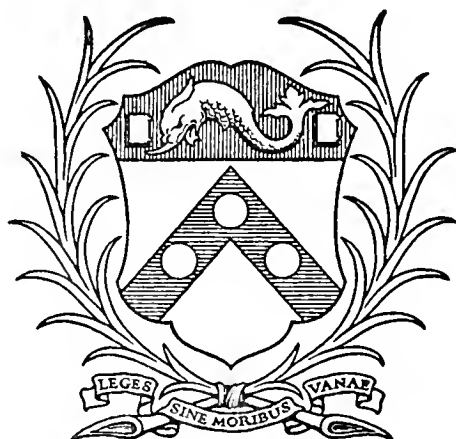


THE
LIBRARY CHRONICLE

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LIBRARY



VOLUME XXV

1959

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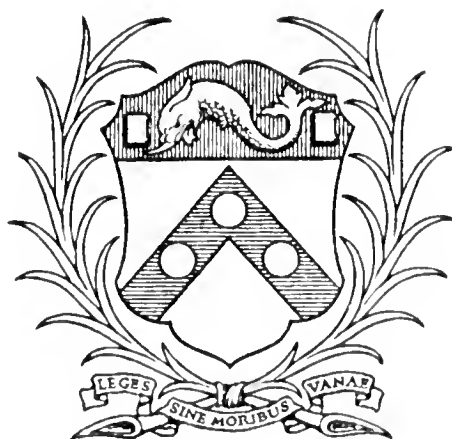
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Articles and notes of bibliographical or bibliophile interest are invited. Contributions should be submitted to The Editor, *The Library Chronicle*, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.



Sutro Library in Metamorphosis

RICHARD H. DILLON

THE Sutro Library is a branch of the California State Library located in the San Francisco Public Library. Originally it was the private library of Adolph Sutro who collected it in the late nineteenth century. It contained some 250,000 volumes and was one of the largest private libraries in the world until it suffered grievously in the San Francisco fire and earthquake of 1906 and lost half of its collection. The heirs of Sutro presented the Library to the State of California in 1913. Its doors were opened to the public in 1917 and it was moved to its present location in 1923.

We at Pennsylvania have a special interest in private libraries of this type as indicated by the Lea, Furness, and Edgar Fahs Smith libraries. There is a special affinity between the Sutro and the Edgar Fahs Smith collections in that they are both pre-eminently research libraries that have given special emphasis to science and technology. The time period covered in both libraries is likewise analogous—from the early modern period to the present—although the earliest material in the Sutro Library dates from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and the Smith collection starts with the late fifteenth century. However, the Edgar Fahs Smith Library has a more specialized collection since the founder restricted it to works on alchemy and chemistry. It is now a world-famous collection on these subjects and their history. The Sutro Library represents a more general approach. Adolph Sutro aimed at the creation of a superior and unique research library in science, technology, and the humanities because of the lack of such a facility in the West. That he was successful to an outstanding degree is beyond dispute. We are indeed fortunate in having this opportunity of learning more about the Sutro Library.

Richard Dillon is the Sutro Librarian and read this paper before the Division of History of Chemistry of the American Chemical Society at San Francisco in April of 1958. He has kindly consented to its publication in this issue of the *Library Chronicle*.

THE *Journal of the American Medical Association* for December 21, 1957 devoted some attention to what it termed "medicine's happy accidents." The *Journal* reminded us of the experience of Anton van Leeuwenhoek in casually focusing his magnifying glass on a drop of water—instead of upon the fly's leg which should have had his attention—and, as a result of his moment of distraction, discovering the science of bacteriology. Other examples of "happy accidents" in medicine could be added—Louis Pasteur's unintentional inoculation of chickens with a stale cholera culture, or Fleming's absentmindedness in leaving a Petri dish uncovered and thereby uncovering the age of penicillin.

We might well use the term "serendipity" in place of the words "happy accidents." This is the talent some people possess for finding something while searching for something else entirely. All of us know of examples in the field of chemistry. The same *Journal of the American Medical Association* referred to above recalled the "sweetest case of serendipity on record." When a chemist, who forgot to wash his hands before lunch, wondered about the sugary taste of his roast beef sandwich, he rushed back to his lab to discover saccharine.

Serendipity affects all disciplines and professions, including librarianship. For instance, the reason for San Francisco's possession of a little-known but potentially great historical research collection in Sutro Library is serendipity, in some measure.

While Sutro Library is probably never going to be a *great* library in the history of chemistry, it *is* going to be better-known and more-used because of the riches it does have in this field as well as in some dozens of other areas of historical interest. Why? For the simple reason that California and the Far West, like it or not, are still on the bibliographical frontier. We live in a book-poor area, despite the great growth of the Pacific Coast. The librarians of both the University of California and the University of California at Los Angeles have commented publicly on the shortcomings of the West in terms of reference and research collections. The Sutro Library can be of great help in correcting this situation, in the field of the history of science, including chemistry, as well as in other areas. We can thank the founder, Adolph Sutro, not only for the care with which he selected works

for the Library but also bless him for his serendipity, his “unconscious collecting,” if you will.

To return again to our term, serendipity, and its definition. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines it as “the faculty of making happy and unexpected discoveries by accident.” The word was coined by Horace Walpole circa 1754. Walpole took it from a fairy tale titled *The Three Princes of Serendip* (Serendip, like Taprobane, being an archaic name for Ceylon); these three fellows, in the words of Walpole, “were always making discoveries by accident and sagacity, of things they were not in quest of.” Surely Adolph Sutro’s acquisition of so much Victorian ephemera, to cite but one example, is a tribute to his serendipity.

The story of the Sutro Library is, necessarily, the story of but one man, Adolph Sutro. Born in 1830 in what was then Aix-la-Chapelle, France, and which is now Aachen, Germany, Sutro had a normal European boyhood but was thrust early into the business world. By the time he was in his teens he was in charge of his father’s cloth factory in the Baltic port city of Memel.

The year 1848 has been called “the Year of Decision” by Bernard DeVoto, referring to the United States. It was a year of revolution in Europe and it proved to be a year of personal decision for Adolph Sutro. The family’s fortunes having been ruined by a financial “recession” which followed on the heels of the political disturbances in Germany, he determined to emigrate to America.

The Sutros arrived in the United States in 1851 and, almost immediately, Adolph was en route to the gold fields of California to seek his fortune. When he arrived in San Francisco he was a poor immigrant boy with no more capital than his youth and a carefully-hoarded stock of tobacco and cigars which he slept beside on a pool table in a waterfront saloon the first night he was in town. Within a few years he was a booming success in what he called “petty trade,” mainly the tobacco business.

About 1859 his interest was seized by the newly-discovered Comstock silver mines of the Virginia City area of Nevada. He visited them and found that there was great danger of their being shut down by drainage problems. A vast quantity of water was trapped in the shafts, steadily flooding the workings. Sutro grappled boldly with the problem and conceived a great horizon-

tal tunnel which would not only drain the mines but would also ventilate them, allow the quick removal of ore to the Carson River stamp mills, and provide an escape tunnel for workmen in case of fire.

His plan was so good that the very men who first supported him were soon turning on him as a rival in the "Comstock empire." The "Silver Kings"—Mackay, Flood, Fair and O'Brien—and the "Bank Ring" of Ralston and Sharon—wanted no further "divvying" of the profits so they tried to ruin him by delaying the project and then taking it over themselves. They fought him in the mines, in the banks and in the halls of Congress, where Sutro sought aid, but they lost.

Sutro built his tunnel, one of the man-made wonders of the world. Begun on October 19, 1869, the Sutro Tunnel—nine miles long when its north and south laterals are included—was not finished until July 1878. The entrance of this great engineering feat can still be seen near Dayton, Nevada. The tunnel itself should be of interest to anyone concerned with the history of science and technology.

Adolph Sutro retired from his Sutro Tunnel Company in 1870 a rich man. He took a round-the-world trip in which he renewed his interest in books and libraries. About this time he evolved his plan for a great library patterned after the British Museum.

Sutro was not content to be remembered by the size of his bank account or by a hole in the ground in Nevada. He wanted his monument to be a living, immortal organism—a library. He therefore set out to build the greatest private library in the world. And he succeeded admirably. By the time this untutored bibliophile and his book agents were through, in the 1890's, the Sutro Library contained approximately 250,000 volumes.

It must not be thought that Adolph Sutro built this great library out of mere rich man's vanity. He could have had a far cheaper yet more impressive monument (at least in the eyes of *hoi polloi*) in some memorial tower, fountain or pile of sculpture. But Sutro was a genuine philanthropist. He stated his case to the press in 1885:

"The wealth of man can only be enjoyed a short portion of the immeasurable span of time. Wealth cannot be taken away with

us and wealth *can* be the fruitful cause of trouble among relatives and dear friends after we have gone. I resolved to devote some portion of my wealth for the benefit of the people among whom I have so long labored. I first resolved to collect a library, a library for reference. Not a library of various book curiosities but a library which should compare with any in the world. I have a gentleman in England whose sole business it is to purchase all such valuable books, and I can assure you that it causes in England no little feeling of jealousy to have taken away from her shores such valuable works, and especially to so barbarous a place as California.”

There was good reason for Sutro to put together a library. In 1879 the University of California Library was a decade old but totalled only 80,000 volumes. The city of San Francisco had not even begun work on a public library. There was a real need for a research library on the Coast.

Sutro bought books himself and commissioned agents to scour the bookmarts of the world. In the year 1884 alone, three hundred and thirty-five cases of his books arrived in San Francisco. In 1889 Sutro told a friend that he had literally walked waist-deep in books in a Mexico City warehouse. Needless to say, he bought the whole lot.

Robert Cowan, the San Francisco bookseller and bibliographer, described Sutro’s shopping methods thus:

“He had a queer way of buying, which was particularly successful in Italy. He’d go into a bookshop and see ten or fifteen thousand volumes, mostly in pigskin or parchment. He’d ask how much was wanted per volume for the whole collection. Perhaps the dealer would say ‘four lire.’ He’d offer two lire and get the whole stock; and usually it would be a bargain. Or, he’d go to the old monasteries and ask the monks to sell their old treasures. They’d refuse, whereupon he’d draw from his pocket handfuls of American gold and the impoverished monks would yield. These methods of buying account for the enormous, heterogeneous mass of books in the Sutro Collection.”

Sutro bought in many fields. It might be easier to say there were a few fields in which he did not particularly collect: children’s books, the fiction of his day, art and music.

We are not sure of all the treasures which Sutro did acquire by the time of his death in 1898. The estate was tied up in the courts and the library remained in storage. On April 18, 1906, the great San Francisco earthquake and fire destroyed all the libraries in the city with the exception of the Sutro Library, but it wiped out more than half of that collection. About 91,000 volumes remained.

In 1913 the Sutro Library was given to the State of California as a San Francisco Branch of the State Library. The doors were opened to the public in 1917 and the Library has served (with little publicity and with inadequate quarters in the Public Library building) a growing clientele.

The Sutro Library is a unique institution. It is a public, historical reference and research library. It is open to all, and unlike many of the libraries most similar to it—Newberry or Huntington, for example—it has a liberal interlibrary loan policy. Strong points in the collection include: Hebraica, voyages and travels, English history, American history, genealogy, local history, incunabula, Shakesperiana, theology and philosophy, and the history of science.

Sutro built up what was for the 1880's an outstanding reference library in both the humanities and science. But the passage of time, the destruction by the 1906 holocaust, and the effect of Sutro's serendipity have "metamorphosed" the collection. Even the most up-to-date works on hydraulics, let us say, of Sutro's day may now be avidly sought by the student of the history of science. Thus, a title like Prony's *Architecture Hydraulique* for reference and loan is of great value in our "book-poor" West.

Even more interesting than the recognized classics in the history of science, like the works of Boerhaave, Accum, Chaptal, Orfila, and Davy, on exhibit in the Library, are the ephemeral pamphlets on science and technology which Sutro acquired accidentally, as it were, and which do much to fill us in on the thought and technique in these fields a hundred or two hundred years ago. The time is ripe for an exploration of the 25,000 English pamphlets of the period 1640-1890 in the Sutro collection, particularly the 10,000 or so for the 19th Century, for their interpretation of the Industrial Revolution and the Age of Experi-

mentation. No one knows just what treasures may lie among these pamphlets. In science they cover every subject from railroads to smog to chemistry.

An additional trove is the Sir Joseph Banks Manuscript Collection, an archive of some 10,000 papers—approximately 100,000 pages of unique material—which documents scientific life in England at the end of the 18th Century and the beginning of the 19th. Again, we are not sure just what treasures lurk in these papers, for the collection is less than half catalogued. It is obvious that Sir Joseph Banks' scientific interests were more in the line of agriculture, botany or zoology than chemistry and physics, yet the one researcher who has explored the Banks Papers in search of history of science material turned up original, unpublished manuscripts by or about such men as Davy, Batt, Henry, and Rumford.

It is obvious that the picture is changing at Sutro Library. At present, the Library is known as an active reference library in the fields of genealogy and local history, with many rare books and ancient manuscripts of great value but of limited appeal because of their specialization. Not yet completely explored, much less appreciated, is the Sutro Library's ability to serve students in one of the newest disciplines to be honored in American university curricula—the history of science. However, the "prospecting" which has been done so far leads one to believe that some rich "strikes" may be made in Sutro Library if one is willing to do a bit of bibliographic digging.

A Young Dramatist's Diary: *The Secret Records* of R. M. Bird¹

RICHARD HARRIS*

Introduction

The Secret Records, a sporadically-kept and short-lived journal of Robert Montgomery Bird, the nineteenth-century American dramatist, is an important document in the history of the American theatre. Recording his personal doubts and frustrations, the young author puts before the reader the necessary dangers and limited rewards of the dramatic author.

Bird, who lived from 1806–1854, spent most of his life in Philadelphia (graduating from the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine in 1827), where he saw Edwin Forrest, the famous American actor, produce his notable tragedies *The Gladiator*, *Oralloossa*, and *The Broker of Bogota*. In 1915, his grandson gave the Bird manuscripts to the University of Pennsylvania. The plays were subsequently published by Clement Foust and Edward O'Neill, both of the University. *The Secret Records* is to be found in the Bird Collection. †

In April, 1831, Bird had finished the final draft of *The Gladiator*, and had sent it off to Forrest for final approval. Between this time and the play's opening on September 26th, Bird, perhaps exhausted by his work and occupied by second thoughts as to the play's quality (the first play he submitted to Forrest—*Pelopidas*—was accepted, but not produced), began his journal on August 27th, a month before his famous play opened, and finished it before the year was out. Although there are but three entries in the journal—August 27th, October 26th, and December 14th—it is probable that Bird set down his thoughts more often than that. The abrupt shifts in subject matter seem to indicate that the writer put his thoughts down whenever he felt the need. It was a casual performance, too; otherwise one would expect him, for example, to record the opening of *The Gladiator* immediately. Instead, he gives notice of it

* Richard Harris, author of "From the Papers of R. M. Bird: The Lost Scene from *News of the Night*" appearing in the Winter 1958 issue of the *Library Chronicle*, is currently a lecturer in the Department of Speech and Theatre at Indiana University.

† The Bird Collection consists of 25 bound manuscript volumes of Bird's plays and 13 boxes of manuscripts, correspondence, political speeches, and financial records. The variety of the material provides an opportunity, not only to investigate the technique of a nineteenth-century dramatist, but also to explore the relationships of playwrights, actors, and producers of the American stage of the period. "The Life of Robert Montgomery Bird" by his wife Mary Mayer Bird was edited by C. Seymour Thompson and appeared in five installments of the *Library Chronicle* in 1944–1945 (vol. 12, no. 3–vol. 13, no. 3). This hitherto unpublished manuscript forms a part of the Bird Collection.

one month later, under the second "entry." Likewise, under the December entry, he refers to a review written in November.

Of more importance, however, than his manner of writing are the various subjects which Bird touches upon throughout the seven-page manuscript. Two main divisions should be mentioned: those passages written before the opening of *The Gladiator* and those written after. Before this event, Bird is almost morbid with regret and frustration; he touches upon his lack of success at his age of twenty-five, and seems to place the blame for this lack of success squarely on the audience, for their lack of understanding, their vulgarity, their provincialism, and their love for romantic novels. After the opening of the play he seems more confident, but at the same time becomes exasperated with performers, critics, and audience alike.

Was Bird justified, in the earlier part of the journal, in making these depositions regarding the American public? There is a great deal of evidence to show that he was. From the earliest times in Colonial America, there had been not only a puritanical prejudice against theatrical enterprises, but also an attitude of hostility and contempt for the theatre on the part of other literary men.² In 1757, "The Anti-gallican," an essayist speaking of the introduction of operas and plays into the Colonies, says forthrightly, "If, in this detach'd quarter of the globe, we are, as yet, strangers to these names, and to the things meant by them, 'tis one circumstance of our felicity. May we always continue to be so!"³ What compounded the trouble on the American scene, however, was the preference on the part of that public who did go to the theatre for tried and trusted English plays, a preference that also extended to English novels. A contemporary writer summarizes the situation succinctly: "The writers of America have no encouragement whatever to venture upon the drama. The managers of the theatres, like the book publishers, cannot afford, of course, to give an American author anything for a play when they can get a better one, by every arrival, *for nothing*—after it has been cast for the London stage, and passed the ordeal."⁴ Thus, the public's contempt and the publishers' freedom, occasioned by the absence of copyright laws covering foreign authors, combined to frustrate the expression of a native American drama. Even when a native playwright was fortunate enough to have a play produced, he had no further rights over it, since the actor or manager possessed the play by right of performance. Any financial return usually took the form of a third night benefit, which amounted to little more than a charitable contribution.⁵

Bird himself, in a manuscript fragment entitled "The Decline of Drama," analyzes the problem more dispassionately than he does in *The Secret Records*. He lists three causes contributing to this decline. In the first place, there is ". . . the increased independence (in spirit as well as pocket) . . . of authors, whose pride . . . will not allow them

to submit their works to the arbitration of ignorance and brutality . . .” of the audience, or to “the malice and meanness of critics. . . .” Secondly, he says, “It is only in the theatre, that genius is at the mercy of the mob.” Thirdly, he explains that other literary employments—annuals, magazines, and newspapers—offer more rewards.⁶ Cultivated individuals of the time, having no professional interest in the theatre, were aware of these problems, and were content to read their drama at home rather than venture forth to the theatre. Sydney Fisher, a Philadelphian of Bird’s time, says rather shortly, “I detest the theatre, the crowd of horrid vulgar people disgusts me, and the wretched performance of most of the actors except the ‘star’ of the evening destroys the pleasure one would otherwise feel in seeing a good character well played. I rejoice that I have never seen any of Shakespear’s finer plays, on the stage. I can read them without the disturbing associations & recollections of vulgar acting, & stage effect.”⁷ Therefore, snobbish audiences, unappreciative critics, tightfisted managers, and arbitrary copyright laws—all of these conspired to make the road of the aspiring young dramatist a path of thorny brambles indeed.

In another passage in the diary written prior to the opening of his play, Bird makes reference to a slave revolt taking place in Virginia. This revolt was, of course, the famous rebellion of Nat Turner, the evangelistic and fanatical slave, who wanted to start a world-wide emancipation of slaves. Since Bird finished *The Gladiator* in April, and Turner did not begin his revolt until August 20th, one cannot make the claim that Turner’s rebellion was the immediate inspiration for Bird’s play, itself a story of revolt in the days of the later Roman Republic. There had been a multitude of uprisings however, which could have influenced Bird—no less than 153 from the earliest times in America through 1831—among them the extensively organized revolt of Denmark Vesey in 1822, after which forty-seven slaves were condemned to the gallows.⁸ This is not the place to discuss the exact motives which led to these insurrections. It is enough to say that while Bird championed the cause of individual liberty among the enslaved gladiators of ancient Rome, he looked upon the institution of slavery in his own country with a mixture of tolerance and dread. Thus, when he says, in *The Secret Records*, that if the play were performed in the South he “would be rewarded with the Penitentiary!” he realizes the implications his play has for his own countrymen.⁹

Bird’s discussion after the opening of *The Gladiator* falls into three main divisions: the kind of performance his play has been given, its reception by the critics, and the proper attributes of the poet. As to the performance of the play, he gives it short shrift: “It was a horrible piece of bungling from beginning to end.” This was not unusual in the American theatre of the time. Stage design, costuming, and lighting were primitive, inadequate, and far below the unified standards of the

twentieth century. Pieces of scenery were of stock and stereotyped design—set pieces handed down from one production to another in the same theatre, or carried for years in the management's trunks. Gas lighting afforded dim and hazardous illumination. The actors themselves were responsible for their costumes and, likely as not, these garments were hand-me-downs, ill-suited to the tone of the play or the period of presentation. Indeed, it was not long before this that, in England, David Garrick and Mrs. Siddons had played in *Macbeth* wearing eighteenth-century brocade. The acting itself, with the exception of the "stars," was also of an inferior quality. In those far-off days, the actor was on his own to learn his trade—and it was, in most cases, strictly a trade—as best he could, in a repertoire company, and, if he were lucky enough, in the company of a "star." If he were recognized as possessing those indefinable qualities which constitute the make-up of the real actor, he would be elevated to leading roles, an event which did not happen frequently. For the most part, men and women were condemned to spend their lives strutting through small parts, never attaining renown. This, then, was the *cursus honorum* of acting, a chaotic yet exacting tradition which still obtains to a large extent.

The one exception Bird makes in his condemnation of the company is the acting of Edwin Forrest, ". . . undoubtedly the best man for Spartacus in Christendom. . . ." Forrest, a native American and a sponsor of plays by American authors, was about the same age as Bird, and had attained to his present position in the theatre through working in and touring with various repertoire companies. The greatness of his acting consisted mainly in the display of his physical powers. William Winter gives a very good description of these:

From the first, and until the last, his acting was saturated with "realism," and that was one reason of his extensive popularity. He could at all times be seen, heard, and understood. He struck with a sledge-hammer. Not even nerves of gutta-percha could remain unshaken by his blow. In the manifestation of terror he lolled out his tongue, contorted his visage, made his frame quiver, and used the trick sword with the rattling hilt. In scenes of fury he panted, snorted, and snarled, like a wild beast. In death scenes his gasps and gurgles were protracted and painfully literal. . . .¹⁰

Physically, the rôle of Spartacus, the gladiator who shook the Roman Republic to its foundations and caused the deaths of thousands, was admirably suited to Forrest. While the part of Spartacus does contain spiritual depths, Forrest seems to have subordinated them in the interests of pure spectacle. It may be, perhaps, that he was unequal to interpreting these spiritual qualities, for in his production of Bird's later play, *The Broker of Bogota*, he did not achieve the same renown, interpreting a character who asserts himself rather through will than by

means of any physical prowess; consequently, the latter play did not hold as firm a place in his repertoire as *The Gladiator*.

Bird's second consideration in the latter part of his journal lies with the critics, whom he seems to consider inadequate in their tasks. In this charge, Bird again comes near to the heart of the matter. At least one or two other contemporary journalists were aware of the problems of dramatic criticism in America, and were not afraid to analyze them. Gould lists as the causes of the low state of criticism: (1) the practice of authors of giving complimentary copies to critics, (2) critical indulgence for personal friends, (3) leniency toward colleagues on the same journal, (4) the fear of offending authors' admirers, (5) the desire to encourage American literature, and (6) indolence.¹¹ If one adds to these characteristics puritanical and provincial prejudice, the critical picture becomes gloomy indeed. As another writer expressed it, "A newspaper criticism is generally a puff or a libel—either an extravagant eulogy or a violent attack."¹² It is not entirely true, as Fisher states, that Bird was "damned with faint praise." *The Gladiator* was generally praised, but in effusive and superficial terms. Contemporary criticism favored spectacle and the emphatic statement of moral truth, while fidelity to historical events was also ranked high among critics conditioned by those scholastically imposing novels compiled by Sir Walter Scott.

While many critics merely comment neutrally upon the enthusiasm of the audience, others choose to commit themselves and go into some detail and, almost without exception, acclaim Bird's play. One reviewer is particularly enthusiastic when he claims that *The Gladiator* is "*the best native tragedy extant*," and that "It bears the stamp of genius in every lineament." He even thinks that all the actors did a good job!¹³ Another critic says that Bird has ". . . wrought up a Drama of intense interest, without in the least violating probabilities." "The characters," he continues, "are drawn with spirit; each speaks in accordance with the feelings and passions natural to his respective situation, thereby preserving a perfect individuality."¹⁴ Still another chooses to compare Bird's play with English plays, stating that "In point of scenic effect, we consider the *Gladiator* as quite equal to *Virginius* or *Brutus*, while as a dramatic composition it certainly surpasses either."¹⁵ The critics in the Boston papers continue in the same vein, complimenting the "beautiful passages," "noble sentiments," "intense passion," and "hurried action."¹⁶ A Philadelphia critic was careful to note that while Bird has drawn largely from his imagination, ". . . he has adhered with strictness to historical truth in all its details."¹⁷

There were, however, unfavorable comments. Several reviews refer to the critic in the *New York Courier* who says that "in his opinion [the play] was damned." Another New York critic maintains that the interest of the play ". . . lies chiefly in the two first acts."¹⁸ Other reviewers find fault with occasional turns of phrase, the superfluity of some

characters, some mispronunciation on Forrest's part, and (perhaps most significantly) the fact that Forrest seems to have omitted some important lines from the last scene, causing "a lame and impotent conclusion." Many of the reviewers quote extensively from the play, having thought, perhaps, that this method of filling out a column of newsprint not only amplified their critical reputations but accomplished the job of "analyzing" the play. But the contrast between superficial extravagance on the one hand and terse and picayune faultfinding on the other—the common practice of the day—must have been frustrating not only for Bird, but for his fellow dramatists as well. It is small wonder then that native playwrights felt cheated when their works received such "commendation."

One critical remark by the reviewer of the *New England Galaxy*, who says that closet drama is a higher type than stage drama, particularly rankled in Bird's mind. It was apparently the spur which drove him on to his final discussion and the end of his diary. In this part Bird attempts to outline those qualities which constitute the make-up of genius. As it turns out, the attempt is only a mere suggestion, but it serves to show, through a number of references, Bird's acquaintance with the critical ideas of his time. As an introduction to this discussion, Bird maintains that it requires more talent to write a stage play than a closet drama—a great deal more, judging from his irritation. It is difficult to say today just what Bird's contemporaries considered as differences between closet drama and stage drama, considering the fact that nearly all critical theory up to Bird's time depended for its interpretation upon literary drama, whether staged or not. Perhaps romantic theory, which was just gaining momentum in Bird's college days, held that effective stage presentation depended—at least in England and America—more upon spectacle than upon character or thought. The history of the American theatre in the nineteenth century seems to bear this out.

Bird next makes the distinction between the "faculty of effect" and the "faculty of poetry," saying that the latter is superior to the former; and he goes on to analyze the case of Otway. Here can be seen his acquaintance with Coleridge's critical ideas. Coleridge's *Lectures on Shakespeare* were printed from 1808 to 1811-12, and it is highly probable that Bird came in contact with these writings sometime before 1831. Coleridge held that genius and imagination should be distinguished from the lower faculties of talent and fancy respectively, for while the first are unifying and reconciling, the latter are merely combinatory, and thus "mechanistic, associationist."¹⁹ Another idea which perhaps motivated Bird was Coleridge's theory of organic unity—that "language, passion, and character must act and react on each other."²⁰ This probably is the reason that Bird believed that Otway's works are greater than certain works of Byron and Coleridge—not because Otway's poetic faculty was greater than theirs, but because he possessed

the dramatic faculty in addition to the poetic. In other words, he possessed that quality of “fusion” (Coleridge’s term) which the others lacked.

Bird is careful to make a reservation—an important one—that an artist may have one faculty in “admirable perfection” which sets him apart from others of his kind. He says he has “no business” with this question; he seems to intimate that genius cannot be measured arithmetically; to do so is reasoning fallaciously. Thus, Bird’s reservation constitutes a saving grace in his argument. He further states that a good dramatist must be ranked over a good poet. While this may seem valid, and is even true in some actual cases (Sophocles and Shakespeare, for example), the idea is simply not universally true. The point was hotly debated by the romantics in the early nineteenth century.

* * *

In editing *The Secret Records*, the author has followed the original manuscript throughout, while spelling and punctuation have been normalized. Words added by the author are indicated by brackets, and occasional notes have been inserted for clarity.

SECRET RECORDS

August 27th, 1831.

“Quaestori ulterior Hispania obvenit: ubi, cum mandato praetoris jure dicundo conventus circumiret, Gadeisque venisset, animadversa apud Herculis templum Magni Alexandri imagine, ingemuit; et, quasi pertaesus ignaviam suam, quad nihil dum a se memorabile actum esset in aetate, qua jam Alexander orbem terrarum subegisset, missionem continuo efflagitavit, ad captandas quam primum majorum rerum occasiones in urbe.”

Sueton[ius] in Vit[a] Caesaris, 7²¹

The foregoing passage I never read without melancholy—not from any very great sympathy with Caesar’s insignificance, but because it reminds me more strongly of my own. “The mightiest Julius” could ponder with a sad and humbled mind over the wealthy years of youth squandered without returning him the profits of honour and distinction; and I am enough like Caesar to do the same. I have lived more than twenty-five years in the world, and have done nothing—nothing but hope. I see my companions pressing onwards with spirit, and gaining wealth and reputation—at least some of them—and I, whose desires and aspirations carry me in thought beyond them, remain behind, stationary, obscure, unnoticed. Twenty-five years wasted in castle-building! *Me miserum!* I have raised structures enough—lovely, grand, fantastic, celestial—to build a city for the Fairy Queen; but a single thought of Caesar sighing at the marble feet of the Conqueror, and I am among the vapours that formed my fabrics—fine vapours indeed, but without their former sunshine—fogs, fogs, fogs.

I envy no boy his precocity; but a man’s is another matter. Congreve began at 19, and wrote his last play at 25. Sheridan produced *The Rivals* at 22, and at 25 has written *The School for Scandal*.²² At [22], Campbell had published the *Pleasures of Hope*; and at [24], Byron had become as immortal as Childe Harold. Glorious instances these and very ridiculous for *me* to talk about them. But all men are vain in their closets; and those who are most ashamed they have done nothing, are perhaps the most easily comforted with this hope of amending.

I wrote *The Gladiator* just on the Eve of my 25th year; but can have no satisfaction in noting its birth, till I can form some augury of the length of its life. To be sure, folks talk as agreeably as they can, particularly those who know the least about it. "Ah my dear Sir, I see you are coming out. Glad of it—am sure you'll have great success." And yet that ass hasn't seen a line of the play; and if he had, couldn't understand it. Men don't know how to flatter: The women are better at it. I am disposed to be sanguine enough—that is my temperament. But I have just been staring hard at the world, and the view chills my anticipations. I see W. a worthy fellow educated to a liberal profession. He was ambitious, and although modest in all his deportment, thought, or hoped himself a genius. He was infatuated with the stage, and converted his passion into a talent for it; he admired Lord Byron and Shakespeare, and mistook his admiration for genius. He sacrificed his profession and made a *debut*, intending, as soon as well introduced to the public, to produce plays of his own writing, acted by himself. His acting was a failure. He has gone to England with a play and that will be a failure. I see others making similar mistakes. Why may not I? And yet, as Melpomene²³ has vanished from the Old World—to be instrumental in naturalizing her in the New—and to have Englishmen re-publishers for American dramatists! Such things may be thought of *in secret*.

Our theatres are in a lamentable condition, and not at all fashionable. To write for, and be admired by the groundling, villains, that will clap most, when you are most nonsensical, and applaud you most heartily when you are most vulgar! that will call you "a genius, by G. . . .," when you can make the judicious grieve, and "a witty devil," when you can force a woman to blush! Fine, fine, fine, fine. But consider the freedom of an American author. If *The Gladiator* were produced in a slave state, the managers, players, and perhaps myself into the bargain, would be rewarded with the Penitentiary! Happy States! At this present moment there are 6 or 800 armed negroes marching through Southampton County, Virginia, murdering, ravishing, and burning those whom the Grace of God has made their owners—70 killed, principally women and children. If they had but a Spartacus among them—to organize the half million of

Virginia, the hundreds of thousands of the states, and lead them on in the Crusade of Massacre, what a blessed example might they not give to the world of the excellence of slavery! what a field of interest to the playwrights of posterity! Some day we shall have it, and future generations will perhaps remember the horrors of Haiti as a farce compared with the tragedies of our own happy land! The *vis et amor sceleratus habendi*²⁴ will be repaid, violence with violence, and avarice with blood. I had sooner live among bedbugs than negroes.

N.B. The *men* were at a Camp Meeting. Had they stayed at home minding their own business, instead of God's, this thing would not have happened.²⁵

But the play, the play—Ay, the play's the thing. What a fool I was to think of writing plays! To be sure, they are much wanted. But these novels are much easier sorts of things, and immortalize one's pocket much sooner. A tragedy takes, or should take, as much labour as two romances; and one comedy as much as six tragedies.²⁶ How blessedly and lazily, in making a novel, a man may go spinning and snoring over his quires! here scribbling acres of fine vapid dialogue, and there scrawling out regions of descriptions about roses and old weather-beaten houses. I think I could manufacture a novel every quarter. But to be set down in brotherhood with the asses that are doing these sort of things; and a hundred years hence, have my memory covered in three lines of a Biographical Dictionary, as one of the herd of liars of the last century! I had sooner be pickled with navy pork, and eaten as soon as I was preserved. And yet the alternative—to be chronicled with such fellows as Thiel, and Knowles, and Payne, and Peake²⁷—How monosyllabic we dramatists be! But our genius is as diminutive as our names. Nevertheless, a dramatist deserves honour far above a romancer—any thing Mr. Godwin says to the contrary notwithstanding; and the qualities necessary to one who would write a first-rate play would, if concentrated in one individual, make him almost a god.²⁸

He should have, in the first place, invention, which is the rarest and noblest species of imagination; imagination itself, or in other words, poetic fancy, and with this he should have common sense. He should possess the sanguine and fiery ardour of an oriental,

with the phlegmatic judgement of a German; he should be in himself capable of feeling, in the extremes, all the passions which elevate and debase, which subdue and torture the mind; and at the same time should mingle with them a cold-blooded and restraining philosophy. He should be familiar with the world and have, *by intuition* (for that is the only way for a poet to get it, though folks don't know it), a thorough knowledge of human nature. He should in short be at once a poet, orator, wit and philosopher. And in fine, he should be able to carry on two kinds of operations in his mind, at one and the same time—that is, *to create*, and to fancy his creations acting. These are a few of the qualities necessary to a dramatist; and one may easily see how impossible it is for them all to be in possession of one man.

October 26th

Sept[ember] 26th at the Park Theatre, New York, *The Gladiator* was performed for the first time. That evening there fell such torrents of rain as had not visited New York for 15 or 20 y[ea]rs. Nevertheless, the house was crammed—the amount being about 1400 dol[lar]s. The Park Company is the most wretched in the country. Last summer, the managers promised to get up the play with some sort of splendour. But Mr. Price came home; and I suppose it was he that caused them to break their word. There never was a play more miserably got up—old dresses, old scenes—many of them full of absurdities—and to crown all, the performers, with but one or two exceptions, were horribly imperfect. If there had been a wish among the managers to have the play damned, they could not have taken a better course. Some folks give them credit for this amiable wish; but as for myself, I think they were simply indifferent about it, thinking, as a matter of course, it would follow the fate of most other American plays. It was a horrible piece of bungling from beginning to end. And such performers! Such a Julia! such a Florus! such *lanistae!* and etc. Nevertheless, and surprising to be said, it was very much applauded, which circumstance, I suppose, put the actors upon studying their parts more and playing better.

Next morning, Mr. Webbe, of the *Courier and Inquirer*, made a savage attack upon the piece, saying *it was damned*. This was the

first paper I saw. I wonder if Mr. Webbe understands the meaning of the phrase “to thrust an iron into one’s soul?” He used a note of admiration, too, after the “damned”—(damned!) as if he desired to show *exultation!*—Nice man! To gratify a pique against Mr. Forrest, he was willing to give me a stab; and he did it. But I forgive him; for his condemnation was a blunder, which, together with his attempt to back out of it, did the play so much good, by exciting more curiosity, that I was at last able to laugh instead of frowning at Mr. Webbe. Nevertheless he is a scoundrel. *The Gladiator* was enacted 4 times at New York, to good houses; and was more and more applauded every successive night, because every successive night the actors were so much the more perfect. All the editors praised it, and even the rascal, Webbe, allowed he was delighted with the “bold imagery and beautiful language,” and he hanged to him.

The Epilogue was well done by Mrs. Sharpe.²⁹

October 24th was its first night in Philad[elphia]. The jam of visitors was tremendous; hundreds returning without being able to get seats or stands. An American feeling was beginning to show itself in all theatrical matters. The managers of the Arch St. Theatre were Americans, all their chief performers were American, and the play was written by an American. The play was very well got up “considering”—new dresses, scenes and etc. It was played with a roar of applause, and bravoed to the echo. All which was comfortable enough. Played 4 times [to] full houses. Forrest is undoubtedly the best man for Spartacus in Christendom; in which his figure and physi[que] show to the best advantage, and his voice and muscle hold out to the last. I think no other man could sustain the labours of the part. Scott is a most excellent Phasarius, and makes amends for not always being perfect to a letter in the text, by going to the business with a will, which tells as favourably for himself as for the author. He gives great effect to the crucifixion speech, expressing such a mixture of terror and horror as can’t help being communicated to the audience.

Dec[embe]r 14th.

The Glad[iator] has been performed at Boston and with good success. I have however been disappointed in not finding any

very lengthy or judgematical reviews, particularly as the Boston critics have a pretty good opinion of their own abilities, and as some of my friends chose to expect their decision with some anxiety and trepidation.

Another evidence of the qualifications of a Boston critic is shown (I forget the paper) in the manner in which the gentleman prints the Mount Haemus speech. I had no idea, that the mere destruction of the metre could make the speech so nonsensical. He, however, *has* made it nonsense and yet praises it. The man who can relish nonsense, and commend it, is a pretty critic.

The criticisms by F. in the *U. S. Gazette*, were, however, written by a Boston gentleman, and are evidently done by one who knows what he is about.³⁰

The *Galaxy* is favourable, but makes such a blunder as must needs destroy all the writer's claims to the character of a critic.³¹ "In the *higher branch of the drama*, namely that which is *meant for the closet*, etc., etc." Good God! what an ass! There never yet lived a man who could write decent blank verse, that could within a word or two, turn you out a respectable closet drama. 'Tis as easy as lying. And yet of the thousands such—the multitudes who could, and who have manufactured closet plays, there are but two or three who could produce a good stage play. Therefore, because any body can write a play for the closet, the closet branch of the drama is the higher and nobler! Now could I laugh, but that I am too melancholy: and besides, I would as soon make a jest as a laugh, when I am alone—I keep such matters for company. I do say, and without caring how the assertion may be understood as self-gratulation, that there is as much difference (considered in relation to the quantity of intellect necessary to this production) between a first rate stage and a first rate closet play, as there is between Niagara and Montmorenci, between Lake Superior and Lake George, between the Andes and the Alleghanies. I can rant upon this theme. I will grant that there is more genius shown in *Manfred* than in *William Tell*; in *Sampson Agonistes* than in *Virgilius*; in *The Cenci* than in *Damon*; in *Hadad* (which, however, I have not yet read) than in *Brutus* and perhaps *The Gladiator*. This I grant, because in the aforementioned stage plays there is no genius at all. I am not such a bigot

as to suppose a mere knack at effect gives one any claim to the credit of intellect. A man may *acquire* this knack, as he acquires the art of making shoes, and yet acquire nothing else; or he may be born with it, and born with nothing else, as some are born with a talent for cutting out breeches, and born with nothing else. The faculty of poetry is a superior endowment to the faculty of effect; but the first in [the] possession of one man, makes him the inferior of the man that has both. Otway's poetic faculty was inferior to Byron's and Coleridge's; but having—what they had not—the dramatic faculty along with his poetic, his *Venice Preserved* must be regarded as a nobler effort of genius than *Werner*, and his *Orphan* a far more elevated composition than *The Remorse*. No man in his senses will deny that genius is a concatenation of separate faculties; that, these being equal, he has the greatest genius who has the greatest number of faculties combined in his own person; and that he who has written a masterly drama, *must have had* more of these faculties than he who has written merely a fine dramatic poem, and therefore must rank in a higher scale of intellect. This reservation must be considered: One man may have the greater number of faculties, none of them, however, separately of any great account; while another man may have but *one* faculty, and yet that one in admirable perfection. It is then a question, whether the *one* may not elevate the possessor far above him who has the many. But with this question I have no business. I allow and *insist*, that a good play can't be written unless by a poet; and thence it is nothing but common sense and common justice to rank a good dramatist over a good poet. Poets will hereafter grin at this, and prove that I am no dramatist.

NOTES

1. The author wishes to thank Mrs. R. M. Bird and Mrs. Neda Westlake for their kindness in permitting him to utilize materials in the Bird Collection at the University of Pennsylvania.
2. Arthur Hornblow, *A History of the Theatre in America* (Philadelphia, 1919), II, 49.
3. *American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle*, I (1757), 117, in Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1741–1850* (Cambridge, 1939), p. 54.

4. John Neal, *Blackwoods Magazine*, XVI (1824), 567, in Mott, pp. 169f.
5. Hornblow, II, 58; cf. p. 71: William Wood's diary "shows no reference to payments made to dramatists. . . ." Wood was manager of the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia from 1810-1827.
6. Bird Ms Collection.
7. "The Diaries of Sydney George Fisher 1837-1838," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, LXXVI, 3 (1952), 330-352 (Second Part).
8. Joseph Cephas Carroll, *Slave Insurrections in the United States 1800-1865* (Boston, 1938), p. 133; Herbert Aptheker, *Negro Slave Revolts in the United States 1526-1860* (New York, 1939), pp. 40-44, 71.
9. Slavery was a problem upon which Bird evidently brooded. His manuscripts contain occasional references to it, and he was to touch upon it once more in print in his psychologically tinged novel *Sheppard Lee*, published in 1836. In one part he shows how strongly a pamphlet, *An Address to the Owners of Slaves*, affects the semi-literate negroes who manage to read it. By it they are incited to rise against a genuinely good master and his family, the consequences of which action are catastrophic for both sides. Thus, Bird seems to have changed his attitude toward slavery, becoming conservative, inasmuch as he dreaded any kind of revolt, any change in the *status quo*. (*Sheppard Lee* [New York, 1836], vol. II, pp. 181-211).
10. William Winter, *Other Days Being Chronicles and Memories of the Stage* (New York, 1908), pp. 36ff.
11. Edward S. Gould, "American Criticism on American Authors," *New York Mirror*, XIII (1836), 321, in Mott, p. 406.
12. *Arcturus*, I (1841), 149, in Mott, *idem*.
13. *New York Standard*, September 9, 1831.
14. *Mercantile Advertiser*, October 10, 1831.
15. *New York Evening Post*, September 29, 1831.
16. *Boston Evening Transcript*, November 11, 1831; *New England Galaxy*, November 19, 1831.
17. *United States Gazette*, October 31, 1831.
18. *New York Inquirer*, September 29, 1831.

19. René Wellek, *A History of Modern Criticism: 1750–1950. The Romantic Age* (New Haven, 1955), p. 164.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
21. “As quaestor it fell to his lot to serve in Farther Spain. When he was there, while making the circuit of the assize-towns, to hold court under commission from the praetor, he came to Gades, and noticing a statue of Alexander the Great in the temple of Hercules, he heaved a sigh, and as if out of patience with his own incapacity in having as yet done nothing noteworthy at a time of life when Alexander had already brought the world to his feet, he straightway asked for his discharge, to grasp the first opportunity for greater enterprises at Rome.” (Suetonius, “The Deified Julius,” J. C. Rolfe, tr. [London, 1924], vol. I, pp. 9, 11).
22. Actually, Congreve’s first play was produced when he was 23, and he wrote his last play at 30, while Sheridan began at 24, writing his *School for Scandal* at 26.
23. The muse of tragedy, one of the nine daughters of Zeus and Mnemosyne.
24. “Force, and the base love of gain.” (Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, bk. I, vs. 131 [editor’s tr.]).
25. This refers to Nat Turner’s rebellion (see Introduction).
26. In a Ms review (1828?) of Johanna Baille’s *The Bride*, Bird draws an interesting comparison between the two media: “Novel writing is to dramatic what painting is to sculpture; the one is a single view of an object, with a few lines and shadows; the other requires all possible views of that object, where nothing can be left imperfect.”
27. Of these dramatists, no information could be found concerning Thiel. James Sheridan Knowles (1784–1862), a cousin of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, wrote plays for William Macready, among them, *Caius Gracchus* (1815) and *Virginus* (1820). He also wrote comedies (e.g. *The Beggar’s Daughter of Bethnal Green*) and miscellaneous prose. John Howard Payne (1791–1852), an American who wrote many of his plays in England, wrote, among others, *Brutus* (1819), *Clari, or the Maid of Milan* (1823)— which contains his famous song “Home Sweet Home”—and *Charles the Second* (1824). Richard Brinsley Peake (1792–1847) was a writer of musical farces and comedies, including *Presumption, or the Fate of Frankenstein* (1823) and *The Haunted Inn* (1828). He also was treasurer of the Lyceum Theatre.

28. Bird may have had in mind William Godwin, who states in *The Enquirer* (London, 1797), p. 285, “Poetry itself however affords but an uncertain reputation. Is Pope a poet? Is Boileau a poet? These are questions still vehemently contested. The French despise the tragic poetry of England, and the English repay their scorn with scorn. . . . The reputation of Shakespear endures every day a new ordeal. . . .”
29. This epilogue has not survived.
30. This paragraph and the one preceding appear at the end of the Ms, apparently as an afterthought. The author has inserted them here to maintain the continuity of Bird’s particular discussion.
31. See note 16.



DEXTER AWARD PRESENTATION

The Dexter Award in History of Chemistry to Eva Armstrong

WYNDHAM D. MILES*

AMONG the medals and prizes awarded in science and arts, the Dexter Award in History of Chemistry stands unique in its field. The Award, consisting of five hundred dollars and a handsome plaque, was established three years ago through the generosity of the Dexter Chemical Corporation, and is administered by the Division of History, American Chemical Society. The winner in 1956 was Ralph E. Oesper, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Cincinnati, author and translator of scores of articles on history of chemistry, and a teacher of history of chemistry for three decades. In 1957 William Haynes, America's foremost authority on the history of industrial chemistry, and author of a dozen books including the monumental six-volume *History of American Chemical Industry*, received the prize. This year Miss Eva Armstrong, former curator of the Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection has been chosen by the judges.

In electing Miss Armstrong from among a score of nominees, the judges followed the criteria set up by the Division of History: "The award shall be made on the basis of services which have advanced the history of chemistry in any of the following ways: by publication of an important book or article; by the furtherance of the teaching of the history of chemistry; by significant contributions to the bibliography of the history of chemistry; or by meritorious services over a long period of time which have resulted in the advancement of the history of chemistry."

These rules were made purposely broad so that anyone who has done significant work in any phase of chemical history would be eligible for the Award. Miss Armstrong was chosen not for activity in a single field, but rather for the stimulation, inspiration and assistance that she contributed to the history of chemistry over a long period of years.

Her greatest contribution lay in building up the Smith Collection to a position of international prominence. The nucleus of this

* Historical Office, United States Army Chemical Corps, Army Chemical Center, Maryland.

collection was assembled by Smith during the many years that he was Professor of Chemistry and Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. After his death in 1927, Mrs. Smith donated the library to the University. It was housed in Smith's old office in Harrison laboratory for a quarter of a century, and then moved a few years ago to its present quarters in the Hare building—an appropriate place, as Robert Hare was America's greatest ante bellum chemist. Miss Armstrong assumed the post of curator in 1929 when the Collection was first opened to the public. At that time it contained approximately 3,000 volumes, 1,800 prints, and 600 manuscripts. By 1948, the year Miss Armstrong retired, the numbers had jumped to 7,700 volumes, 3,400 prints, and 1,400 manuscripts. Since 1948 Miss Armstrong has continued to order for the Collection.

There is no need to describe here the holdings of the Smith Memorial Collection; Miss Armstrong has done it herself in the following articles: "Some Treasures in the E. F. Smith Collection," *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle* 25 (1933), 3–12; "Some Incidents in the Collection of the E. F. Smith Memorial Library," *Journal of Chemical Education* 10 (1933), 356–358; "Playground of a Scientist," *Scientific Monthly* 42 (1936), 339–348; and "Edgar Fahs Smith Memorial Collection in the History of Chemistry," 21 pages, privately published, University of Pennsylvania, 1937.

It is a heavy responsibility to spend thousands of dollars each year for books in a specialized field. If the purchaser does not know the history of the field thoroughly and does not realize the significance of certain books, then she will load the shelves with "furniture" or with mediocre, second-rate works while she lets important items slip by. Money and space will be wasted, as will be the time of people who visit the collection in search of material and then have to go elsewhere. The fine, significant holdings of the Smith Collection are a tribute to the sound knowledge, thorough scholarship, and collector's acumen possessed by Miss Armstrong.

Statistics and holdings alone do not tell the whole story of the Collection. Miss Armstrong's skill as a collector was matched by her accomplishments as a researcher. She read the books that

came into her keeping. She knew where to lay her hands on out-of-the-way facts, to find the path that led back to the source of data, ideas, concepts and quotations, and how to track elusive information. European chemists corresponded with her when they sought information on the history of American chemistry. American chemists wrote or visited her when they needed data on American or foreign chemical history. The guest book of the Smith Collection carries the names of chemists from every state in the Union, from Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Turkey, Egypt, Brazil, India, Colombia, China, Syria, Canada, Cuba, Japan, South Africa, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico, and all the countries of Europe. The book reads like a *Who's Who in Chemistry*. On its pages are the signatures of ten presidents of the American Chemical Society; three Nobel prize winners (Harold C. Urey, Theodor Svedberg of Sweden, and Wendell M. Stanley); James B. Conant, President of Harvard; Charles H. LaWall, historian of pharmacy; George Sarton, historian of science; James Flexner, historian of medicine; and every prominent American historian of chemistry of the past thirty years.

A partial record of the writers who were indebted to Miss Armstrong may be found in the prefaces of many histories published in the 1930's and '40's. On my shelves are Smallwood's *Natural History and the American Mind*, French's *Torch & Crucible*, Getman's *Life of Ira Remsen*, Kendall's *Young Chemists and Great Discoveries*, Odger's *Alexander Dallas Bache*, Browne's *Source Book of Agricultural Chemistry*, and several other books that state their thanks to Miss Armstrong. On the shelves of the Smith Collection are books whose authors were skimpy with their printed acknowledgments, but who remembered Miss Armstrong with presentation copies ("Miss Eva Armstrong, with thanks for your interest and help," "To Miss Armstrong with many thanks for the encouragement and assistance rendered,")

Not the least of Miss Armstrong's contributions to chemical history were her published writings. From 1933 until 1948, a steady stream of articles flowed from her desk to the *Journal of Chemical Education*, *Scientific Monthly*, *General Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, *Library Chronicle*, *Isis*, *Pennsylvania Triangle*, *Dickinson Alumnus*, and *Chymia*. Her articles on Thomas Cooper, Jane

Marcet, Benjamin Rush, and her "History of Chemistry in America" (with Charles A. Browne) were little gems. Her last publication was the foreword to volume I of *Chymia*, written in 1948 while she was Secretary of the Board of Editors.

Published articles were only a part of Miss Armstrong's contribution to history. She spoke on many occasions before groups working in her field. These included the Division of History of the American Chemical Society, the Special Libraries Council of Philadelphia, and student groups.

Finally, Miss Armstrong assisted the history of chemistry movement in this country in an unusual way: by encouraging young chemists who had a yen for history. These people did not get encouragement from the chemistry departments of their employers, but they got it from the Smith Collection. And they appreciated it. I still remember my first historical article. It came out in a journal with a circulation of some ten thousand, and I figured that someone would notice it. But the days passed and no one said a word and my spirits sank lower and lower. Then came a letter (still in my files) requesting a reprint, and saying of my article, "it is an extremely interesting account of a little known chemist and author. Yours sincerely, Eva Armstrong." The sun came out again, and Miss Armstrong was my friend for life.

Miss Armstrong received the 1958 Dexter Award at a luncheon held in her honor by the Division of History of the American Chemical Society and the chemistry alumni of the University of Pennsylvania at the Chicago meeting of the American Chemical Society in September.

The Programmschriften Collection

ALBERT R. SCHMITT*

EARLY in 1954 the University of Pennsylvania Library acquired a collection of 16,128 pamphlets. By their German name they are called *Programmschriften* and this particular collection, bound in 691 individual volumes, originated in the library of the former *Königlich-und Kaiserliches Erstes Staatsgymnasium* in Graz, Austria, and was purchased from a Swiss dealer. Before World War I most *Gymnasien* in the German speaking countries of Europe published statistical reports called *Programme* at the end of each academic year. Usually there was added to these reports a scholarly paper written by the school director or by one of the teachers on some topic relating to the author's field of specialization. Under a written agreement the various schools exchanged reports annually in order to aid the members of their teaching staffs in research since frequently access to a university library was difficult and the number of scientific journals scarce. Often the motivation behind these articles was the author's hope of obtaining a professorship at a university. Thus, it is not unusual for the reader of these *Programmschriften* today to find interesting and highly valuable information in them. Since general bibliographical reference works often fail to mention these articles it is hoped that the catalog which has been prepared for our own collection will aid in making them available and usable to interested scholars.

During recent months the Library has undertaken the task of evaluating and indexing the more important articles in the *Programmschriften* Collection. Of the total of 16,128 pamphlets issued by *Gymnasien* in Germany and the Austrian Empire in the period 1850–1918, slightly more than one third deal with subjects in the humanities. These are the most valuable and two separate catalogs, an author and a subject catalog, are in preparation that will reveal the holdings in the field of humanities. Both catalogs will be available at the Union Library Catalog and at the Reference Desk of the Main Library. A bound index will be

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shelved with the collection in the stacks and will carry as a title *Index to the Programmschriften Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library*. This index volume will have the classification number 373.43C/M698/gen.lib. under which the whole collection has been catalogued. The balance of the collection, slightly less than two thirds, deals with the fields of pure and applied science. Because most of this material is obsolescent today and of limited interest and value, no effort has been made to include these articles in either the author or the subject catalog. However, articles dealing with the history of science have been included. These catalogs will contain volume and article information. The number of the article within a volume appears in pencil in the upper right hand corner of each title page for ready location within the volume. In addition, the Serials Department is in the process of preparing cards for the Public Catalog which will indicate, by issuing Gymnasium and by year, the entire holdings of the Programmschriften Collection. Anyone desiring to locate a pamphlet not included in the author and subject catalogs should find the appropriate volume number by consulting the Public Catalog.

A representative selection of some of the pamphlets that will be included in the author and subject catalogs follows. It is hoped that these few examples will give an indication of the importance, nature, and range of the pamphlets in such fields as Classical, English, German, and Romance languages and literatures as well as in History and Philosophy.

In the field of Classical languages and literatures some 1,300 articles have been selected of which approximately 35 to 40 percent are in Latin. Some are in Greek. Since it would be difficult to prepare even a short list of the most valuable papers it may suffice to say that on Aeschylus there are 45 articles, on Aristophanes 25, on Aristotle 24 (dealing with literary and linguistic topics only; another 30 are of a philosophical nature), on Julius Caesar 29, on Catullus 21, on Curtius Rufus 10, on Cicero 105, etc. These papers are concerned with various problems of metrics, versification, style, literary criticism and grammatical and syntactic aspects as well as comparative studies of manuscript tradition.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

Among the approximately 250 pamphlets on English language and literature the following appear to be of special scholarly value. The articles are listed alphabetically by subject and contain author, title, and classification information.

AELFRIC-ALLITERATION

Brandeis, Arthur, *Die Alliteration in Aelfrics metrischen Homilien.* 615:17*

ALFRED THE GREAT

Münch, Rudolf, *Die sprachliche Bedeutung der Gesetzsammlung König Alfreds des Grossen, auf Grund einer Untersuchung der Handschrift H (Textus Roffensis).* 143:23

BARBOUR, JOHN

Baudisch, Julius, *Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der früher Barbour zugeschriebenen Legendensammlung.* 598:13

BYRON, GEORGE GORDON

Drboschal, Gottlieb, *Byrons Einfluss auf das tschechische Schrifttum des Vormärz.* 306:16-17

Kaiser, *Byron's und Delavigne's "Marino Faliero."* 142:2

CHAUCER, GEOFFREY

Wihlidal, Carl, *Chaucer's "Knichtes Tale," with an abstract of the poet's life.* 108:10

DRAMA—16th CENTURY

Seifert, Julius, *Die "Wit und Science"—Moralitäten des 16. Jahrhunderts.* 265:14

DRYDEN, JOHN

Ott, Philipp, *Über das Verhältnis des Lustspiel-Dichters Dryden zur gleichzeitigen französischen Komödie, insbesondere zu Molière.* 327:8

HAVELOK THE DANE

Wittenbrinck, Gustav, *Zur Kritik und Rhythmik des altenglischen Lais von Havelok dem Dänen.* 112:3

* The numbers indicate volume number, e.g. 615, and article number within each volume, e.g. :17. Article number 17 in volume 615 will therefore be given as 615:17.

KING HART

Horneber, F., *Über "King Hart" und "Testament of the Papyngo."* 537:10

LAȜAMON

Langschur, Siegmund, *Beiträge zur LaȜamon-Forschung.* 240:14

LITERATURE—WILLIAM III

Zelle, Julius, *Sur l'importance du règne de Guillaume III. pour la littérature anglaise.* 290:4

MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER

Kellner, L., *Zur Sprache Christopher Marlowe's.* 600:18

MIDDLE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Burhenne, Fritz, *Das mittenglische Gedicht "Stans Puer ad Mensam" und sein Verhältnis zu ähnlichen Erzeugnissen des 15. Jahrhunderts.* 231:11

Schmitt, Friedrich, *Die mittenglische Version des Elucidariums des Honorius Augustodunensis.* 111:22

MOORE, THOMAS

Zuck, Joseph, *Th. Moores "The Love of the Angels" und Lord Byrons "Heaven and Earth."* 623:1

PHYSIOLOGUS

Sokoll, Eduard, *Zum angelsächsischen Physiologus.* 377:1

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM

Soffé, Emil, *Ist "Mucedorus" ein Schauspiel Shakspere's?* 99:8

Boxhorn, Richard, *Shakespeares "Die Zähmung der Widerspenstigen" und Fletchers "Der gezähmte Zähler."* 275:29

Steinschneider, G., *Das Pseudo-Shakspere'sche Drama Fair Em.* 468:13

SKELTON, JOHN

Krumpholz, Heinrich, *John Skelton und sein Morality Play "Magnyfycence."* 468:4

Many more could have been added, but this selective group of titles may suffice to indicate the nature of the pieces pertaining to English language and literature.

GERMAN LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

From the more than 1,000 pamphlets on German language and literature we can list at best 1.5 or 2 percent.

ALBERT OF AACHEN

Kugler, Bernhard, *Die Deutschen Codices Albert's von Aachen.*
685:14

ARNIM, LUDWIG ACHIM VON

Oetttl, Raimund, *Der zweite Teil der "Kronenwächter." Eine Autorschaftsfrage.*
53:5-6

BERNGER VON HORHEIM

Buchholz, E., *Die Lieder des Minnesingers Bernger von Horheim nach Sprache, Versbau, Heimat und Zeit.*
156:26

BODMER, JOHANN JAKOB

Verosta, Rudolf, *Der Phantasiebegriff bei den Schweizern Bodmer und Breitinger.*
601:19

CARMINA BURANA

Heinrich, Alfred, *Quatenus Carminum Buranorum auctores veterum Romanorum poetas imitati sint.*
119:15

CESSOLIS, JACOBUS DE

Dürnwirth, R., *Die Fabel von Schillers Ballade "Die Bürgschaft" in dem Schachbuche des Jacobus de Cessolis.*
275:5

CHESS BOOKS

Holzner, Ferdinand, *Die deutschen Schachbücher in ihrer dichterischen Eigenart gegenüber ihrer Quelle, dem lateinischen Schachbuche des Jacobus de Cessolis. I. Das Schachbuch Kunrats von Ammenhausen.*
437:23

DAVID VON AUGSBURG

Jellinegg, Bruno, *David von Augsburg. Dessen deutsche Schriften, auf ihre Echtheit untersucht und auf Grund der Handschriften verbessert.*
508:15-16

ECBASIS CAPTIVI

Voigt, E., *Untersuchungen über den Ursprung der Ecbasis captivi.*
35:2

EILHARD VON OBERGE

Felix, *Eilhart von Oberge und Heinrich von Veldeke.* 529:7

ERASMUS ALBERUS

Jensch, O., *Zur Spruchdichtung des Erasmus Alberus (Die Praecepta morum).* 371:13

GAURIEL

Seunig, Vinzenz, *Der Gauriel-Dichter als Nachahmer Hartmanns von Aue.* 550:12

GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON

Dembowski, Johannes, *Mitteilungen über Goethe und seinen Freundeskreis aus bisher unveröffentlichten Aufzeichnungen des Gräflich Egloffstein'schen Familien-Archivs zu Arklitten.* 363:8

Schneege, Gerhard, *Goethes Verhältnis zu Spinoza und seine philosophische Weltanschauung.* 445:6

GRILLPARZER, FRANZ

Terlitza, Victor, *Grillparzers "Ahnfrau" und die Schicksalsidee.* 58:8

HAUSEN, FRIEDRICH VON

Neunteufel, Franz, *Zu Friedrichs von Hausen Metrik, Sprache und Stil.* 122:20

HEINE, HEINRICH

Goldreich, Richard, *Heines literarische Beziehungen zu Spanien.* 428:12

HÖLDERLIN, FRIEDRICH

Karlowa, Oskar, *Hölderlin und Nietzsche-Zarathustra.* 445:21

KLEIST, HEINRICH VON

Hirsch, Viktor, *Beiträge zu Heinrich von Kleists Novellentechnik.* 183:9

LANGUAGES

Burghauser, G., *Die germanischen endsilbenvokale und ihre vertretung im gotischen, altwestnordischen, angelsächsischen und althochdeutschen.* 265:12

LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM

Jacob, Johannes, *Über das Verhältniss der Hamburgischen Dramaturgie zur Poëtik des Aristoteles.* 291:1

MIDDLE HIGH GERMAN

Rathay, J., *Ueber den Unterschied zwischen Lied und Spruch bei den Lyrikern des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts.* 591:3

MÖSER, JUSTUS

Bayer, Joseph, *Justus Möser's staatsrechtliche und volkswirtschaftliche Ansichten.* 671:21

RICHTER, JOHANN PAUL FRIEDRICH

Christoph, Friedrich, *Ueber den Einfluss Jean Paul Friedrich Richters auf Thomas de Quincey.* 235:11

SCHILLER, FRIEDRICH

Krichenbauer, Benno, *Ueber die Beziehungen zwischen Ethik und Aesthetik in Schillers philosophischen Schriften.* 98:9

SĪBOTE—VROUWENZUHT

Strauch, Ernst, *Vergleichung von Sĭbotes "Vrouwenzuht" mit den anderen mhd. Darstellungen derselben Geschichte, sowie dem Fabliau "de la male dame" und dem Märchen des Italieners Straparola.* 84:4

STRICKER, DER

Ammann, J. J., *Das Verhältniß von Strickers "Karl" zum Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad mit Berücksichtigung der "Chanson de Roland."* 315:8-12, 14-16, 18, 21-22

WILLIRAM

Holfeld, *Die Merkmale des Uebergangs vom Althochdeutschen zum Mittelhochdeutschen in der Deklination Williram's.* 209:12

WOLFRAM V. ESCHENBACH

Mielke, Wilhelm, *Die Charakterentwicklung Parzivals.* 187:5

ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

Turning to Romance languages and literatures the following articles of some 400 should be worth particular attention.

ALISCANS

Schneider, Karl, *Die Charakteristik der Personen im Aliscans*.
568:25–26

BARTHÉLEMY, RECLUS DE MOLLIENS

Mayer, A., *Li Miserere. Pikardisches Gedicht aus dem XII. Jahrhundert von Reclus de Mollens. Bearbeitet und zum ersten Male veröffentlicht*.
327:3

BERTRAN DE BORN

Steinmüller, Georg, *Tempora und Modi bei dem Troubadour Bertran de Born*.
649:7

BOILEAU—DESPREAUX, NICOLAS

Darpe, Franz, *Boileau et la satire romaine*.
484:1

CALDERON DE LA BARCA, PEDRO

Abert, Johann, *Gedanken über Gott, Welt und Menschenleben in den "Autos sacramentales" des Don Pedro Calderon de la Barca. Mit erläuternden Vorbemerkungen. 1. Abt. Einleitung. Das religiöse Drama und die "Autos" von Calderon*.
433:3

CHANSONS DE GESTE

Osterhage, Georg, *Ueber einige chansons de geste des Lohengrinks*.
40:8

CHRESTIEN DE TROYES

Ellinger, Johann, *Syntax der Pronomina bei Chrestien de Troies*.
593:20

CORNEILLE, PIERRE

Škola, Joh., *Corneille's Le menteur und Goldonis Il bugiardo in ihrem Verhältnisse zu Alarcon's La verdad sospechosa*.
439:7

DRAMA

Galzigna, G. A., *Fino a che punto i commediografi del Rinascimento abbiano imitato Plauto e Terenzio*.
113:9–10

EUSTACHE OF KENT

Bauer, Andreas, *Die Sprache des Fierre de Gadres im Alexanderroman des Eustache von Kent*.
178:13

FRENCH LANGUAGE—GRAMMAR

Zettl, Josef, *Auslautverknennung in der französischen Wortbildung.* 149:7

FRENCH LANGUAGE—HISTORY

Trommlitz, Paul, *Die französischen ui-Perfecta ausser poi (potui) bis zum 13. Jahrhundert einschliesslich.* 535:11

FRENCH LITERATURE—OLD FRENCH

Lusner, Ludwig, *La Somme des Vices et des Vertus.* 623:18

Mettlich, J., *Die Abhandlung über "Rymes et mettres" in der Prosabearbeitung der Echechs amoureux.* 404:39

GUI DE CAMBRAI

Krause, Arnold, *Zum Barlaam und Josaphat des Gui von Cambrai. I. Teil: Zum Text. II. Teil: Zur Mundart der Dichtung.* 36:22, 24

MARIE DE FRANCE

Erling, Ludwig, "*Li Lais de Lanval*," altfranzösisches Gedicht der Marie de France nebst Th. Chestre's "*Launfal*" neu herausgegeben. 270:6

ROMAN DE LA ROSE

Beck, Friedrich, *Les Epistres sur le Roman de la Rose von Christine de Pizan, Nach 3 Pariser Hss. bearbeitet und zum ersten Male veröffentlicht.* 409:10

SCARRON, PAUL

Janicki, Julian, *Les comédies de Paul Scarron. Contribution à l'histoire des relations littéraires franco-espagnoles au XVII siècle.* 448:20

WACE

Gugel, Emil, *Participium des Praesens und Gerundium im Roman de Rou des Wace.* 598:1

HISTORY

In the field of history the *Programmschriften* deal only with ancient history and the modern European period. There is a total of approximately 1200 articles of which only the following few can be listed.

ANASTASIUS I

Rose, Gustav Adolf, *Die byzantinische Kirchenpolitik unter Kaiser Anastasius I.* 647:25

BUSBECQ, OGIER GHISLAIN DE

Marcks, Friedrich, *Zur Chronologie von Busbeeks "Legationis Turcicae Epistolae IV."* 469:28

BYZANTINE EMPIRE—HISTORY

Fischer, William, *Studien zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts. I. Ioannes Xiphilinus, Patriarch von Konstantinopel. II. Die Patriarchenwahlen im 11. Jhdt. III. Die Entstehungszeit des "Tractatus peculiis," des "Tractatus de privilegiis creditorum" der "Synopsis legum" des Michael Psellus und der "Peira" und deren Verfasser.* 444:3

CARLOVINGIANS

Platz, F., *Gesetzgebung und Verwaltung unter den karolingischen Königen, nach den Capitularien.* 436:3

CATHOLIC CHURCH—FOREIGN RELATIONS

Zorn, Josef, *Umfang und Organisation des päpstlichen Eingreifens in Deutschland von 1238 bis zum Tode Friedrichs II.* 24:7–9

CHARLEMAGNE

Ostermann, Alfred, *Karl der Grosse und das byzantinische Reich.* 356:5

DIPLOMACY—HISTORY

Kende, Oskar, *Ueber Vorstufen der ständigen Gesandtschaften in einigen deutschen Städten am Ausgange des Mittelalters.* 462:20

GERMANY—CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY

Dentzer, Bernhard, *Quellenstellen zur deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte der Neuzeit.* 517:21

GERMANY—HISTORY

Winkler, Arnold, *"Kaiser und Reich" und das Reichskammergericht um 1767, zu Beginn der letzten Visitation des höchsten deutschen Reichsgerichtes.* 625:25

HUSSITES

Koller, Johann, *Worin äusserte sich am deutlichsten das Wesen des Husitismus, und wie verhielten sich die Deutschstädte Mährens zu demselben (bis 1438)?* 426:9–10

IDOLS AND IMAGES—WORSHIP

Leist, *Die literarische Bewegung des Bilderstreites im Abendlande, besonders in der fränkischen Kirche.* 370:1

ISIDORUS, SAINT, BP. OF SEVILLE

Klee, Rudolf, *“Die Regula Monachorum” Isidors von Sevilla und ihr Verhältnis zu den übrigen abendländischen Mönchsregeln jener Zeit.* 378:21

MAXIMILIAN I, EMPEROR OF GERMANY

Mathis, Johann, *Kaiser Maximilians I. östliche Politik, hauptsächlich in den Jahren 1511–1515 (Der deutsche Ritterorden, Polen, Russland, Ungarn).* 344:9

NEISSE—HISTORY

Barta, Erwin, *Die Entstehung des Fürstentums Neisse und seine Geschichte bis in die Zeiten Karls IV.* 240:8

PAPACY—HISTORY

Hagen, Theodor, *Die Papstwahlen von 1484 und 1492.* 89:9

ROME—HISTORY

Herrmann, August, *Darstellung der politischen Beziehungen des römischen Kaiserreiches zu den Parthern und Germanen während der Regierung Marc Aurel's.* 509:14

SPAIN—HISTORY

Contzen, Leopold, *Die Historiographie der Conquista, vornehmlich im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. I. Cieza de Leon und Inca Garcilaso de la Vega.* 161:6

STEPHANUS BYZANTINUS

Stemplinger, Eduard, *Studien zu den Ethnika des Stephanos von Byzanz.* 398:10

STUDENTS

Spiegel, Nic., *Gelehrtenproletariat und Gaunertum vom Beginn des XIV. bis zur Mitte des XVI. Jahrhunderts. Mit 2 Beilagen: 1. Das Alter des Basler Ratsmandates gegen die Gilen and Lamem, sowie des liber vagatorum. 2. Der Text des ‘Bedelerordens’ von Gengenbach.* 518:12

TRIESTE—HISTORY

Grandi, Luigi, *Relazioni di Trieste con la Repubblica di Venezia, la casa d'Absburgo ed il Patriarcato d'Aquileia 1368–1382.* 553:3

VIENNA—SIEGE, 1683

Renner, Victor von, *Türkische Urkunden, den Krieg des Jahres 1683 betreffend, nach den Aufzeichnungen des Marc' Antonio Mamucha della Torre.* 591:15

HUMANISM AND REFORMATION

As a subdivision of history let us now consider some of the pieces pertaining to Humanism and Reformation.

CELTES, CONRADUS

Matz, Martin, *Konrad Celtis und die rheinische Gelehrten-gesellschaft, Beitrag zur Geschichte des Humanismus in Deutschland.* 359:4

MELANCHTHON, PHILIPP

Wrampelmeyer, H., *Ungedruckte Schriften Philipp Melanchthons. Zum ersten Male herausgegeben aus der Berliner Handschrift des Sebastian Redlich aus Bernau (Codex Manusc. Theol. Lat. Berolinensis Nr. 97), I. und II. Teil.* 121:50, 52

TRITHEMIUS, JOHANNES

Hermes, Johann Joseph, *Ueber das Leben und die Schriften des Johannes von Trittenheim, genannt Trithemius.* 469:4

PHILOSOPHY

Approximately 400 items of the collection deal with various philosophical subjects. Most of these are in the ancient period but some deal with European philosophy in the period 1600–1850.

ANSELM, SAINT

Moriggl, Simon, *Monologium des Heil. Anselm von Kanterbury. Eine philosophische Abhandlung.* 249:5

ARISTOTELES

Gans, M. E., *Psychologische Untersuchung zu der von Aristoteles als platonisch überlieferten Lehre von den Idealzahlen aus dem Gesichtspunkte der platonischen Dialektik und Ästhetik.* 630:4

Wetzel, Martin, *Die Lehre des Aristoteles von der distributiven Gerechtigkeit und die Scholastik.* 571:3

AUGUSTINUS, AURELIUS, SAINT

Kauff, H., *Die Erkenntnislehre des hl. Augustinus und ihr Verhältnis zu der platonischen Philosophie.* 402:16

BACON, FRANCIS

Henrici, J., *Einführung in die induktive Logik an Bacons Beispiel nach Stuart Mills Regeln.* 226:19

CICERO, MARCUS TULLIUS

Behncke, Gustav, *De Cicerone Epicureorum philosophiae existimatore et iudice.* 37:4

DESCARTES, RENÉ

Seibt, Anton, *Urteilstheorie und Irrthumsproblem bei Descartes.* 601:12

GNOSTICISM

Steiner, Johann, *Die wahre und falsche Gnosis mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Valentinianischen Systems.* 265:21

HEGEL, GEORG WILHELM

Stuhrmann, Johannes, *Die Wurzeln der Hegelschen Logik bei Kant.* 415:32

HUME, DAVID

Scharnagl, P. Theobald, *Der physico-teleologische Gottesbeweis in D. Humes "Dialogues concerning natural religion."* 438:6-7

KANT, IMANUEL

Sellier, Walter, *Die Kantische Ethik in ihren Beziehungen zum Utilitarismus und zur theologischen Utilitätsmoral.* 110:43

Stieglitz, Theodor, *Zur Lehre vom transzendentalen Idealismus I. Kants und A. Schopenhauers.* 13:7

LOCKE, JOHN

Winkler, Karl, *Lockes Erkenntnistheorie verglichen mit der des Aristoteles.* 563:20

MALEBRANCHE, NICOLAS

Paul, *Der Ontologismus des Malebranche.* 413:23

NICOLAUS CUSANUS

Grüning, G., *Wesen und Aufgabe des Erkennens nach Nicolaus Cusanus.* 471:12

SCHOPENHAUER, ARTHUR

Stieglitz, Theodor, *Platons Ideen in der Metaphysik A. Schopenhauers.* 451:6

THOMAS AQUINAS, SAINT

Zimmermann, Josef, *Ueber die Schrift des hl. Thomas von Aquino "De substantiis separatis" mit Rücksicht auf seine Auffassung der Geschichte der Philosophie.* 665:4

Aside from these major groups there are some 600 pieces of diverse topics on Bible studies, Art and Music, Indo-European languages, Slavic languages, and other miscellaneous items.

My most heartfelt appreciation goes to Rudolf Hirsch for his untiring help and invaluable advice. Without his aid the difficult task of indexing could not have been finished. Mr. Charles Hutchings, now of Rutgers University, deserves recognition for the work he did on the collection after it was acquired by the University Library.

THE MATTHEW ARNOLD EXHIBIT

Matthew Arnold at the University

NEDA WESTLAKE

“What a good fellow—frank and easy in manner—strong fine figure, strong face.” In his hurried diary notes for June 12, 1886, Dr. William Pepper, Provost of the University, thus described the honored guest who four days before had delivered an address, “Common Schools Abroad,” in the College Chapel.

From Dr. Pepper’s notes¹ and letters of Arnold, a vivid picture of that occasion emerges. It was a hot June day, and with some 600 people crowded into the chapel (now the Geology Department in College Hall), Dr. Pepper was indignant at the physical discomfort of the badly ventilated room, but continued with a description of the occasion. “Arnold held his manuscript in his left hand and read from it. . . . I sat just behind him on the little platform and called ‘louder’ at short intervals. . . . What he said about the more humanizing effect of foreign [continental as opposed to English or American] education on children especially interesting. He said he often found this note in his report of visits to schools in Europe: ‘the children human.’ Thus able to appreciate the spirit, the quality, the humanities of poetry and of literary work. Bad enunciation. Terrible pronunciation of some words—‘girls, geeerls’! Talked of primary schools on the continent and contrasted them favorably with those in England. ‘Education is that in which all human beings are taught all things human’—something more than mere useful knowledge. Closed by saying that no University could more fittingly do this than the University of Franklin.”

The difficulty that many English men of letters encountered in making themselves understood in American lecture halls is the subject of a note² from Arnold to his sister from Boston on his first visit to America in 1883. “It is unnatural for me to speak so slowly and elaborately as in these great buildings; and to people unfamiliar with the English intonation, I am obliged to do so in order to be heard; but I can do it, and am now doing it quite easily. . . .”

Matthew Arnold had had a successful lecture tour in America in 1883, and in 1886 had returned to visit his eldest daughter, Mrs. Frederick W. Whitridge, in New York. Some of Arnold’s most devoted

¹ This and following notes from Dr. Pepper’s diary are quoted from the William Pepper Papers, University of Pennsylvania Library.

² *Letters of Matthew Arnold*, collected by George W. E. Russell, New York, 1896. The following extracts from Arnold’s correspondence are from the same source.

friends in America were Philadelphians, and this invitation to speak at the University afforded an opportunity to renew those acquaintances.

Whatever the difficulty of communication in public lectures, it is evident that Arnold and his hosts had a thoroughly enjoyable time. Dr. Pepper reports a dinner and a breakfast, with S. Weir Mitchell, E. H. Coates, General S. Wylie Crawford, and two of Arnold's close friends, Ellis Yarnall and Attorney General Wayne MacVeagh, among the guests. They were pleased with Arnold's reaction to Philadelphia; Dr. Pepper quoted him as saying that he liked Boston and Philadelphia so much better than New York, and that Chestnut Street was the most attractive street in America. In a letter to his sister, from Germantown on June 9, 1886, Arnold wrote that ". . . A group of men I met yesterday were the first men I have seen in this country who were serious and cultivated enough to understand the Irish question [the bill for Home Rule for Ireland, defeated on the 7th of June]. The President of the Pennsylvania University [Dr. Pepper] had got up at some unheard-of hour in the morning to get the newspaper as soon as it was published, so anxious was he (on the right side) about the division. . . . On Friday I breakfast at the University and we go on to Washington in the afternoon. . . . We drove out to M'Veagh's to dinner after my lecture at the University (quite a success) yesterday; it might have been England, the country was so green, so fenced and so cultivated. . . ."

From other accounts as well as the speaker's, the lecture had indeed been "quite a success." It was fully reported in *The Pennsylvanian*, and published in the *Century Magazine* the following October.

The 33-page manuscript, in Arnold's close, clear script, given to the University in 1907 by Mr. J. G. Rosengarten, was the focal point of an exhibition in November for the Friends of the Library. Mr. Seymour Adelman generously contributed the major part of the exhibit—first editions, inscription copies, and letters of Arnold and his friends. The honored guest and speaker for the opening of the exhibition was Dr. Arnold Whitridge, the grandson of the poet. Dr. Whitridge, who has held professorships at Yale, the Universities of Athens and Bordeaux, and is the author of books on literary criticism and several biographies, particularly *Dr. Arnold of Rugby*, delighted his audience with his remarks on his grandfather. Dr. Whitridge's manuscript, to be treasured in the Rare Book Collection along with Matthew Arnold's "Common Schools Abroad," is printed on the following pages.

The Gaiety of Matthew Arnold

ARNOLD WHITRIDGE

THIS is such a pleasant occasion and such an interesting one to me personally, as I am sure it is to you also, that I am not going to spoil it by delivering a formal lecture. What I really want to do is to congratulate your Librarian, Dr. Setton, Mr. Mills and the Friends of the Library on this exhibition, and at the same time to supplement the exhibition by calling your attention to an aspect of Matthew Arnold which scholars and posterity in general have been inclined to overlook. I want to talk to you for a few minutes about the gaiety of Matthew Arnold the man, as opposed to the sombre austerity of Matthew Arnold the poet. Not that his poetry is always austere by any means, but that is certainly the prevailing impression.

Ask any graduate student of English literature what are the distinguishing characteristics of Matthew Arnold, and he will probably hold forth about Arnold's dissatisfaction with his own age, his regret for the past, for the days

. . . when wits were fresh and clear,
And life ran gaily as the sparkling Thames;
Before this strange disease of modern life,
With its sick hurry, its divided aims,
Its heads o'ertaxed, its palsied hearts, was rife—

If he is articulate, as I am sure the graduate students of this university are, he will go on to talk of the poet's nostalgic intimations of some state of spiritual well-being which, because he was a child of the nineteenth century, still floated just beyond his reach. Arnold's constant emphasis on conduct—you remember the phrase, "conduct is three fourths of life"—his insistence on "high seriousness" in poetry, has blinded us to certain less lofty, but perhaps more humane, aspects of his character.

The fact is that he was always at war with himself—the artist with the moralist, the Greek poet with the Hebrew prophet, the lover of Byron and passion and the beauty of the South with the disciple of Wordsworth and the stern austerity of the North.

This conflict can be seen too in his theory and practice of poetry. It has always seemed to me one of the paradoxes of English literature that while Arnold insisted that all art should be dedicated to joy his own poetry is anything but joyful. He himself was so aware of this defect in his poetry, as it seemed to him, that he suppressed one of his greatest poems, "Empedocles on Etna," and only restored it to publication on the insistence of Robert Browning. Browning did not quarrel with Arnold's theory of poetry except in so far as it affected "Empedocles on Etna." Critical theories were all very well, but they must not be allowed to get in the way of good poetry.

There is no question that the classroom estimate of Arnold is true. He admits it himself over and over again, among other places in the "Stanzas from the Grande Chartreuse" where he tells us

. . . rigorous teachers seized my youth,
And purged its faith, and trimm'd its fire,
Show'd me the high white star of Truth,
There bade me gaze, and there aspire.

My point is that though this is the truth it is not the whole truth. Side-by-side with the austere poet, the stern critic of society, and the harassed school inspector, there was another very different Matthew Arnold, a "wordling" as one of his contemporaries called him, who loved good talk and good wine, an evening with Sainte-Beuve at a good Paris restaurant, a game of racquets at the club, or a day's fishing with his son. Strange as it may seem to us as we read his poetry, the trouble with Matthew Arnold from his friends' point of view was that he was not serious enough. At Oxford he was everything of which his father would have disapproved—jaunty, indolent, and debonair. His banter—the twentieth century would have called it "kidding"—was notorious. Listen to what his friend Hawker has to say about him. "We arrived here on Friday evening," wrote Hawker during a trip with young Matthew in 1843, "after sundry displays of the most consummate coolness on the part of our friend Matt, who pleasantly induced a belief into the passengers of the coach that I was a poor mad gentleman, and that he was my keeper."

That was very characteristic of Matthew Arnold as an undergraduate. His friend Clough worried about his unwillingness to devote himself to his studies. "Matthew has gone out fishing when he ought properly to be working," wrote Clough in the summer of 1844 when they were both on a reading party which Arnold was doing his best to ignore or disrupt. A trip to Paris in 1846, to follow the actress Rachel through her Paris season, only exaggerated his gaiety and his flamboyance. He came back spouting Béranger's poetry, but that was not what the University authorities wanted. "Matt has returned full of Paris," complains Clough again—"theatres in general, and Rachel in special. He breakfasts at 12, and never dines in Hall, and in the last week or 8 days rather (for two Sundays must be included) he has been to chapel only once."

Now all this, you may say, is nothing but a reaction against the stern training of his father, and that as he grew older the exuberance of youth disappeared and he lost the capacity to surrender himself to the gayer side of life. Certainly he changed, as all of us do, but though the gaiety assumed a different form it was still there.

Is it so small a thing
To have enjoyed the sun,
To have lived light in the spring,
To have loved, to have thought, to have done;
To have advanced true friends, and beat down baffling foes . . .

You can not call that the poetry of a pessimist, or of a man who shut the door on life. I would say that during the thirty years that elapsed between the writing of those lines and the delivery of his lecture here in Philadelphia Arnold lost something of his zest for poetry. Possibly the business of earning his living and providing for a large family—unlike Browning he was not a rich man—and the very prosaic life of a school inspector, crowded out, or at least stunted, the more artistic side of his nature. But fortunately there were compensations. I can think of no poet of his generation to whom children and home meant as much as they did to Matthew Arnold. The expeditions, the games, the jokes, the love of animals

—all the small coin of intimate family life—played a great part in the happy serenity of his nature.

If I may be personal for a moment, it might interest you to know that my mother, Matthew Arnold's older daughter, never talked to me much about his poetry. She read me "The Forsaken Merman," and when I went to school she gave me the "Essays in Criticism," but she never talked about him as a literary man. She left me to discover him for myself. Perhaps that was wise. She could never think of him except as a most loving, affectionate, and understanding father.

The other aspect I remember hearing a great deal about as a child was his intense love of the outdoors and particularly of flowers. This is of course immediately apparent in "Thyrsis," "The Scholar Gipsy" and in the Switzerland poems. You will see it also if you read the Letters, especially those written from America at the end of his life. At that time his health was already bothering him—he died shortly after his return to England—and that meant he could not walk about as much as he would have liked, but he got the greatest pleasure out of the wild flowers and the trees, the view from his window, and the look of the countryside, which reminded him of England and yet was so different.

Here in Philadelphia, for instance, he was carried away by the beauties of the park, "one of the finest in the world, 3000 acres of beautiful undulating country with a fine river. . . . It is worth crossing the Atlantic to see the 'kalmia' and magnolia growing wild everywhere in the woods." He notes also the lady slippers, Indian pipe, milkweed, and thalictrum. "But," he says, in writing to his sister, "I must not go on about flowers or my letter will contain nothing else." There is a nice touch in another letter where he persuades Andrew Carnegie, much against his will, to stop the carriage so that he can get out and examine the rhododendron.

In all these comments I am reminded of what he says about Wordsworth's poetry. "It is great because of the extraordinary power with which Wordsworth feels the joy offered us in nature, the joy offered us in the simple primary affections and duties."

I can't possibly improve on Matthew Arnold's language so I will leave it at that. When you re-read him, as I hope you do

occasionally, I should like you to think of him not only as an elegiac poet

Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born . . .

not only as the critic of the British Philistine, and of the dangerous tendency in America to confuse mediocrity with excellence, but as one who impressed everyone who came in contact with him with the gay serenity of his spirit. "I don't care what you think of his poetry," my mother once said to me. "Papa was never gloomy. He made life fun for everybody." That seems to me a very enviable memory, and I am grateful to the Friends of the Library for giving me this opportunity to pass it on to you.

Library Notes

A Note from the editor

For the past several years Rudolf Hirsch has served as editor of the *Library Chronicle*. The pressure of other duties has forced him to withdraw from this capacity. The issues of the *Chronicle* under his guidance demonstrate a consistent excellence—a record that will be exceedingly difficult to maintain. Mr. Hirsch has graciously offered to help me in any problems relating to the *Chronicle* and Miss Elizabeth Borden and Miss M. Elizabeth Shinn have kindly consented to continue in their capacities as editorial assistants. In essence, then, the team remains the same for with Rudolf Hirsch hovering in the background we hope that the *Chronicle* will continue to inform, instruct, and entertain as it has so notably done in the past.

MERRILL G. BERTHRONG

Various Gifts

ADELMAN, SEYMOUR—Two colored engravings, 17½ x 12", "A view of the stock market," and "A view of the fountain in the Temple," by Fletcher, London, 1753, to be added to the Teerink collection of Jonathan Swift.

BALLY, RAYMOND E.—Miscellaneous collection; 25 vols.

BENOLIEL, MRS. D. JACQUES—(Dickens, Charles) Great International Walking Match of February 29, 1868. One large broadside in leather case. Contains signatures of George Dolby, James R. Osgood, James T. Fields, and Charles Dickens.

BUTTERWORTH, CHARLES C., Estate of—Material on the history of the English Bible, 16th Century English history and printing; editions of classics and rare editions of the Bible. 368 vols.

COMEGYS, AMY, Estate of—Miss Comegys has been a generous donor over a period of years. Her death this spring resulted in the final disposition of 20 books.

FAWCETT, DR. CHARLES D.—22 bound volumes of various titles.

HENLEY, JAMES—38 sheets of unpublished material from Farrell's *Judgment Day*.

HYDE, DR. WALTER W.—ORMEROD, GEORGE. History of the County Palatine and City of Chester, compiled from original evidence in public offices, the Harleian and Cottonian MSS, parochial registers . . . 2nd. ed. rev. by T. Helsby. Routledge, 1882. 3 vols.

LINEBARGER, PROF. PAUL M. A.—39 volumes of Brazilian diplomatic archives, being a series of reports by the Brazilian Foreign Minister to the Brazilian legislature.

MEYER, MRS. FRED H.—Miscellaneous material in German; literature and American authors in German translation. 104 vols.

MURPHY, MRS. MILES—Volumes on psychology from Dr. Murphy's office, containing presentation copies of two works by the psychologist, Alexander Bain. 25 vols.

PASCHKIS, MARGARET—Miscellaneous German literature. 22 vols.

PENNSYLVANIA UNIVERSITY, VETERINARY SCHOOL, CLASS OF 1955—Titles selected by Veterinary Library and purchased for the Library.

ROWLEY, GEORGE, PROF.—NEWBOLD, W. R., DR. "Literary remains." Class of 1887. Ph.D. 1891. Material on spiritualism and various slides and material on Bacon. Heinrici, Georg. Die Valentiniansch Gnosis und die Heilige Schrift. Voynich mss. photostats and slides taken by RBC. Autograph letters of Conan Doyle, William James and spiritualist material given to Archives.

SCHOELKOPF, ROBERT J., JR.—History of Pope Alexander III and Emperor Frederick Barbarossa.

VARE, EDWIN H., JR.—Volumes III and IV of original elephant folio-size aquatints of Audubon's "Birds of America." These will join Volumes V and VI which Mr. Vare gave to the Library in 1957.

WARD, PHILIP H., JR.—Collection of U. S. coins in denominations from $\frac{3}{4}$ cent to 20 cents.

We gratefully acknowledge gifts from W. B. Saunders & Company, Illman-Carter Library, University Museum and the Wistar Institute Library. The following individuals were donors: Chester E. Tucker, Henry M. Pemberton and from the faculty the Drs. Bodde, Bolles, Briner, Eiseley, Klarmann, Laurie, Martin, Matthews, Miller, Moenkemeyer, Odlozilik, Smith, Wells, and Whitaker.

J.M.G.

Important Purchases 1957–1958

Library of Dr. Joseph E. Gillet, late professor of Romance languages, Spanish literature, and Philology—approximately 2500 volumes.

American bureau of industrial research. A documentary of American industrial society. Russell & Russell, 1958.

Ancient history of China (in Japanese).

Barbosa Machado, Diogo. *Biblioteca Lusitana*, 2nd. ed. 4 vols.

The Beaver, magazine of the North. (Out of print issues added to the Museum's holdings.)

Bianchi, Paolo Federico. *Raccolta d'ornati d'architettura . . .* Paris, ca. 1760.

Blondel, Jacques Francois. *Architecture francaise.* Paris, Jambert, 1752–1756. 4 vols.

Boyle, Robert. *Curiosities of chymistry.* London, 1691.

Burton, Robert. *Anatomy of melancholy.* Oxford, 1624.

Chambers, William. *Designs of Chinese buildings, furniture, dresses.* London, 1757.

Czechoslovakia, laws, statutes, etc. *Skirba zakonu a narizeni statu ceskoslovensko, 1918–1952.* 38 vols.

Finnisch—Ugrische forschungen. 32 vols.

Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von. *Sämtliche werke (Propylaen ausgabe).* 1909–1931.

Harada, Ritamura *et al.* *Color atlas of skin disease.* 2 vols. 1956.

Hoefler, Jean Chrétien Ferdinand. *Nouvelle biographie generale.* Paris, 1857–1866. 46 vols.

Holstenius, Lucas. *Codex regularum monasticarum et canonicarum.* 2nd. ed. Graz, 1956. 6 vols. in 3.

Homerus. *Odissea . . . per Raphaelum Volaterrum in Latinum conversa.* Rome, 1510.

Intermédiaire des chercheurs et curieux. 1864–1940. Complete collection.

Krafft, Johann Carl. *Plans des plus beaux jardins pittoresques de France.* Paris, 1810. 2 vols.

- Milton, John. *Paradise lost*. 1st. ed. London, S. Simmons, 1668.
- Offner, Richard. *A critical and historical corpus of Florentine painting*. 8 vols. rec'd.
- Pozzo, Andrea. *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum*. Rome, 1693–1700. 2 vols.
- Prussia. Archivverwaltung. *Mitteilungen . . . Publikationen . . .*
- Revue de Médecine veterinaire*. Vols. 79–88, 93–97.
- Revue Hispanique*. (Certain vols. missing in our set.)
- Royal Asiatic Society. Malayan branch. *Journal*. 18 scattered vols.
- Sanuto, Marino. *I diari*. Venice, Visentini, 1879–1903. 59 vols.
- Sebastian. *Het eerste-vijfde, boeck van de architecturen . . .* Amsterdam, 1616.
- Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*. 1871–1940. Vols. 1–137.
- Times* (London). Palmer's index. Scattered issues of 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.
- Vecellio, Cesare. *Habiti antichi et moderni di tutto il mondo*. Venice, Sessa, 1598.
- Vitruvius, Pollio Marcus. *Les dix livres d'architecture*. 2nd. ed. Paris, Coignard, 1684.

J. M. G.

Continental European Books

The following is a representative list of purchases made during recent months:

Spanish versions of Seneca (Antwerp, 1551) and Josephus (Madrid, 1629); a French translation of Thucydides, Geneva, 1600; Italian translations of Caesar (Venice, 1517 and 1558) and Seneca (Venice, 1560).

A Panegyricus for Emperor Charles V by Giovanni Crisostomo Zanchi, published at Rome in 1536. A blank leaf at the end contains a manuscript Latin poem of eight lines by Basilio Zanchi addressed to the author, his brother. Basilio has also made manuscript corrections throughout the text.

The first printed edition of the poem *Henrici Quarti Ro. Imperatoris bellum contra Saxones heroico carmine descriptum*, published at Strassburg in 1508. The authorship has never been established; it has been attributed both to the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries. This edition also contains verses by Baptista Mantuanus and a letter of Beatus Rhenanus.

Historische Beschreibung, dated 1568, a German translation of Hubert Languet's eyewitness account of the siege of Gotha in 1567, which marked the downfall of Duke Johann Friedrich II of Saxony and Wilhelm von Grumbach.

Three works on the art of letter-writing: Francesco Sansovino, *Del Secretario, overi formulario di lettere missivi et responsivi*, Venice, 1573; the first edition of Torquato Tasso's *Il Secretario*, Ferrara, G. Cesare, 1587; the *Ars Tulliano more epistolandi* of Jacobus Publicius, Paris, A. Caillaut, ca. 1493. A treatise on writing poetry is M. A. Sabellico's *De rerum et artium inventoribus poema*, Paris, about 1510.

Among other incunabula, Johannes Trithemius, *De operatione divini amoris*, Mainz, 1497(?), and an edition of Albius Tibullus' works, containing also the works of Propertius, with commentaries on both, Venice, 1500. The Tibullus has many manuscript variant readings and, also in manuscript, much of Antonio Volsco's commentary on Propertius.

Germaniae exegeseos volumina duodecim, Haguenau, 1518, a history of Germany by Franciscus Irenicus, including a description of Nuremberg by Conrad Celtis.

A form for marriage dispensations (for consanguinity), issued at Rome about 1510 to raise money for the building of St. Peter's at Rome. The entire text is engraved on a vellum sheet.

Two Ramón Lull items: a Lyons, 1517, edition of his *Ars magna generalis et ultima* and a rare anonymous pamphlet of eight leaves printed in Germany early in the sixteenth century, called *Speculum et alphabeticum sacerdotum*. It contains a section called "Raimundi Lulli . . . contemplationes," actually selections from his *De Amico et Amato*.

An edition of the *Carcer damore* by Diego de San Pedro, translated into Italian by Lelio de Manfredi, printed on vellum at Venice about 1514.

Three small author collections: A group of four pamphlet editions of poems by Hans Sachs published at Nuremberg, one in 1524, the others about 1553. Also, a bulky quarto volume bound in pigskin in 1613 for Martinus Brenner, bishop of Seckau, containing five anti-Lutheran works by Johann Nas dated from 1581 to 1588; one of the items is a broadside with a large woodcut satirizing the Reformers and beneath it

a long poem in German based on the cut. Finally, five exegetical and doctrinal works by Rupertus, abbot of Deutz (d. 1135), four published at Cologne in 1526 and edited by Johannes Cochlaeus, the other published at Augsburg in 1487.

Epistola Luciferi ad spirituales, Magdeburg, 1549, a pamphlet sometimes attributed to the fourteenth-century bishop, Nicolas Oresme, which severely attacks the corruption of the church.

A volume published at Königsberg in 1584 containing short biographies of all the grand masters of the Teutonic Knights. The coat of arms of each master is reproduced and, in this copy, colored by hand.

A debate on marriage between Ercole and Torquato Tasso, entitled *Dell' ammogliarsi piacevole contesa frà i due moderni Tassi*, Bergamo, 1593.

For the Krumbhaar Collection of Elzevier imprints, a poem by Nicolaas Heinsius on the liberation of Breda, *Breda expugnata*, Leyden, 1637, folio, and Blaise Pascal's *Les Provinciales*, Leyden, 1659, quarto.

A book of sermons by the famous Augustinian preacher of Vienna, Abraham a Sancta Clara (1644–1709), called *Wohl angefüllter Weinkeller*, Würzburg, 1710.

Collections of statutes, regulations, treaties, etc.: Strassburg (66 items) and Brunswick (421 items) in Germany; Chartres, Meaux, Senlis, and Berry in France; Tuscany (210 items) in Italy.

From the *Risorgimento* of the Italian nineteenth-century: All of the 48 numbers of *L'Indicatore Livornese*, a literary journal to which Mazzini contributed and which, after a life of only one year, was suppressed in 1830 because of its liberalism. Also, a pamphlet volume of fifty-four items all of which appeared at Naples in 1848—revolutionary songs, constitutions, pamphlets on the Jesuits, the poem *Cracovia* by Gabriele Rossetti, 28 (of 33) issues of *L'Amico del Popolo* (published 1848–1849), and numerous other political leaflets, some of them of only one page.

A number of first editions of French surrealist writers, including works by Jouhandeau, Rigaut, Chirico, Crevel, and Aragon, and the first and only issue of the periodical *Surréalisme*, October, 1924. Also, complete runs of two earlier journals, *Les Écrits nouveaux* (1917–1922) and *Le Parnasse contemporain* (1866–1876).

L. W. R.

Theodore Dreiser Collection—Addenda

In May, 1958 two trunks and fifteen cartons of business records, manuscripts and books of Theodore Dreiser arrived at the Library from

California. Mrs. Myrtle Butcher and Mr. Harold Dies, the executors of the estate of Mrs. Helen Dreiser, made possible this invaluable addition to the Theodore Dreiser Collection already at the University.

How often the student of literary history or the writer of an author's biography are baffled by not being able to come upon the practical details of author-publisher relationships or the actual records of a writer's publications—because the harassed publishing houses cannot store business records indefinitely, because a firm prominent thirty years ago is now out of business, or because the author himself gave loving care to his manuscripts but paid little attention to retaining old contracts and correspondence once the financial details had been settled.

Fortunately for future research, Dreiser's own concern for his records and the careful administration of them by the executors have taken care of this problem for one major American writer. As this latest material is now arranged, there are fifteen boxes of contracts and correspondence with Dreiser's American and foreign publishers, agents and translators, from approximately 1923 to the late 1930's. In addition to material already in the collection, there are now the records with the American publishers Boni and Liveright, G. P. Putnam's Sons, Simon and Schuster, John Lane, and Harpers, with files on copyrights, litigations between the author and publisher, and the author's statistics on the sale of his books from 1900 to 1931.

The European interest in Dreiser and the results of efforts to circulate his books abroad can now be more fully examined. Two boxes of records having to do with Germany reveal his relationship with Paul Zsolnay in Berlin and Vienna, and Tauchnitz in Leipzig, and the various efforts to locate satisfactory translators and to collect royalties due. There is one box of correspondence and contracts between Dreiser and Curtis Brown and Constable and Company in England in the late 1920's. Five more boxes contain the business transactions between Dreiser and publishers and agents in France, Holland, Japan, South America, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Poland, Roumania, Russia, Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia, Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Switzerland.

In Dreiser's later years in California, he and Mrs. Dreiser were actively engaged in promoting the filming of many of his stories and novels. There are synopses and scripts of *Sister Carrie* and *An American Tragedy* by Dreiser, H. S. Kraft, Kathryn Sayre, and Patrick Kearney. The "Genius" and the trilogy, *The Financier*, *The Titan*, and *The Stoic*, were also given dramatic treatment by various people, with Dreiser's suggestions and corrections, indicating interesting attitudes of the author toward his novels.

"My Gal Sal," the musical movie on the life of Paul Dresser, the popular song writer and Dreiser's brother, was based on information received from the family; two boxes of clippings, letters, and the scenario tell the detailed story of that event.

There are personal business records and correspondence between Mr. and Mrs. Dreiser which are restricted for the present, with some early diaries of his experiences in Indiana and Pennsylvania. Passports, photographs, travel notes, luggage inventories, and letters tell the intimate account of his European journeys.

Scrapbooks which Mrs. Dreiser kept contain many of the most significant letters written to Dreiser over the years, with one book filled with letters which she received after his death in 1945.

The executors also have added to the collection books which Mrs. Dreiser retained for her own use after the main part of the library of 2,000 volumes were catalogued and stored at the University in 1949. Three hundred volumes include autographed editions of Sherwood Anderson, Konrad Bercovici, Carl Sandburg, H. L. Mencken, and Edgar Lee Masters. Two hundred and forty more books are all editions of Dreiser's own works, many in foreign translation, with American first editions inscribed to Mrs. Dreiser. Perhaps the greatest treasure in the Dreiser library is now the first edition of *Sister Carrie* (1900) with this inscription, "To my dear Father with a sort of inheritance proviso by which I manage to inscribe it also to Mame and Austin [Dreiser's sister and brother-in-law]. If any of you fail to read and praise it the book reverts to me. With love (according to precedence) Theodore."

N. M. W.

Charles C. Butterworth
1894–1958

On April 9, 1958, the Friends of the Library and the University of Pennsylvania lost a good friend of long standing. Mr. Charles C. Butterworth, College, 1915, was born April 1, 1894. After service in the First World War, graduate work at the University of Pennsylvania and at Jesus College, Cambridge, Mr. Butterworth was an instructor of English at the University from 1919 to 1927. During this period he began research on the history of the English versions of the Bible and published *The Literary Lineage of the King James Bible*, 1941, and *English Primers*, 1953. For over forty years he was a devoted student of the Bible and wrote many articles dealing with its history for *The Library* (London), the *Papers* of the American Bibliographical Society, the *Library Chronicle*, the *General Magazine* (University of Pennsylvania), and the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library. Throughout his life Mr. Butterworth made many gifts of valuable books and funds to the University Library. He was a personal friend of many members of the staff, and those who knew him and worked with him miss his kind, genteel, and learned presence.

Report from the Secretary of the Friends of the Library

SINCE the Secretary's report in the spring issue of the *Library Chronicle*, 1957, the Friends have presented an exhibition of rare stamps and coins from the collection of Mr. Philip H. Ward, Jr., at which Mr. Ward spoke on his experiences as a collector and the rewards of collecting; an exhibition and tea announcing the Library's acquisition of the manuscripts and papers of James T. Farrell; an open house for Friends and interested scholars in honor of Mr. Gordon A. Block, Jr., who has presented the Library with a collection of rare Bibles in honor of his mother; and a lecture by Mr. Alfred Bendiner on "Good-Humored Architecture" and an exhibition of his drawings, prints, and paintings.

The Friends have purchased three sets of unique lecture notes written by students at the School of Medicine of the University shortly after its founding. These notes increase considerably the value of the Library's holdings in Benjamin Rush material and the history of the University.

The contributions of the Friends toward the purchase of the Teerink Collection of Jonathan Swift materials have now been expended. The Collection has been catalogued. And several members of the Friends have contributed further Swift materials which, added to the Collection, considerably enhance its value.

Through the Friends, the Library was able to make available to the students and faculty of the University one of the outstanding exhibits of the Library of Congress on the "American City in the 19th Century."

At Christmas time, the Friends received greetings bearing a reproduction of material in the Library's Rare Book Collection. These Christmas cards were paid for by the sale of similar un-inscribed cards to the public.

We announce with regret that since January, 1957, the following Friends have died:

Mr. C. Barton Brewster	Miss Amy Comegys
Mr. Charles C. Butterworth	Dr. William H. DuBarry
Dr. Williams B. Cadwalader	

Membership contributions for 1957 totaled \$5,132.70. For the period January to July, 1958, the total was \$2,803.83. Expenditures in 1957 amounted to \$3,343.74. Those for the first six months of 1958 totaled \$2,735.50. It must be remembered that most of the Friends' expenditure each year goes to the publication of the *Library Chronicle*. Books, manuscripts, and other material contributed by Friends to the Library's collection are listed in the Library Notes section of this issue.

JESSE C. MILLS
Secretary

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Articles and notes of bibliographical or bibliophile interest are invited. Contributions should be submitted to The Editor, *The Library Chronicle*, University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia 4, Pennsylvania.

Samuel Fleming, Elizabethan Clergyman

WILLIAM E. MILLER*

THE *Dictionary of National Biography* has understandably laid considerable weight upon published works as a criterion for inclusion within its pages. It is no doubt for this reason that Abraham Fleming (1552?-1607) received liberal treatment in a competent article by Thompson Cooper, whereas Abraham's older brother Samuel, who was in many ways a more interesting man, was neglected.

According to Francis Thynne, Samuel and Abraham Fleming were "Londoners borne."¹ Samuel's approximate birth date can be inferred from the admission record of King's College, Cambridge University, which he entered in 1565 at the age of seventeen.²

It is very likely that Samuel Fleming, his brother Abraham, and their sister Esther (Hester) were born of parents who were precisians, or Puritans. Only these three children of the family are now known; the fact that all three bore Old Testament names can hardly have been a coincidence; such names in the sixteenth century were a patent mark of Puritan beliefs. As far as we can now judge, the mature Samuel Fleming was a middle-of-the-road man, but Abraham exhibited clearly many of the stigmata of Calvinism, as has been pointed out by Sarah C. Dodson.³

No records have come to light to show whether or not Samuel Fleming attended a petty school; in fact, we have evidence of only two years' formal study preparatory to the University. According to Sterry's *Register*, Fleming entered Eton in 1563, no doubt in the late summer or early autumn.⁴ In October of that year Queen Elizabeth came to Windsor to escape the plague, and the students of Eton prepared a book of verses which was presented to her. Samuel Fleming was one of the young authors of this book.⁵ Nothing is known of Fleming's life at Eton except that he was a good student; it may be that the severe discipline then prevailing in that school stimulated him to great efforts.⁶ He

* University of Pennsylvania.

entered King's College, Cambridge University, as a King's Scholar, on 27 August 1565.⁷

Cambridge was a stirring place in those days; in some respects King's was less agitated by exciting events than other colleges. For example, King's was obedient when some others were creating a hubbub over ecclesiastical habits.⁸ Most of the quarrels between the Puritans and the right-wing Anglicans seem to have passed them by. On the other hand, the fellows and students of King's appear to have been hard to satisfy with respect to their provosts. In September, 1569, Dr. Philip Baker was complained of for keeping popish ornaments, and the Queen's Commissioners sat in the matter. Baker terminated the proceedings by fleeing, perhaps to Louvain, whereupon he was declared deprived.⁹ His successor Roger Goad had better fortune. In 1576 Giles Fletcher, Robert Liles, Stephen Lakes, Robert Johnson, and Robert Dunning, fellows of King's College, alleged that they had forty charges against Goad; however, they were able to produce only twenty-five, and these not strong ones. The historian John Strype says that the charges were malicious. In any event, nothing came of the matter.

Strype points to the fact that one of the complaining students was Stephen Lakes, a man of haughty disposition who had been reproved by Dr. Goad for wearing under his gown a cut taffeta doublet of the fashion with his sleeves out, and a great pair of "galligastion" hose. Goad had punished Lakes a week's commons for this unscholarly apparel. Lakes and Dunning for their part in the complaint were committed by the Chancellor to the gatehouse, from which place of imprisonment they wrote letters of submission to Lord Burghley.¹⁰ Lakes had come up from Eton with Samuel Fleming. They had been in competition for highest place in the *Ordo senioritatis* for both the bachelor's degree (in which Lakes ranked first in their year), and the master's degree.

Samuel Fleming was not the kind of person that allows himself to become involved in such disputes. We have no evidence that he exhibited any interest in activities other than those of religion and scholarship. It is not likely that he was seduced by the thriving drama, both commercial and collegiate, that was attracting so much attention among students of the University.¹¹

On 28 August 1568 Fleming became a fellow of King's and so remained for about thirteen years.¹² In spite of his fellowship, Fleming was undoubtedly subject to the pinch of that same poverty of which we have testimony in the works of his brother Abraham. Samuel is reported to have received six shillings and eight pence on 3 April 1569 under the terms of a will which devised a fund for the relief of poor students. Giles Fletcher and many others were beneficiaries at the same time. Four years later, on 20 April 1573, Fleming received twenty shillings, an unusually high amount, whether for need or merit it is now uncertain. In the record of payment on this occasion Fleming was designated "poore scholler of the kinges colledge in cambridge."¹³

Samuel Fleming graduated B.A. in 1569–70,¹⁴ revealing by his standing in the *Ordo senioritatis* his industry during the five academic years since his enrollment. His rank was seventh in an *Ordo* of 114 students, immediately ahead of Giles Fletcher (the elder), who was eighth, and Gabriel Harvey, who was ninth. Thomas Speght of Peterhouse, who became one of the best-known of Chaucer scholars, stood fifty-fifth in the same *Ordo*.¹⁵ When Abraham Fleming took his bachelor's degree, he was ranked 116 in an *Ordo* of 213 names.

Samuel Fleming went on to take his master's degree at the end of the academic year 1572–73, declining to eleventh place in an *Ordo* of sixty-three students. Gabriel Harvey exhibited his maturing intellectual powers by climbing to first place. Fletcher descended with Fleming, but kept his former position relative to Fleming (immediately following). Speght was twenty-fifth.¹⁶ Finally, at the end of the academic year 1579–80 Fleming took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity (or Bachelor of Theology, indicated by the letters B.D. or S.T.B.). This time he was tenth in an *Ordo* of sixteen.¹⁷

In the meantime Fleming had been ordained deacon and priest of the English Church. The ceremony was performed by Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Lincoln, in the chapel within the manor of Buckden, on 25 October 1576.¹⁸ In December of the same year John Harington matriculated from King's, and Samuel Fleming became his tutor. Harington mentioned him several times in surviving writings with the most profound

respect. Most revealing perhaps is his comment in the prefatory matter to his translation of *Orlando Furioso*:

. . . I will tell you an accident that happened vnto my selfe. When I was entred a prettie way into the translation, about the seuenth booke, comming to write that where *Melissa* in the person of *Rogeros* Tutor, comes and reproues *Rogero* in the 4. staffe:

*Was it for this, that I in youth thee fed
With marrow? &c. And againe:
Is this a meanes, or readie way you trow,
That other worthie men haue trod before,
A Caesar or a Scipio to grow? &c.*

Straight I began to thinke, that my Tutor, a graue and learned man, and one of a verie austere life, might say to me in like sort, Was it for this, that I read *Aristotle* and *Plato* to you, and instructed you so carefully both in Greek and Latin? to haue you now becom a translator of Italian toys? But while I thought thus, I was aware, that it was no toy that could put such an honest and serious consideration into my minde.¹⁹

Samuel Fleming must have acquired a respectable reputation as a public speaker and preacher. When the Queen went on progress during the summer of 1578, she visited Audley End in Norfolk, the seat of Sir Henry Lee (Leigh), the Queen's personal champion. During her brief stay she was waited upon by the vice-Chancellor and heads of colleges of Cambridge, and a disputation was held on 27 July 1578 for the profit and pleasure of the Court. Fleming of King's upheld *solus* the affirmative of two questions: 1) *Clementia magis in Principe laudanda quam severitas*, and 2) *Astra non imponunt necessitatem*.²⁰ His opponents were Harvey of Pembroke, Palmer of St. John's, and Hawkins of Peterhouse. Fletcher of King's was to have been moderator, but Lord Burghley as Chancellor of the University took that office upon himself.²¹

When a dispute arose at Cambridge whether rhetorical figures ("tropes") and other artificial ornaments of speech taken from profane authors such as "sentences" and adages might properly be used in sermons, Samuel Fleming "by appointment of the heads of the colledges, in an excellent sermon determind the controversie." The decision was: "That seing now the extra-

ordinarie gifts, first of tongues, next of miracles, was ceased; and that knowledge is not now *infusa*, but *acquisita*, we should not despise the helpe of any humane learning; as neither St. Paule did, who used the sentences of poets, as well as of prophetts, and hath manie excellent tropes, with exaggerations and exclamations in his epistles: for chastity doth not abhorre all ornaments, and Judeth did attire her head as curiouslie as Jesabel. . . .”²² In this instance it is evident that Samuel Fleming was taking a stand in behalf of the authorities against the Puritan extremists who found ornament even in the rhetoric of sermons a stumbling block.

On 11 April 1581 Samuel Fleming was instituted to the rectorship of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire.²³ He had probably been acting there in a minor clerical capacity while he was still in attendance at the University, for under the date of 1579 there is an entry in the registers of the diocese of Ely, “Sam. Flemyng M.A. *Preacher or Curate.*”²⁴ Also in 1581, probably on or about 19 September, Fleming was admitted to the benefice of the parish of Bottesford in Leicestershire.²⁵ He thus became a pluralist, but neither he nor anyone else betrayed any stirrings of conscience as a result, though he appears to have kept both livings until his death almost forty years later. The patrons of the church at Bottesford during Fleming’s ministry were Edward Manners, third Earl of Rutland, and his successors.²⁶

A chaplain to the Earl of Rutland died in 1582.²⁷ It may be that Samuel Fleming succeeded to the vacancy. By 1586 at the latest Fleming was one of the chaplains to the Earl of Rutland; in that year he accompanied his patron, in a train of about five hundred persons, to the negotiations and ceremonies involved in the signing of the treaty of Berwick on 20 June. The names of the more important persons in the party are listed as: “The Erle of Rutland; Mr. Jhon Manners, his brother; Sir Robert Cunstable, knight; Mr. George Campolle of Linconsheir; Mr. Docter Marberke, my lord’s phisition; Mr. Flemminge; Mr. Gygon, his lordship’s Chapleines.”²⁸

Fleming was chaplain to four earls of Rutland in succession: Edward (d.1587), John (d.1587/8), Roger (d.1612), and Francis (d.1632).²⁹ Of these four, by far the best known to modern readers

is Roger. When he was in London, he seems to have divided his time between play-going and treasonable activities in the company of the Earl of Essex.³⁰ So enthusiastic a follower of the theater can hardly have escaped seeing some of Shakespeare's plays. Indeed, Roger Manners has been suspected by some amateur scholars of *being* Shakespeare.³¹ It was for Roger's younger brother Francis, who succeeded to the title, that Shakespeare invented and Richard Burbage painted an *impresa* (device to be placed on a shield for a tournament).³² It is doubtful whether Fleming had any contact with Shakespeare. Even if the playwright had visited Belvoir Castle, as he may well have done in the days of the fun-loving Roger, Fleming would have been unlikely to appear in such light company.

Samuel Fleming's two benefices and his chaplaincy must have raised him above the financial cares that had in some degree oppressed him as a young man. Bottesford alone was worth £51 5s. a year.³³ What Samuel's total income was we have no means of knowing, but he was sufficiently prosperous by 1592 to make a Commencement donation of two shillings and six pence toward the building of a steeple for the church of St. Mary the Great at Cambridge.³⁴ We have the name of a servant employed by Fleming.³⁵

On 18 February 1586/7 Samuel's sister Esther was married to Thomas Davenport (sometimes written Dampont), minister of Harston in Leicestershire. Their marriage appears in the Bottesford register, and it is reasonable to suppose that Samuel Fleming performed the ceremony. Harston is a village a few miles from Bottesford. If Esther Fleming was visiting her brother Samuel or was acting as his housekeeper, there would probably have been many opportunities for meeting clergymen attached to surrounding parishes.

It is possible that Fleming was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity between 8 December 1590 and 8 July 1592. Between these two dates there was a change of style of Fleming from B.D. to D.D. in the Manor of Cottenham, Court Rolls.³⁶ The eighteenth-century antiquarian Anthony Allen wrote, in a record which is a part of a manuscript series of biographies of members of King's College now preserved in the college library, that

Samuel Fleming was in time “dignified with the Degree of D.D.”³⁷ Moreover, he was almost invariably called “Doctor Fleming” in later life. On the other hand, I have not been able to find any record of an award of the doctorate to Fleming in the published documents of either Oxford or Cambridge. Certainly the Venns knew nothing of it when they compiled *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

Many an obscure book and many a man less well-known than Samuel Fleming have stirred interest by their connections (often remote) with the origins of New World culture. Fleming’s title to fame in this category comes from the agreement on common rights made at Cottenham in 1596, among the holders of land there. Samuel Fleming’s name is recited with others as that of a party to the agreement made between William Hinde of Maddingley of the one part; and the heads and scholars of several Cambridge colleges, Samuel Fleming parson of the rectory of Cottenham, Hobson the famous Cambridge carrier, several of the Pepys family, and others of the second part.³⁸ The editor of *Common Rights at Cottenham & Stretham in Cambridgeshire* points to this agreement as playing an important part in the constitutional and political history of the United States through its influence upon similar agreements in force in Massachusetts a few years later, at Chelsea in 1638, at Malden in 1678, and at Lexington.³⁹

Fleming had at least one assistant at Bottesford, and several at Cottenham at various times.⁴⁰ He would need a curate at one place or the other constantly, and probably at both, especially if he made a practice of accompanying his patrons on their travels as he had done in the case of the third Earl’s journey to Berwick. At least from the summer of 1596 to the summer of 1597, Roger, the fifth Earl, was abroad in Italy and France; Fleming may have been with him.⁴¹

A painstaking search of county records would probably reveal many instances of Fleming’s functioning in positions of trust. At least one such record has been published. Under the will of Richard Wilde of Nettleworth in Nottinghamshire, proved 24 July 1592, lands previously given in trust to Samuel Fleming and Richard Innocente “to the use of myself and brother Gervase or either of us,” were now given to Gervase and his heirs. “To

Samuell Fleminge” was devised “a ringe worthe twentie shillings.” Fleming and one Robert Rastell were to be supervisors of the will.⁴²

On the whole, Fleming’s choice of a rural life and his discretion must have given him a fairly placid existence, in spite of the vagaries of his patrons. On one occasion he may have been personally involved in the royal displeasure. When Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, was in the Queen’s bad graces during the summer of 1594 for allowing her daughter, the Lady Bridget Manners, to marry Robert Tyrwhit, she received news from Court that it was the Queen’s belief that the young woman had been encouraged by her mother, since the marriage could hardly have taken place without the mother’s knowledge, “the same beinge no lesse than the mariage of your owne daughter, in your owne house, and by your owne chaplain.” On 24 November of the same year, Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, wrote to intimate that the Queen’s anger was somewhat appeased, at least toward the young couple, though she still blamed the Countess of Rutland in the affair.⁴³

Belvoir Castle, the principal seat of the Manners family, was so situated as to be a convenient stopping place for parties passing between the North and South of England. One of the most impressive of these visits must have been that which was made by King James when he was on his way to receive the English crown. He stayed for the night of 22–23 April 1603 at Belvoir. The solemnity of the occasion was heightened by the facts that the King arrived on Good Friday and that he created almost fifty new knights then and there.⁴⁴

In 1607 Samuel Fleming received a visit from his brother Abraham which ended at Abraham’s death on 18 September. He was commended to future memory by a memorial brass inscribed with verses in Latin written by his own hand. This brass is now to be seen in the floor of the chancel of the church of St. Mary the Virgin at Bottesford, where Samuel Fleming was once rector. Though Samuel Fleming was older than his brother by about four years, he survived him by thirteen years, and was active almost until his death. One or two honors came to him in this latter stage of his life. On 19 January 1609/10 Samuel Fleming

was collated to the office of prebendary of Southwell, and on the last day of that month he was admitted thereto, succeeding Thomas Pettye, who had died.⁴⁵ When Roger, the fifth Earl of Rutland, died, the choristers of Southwell sang at his funeral in the church at Bottesford. Fleming was entrusted with the distribution of their fee of twenty pounds.⁴⁶

In view of Fleming's position in the Church it is pleasant to notice that, without any record of interference or protest from him, the Dedham Classis, one of the pioneer bodies of English Presbyterianism, met from time to time at Bottesford.⁴⁷ It must be admitted indeed that Samuel Fleming may secretly have shared some of the non-orthodox sentiments that circulated at Cambridge in his day. Moreover, Presbyterian beliefs and practices did not excite the degree of odium that attached to some of the more radical bodies. One of the Presbyterian synods was held at Cambridge, in St. John's College, in 1589.⁴⁸

Fleming's public record ends with a sinister act. Henry Manners, infant son of Francis, sixth Earl of Rutland, fell ill, died, and was buried on 26 September 1613. His brother Francis was afflicted but survived for five years more. Their mother was also ill. The belief that they had been bewitched seems to have grown slowly, finally coming to a focus of suspicion upon Joan Flower and her daughters Margaret and Philippa. Margaret had been in service at the castle and had been dismissed for pilfering; some accusers therefore offered vengeance as a motive for the wicked deeds. It was now noticed that Joan Flower had been behaving in a peculiar manner. One Thomas Simpson contributed the information that Philippa Flower had made amorous advances to him and had bewitched him when he repulsed her. Three other women, Anne Baker, Joan Willimot, and Ellen Green, were suspected of having practiced witchcraft with the Flowers, though it was the latter who were specifically accused of bewitching the Earl's wife and children.

All six women were arrested in 1618, five years after the supposed acts of witchcraft directed at the Manners family. They were examined before the Earl of Rutland, Francis Lord Willoughby of Eresby, Sir George Manners, Sir William Pelham, Sir Henry Hastings, Samuel Fleming, and others, most of whom

were Justices of the Peace for the County of Leicester. Margaret Flower accused her mother of witchcraft, and Philippa confessed to deeds of witchcraft in behalf of her mother, her sister, and herself. The Flowers were consequently committed to prison at Lincoln to await the assizes. The mother died at Ancaster on her way to Lincoln. The two daughters were tried before Sir Henry Hobart, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Sir Edward Bromley, one of the Barons of the Exchequer. Having confessed their guilt, the two women were executed on 11 March 1618/19.⁴⁹

Though he perhaps spent most of his time at Bottesford, Samuel Fleming appears to have visited his living at Cottenham at least upon occasion, perhaps at regular intervals, perhaps when he wished to visit old friends in Cambridge or attend ceremonies there. He died "in the Pulpit" of Cottenham church, probably in early September of 1620, and was buried, no doubt in the churchyard, on either the 12th or the 13th of that month. No monument for him is now to be found here or in the church at Bottesford.⁵⁰

About two months after her brother's death, on 14 November 1620, Esther Davenport, a widow since 1618, married John Knowells of Bottesford, clerk. She survived less than two more years, since her burial took place on 8 May 1622. It appears that Samuel Fleming during his lifetime had made a gift of land for the foundation of a hospital for poor widows, not paupers, this land being reserved for his sister's use during her life.⁵¹ Four days before her second marriage Esther Davenport enfeoffed John Knowells in two cottages in Bottesford and in certain lands "for the sole benefit and behoof of four poor, impotent, and aged widows of the parish of Bottesford . . . ," thus (as it seems) confirming her brother's gift.⁵² Since Samuel Fleming left no will, letters of administration were issued; they appear to have been made in the name of Esther Davenport, though at the time of issue (June, 1622) she was already deceased.⁵³

Samuel Fleming was not a prolific writer, though he commenced promisingly with a group of Latin verses written at the age of fifteen or thereabouts. On her visit to Eton College in 1563 Queen Elizabeth was presented with an elaborate manuscript

book entitled “De adventu gratissimo ac maxime optato ELIZABETHAE, nobilissimae ac illustrissimae Reginae Angliae, Franciae, et Hiberniae, Fidei Defendatricis, ad has Arces VINDESORENSES suas AETONENSIUM Scholarum maxime triumphans Oratio.” A learned oration is followed by seventy-two epigrams by about a score of students, many of them performing more than once, some as many as six times. Fleming contributed three epigrams with a total of forty-four lines. One uses the acrostic device at the beginnings of lines, the reading being “O GOD PRAESERVE OVR NOBLE QVEN.” One four-line epigram has an acrostic at both the beginning and the end of the lines, reading “VIVE” at the beginning and “VALE” at the end.⁵⁴

Epigramma 67		
Monocolon.		
U	t trahas vita ² precor abq̄ luct	U,
I	ntimo Et fundo mea corde vot	A.
U	t pium Coeli repetas tribuna	L.
E	t polo tandem vias beat	E
Flemmyage		

In the 1576 edition of John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* there appeared a letter “To the Reader,” signed “Sam. Fleminge.” The letter is religious in nature, and there is no obvious clue to reveal the reason for Fleming’s having been invited to contribute it, aside from his religious calling. The fact that this letter concludes with a “Farewell from Camb. *Kinges Coll.*” suggests that Fleming was not in close contact with the printers and publishers of London.⁵⁵ It seems most likely that the invitation to contribute came from Richard Day, like Samuel Fleming a fellow of King’s,

who, according to J. F. Mozley in *John Foxe and His Book*, compiled a fresh index for this third edition, wrote a poem, and seems to have seen the book through the press.⁵⁶

According to Francis Thynne, Samuel Fleming was the author of an unpublished Latin history of the reign of Queen Mary Tudor. The reference appears in the account of Samuel and his brother which was made a part of the listing of historical writers by Thynne in the 1587 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Thynne wrote that it was an elegant work.⁵⁷

Finally, Samuel Fleming was the author of a commendatory poem in Latin attached to Edward Grant's *Graecae linguae spicilegium* (1575).

I know of no evidence that Samuel Fleming ever married. As has been noticed, the Queen did not hesitate to interfere in the private affairs of the Manners family (as she did in the case of the Lady Bridget Manners' marriage); the Queen was notoriously opposed to marriage among the clergy; if the Manners had been so bold as to appoint or keep a married chaplain, it seems likely that there would have been some record of her disapproval.

NOTES

In preparing this paper I was greatly aided by the superior resources of English Renaissance materials in the University of Pennsylvania Libraries, especially in the Horace Howard Furness Memorial Library.

1. Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1587), III, 1590.
2. John Venn and J. A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, (Cambridge, 1922-27), part 1.
3. "Abraham Fleming, Writer and Editor," *The University of Texas Studies in English*, XXXIV (1955), 51-66.
4. Quoted to me by Tom Lyon, Esq., Librarian of Eton College.
5. Among the others were Giles Fletcher, who became Ambassador to Russia; Stephen Lakes, a brilliant and rebellious fellow who later made himself notorious at King's College, Cambridge; and John Long, later Archbishop of Armagh.
6. Roger Ascham told of his meeting with certain important persons of the Court, on 10 December 1563, at which meeting Lord Burghley reported that he had news from Eton of various scholars' having run away for fear of a beating. Cf. *English Works*, ed. W. A. Wright (Cambridge, 1904), p. 175. In view of connections that can

be observed to have existed between Cecil and the Fleming brothers, it is not impossible that Cecil's informant was Samuel himself.

7. *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.
8. Letter of eleven fellows to the Chancellor, 17 December 1565. Charles Henry Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1842-45), II, 224.
9. Cooper, *Annals*, II, 244ff.
10. John Strype, *Annals of the Reformation and Establishment of Religion in the Church of England, During Queen Elizabeth's Happy Reign* (Oxford, 1824), II, ii, 36-41; and Cooper, *Annals*, II, 346.
11. *Gammer Gurtons Needle* is said to have been first performed in Christ's College, Cambridge.
12. For the date I am indebted to A. N. L. Munby, Esq., Librarian, King's College, Cambridge.
13. *The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell of Reade Hall, Lancashire: Brother of Dean Alexander Nowell, 1568-1580*, ed. Alexander B. Grosart (for private circulation, 1877), pp. 178 and 184. Lancelot Andrewes received ten shillings in March of 1573.
14. Probably on 16 March, since the Thursday before Palm Sunday was the normal day for awarding the degree of bachelor, as distinct from the higher degrees which were conferred at Commencement, the first Tuesday in July.
15. *Grace Book Δ, Containing the Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1542-1589*, ed. John Venn (Cambridge, 1910), p. 233. In his introduction Dr. Venn discusses the significance of the *Ordo senioritatis* and concludes that it is "nearly certain that some notion of merit, in the sense of intellectual superiority, must have been recognized all along [i.e. over and above a change in its significance that seemingly culminated in the first part of the eighteenth century]; at least as far as the men toward the top of the list are concerned" (p. ix). Fletcher and Fleming had come up from Eton together.
16. *Grace Book Δ*, pp. 261-263.
17. *Grace Book Δ*, pp. 331-332.
18. *Lincoln Episcopal Records in the Time of Thomas Cooper, S.T.P., Bishop of Lincoln A.D. 1571 to A.D. 1584*, ed. C. W. Foster (London, 1913), p. 87. The fact that the ordination was performed in the diocese of Lincoln may tend to indicate that whatever ties the Flemings had with London were broken. There are other indications to the same effect. Abraham Fleming was ordained in the diocese of Peter-

borough. He was buried in his brother's parish church of Bottesford in Leicestershire. Samuel Fleming himself was buried at Cottenham in Cambridgeshire. A few years after Samuel Fleming's ordination by Bishop Cooper, Abraham Fleming compiled a table of common-places for Cooper's *Certaine Sermons VVherin Is Contained the Defense of the Gospell* (1580), but it is unlikely that there was any connection between the two events.

19. *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse by John Harington*. Imprinted by Richard Field, 1591. Samuel Fleming is identified in the margin as the tutor referred to. See also *Nugae Antiquae*, ed. Henry Harington and later Thomas Park (London, 1804), especially the account of the Bishop of Peterborough, Dr. Thomas Dove, and the letter written by Lord Burghley to the young John Harington (son of his old friend John Harington the elder) in which Burghley recommended to the younger Harington, then under the tutelage of Samuel Fleming, the method of double translation employed by Sir John Cheke (and after him by Roger Ascham). In the extract quoted, John Harington put in the mouth of Samuel Fleming a sentiment about "Italian toyes" that sounds as if it might have come from the pen of Roger Ascham. Fleming may indeed have come under the direct or indirect influence of Ascham, whose connections with Cambridge were so intimate. In turn, Fleming must have exerted a powerful sway over Harington. Tutor and pupil lived in so close an association in the Cambridge colleges that the tutor's personal life as well as his mental abilities and accomplishments must have influenced his pupils profoundly for good or ill. Tutor and pupil even occupied the same quarters, the pupil's truckle bed (or trundle bed) being stored beneath the tutor's when not in use. Cf. *The Second Part of The Return from Parnassus*, lines 942–958, in *The Three Parnassus Plays*, ed. J. B. Leishman (London, 1949), pp. 285–286.
20. Several of Shakespeare's characters took positions on the second proposition. Cassius' argument "The fault, dear Brutus, is not in our stars, / But in ourselves, that we are underlings" (*Julius Caesar*, I. ii) is opposed to Kent's "It is the stars, / The stars above us, govern our conditions . . ." (*King Lear*, IV. iii).
21. *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, ed. John Nichols (London, 1788–1821), II, i–iv. Also Cooper, *Annals*, II, 362–365. The record does not show whether or not Fleming was mauled by the formidable opposition. In spite of an evident want of information about the event, Thomas Nashe used it for ammunition in his perpetual war with Gabriel Harvey. *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, reprint, ed. F. P. Wilson (Oxford,

1958), III, 73–78. The Queen herself had retired and was not present at the disputation, a fact of which Nashe was not at first aware. According to Nichols, the students could not find lodging in Walden and so were obliged to return to Cambridge in the middle of the night.

22. *Nugae Antiquae*, II, 206–209. The selection of Fleming is striking because of the large number of University preachers. Lansdowne MS 33 (British Museum) lists more than 130 of them, including Samuel Fleming, for the year 1581.

23. *Common Rights at Cottenham & Stretham in Cambridgeshire*, ed. W. Cunningham (Camden Society, 1910), p. 189. The head of the Pepys family, from which the diarist sprang, was the patron during Fleming's incumbency. The resignation of Fleming's predecessor at Cottenham, Edward Leeds, LL.D., was dated 27 November, 23 Elizabeth (1580). John Pepys's letter to the Bishop of Ely requesting the admission of Samuel Fleming in Leeds's place was written on 1 March, 23 Elizabeth (1580/1). Cambridge University Library Manuscript Mm.1.39 (Baker 28), pp. 78–79, bears a copy of this letter. See also *Alumni Cantabrigienses*.

24. *Ely Episcopal Records*, ed. A. Gibbons (for private circulation, 1891), p. 177.

25. *Lincoln Episcopal Records*, p. 43.

26. A law against holding more than one living at the same time, which was enacted about 1588, is recorded by Strype, *Annals of the Reformation*, III, ii, 53–54. Those persons who already possessed more than one benefice might keep them, but they must reside at one of them. Fines were prescribed for absence. Cf. Sedley L. Ware, *The Elizabethan Parish in Its Ecclesiastical and Financial Aspects* (Baltimore, 1908), p. 26; and L. G. Bolingbroke, "The Reformation of a Norfolk Parish," *Norfolk Archaeology*, XIII (1898), 199–216.

27. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland, G.C.B., Preserved at Belvoir Castle* (London, 1888–1905), I, 135.

28. *Calendar of State Papers Relating to Scotland and Mary, Queen of Scots 1547–1603*, ed. Markham John Thorpe *et al.* (London, 1858–1936), VIII, 453. Several people of the name of Constable in the party were undoubtedly related to the poet, whose grandmother was a Manners. "Mr. Gygon" was probably John Jegon, who was Bishop of Norwich from 1602 to 1618. He acted as tutor in the family of Manners for a time.

29. There are records of activity on Fleming's part in the service of all four of these holders of the title. It might be added that this venerable title is still in the same family. Charles Manners, tenth Duke

of Rutland, is the present holder. Belvoir Castle is still the family residence, but the estate is now the Belvoir Estates, Ltd. For this information I am indebted to the Reverend Canon A. T. G. Blackmore, M.A., Rector of the church of St. Mary the Virgin at Bottesford. Samuel Fleming was an important figure at the funerals of the first three earls mentioned, not only because of his position as chaplain but also because of his functions as rector of the Bottesford parish church, which was the traditional place of burial of the Earls of Rutland. At least three of the tombs in the church were designed by members of the family of Janssen (Johnson), who were also the designers of Shakespeare's tomb in the Stratford church. In designing Shakespeare's tomb the Johnsons used plans which they had already devised for a monument at Bottesford, simplifying them as befitted Shakespeare's inferior rank (and, no doubt, the lower cost of his monument). Joseph Quincy Adams, *A Life of William Shakespeare* (Boston, 1925), pp. 478-480.

30. For his attendance at plays see *Letters and Memorials of State*, ed. Arthur Collins (London, 1746), II, 90-91 and 132. Roger's participation in Essex's revolt was perhaps no more than the foolishness of a young man led astray by a man of considerable charm who was ten years his elder and had seen a good deal of the world. Roger was sent to the Tower but was released after a six months' term. The High Sheriff of Nottinghamshire was ordered by the Privy Council to seize Belvoir Castle and the Earl's lands, goods, and chattels. It transpires, however, from a rather uncommunicative group of published documents that the Queen, gradually relenting, was satisfied at length with the assessment of an enormous fine (variously reported as £20,000 and £30,000). Rutland was even restored to limited Parliamentary functions. *Acts of the Privy Council*, N.S. XXXI (1600-01), 148-149, 371, and 487; and XXXII (1601-04), 143. See also *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, I, 373-374.
31. E.g. Celestin Demblon, *Lord Rutland est Shakespeare: Le plus grand des Mystères dévoilé Shaxper de Stratford hors cause* (Paris, 1913), and Claud W. Sykes, *Alias William Shakespeare?* (London, 1947). Roger Manners certainly had some associations with literary people. He married Sir Philip Sidney's daughter Elizabeth.
32. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, IV, 494 (31 March 1613).
33. William Burton, *The Description of Leicester Shire* (London, 1622), sig. G1^v.
34. *Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge, from 1504 to 1635*, ed. J. E. Foster (Cambridge, 1905), f. 197a.

35. His name was John Underwood. See John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (London, 1795–1815), II, i, 91.
36. For this information I am indebted to the Reverend L. S. Maurice, M.A., present Rector of Cottenham in Cambridgeshire.
37. For this information I am indebted to A. N. L. Munby, Esq., Librarian of King's College.
38. No signature of Fleming is to be found with the others at the end of the (published) document.
39. *Common Rights*, p. 183.
40. Nichols, *Leicester*, II, i, 93, records the burial on 18 August 1586 of Mr. John Harford, minister of Bottesford. He also states (*Leicester*, II, i, 93) that Edmund Higginbotham was curate at Bottesford in 1602. John Knowells, second husband of Samuel Fleming's sister Esther, was stipendiary curate of Bottesford from 1617 to 1620 and from 1622 to 1646. For this and for much other information concerning Esther Davenport Knowells and her marriages I am indebted to the Reverend J. E. H. Wood, M.A., Rector of Knipton near Grantham. I am indebted to the Reverend L. S. Maurice of Cottenham for a list of curates who were at Cottenham in Samuel Fleming's time.
41. Thomas Birch, *Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, from the Year 1581 Till Her Death* (London, 1754), II, 59; and *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, I, 339. If Fleming went to the Continent at this time, it will be necessary to look no further for an explanation of his failure to sign the Cottenham common rights agreement.
42. *North Country Wills* (Durham, 1912), Surtees Society Publications, CXXI, II, 151–152. Gervase Wilde was captain of one of the English ships that fought the Armada.
43. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, I, 322–324. It is not clear what the source of the Queen's objection to Tyrwhit was. He was son and heir to Sir Robert Tyrwhit, knight, of Kettleby in Lincolnshire.
44. Irvin Eller, *The History of Belvoir Castle, from the Conquest to the Nineteenth Century* (London, 1841), p. 58; and *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, ed. John Nichols (London, 1828), I, 90–93. Eller and the author of the article on Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland, in *The Dictionary of National Biography* are in error when they state that Ben Jonson's *The Gypsies Metamorphosed* was played before the King on this

- occasion. The performance at Belvoir was on a later occasion. See Herford and Simpson, *Ben Jonson* (Oxford, 1925–52), VII, 541.
45. John le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae*, continued by T. Duffus Hardy (Oxford, 1854), III, 457.
 46. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, IV, 479.
 47. Four such meetings during Fleming's ministry are recorded: 1 July 1584; 7 June 1585, at Mr. Landes' house, Mr. Lewis being Speaker and Mr. Farrar Moderator (the 31st meeting); 8 May 1587; and 5 May 1589. See Roland G. Usher, *The Presbyterian Movement in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth As Illustrated by the Minute Book of the Dedham Classis, 1582–89* (Camden Society, 1905).
 48. Usher is the authority for this statement. An even earlier synod is recorded as having taken place at Cambridge in 1582. Cooper, *Annals*, II, 390.
 49. There are contemporary data in *The Wonderful Discoverie of the Witchcrafts of Margaret and Phillip Flower*, printed by G. Eld for J. Barnes, 1619; and in a ballad entitled *Damnabable Practises of Three Lincolne-shire Witches Ioane Flower and Her Two Daughters*, printed by G. Eld for John Barnes, 1619. More modern accounts appear in Nichols' *Leicester* (*The Wonderful Discoverie* is printed as appendix IX to volume II, part i); in Eller's *Belvoir*; and in the little pamphlet called *The Church of St. Mary the Virgin Bottesford, Leics. and Its Monuments* by M. P. Dare (4th ed., 1953), appendix. Mrs. Hilda Lewis has written a historical romance entitled *The Witch and the Priest* (London, 1956) most of which consists of a weirdly fascinating series of conversations between Samuel Fleming and the ghost of Joan Flower, during the course of which she relates the chief incidents of her devil-ridden career to the horrified priest. Esther (Hester) Fleming Davenport appears as a character. Mrs. Lewis has dedicated her book to Samuel Fleming's successor at Bottesford, the Reverend Canon A. T. G. Blackmore.
 50. I am indebted to A. N. L. Munby, Esq., Librarian of King's College, for a transcript of a record by the eighteenth-century antiquarian Anthony Allen. According to Mr. Munby, the phrase "in the Pulpit" is a later addition, not in Allen's hand. As to the date of Samuel Fleming's burial, Register A and Register B of Cottenham are in disagreement. A has 12 September, B has 13 September. The Reverend Mr. Maurice informs me that Register B is probably a copy of Register A; the former date is therefore to be preferred.
 51. Nichols, *Leicester*, II, i, 91. As early as 1592 payments were made in behalf of the Earl of Rutland for masonry, carpentry, and stone-

work around the windows of a hospital at Bottesford. *The Manuscripts of His Grace the Duke of Rutland*, vol. IV. What connection there may have been between this hospital and Fleming's foundation is unknown to me. There may have been none. Fleming's Hospital existed not long ago, commemorating its founder by its name; the Reverend Mr. Wood has informed me that it has now been turned into a block of four flats. Samuel Fleming's other foundation was a bridge, still known by his name, traditionally said to have been built after he came on one occasion into danger of drowning in the river which it crosses.

52. Nichols, *Leicester*, II, i, 91.
53. Administrations of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London. The record is difficult to read. One Edward Scot is named as Esther Davenport's husband, and she is named as "Hestere Dauenporte *alias* Scote." This must be an error, since John Knowells lived until 1646 (unless this is an instance of the possession of alternate names not unknown among the Elizabethans, or unless this is a version of the general legal name, like John Doe, John-a-nokes, and John-a-stiles).
54. British Museum, Royal MS 12.A.xxx. There is a reprint in Nichols, *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth* (London, 1788–1821). The edition of 1823 dropped the reprint and made only a passing mention of these poems. The work is commented upon by H. C. Maxwell Lyte in *A History of Eton College, 1440–1884* (London, 1889), p. 165.
55. His brother Abraham, on the other hand, was actually employed in the printing business. See Miss Dodson's article referred to above, and W. E. Miller, *Abraham Fleming, Elizabethan Man of Letters: a Biographical and Critical Study*, University of Pennsylvania dissertation, 1957, chapter I.
56. Mozley, p. 148.
57. ". . . Samuell and Abraham Flemings both liuing, brethren by one bellie, and Londoners borne, *Quorum prior historiolum quandam de regimine Mariae nuper Anglorum principis, eamque elegantem, Latino idiomate (nunquam tamen excusam) contexuit: posterior in hisce chronicis detergendis atque dilatandis, vna cum vberimorum indicum accessione, plurimum desudauit. . . .*" A translation of the Latin part of the note: ' . . . the former of whom composed in the Latin language a certain little history of the reign of Mary late prince of the English, and an elegant one too (but never printed); the latter labored mightily in correcting and adding to these chronicles, together with the addition of very useful indexes. . . .' *Chronicles* (1587), III, 1590.

A Middle English Lyric in Manuscript

JOHN MORFORD*

IN THE Rare Book Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library is a fifteenth-century manuscript of the *Sermones dominicales* of John Felton, vicar of St. Mary Magdalene, Oxford (fl. 1430) containing a short poem beginning "I ham as I ham and so will I be" written in on a blank flyleaf. The manuscript is classified as "Lat. 35."¹ The poem (f. 3^r) is in a hand distinct from the text, and of somewhat later date (ca. 1500–1525). It is written in a "Bastard" hand current in England from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth-century.²

I ham as I ham & so will I be. but howe I
ham noie knowithe truly,

I had my lyff in differntes. I mean notynke
but howse. I thought folke fuge diuersly,
yt I ham .. as I ham & so will I be ..

Quene thet that dotte mystrawe. swaf
pleasur & sw of wo, yet for all that no
ynke they knowe. for I ham as I ham
wher tuf yo

Quene thet that dotte delygte. to fuge
folke for envy & spytte. but wher
they fuge wronge or ryght. I ham as I
ham & so will I ryght

I sawe savye Oysterz allew dephinge
is I paynt but mythe vnderwithe
poye Longers make hiey ..

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The poem, written in sixteen irregular lines, is not of great importance, but nevertheless deserves publication. The words in our transcription have been checked in the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

I ham as I ham & so will I be. but howe I
ham none knowithe truly

I lede my lyff in differntly. I meane nothinke
but honeste. thought folkx Iugge diversly
Yet I ham . . .³ as I ham & so will I be.

Sum therebe that dothe myserowe. ful of
pleasure & ful of woo. yet for all that no
thinke they knowe. ffor I ham as I ham
wher ev[er] I goo.

Sum therebe that dothe delyght. to Iugge
folkx for envy & spythe. but whether
they Iuge wronge or ryght. I ham as I
ham & soo will I wryght.

A dew sewte Syster & neve departings
is A payne But myrthe renewithe
when Louyars meate Agen.

The reading is fairly obvious and it seems unnecessary to add a transcription into modern English. We trust that the reading of the rather careless hand has been transcribed correctly.

Versification. The meter is of the “four-stress” variety, common during the Middle English period and later.⁴ If the uneven lines of the text are ignored, and proper attention is given to Middle English pronunciation, scansion is quite obvious, e.g.,

I lede mý lyff in differntly
I meane nothinke but honeste.
thought folkx Iugge diversly

English poetry, of course, is “accentual” (unlike the poetry of French or Latin) but does not require the simple doggerel of

stressed and unstressed syllables like the above. The next line scans:

ǃet ǃ ham . . . as ǃ ham and so will ǃ be.

All the lines are paired in the common rhymed couplets of Middle English poetry. The rhyme sequence, somewhat rarer but not uncommon, is, by stanza, aa, aaaa, bbbb, cccc, dd. That the piece is divided into stanzas is itself interesting because “the appearance of the stanza in English verse is always the sign of foreign influence.”⁵

Identification. The poet has not been identified. The piece is not listed in Brown and Robbins’ *Index of Middle English Verse* (1943) or in Brown’s earlier *Register of Middle English Religious and Didactic Verse* (1916, 1920). A similar poem, beginning “I am as I am,” and with various almost identical lines, but more extensive (40 lines) appears in British Museum Ms. Add. 17492 on folio 85. This ms. is dated in the *Catalogue of Additions* (London, 1868, p. 23) “earlier half of XVIth century” and contains poems by Sir Thomas Wyatt, Lord Surrey, Anthony Lee, Richard Hatfield and others. Careful examination of this ms. and collation was not attempted in this brief article: it might provide a clue to the authorship and tradition of our poem.

Conclusion. The evidence seems to indicate that the poem was composed between the middle of the fifteenth-century (the manuscript) and ca. 1510 (the approximate date when it was added to the codex). The poem appears to be of the *genre* of the carol which flourished in the later Middle Ages. The typical carol had uniform stanzas and began with a burden, or refrain, that was repeated after each stanza. Such carols were often a part of a ring-dance in which the leader sang the stanzas and a ring of dancers responded with the burden.⁶ The author, or the scribe who copied it, was probably Northumbrian or Scottish in origin and could well have been familiar with the French language and poetry. The poem is a kind of comic lover’s lament. Its tone is light. Whether or not the poet expects a reconciliation, he is a happy philosopher: “. . . mirth is renewed when lovers meet again.”

NOTES

1. A more complete description of the manuscript, *Sermones dominicales*, prepared by Dr. Norman Zacour, Custodian of Manuscripts, will appear in the forthcoming Supplement to the de Ricci *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*.
2. Cf. Hilary Jenkinson, *The Later Court Hands in England* (Cambridge, 1927), p. 51. Examples of a Bastard hand of the mid-fifteenth century, resembling in detail our text, are shown in Edward M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography* (New York, 1893), p. 312, and in Walter W. Skeat, *Twelve Facsimiles of Old English Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1892), pl. 11.
3. Erasure.
4. See Raymond M. Alden, *English Verse* (New York, 1903), p. 62.
5. *Ibid.*
6. For a complete description of this type of medieval lyric poetry see Richard Leighton Greene, *The early English Carols* (Oxford, 1935).

Notes on the Eighteenth-Century German Translations of Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*

MATTI M. ROSSI*

AN interesting aspect of the eighteenth-century literary scene in Europe was the tremendous impact of English literature, particularly the novel, on other European literatures. In fact, in France around the middle of the century Montesquieu published a booklet protesting this influence. In Germany, where national literature was long neglected and ignored until the *Sturm und Drang* movement and classicism changed the situation completely, the effect was even more deeply felt.

Of the individual works that created a veritable new species of literature in Germany, De Foe's *Robinson Crusoe* must be mentioned first. This book was so popular in German translation that numerous imitations soon appeared. These more or less successful imitations of their famous predecessor, called "Robinsonades," were incredibly popular. One of the most famous was Joachim Heinrich Campe's *Robinson der Jüngere* first published in 1779. By 1891 it had reached its 115th edition and had been translated into twelve different languages including classical Greek.¹

In view of the fact of the popularity of the "Robinsonades" it is surprising that a similar work such as Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* did not attract somewhat comparable attention in eighteenth-century Germany. It seemed to pass almost unnoticed and was nearly forgotten by the end of the century. *Gulliver's Travels* had a much wider popularity elsewhere in Europe. There were twenty-nine editions in French translation in the eighteenth-century, twelve of them published at The Hague, 1727-1787 and seventeen at Paris, 1727-1799. In Zürich Johann Jakob Bodmer and Johann Jakob Breitinger kept alive the interest in the early eighteenth-century tradition to which *Gulliver's Travels* belongs. In Germany, Teerink lists only nine German editions in the period 1727-1788, exclusive of collected works editions. In the

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chief German literary capitals the early rationalistic eighteenth-century tradition was giving way to sentiment and sentimentality. Leipzig and Hamburg were busy welcoming Tristram and Pamela, and the complicated multi-level technique used by Swift lost its appeal, if it ever had any.

Nevertheless, *Gulliver's Travels* fills a chapter in the annals of German literature and clarification is needed about the early German translations of the *Travels*. This study is the result of the examination of the Swiftiana in the Rare Book Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Library, notably the superlative Swift materials in the Teerink Collection.

The first German translation of the *Travels* followed hard on the heels of the appearance of the first French editions published at The Hague in January 1727 and at Paris in March. The enthusiastic reception of these French editions led to the appearance of the first German edition later the same year. Karl Goedeke's *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung* gives no help in the problem of the early German translations of the *Travels*. The information in Hanns W. Eppelsheimer's *Handbuch der Weltliteratur* is incorrect. The latter states that the first German translation was made by D. Pott in 1798.² It is obvious from an examination of the materials in the Teerink Collection and in the bibliography of the writings of Swift published by Teerink that the Pott translation had three predecessors. The first German translation was based on the French text published at The Hague in 1727 and its language shows signs of carelessness. Also, it contains some curious vernacular mistakes. The translator is reputed to have been J. Ch. Cörner and this translation went through three editions: the first in 1727–1728; the second in 1733–1735; and the third in 1739–1746, all in three volumes. In 1739 there was a re-issue of volumes one and two of the third edition, but according to Teerink, this was a different printing. The collations and the plates are the same, but the title-pages are different.³ All of these editions were printed in Hamburg and Leipzig.

The first German translation based on the English original was not made until 1756, when Johann Heinrich Waser, the deacon of Winterthür, began his translation of the collected works of Swift. Waser obviously knew his English, and he was able to

appreciate Swift as a writer of ability. But when Waser started his work it was already too late. The high tide of neoclassicism had passed, and something new was in the air. Between 1756 and 1766 Waser translated into German the collected works of Swift. His publisher also produced a special issue of *Gulliver's Travels* in 1761. This came out simultaneously with the fifth volume of the collected works which also contained *Gulliver's Travels*. A second edition of the special edition appeared in 1762 and a third in 1772.

The next translation in German, according to Teerink, was made in Copenhagen in 1786 by Karl Heinrich Krögen. This translation is ignored by Price in his *English-German Literary Influences, Bibliography and Survey*. Whether there were more editions of this version, Teerink gives no information.

In 1788 R. Riesbeck translated *Gulliver's Travels* into German and this translation was published in Zürich. It has no preface and no comment on previous versions, but as far as I can see, Riesbeck follows the Waser version very closely. The changes in the text are of no great importance.

The last German translation of *Gulliver's Travels* in this series came out in 1800–1801 as the fifth volume of Swift's collected works by D. Pott. Eppelsheimer gives 1798 as the date, Price states 1800–1801, but adds in brackets 1798–1801, probably referring to the entire period within which all five volumes were published. After this translation the interest in Swift grew weaker and *Gulliver's Travels* tended to be regarded as primarily a story for children.

THE 1761 TRANSLATION

In 1761 *Gulliver's Travels* appeared both as a special issue and as the fifth volume of the collected works. For many reasons this translation by Waser is of particular interest. Teerink's note on the separate issue runs as follows:

This is a separate issue of Vol. V of *Satyrische und ernsthafte Schriften*, 1761. The text (1–462) is the same printing (only: 'V. Theil.' removed from foot of first page of each new sheet), but the prefatory matter (I–XVI) is new. — In the "Vorrede" the translator condemns preceding translations as having been based on a French translation (the 'Hague'

one), in its turn based on the English original which had been tampered with in the press, so that they contained double mistakes; whereas he praises his own, translated direct from the English text corrected by the author himself (Faulkner's?). This translator knows how to appreciate Swift: he defends Swift's intentions in *Gulliver's Travels* against stupid critics, i.e. Orrery and Young.⁴

In this note there are certain points which require closer examination. The prefatory matter, the "Vorrede," is not, strictly speaking, new. It is obviously abridged and adapted from a longer and more circumstantial preface which occurs in the fifth volume of the German edition of the collected works. Moreover, the "Vorrede" in the separate issue seems to have been provided by the publishers for purely advertizing purposes. For more systematical information we are referred to the original of the "Vorrede," titled "Schreiben des Herrn Breitenfels an Herrn ****." Herr von Breitenfels appears to be a pseudonym of the translator, Waser. We do not know to whom it is addressed, but this preface is one of the very few direct statements on *Gulliver's Travels* in eighteenth-century German criticism. In this preface Waser defends Swift in very sharp terms. He is particularly insistent against the tendency of labeling *Gulliver's Travels* as children's literature. He also has a word for those whose attitude toward Swift is colored by moral or religious prudery. The most interesting part of the preface is the author's discussion of Young's and Orrery's views on the subject. Teerink bluntly refers to Young and Orrery as "stupid critics." Waser was equally opposed for, from his standpoint, their attitude prevented all sensible discussion of Swift's work. However, after refuting the critiques of Young and Orrery he apologizes like a real gentleman. On the whole Waser's preface is a very interesting piece of criticism and it shows in high relief the eighteenth-century German attitude towards the intellectual neoclassical tradition of English literature.

THE ORIGINAL OF THE 1761 TRANSLATION

In the unabridged preface to the 1761 translation Waser, in one of his footnotes, indicates the non-Swiftian passage added by Benjamin Motte to the first English editions. This passage in the

Motte editions was in Chapter 6, “Voyage to the Houyhnhnms,” in which Queen Anne is said to carry the state affairs without “a corrupt ministry.” (“I told him, that our She Governor or Queen having no Ambition to gratify, no Inclination to satisfy of extending her power to the injury of her neighbours . . .”). He also mentions a few additional corruptions; in chapter 3, “Voyage to Laputa,” and in chapter 5, “Voyage to the Houyhnhnms.” The recognition of these corruptions indicate that the translator was aware of the superior quality of the so-called Faulkner editions and knew where to turn to find the best English edition on which he could base his translation. In the prefatory notes of the 1761 German edition appears “Captain Gulliver’s Letter to his Cousin Sympson.” This letter does not appear in any of the first three German editions, based on the French text published at The Hague in 1727. It does appear for the first time in the 1735 Faulkner English edition of the *Travels*. Thus, we can establish, with a fair degree of certainty, that the original of the 1761 German translation of *Gulliver’s Travels* was the celebrated Faulkner edition. In his note on the subject Teerink places a question mark after the Faulkner edition as the text on which the Waser translation was based. I see no reason now why we cannot disregard this question mark and label the Faulkner edition as the English text on which the Waser translation was based.

NOTES

1. Lawrence M. Price, *English-German Literary Influences, Bibliography and Survey* (Berkeley, California, 1919), p. 175. The most often quoted authority on Swift in German literature is probably Vera Philippovic, *Swift in Deutschland* (Agram, 1903). Price bases his account of Swift’s position in German literature on this source. He also quotes from Emil Flindt, *Über den Einfluss der englischen Litteratur auf die deutsche des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Charlottenburg, 1897).
2. Eppelsheimer, Hanns W., *Handbuch der Weltliteratur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1947–1950), I, 298.
3. H. Teerink, *A Bibliography of the Writings in Prose and Verse of Jonathan Swift* (The Hague, 1937), p. 216.
4. *Ibid.*

Library Notes

Various Gifts

ALBRECHT, OTTO E.—27 pieces of choral music: 162 songs for voices and piano.

BRINTON, JASPER Y.—Smith, William, *Prayers for the Use of the Philadelphia Academy*, 1753. (2 copies).

EVANS, MRS. JAMES D.—Smollett, Tobias, *Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, illustrated by Cruickshank, 1836. Smollett, Tobias, *Adventures of Roderick Random*, 1857. Smiles, Samuel, *Brief Biographies*, 1861. Also, about 100 prints of *One Thousand and One Nights* in black and white, and colors.

EVANS DENTAL MUSEUM—On permanent loan, a collection of 275 Bibles, ancient and modern, 16th through 19th centuries. Special arrangements for this loan were made by the Trustees of the Evans Dental Institute.

FOSTER, RICHARD W.—Wadsworth, Frank W., *The poacher from Stratford*, 1958.

GEORGIA, UNIVERSITY; LIBRARY—Lecture notes in manuscript taken by, or in the possession of, Thomas Hamilton (University of Pennsylvania Medical School, 1820). Barton, Benjamin Smith, "Lecture notes on materia medica," ca. 1810. "Lectures on surgery" delivered by Philip Syng Physick and J. Syng Dorsey, 1810. (2 volumes). Rush, Benjamin, "Lecture notes upon the institutes and practice of medicine and upon clinical cases," ca. 1812.

U. S. NATIONAL ARCHIVES—*Guides to German records microfilmed at Alexandria, Virginia*, no. 1-6, 1958.

SPEISER, RAYMOND A.—Forty bound volumes of *Theatre Arts Magazine*.

U. S. ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION—*The Geneva presentation volumes presented by the USA at the Second International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy, September, 1958*.

WARD, PHILIP H., JR.—Collection of mounted stamps; box of autographs and photographs; box of Anthony Wayne letters; 4 boxes of books on philately.

We gratefully acknowledge other gifts from the following faculty members: Derk Bodde, Andres Briner, Paul Gemmill, Edmund I. Gordon, William E. Miller, Heinz Moenkemeyer, Otakar Odlozilik, A. G. Reichenberger, A. N. Richards, and Otto Rosenthal.

J. M. G.

The John Louis Haney Collection

For many years a devoted friend of the University, Dr. Haney has presented a substantial part of his excellent library of English and American literature to the Library. An alumnus of the class of 1898, Dr. Haney received his Ph.D. in 1901 and an LL.D. in 1939 from the University. From 1900 to 1920 he was a member of the English faculty of Philadelphia's Central High School; as president of that institution from 1920 to 1943, he established his reputation as an educator of the highest rank. Dr. Haney's accomplishments as a teacher are reflected in his scholarly writing, particularly his critical and bibliographical work in English literature. His colleagues in English studies continue to be grateful for his *Bibliography of S. T. Coleridge*, published in 1903, a pioneer work of lasting merit.

Through Dr. Haney's generosity, over 2,000 volumes have been added to the Library, many of them now a part of the Rare Book Collection. Among them are first and rare editions of Coleridge, William Wordsworth, William Blake and Lord Tennyson. There are also rare volumes of bibliography and biography which are a welcome addition to the reference section of the Rare Book Collection.

The books which will go into the general or reference collections are works of English and American fiction and poetry, valuable complete sets of an author's work, and general works of history and literature. The Library is particularly grateful to Dr. Haney for supplying us with fine sets of basic English literature reference works, an important acquisition as we contemplated the necessity of duplicating many of these titles for the extended services of the new library.

N. M. W.

An Important Purchase

The purchase of the Joseph E. Gillet Library was reported in the preceding issue. Since the Friends of the Library have undertaken to aid in defraying the cost of this acquisition a more detailed explanation of the content of this collection is in order. Dr. Arnold Reichenberger of the Romance Languages Department has supplied the following description.

Professor Joseph E. Gillet, who died on June 4, 1958, was primarily concerned with the literature of the Spanish Renaissance, and particularly with sixteenth-century Spanish theatre. His work was climaxed in a monumental edition of the Spanish dramatist Torres Naharro. It was planned in four volumes, three of which have been published. The fourth volume is now being edited for publication by Professor Otis H. Green. Volume three (Bryn Mawr, 1951) offers, in 891 closely printed pages, an extensive commentary on the language and the historical and "costumbristic" background of an immensely

difficult author who used other languages and dialects besides his native Castilian. Gillet's commentary is a storehouse of information on sixteenth-century Spanish language, folklore, and costumes.

His library reflects these interests in Torres Naharro and the Spanish Renaissance in general. Its value consists in a unique collection of dictionaries, Spanish and Portuguese proverbs, Renaissance editions of authors of poetic theory, works on the development of various national literatures in South America, a number of single editions (*suellas*) of seventeenth-century Spanish plays, and a few manuscripts.

The collection has not only most of the bilingual and multilingual sixteenth- and seventeenth-century dictionaries such as Palet, Oudin, De las Casas, Toscanella, and De la Porte, some of which have not been utilized by Gili Gaya's *Tesoro lexicográfico*, but also a great number of related peninsula bilingual dictionaries, such as Portuguese, Catalan, Mallorcan, Valencian, and Basque. Studies on regional and local speech, both peninsula and South American, are also represented. This part of the collection offers unusual facilities—unique perhaps in this country—to study the extension of the Spanish vocabulary in time and space.

In the section of proverbs and anecdotes we may mention the joint edition of Núñez's *Refranes o Proverbios* and Mal Lara's *Filosofía vulgar* (Madrid, Juan de la Cuesta, 1619), Pérez de Herrera's *Proverbios morales* (Madrid, 1732 [first 1618]), and a similar Portuguese one by Joseph Suppico de Moraes (1732), Estesó's collection of *chistes* and *tonterías*, and García Malo's *Voz de la naturaleza* (Gerona, 1627 [vols. 2-4]), likewise a collection of stories and jokes.

In the field of Renaissance poetic theory we find the commentary by Robortelli on Aristotle's *Poetics*, a beautiful edition (Florence, 1548); Petrus Victorius' *Commentarii in Primum Librum Aristotelis de Poetica*, a fine (second) edition (Florence, 1573); Julius Scalinger's *Poetices Libri Septem*, ([Heidelberg] apud Petrum Santandreanum, 1594); López Pinciano, *Philosophía Antigua Poética* (Madrid, Junti, 1596 [first edition]); Cascales' *Tablas Poéticas* (Murcia, 1617 [first edition]); Jusepe González de Sala's *Nueva idea de la tragedia antigua* in a carefully printed three-volume edition by the fine craftsman Sancha (Madrid, 1770); and Luzán's *Poética* (Zaragoza, 1737 [first edition]).

In the field of seventeenth-century Spanish drama the exceptional holdings of the University of Pennsylvania Library are further enriched by eight volumes of various single plays, both secular and religious, in Spanish and Catalan.

Another welcome addition from the Gillet Library are numerous rare works on the development of several national literatures, or genres of it, in South America, such as Enrique de Olavarría y Ferrari's *Reseña histórica del teatro de México* (México, 1895 [second edition]) in four volumes.

The acquisition of Professor Gillet's library provides the student with opportunities to investigate Spanish lexicography and folklore, particularly proverbs and tales, not heretofore enjoyed and difficult to find assembled in any one library. His collection on Renaissance poetic theory enriches our Rare Book Collection. His holdings on Latin American literature are welcome to round out our already impressive treasures in Spanish literature, which until now were concentrated on peninsula Spanish.

Incunabula

In order to make a report for the forthcoming *Third Census of Fifteenth Century Books in American Libraries* a thorough check has been made of the Library's incunabula collection, housed mainly in the Rare Book Collection and the Lea Library. Our holdings have tripled since 1940 (the date of Stillwell's *Second Census*), growing from 139 to 415. Care has been taken to add to the collection titles and editions of textual significance not readily accessible in or near the Philadelphia area. Especially welcome are the 70 items that do not appear in Stillwell at all. Among those that are not listed there, and apparently not recorded elsewhere, are a Latin edition of Lucian's *Charon*, probably printed at Leipzig by Martin Landsberg about 1492; Dante, *Il Credo*, Florence, Morgiani and Petri, between 1495 and 1500; Le Fèvre d'Étaples, *Introductiones in diversos libros Aristotelis*, Paris, G. Marchand, 12 October, 1497; *Cura pastoralis*, printed at Ulm, probably by Johann Reger about 1498. Also unrecorded is an edition, in Italian, of the romance *Bueve de Hantone*, or *Bevis of Hampton*, Venice, Maximus de Butricis, 18 June 1491; the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* lists seven other editions of this text in Italian (one of them by de Butricis, 7 January, 1491) but locates only one copy of each. An interesting broadside, the type of which has not been identified, is a proclamation of Emperor Maximilian I dated 23 July, 1495, establishing the prerogatives of Eberhardt I, duke of Württemberg.

Some other rare titles and editions not listed in Stillwell are: the first French translation of Aristotle's *Ethica Nicomachea*, by Nicolas Oresme, Paris, Antoine Vérard, 1488 (GW 2381); Boccaccio's *De Claris Mulieribus*, in German, Ulm, Johann Zainer, 1473, with 76 woodcut illustrations (GW 4486); Filippo Buonaccorsi, *Attila*, Venice, Antonio da Strada, ca. 1489, of which only one other copy is recorded (*Indice generale* 2233); *De quantitate sillabarum*, Paris, Mittelhus, ca. 1488, an edition noted only in Claudin, *Histoire de l'imprimerie en France*, II, 8; a German book on the art of letter writing, *Formulare und Tütsch rethorica*, Strassburg, Johann Prüss, 1486 (Copinger 2562); a bull of Pope Innocent VIII, Memmingen, ca. 1485 (GW, *Einblattdrucke* 728); and Maphaeus Vegius, *Dialogus inter Alithiam et Philaliten*, Cologne, Ulrich Zell, ca. 1470 (Voullième 1202).

L. W. R.

Pirandello Collection

After Professor Domenico Vittorini's death on March 9, 1958, several of his former students desired to contribute a permanent memorial on a modest scale. Dr. Bodo Richter, who took over the Italian literature courses during the academic year 1958-59, thought it would be a worthwhile tribute to increase the University Library's holdings of works by and about Luigi Pirandello, Professor Vittorini's favorite author. More than one hundred dollars was collected towards this goal and twenty-five volumes were purchased in Italy, France, England, and the United States. Most of the books were privately bound and each one contains a special bookplate which is reproduced below.

The material ranges from Pirandello's doctoral dissertation presented at the University of Bonn in 1891 to the American libretto adaptation of his *Six Characters in Search of an Author*. The opera had its premiere on April 24, 1959. A few of the volumes are duplications such as a four-volume set of all of Pirandello's plays. Only one important study is lacking, Luigi Baccolo's *Pirandello*, but this will be added soon.

The collection was presented at the May meeting of the Circolo Italiano of the University of Pennsylvania. It makes our Library virtually complete in works that have been published by and about the Sicilian dramatist. The students are rightfully proud that their own idea could be brought to such a successful realization.

IN MEMORY

of their revered
teacher and friend

PROF. DOMENICO VITTORINI

from a group of his students
during the years 1949-1958

