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On 10 September 1816 the Whig M.P. Peter Moore sent Sheridan's son Tom, who was living in South Africa, a long and emotionally charged account of his father's funeral:

He left us on the 7th July, and was interred, in Westminster Abbey, in that division of the Abbey allotted to the Poets, on the 12th, where His Remains crown and form the Key Stone of all the Great Talents deposited there; literally so; for, we had difficulty to find room for Him, and there is not Room for another Coffin of the least Size. . . . The uninvited was by far the largest proportion of the Company who attended the Remains to the Grave. But, indep[

1] Peter Moore to Thomas Sheridan, 10 September 1816. Holograph letter in the Robert H. Taylor Collection. Unless otherwise noted, all subsequent quotations are drawn from Taylor holdings.
Moore's description accurately reflects the three principal facets of an extraordinary career. The grave in Poet's Corner testifies to Sheridan's achievement as comic dramatist, the creation of Mrs. Malaprop and Joseph Surface; the list of official monikers reminds us of his prominent political role as the associate of Fox and courageous opponent of Pitt; the crowd of theatrical people draws our attention to the manager of Drury Lane, man who succeeded David Garrick and launched Mrs. Siddons and "Great Talents, Public Character, and Public Conduct": a range of achievement summarized by Moore is likewise documented in the Robert H. Taylor Collection, which contains the unquestionably finest Sheridan archive in the world. The Taylor library has long been rich in manuscript materials, but with the recent acquisition from Bernard Quaritch Ltd. of the Pickering and Chatto Collection, it now boasts an unrivaled assortment of printed texts as well. According to Theodore Hofmar this collection "was formed over many years (but mainly before the War) by the systematic hoarding of all the different editions of Sheridan which came to the firm, then perhaps the preeminent dealers in eighteenth-century English literature." London. . . . Alongside the primary texts, Pickering's also assembled a small collection of biographies, memoirs, and other Sheridaniana." Thanks to this purchase, which swells its Sheridan holdings by 690 items, the Taylor Collection must now be considered indispensable to every kind of scholarly enterprise, critical, biographical, and bibliographical.

In the first two categories the Taylor Collection is preeminent in the third very nearly self-sufficient. The literary critic will find Sheridan's undated "Essay on the Genius of Pope," the original, privately printed edition of "An Ode to the Genius of Scandal," a varied assortment of autograph poetry, and a superb array of dramatic manuscripts. The biographer will wish to exploit the well-nourished files of letters, bills, notebook and other family papers, not to mention a sumptuous gathers edition of Moore's Life and other early memoirs. And to the bibliographer, enumerative or analytical, the Taylor Collection offers riches beyond compare—a banquet of texts unique in quantity and quality. So extensive and significant are all these holdings, in fact, that it would be impossible within brief space to do them justice. The following essay undertakes a highly selective tour through the archive, with emphasis on those documents that do most to illuminate Sheridan's three careers—dramatic, managerial, and political. But first, in the words of the Guides Michelin, "un peu d'histoire."

After eloping to France and fighting two duels with a disgruntled rival, Richard Brinsley Sheridan (1751-1816) married the beautiful young singer Elizabeth Linley and set out to make a living by his pen. Although opening night (17 January 1775) was not a success, The Rivals in its revised form immediately established Sheridan's reputation as a rising young playwright. Later that same year Sheridan and his father-in-law, the composer Thomas Linley, collaborated on The Duenna, a comic opera that proved to be one of the most successful entertainments of the century. In 1776 Sheridan and two partners bought David Garrick's half of the patent for Drury Lane. At the end of his first season as manager, he produced The School for Scandal (1777), which set the seal on his reputation as playwright and launched the new regime with a lucrative flourish. The Critic (1779), a farcical afterpiece, marked the end of Sheridan's creative period. It is seldom remembered that all the plays upon which his fame is based were written before he was 30. In terms of his reputation as dramatist, therefore, the rest of Sheridan's life represents a period of false hopes and frustrating stagnation.

The longest and least charted of Sheridan's three careers began in 1780 when he was elected M.P. for Stafford. He retained a seat in the House of Commons until 1812. Most of those 32 years were spent in Opposition: only in 1782-1783, and again in 1806, did he hold governmental office. Sheridan's parliamentary reputation was based largely on his oratorical powers and his friendship with the Prince of Wales, whom he advised during the Regency Crisis of 1788-1789 (see Plate 1). In practical terms the ardent quest for political eminence was a disaster: Sheridan drew his income entirely from the theatre, which could not stand up to the financial strain placed upon it. Buried under an ever-increasing load of debts, he could bring himself neither to purge and leave sack nor to give up his place in Parliament. Thomas Moore convincingly attributes this imprudence to Sheridan's "proud consciousness of having surmounted the disadvantages of birth and station, and placed himself on a level with the highest and noblest of the land. This
footing in the society of the great he could only have attai
by parliamentary eminence;—as a mere writer, with all his
nues, he never would have been thus admitted ad eundem am
them.”

When Mrs. Siddons and her brother J. P. Kemble delec
to Covent Garden Theatre in 1803, the reputation of Dr
Lane went into an irreversible decline. Sheridan managed
stay afloat until 1809, when the building was destroyed by f
In 1812 his parliamentary career ended, and with it immur
to prosecution for debt. The last years of his life are espe-
cially painful to contemplate: alcoholic, impoverished, and desen-
by many of his friends, “Old Sherry” had dwindled into
object of ridicule and pity. While repenting his faults, howev
he acknowledged few regrets: “I yet preserve my own self-
tea—and hold it beyond all Price or Purchase, nor would
exchange the recollection of acts of kindness gentleness a
benevolence which without ostentation I have in my Life dor
the accompanied with all my carelessnesses, for the more in
posing character which others may have acquired by more pr
dent and punctual Habits than I have had the good fortune
cultivate” (to Esther Sheridan, 20 April 1810).

PLAYWRIGHT

Like Shakespeare Sheridan left to posterity the task of col-
clecting his plays and publishing an accurate text. As he con-
tessed to his wife, “I never yet own’d or allow’d the printing of
ting Poems or Speeches but two things to both which I put my name—viz. The Critic and a Political Pamphlet on the
airs of India” (215 October 1814). That Sheridan was indeed
satisfied with the publication of The Critic is further attested by
two rare presentation copies of the first edition: one a gift to
the duchess of Rutland (see Plate 5), the other to George Steevens. The Critic is a unique exception, however: as a rule Sheridan
was forever tinkering, forever refusing to complete his revision
and issue an authorized version. An obsessive yet indolent per
fectionist, he was caught between his high standards and his
incorrigible laziness: “What I write in a Hurry I always feel to
be not worth reading, and what I try to take Pains with, I an
sure never to finish.” The inevitable result for such a popular
ramatist was a rash of unofficial texts, out and out piracies, and
(in the case of The School for Scandal) a bewildering variety of
manuscripts that circulated in lieu of a definitive printed
version.

Nevertheless there is some evidence to suggest that Sheridan
did not simply consign his children to the wolves. It seems
reasonably certain, for instance, that he read proof for the first
edition of The Rivals. Bibliographers have long recognized that
[*P2* is a cancel—an oddity to be explained, Cecil Price surmised,
by Sheridan’s desire to insert an extra sentence in a speech by
Sir Lucius O’Trigger. Thanks to a previously undiscovered
copy of the cancellandum, however, we now know that 15 lines
of dialogue were dropped—cause for a major repair (see Plates
3 and 4). Sheridan also appears to have watched over the third
edition of The Rivals, a copy of which is now in the Taylor
Collection. Eight brief passages have been excised; two of these
deletions sharpen the characterization of Julia and Lydia, and
several others quicken the pace of the play.

With one major exception the manuscripts of Sheridan’s origi-
nal dramatic works have disappeared: The Rivals had vanished
by the time Thomas Moore set out to write his biography, and
St. Patrick’s Day, The Duenna, and The Critic were lost at sea in
the 1930s. Fortunately the most important manuscripts of The
School for Scandal have found safe haven at Princeton. They
allow us to trace the evolution of Sheridan’s masterpiece from
its earliest stages—a sheet of jottings (see Plate 5) and two sepa-
rate playlets (“Sir Peter Teazle” and “The Slanderers”),
which were conflated and amplified to produce the play as we know
it. The single most precious document in the Taylor Sheridan
archive is the holograph Frampton Court manuscript of The
School for Scandal, the draft of the play that served as copy text

To study these foul-papers is to enter Sheridan’s dramatur-
gical workshop: from the very first stirrings of inspiration to the
high polish of the final version, we can observe at each juncture
“the fastidious care with which he selected, arranged, and

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5 Memoir of the Life of the Right Honourable Richard Brinsley Sheridan (London: Long

4 The Letters of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, ed. Cecil Price (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
1966), vol. 1, pp. 121-122.

CRITIC
OR
A Tragedy. Rehearsed
A Dramatic Piece
in three ACTS
as it is performed at the
THEATRE ROYAL in DRURY LANE

Richard Brinsley Sheridan Esq.

LONDON.
Printed for T. Becket, Adelphi, Strand,
MDCCLXXXI.

Plate 2. Presentation copy of The Critic
inscribed by Sheridan to the duchess of Rutland ("Stella")
with a quotation from Virgil's Eclogues
The Robert H. Taylor Collection
of the dictionary!—for the devil a word dare refuse coming at her call—thou' one would think it was quite out of hearing.

Lucy. Aye, Sir, a lady of her experience.

Sir Luc. Experience! what, at seventeen?

Lucy. O true, Sir—but then she reads so—my stars! how she will read off-hand!

Sir Luc. Faith, she must be very deep read to write this way—thou' she is rather an arbitrary writer too—for here are a great many poor words pressed into the service of this note, that would get their *babeas corpus* from any court in Chriftendom.——Well, my pretty girl, (gives her money) here's a little something to buy you a ribband; and meet me in the evening, and I'll give you an answer to this. So, hussy, take a kifs before-hand, to put you in mind.

(Kisses her.)

Lucy. O lud! Sir Lucius—I never feed such a gerrman! My lady won't like you if you're so impudent.

Sir Luc. Faith she will, Lucy—that fame—pho! what's the name of it?——*Modify!*——is a quality in a lover more praised by the women than liked; so, if your mistress asks you whether Sir Lucius ever gave you a kifs, tell her *fifty*—my dear.

Lucy. What would you have me tell her a lie?

Sir Luc. Ah then, you baggage! I'll make it a truth presently.

Lucy. For shame now; here is some one coming.

Sir Luc. O faith, I'll quiet your conscience.

[Sets Fag.—Exit, humming a Tune.

Enter Fag.

Fag. So, so, Ma'am. I humbly beg pardon.

Lucy. O lud!—now, Mr. Fag—you flurry one so.

Fag. Come, come, Lucy, here's no one bye—fo a little less simiplicity, with a grain or two more F 2 sincerity

Plate 3. Cancellandum F*, first edition of *The Rivals* (1775)

The Robert H. Taylor Collection

A COMEDY.

of the dictionary!—for the devil a word dare refuse coming at her call—thou' one would think it was quite out of hearing.

Lucy. Aye, Sir, a lady of her experience.

Sir Luc. Experience! what, at seventeen?

Lucy. O true, Sir—but then she reads so—my stars! how she will read off-hand!

Sir Luc. Faith, she must be very deep read to write this way—thou' she is rather an arbitrary writer too—for here are a great many poor words pressed into the service of this note, that would get their *babeas corpus* from any court in Chriftendom.——However, when affection guides the pen, Lucy, he must be a brace who finds fault with the style.

Lucy. Ah! Sir Lucius, if you were to hear how the talks of you!

Sir Luc. O tell her, I'll make her the best husband in the world, and Lady O'Trigger into the bargain!—But we must get the old gentlewoman's consent—and do every thing fairly.

Lucy. Nay, Sir Lucius, I thought you wasn't rich enough to be so nice!

Sir Luc. Upon my word, young woman, you have hit it:—I am so poor that I can't afford to do a dirty action.—If I did not want money I'd steal your mistrefs and her fortune with a great deal of pleasure.—However, my pretty girl, (gives her money) here's a little something to buy you a ribband; and meet me in the evening, and I'll give you an answer to this. So, hussy, take a kifs before-hand, to put you in mind.

(Kisses her.)

Lucy. O lud! Sir Lucius—I never feed such a gerrman! My lady won't like you if you're so impudent.

Sir Luc. Faith she will, Lucy—that same—pho! what's the name of it?——*Modify!*——is a quality in a lover more praised by the women than liked; so, if your mistress asks you whether Sir Lucius ever gave you a kifs, tell her *fifty*—my dear

Plate 4. Cancellans *F*, first edition of *The Rivals*

The Robert H. Taylor Collection
moulded his language.” One example, a speech by Crabtree in Act v, epitomizes this process of refinement. In “Sir Peter Teazle” the scandalmongers manufacture a false report of a duel between Sir Peter and Charles Surface:

We all agree that Sr Peter is mortally wounded. Sr the Ball struck against his Hat—grazed out of the window [“a Bronze Figure on the Chimney” added above] and what’s very remarkable—wounded the Postman who had just knock’d at the Door with a letter from his Brother in Northamptonshire—I have heard it from a Person who walk’d bye at the Time—He has never been home yet—Here He comes let him be put to bed directly.

By the time of the Frampton Court manuscript Sheridan has rearranged and heightened this speech to compose a graded crescendo of comic improbability:

Sr Peter forced Charles to take one and they fired—it seems pretty nearly together—Charles’s shot took Place as I tell you—and Sr Peter’s miss’d—but what is very extraordinary the Ball struck against a little Bronze Pliny that stood over the Fire Place—grazed out of the window at a right angle—and wounded the Postman who was just coming to the Door with a double letter from Northamptonshire.

The process of fine tuning continues into the later manuscripts: in the Second Crewe text, for example, “Fire Place” has been altered to “Chimney peice.” The proliferation and gradual corruption of texts after the première are reflected in four other Taylor items: a prompt copy (the Banbury ms) and three manuscripts from Pickering and Chatto, none of the latter known to the Oxford editor of the play. The best of these recent acquisitions, a quarto manuscript dated 1780, offers a generally reliable text with affinities to the Second Crewe and Buckinghamshire manuscripts.

MANAGER

To extend the comparison with Shakespeare: Sheridan was on all occasions a canny man of the theatre, a playwright who

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crafted his works with one eye on a cry of players and the other on box office receipts. His _School for Scandal_, the finest play produced in England between the death of Congreve and the rise of Wilde, is also the best example in English dramatic history of a manager's comedy—a theatre piece cunningly tailored to the strengths of a particular group of actors and in tune with the tastes of a given audience. Long after the creative phase of his life had ended, Sheridan retained the ability to serve up successful occasional drama—to catch the mood of the moment and give the public what it wanted, and show off his Drury Lane troupe to greatest advantage.

The first of Sheridan's crowd-pleasing ventures was produced at Drury Lane in 1778. An operetta called _The Camp_, "this worthy trifle," as Moore called it, was a topical entertainment designed to exploit patriotic sentiment while fears of a French invasion were running high. The extent of Sheridan's contribution cannot be determined: the most plausible theory is that he collaborated on the script with his brother-in-law Richetta Tickell. The Taylor manuscript of _The Camp_ is a prompt copy in Tickell's hand, with part of a cast list and various corrections by Sheridan. The most interesting of these is an addition to a speech by the Serjeant: "Now here's a fellow made for a Soldier—there's a leg for a Spatterdash—with an eye like the King of Prussia's!" Underneath "eye like" Sheridan has written "Bloodspill," a word unrecorded in the OED but presumably variant of "bloodshot."

Three years later Drury Lane mounted an elaborate pantomime, _Robinson Crusoe_, whose first act was based on Defoe's tale with the addition of Harlequin Friday, Pantaloon, and Pierrot. The second act, however, took place in Spain. According to the published summary, _A Short Account of the Situations and Incidents Exhibited in the Pantomime of Robinson Crusoe_, "The story being no longer pursued in the remainder of the representation, is only necessary to add, that Friday being invested with all the powers of Harlequin, after many fanciful distresses, and the usual pantomimical revolutions, receives his final reward in the hand of Columbine." These "fanciful distresses" included in prison by the Inquisition, the "pantomimical revolutions: the transformation of a fat friar into a barrel of wine. The authorship of _Robinson Crusoe_ (if that is the correct term for such a travesty) has been attributed both to Sheridan alone and to Sheridan assisted by his wife and her circle.

The Taylor Collection also contains Sheridan's autograph notes for _The Glorious First of June_, a brief entertainment rushed onto the stage in July 1794 to celebrate England's recent naval victory over the French, and to raise money for the families of those killed in battle. This _pièce d'occasion_, even more ephemeral than _The Camp_, was concocted by Sheridan and James Cobb. Sheridan's draft provides a scenario for the first scene and a brief account of the rest of the entertainment. It is docketed by Thomas Moore: "A Sketch for a Piece which seems to have been intended as a Sequel to No Song no Supper, and probably meant as an occasional allusion to the War." The Pickering and Chatto Collection brought to Princeton the only known manuscript of _The Forty Thieves_, a "Grand Arabian Melo-Dramatic Romance" devised by Sheridan, George Colman the younger, Charles Ward, and Michael Kelly (see Plate 6). Sheridan's principal contribution seems to have been the drafting of a scenario based on _The Thousand and One Nights_. This extravaganza was produced in April 1806, with all the spectacular effects that Drury Lane could boast. The stage directions preceding the Grand Finale exemplify its style: "A Thunderbolt strikes Orcobrand, who sinks with friends through the stage. Abdullah and Zeley released from their chains, come forward—Morgiana embraces Zeley—Ardinelle descends, waves her wand, the scene changes to a Splendid Fairy Palace and Silver-lake. Naiads Zephyrs and Cupids floating in Emblematic Cars, Shells etc. on the Lake, Gossamer leads on Sylphs Fairies etc." According to R. Crompton Rhodes, _The Forty Thieves_ "was destined to become the model of that least literary of theatrical productions, the Victorian Christmas 'speaking pantomime."

Sheridan took sole responsibility for another ambitious and lucrative melodrama, his adaptation of Kotzeby's _Die Spanier in Peru_, which opened on 25 May 1799 and remained a staple item in Drury Lane's repertoire for 60 years. Success was snatched from the jaws of disaster, however: so dilatory was Sheridan in completing _Don Pizarro_ that on opening night Charles Kemble and Mrs. Siddons had yet to receive their lines for the final scenes. The Taylor archive contains a rare fragment

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of one of Sheridan's drafts, which shows him departing from the original to create a new speech for the Peruvian commander Alonzo:

... to the hopes of anxious industry. This I should say is my work. Next I would tell how baneful Customs, corrupting Idleness and superstitious strange and sullen would often scatter and dismay the credulous Hearts of these deluded Innocents. And then would I point out to him where now in happy bonded Villages they live like Brethren social and confiding, while thro' the burning Day content sits basking on the cheek of Toil, 'til laughing Pastime leads them to the hour of tranquil Rest. This too is mine—and prouder still I would at that still closing moment of the exhausted Day belonging not to labour mirth or ...

This piece of rhetorical bombast, tricked out with stale personifications, thudding iambics, and sub-Shakespearean diction, amply confirms the judgments of Sheridan's modern biographer Lewis Gibbs, who argues that the playwright's "taste in the sublime was uncertain—he could not be trusted to distinguish the true from the false." A talent for comic repartee does not necessarily translate into a gift for tragic declamation: throughout Don Pizarro the perfect pitch on display in the drafts of School for Scandal has turned into tone deafness. But contemporary audiences were thrilled, and Rollo's speech of resistance to the Spaniards, one of the play's most histrionic climaxes, found a new incarnation as a popular broadside (see Plate 7).

Sheridan's theatrical flair extended to the doctoring of other people's projects and the writing of prologues and epilogues to their plays. The Taylor Collection witnesses to both such activities. The manuscript of Act 1 of a play called "The Statesman," probably by John Dent, includes extensive corrections and amplifications in Sheridan's hand (see Plate 8). Most of the first scene, for instance, has been scored through, and on the facing pages Sheridan has contributed a sprightly dialogue of his own invention. When "Fertile" describes "Sir Peter Parade" to "Sprightly," we are back in the world of The Rivals or The Critic:

SHERIDAN'S ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE.

Our King! our Country!
And our God!

My brave Associates—Partners of my Toil, my Feelings, and my Fame!—can Words add Vigour to the VIRTUOUS ENERGIES which inspire your Hearts?—No—YOU have judged as I have, the Follies of the cRAFTY Plea by which these bold INVADERS would delude you—Your generous Spirit has compared, as mine has, the MOTIVES which, in a War like this, can animate their Minds, and ours.—They, by a strange Frenzy driven, fight for Power, for Plunder, and extended Rule—WE, for our Country, our Altars, and our Homes.—They follow an ADVENTURER, whom they fear—and obey a Power which they hate—we serve a Monarch whom we love—a God whom we adore.—When-e'er they move in anger, Desolation tracks their Progrefs!—Where'e'r they pause in Amity, Affliction mourns their Friendship!—They boast, they come but to improve our State, enlarge our Thoughts, and free us from the Yoke of Error!—Yes—they will give enlightened Freedom to our Minds, who are themselves the Slaves of Passion, Avarice, and Pride.—They offer us their Protection—Yes, such Protection as Vultures give to Lambs—covering and devouring them!—They call on us to barter all of Good we have inherited and proved, for the desperate Chance of Something better which they promise.—Be our plain Answer this: The Throne we honour is the PEOPLE'S CHOICE—the Laws we reverence are our brave Fathers' Legacy—The Faith we follow teaches us to live in Bonds of Charity with all Mankind, and die with Hope of Bliss beyond the Grave. Tell your Invaders this; and tell them too, we seek no Change; and, least of all, such Change as they would bring us.

R. B. SHERIDAN.

His father carried a Greyhound at his button, and his mother kept a Coffee-house by the Court of Requests—so He was born a Politician on both sides—He served half an apprenticeship to an Attorney's Desk and then rose to be a train-bearer's Deputy to one of the judges.—by the Interest of an old Friend of his mothers he soon after got into a clerkship in one of the public offices—from whence by marrying a woman whose brother had married a girl whose uncle had a relation whose first cousin had interest in a borough He rose till he became a commissioner of hackney coaches—here he received a disappointment from government and having a good fortune with his wife he procured himself to be knighted—and retired in Disgust.

The gift for witty improvisation at work in this speech also informs the prologues and epilogues Sheridan contributed to a wide variety of plays, from William Woodfall's Sir Thomas Overbury to Lady Craven's The Miniature Picture. How many requests went unfilled can only be guessed. Sheridan was notoriously unreliable, as the following letter and its docket make clear:

My dear Sir,

As I have at present a great deal of scribbling on my hands, I won't lose time in attacking, as I should otherwise do, your doubtful manner of asking me for so trifling a thing as a prologue—l shall set about it immediately, and shall be very happy if I can produce anything on the hint you give, if not, you must be content with what comes.

On the back of the letter an anonymous hand has written sardonically: "Richd Brinsley Sheridan promising a prologue, which of course never was written." Prologues unwritten, debts unpaid, ambitions unfilled: the theme of expectation gone sour runs like a leitmotif through all the records of Sheridan's life.

POLITICIAN

Sheridan's rise to political prominence in his middle 30s paralleled his astonishing burst of creativity in his middle 20s. In both careers the laurels came soon and withered long. By 1790,
a mere decade after he had entered the House of Commons, the manager-M.P. had become a household word—like his associates Fox and Burke an object of admiration, jealousy, and suspicion. Sheridan owed this early fame to his prominent role in two parliamentary dramas, the impeachment and trial of Warren Hastings, ex-governor general of India, and the crisis that developed in 1788 when George III suddenly went out of his mind. A long manuscript report of the examination of Nathaniel Middleton, Resident of Lucknow under Hastings, shows that Sheridan was involved from the earliest stages of prosecution in the Commons. This report, a folio document of some 300 pages, bears his annotations on 26 pages. Most of the notes consist of such hostile questions as, "Did you not use Force when it could be used?" Sheridan collected and marshaled evidence with great industry: when it came time to move the charge concerning the Begums of Oude, he inveighed against Hastings for over five hours, and with such brilliance that "Mr. Sheridan's speech was acknowledged, on all sides of the House, to be the most astonishing effort of eloquence, argument, and wit united, of which there is any record or tradition."

The thoroughly inadequate report of this oration, The Genuine Speech... against Warren Hastings, establishes that Sheridan made good use of the preliminary hearings in which he had participated: "I now come to the evidence of Mr. Middleton, every part of which proves, that the transactions so much the subject of reprobation were performed by Mr. Hastings' orders." During the actual trial in Westminster Hall, Sheridan prosecuted the same charge: his speech was spread over four days, and lasted even longer than the House of Commons address. Once again we have only a meager record of one of the most famous orations of the century. Three different pamphlet versions have been discovered, all of them now at Princeton.

A brief but suggestive note in the Taylor files takes us to the heart of the Regency Crisis and Sheridan's behind-the-scenes involvement with Whiggish schemes:

Dr Sir,

I beg you will take care not to suffer anything whatever to be inserted in your Paper respecting the State of the Kings Health—it is the Principes particular Desire.

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Gentleman's Magazine 57 (March 1787), 246-247.
The note is addressed to the bookseller John Almon, who being paid £300 per annum by the Opposition to insert an aganda in his newspaper, *The General Advertiser.* Such a arrangement was by no means unusual: in 1788 four other papers were under contract to the Whigs. Sheridan wrote Almon as the party's business manager and the closest confidant of the prince of Wales, who was intriguing to be named prime minister and thereby to replace Pitt's administration with one made up of Fox and his supporters. The urgent tone of the note, which is undated, suggests that it comes from the later stages of the crisis, when the king's health had begun to improve and the Whigs were doing everything possible to deny his accession.

Sheridan’s hopes for a cabinet post vanished with the king’s recovery. This bitter disappointment proved to be only the beginning of several almost-but-not-quite occasions when the door of the political power and financial ease was slammed in his face. When Sheridan lost his Commons seat the last of three once-illustrious political identities disappeared. People began to speak of him as a beaten man. One night in December 1813, Lord Byron, an ardent admirer of the Cockney drama, delivered an impromptu funeral eulogy. He exaggerated it may have been, but Byron’s oratory manages to summarize Sheridan’s claims on post and the Taylor Collection goes far toward upholding:

Whatever Sheridan has done or chosen to do has been, *excellence,* always the best of its kind. He has written the best comedy (School for Scandal) the best drama (the best farce, for example, the Critic—it is only too good for a farce), and the best Addresses (Monologue on Garrick), and, to crown it all, delivered the very best Oration (the famous Beguiling Speech) ever conceived or heard in this country.

“Somebody told S. this the next day,” Byron added in his journal, “and on hearing it he burst into tears!”


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Journal at Nassau Hall

The Diary of John Rhea Smith, 1786

*By Ruth L. Woodward*

On January 1, 1786, two roommates in Nassau Hall, John Rhea Smith and James Gibson, began journals describing the everyday events in their lives as students at the College of New Jersey, which was actually occupied by the president’s son-in-law, Professor Samuel Stanhope Smith, and his family. The students not only lived in Nassau Hall, but their recreation rooms, library, chapel, and refectory were there as well. The entryways served as makeshift gymnasiums where spirited games of battledore, shuttlecock, and hoop took place.

Life in these closely circumscribed quarters was usually routine and certainly dull by more modern standards. This small society of males lived an almost cloistered existence. There were no organized sports and few diversions off the campus. But there were occasional holidays and celebrations, and there were the weekly meetings of the two debating societies, the American Whig Society and the Cliosophic Society. Almost all students joined one of the societies, which provided the only organized extracurricular activities available. There was also endless informal visiting from room to room in spite of the restrictions that set aside certain hours for quiet study. There were occa—
sional outside visitors stopping overnight in Princeton on a journey between New York and Philadelphia, and they brought news of home and the outside world.

John Rhea Smith was the eldest son of Susannah Bayard and Jonathan Bayard Smith, Class of 1760, a wealthy and socially prominent Philadelphia merchant who assumed Bayard as his middle name to comply with provisions of his father-in-law's will. John and his younger brother Samuel Harrison Smith entered the preparatory school run by the University of the State of Pennsylvania on January 1, 1781. By the fall of 1785 they were considered sufficiently well prepared for college, and their father, who was a member of the board of trustees of both institutions, diplomatically sent Samuel to the University of Pennsylvania and John to the College of New Jersey, where he entered as a member of the junior class. It was not at all unusual for students to matriculate as juniors. Class placement was determined by examination and required thorough training in the classics.

A letter to John from brother Sammy, written shortly after the former's arrival in Princeton, suggests that John was initially quite homesick. Sammy wrote news of the family and the latest political developments in Philadelphia. John, however, had plenty of acquaintances at the college. James Gibson, who probably received his early training at the same school, was also from Philadelphia, where his father served as mayor from 1771 to 1772. The Snowden brothers—Samuel, Nathaniel, Charles, and Gilbert—were also old Philadelphia friends. Their father, Isaac Snowden, was a prominent merchant in the city. As trustees of the College he and Jonathan Bayard Smith were frequently placed on the same committees; perhaps their proximity made it convenient for them to work together. John Bayard, cousin of the deceased Mrs. Smith, referred to as "Uncle Bayard" by John Smith, was also a member of the board of trustees, and the three men must have frequently traveled together between Philadelphia and Princeton.

Smith's diary provides many details of daily life in Princeton in 1786. He discusses diet, curriculum, weather, recreation, visitors to the campus, and the local girls he sees while strolling through the town. In quoting excerpts an effort has been made here to maintain a balance between preserving the feeling of the daily routine of the campus, occasionally lightened by spe-

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*The letter is in the Peter Force Collection at the Library of Congress.*
cial events, and eliminating many repetitive entries. The age of the students was lower than that of college students today, and to a modern reader the activities described seem more typical of a boarding school than a college. Smith appears to have been a gregarious young man with plenty of friends. Probably an average student, he was a great procrastinator, visiting back and forth with friends rather than settling down to study. He resolved to study more, to go to bed earlier, to rise earlier, to waste less time socializing with his friends, to do more exercise, and generally to become more organized. Time after time a notation appears saying, "go to bed with doing anything" or "study none" or "study scarcely at all." It seems to have been a likable youth, and one can only sympathize when once again he falls asleep while studying, only to wake in time to go to bed.

A journal, of course, is a private manuscript, often written hurriedly. There seems to be no point in perpetuating spelling errors. Some of Smith's abbreviations have been written out to make the entries easier to read. He seldom used periods, employed dashes, using them indiscriminately after almost every phrase. Periods have been inserted in some cases, again to facilitate reading and understanding the diary entries. Omissions within quotes are indicated by ellipses, but not every entry is quoted and not all of those selected are quoted in full. The intent is to give the reader a feeling of what it was like to be a junior at Nassau Hall in 1786.

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January 1 fell on a Sunday that year, and so the New Year was not observed until the following day.

2d Monday, a holiday for New Year which I was glad of to prepare my recitation—disappointed studying in the morning after prayers by the lads who came in to make ball to play with on the ice—good skating and all the boys of College preparing to spend the day agreeably & myself not determined whether to go or not. Returned from breakfast determined to study & [word skipped] the morning but exercise in the afternoon, roommate goes off, leaves me a little dispirited & almost alone in College, my attention diverted from study, visit Reed's room, see Snowden & Clarkson, wish to accompany them, return to my room & find the lads. Bell, go down to a new year dinner—Tutor absent not much confusion. Return from dinner not very well, company in my room, not able to study, Higgins proposes an excursion we decline it from the badness of the day.

"Tutor absent not much confusion" is a revealing remark, since one of the duties of the tutor was to keep order in the dining hall, and his absence usually resulted in a great deal of confusion and sometimes horseplay. Nathaniel Higginson, the only New Englander in the Class of 1787, became one of Smith's closest friends and later married his cousin Sarah Rhea of Philadelphia.

3 Tuesday After recitation Desirous of seeing S Snowden return from City—gratified, brings some articles up much wanted, two letters, very much pleased with one from Polly the subject, Ladies, & D Barton,—entertain myself with pleasing hopes of home and of again enjoying Female company.

Samuel Snowden was one of seven Snowden brothers who attended the College of New Jersey. Samuel, Class of 1786, Nathaniel, Class of 1787, and Charles, Class of 1789, were all students at the College in 1786, and Gilbert, Class of 1783 was in residence as tutor. Polly was Smith's younger sister Mary Ann. Letters and packages from home were delivered by friends traveling from Philadelphia, and members of the Snowden family visited back and forth frequently.

6 Friday After dinner write out my oration & begin to prepare it for same day week, pleased at receiving 3 pretty good ones from T Grant.

Classmate Thomas Grant was to become a Presbyterian minister and spend most of his adult life serving the two churches in Amwell Township, Hunterdon County, New Jersey. There was nothing either unusual or unethical in Grant's giving or lending orations to Smith to copy. It was the oratorical delivery that was
considered important, rather than the originality of a spec
Dramatic orations were frequently copied from the classic
from speeches of contemporary political or literary figures

7th Saturday—Hear the knocking & answer it but fa
asleep again—don’t wake till 2d bell done, get up in a gre
hurry—go into Hall unbuttoned, not time to light candi
nor unrake fire near being tardy—return begin my cor
position, not finnished at recitation time, which disples
me. Green don’t come to recitation till after limited tim
all but 2 or 3 of the Class disperse & I have time to finn
it—resolve not to be so caught at prayers or recitation fo
the future—11 o’clock put on coat & shoes which I had no
time to do before—at 12 o’clock walk with M Clymer t
Stonybrook, both pleased with the walk and determine
to repeat it again, return after a good run just time for
dinner.

Dinner was the midday meal, served at 1:00 PM. The abr
awakening came at 5:00 AM with the ringing of a bell, wt
was reinforced by a knocking at each student’s door by on
the College servants. Prayers, with required attendance, w
at 5:30. There was then time to study until breakfast at 8
Whatever time was left between breakfast and the 9:00 o’cl
recitation was the student’s own. Afternoon hours were u
for walks or other forms of recreation and more study. Ever
prayers were at 5:00 and supper at 6:00, after which the
dents were supposed to study in their rooms. It seems to h
already been a well-established custom that students were
quired to wait only a limited time for an instructor to ap
in the classroom.

8th Sunday—Meeting Time—Go with the Students hear
Sermon of Dr. Smiths, not very animated—think I observ
a disagreeable monotony.—Mr. Green not at recitatio
which if it had been my turn to write I know I should hav
been more pleased with.

Samuel Stanhope Smith, Class of 1769, son-in-law of Presi
John Witherspoon, was Professor of Moral Philosophy
Theology and was always referred to as Dr. Smith. He or
father-in-law usually filled the pulpit of the local Presbyte
church on Sunday mornings. Ashbel Green, Class of 1783, had
recently been promoted from tutor to Professor of Mathematics
and Natural Philosophy, and was called Mr. Green. Since the
junior year concentrated on mathematical studies, Green is fre-
nently mentioned in John Smith’s journal. Both Ashbel Green
and Stanhope Smith later became president of the College.
President Witherspoon was growing old and tired and blind.
He appears in the diary as the “Old Doctor,” still a figure of
authority, but benevolent and paternal, usually leaving the
younger faculty members to enforce the strict discipline.

The remaining faculty member was the hapless Gilbert Snow-
den. A classmate of Green’s, he was accorded much less respect
as a mere tutor and was always called by his first name. Besides
helping with the instruction of the freshman class he was re-
quired to maintain discipline in the dining room and to see that
the hours allotted for study were actually used for that purpose.
Not unnaturally, his presence was frequently resented. Snow-
den became a Presbyterian clergyman and married Ruth Lott
of Princeton, a young lady apparently greatly admired by Smith
and his classmates. His career and marriage were short-lived,
for he died in the yellow fever epidemic of 1797. Ashbel Green
must have been ill that January, for he was absent from the
class’s recitation again on Monday morning. On Tuesday,
told that Green was not coming to Recitation walk up some-
time after the bell & surprised to find him there, but pre-
pared for Recitation. He makes us offers that we cannot
accept with respect to preparing 4 books of Euclid for ex-
amination—take a short walk before dinner—after dinner
scuffle with Reed, Furman & Gibson in the entry enter the
Room & lock the door on Gibson who bursts it open &
falls—Gilbert sees him & enters the room immediately af-
fter—surprised me a good deal—he reproves it as im-
pudent & very wrong but at the same time scarcely keeps
from laughter, which I was pleased at as it showed he was not
very angry—. . . hear a considerable noise in College.

11 Wednesday . . . after [dinner] hear of the disorder in
College last night, occasioned by an explosion of Powder
close to Gilbert’s door. Gilbert in the beginning of the eve-
ning goes to Jones’s Room—Company assembled playing
& making a noise, Gilbert knocks—the key being mislaid
they can't find it, Gilbert bursts open the door but detects them in nothing bad, reproves their noise & retires leaving them vexed at his abruptness—Reed & myself leave supper together coming up pick up Graham & Coleman bring them along. Societies the Subject we differ in our views—they retire Reed & myself conclude to enter Society after examination—James Gibson in the Society. After Reed departure review 20 propositions 1st Book, set up for Roommate, don't go to bed till near 12.

John Read and James Bond Read were both classmates: friends of Smith, and it is frequently impossible to determine which one he is talking about. John, a son of George Read, signer of the Declaration of Independence, came from New Castle, Delaware, where he returned to practice law. James Read's family was originally from Delaware, but he was a native of South Carolina. He became a physician, practicing first in Charleston and then in Savannah, Georgia.

Thursday, January 12 was not a good day. "Reprove breakfast for a disorder in helping ourselves," Smith notes. "Juniors were then assigned 30 propositions to recite and Sn was asked one of the first "which I had neglected to rev before recitation, considerably embarrassed." This was also day scheduled for special orations, which were probably presented at the evening prayers.

My spirits a good deal sunk at the thought of examination so near & to speak the same night myself and a very difficult task for the next day—Meredith Clymer's company from 12 till 1 which disappointed me repeating my Speech to S Snowden, who I had desired to come between these hours—but he hears me after dinner & I think I derive considerable advantage from his remarks—near 5 oclock waiting for Barlow to dress me, at last obliged to run out of College to his house return just time enough before the bell not so much frustrated as I expected, go into the Hall Green prays, after, I mount first & but once prompted after Pollock a good deal prompted and after him James Reed who misses so much is obliged at last to make his bow & come off the stage without going thru with it.

It was probably Smith's hair or wig that needed dressing by tardy Barlow. Developing good oratorical skills was an important part of a college education, and it is probable that the orators wore academic gowns to dignify the occasion.

Friday the 13th was a slightly better day, but tension was mounting as the examination loomed closer.

James & myself resolve to rise at 4 oclock or before & go to bed earlier—study some little of English grammar tonight—Gilbert pops his head in & out of the room abruptly—make but a bad beginning in our new resolution after 10 oclock—enough for tonight—

On Saturday the roommates did rise at 4:00 to begin studying, but a visit from Meredith Clymer kept them up until well after 11:00. Clymer was the son of George Clymer, another wealthy Philadelphia merchant and signer of the Declaration of Independence. Meredith died at the age of 23. As a member of the volunteer First Troop of Philadelphia Cavalry he marched west hoping to subdue the antiexcise men in the Whiskey Rebellion. Although no one died in battle, some 50 of the Pennsylvania line became ill from cold and exposure. Clymer was one of six who succumbed.

15 Sunday—Go to meeting and resolve to return and not lose one moment in preparing for examination which it was likely would come on, on Tuesday... Disagreeably intruded upon by Company in the afternoon—and having put off revising too late, feel a good deal alarmed at it & determine to study & do nothing else till over. In the evening very agreeably informed that the Senior examination did [would] not begin till Tuesday which gives us till Wednesday to prepare.

16 Wednesday—Rise after 4 hours sleep, feel examination very near—fall to strenuously—after James & myself write all the Propositions on papers and draw them to see if we are perfectly prepared & also to accustom ourselves a little to it. We miss but a single one—near 10 oclock & take my clothes out to dress—but suddenly shocked with the bell—begin to tremble—but afterwards find it was to collect the Seniors before 10 in order to examine some that had been deficient in the last years study and had prepared them—return to room and have time to dress myself before 10 oclock. At the time we all march in like so many criminals.
Faculty take their seats formally & we extend in a great circle round the room, 26 of us.

This description of the examinations certainly confirms speculations that examinations at that time were always oral or with the students responding in answers they had learned by rote.

19 Thursday—Hear the knocking in the morning but go asleep again, waked by the 2nd bell scramble up in the dark. James don't attempt to get up & dress time enough but I resolve not to miss prayers once & huddle on it, clothes any how & push into Hall, open & unbuttoned, that by far the coldest morning of the season, escape being tardy. Feel very happy at being over examination & hear that no recitations were to be made in this week, do not feel disposed to study, seem to think I had worked pretty well & ought to have a little rest.

Smith apparently felt so in need of a rest that it was almost two weeks later, on February 1, that he resumed his journey. On January 25 he became a member of the Ciliosophic Society where each member took an oath of brotherhood and secrecy and adopted a pseudonym for society use. Smith was known as Brother Sterne. February 1 was his second meeting and he was one of the scheduled speakers. Nervous and unprepared he skipped evening prayers to memorize his speech, "but still vain." Even after the meeting began he received permission to leave and "light candle & begin to look over my piece & impress it on my memory." Apparently the results were still disastrous "displeased at myself &c &c &c &c——"

During the early part of February there were snowball fights and games of shinny and shuttle. Smith was mortified and coming confused while giving a recitation of the sixth proposition in the fifth book of Euclid. And the talk of the campus was Jabez Camp's dismissal from the American Whig Society. Camp was a junior who has been identified only as a New Jersey resident, and there is no clue as to why the Whigs dismissed him. By February 10 there was a new activity on the campus. "Hear all about the lottery of the watch brooch, buckles, &c."

11th Saturday... Come to my Room positively to do something clever either to study some of propositions—write part of my religion or write &c—but spend the whole time till the Bell without doing a single thing but joining in foolish lottery for Breast pins & brooches in which I lost £3.5.

16th Thursday—Lie till the second bell return from the Hall half asleep and am not able to keep awake to study, not having had for 3 nights past more sleep than was necessary for one—begin to review 5 Book Euclid 8 propositions but not so well prepared as I ought to be... had a warm argument with Jones at breakfast about the propriety of his snatching bread & butter before grace was over—but get the better for I had the right side of the question—

17 Friday—Much better than for the 2 preceding days—after Recitation go to J. Read's room to find something which related to Andre's Execution find nothing but enter into a dispute with Jas. Read concerning Col. Wayne's affair in which he goes on with his usual warmth & positiveness. While disputing the dinner bell rings, but not hearing it lost my dinner, eat some toast in Read's room & remnants of some buckwheat cakes brought us in the morning from Dr. Smith's.

There are a number of references to buckwheat cakes being sent over from Dr. Smith's. It must be that Mrs. Smith took pity on the young men and the rather Spartan diet they normally endured. Breakfast consisted of a roll or bread with milk, coffee, tea, or chocolate. Dinner was the main meal of the day, and there were plenty of complaints about both quality and quantity. Supper usually consisted of bread or biscuit, or porridge or gruel, with either coffee, tea, or milk. For these repasts the

4 As a boy in Philadelphia during the Revolution, Smith undoubtedly had an opportunity to see both John André and Benedict Arnold as the British and Continental armies in turn occupied the city. "Col. Wayne's affair" may have been a completely unrelated subject, or it may have been a discussion of André's biting satirical poem about Anthony Wayne, "The Cow Chase."
students paid the steward of the College 12 shillings each week. They often supplemented their diet with treats sent from home or food bought from local vendors, and on occasion with fruit pilihered from nearby orchards.

20 Monday—Have a large lesson to prepare for this morning, the 9 last propositions of 5 book to review and get the texts of together with those of the preceding—intended to have spent part of Saturday & Sunday at them to get them very well but was disappointed and had more to do this morning than could be done extremely well—luckily a deep snow on the ground & still continuing hailing till 10 o’clock which prevented Green’s coming to Recitation—however foolishly I spend great part of the morning contentedly without doing anything tho I have a [blot on diary] for Wed. (Latin Declension) which I had not thought of even—spend the afternoon if possible worse doing not an atom—did at least play battedores before dinner and had our chimney burnt—an occasional meeting of the Society—after supper go begin Latin but set up till 11 without doing anything—hard times with me.

22d Wednesday [after breakfast]—come up & set to my lesson—about 9 o’clock hear a shouting among the little boys—suspect the Cause & shortly am confirmed in it—that is a holiday—pleased at this but tho intending to apply to study till 12 o’clock yet am taken off by some trifles—go to the door see all the College upon the Campus walk out to mix among & return—presently the sound of Bob Hughes’s Violin strikes me I sally forth & stop him as going to serenade the lads on the Campus to play me a turn or two & then return—Spent this holiday without exercise or making any progress in my Latin or Declension—Society not meeting this evening to bed at half after 10.

This may be one of the earliest recorded celebrations of Washington’s birthday. The “little boys” were the grammar school students who met in the basement of Nassau Hall. Smith always distinguished them in this way from the “lads” of the College. Bob Hughes was a native of Maryland whose violin playing enlivened many campus gatherings.

Saturday . . . D Smith mentions G-a-s [Grace’s] intended marriage with A. Woodruff & assure me of the thing’s going to be the case much pleased & surprised and yet seem somehow or other sorry—droll thinks I to see in Grace a wife & call her Mrs. Woodruff the very next time I see her & hardly believe it possible to be the case. No lads scarcely at supper, returning go to Reads Room find little George & Marsh at Checkers—presently John Read comes after riding to Jugg Town & walking back—hear of James Reads slaying match & his misfortune—

Aaron Woodruff, son of the College steward Elias Woodruff, was a 1779 graduate of the College, who was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1784. His marriage to Grace Lowery took place on September 14, 1786. Her name is mentioned in the diary on other occasions; she was probably a contemporary of the College juniors, someone with whom they had danced at parties.

The “slaying match” was not a duel, but a “sleighing match.” Until the advent of the automobile, sleigh races were frequently held on the length of Nassau Street from the center of town to Jugtown, the cluster of houses near present-day Harrison Street.

2 [March] Thursday—After breakfast Gilbert mentions Mrs. Tod’s wanting the magazine I had of hers & her surprise at my keeping it so long. This a good deal disconcerted me for I had had it from beginning of session & sorry that she had to tell any one of my neglect. . . Just before [evening] Prayers the appleman brings in Eggs & forces a dozen on me to make egg nog for tis a glorious liquor he says.

Mrs. Tod was the wife of James Tod, a Scotsman who was encouraged by President Witherspoon to settle in Princeton. A printer by trade, Tod not only printed the college catalogues, but during the 18 months that he remained in Princeton he printed and published a four-page weekly, the Princeton Packet and Daily Advertiser, which is still published today as the Princeton Packet.
3 Friday—After dinner Hughes & Mr. Mathews sit till we
3 & then we all go to hear the grammar scholars speak,
some of the speaking very good indeed & the little la
generally the best. . . . —our candles out & having [illegit
word] have a piece scarce enough to last for the eveni
& do not light it—walk the floor both for exercise &
collect some thoughts but get upon a subject foreign to t
one I was seeking for Home engrosses me, I think & a
pleased & count the days that are to intervene sing son
of my old songs, which leads my attention to past pleasa
scenes and days spent in the company & esteem of G.S.
&c &c &c.

Sit down to write about 8 but do nothing, James Re:
comes to tell me of opportunity to NYork—get asleep ar
near ten Jas Read comes again stays till after ten, I in pa
to keep my eyes open. Meet a lad in the entry this eveni
seizes me I lay hold of him & he runs afterwards have
chase after him upstairs in the dark but do not find o
who he is—to bed at 12 written not a word.

6th Monday—The Second bell awakens us, jump up ar
are pretty well pushed to get into the Hall without makin
fire or lighting candle . . . Hear of one of Students goit
to New York this evening & as soon come from Recitatic
begin to write H V—and finish a little after the 2 oclo
bell a long Letter near a Sheet. Get J Abiel to give it
Thompson who does it just time enough. At Prayer gi
in my bill & discharge my office of Bill Keeper.

The responsibility of being bill keeper was assigned to
dents for a week at a time. Presumably they noted those ab
from or late to the required prayer services and recorded
collected the appropriate fines.

7th Tuesday—Hauled over the coals by Green for my S:
urdays absence Bob Hughes giving him the bill today
have a good excuse—Do nothing after Recitation tho r
solved to study—Gilbert not at dinner being sick. Bo
make a great noise indeed—after dinner play hoop aga
in the Cellar entry till 2 oclock and finely exercised—in
able to study in the afternoon at all tho a hard lesson f
tomorrow.

Thursday (9)—Find some difficulty in getting the propo
positions & go into Study apply pretty attentively—get them
but find still that [they] are crazy things—after Recitation
try our broken skillet in boiling an egg, take it off supposing
it done J Read coming in but when examined found half
raw try another & succeed &c—. . . . After dinner play & in
the afternoon get 1 proposition & after supper begin to
review but just continue about 10 or 15 min. at it and then
my attention called off and my usual complaint (Sleepiness)
attacks me—I intend from this Evening to go to bed earlier
& up only till half after 10.

11 Saturday . . . Pot Pie for dinner & by the time I get to
it all swept off, some of the lads seizing near one-third of
the whole that they may not miss taking enough luckily Jas.
Gibson had quite enough for himself & me too & I was
very well supplied—a Waggon of Oysters came just before
Dinner is done the Lads run I among the Rest & want to
take some very much but near examination & prevail
against my desire. . . . Brown & Johnston & Grant till 8
oclock subject, what was done in Society today & those
characteristics lately brot forth—

The “characteristics” were uncomplimentary character traits
of members of the rival debating society. During the “Paper
War” of 1771 students spent a great deal of time and creative
energy writing satirical and often scurrilous verses about mem-
bers of the rival society. James Madison, Class of 1771, an avid
Whig, referred to the Clios as dunces, fools, asses, screech owls,
monkeys, and baboons in some of his more printable verse
written during that early paper war. In 1782 a second war was
waged that lasted for several weeks before the faculty inter-
vened. The next year several of the Whigs secretly wrote verses
lampooning members of their own society. Because these verses
were posted on the door of the Prayer Hall where all could
read them, their authorship was naturally attributed to mem-
bers of the Cliosophic Society, and the war was on again until
it was once more terminated by order of the faculty. Smith’s
diary shows that in 1786 an attempt was being made to work
the same ruse and engender a little excitement in Nassau Hall
by starting another society war.
12 Sunday—After prayers Johnston comes in to our room having found he says a paper of charactersticks in the window—our fire not unraaked having gotten up too late this morning to do it—but soon do it & light a candle, find them to be against the Whigs in the Senior class & very dirty piece—snatch them from Johnston intending to burn them to keep them from going any further but Fin- man coming into the Room with Johnston goes out & spreads them about. Do not give them up to Johnston but keep them to burn as being highly injurious to our Society to appear being so low & dirty—Coleman comes in shortly after but we tell him they are burnt—T Grant & Jas. Read in Room—Hunt & Stevens also come & want to see then very much also M Livingston, Thew, Abiel &c &c all having heard of them—begin to suspect a little that it was a measure of theirs & express the greatest contempt for it & it author as scandalous & scurrilous &c—breakfast time & no a word of my Religion written ... After Recitation walk upon the Campus with J. Read, Graham & Nicoll meet us Graham starts the Charactersticks I justify my self as ignorant of the author &c & express my contempt of them; he inquires his Character I give some of the words but tel. I did not attend to them—All right & we go to supper, after Supper King attacks me about them but intimates his approbation of my burning them which Coleman says he disbelieves but I pay no attention to him—wish I had gone to Society to Night, to bed at 12.

13 Monday ... This the first Spring day we had this Season & walk with Higginson, come to a beautiful little stream blowing from a Spring down the side of the hill—the grass over which it flowed being as green as summer almost—this quite delighted us & we run over our shoe tops in the sinking mire to feel if had imbibed any warmth yet and childishly dibble in it ... After supper having diverted myself on the Campus till near dusk come to room & walk up & down saying my speech & afterwards while Jas. asleep & in the dark singing over Banish Sorrow & also those tunes which would bring to recollection former times while at [this] G. Woodruff & Brown come Woodruff for the first time whom I was very much pleased to see—we chat very agreeably for a long time [of] Societies &c & particularly of the Letter this evening sent to the Whigs, how it will surprise them & vex them & of the Charactersticks, late & former ones several of which he mentions &c go just before 8.

14 Tuesday—Attention of the members of our Society although taken up with this last letter to the Whigs (think we can discover from their countenances that they are mortified) walk over to J. Clarkson to speak of Lexiphanes & talk of the affair, he is for letting it drop as soon as possible & having nothing more to do with them—at 12 oclock walk as far as the Wash Woman; returning meet Miss N Morgan & scarce ever so much struck with a face & countenance—far superior in point of beauty & softness than our College Bell Miss Lott and as handsome as any Girl I think I've saw—find on my arrival at the Campus Mosby & Livingston jumping &c & the former excels and goes 11 feet at a Leap for 36 hops, together wait some time in the Hall before any person comes to pray &c at last Gilbert comes out of breath & mounts the pulpit & can scarce give out the psalm.

Miss Morgan was the daughter of Colonel George Morgan whose farm "Prospect" adjoined the college campus.

17 Friday ... Myself to speak this afternoon, have my piece by memory, but a good deal uneasy because my coat which I sent to the Taylors had not come nor did not till about half hour before 5 which tended to discompose me considerably—However I mount [the dais] first and from all persons hear that I had spoken much better than I had ever done before, this pleased me very considerably as I was in some measure discouraged at my little improvement—

18 Saturday ... about 5 Johnson Reed & myself walk out & find M Livingston at Morgan's quarry who goes with us over to the ground on which the battle was fought or part of it and describes the several places & maneuvers—being he said a witness to it—return just time to get our suppers after which stay out in the campus till 7 oclock, jumping with S Snowden & much diverted with Johnston & Mosby's contentions at wrestling &c go to Brown's Room & hear Bob Hughes play his violin, the Room full as usual, Whigs
& Clio promiscuously—after that go to the upper entry with Abner Woodruff find Bob there who draws over a negro with a violin also, the fellow playing very well & Read 
& myself have glorious exercise dancing up & down the 
entry & joining in the noise & confusion of 20 students 
hallowing & tearing about—Gilbert not in College. . . .

Spring fever seems to have been having its usual effects in 
stirring up the campus. It is good to note that the rivalry caused 
by the "Characteristics" did not prevent the students from 
gathering together for a sociable evening. One can only imagine 
how crowded these gatherings must have been. An early plat 
of Nassau Hall shows that the front entry was flanked by class 
rooms. The 32-by-40-foot prayer hall was in the center rear of 
the building, with a balcony that could be entered from the 
second floor. Six students' rooms were on either side of 
these public rooms, all double rooms, with a fireplace claiming part 
of the floor space in each.

Smith's classmate Maturin Livingston was the son of New 
York merchant Robert Livingston who died in 1771. Sometime 
after that his widow, Susannah, moved to Princeton, presumably 
for the sake of her sons' education. Maturin attended 
the grammar school at Nassau Hall before matriculating at the college, and could well have been a witness to the Battle of Princeton. Two older brothers received degrees in 1772 and 1784.

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19 Sunday—A sweet day indeed—do not shiver in the Hall 
at Prayers as formerly—but from my feelings this Morning 
seem to think it will be very pleasant &c—Examination near 
think it a pity to lose so fine a time as the morning early 
& tho Sunday study a little—

22nd Wednesday A fine day play baste ball in the campus 
but am beaten for 1 miss both catching and striking the 
Ball. . . . Mr. Webster at prayers whom Gilbert & Green 
had recommended to the class to hear, but with little 
effect—

This may well be the first mention of college baseball, and if 
only Smith had been more adept at the sport we might have 
learned more about how the game was played at that time. It 
appeared to be popular for in November 1787 the 
faculty found it necessary to issue the following order:

It appearing that a play at present much practiced by the 
smaller boys among the students and by the grammar scholars 
with balls and sticks in the back common of the College 
is in itself low and unbecoming gentlemen & students and 
in as much as it is an exercise attended with great danger 
to the health by sudden and alternate heats and colds as it 
tends by accidents almost unavoidable in that play to dis-
figuring and maiming those who are engaged in it for 
whose health and safety as well as improvement in study 
as far as depends on our exertions we are accountable to 
their Parents & liable to be severely blamed by them: and 
in as much as there are many amusements both more hon-
ourable and more useful in which they are indulged: 
Therefore the Faculty think incumbent on them to prohibit 
both the students & grammar scholars from using the play 
aforesaid. 5

23rd Thursday—After Recitation persuade all that I am 
able of our class to subscribe to Webster's Lectures get 12 
laugh at Higginson for not doing it—He & I make a con-
siderable noise playing & wrestling in the Recitation Room 
. . . . After Prayers take the list of subscribers to Gilbert but 
he tells me that Webster would not Lecture not getting 
above 3 or 4 in town & only about 16 in College—This 
disappointed me & I was sorry for, as I thought it would 
not reflect much credit upon the College—but examination 
being near was the occasion in great measure. 6

24 Friday—After dinner have an intense headache, not felt 
before for a long time study none in the afternoon nor

5 Faculty Minutes, November 26, 1787.
6 Between October 1785 and August 1786, Noah Webster lectured in the major cities 
of Virginia and Maryland, and in Philadelphia, New York, Hartford, New Haven, 
Boston, and Salem. In 1789 the lectures were published in Dissertations on the English 
Language (Boston: printed for the author by I. Thomas & Co.), the first book on 
American English.
evening either—walk the floor after supper for above an hour thinking of home &c and almost carried away with the thought of it & seeing it soon.

25th Saturday—Meet Green in the recitation room for the last time this session—very much pleased at the bare idea of this—

26 Sunday—Have to write religion this morning & Abiel &c come & stay till church time 11 oclock & then I Read looking at Stackhouse till dinner—begin to write after dinner & get ready my translation tho write but little after supper. Walk the campus till about half after 6 & then go to Society to Hamilton's. Dr. Smith opens with a prayer, then Green reads a psalm & then Gilbert Snowden gives it out line by line after which gives us a discourse which appeared half composed & half extempore—a good deal animated in some parts, tho a good deal affected—return before 8 [illegible name] soon after &c stay till 9 after which I eat 3 or 4 oysters & go to bed—

28 Tuesday—Surprised at seeing Uncle Bayard at prayers—just entered the room when told that Dr Smith wanted me—I expected this, go to Dr. Smith's find Jenny Bayard [Smith's cousin] alone—very happy to see her & hear from home—Mrs. Smith comes whom I like better every time I see her—afterwards Isaac & Gilbert Snowden Dr Smith & Mr Bayard went to Tusculum?—drink a very agreeable dish of tea Dr Smith comes without Mr Bayard—is very conversant this evening—speaking of plays & their entertainment &c—says that any Woman who can hear a Comedy (such as generally acted) without blushing must be destitute of modesty or even virtue—8 oclock bell rings & come off—study none after returning tho feel myself amazingly relaxed.

31st Friday ... return from supper after eating very little the butter for a long time past being unwholesome & the bread sour & milk scarcely to be called such.

Tusculum, a handsome stone residence, which is still standing, was built by Witherspoon in 1773 to serve as his "country seat." It became his permanent residence in Witherspoon Street.

APRIL.

1st Saturday A very severe snow storm more so than any before, this season—neglect reviewing too much—only done the 5th book—begin to think of making greater progress—and enjoying myself in thinking of the time when we finish & the happiness to be derived from going home.

3d Monday The Seniors begin & we begin to see our time very near approaching—don't study very hard today ... finish 6th book & leave all the Texts & Definitions to get by Number for tomorrow—take some little exercise today by running over to Hamilton's once or twice—For these 3 or 4 days Spent a great many happy moments & disagreeable ones, alternately thinking of home & examination, study nothing this evening & resolve to rise tomorrow at 3.

5th Wednesday—Do not rise till the bell tho we intended to get up 2 hours before it—about 11 oclock hear that the Seniors would end at noon & confirmed in it—Hughes, Brooks, Abiel &c in my room & draw some of the propositions—I feel very disagreeably indeed at the thought of examination ten times more so than I did at the first, in the middle of the session—Six Books of Euclid with all the Definitions &c by Number &c being so great a weight upon the memory that not one of the class was perfectly confident of themselves. Our fears much heightened by reports of what Green intended to do, of the severity with which he had determined to act &c &c—however the bell for Examination at last sounds & up we go—I think if I am so happy as [to] come off as before with success, I should be extremely happy indeed & more so than I had ever been before—Go into the library & not the Recitation Room to be examined—to our surprise begin with Grammar first and the whole class made an excellent examination on it—feel much more easy than before—tho our worst of it expected for the next day's termination.

6th Thursday—But 5 or 6 Seniors at Prayers, Gilbert appoints Bill Keepers & reproves their absence & just go once over the Texts & Definitions (having prepared my plot the night before) when the bell rings & we parade up to Ex-
amination finish Euclid & Trigonometry in the morning &
I come off with satisfaction to myself which gave me one
great pleasure, in the afternoon bring in a case in Trigo-
nometry & bow to Dr. Smith when finished & withdraw,
return & receive our sentence which was the Faculty's ap-
probation.—We then disperse each happy to salute each
other by the appellation of FREEMEN. We conclude on sup-
per at Reading's appoint two of the class to bespeak it and
exult in our happy situation—Society meet this evening—
get permission to be about together with most of our class
to perform our engagement & at 8 o'clock 11 of us Abiel,
Rattoone, &c &c march over & have an elegant supper
before we break up joined by Imlay & Mosby who con-
tribute to our hilarity—disperse about 11 o'clock, come
home pretty orderly but Duff &c when coming into College
make a great noise & Dr Smith comes over (the not in
consequence of that possibly) and visiting my room finds
Abiel, Thew & Clymer in it tho not in the least disorder &
just hints at it being bedtime.

Reading's was one of the inns in Princeton. Some were for-
bidden to the students as being too rowdy. Reading's, however,
must have been quite respectable, since sometime during that
same year the Presbyterian Church rented a room there for a
congregational meeting. The unfortunate Thomas Duff did not
graduate with his class; however no records are available to
show whether or not it was because of this escapade.

7th Friday—Don't wake till after end bell & have a scramble
to get to the hall—few lads there begin to think of packing
up—feel very oddly having nothing to do—J Read & Jones
go off whom I attend to the Tavern but come away before
they go being near dinner time—have a good deal to do
but don't do anything today—Seniors speak this evening—
eglect dressing till almost too late—Higginson Camp &c
in my room, but get ready to go in with them & get a place
near the pulpit tho I had to stand a good deal—have an
excellent view of Miss Lott & eye her closely. Much pleased
with the speaking. Mosby's oration an excellent one in-
deed—Kept Dr Smith & Green as well as the whole audi-
ence in a continual roar. S Snowden did not shine above
the rest this evening as he had done the last—I scarce know

how to reconcile myself to being at home tomorrow it seems
too good almost to be possible—John Abiel sits till near 11
after which I go to bed—a considerable cold somehow or
other laid hold of me—

End of Session &c.

In 1786 the college year began in November, with a four-
week break in early April and another respite of four weeks
after commencement in early October. We can only hope that
Smith's cold did not prevent him from enjoying his longed-for
reunion with family and friends, especially those of the fair sex.
The next journal entry, which will appear in the Autumn 1785
issue of the Chronicle, is dated June 4, just four weeks after the
students' return to campus.
The Scholar as Sleuth

The Charles Carroll Marden Collection of Spanish Manuscripts

BY PATRICIA H. MARKS

The delights of scholarship are many, and not least among them is the joy of the chase. During two brief sojourns in Spain, Charles Carroll Marden, professor of Spanish at Princeton from 1916 until his death in 1932, unearthed long-lost manuscript copies of the poems of Gonzalo de Berceo (c. 1197–c. 1246), the earliest poet writing in Spanish whose name is known to us.

Like Berceo, Professor Marden was a pioneer.1 He held the first American professorship in the Spanish language, established at Johns Hopkins in 1905, and he was the first incumbent of the Emory L. Ford Chair of Spanish at Princeton. He enjoyed a reputation as one of the first, and certainly the foremost, editors of Old Spanish texts, thanks to his definitive editions of El poema de Fernán González (1904) and El libro de Apolonio (1917).2 Just six months before his sudden death, he had been elected president of the Modern Language Association, the first scholar of Spanish to hold that prestigious office.3

In 1925, Professor Marden was browsing in a secondhand bookstore in Madrid when an early codex caught his eye. It proved to be a 14th-century copy of four poems by Berceo. Until then, the poems had been known only in late and obviously corrupt 18th-century copies. The discovery of much earlier versions made Professor Marden an academic celebrity.

The Berceo manuscript was not easy to decipher, but by the mid-twenties Marden was also widely respected for his pains-

1 “Biographical Notices of Charles Carroll Marden, with a Bibliography of His Publications” is a bound copy (held in Firestone Library) of obituaries that appeared in various publications soon after his death. Unless otherwise noted, it is the source of the biographical information in this article. Apart from the information contained in these obituaries, very little is known about Marden’s life and thought. None of his scholarly papers came to light until February 1985, and efforts to get in touch with his surviving children have met with no response.
2 Both volumes were published by Johns Hopkins Press in Baltimore.
taking study of the philology of the Spanish language as it developed during the medieval and early modern periods. The manuscript presented an additional problem: it was written in a difficult hand, one that required careful attention to paleography. It was therefore an extraordinary stroke of luck that someone of Marden’s background and scholarly character should have chanced upon the Berceo poems. As one of his colleagues wrote in the Princeton Alumni Weekly, Marden “was never content with approximation, however ingenious, and had that capacity for taking infinite pains which never allowed him to abandon any field of investigation until every pathway, no matter how obscure or remote, had been thoroughly explored.” He spent three years preparing the Berceo manuscript for publication; in 1928, his Cuatro poemas de Berceo: Milagros de la iglesia robada y de Teófilo y vidas de Santa Oria appeared to considerable critical acclaim.

During the summer of that same year, Professor Marden was in Spain delivering a series of lectures as Carnegie Visiting Professor. Knowing that the Berceo manuscript found in Madrid was a fragment of a larger work, he determined to take advantage of his trip to locate the rest of the codex. No sooner was he free of his obligations than he set out to comb the northern province of Logroño, where the four poems had first surfaced.

As Raymond S. Willis, Emeritus Professor of Spanish, tells the story, Marden’s search took him to the most remote settlements of the countryside. Years later, when Professor Willis was trekking through those same mountains in pursuit of his own research, he had occasion to spend the night in a tiny, isolated inn at the top of a mountain pass. The innkeeper was a nun whose brother, the parish priest, had appointed himself historian of the district. When the priest discovered that Willis was an American, he said “Well, then you must know Professor Marden!”

The search for the missing Berceo manuscript proved fruitless until the last moment. Just prior to returning to the United States, Marden discovered that it had been owned by a recently deceased citizen of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, a small town...

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* “Faculty Obituaries,” Princeton Alumni Weekly 55, no. 36 (July 1932), 866.
* Interview, Raymond S. Willis, 27 November 1984.
* Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. “Marden, Charles Carroll.”
near Logroño. With the help of the governor of the province, the mayor of Logroño, and the agent for the owner's heirs, Marden was able to negotiate the purchase of the remaining poems. Because the philological and paleographic work had been done on the four poems discovered in 1928, it took only a year to publish Berceo, Veintitrés milagros.8

The Berceo manuscripts were priceless national treasures, and in recognition of that fact, Professor Marden donated them to the Real Academia Española de la Lengua in Madrid. During the course of his work, however, he had acquired other documents, some perhaps as part of the purchase agreements for the Berceo poems. After his death in May 1932, his family donated them to the Princeton University Library.9 In the summer of 1982, another kind of quest began, less dramatic than the search for the Berceo manuscripts, but equally exciting in its own way.

What exactly was in Marden's 10 black boxes, which were stored in the Library's Department of Rare Books and Special Collections? At first glance, there appeared to be some intriguing items, such as a large leather-bound volume written in a hand that at a distance appeared almost Arabic. There were handsome parchments written in the more accessible Gothic script of the late 15th century, and there were printed legal briefs from the 18th century. Two boxes were crammed full of fragile old paper folded like modern business letters and written in many different hands. The variety of documents was daunting. Had the Library inherited a random collection of curiosities?

By the time Professor Willis saw the manuscripts in 1982, it was clear that they could be divided into two sets. Professor Willis suggested that one set, from Burgos and a group of towns around Soria, illustrated the dialects and paleography of the north. The earlier examples among them might have been useful to Professor Marden in his study of the Berceo manuscripts. The second set, composed of documents either from the town of Alarcón or associated with its governmental affairs, seems less obviously useful to the Berceo studies. Why had Marden

9 Professor Marden died of acute nephritis after only a week's illness, and is buried in the Princeton Cemetery. He lived at 112 Mercer Street, in Princeton, and was a member of Trinity Church. Obituary, New York Times, 12 May 1932, p. 19.

purchased them? In the absence of his own records and correspondence, it is impossible to know.

There are other questions about both sets of documents. Before Marden acquired them, why were these surprisingly coherent sets of documents collected and preserved? Is it possible to make an informed guess as to their previous owners?

The quest for answers proved more difficult in the case of the manuscripts from northern Spain. To begin with, they range in date from 1464 to 1887, and concern a broad spectrum of society, from grandees to merchants to parish priests. Nor do they constitute a single type. The earliest six documents, which date from 1464 to 1493, are mortgages and deeds of sale for houses belonging to the Carrión family, among the most important wool merchants of Burgos. Another document from Burgos, dated 1559, entailed the property of Cristóbal de Ábila and his wife, Constanza de Carrión. One of their sons, Lope de Ábila Carrión, drew up a will in 1598, now part of the Marden Collection.

Other important families of Old Castile are also represented by several types of documents. In 1645, for example, Antonio de Aguilar y Suazo took an inventory of property entailed by Antonio del Río y Aguilar, his grandfather. Eventually, the Aguilar family was sued by the duke of Béjar, whose father had sold the towns of Encinas and Canillas to them. A file of nine printed legal briefs provides the details of the dispute and evidence for identifying an earlier owner of some of the 168 documents from the north of Spain.

In 1815, the marqués de Lorca, count of Encinas, drew up an index of wills, and a list of the property he had inherited from the Ábila, Agreda, and Pesquer branches of his family. The index is part of the Marden Collection, and the same 19th-century hand indexed and labeled other documents from the Carrión, Pardo de Soria, Aguilar, Polanco, and Curiel families. The Polanco family was also related to the counts of Montalbo. Four books of accounts, inventories of documents concerning the Chapel of San Juan de Portalatin, and lists of properties purchased to fund dowries for deserving young ladies, once belonging to the counts, are now part of the Marden Collection.

Were the counts of Molina and of Mondéjar, whose papers are also represented in the collection, among those related to the same group of titled families by the beginning of the 19th century? Was the recently deceased gentleman of Santo Do-
mingo de la Calzada, from whose estate Marden purchased the Bercero poems, a 20th-century descendant? Further research in the complex genealogies of Spain's nobility will be required to establish the point, but meanwhile it seems likely that at least part of the Marden collection of manuscripts from northern Spain once belonged to the gentleman who was both marqués de Lorca and count of Encinas in 1815.

Similar attention to genealogies was required to establish probable ownership of another group of documents from northern Spain. At least 22 surnames and most of the remaining documents in this set can be tied directly or indirectly to three brothers, Manuel, Bernardino, and Bonifacio Pérez Manzanares, whose correspondence between 1865 and 1887 is part of the Marden Collection.

The earliest of this group of documents dates from 1582, and is a deed of sale for land in Lugar de Fuentes, a barrio in the town of Agreda near Soria. Like the Lorca-Encinas documents, these are varied as to type. Besides deeds of sale, mortgages, and rental contracts for both urban and rural property, there are wills and probate documents, inventories, testimony on "purity of blood and nobility" so important to Spaniards, legal briefs, and powers-of-attorney. Most have something to do with the establishment and inheritance of a series of chaplaincies that devolved upon the Pérez Manzanares brothers at the end of the 19th century. Some of the documents trace the inheritance of specific parcels of land over a period of two or three centuries.

What was the connection between real estate and chaplaincies? The lesser nobility of Spain, in order to increase the family's status, regularly sought to establish a chaplaincy as part of an entailment. Rents from the property designated in the chaplaincy would then be used to support a priest, or the saying of anniversary masses for the soul of the donor. Lands entailed in a chaplaincy could not be alienated, and only part of the income from them could be invested in other enterprises. The small and scattered parcels did not lend themselves to efficient forms of agricultural exploitation, and the system was a major and persistent impediment to the economic development and modernization of Spain. Astonishing though it seems, in 1887 Bernardino Pérez Manzanares was disputing inheritance of an entailed plot of land attached to a chaplaincy founded in 1612 by his ancestor, Juan de Peñaranda.

An undated document in the Marden Collection which belonged to the Pérez Manzanares brothers provides the rationale not only for Bernardino's attention to his inheritance, but for the collection and preservation of this group of papers. On 24 June 1867, after years of debate, the government of Spain promulgated a law that attempted to break the stranglehold of the medieval system of land tenure on the economy. The undated document among the Pérez Manzanares papers is a copy of the form for presenting information to the Comisión preparatoria para ejecutar ... el convenio-ley sobre capellanías familiares y otras fundaciones piaosas. At last, families owning property entailed to support priests and masses were to be permitted to sell it and invest the proceeds in other enterprises.

The Lorca-Encinas documents and the Pérez Manzanares papers are linked by the fact that they are family archives originally from the north of Spain, and concern inheritance of property. Are there any other connections between them? The answer to that question will have to await the work of other scholars, who might also be intrigued by the problem of their relationship to the documents from or concerning Alarcón, a town to the south of Cuenca that belonged to the marqués de Villena. The Alarcón manuscripts paint a fascinating portrait of life in a seigneurial town in the 16th and 17th centuries, one that will enable scholars to study details of the economic, social, and political life of a time and place that were the scene of the exploits of that visionary gentleman, Don Quixote de la Mancha.

It is always dangerous to draw parallels between the real world with its sequences of historical events, and a work of art like Miguel de Cervantes's great novel, the first part of which, incidentally, was dedicated to the duke of Béjar. Nevertheless, anyone who knows Don Quixote well will be struck by a series of coincidences that link him to the Marquesado de Villena, which encompassed much of La Mancha.

There may even be direct personal links to the marqués's family. For example, some will remember the tradition that one Rodrigo Pacheco, a cousin of the marqués, was the model for Quixote himself. Like Quixote, Rodrigo suffered from "a fever of the brain," but that does not constitute proof that he, or

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anyone else, was the original Don Quixote. Nevertheless, a fact that surfaced during the cataloguing of the Marden Collection suggests that the tradition should be reexamined. A second Rodrigo Pacheco, the marqués's brother, was involved in litigation with the town of Alarcón; the lawsuits were referred to as "the affair of the windmills," and concerned Rodrigo's ownership of mills constructed on land claimed by Alarcón. Is it possible that Cervantes elaborated on the circumstances of both men's lives to create the character of the visionary gentleman who went about tilting at windmills?

It is more than possible that some of Don Quixote's adventures took place within the territory belonging to the marqués de Villena, even in places subject to the jurisdiction of the town of Alarcón. Camacho's wedding, earlier thought to have taken place in the town of Munera, is now believed to have occurred in Villarrobledo; both towns belonged to Alarcón.

Another adventure, that of the "Braying Village," is also connected with Alarcón. As Rupert Croft-Cooke described it, "two mayors ... had gone out to look for a lost ass, and to recover it they had brayed, each mistaking his rival mayor's braying for the real thing. The absurdity of this had been nasica through the neighboring countryside, and every time a man of the mayors' village went abroad he was greeted by brayings." The teasing eventually led to an armed skirmish between the residents of the braying village, now proven to have been El Peral, and the citizens of Villanueva de la Jara. Both villages were under Alarcón's jurisdiction, and Cervantes's story follows closely the historical facts of a real incident.

Did Professor Marden purchase the Alarcón documents because he was intrigued by their relevance to Don Quixote? Did he hope to document the historical basis for other adventures like that of the "Braying Village"? Or was he more interested in the setting of the novel, the culture and oral traditions of La

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"In Argamasilla de Alba, the town chosen by Cervantes as Don Quixote's home, there is a painting in the church that depicts Rodrigo Pacheco, and declares that "Our Lady appeared to this gentleman as being ill of a very grave disease and the doctors despairing of him appeared to her Lady and promising a silver lamp and calling on her day and night of the great pain which he had in his brain of a great chillness which gripped him within." Rupert Croft-Cooke, Through Spain with Don Quixote (New York: A.A. Knopf, 1960), p. 78.

"Through Spain, pp. 229-230; Don Quixote, pt. 2, chaps. 25 and 27.

Alarcón, Spain, situated on a promontory overlooking the Júcar River. Once the site of a Roman settlement, by the end of the 15th century it belonged to the marqués of Villena. Courtesy of the Spanish National Tourist Office
Mancha in Cervantes's time from which incidents like the "Battle of the Flocks" might have emerged. 15

One of the more striking scenes in Don Quixote describes the noble knight's encounter with two flocks of migrating sheep, which he mistakes for two mighty armies about to engage in battle. 16 Did it, too, take place in territory belonging to the marqués de Villena? In light of the Alarcón documents in the Marden Collection, it seems more than likely. In any case, the importance of the pastoral theme in Cervantes's works, 17 and the wealth of information about shepherding in the Alarcón documents, add weight to the hypothesis that a study of the Marquesado de Villena would illuminate the life and times of the visionary gentleman.

Like many of the Grandes de España, the marqués de Villena owned vast tracts of land through which the Mesta, or sheepowners' guild, drove its flocks in the massive semiannual migrations between summer and winter pastures. The sheep walks, called cañadas, were well-established routeways with toll- and tax-collecting offices at various points along them. There were three main systems of sheep walks, one of which ran through La Mancha. Branching off from them was a series of smaller routes that fanned out through the countryside. 18

The migrating herds were a common sight in and around Alarcón, and it is possible that, like the incident of the "Braying Village," the "Battle of the Flocks" reflects an event that actually took place, though no evidence of it has been located. Alarcón was not far from one of the principal sheep walks, the cañada real linking Chinchilla and Albacete with Cuenca. 19 One of the lesser sheep walks passed through Alarcón itself, where a bridge

spanned the Júcar River. As the documents in the Marden Collection show, Alarcón enjoyed the privilege of collecting two of the three major taxes on the migrating herds, borras and montazo, both of which helped to defray the costs of municipal government. 20

The third tax, the royal servicio y montazo, was also associated for a time with the marqués de Villena. During the 14th century, "the greater part of the royal sheep tax had been granted by the crown to the powerful grand master of the Order of Santiago," 21 who was for a time Juan López Pacheco, first marqués de Villena. When he died in October 1474, Queen Isabel insisted that the post should be occupied by her husband, thereby returning control of the servicio y montazo to the crown.

Under the Catholic kings and their successors, sheep tolls and taxes underwent major reforms, and became a very important component of royal revenues. Concurrently, the Mesta gained in power and prestige, thanks to the royal patronage it enjoyed. Officials of the Mesta, especially judges known as alcaldes entregadores, constantly harassed seigneurial towns like Alarcón over such matters as grazing rights, the width of the royal sheep walks, and the town's right to collect local taxes and tolls on the passage of the Mesta flocks.

The increasing power of the Mesta and the growing sophistication of the judicial system led to almost constant litigation between the town and the shepherds' guild. Alarcón seldom won. On occasion, the rulings in favor of the Mesta spelled disaster for the town and its citizens. In 1631, for example, Felipe IV issued a decree by which the town, at the Mesta's insistence, was forbidden to collect the borras which had become as important to town finance as the servicio y montazo was to crown revenue. Because of their opposition to the claims of the Mesta, six officials of Alarcón, including members of the town council, were punished by stiff fines and banishment to the galleys, or to military service in remote garrisons. 22

20 The borras took its name from the word for yearling ewes, and originally one of them was collected in payment. By Cervantes's time the toll was paid in coin. Klein, The Mesta, p. 425. The montazo was originally a fine imposed by towns on shepherds whose flocks trespassed on common woodlands, but by the end of the 15th century it had become simply another toll, or rent for the use of local pastures. Ibid., pp. 149-150.

21 Ibid., p. 426.

22 In Don Quixote, pt. 1, chap. 22, Cervantes recounts an incident in which his protagonist frees prisoners being marched to the coast for service in the galleys; the prisoners from Alarcón met their fate some 25 years after part one of the novel was published.
Litigation with the Mesta, and on other matters, soon bankrupted the town. As court costs and legal fees mounted, Alarcón was increasingly hard put to find funds to pay the costs of government. One of the strategies used to augment resources was to rent the town's common lands, including enclosed pastures, to individuals who were not always citizens of the town. Another was to increase policing of town boundaries by the caballeros de la sierra, and to levy as many fines as possible for trespassing not only by shepherds of the Mesta, but also by the residents of neighboring towns. Unfortunately, the latter strategy merely compounded the financial problem. Boundary disputes increased, leading to yet more expensive litigation before the Real Chancellería de Granada and even the court at Madrid. More and more lawyers and agents were hired to represent the town; messengers traveled frequently between Alarcón and Granada, Madrid, or the castles at Escalonha or Belmonte where the marqués de Villena resided. Eventually, the town was forced to borrow to meet its obligations. One of many documents on town finance in the Marden Collection is a receipt dated 1595, issued by the city of Segovia for an interest payment on its loan to the town council of Alarcón.

The town was also under increasing pressure from the crown to pay a series of taxes, principally the subsidies voted by the Cortes, the alcabalas or sales taxes, and the head tax known as the cesón. Because Alarcón was a seigneurial town, it had traditionally been exempt from such taxes, and the litigation involved in defending that exemption placed a further strain on town finances. Through it all, Alarcón was liable for the feudal dues owed to the marqués de Villena, who proved less and less able to defend the town from predatory royal officials after 1556.

One of the most fascinating aspects of this set of documents in the Marden Collection is their evidence of the evolution of Alarcón's relationship with the town's controversial overlords. The first marqués was chief steward to Enrique iv, and not always perfectly loyal to his sovereign. Indeed, he and his uncle, Alfonso Carrillo, archbishop of Toledo, led the opposition to Enrique's projected alliance with Portugal and were instru-

mental in forcing him to sign the humiliating Pactos de Cabezón of 1464.

The second marqués was guardian of Enrique's daughter Juana, princess of Castile and Isabel's rival for the throne. Unfortunately, it was—and is—widely believed that the king was not her father, that she was the daughter of Beltrán de la Cueva, one of Enrique's closest advisers. The interests of "La Beltraneja," as she is known to history, were ardently defended by Villena, who thereby earned the bitter enmity of Isabel and her consort. The consequences of that enmity were two wars against the marqués and the loss of the maestrazgo de Santiago, of the post of chief steward of the royal household, and of important castles and towns. Some towns took advantage of royal displeasure to sue successfully for independence from the marqués, but Alarcón remained loyal.

There were certain advantages to remaining part of the Marquesado de Villena, especially after Carlos i succeeded in wresting the crown from his unfortunate mother, whose unstable mental condition earned her the sobriquet of "Juana la Loca." Carlos i is known to European history as Charles v, Holy Roman Emperor, and with his coronation the marqués de Villena recovered the power lost as a result of opposition to Isabel's claims to the throne of Castile. Villena was among those nobles who rushed to offer obedience to the Flemish prince, and Villena was one of very few Spaniards singled out for special honors at one of three coronation ceremonies staged by Carlos in 1520.

As a document in the Marden Collection reveals, by 1525 the marqués was serving as chief steward of the royal household in Tordesillas, where Juana la Loca was kept prisoner by her son. In that same year, according to a fragment of a legal file,

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* For a readable and well-researched account of the reign of the Catholic kings and their immediate successors, see Townsend Miller, *The Castles and the Crown: Spain, 1455–1555* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1963). In it, Isabel is idealized, while the first two marqueses de Villena are portrayed as corrupt villains. For a defense of La Beltraneja's claim to the throne of Castile, see Orestes Ferrara, *L'énoncé d'Isabelle la Catholique* (Paris: Michel, 1958). For a defense of the marqués de Villena, see Juan Torres Fontes, "La conquista del marquesado de Villena en el reinado de los reyes católicos," *Hispania* 12, no. 50 (1955), 327–151.


* Miller, *The Castles and the Crown*, devotes the last chapters of his book to a moving account of Juana's imprisonment, but is apparently not aware of Villena's part in the tragedy.
Alarcón was suing for recovery of confiscated town lands with the support of the marqués; Villena's services to the king in that delicate matter of Juana's claim to the throne were certainly a factor in expanding the territory subject to Alarcón's jurisdiction.

The second marqués died in 1529, and his son, although powerful, continued to enjoy considerable influence at court. The Marden documents demonstrate that Villena was able to draw the attention of the crown to matters as small as the failure of the wheat harvest in Barchín, a town that belonged to Alarcón, and to extract a royal edict that permitted agents of Barchín to purchase wheat wherever they could locate surpluses, ignoring laws that restricted such trade.

Not even influence at court, however, could protect the citizens of the Marquesado from the power of the Inquisition. The issue of the marquises' loyalty to the orthodox tenets of Catholicism was apparently as complex as their devotion to their sovereigns had been in the time of Enrique IV and the Catholic kings. To begin with, the López Pachecos, who came originally from Portugal, were widely believed to be conversos, a people of Jewish ancestry. Then there was the question of ties to infidels that Enrique IV had rewarded his favorite, the first marqués de Villena, with vast lands south of Cuenca, territory adjacent to the Moorish kingdom of Granada. Enrique himself was notorious and hated for the fact that his flamboyant bodyguard was largely composed of Moors. And one of Villena's town rebels, because, like his royal patron, he employed too many people whose conversion to Christianity was either very recent or of dubious sincerity.  

In short, the marquises were suspected of giving aid and comfort to heretics, if not of heresy itself, long before their castle at Escalona became the center of a fatalistic version of Illuminism known by its Spanish name, dejamiento. The contacts between the Illuminists and the followers of Erasmus, and the superficial resemblance of their inward-looking tenets to Luther's doctrine of justification by faith, brought down upon their adherents the fury of the Holy Office, especially during the 1530s.  

There is evidence that Alarcón's citizens were not exempt from persecution. A document in the Marden Collection, for example, testifies to the fact that at the beginning of the decade Clemente Gómez was arrested and his property confiscated as punishment for anyone convicted of heresy. And a fragment of a document from 1538 indicates that someone, possibly the marqués himself, was excommunicated. Unfortunately, the rest of that tantalizing document is missing.

Even if other evidence of the unorthodox tendencies of the marquises de Villena and their vassals were lacking, one glance at the handwriting of the documents from Alarcón in the Marden Collection would lead an alert scholar to suspect that the town was much influenced by the moriscos, recent converts from Islam. The hand employed by the town's scribes differs markedly from contemporary court hands, also represented in the collection, and the standard paleographic works proved to be little help in deciphering the manuscripts. A slip of paper found between the pages of the Libro de Cabildo, the record of Alarcón's town council meetings from 1549 to 1555, revealed that even Professor Marden found the papyrology of his Alarcón documents uncommonly difficult.

Professor Marden's legacy to the Princeton University Library is a rich one, and not only when assessed by its great paleographic and philological values, which, at their most elementary level, will enable us to train young scholars to work in the archives of Spain and Spanish America. The questions raised about the relationship between the marqués de Villena and Miguel de Cervantes's Don Quixote de la Mancha will surely intrigue specialists in the literature of Spain's "Golden Age." Economic historians will find the Marden Collection useful on many counts, ranging from evidence for conflict between farmers and the shepherds of the Mesta to the ways in which the town council organized and taxed the food supply. Historians of governance and the legal profession will be able to reconstruct some of the elements of its development at the municipal level. Church historians will be interested in the documents on chaplaincies, and medical historians might find the pharmacist's bill for medicines dispensed to Juan de Peñaranda in 1607 revealing. Scholars working in the new field of women's studies will discover de Villena to Cervantes and Don Quixote: see Antonio Vilanova Andreu, Erasmo y Cervantes (Barcelona: Publicaciones del Instituto "Miguel de Cervantes" de Filología Hispánica, 1949).
some intriguing material about rights of inheritance and alienation of property, and about conflict with brutal husbands of dishonorable suitors.

Finally, historians of culture will find much to their liking in the records of ceremonies and rites of passage, as illustrated by three documents from 1595. The first authorized payment for a mass to be said for the marquesa de Villena, who was in labor. The second permitted expenditure of town funds for a bullfight celebrating the birth of her child. The third is a list of the expenses incurred by the citizens of Alarcón for her funeral Mass.

Some four centuries after the tragic events of those days, one is moved by their immediacy because the record of that fear, joy, and sorrow has been preserved in a series of documents grown fragile with the passage of time. Their preservation owes much to a professor from another world who, like the marquesa, died much too soon.

Henri Gaudier-Brzeska

BY LAURA COWAN

The Princeton University Library has recently received a manuscript by the French modernist sculptor, Henri Gaudier-Brzeska (1891-1915). It was discovered a decade ago among the business papers of Henry Shakespear (1849-1929), the father-in-law of Ezra Pound, and has been given to the Library by Omar S. Pound. It is the only manuscript by this important modern artist known to exist in the United States.

The son of a French furniture maker, Henri Gaudier was born near Orléans in 1891. He moved to London in 1910 and settled down in conditions of extreme poverty to become a sculptor. His address on Princeton's manuscript—Arch 25, Windthorpe Road, Putney S.W., a small, concrete-floored studio beneath a railway bridge—attests to the hardship in which he lived and worked. The young artist adopted his second surname as a tribute to his Polish mistress, Sophie Brzeska, who shared his poverty. It was as Gaudier-Brzeska that he gained the recognition of contemporary avant-garde artists, including Roger Fry, who acclaimed him as the most important sculptor in England.

Shortly before the First World War, Gaudier-Brzeska met Ezra Pound and Wyndham Lewis, and together the three organized the radical movement to which they eventually gave the name of Vorticism. Strident in tone and manner, the Vorticists aimed at the revitalization of modern art through a break with convention and naturalism. The Vorticist characteristics of energy and intensity were to infuse vital compositions of essential forms in all mediums. Wyndham Lewis, in an introduction to Vorticism's only exhibition in an art gallery, defined the movement according to its defiance of other artistic practices:


By Vorticism we mean (a) activity as opposed to the tasteful passivity of Picasso; (b) significance as opposed to the dull or anecdotal character to which the Naturalist is condemned; (c) essential movement and activity (such as the energy of a mind) as opposed to the imitative cinematography, the fuss and hysteric of the Futurists.  

Bold type and bold statements expressed the vigor of the movement in all of its adherents’ definitions.

Gaudier-Brzeska first declared his interpretation of Vorticism in a statement that was published in 1914 in the first issue of the Vorticist journal, BLAST. The “Vortex” manuscript now at Princeton is the printer’s copy of this, the sculptor’s first theoretical writing. Being a Vorticist, Gaudier-Brzeska wrote not really an essay but an energetic manifesto, in which the style and even the arrangement on the page are as vigorous and polemical as what is said. Its trenchant opening declares innovative sculptural principles that would finally gain acceptance through the work of much later sculptors:

Sculptural energy is the mountain.
Sculptural feeling is the appreciation of masses in relation.
Sculptural ability is the defining of these masses by planes.

Gaudier-Brzeska’s championing of the primitive, his denigration of Greek art and its tradition, his emphasis on medium, and his promotion of “truth to the material” also anticipate ideas that would become current much later and corroborate

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4 BLAST, Review of the Great English Vortex was the official mouthpiece of the Vorticist movement. The journal declared its revolutionary aesthetics through both its form and content. Avant-garde works by Vorticist adherents such as Wyndham Lewis, Ezra Pound, T. S. Eliot, Ford Madox Ford, Rebecca West, Jacob Epstein, and Edward Wadsworth accompanied its catalogues of Vorticist principles. Large, bold-faced type, a spare, almost abstract layout, and “steam-calloiopé pink” folio-sized bindings (in the first number) lent vigor and defiance to the pronouncements. The journal was edited by Wyndham Lewis, who planned a regular, quarterly publication. However, because of the disruptions of the war, only two volumes were published—the first in June 1914, and the final “War Number” in July 1915. (Pound called the color of the first number “steam-calloiopé pink” in his article “Chronicles” in BLAST, no. 2 (July 1915), 86.)

5 Gaudier-Brzeska had published a letter and a review in the Egoist prior to the publication of BLAST. According to Ezra Pound, however, “Vortex” was written before these other statements. See Ezra Pound, Gaudier-Brzeska, A Memoir (London: John Lane, 1916), p. 7.

6 BLAST, no. 1 (20 June 1914), 158.
Henry Moore’s evaluation of Gaudier-Brzeska’s work as “written with freshness and insight . . . Gaudier speaks as a young sculptor discovering things.”

The essay ranges over the history of art, touching on cultures as diverse as the Paleolithic, Egyptian, Chinese, Greek, Mexican, and modern Western civilization. It isolates—in a “prestructuralist” way—each culture’s informing spirit as generated by its mode of existence. This “driving power” shapes each individual civilization’s art and determines the nature of the interaction between art’s fundamentals, the vertical and the sphere. The cylindrical nature of African and Oceanic art, for example, results from an energetic people in close contact with nature:

they fell into [in] contemplation before their sex: the site of their great energy: THEIR CONVEX MATURITY.

They pulled the sphere lengthways and made the cylinder, [no comma] this is the VORTEX OF FECUNDITY, and it has left us the masterpieces that are known as love charms.9

Although it is a printer’s fair copy, several details of the manuscript differ from the printed version in BLAST and contribute to its interest. There are a number of corrections, many fewer marks of punctuation than in the published essay, and one phrase that the final text deletes.9 Art historians will find it interesting that Zadkin—a sculptor whom Gaudier-Brzeska had criticized as “sentimental”—was initially included in the Vorticist’s list of fellow “moderns,” but was crossed out, possibly by Wyndham Lewis.10 Several pencil corrections of Gaudier-Brzeska’s ink text were definitely made by the editor of BLAST.

But the most interesting deviation is BLAST’s loss of a clause in the essay’s penultimate sentence. The published version reads:

We have been influenced by what we like most, [comma omitted] each according to his own individuality, we have crystallized the sphere into the cube, we have made a combination of all the possible shaped masses—concentrating them to express our abstract thoughts of conscious superiority.11

The manuscript text inserts the following phrase between “each according to his own individuality” and “we have crystallized the sphere into the cube”: “we have elongated the sphere into the egg.” The difference is significant. Without the manuscript phrase, Gaudier-Brzeska’s summary statement on the achievement of modern art appears to stress the angular cube and define modern art as Cubist. By including the sphere, the deleted phrase shifts the emphasis of the sentence and clarifies Gaudier-Brzeska’s view of modern art as a combination of abstract forms including the cube and the sphere—not as an exclusively rectilinear art. This revised definition accords with Gaudier-Brzeska’s sculpture. Even the “Hieratic Head of Ezra Pound,” which is one of his most angular pieces, incorporates the sphere in its overall form and rhythm and in the shaping of the cheekbones and hair.

This emphasis differentiates Gaudier-Brzeska from Wyndham Lewis and other leading avant-garde figures such as T. E. Hulme. Lewis’s commitment to vitality and violence led him to advocate angular, hard forms; he criticized “the peculiar soft bluntness” of Gaudier-Brzeska’s sculpture as “a little too naturalistic and not stalky xx century enough.”12 Hulme exhorted modern artists to recognize man’s limitations and his alienation from nature in “rigid lines and dead crystalline forms.”13 He, too, expressed reservations about Gaudier-Brzeska’s sculptures whose “abstractions . . . do not seem . . . to be always thoroughly thought out.”14 In some aspects, such as the contempt for the cultural narcissism of naturalistic Greek art’s

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1 Henry Moore on Sculpture, ed. Philip James (London: Macdonald and Co., 1966), p. 49. Moore cited Gaudier-Brzeska and Roger Fry as the two most important influences on his work.
2 BLAST, no. 1, 157. Manuscript variations are cited in brackets.
3 It is probable that the differences between the published BLAST essay and this manuscript derived from changes made on the printer’s galleys.
4 Osip Zadkin (1890-1967) was a Russian sculptor living in London before the early war. (He Anglicized his name to Zadkin when he moved to England.) Although his mentality, Gaudier-Brzeska said of his work: “On the whole Zadkin is pulled between and which has the power of envisaging great life—and a very strong liking for pretty melancholy—which bores me.” Review of Allied Artists’ Association Ltd. Exhibition, in the Egoist 1 (16 March 1914). Reproduced in Pound, Gaudier-Brzeska, p. 27.
5 Modigliani, and myself.” BLAST, no. 1, 158.
7 BLAST, no. 1, 158.
8 Pound, Gaudier-Brzeska, p. 17.
11 BLAST, no. 1, 158.
12 Pound, Gaudier-Brzeska, p. 17.
focus on the human figure, Gaudier-Brzeska’s philosophy agreed with Hulme’s, but it remained more comprehensive than Hulme’s or Lewis’s. The Frenchman included organic, curvilinear forms in his abstract aesthetic, and did not share the other men’s antipathy to nature. This was a bold stance for the young sculptor to take, in view of the reputations of Lewis, Hulme, the Cubists, and the Futurists. The organic strength of the dynamic fusion of curved and angular forms in his finest sculptures established the contemporary virtue of his aesthetic. Subsequent theories have shown its endurance.

The discovery of this phrase which mysteriously disappeared from the published version of Gaudier-Brzeska’s “Vortex” confirms a principle that his sculpture declares, but which literary scholars have sometimes overlooked. In its deviation from the other leaders of Vorticism, it further underlines one of the primary tenets of the movement, articulated by Ezra Pound: “The vorticist movement is a movement of individuals, for individuals, for the protection of individuality.”

The first issue of Blast, in which Gaudier-Brzeska’s “Vortex” appeared, was published in June 1914—a month before the First World War began. The second issue, which appeared a year later, contained another energetic statement by Gaudier-Brzeska as well as a picture of “The Hieratic Head of Ezra Pound.” It also contained a black-bordered announcement of Gaudier-Brzeska’s death: “Mort Pour La Patrie.” The premature death of this spirited young artist was greatly felt by his contemporaries. Pound regretted it as the loss of “the best of the young sculptors, and the most promising. The arts will incur no worse loss from the war than this.” The war also brought an end to Blast—and, in a sense, to the Vorticist movement.

Ezra Pound even reveals a partial misunderstanding of the emphasis of Gaudier-Brzeska’s aesthetics. In his explanation of the essay advocating organic art that Gaudier-Brzeska was planning at the time of his death, Pound aligns organism with curvilinear forms and treats the unwritten essay as a more marked turn in Gaudier-Brzeska’s aesthetics than it was. See his Gaudier-Brzeska.


It is possible that Lewis eliminated the phrase in the proof in order to support his own Vorticist doctrine and make the three “Vortex” essays of Blast, no. 1 more uniform. Lewis, apparently, often made numerous corrections on printers’ proofs.

16 Blast, no. 2, 34.
BLAST, however, has recently been revived. As a tribute to the vital spirit behind Vorticism's determined promotion of the arts, Seamus Cooney, Hugh Kenner, Bradford Morrow, and Bernard Lafourcade have dedicated BLAST 3 to the memory of Wyndham Lewis. A copy of the journal, published in 1984 by the Black Sparrow Press, Santa Barbara, California, has been donated to Princeton University Library by Omar S. Pound. It brings together scholarly and creative works by artists of the past and present. The Vorticists and their contemporaries are represented by a variety of works, including a generous collection of previously unpublished letters by Ezra Pound—concerning Lewis's Rude Assignment and The Hitler Cult—and the transcript of his retrospective radio broadcast "Blast"; a short story, 16 color plates, and seven black and white reproductions of works by Wyndham Lewis; five reproductions of drawings by Gaudier-Brzeska; and a poem by Mina Loy. Essays by present-day scholars of the Vorticist movement such as Timothy Materer and William C. Wees complement creative works by Joyce Carol Oates and Guy Davenport. Davenport's "The Bowman of Shu" is a collage of excerpts from Gaudier-Brzeska's war letters and accounts of his life illustrated by Gaudier-Brzeska and Davenport. The work effectively renders the reactions of a sensitive artist to the stimulations of avant-garde London and the horrors of trench warfare in France, and further underlines Gaudier-Brzeska's lasting contribution to modern art and culture.

ARCHITECTURE 1450-1950

The books, prints, manuscripts, and drawings on display in the architectural exhibition held in the Gould Exhibition Gallery in Firestone Library between 18 January and 7 April 1985 were drawn from the many and varied holdings of the Princeton University Library. With only one or two exceptions, the printed books came from the Rare Books Collection at Marquand Art Library in McCormick Hall. The drawings were chiefly from the Manuscript Division of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

The exhibition assembled many of the basic works needed to form a historical Western European architectural collection. The books illustrated what is called the classical tradition in architecture, a system based on the high-style building forms of ancient Greece and Rome. In those countries that adopted classical forms, such as England, France, Spain, Germany, and the Low Countries, this system stands in direct contrast to the vernacular tradition. Books published in these countries during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries described in detail the classical tradition and aided in the process of educating people in its theories, thereby spreading the rejection of vernacular traditions.

The exhibition began with editions of Vitruvius, the first-century B.C. Roman architect whose work is the only such kind to come down to us today. He inspired many great architects of the Renaissance, including Alberti, Bramante, Palladio, and Michelangelo. During the Renaissance, his writings were issued in lavishly illustrated editions. In the exhibition were two 1511 editions, one from Venice (the first illustrated architectural book to be published in Europe) and one from Como (also showing cuts of the Milan cathedral, the earliest illustrations of Gothic architecture published in Europe), as well as several early translations. Following Vitruvius came editions of works by Grapaldi, Vignola, Alberti, Serlio, and Palladio, all illustrating the
spread and development of the theories of classical architecture in 16th-century Italy.

Following the section on these Italian masters came a series of displays covering the theorists of the classical tradition in 18th-century France and 18th-century England. In the French section were shown the large and grandly illustrated editions of Philibert de l'Orme, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, Francois Blondel, and Roland Fréart, sieur de Chambray. The English section included books with designs by Colen Campbell, Inigo Jones, Isaac Ware, and William Kent. A large portion of one case was devoted to some of Batty Langley's numerous handbooks, the form of which was the progenitor of early American architectural books.

Most of the drawings, many of which are in the Beaux Arts tradition, were first gathered as part of the Archives of American Architecture, a collecting program of the Library directed by Princeton's librarian Julian Boyd during the 1940s. The exhibition included works by Pennington Satterthwaite, Class of 1893, designs by Robert W. Gibson (1854-1927) for the New York Stock Exchange competition of 1903, and plates from Frank Lloyd Wright's "Wasmuth Portfolio" (from a copy given by Wright to the Library), as well as correspondence and notes relating to Wright given to the Library by Arthur C. Holden '12 and William H. Short '46.

—STEPHEN FERGUSON, Curator of Rare Books

THE NEW PYNSON PRINTERS

For more than two months this winter the lobby cases of the Firestone Library displayed brilliant work by a small group of students. Under the direction of Dale Roylance, curator of the Graphic Arts Collection, they have established a private press on campus called the New Pynson Printers, modeled on the establishment the late Elmer Adler set up in New York in 1922. Like Adler, who was the Library's first curator of Graphic Arts, they aim at using only "handset type, fine paper and inks, and letterpress printing with imaginative design." The Pynson printing studio is in the Visual Arts building at 185 Nassau Street, but the planning, binding, and hand coloring are all done in the Graphic Arts Collection on the second floor of the Firestone Library.

The group's first book, An Alphabet of Objects, was printed in an edition of 50 copies from antique blocks in the Graphic Arts Collection and consists of the 26 letters originally engraved for an early American children's book for the firm of McLoughlin Brothers. Newly printed by Kit Kuntze '82 and then hand colored, it was available either in marbleized boxes or in broadside format. It is now sold out. Kit Kuntze went on to become printing manager for the California firm of Harold Berliner. Pynson Printers' second book also drew on the Graphic Arts Collection, using antique wood-engraved blocks which were made to illustrate one of the earliest American editions of The Arabian Nights. The two tales they chose, "The Enchanted Horse" and "Aladdin," were also hand colored and offered in marbleized boxes. The edition of 50 copies was printed by Robert Stern '83 who is now a graduate student in graphic design at Yale. A few copies of the Arabian Nights tales are still available.

The most recent project is for good reasons drawing wide attention to the New Pynson Printers. Dale Roylance believes "modern restrikes from original copper plates offer the closest possible re-creation of fine engravings." Only a small portion of the original coppers engraved by Robert Havell, Jr. (1793-1878) for John James Audubon's great folio of The Birds of America have survived, and happily Princeton University owns five of them. Pynson Printer Scott Strang '83 used three of these for modern restrikes, inking and printing them during his senior year on the Visual Arts intaglio press: "The Rough Legged Falcon," "Rocky Mountain Warblers," and "Woodpeckers." Thus began the Audubon project which took almost a year to complete. Without the skill and patience of three current undergraduates, the hand coloring might have taken even longer.

Sarah Christ '85, a politics major from Los Angeles, admits she had little background to prepare her for such meticulous work, but enthusiasm is contagious and she has been a work-study student in Graphic Arts since her freshman year. Barksdale Maynard '88, from Birmingham, Alabama, has drawn for the fun of it all his life, is a naturalist devoted to birds, and found he could not resist the Audubons. Shawn Sawyer '88, from East Burke, Vermont, is a potential art history major crossed with American studies, and like Maynard he took art courses at a college near his home before coming to Princeton. For months this busy trio had a table in Graphic Arts covered with water colors and brushes while they closely matched the original tones found in "the first edition of The Birds that was
cautiously brought up from the vaults of Rare Books." By Christmas they had completed 50 warblers, four falcons ("actually they’re hawks," says Maynard), and nine woodpeckers. The Princeton Audubons are issued in a handsome printed folder, created by Scott Strang, with a full bibliographical description and printed title. In a lower corner of the engravings an intaglio stamp clearly labels them the work of the Pynson Printers. Proceeds from sales have been placed in a growing "Pynson Printers’ Fund" in the Graphic Arts account for future printing projects.

—R.M.L.
to mind the other two masterpieces of the early private-press movement, the Kelmscott Chaucer and the Doves Bible.

Kessler, Lemmen, and van de Velde's high regard for Nietzsche's Zarathustra was part of the Nietzsche mania which swept across Europe in the 1890s and was shared by major writers from Gide to D'Annunzio. Artists in every field felt the call of Zarathustra. Richard Strauss transformed the work into his famous tone poem in 1896, and the painter-turned-architect Peter Behrens decorated his first house, created in 1900 for the Darmstadt Artists' Colony, with motifs borrowed from Zarathustra.

The idea of creating a deluxe, hand-printed edition of the book itself dates to August 1897 when Count Kessler was invited to the Nietzsche villa "Silberblick" in Weimar. His sister Elizabeth Förster-Nietzsche (1846-1935) and the young count planned a book to be printed in red and black in the Kelmscott manner from English type and wooden blocks. Shortly after meeting this agreement a contract was drawn up naming Förster-Nietzsche, Kessler, and the publisher C. G. Naumann as legal parties. Kessler retained full artistic license for the book and responsibility for its completion. Van de Velde was charged with the design of the cover and sketches for 100 decorations.

Progress on the new Zarathustra was hampered, however, by Frau Förster-Nietzsche's cantankerous demands on the publisher, who withdrew from the contract a year later. These difficulties gave Kessler an opportunity to rethink his ideas, and when a second contract was drawn up in December 1898 (not signed until June 1899) between Kessler, van de Velde, Förster-Nietzsche, and the new publisher Samuel Fischer of Berlin, it included the much more ambitious task of having Lemmen create a new typeface. In this year Kessler had come to know Lemmen's work through lengthy articles in the new journals L'Art décoratif and Dekorative Kunst, and through Lemmen's association with Bing's "Art Nouveau" gallery, Meier-Graefe's "Maison Moderne," and the Keller and Reiner gallery, all of which Kessler patronized. By the time of this second agreement, Lemmen had not only designed a book for Kessler, Notizen über Mexico, and his ex libris, but had already created ex libris for many of Kessler's friends.

By January 1899 Lemmen and Kessler were corresponding about the ascenders and descenders, slants, proportions, and thickness of every letter in the alphabet. Lemmen expressed his determination to purify his own style, to rid it of its typical Art Nouveau exuberance. Kessler's own recommendations were firmly rooted in the Roman faces favored by Arts and Crafts printers such as Ricketts and Lucien Pissarro, faces in turn based on Morris's first face, the Golden. Though Lemmen's alphabet, too, is related to the Golden, it is delicate and elongated compared to Morris's squatter, horizontal proportions, while the Rs, Ps, and Cs retain Lemmen's curvilinear eccentricities. This combination of seemingly opposite styles in the typeface gives the pages of Zarathustra their distinctive look, so well suited to Nietzsche's powerful text.

Though Lemmen had completed the letters by January 1900, another year passed before they were cut by Drugulin and proofed. Again, Förster-Nietzsche changed publishers, replacing Fischer with Schuster and Loeffler, according to a third contract of May 1900. There the matter sat for six years. Despite Lemmen's creation of the typeface, Drugulin's cutting and casting of the face, and van de Velde's production of preliminary designs, little progress was made toward actual publication until the appointment of Insel Verlag as publisher in October 1906. Once the legal issues were settled, work began in earnest. During late 1906 and 1907, van de Velde created the designs that now decorate the deluxe edition. After experimenting with various shades of blue inks, the present burgundy was settled on and printing began.

Though the completed Zarathustra owes much to Arts and Crafts ideals and the spirit of William Morris, the gap between the completion of the typeface, itself turning away from Art Nouveau, and the designs of the final book and its decoration, allowed new developments to influence its appearance and more closely relate it to the emerging modern movement, as exemplified by the simplification and classical monumentality of the Doves Press. However, we choose to classify the Zarathustra, the sheer beauty and power of its typography, ornamentation, and presentation make it an outstanding contribution to book design.

—Jane Block, Art Bibliographer, Marquand Library

**Emblem Books in the Princeton University Library: A Short-Title Catalogue**

Continuing a long tradition of publishing descriptive catalogues of its holdings, the Library has recently issued a short-
title catalogue of some 800 emblem books in various collections, such as Graphic Arts, Rare Books, and the Marquand Art Library. The 121-page catalogue includes both original and facsimile editions of emblem books as well as microfilm reproductions held by the Library. Starting with the first edition of Alciati’s Emblemata of the year 1531, it ranges down to the present with the inclusion of a witty Dutch emblem book of the year 1983. Also listed are nearly two dozen “proto-emblematic” books, so called because they are relevant to understanding Alciati’s work. Compiled by William S. Heckscher and Agnes B. Sherman with the assistance of Stephen Ferguson, the catalogue is the first book to be produced by the Princeton Emblem Bibliography project, announced in previous issues of the Chronicle (Autumn 1977 and Winter 1979).

The arrangement is that of a standard dictionary catalogue, listing authors alphabetically by last name with each author’s works given underneath. Following are imprint, call number, and details regarding circumstances of publication. Added to the main text are three sorts of indexes, providing access to the emblem books by name of printers, booksellers, and publishers; by place of publication; and by chronology.

Copies are available from the Library’s Department of Rare Books and Special Collections for $10 each (postage included).

—S.F.

ACCESSIONS TO THE NUMISMATIC COLLECTION

Gifts of great quality and interest came to the Numismatic Collection in 1984. Carl Breuer ’29 presented five outstanding pieces of Greek silver coinage: a fourth-century stater of Corinth (Cammann 137), a stater of Pamphylian Aspendus (SNG von Aulock 4567), a tetradrachm of Perseus of Macedon (SNG Copenhagen 1267), and two tetradrachms of Philip Philadelphus, the last Greek king of Syria (Hunter 3, 9). These coins complement the Library’s holdings in a particularly fortunate way. The Aspendian stater is one of the few Greek coin issues to represent specialized practitioners of athletics and warfare (wrestlers and slingers); it is the Library’s second example, but much better preserved than the first. With the coin of Perseus we now have an example of one of the finest Hellenistic ruler portraits. The tetradrachms of Philadelphus provide authentic specimens of an issue that, in the Firestone collection, had pre-viously been represented only by ancient plated forgeries. The Antioch excavations directed by Princeton yielded a number of such forgeries, but no silver originals: of these Princeton now has, with the Breuer gift, two fine examples.

—BROOKS LEVY, Curator of Numismatics
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BRUCE REDFORD, assistant professor of English at the University of
Chicago, has recently completed a book on the familiar letter in 18th-
century England. He is editing the preliminary drafts of Sheridan's
School for Scandal, and preparing a critical study of Lord Chesterfield.
His essay on Lytton Strachey's fellowship dissertation appeared in the
Autumn 1981 issue of the Chronicle.

RUTH L. WOODWARD is on the staff of Princetonians: A Biographical
Dictionary and became acquainted with John Smith through reading
his journal and correspondence. Details about Smith and his class-
mates are available in the Princetonians files.

Princeton University Library Publications

CONGRESS AT PRINCETON
BEING THE LETTERS OF CHARLES THOMSON
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