulles: The Last Year (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1968), passim.
This very realization, coming in late 1934, was symptomatic of Dulles's response to disturbing international events. Shock at what by then already seemed might transpire and disgust at the kind of economic havoc that had already been experienced seem to have led him along some new paths of thinking. While consistency in his thought processes always remained, the tone and wording of Dulles's response to world affairs shifted dramatically.

Fundamental to his world view in this period was the philosophical contention that conflicts among men were simply inevitable. This was so because two basically uncompromising types of human beings walked the face of the earth. One group could be called "static," Dulles wrote, and he defined the category as "those who are sufficiently satisfied with what they have—in the way of possessions and opportunities—not to want any important change in the structure of society in which they live." Opposed to such individuals were the "dynamic": "those who desire the structure of their society to be changed or their group enlarged in order to give greater scope to their energy or adventurous disposition or in the hope of thereby improving, relatively or absolutely, their material or social status." The existence of two such types foreordained certain things to Dulles. First, it made unavoidable the phenomenon of change in human society. Second, this change would emerge from an ongoing series of struggles between men of different types. Of especial relevance to his thinking on world affairs was Dulles's belief, in this regard, that groups of men—nations—would interact and conflict and experience change in the same way as individuals; that this, indeed, would primarily determine the course of international relations.

In particular, Dulles would go on, the conflicts of nations would revolve around the desire for or antipathy to changes in the overall contours of the international system. This system he viewed as basically inflexible in nature, primarily because of the existence of hard and sharply defined boundaries between nations. More often than not, international struggles emerged from desires to alter these boundaries in a variety of ways. In some cases, one nation clearly wanted a physical shift in boundaries to give it additional territory. In other cases, especially in the twentieth century, Dulles argued, nations sought to decrease the severity of other states' boundaries for purposes of trade, investment and emigration.21

Within this most fundamental perception of the nature of man and his society, Dulles had much more to say of immediate relevance to the problems of the contemporary scene. If men who wanted to change things inevitably struggled with men who wanted them to remain the same, the nature of that struggle over the centuries seemed remarkably consistent to him. Throughout human history, he argued, only one tool had been availed of by conglomerations of men in conflict: the use of force or the threat of it. Actual resort to power in war or diplomacy based on the existence of power had been the predominant characteristic of international relations from time immemorial.

Until the twentieth century, Dulles believed, the resort to war to bring about or avoid certain changes was an unfortunate, but generally accepted aspect of human existence. The Great War had changed this. It had "proved what had been feared, namely, that a modern war between industrialized states is a very different affair from war as it had been conducted by professional armies prior to the era of mechanization." The continuation or destruction of civilization had come to weigh in the balance. As long as the war system continued to exist, it could no longer be blithely accepted: "all men live under its menace. . . . It is as though we were in the grip of some evil force which it is beyond the power of men to master."

As mentioned, Dulles by the mid-1930's was already fearful that this evil force of war was again going to overpower mankind. In the actions of Germany, Italy and Japan, he saw the working out once more of the classic pattern of human struggles. These nations were dynamic, he argued, anxious to improve their relative status in the world. They sought outside their own domains increased markets for their goods, wider sources of raw materials and more opportunities for investment of their capital: sought, in other words, to break in certain ways through their specific national boundaries. Inevitably, these dynamic states were confronted by status quo oriented powers—Great Britain, France and the United


22 "The Road to Peace," p. 49a.
States—who were not at all anxious to allow changes favorable to the upstarts. The French, for example, were opposed to an increase in the existent power of a dreaded enemy. The British feared German penetration of the economic arenas of Eastern Europe and the Italian exploits in the Mediterranean. And the Americans were wary of, among other things, Japanese moves to close the relatively open door to China’s market. With resistance to change characterizing international relations, Dulles feared another resort to the time-honored ultimate means of force.  

Was there any possible way to avoid another gruesome working out of the pattern, he pondered? Although it is not a characteristic too often associated with him, he actually was relatively optimistic about the prospects of moving away from the bloody destructiveness of war and toward the road to peace. Indeed, a major portion of his writings in the 1950’s and after was devoted to describing the ways in which he thought this might be accomplished. Before attempting to delineate some of his recommendations, it is worth pointing out that his optimism became increasingly abstract as the 1950’s wore on. More and more he realized that while options to the system theoretically existed, it was unlikely that they could be realized in time to avoid another denouement.

The basic message of a variety of recommendations which Dulles made was that a significant alteration in the nature of the international system was necessary. If the inflexibility of that system led constantly to war, then it was simply going to be necessary to change that inflexibility. The locus of resistance to change on which Dulles was to concentrate was the boundaries that existed between states and all that they represented. It would be essential, he wrote, “to mitigate the obstructive character of national boundaries and to provide areas within which the dynamic forces could peacefully diffuse themselves.” Of first importance as a means of achieving this was the elevation of the internal American practice of free “interstate commerce” to the international level. The original American colonies, he argued, had learned a most valuable lesson and “found an essential basis for peace in the renunciation by each of the right to interfere with the interstate movement of people, goods and ideas.”

25 War, Peace and Change, passim.

It is sufficient that the resident of one state can invest his money in another or call on capital from another to finance his own investment; that he can sell goods to or buy from another and, if he chooses, travel freely back and forth and enjoy an unrestricted exchange of ideas. . . . Where, in a given State, there is found a density of population and a high degree of energy, there also exist sufficient opportunities to project that energy beyond the state line, so that alteration of the boundary itself is no objective.

If the same kind of “economic fluidity” could be provided on the international level, Dulles would conclude, “then we have cut apertures through the boundary barriers which are probably sufficient to assure that the dynamic forces within one state will currently diffuse themselves without threatening a violent change of boundaries.” In other words, peace might be assured.  

The specific “apertures” with which Dulles dealt are suggested in his comments on the nature of the American interstate commerce system, but deserve further elaboration as well. Particularly interesting is a dichotomy which he frequently came to establish concerning desirable reforms in the international system. “We cannot treat all boundaries alike,” he wrote on one occasion:

A distinction must be made between those that enclose a highly developed and industrialized society and those which enclose areas which are as yet inadequately developed. The former cannot be suddenly exposed to new competitive conditions without serious disturbance.

Certain reforms of significant import were nevertheless possible even in developed areas. First, the possibility of a new system of stable and facile national currency exchanges could be established: “purely national moneys, which are unstable and non-exchangeable in relation to other moneys, constitute a most severe restraint to travel, the movement of people and goods, and the participation, through investment, in natural advantages and greater opportunities which are abroad.” Second, “there can . . . be some reduction of duties and elimination of quotas on lines which reflect the prin-

27 “Peaceful Change Within the Society of Nations,” lecture delivered at Princeton University, March 19, 1956, Dulles Papers.
prise of reciprocity." Third, less severe immigration procedures could be instituted to allow a freer movement of people on the international scene.

Shifting to undeveloped and colonial regions of the world, Dulles was most ambitious concerning potential reforms. "There would seem to be no insuperable obstacle," he wrote, "to opening up vast areas of the world" to freer trade and more equitable economic utilization by developed states. Instead of a system of tightly controlled empires and spheres in which only certain nations enjoyed access to raw materials, markets and investment opportunities, Dulles was suggesting that all states enjoy such privileges. If this could be accomplished, he argued, one of the most frequent arenas of conflict among static and dynamic powers might be eliminated.

In appraising this his own grand vision of world reform and peace insurance, Dulles quite frequently saw the hand of Woodrow Wilson at work. As early as his article in the Atlantic Monthly, he took occasion to describe what he called "the splendid vision" of his former chief executive's international program. Appropriately to an audience at Princeton in early 1936, he expanded on this notion when he said of Wilson that "He, of all the political leaders, had shown the most statesmanlike vision." This judgment he explained in considerable detail.

His task was to propose a world system from which force could be eliminated as a legitimate instrumentality of change. How had it ever become such a legitimate instrumentality? Because sovereignty turned national boundaries into barriers which obstructed and dammed up dynamic forces until they irresistibly burst through. The solution was then to mitigate the obstructive character of national boundaries and to provide areas within which the dynamic forces could peacefully diffuse themselves. Having created such an elastic world, it would then be practical to suppress the resort to force. . . .

This was, in essence, the Wilsonian solution.

The extent of elasticity that could be created, depended of course on practical conditions. This he dealt separately with—the seas; the colonial areas and the highly developed countries where the national system was strongly entrenched.

Dulles elaborated even further on the specifics of the "Wilsonian solution" to his Princeton audience. Freedom of the seas, he reasoned, was clearly designed to insure that "the concept of sovereignty with its barriers and restrictions and attempts at exclusiveness should never be imposed upon the high seas." To work something of the same purpose on land, the President had proposed for former empires and colonies, the "mandate system" within the League of Nations: "Mandated territory would be held in trust and excluded from incorporation into any single domain. The 'open door' would prevail, providing equal opportunity to all nations to use and develop the economic resources." For "the highly developed nations," Wilson had proposed "a removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers."32

What becomes clear from even these two examples of Dulles's analysis during the 1930's is that he was fully cognizant of the place of Wilsonian concepts in his own world view. The rational foundation for his policy recommendations and his recommendations themselves were inextricably bound up in his mind with memories of that charismatic leader. Of course, it might be argued, it was Dulles's own conception of what Wilson was working for that is elaborated on various occasions after 1934. True. But in a sense, the possibility of a misconception of Dulles's part is really insignificant; while possibly divorcing himself from what actually had been, what is important is that Dulles himself firmly believed he had inherited certain ideas and policies from Wilson. And, indeed, it is intriguingly probable that Dulles did understand Wilson correctly and that his 1930's expositions have something to tell us about the man who was by then long dead. Arno Mayer, for example, one of the most astute historians yet to study Wilson as a foreign policy maker, devotes many pages of his Wilson vs.

30 Ibid.
31 "Peaceful Change Within the Society of Nations." Italics added.
Lenin: The Political Origins of the New Diplomacy to an examination of the President's world vision. In a capsule summary, he writes: "Addressing the forces of movement of the world Wilson invited them to participate in the exciting experiment of building the first international community capable of organizing peaceful change." In addition to the obvious similarity of terms, Mayer's descriptions of various specific components of the Wilsonian program designed to achieve this objective are also revealing. He analyzes extensively, for example, significant portions of the famous Fourteen Points Address, emphasizing the injunction to free the seas for use by all nations and the call for "the removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all nations. . . ." At another point, he quotes Wilson's November 1917 injunction to the Inquiry to "study the just claims of the large states, like Russia and Austria, and Germany herself, to an assured access to the sea and the main routes of commerce not only, but to a reasonable access to the raw materials of the world which they themselves do not produce." How obvious is the place of these concerns in Dulles's thought fifteen years later.

Looking at his pronouncements and musings during the 1930's, John Foster Dulles's affinity with the desires and ideas of Woodrow Wilson becomes clear. That affinity is both intriguing and significant. To a degree of some importance, the balance of Dulles's life would be influenced by the substance of his thought during the 1930's. At various times from that point on, he sought as an ultimate goal the kind of reformed world order he was then describing. His policy recommendations and specific aims as well, frequently mirrored those routes to this ultimate objective he had initially delineated. If influenced later by his own early thoughts, it can then clearly be said in turn that his life and work were ones influenced by Woodrow Wilson. Recognition of this provides a valuable insight into the most crucial question of the sources of Dulles's thoughts and conduct.

A survey of Dulles's life during the 1940's and 1950's is obviously impossible here, but it would be worthwhile to suggest some of the ways in which his own thoughts of the 1930's and the Wilsonian legacy involved in these bore fruit at later dates. One of the first indications of this, as a first example, was the work which Dulles undertook with the Federal Council of Churches during World War II. As a key Protestant lay leader with great international experience, he became Chairman of a special church agency called the Commission to Study the Bases of a Just and Durable Peace. The very nature of this work, undertaken already in 1941, indicates in Dulles a most basic concern with the issue of what was going to emerge from the brutal war then raging. What the Commission proceeded to recommend meshed very compatibly with the desires of its Chairman in the previous decade and would seemingly have rested easily on the mind of Woodrow Wilson. Indeed, in what is perhaps Dulles's counterpart to Wilson's Fourteen Points, the church commission's major pronouncement during the war was entitled the "Six Pillars of Peace." Among the pillars was a plea for continuing political collaboration among allied nations and eventually neutral and enemy states that was clearly in the tradition of the League of Nations; an injunction to bring the economic and financial actions of independent states within the scope of international agreement; a call for an organization to perform treaty adapting functions first outlined in the League Covenant's Article 19; and an expression of support for ultimate autonomy for subject peoples via a system like Wilson's "mandates." All and more had found a place in Dulles's writings and speeches during the 1930's.

Following the War, Dulles became intricately involved with the making of American foreign policy. He was drawn into policy making circles initially because of his role as foreign affairs adviser to Presidential candidate Thomas Dewey, but by means of a shared worldview and similar concerns found himself more closely involved with nominally Democratic policies than would otherwise have been possible. He attended almost every Council of Foreign Ministers meeting after the War and participated almost constantly in the work of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly. He was consulted regularly in the midst of crisis situations and was definitely connected with major issues and policy decisions like the Marshall Plan, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the Berlin blockade crisis of 1948-1949 and the Korean War. In the early 1950's, he was given primary responsibility for the negotiation of a peace treaty with Japan.

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In these activities as well as in his far more publicized work as Secretary of State between 1953 and 1959, Dulles continued to demonstrate the importance of a world view established during his earlier life. A few examples, albeit general in nature, may help suggest the validity of this observation.

First, it was most obvious during his association with the Truman Administration that Dulles was enthusiastic about the potential of the new United Nations Organization and that he was willing to devote substantial energy to its activities. It would be hardly amiss to suggest that for a man who had consciously been impressed by the leadership of Woodrow Wilson and who had worked vigorously for American membership in the League of Nations during the 1920’s, such an attitude and such conduct was not at all surprising.

Second, and more importantly, during both the 1940’s and his tenure as Secretary of State, Dulles was more impressed with the importance of Europe and more concerned with that continent’s problems than with those of any other area. First at Versailles in 1918-1919 and then as an international lawyer during the 1920’s and 1930’s, he had become convinced that a satisfactory economic relationship between the United States and the Europeans was crucial to American well-being. He believed firmly, for example, that the economic nationalism practiced by Europeans during the decade of depression preceding World War II and the concomitant erection of unbreakable economic boundaries excluding the United States had contributed greatly to the continuation of business and financial crises in this country. In addition, of course, the sparks igniting two world wars which had brutally enmeshed the United States had emanated primarily from the rivalries and hostilities of European powers.

What was Dulles’s conception of Europe’s post-war problems and their relation to the United States and what long-range solutions suggested themselves to him? He argued consistently, along lines first developed in the 1930’s and then repeated often during the 1940’s, that if peace were to exist in Europe and the rest of the world, the myriad totally independent states on the continent would have to be eliminated. In some way, he believed, the total self-serving sovereignty of European states would have to be diminished. Most important as an avenue to this objective was the possibility of increased economic unity and cooperation among Euro-

pean states. Since he believed economic rivalries had more than anything else caused wars among great powers, the substitution of economic partnership was certain to eliminate a major component of the problem: the formerly inflexible economic boundaries that existed between the European states would be replaced by a peace-breeding system of free and flexible “interstate commerce.” In the bargain, this would prove most valuable for establishing a satisfactory economic relationship between the United States and Europe.

Germany was of special importance to such proposals of Dulles’s. Since he saw that country as the center of the 20th century’s two greatest conflagrations, he saw hope for the future only if Germany in particular were drawn into cooperative relationships with its neighbors. From the very beginning of American wartime deliberations on policy toward the Third Reich, he argued that the most viable course for the United States to pursue was one which would encourage economic unity among Europeans and defuse Germany’s capacity for future aggression by integrating it into such a continental structure. This would provide peace for Europe and thereby the rest of the world, as well as lay the groundwork for what Dulles viewed as a fruitful new system of economic relationships. As a specific route to such a beneficial goal, he suggested, for example, that the great economic potential of the Ruhr be separated from exclusive German control and be supervised by a specially created international agency: the resources of the area would serve Germany and her neighbors in Western Europe, tying them more closely together in a fundamental way.

Such ruminations on American policy toward Europe and Germany, which, to repeat, can be said to permeate Dulles’s thoughts during the 1940’s and 1950’s, clearly have their roots in earlier decades. The notion of re-integrating Germany into a peaceful international system, for example, was already a fundement of the American delegation’s policies at the Paris Peace Conference and explains among other things the determination there to limit the

84 See, for example, Dulles, “Peace Without Plutitudes,” Fortune, XXV:1 (January 1948), 48; “Toward World Order,” a lecture at Ohio Wesleyan University, March 5, 1942; or “Foreign Policy—Ideals, Not Deals,” Address to Inland Press Association, February 10, 1947, Dulles Papers.
85 See, for example, Transcript of Press Conference with Thomas Dewey and Dulles, August 20, 1944; or Dulles’s testimony to Senate Foreign Relations Committee, November 14, 1947, Dulles Papers.
former enemy's reparations obligation. Wilson's early emphasis on
the advantages of reducing barriers to international trade and
Dulles's heavy emphasis on the same theme during the 1930's also
are central to the idea of promoting European economic unity
after World War II. Little of Dulles's thought was new or sur-
prising by then.

In yet a third way, as well, one can see in Dulles's career and
thoughts after World War II a continuation of the Wilsonian
legacy and the impact of his own maturing worldview of the 1930's.
Probably no characteristic of Dulles as policy maker and Secretary
of State is more common to general impressions of the man than his
bitterly anti-communist beliefs. He seems to emerge in the 1950's
as the Cold Warrior par excellence, righteously brandishing Amer-
ican power in order to foil the sinister schemes of an international
communist conspiracy. While a vast amount of work is needed be-
fore any definitive appraisal of Dulles's conduct in this period is
possible, it can be suggested with considerable force that at least
one source of his concerns and subsequent policies can be found
in the cast of his mind before the onset of the Cold War. It can be
argued, to move briefly along these lines, that Dulles found himself
sterling antipathetic to communism because it threatened to divide
once more the international scene emerging from World War II
into rival and hostile camps. New boundaries, potentially even
more inflexible than the old because of ideological reinforcement,
seemed to hazard world peace as surely as in preceding ages when
communist spheres of influence seemed to spring up in Eastern
Europe, East Asia, the Middle East and even Latin America. Curr-
tains of iron and bamboo would make as impossible as in the 1930's
an international order free and flexible in nature, would make
impossible economic relationships akin to the American experi-
ence of "interstate commerce." Without such flexibility and such
economic relationships, in turn, the security and the economic
well-being of the United States and the world were seen as en-
dangered. The sources of such danger, surely, needed stamping
out. In the process of confrontation, it might be added, far more
than "communism" per se was met head on. Any government or
political movement on the left was suspicious as well as any "neu-
tralist" or anti-American "nationalist" forces: all threatened divi-
sions of the international scene, the establishment of rival camps,
and were thereby worthy of opposition. The potential importance
of such a line of reasoning to Dulles may be underlined by recall-
ing that his former chief Woodrow Wilson, as early as 1919, was
already sanctioning American participation in an international
military expedition designed to crush the fearful scourge of com-
munism in Russia.

To summarize, there are a considerable number of ways in
which the importance of a Wilsonian legacy to John Foster Dulles
can be sighted. The immediate working relationship between the
two men at the Paris Peace Conference, on a subject as important
as that of reparations, surely made a lasting impression on the
young Dulles. Further, the abiding enthusiasm for "liberal inter-
nationalism" evidenced by Dulles after World War I more vague-
ly, but nonetheless positively, bound him to the spirit of his
former chief's foreign policies. And of greatest importance, the
intensively developed intellectual apparatus of Dulles's mind, as
it matured during the 1930's, openly and quite consciously at-
tributed a debt to Woodrow Wilson's world view. As the matured
contours of Dulles's own mind spurred him to action and thought
during the 1940's and 1950's, it became perfectly clear that the two
men shared important assumptions, methods of reasoning or de-
cision-making and conclusions.

There were, it should be most clearly emphasized, other sources
of John Foster Dulles's thought and actions. Indeed, others were
almost certainly more important than the influence of Woodrow
Wilson. As evidenced by the brief discussions here of his role at the
Paris Peace Conference and during the interwar years, for ex-
ample, it may be obvious that Dulles had a distinct habit of ap-
proaching problems in the fashion of a corporation lawyer. Decades
of work for bankers and international businessmen inculcated in
him a modus operandi which initially approached virtually any
problem along economic lines—and which was frequently re-
lected in resultant conclusions or recommendations of an eco-
nomic character. As another example of an additional input to
Dulles's behavior, his strong religious concerns could certainly
be cited. Starting the compilation of a fuller list of the sources
of Dulles's world view and actions should not, however, negate a
conclusion relevant here. That is, however many streams fed into
that main reservoir of John Foster Dulles's life, one of definite
importance was the legacy from Woodrow Wilson.
Restoration Plays at Princeton

BY GERALD EADES BENTLEY

The drama of the Restoration, which developed after Charles II returned from exile to his father’s throne and reopened London theatres after eighteen years of Puritan suppression, marks a turning point in the history of the English theatre. Then women first played the female roles in commercial productions; then the proscenium arch theatre and painted scenery first appeared in the city playhouses; the King and his mistresses broke precedent to attend public performances in these smaller theatres of narrower appeal.

The plays written for the revived playhouses were less varied than Elizabethan dramatic fare and generally more sophisticated in their appeal. It is not surprising that much of the most distinguished high comedy in English dramatic literature was written for this changed audience. Comedies like Congreve’s Way of the World and his Love for Love, Etherege’s Man of Mode, and Wycherley’s Plain Dealer were originally performed for the delectation of the more sophisticated and more homogeneous audiences at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, Dorset Garden, and Drury Lane.

Both the literary and the historic significance of Restoration drama make it an important area for study and research. In this field the Princeton University Library has a very good collection which can be developed into one of the best. The purpose of this note is to outline our needs for attaining such distinction.

Of course the avid collector lusts to possess every issue of every title within his area, but such completeness in a university library seems to me to imply more acquisitiveness than balanced attention to the needs of serious scholars. So far as I can find, no American library has such a complete collection. The distinguished university which sets out to meet the requirements of serious scholars in the field of Restoration drama should aspire to the major issues of all dramatic compositions for the stage. What do we need to fulfill this aspiration?

At present the best bibliography of the printed drama of the Restoration is Gertrude L. Woodward and James G. McManaway,
A Check List of English Plays 1641-1700, 1945, which lists some 1,797 editions and issues of plays in this period of 59 years. Princeton has more than half those listed, about 782. But, as the dates in the title indicate, a good many of the Woodward and McManaway listings are not Restoration plays at all but late—and mostly not very important—editions of the works of Elizabethan, Jacobean, and Caroline playwrights. For instance there are 68 issues of plays by Beaumont and Fletcher and Shakespeare (d. 1616 and 1625). Others are compositions of the period of the Civil Wars and Commonwealth (1642-1660) which are mostly closet drama or translations, like Robert Baron’s Deorum Dona and Mirza or Thomas Stanley’s translations of Aristophanes. When these items before 1660 are eliminated, as well as later translations of the classics not intended for production, there remain some 986 editions or issues of genuine Restoration plays. Of these Firestone Library also houses more than half—about 536, including 37 in the Robert H. Taylor Collection. For the majority of Restoration plays the Library already has at least one early issue.

Most of the major Restoration dramatists are unusually well represented:

Behn, Aphra. First or second editions of all but one of the 19 plays ... 24 issues
Congreve, William. " " " " 5 plays ............................... 11 "
Crowne, John. First editions of 18 of the 18 plays .......................... 26 "
Dryden, John. First or second editions of 25 of the 25 plays ............. 89 "
Durfey, Thomas. " " " " 22 " " 23 " " 28 "
Etherege, George. " " " " 2 " " 8 " " 3 " " 10 "
Lee, Nathaniel. " " " " 11 " " 11 " " 23 "
Ottway, Thomas. " " " " 9 " " 9 " " 20 "
Seetle, Elikanah. " " " " 16 " " 16 " " 18 "
Shadwell, Thomas. " " " " 16 " " 17 " " 37 "
Wyckerley, William. First editions of 4 " " 4 " " 13 "

This rather impressive list requires only a few additions to make it a really first class collection of the major dramatists writing in England 1660 to 1701. The additional plays needed to reach such a status in our holdings of the plays of these playwrights are:

Behn, Aphra. The Roundheads, or the Good Old Cause 1682
Durfey, Thomas. The Marriag-hater Match’d 1692
Etherege, George. The Comical Revenge, or Love in a Tub 1664
Farquhar, George. The Constant Couple 1700
Shadwell, Thomas. The Miser 1699

THE WIDDOV RANTER
OR,
The HISTORY of Bacon in Virginia.
A TRAGICOMEDY.

Acted by their Majesties Servants.

Written by Mrs. A. Behn.

THE SONGS IN AMPHITRYON, WITH THE MUSICK.

Composed by Mr. HENRY PURCELL.

LONDON,
Printed by J. Heptinsall for Jacob Tonson at the Judge's-Head in Chancery-Lane. M DC XC.

Second title of the Princeton copy of Dryden's Amphitryon

First Song, in the third Act.

Erst, that I once was blest, is now the torment of my breast; Since to

Cursee you bereave me, of the pleasure — I profest; Cruel Creature

to deceive me; first — to Love and then to leave me; cruel Creature

to deceive me, — first — to Love and then to leave me;

First page of Purcell's music for Amphitryon
Of course the acquisition of these five editions would not make our holdings in the plays of these ten major dramatists complete, for many issues of the more popular plays were printed: Dryden's *Indian Emperor*, 12; and his *State of Innocence*, 9; Congreve's *Old Bachelor*, 9; Etherege's *Comical Revenge* and Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*, 8. But the five additions suggested would give the scholar in this field an excellent working library.

In the collection of the works of the minor dramatists, necessary for the serious student who often needs to work with literary or theatrical trends and who will not find any modern editions of most of the minor dramatists in any library, there are a good many gaps in our holdings. It is true that there are a number of titles in the Woodward and McManaway lists of dramatic pieces written after 1660 which are of little value for most students of the theatre of the Restoration—editions of plays in Latin or in French or in translations of them not intended for the stage; or Lord Mayor's shows, which are merely speeches intended to accompany the annual inaugural parade of the new Lord Mayor through the streets of London.

The elimination of these later editions and of peripheral items leaves 89 other editions now lacking at Princeton, most of which could be gradually acquired to make our collection one of the best. I would suggest the following want list. Each item is preceded by its number in the Woodward and McManaway Check List. The first sixteen are of more significance than the following 73:

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765 Anon. Love without Interest; or, The Man too Hard for the Master
773 Anon. The Mall
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853 Mountford, William. The Life and Death of Doctor Faustus
856 Anon. The Muse of New-Market
858 Neville, Robert. The Poor Scholar
865 Oldmixon, John. Amintas
915 Philips, William. St. Stephens-Green
938 Porter, Thomas. The Villain
936 A Witty Combat
947 Anon. Puritanical Justice
951 Anon. The Rampant Alderman
980 Rawlins, Thomas. Tunbridge-Wells
985 Anon. The Religious-Rebell
994 Anon. Romulus and Hersilia
1005 Sadler, Anthony. The Subject's Joy for the King's Restoration
1156 Smith, John. Cytherea; or, The Enamouring Girdle
1175 Southland, Thomas. Love à la mode
1177 Stapylton, Sir Robert. The Slighted Maid
1181 The Tragedie of Hero and Leander
1191 Anon. The Swearing-Master
1230 Thomson, Thomas. The English Rogue
1231 The Life of Mother Shipton
1244 Tuke, Richard. The Souls Warfare
1249 Tutchin, John. The Unfortunate Shepherd

Most of these editions, while not easy to acquire, could scarcely be listed among the great rarities of dramatic literature. Persistent search and a reasonable expenditure could bring them into the Princeton University Library and achieve for us a first-class collection for students of Restoration Drama.
THEATRE COLLECTION

An important and charming addition to the Theatre Collection’s holdings of portraits of actors and actresses was made recently in the form of a John Downman (1750-1824) sketch of John Edwin, comedian, and Mrs. Mary Wells, actress, in their characters for the John O’Keefe play *An Agreeable Surprise*. The framed sketch, in black and red chalk, measures $8_{1/2}'' \times 6''$ and was very likely done prior to the watercolor of the same subjects. In some ways it is superior to the watercolor group, especially in the gentleness and warmth of the facial expressions, which are more caricatured in the final work. Mrs. Wells, as “Cowslip,” and Mr. Edwin the Elder, as “Lingo,” are depicted in the first act scene from the play, wherein they drink a toast from the bowl of milk carried by Cowslip in the drawing. The two popular actors appeared in the first production of the play on September 3, 1781, at the Haymarket Theatre. The sketch must have been done about that time, or a few years thereafter, in that the watercolor portrait was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1788.

This new acquisition was purchased in memory of Professor Alan S. Downer.

—MARY ANN JENSEN, Curator, Theatre Collection

THE PHONOGRAPH RECORD LIBRARY

The Phonograph Record Library of Princeton University, after having functioned as an independent collection in connection with the Music Department for many years, became a branch of the main Princeton University Library on July 1, 1972.

The collection began partly with purchases of recordings by the Music Department for use in the study and teaching of music and partly with gifts of various sizes. The first gift that was large enough to turn the small collection into a respectable library or archive was a donation made in the early 1930’s by the Carnegie Corporation of almost one thousand discs—78 rpm—consisting of what was considered the most important works in a basic classical record collection. Identical gifts were dispersed among many educational institutions, and those sets became the nuclei of many record archives. In the late 1940’s, a Princeton alumnus, William R. McAlpin ’26, began making gifts of $1,500 a year. When the new music building, the Woolworth Center of Musical Studies, was built in 1969, the record collection acquired excellent library and listening facilities, permitting plenty of room for expansion. Mr. McAlpin started an endowment for the Library, the proceeds of which, together with his gift which he continued, constituted most of the budget for the Library. When Mr. McAlpin died in 1969, the Library lost the gift and, with it, almost half of its budget, but the proceeds from the endowment have continued to increase annually.

The collection consists almost entirely of Western art (or classical) music from Gregorian chant (ca. 600 A.D.) up to the present time. There are over 6000 monaural long-playing records, 3000 stereo records, 12,000 78’s, 400 tape recordings, and about 1000 scores in multiple copies for use with required listening assignments.

In the basement of the music building, besides practice rooms, there are five individual listening rooms, in each of which several
people may listen to one recording via a speaker, and one large room which accommodates twelve listeners with headphones, two at each station. Each person may listen either on his own channel or may tune in to anyone else's.

The acquisitions policy is both extensive, in that it covers many categories of musical recordings, and intensive, in that it covers most categories in great depth. The most important category is that which directly serves the Music Department in the work it does. Before each semester, records and scores are prepared for specific courses. Course records are kept separately and are used repeatedly until their condition warrants the purchase of duplicates. The collection usually has different recordings of the same work, depending on the choices of the individual faculty members. Music courses are the only purpose for acquiring scores, which are used in connection with required listening assignments. The main, general score collection is housed in Firestone Library.

The second aim of the acquisitions policy is to have at least one recording of every work written by every major composer. With the help of important tools, such as record catalogs and periodicals containing significant articles and record reviews, an attempt is made to acquire all good recordings of important works not previously recorded in the recent past. The Library now has the complete recorded works of all major composers—Bach, Beethoven, Mozart, Stravinsky, etc. Also an attempt is made to obtain all works written by Princeton University composers.

The third goal of the Library is to possess all important recordings of individual, major works. There are, for example, eighteen recordings of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony—each by a different conductor, twenty different performances of all six Brandenburg Concertos by Bach, and eleven different complete recordings of Mozart's opera, Don Giovanni.

The collection concentrates primarily on composers but also includes the complete recordings of particularly significant performers. Thus, there are most of the records of the baritone, Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau; the harpsichordist, Wanda Landowska; and the conductor, Georg Solti.

It is also the policy to own recordings of works which are not necessarily important or significant but which ought to be in a good classical record library. The collection does not include folk music, musical comedies, popular music, or many light classics.

Furthermore, it does not have spoken records. For people interested in those materials, the Princeton Public Library has a good collection. Spoken records are also available in the poetry room in the Firestone Library. To serve a newly created jazz course, a small jazz collection has been started; it is funded by a University Black Studies Program and, at present, is being used for course purposes only.

In deference to present day emphasis on scholarship in performance, an attempt is made to acquire all recordings of composers performing their own works. One of the most difficult problems in modern musicology has been the lack of information regarding the performance of much of the great music of the past. Before he died, Stravinsky succeeded in recording or in supervising the recording of his complete works so that future generations would know exactly how he wanted them performed. His example is being followed by many living composers who are also good performers. The Library includes all of Stravinsky's recordings of his own works and is gradually acquiring all recordings of significant contemporary composers performing their own works.

Since the Music Department emphasizes Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, and contemporary music, the Library is particularly strong on those periods. As far as the classical and romantic periods are concerned, its strength lies primarily in certain forms, such as opera, the symphony, and German and Austrian lieder, although it does possess the complete recorded works of all major composers of those periods.

The collection is a closed-stack library, with records arranged according to whether they are monaural, stereo, etc. and according to acquisition number. Call numbers consist of two letters representing the type of record, for example, "LP" for monaural, "LS" for stereo, and the number. Thus, "LP-2001" means "12" monaural, acquisition No. 2001.

Although the Library is a closed-stack one, the public card catalog provides easy access to it. The catalog is primarily by composer, so that, in most instances, one has to know the composer of a work before he can find it. Works are filed alphabetically, first by composer, then by form, such as concertos, operas, or sonatas, and then by individual title. Works of the same title are then filed alphabetically by performer. Cards representing anthologies, or collections, are filed separately by the most unifying element on the
record, usually the performer. In addition, each title on the record has its own catalog card under its composer, so that the borrower can find the work either by the collection title or by the individual work. There ought to be a catalog of performers, but inasmuch as each card is typed separately, there is not enough staff or time to do it.

The Library is for the use not only of the Music Department but of the whole University community. Princeton residents who are not connected with the University may borrow records by joining the “Friends of Music.” Most monaural and stereo records may be taken out of the building. There are duplicates of important recordings which do not circulate except to faculty members for teaching purposes. Furthermore, as important records become unavailable, they are taken out of circulation but may be used in the music building. All 78’s and tapes may be used in the building only.

Visitors are welcome to see and/or to inquire about the Library holdings and facilities.

—IDA ROSEN, Phonograph Record Librarian

THE PRINCETON PRESIDENCY: AN EXHIBITION

The challenges of the last decade to the governance of the modern university have brought into public view the grave burden of responsibility which the office of the university president imposes upon the incumbent. This year, and for the seventeenth time in its two-and-a-half-century history, Princeton asked a single man to face the awesome tasks of the presidency.

To highlight the change in administrations, the Library presented an exhibition which traced the history of the Princeton presidency from the days of Jonathan Dickinson to those of William Bowen; from an era of simplicity when the leadership of the college was an enterprise capable of being handled primarily by one man to the present situation in which the president of the University must guide a highly complex, culturally diverse institution, which has taken on new functions and adapted to new duties, and which today operates on the scale of a major corporation.

To exemplify the accelerating complexity of the leadership role the Library selected, from the University Archives and the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, various artifacts which demonstrate University growth and change including: documents describing curricular innovation such as the elective and preceptorial systems; paintings and photographs showing various stages of campus building and expansion; sesquicentennial memorabilia declaring the transition from collegiate to university status; a scrapbook and letters describing the establishment of the graduate school; and various reports detailing the development of new departments and policies.

While describing the evolution and changing character of the office, the exhibition also demonstrated that certain challenges were not unique to the contemporary university president. Throughout its history, the Princeton president has faced university financial pressure, national and international crises, and faculty-student-administration differences.

The exhibition reflected universal presidential problems by displaying such items as a ticket for a lottery held in the 1700’s for the benefit of the College of New Jersey and photographs of new facilities constructed as a result of the Robert Goheen (1957-72) fund raising campaigns; a John Witherspoon (1766-94) sermon of exhortation to Revolutionary War patriots and newspaper articles describing Harold Dodds’ (1933-57) leadership in mobilizing the campus for World War II; documents analyzing the student riots of 1817 and posters of student demonstrations of 1971.

“The Princeton Presidency” exhibition was shown in the Library’s main gallery from December, 1972 through February, 1973.

—EDITH BLENDON, Acting University Archivist
Friends of the Princeton University Library

THE COUNCIL

The Winter meeting of the Council was held in the Friends Room of the Firestone Library on November 30, 1972. The Chairman announced that William H. Sword '46 and Peter A. Benoliel '53 had accepted his invitation to fill respectively the vacancies in the Council caused by the deaths of Dean Mathey '12 and Albert J. Parreño '41.

The Chairman received from the Council its permission to appoint Frederick L. Arnold, Assistant University Librarian for Reference, Secretary of the Friends. Mr. Arnold succeeds Earle E. Coleman, University Archivist, who is on leave of absence for two years.

The Council approved the transfer of $10,000 from the free balance of the Friends Operating Account to the Acquisitions Committee Fund, with $8,000 of this amount being designated for general purchases and $2,000 for additions to the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelist.

The Council also approved the report submitted by Mr. Scheide as chairman of a committee appointed to consider the raising of dues. In accordance with that committee’s recommendation, the following changes in the dues structure will go into effect with the year beginning July 1, 1973: the Annual dues will be raised from $10.00 to $15.00, the Sustaining from $15.00 to $25.00, the Subscribing from $25.00 to $50.00, and the Student from $3.75 to $5.00. The Benefactor and Patron memberships will remain at the present figures of $100.00 and $500.00 respectively.

Mr. Huber, Chairman of the Membership Committee, reported a decrease in the number of members, the active membership as of November 30, 1972, standing at 1,242.

FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1939, is an association of individuals interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other material which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

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

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

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Chairmen will welcome inquiries and suggestions

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