

## 2 Henry Charles Lea and the Libraries within a Library

Edward Peters

When it was given by his children to the University of Pennsylvania in 1925, the library of Henry Charles Lea consisted of the most complete collection of medieval and early modern European legal and ecclesiastical history in the United States, housed in a magnificent Victorian Gothic reading room. The collection the University received held around 7,000 volumes, including four hundred medieval manuscripts, incunabula (books printed before 1500), transcriptions of manuscripts and archival material from Europe, Lea's scholarly correspondence, drafts and corrected proofs of his historical works, unpublished research and reading notes, as well as the entire room and its furnishings—the eastern black walnut paneling and built-in bookcases, Lea's work desk and other furnishings, carpeting, a marble fireplace, and a large and ornate skylight. It was one of the most important bibliographical gifts ever made to an American university.

But this collection was really several libraries that together comprised an immense private library, because the University of Pennsylvania received only the scholarly part of Lea's vast private collection. And the story of the two libraries forms an important chapter in the intellectual history of the United States and the place in it of a successful Philadelphia publisher, real-estate magnate, civic leader and reformer, philanthropist, the nation's first Mugwump, and its greatest scholarly historian of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

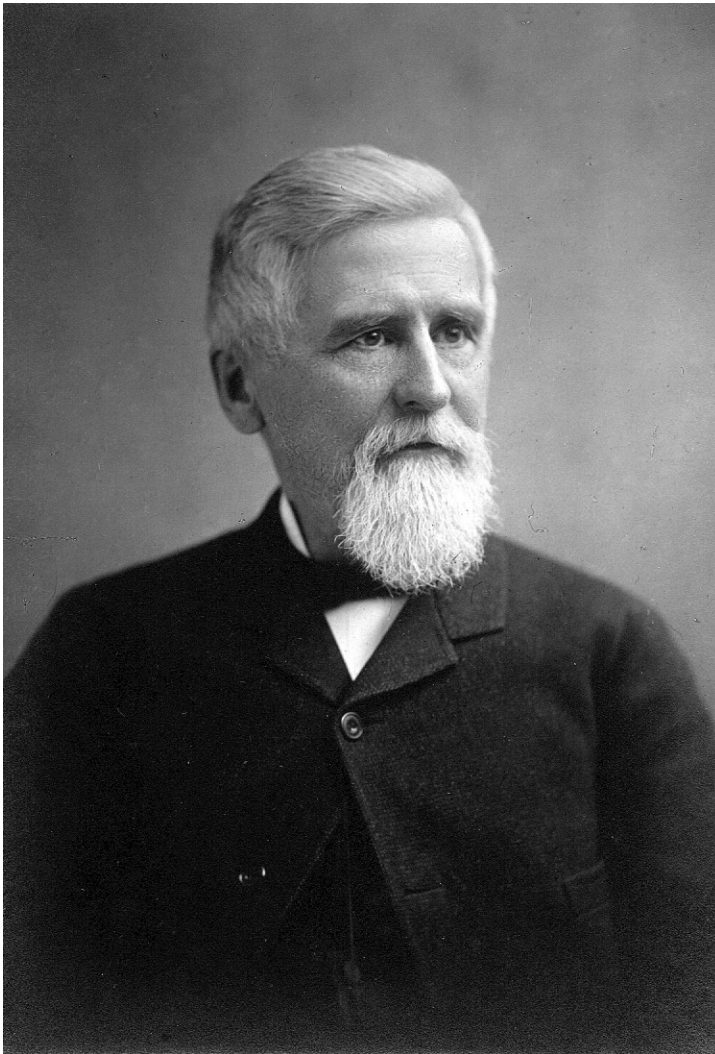
### *The First Library*

THE LARGE LIBRARY began small in 1843, when Henry Charles Lea (1825–1909), coming of age at eighteen, left off studies with his tutor, Eugenius Nulty, and entered the family publishing firm of Carey and Lea, where he remained (from 1851 as a partner and from 1865 as sole owner and director) until his retirement in 1880. Lea's work at the firm and the financial independence it brought permitted him to begin to build the

<sup>1</sup>There is a fuller biographical and bibliographical study in Edward Peters, "Henry Charles Lea (1825–1909)," in *Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline*, Vol. I, History, eds., Helen Damico and Joseph Zavadi (New York and London, 1995), 89–100, and in Peters, "Henry Charles Lea and the 'Abode of Monsters,'" in Angel Alcalá, ed., *The Spanish Inquisition and the Inquisitorial Mind* (New York, 1987), 577–608. The standard biography remains Edward Sculley Bradley, *Henry Charles Lea: A Biography* (Philadelphia, 1931). I am grateful to Michael T. Ryan for reading an earlier draft of this essay and to George Thomas for some useful architectural advice. The essay is dedicated to the memory of the great librarians who have cared for the Lea Library at the University of Pennsylvania: Charles W. David, Kenneth M. Setton, Rudolf Hirsch, William E. Miller, and Bernard Ford.

*Opposite page:* Detail of the library of H.C. Lea at 20th and Walnut Streets.





Henry Charles Lea, ca. 1870.

kind of library which would serve his extensive and extremely varied bibliographical interests. The large library and the life both changed dramatically over the next decade and a half. We must start with the life and its earliest interests.

Henry Charles Lea was born in Philadelphia in 1825. His mother, Frances Carey Lea, was the daughter of Mathew Carey, the expatriate Irish political critic and publisher, whose firm, founded in 1785, was the oldest publishing house in the United States until it closed in 1994. Like her brother, Henry Charles Carey (Henry Charles Lea's namesake), the political economist and later partner in the publishing firm, Frances Carey had been well-educated. She was not only a gifted botanist (said to have

been “better acquainted with American trees than any American botanist of her time”) but had enough of a classical education to teach her sons Greek. Lea’s father, Isaac Lea, came from a family of Quakers involved, not always successfully, in shipping and retail commerce (he remained a Friend until he was read out of meeting for joining a volunteer rifle company in the War of 1812). Isaac Lea joined the publishing firm upon his marriage to Frances and later became a partner in it with his brother-in-law. Lea was himself a distinguished and nationally recognized naturalist, specializing in conchology—the study and classification of fossil shells. Since the family’s interests ranged from political economy to conchology and literature and foreign languages, the intellectual climate of the Carey and Lea households must have been formidable, even for early nineteenth-century Philadelphia, but Henry Charles Lea and his brother Matthew Carey Lea (1823–1897), himself later an attorney and a distinguished pioneer in the chemistry of color photography, seem to have taken eagerly to that varied intellectual life. The chemical laboratory that Matthew Carey Lea built at his house in Chestnut Hill was probably as significant a private laboratory for physical chemistry in the United States as was Henry Charles Lea’s private library for the study of history. Matthew’s laboratory and its equipment was left to the Franklin Institute upon his death in 1897.

Reluctant to entrust the boys to the precarious and dismally unpredictable private schools of Philadelphia (the memoirs of Lea’s friend Charles Godfrey Leland contain a sobering and dismaying account of what was then available), Lea’s parents engaged a tutor for the two boys, under whom they studied until Matthew left to read law and Henry entered the publishing firm in 1843.<sup>2</sup> Their tutor, Eugenius Nulty, also an Irish immigrant, later published a book on analytical geometry in 1836 and seems to have focused his educational program on mathematics, the natural sciences, and classical languages, immersing the boys in a single subject for long periods in order to encourage complete mastery of each. Some of Lea’s school exercise-books from this period survive and show his impressive and precocious grasp of a number of complicated subjects. They also reflect the continuing interest and educational contributions of the parents, who seem to have steered the boys into considerable expertise in their personal fields of interest—practical chemistry, botany, geology, and conchology—in several of which Henry Charles Lea had published original research in more than a dozen articles between 1841 and 1847. Philadelphia at the time was, of course, a national

<sup>2</sup> Charles Godfrey Leland, *Memoirs* (New York, 1893); Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland: A Biography* (Boston and New York, 1906).

intellectual as well as political, publishing, and commercial center. Its laboratories, cabinets of curiosities, museums, booksellers, the family's social and intellectual circle (including authors published by the firm), and library associations easily rivaled any in the United States and surpassed most.

Aside from schoolbooks and miscellaneous early acquisitions and gifts, Lea's own earliest and extensive purchases for his library—indicating an interest that paralleled his interest in the natural sciences—were predominantly literary. He concentrated so heavily on poetry, until he stopped collecting it around 1847, that a later commentator on the library noted that, "There is here the material out of which a tolerably complete history of European poetry could be compiled, beginning with all the Greek and Latin writers..." The writer did not exaggerate, since Lea's literary interests ranged far and wide, including in addition to Latin and Greek, extensive collections of French, Italian, and English poetry (he possessed a 1639 edition of John Donne), with an extensive and pleasantly surprising collection of the literature of ballad and folksong, especially English, Irish, and Scots. Lea later acquired an impressive library of the history of philosophy, from complete editions of Plato and Aristotle through Abelard, Aquinas, Bacon, Descartes, Hobbes, Spinoza, and John Locke, all in the original languages.

Lea's entry into the firm meant only that his tutoring had ended, not his pursuit of independent intellectual interests. His scientific articles on chemistry and conchology were accompanied by articulate, perceptive, and often opinionated studies in literary criticism. He produced a competent and skillful translation of the songs of Anacreon around 1843, and even wrote his own original poetry, of which an unpublished volume written under the pseudonym of H. Carter Layton is still in the Lea Library—and still unpublished. From 1843 to 1846 Lea also published several dozen articles on literary subjects, ranging from the Greek Anthology to Elizabeth Barrett, many of them for *The Southern Literary Messenger*, at the time the leading literary magazine in the United States.

But the heavy demands made by Lea's work at the publishing firm, his scientific research, and literary criticism soon took their toll. In 1847 he suffered a breakdown, probably from physical exhaustion, and then mental depression. Ordered by his physician to stop his scientific research and to stop writing for ten years and to undertake a long and slow regimen as a cure, Lea reluctantly put aside his scientific work and ceased to collect poetry. Not



forbidden a normal domestic and working life, however, Lea married Anna Caroline Jaudon, his first cousin, in 1850 and became a partner in the family publishing firm, now Blanchard and Lea, in 1851. He also took the time to catalogue his library in 1849.

### *The Second Library: Medieval and Early Modern France*

THERE ARE THREE SOURCES for the early history of Lea's library. The first is the holograph catalogue Lea wrote in 1849, which listed his present holdings recorded on the recto page and acquisitions between that date and 1858 on the verso page. The second is his habit of signing and dating his acquisitions on the endpapers of his books. The third is the September, October, and November issues of *Robinson's Epitome of Literature* in 1878 which contain a three-part article on "The Private Libraries of Philadelphia" devoted to Lea's library as it entered its greatest age. From these, and from the small folio catalogue which succeeded the 1849 catalogue around 1858 and which Lea used until the end of the century (although slip-catalogues had begun to be used in private libraries around 1850, there is no evidence that Lea himself ever used one), the history of the library after 1843 can be reliably constructed.

The holograph catalogue of 1849 lists 750 books acquired since 1843, the collection of a precocious literary- and scientifically-minded solitary bibliophile, heavy in literature, especially poetry, dictionaries of Latin, Greek, French, and Italian, some philosophy, and relatively little history. But Lea's illness and recuperation quickly turned the library in another direction. Forbidden to write, but not to read, Lea began to buy memoirs of court life in eighteenth-, then seventeenth-century France, history having become for Lea, as it once had been for Pliny the Younger, an intellectually less demanding pastime than serious literary study or the writing of poetry. In Lea's case it was also therapeutic, but not for long.

The shift to French history marks a second stage in the library's character, and Lea's acquisitions in historical literature soon overtook the early literary base. The verso pages in the 1849 holograph catalogue are independent evidence for Lea's own description of his intellectual adventures over the next few years. He later told the historian Dana Munro that during these

years he had begun to read French history backwards, from the court memoirs of the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, back through the sixteenth and fifteenth, until by the mid-1850s he encountered the chronicle of Jean Froissart narrating the relations between England and France during the Hundred Years War. Lea found Froissart interesting, and he also found a number of details that wanted checking, not only in Froissart, but in earlier historical works like the thirteenth-century chronicle of Villehardouin on the Fourth Crusade and other thirteenth- and fourteenth-century historical narratives. However, he had no means of checking them himself and could find no relevant reference works in Philadelphia—indeed, at the time there were none in the United States.

Shortly after 1850 Lea began to order basic reference works and other historical texts from booksellers in Europe. The verso pages of the 1849 catalogue confirm the story later told to Munro. On the first few verso pages of *A* alone, for example, we find the *Chronicon Augustense*, Alexander Abbas, Adalbero of Laon, Abbo of Fleury, Anna Comnena, Anselm of Gembloux, and Asser's *Life of Alfred*. Every verso page reveals the same shift. There continued to appear representatives of Lea's older interests—Poe and Prescott now appear, as well as the three-volume *Critical Dictionary of English Literature* published by Lea's friend Robert Allibone in 1870–1—but there is an increasing preponderance of historical texts, and especially medieval ones. Lea's practice of noting the year of his acquisitions of books allows us to date the individual additions. By 1859 Lea had doubled the 750 volumes of 1849 to around 1500, but the doubling was disproportionate for medieval historical texts. During this decade he had begun to expand the library into the broad, and later the specialized areas of historical concentration.

The sheer size and remarkable depth of Lea's personal library becomes even more remarkable when compared to the holdings of other major libraries in the United States in the nineteenth century. In 1812 the Harvard College Library held 15,000 books in all subjects, in 1816 20,000 with twenty professors (in contrast, the University of Göttingen in Germany had forty professors and 200,000 volumes), and by 1839, 50,000. In 1829 the University of Pennsylvania held fewer than 2,000 volumes. In 1839 Yale held 27,000. There were sixteen universities in the United States in 1839 with more than 10,000 volumes. As late as 1842 Francis Wayland of Brown University dourly observed that, "The means do not exist among us [i.e., in the United States] for writing a

book, which in Europe would be called learned, on almost any subject whatever.”<sup>3</sup> In 1860 the Massachusetts Historical Society Library held 14,000 volumes; the Chicago Historical Society held 31,000; the American Antiquarian Society held 28,000. In 1884 the University of Pennsylvania Library held 25,000 volumes. Scholars’ private libraries often approached these figures. For example, the great Harvard scholar of Spanish and other romance literatures, George Ticknor, had a private library of 13,000 volumes.

By 1860, Lea’s own library had grown to around 2,000 volumes. He was to add many more than 6,000 in his scholarly fields alone before he died in 1909, and he left probably close to 20,000 volumes overall. The estimated size of Lea’s library given in the 1878 numbers of *Robinson’s Epitome of Literature* is between ten and fifteen thousand volumes. The articles in *Robinson’s Epitome* are extremely important, not only for their estimate of the library’s size in 1878, but for their generous and erudite sampling of the entire range of its contents, not all of which came to the University of Pennsylvania in 1925.

The results of Lea’s shift to collecting works on medieval French history are a forty-page, still unpublished manuscript narrative on the rise of the dynasty of Capet before its accession to the throne of France in 987, and his first historical publication, a long review essay on Francis Palgrave’s *The History of Normandy and England*, published in the *North American Review*, America’s leading intellectual journal, in 1858. From 1858 the *North American Review* replaced the *Southern Literary Messenger* as Lea’s publication journal of choice.

The review reveals not only Lea’s extensive familiarity with medieval historical sources and scholarship, but it also displays several of the critical historical methods Lea made uniquely his own. He criticizes the writing of history from secondary, rather than from primary sources, and he deplores the lack of source materials in print. He often cites original texts, some only recently made available, to criticize points made by Palgrave. For example, on the early history of the duchy of Normandy, Palgrave had cited excerpts from the late tenth-century chronicle of Richer of Rheims, but only from their quotation in the thirteenth-century chronicle of Conrad of Ursperg (a copy of which Lea himself owned and about whose reliability he had considerable doubts). But in 1845 the great German scholar G.H. Pertz had edited and published the original text of Richer, and Lea had the volume and now used it. Lea’s insistence on writing history directly from the

<sup>3</sup> Cited in Richard Hofstadter and Walter Metzger, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York, 1955), 231n.



sources guided his collecting from the 1850s through the 1870s and reflect the views expressed succinctly in a review he wrote a year later:

In many debatable questions the author takes the wrong side, guided apparently by the opinions of previous writers, rather than by a full and frequent reference to the original muniments, which are alone to be relied on as regards points of legal and political archaeology.

The view became a Lea trademark and is echoed by the writer of the article in the October, 1878 issue of *Robinson's Epitome*:

At an early period in his studies he determined never to take, when he could avoid it, a fact or a statement at second hand. While therefore, he has procured many of the leading authors on the subjects before him, his aim has been rather to collect around him the original sources, thus enabling him to select his facts for himself, unbiased by the theories or the partizanship which are almost inseparable from authorship.

Lea's style as an author also changed. The essay on the early Capetians is written with the familiar literary elaboration of Lea's earlier essays on literary subjects. The Palgrave review has a leaner, more focused and far less elaborate style. Lea is learning—or inventing—the impersonal, objective style of scholarly prose, eschewing the prosodic fireworks of a Prescott or a Parkman, or the rhetorical outrage of a John Lothrop Motley, that has been used by most serious historians ever since. Lea was also developing his unique research and writing method: after reading and annotating all the available sources, Lea made an index of topics to be treated, wrote up each of them from the sources and his reading notes, and produced the text as the final stage.

### *The Third Library: Legal History and the “Inner Life” of Peoples in the Past*

LEA'S SHIFT in book-acquisitions from literature to historical memoirs, narratives, and other primary source materials after 1847 marked the end of the first two stages of the library's

history. In the course of the 1850s there emerged the third, as Lea's interest shifted from political history in general, and early medieval French history in particular, to the world of medieval law. The library changed and grew again.

Fortunately for Lea, the period after 1848 was a very good time to buy books, particularly the kind of books Lea wanted. An enormous number of ecclesiastical collections had come on to various book markets since the French Revolution: the ensuing secularization and impoverishment of much Church property and many ecclesiastical institutions in France and elsewhere flooded the market even further. Many ecclesiastical institutions and individual clerics whose property had not been secularized but whose endowments and income had shrunk found that they needed money more than they needed old books or even manuscripts in their collections. Private collections of individuals also came on to the market. Sometime before 1878 Lea acquired the sixty-four-volume *Collection universelle des Mémoires Particuliers relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, published between 1787 and 1791, from the library of Ludwig Tieck, the great German translator of Shakespeare. The *Robinson's* author shrewdly noted Lea's "choice selection of bookseller's catalogues, which are sometimes more valuable to the inquirer than the works of professed bibliographers," indicating that Lea was already well-known to a wide circle of European booksellers. Most of the bibliographies, dictionaries, and atlases that Lea acquired, in fact, were focused increasingly on his fields of scholarly research. Although the market for these materials was not always wide in Europe, it was in North America, and it is in these years that the great university library collections of the United States took shape, from the same sources that Lea used.

At the same time a number of European publishers and scholarly societies had begun to print modern, more reliable editions of major historical documents, often from motives of national sentiment. Generously supported by private and public patronage, most conspicuous among these series were the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* in Berlin (directed for a time by the same G.H. Pertz whose 1845 edition of Richer of Rheims Lea had used in criticizing Palgrave) and the Abbé Migne's *Patrologia Latina* and *Patrologia Graeca* in Paris. The former collection by Migne, of which Lea progressively bought (and later read through, underlined, and annotated) the 222 volumes in imperial octavo as they appeared, included editions (not always modern or reliable but at least systematically available) of all ecclesiastical writers

from Tertullian in the second century to the age of Innocent III, elected pope in 1198: in all 2,014 writers represented by thousands of texts.

Ecclesiastical institutions, too, produced abundant new editions of theological and philosophical works. Lea's edition of Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae* was an eight-volume set published in Luxemburg in 1868 (although Lea's Martin Luther was the edition in four folio volumes published at Jena in 1564-1582). Lea's developing interest in world religions is reflected in extensive collections on Hinduism, Buddhism, Chinese religious history and the Jesuit Relations, Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Islam, as well, of course, as an astonishing range of Christian confessional texts from the Greek New Testament to the Millerite movement of 1843-44, the earliest stage of Seventh-Day Adventism.

Lea's work on early medieval French history had dealt largely with the familiar world of political figures—dukes and kings—that interested other historians at the time in both the U.S. and Europe. But at some point around the end of the 1850s Lea's historical interests took a dramatic turn toward what he called "the inner life of a people," or "the minuter incidents [of history] which illustrate the habits, morals, and the modes of thought of bygone generations." Lea was moving toward the field of research which would later become social and cultural history and the history of mentalities, and which Lea approached through the history of the law.

"Apart from the exact sciences," Lea wrote in a review of 1859, "there is no subject which is more interesting, or which more fully repays the student, than the history of jurisprudence.... Slender though the respect may be with which we regard our rotatory assemblymen and our partisan judges, still are they noteworthy personages. The parts are more important than the actors, and centuries hence it will be to our statutes and reports that the curious historian will resort to find out what manner of men were the restless and energetic Yankees who could found a gigantic empire, but could hardly govern themselves." Lea now turned to early European legal history to find what he could of the inner life of the equally restless and energetic Visigoths, Franks, Bavarians, Anglo-Saxons, and Lombards. Like Lea's growing interest in church history, his interest in legal history derived from his perception of the events of his own time and both the historical and present roles of law and religion in them.<sup>4</sup>

Lea's interest in legal history is reflected in several review-articles on early European legal procedure published in the *North*

<sup>4</sup> On historical study in the U.S. generally, see Dorothy Ross, "Historical Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century America," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984), 909-928.

*American Review* in 1859, collected with an additional essay on the history of judicial torture and published as his first book, *Superstition and Force*, in 1866. It is also reflected in the third stage of the library, to which Lea now began to add what soon became the finest collection of European legal historical sources in the United States at the time. The same conditions in the European book- and publishing-markets that had made available the historical sources Lea needed also made available ample materials for his new interests. If the French memoir-writers had led Lea to the political history of medieval France, his concerns for moral and cultural history then led him to the law, and the law in medieval Europe, as it invariably must, led him to the history of the Latin Christian Church. Thus, partly through idiosyncrasy and partly through accident, Lea arrived at his own distinctive Middle Ages, not those of the sceptics Hume, Robertson, and Gibbon, nor the metaphysical Ranke, nor the romantic Walter Scott, Washington Irving, Poe, and certainly not that of the wistful Henry Adams. And he arrived with a distinctive method, which he proceeded to apply first to the relatively neglected field of legal history, and then to the even more complex and polemicized history of the Church.

### *The Fourth Library: The History of the Latin Christian Church*

IT IS SOMETIMES said by historians who should know better that Lea was “a wealthy gentleman scholar,” an “amateur,” possessing “a position of leisure which permitted him to indulge in the writing of history,” all of these at best half-truths. The great English historian of historiography, G.P. Gooch, who knew considerably more about the working life of publishers than do young historians of the U.S. who have not done their homework, caught much more of the truth in his ironic observation that, “Lea’s erudition excites the more astonishment in that it was acquired during the leisure of a publisher’s life.” As a publisher alone, Lea had virtually no leisure. All of Lea’s library-building and historical research was done at the odd hours he had remaining after the several other lives he led had exhausted their claims on him—in evenings at home, in summers at his house in Cape May, New Jersey, and occasionally in the Fall at the Delaware Water Gap.

He and his wife had three children and appear to have raised them in an affectionate household, one whose affection extended

**Pars Prima Sol. I.**

Operis huius prima pars inci-  
pit feliciter. **Questio I.**

**Utrum asse-**  
rere maleficos esse sit  
adeo catholici qd est  
opposituz pñaciter  
defendere oino sit he-  
reticum. Et arguit qd nō sit catholi-  
cū quicqz de his asserere. xxvj. q. v.  
epi. Qui credit posse fieri aliquam  
creaturā aut in melius deteriusve  
transmutari. aut in aliā speciem vel  
similitudinē transformari qz ab ipso  
omniū creatore. pagano z infideli  
deterior est. Talia aut cum referun-  
tur fieri a maleficiis. ideo talia asse-  
rere nō est catholicū sed hereticuz.  
Preterea nullus effectus maleficiā  
lis est in mundo. Probat. Quia si  
esset. opatione demonū fieret. Sed  
asserere qd demones possint corpo-  
rales transmutatiōes aut impedi-  
re aut efficere. nō videt catholicū  
quia sic perimere possent totū mū-  
dū. Preterea omis alteratio corpo-  
ralis. puta circa infirmitates. aut sa-  
nitates procuradas. reducitur in mo-  
tū locale. patet ex septimo philoso-  
fū. Quocūqz est motus celi. Sed  
demones motū celi variare nō pos-  
sunt. Dionysius in epistola ad Po-  
licarpū. Quia hoc solius dei est. er-  
go videt qd nullā transmutatiōez  
ad minus verā in corporibus cau-  
sare pñt. z qd necesse sit huiusmodi  
transmutatiōes in aliquā causam  
occultam reducere. Preterea sicut  
opus dei est fortius qd opus dyabo-  
li. ita z eius factura. Sed maleficiuz  
si esset in mūdo. eēt vtiqz opus dy-  
boli cōtra facturā dei. ergo sicut il-  
licitū est asserere facturā supstitio-

is. dyaboli excedere opus dei. ita  
illicitū est credere creature z ope-  
ra dei in homibus z iumentis vale-  
ant vicari ex opibus dyaboli. Pre-  
terea id qd subiacet virtuti corpora-  
li non habet virtutē imprimendi in  
corpora. Sed demones subdunt vir-  
tutibus stellaruz. qd patet ex eo. qd  
certi incātatores cōstellatiōes de-  
terminatas ad inuocandū demōes  
observant. ergo nō habent virtutē  
imprimendi aliqd in corpora. et sic  
multominus malefice. Itē demo-  
nes nō operant nisi per artē. Sed  
ars non pōt dare verā formā. unde  
in. c. de mineris dicit. Sciāt aucto-  
res alchimie spēs trāsmutari non  
posse. Ergo z demones p artē ope-  
rantes. veras qūitates sanitatis aut  
infirmitatis inducere nō possunt.  
sed si vere sunt. habēt aliquā aliam  
causam occultā absqz ope demonū  
z maleficorū. Sed in decre. xxxiiij.  
q. i. si per sortarias atqz maleficas  
artes nōnunqz occulto iussu dei iu-  
dicio permittēte. z dyabolo prepa-  
rante zc. loquitur de impedimento  
maleficiāli quo ad actus cōfugales  
tria cōcurrere. scz maleficaz. dyabo-  
lum. z dei pmissionē. Preterea for-  
tius agere potest in id quod est mi-  
nus forte. Sed virtus demonis est  
fortior virtute corporali. Job. xl. Nō  
est potestas sup terram que ei vale-  
at cōparari. qui creatus est vt nemi-  
nē timeret. Responsio. Hic impu-  
gnandi sunt tres errores heretica-  
les quibus reprobatis veritas pa-  
tebit. Nam quidā iuxta doctrinam  
scz Tho. in. liij. dist. xxiiij. vbi tra-  
ctat de impedimēto maleficiāli co-  
nati sunt asserere maleficiū nihil  
esse in mundo nisi in opintione ho-



to Lea's parents, his brother and sister, and to a wide circle of friends. During the same years as he undertook new directions of research, Lea rose higher in the publishing firm, becoming sole owner in 1865. Lea often said that he felt unsuited to business and inferior in ability to other publishers and that he therefore worked harder than most. During his early years in the publishing house, he helped to manage a full line of distinguished authors—including Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper (with whom Lea and his parents had once travelled to France in 1832 and where the Lea brothers received the few months of schooling that either ever had), Poe, Jane Austen, Walter Scott, and Charles Dickens. Later, in the face of increasing competition from publishing houses in New York, Lea successfully turned the firm toward medical and scientific publishing, acquiring the rights to Gray's *Anatomy* in 1859. Lea remained a major national figure in publishing until after his retirement in 1880, writing the final draft of the Chace Copyright Bill of 1881.

During the Civil War, Lea worked enthusiastically and tirelessly for the Union cause, helping to form the Union League of Philadelphia, serving on a number of local committees, and writing thousands of pages in newspapers and pamphlets on behalf of the union, most of which are now housed in the Lea Library. Some of this work was acknowledged gratefully and personally in letters from Abraham Lincoln. After the war, Lea continued his extensive involvement in local and national Republican Party political reform, even becoming, in the words of one historian, "the first Mugwump." With the same seriousness of purpose which characterized his approach to publishing and scholarship, he did not hesitate to correspond with Theodore Roosevelt (before Roosevelt held public office) and James A. Garfield (the year before Garfield's assassination) on the subject of civil service reform.

One of Lea's earliest acquisitions in Church history, in 1857, was Abraham Bzovius, *Historiae Ecclesiasticae* in the Cologne edition of 1617. He acquired the 1518 Lyons edition of Gratian's twelfth-century *Decretum*, the basic text in medieval canon law, in 1859. He acquired Philip van Limborch's great *Historia Inquisitionis* (Amsterdam, 1692) in 1868, and in the same year Nicolau Eymerich's *Directorium Inquisitorum* (Venice, 1607, first circulated in 1376), the most important procedural handbook for inquisitors even written. By the end of the 1860s, Lea was rapidly becoming a church historian.

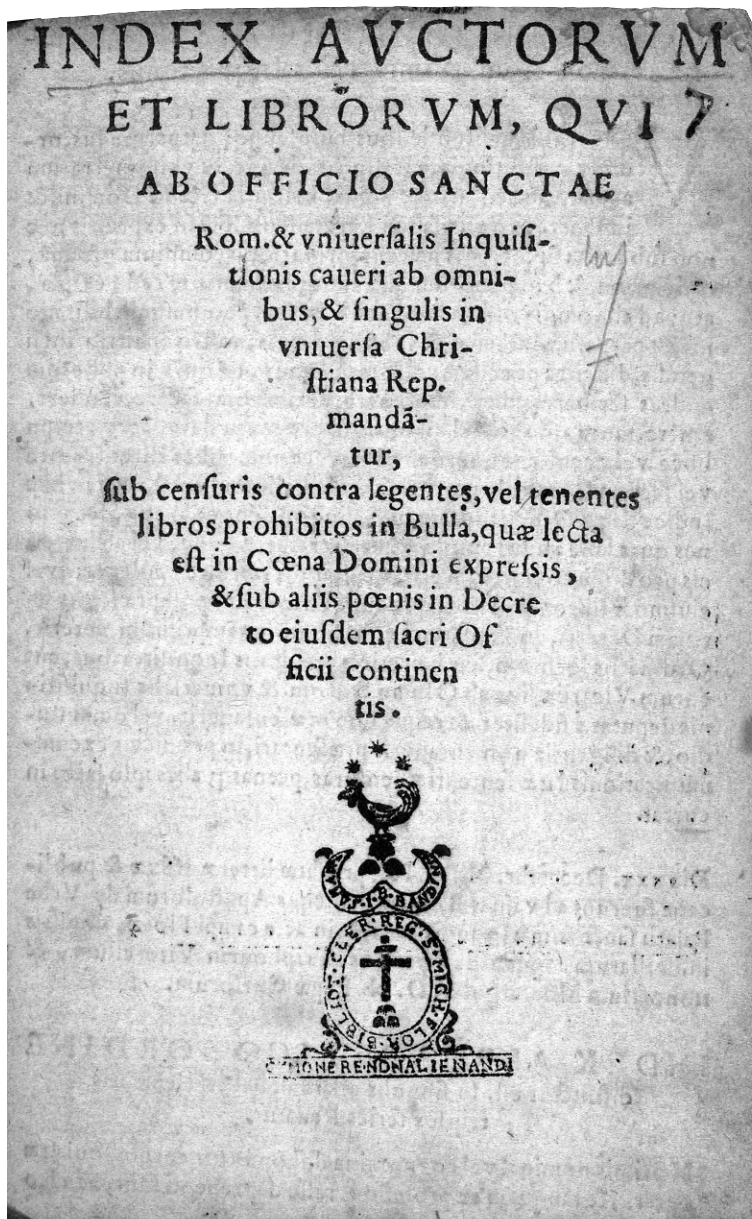
*Opposite page:* An early edition (1497) of the infamous manual for inquisitors, *Malleus Maleficarum*, by Jacobus Sprenger and Henricus Institoria. It was acquired by Lea in 1876.

## *The Final Library: The Inquisitions and the Instruments of Darkness*

LEA'S OWN EXPERIENCE in Philadelphia legal and political disputes fed his interest in legal history, as did the increasing—and in many respects troubling—prominence of the Roman Catholic Church in both the United States and Europe. As a young man Lea had played a role in stopping the anti-Catholic riots in Philadelphia in 1844, but he also observed an increasingly active and powerful Catholic presence in Europe and the U.S.: in the former because of ecclesiastical reaction against the liberalizing revolutions between 1789 and 1848, and in the latter because of the new waves of Catholic immigration and an increasingly visible and articulate Catholic Church. Pope Pius IX had issued the bull *Quanta cura*, to which was appended the *Syllabus of Errors*, in 1864, and the First Vatican Council was convened in 1870. In a review article in 1868, Lea observed that, “No one can watch the rapid progress making [sic] by the Catholic organization in the United States, without feeling an interest in investigating the policies and tendencies of a Church which must wield a powerful influence in moulding the national character.”

Lea feared that the steps taken by the civilly privileged Church in Europe might be repeated in the benignly pluralistic United States. In 1863 he dealt with the contemporary American instances in his scathing pamphlet “A Bible View of Polygamy,” a parody of some churchmen’s use of scripture to justify slavery. Several review articles in 1868 and 1870 dealt with European instances: “The Roman Catholic Church and Free Thought,” “The Religious Reform Movement in Italy,” “Monks and Nuns in France,” and “Pope and Council.” This last was a review of some of the literature on the First Vatican Council of 1870 in which Lea was able to correct a number of points made by the then greatest living Church historian, Johann Ignatz von Döllinger.

Lea dealt with the historical dimension of the problem by devoting the rest of his scholarly life to the question of the origins and development of ecclesiastical authority and power. This interest can be traced in his review article on Henry Hart Milman’s history of the Church in 1862, by the publication of Lea’s second book, *An Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, in 1867, and his third, *Studies in Church History*, in 1869. As early as 1868 Lea announced to a correspondent that he hoped, if time allowed, to write a history of the Inquisition.



The title page of the first edition (1559) of the "Index of Prohibited Books."

Toward the end of his history of sacerdotal celibacy, Lea summed up his concerns:

The student of the past, moreover, may be pardoned a feeling of regret at the destruction of venerable institutions which, for a thousand years, fostered the religious growth of Christendom; but the civilization which they rendered

possible has outgrown them. In the history of development it is inevitable that Zeus should dethrone his father Cronos; and the progress of humanity demands the removal of that which has outlived its usefulness, and had become only a stumbling-block in the path of human development.

With the devotional and theological dogmata of churches, Lea professed to have no argument. What he opposed was the internal disciplinary authority and the external civil authority and privilege that a number of Christian churches had preserved and the control over the political lives of believers that they exercised. He opposed what he called “prelacy and sacerdotalism” rather than individual belief and devotion. Although Lea is now read for his historical mastery, most of his works on church history reflected his own personal civic concerns and were often intended as historical briefs concerning one or another nineteenth-century religious issue.

In 1868 Henry Hart Milman, dean of St. Paul’s and author of the church history that Lea had reviewed in 1862, wrote to Lea congratulating him on the history of sacerdotal celibacy, remarking, “Indeed I hardly expected that your [side of the Atlantic] libraries would furnish such a range of authorities as you have had at your command.” Lea, of course, had not used the libraries of the United States for his book—he had used only his own. Of course, Milman hadn’t known this, but his compliment is eloquent testimony to the quality of the library reflected in Lea’s scholarship from the perspective of a distinguished European historian. Nor did Lea have secretarial or library assistance—unlike William Hickling Prescott, he had no John Foster Kirk or Pascual de Gayangos; unlike Andrew Dickson White at Cornell, he had no George Lincoln Burr. But even with Lea’s remarkable capacity for work and talent for organization, by the 1870s the library needed more attention.

In 1869 Lea built a new house at 2000 Walnut Street designed by the family architectural firm of Collins and Audenrieth. The plans included at least two rooms built solely to accommodate the library and his working space for historical research. The only evidence we have for the physical character of the library before the addition of the new reading room in 1881 are a few remarks in the first article on the library in *Robinson’s Epitome of Literature* in September 1878:

[The rooms] are large, high, airy, but no space is lost in ornamentation, although upon the walls hang paintings that

would delight the eye of a *connoisseur*, and on the floor are portfolios containing a small but choice collection of prints, giving a fair representation of the history and development of engraving.... The room in which Mr. Lea passes his hours of study is plain in its general appearance. One end opens through large windows upon a large and pleasant garden at the south, surrounded by walls draped with climbing plants, and near these windows stand the library table, in a position to allow the light to fall upon the left side of the writer.

Opposite the room in which Mr. Lea passes his hours of study, the folding doors open into another room, in which the cases fill but about half the walls. In the first room the cases occupy every space except where the wall is broken by the chimney, windows and doors. In both these apartments are cases made of walnut, Gothic in style, reaching nearly to the lofty ceiling and deep enough to accommodate large folios below and two ranges of octavos above, thus giving space to many more volumes than would at first appear. In addition to these, many books are located in the second story of the hall, and others in various portions of the house.

Even these short notes suggest that the library rooms (and the books shelved throughout the rest of the house) already by 1878—even though he had developed an ingenious and efficient method of using his bookshelves, and even if he removed the paintings and the portfolios of engravings he also kept there—were growing too crowded. Lea now needed even more space for books.

That space came in 1881 at the expense of the garden. Down came the garden walls draped with climbing plants, out went the large and pleasant garden, out went the two large windows, a new glass double door was cut into the former south wall of his workroom, and up went the new reading room, paneled and bookcased in eastern black walnut, with its lower section consisting of glass-doored bookcases running around the room, interrupted only by the fireplace at the south end and the new door to the main part of the house, surmounted by another course of bookcases reached by a flight of stairs at either end of the room climbing to the narrow balcony that ran around the room in several sections that gave ready access to the books. Illumination was provided by a generous skylight and a dozen gas lamps suspended from the ceiling. This new reading room was the room in which Lea wrote his great historical works of the



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fxy. fle alie

[illegible]

1880s and 90s, the room about which Benjamin Disraeli once complained that, “if Mr. Lea is not stopped, all the libraries of Europe will be removed to Philadelphia.” This is the room that came to the University of Pennsylvania in 1925.

*Opposite page:* Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary. Italy, ca. 1290. Acquired by Lea in 1892 and later edited by him.

## *The Historian and His Legacy*

THE NEW READING ROOM became Lea’s workroom, the older library rooms in the house left as stacks for books that even the new room could not hold. Here Lea wrote his last great works: the *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages* in three volumes in 1888, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition* in 1890, his edition of the *Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary* in 1892, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences*, also in three volumes, in 1896, *The Moriscos of Spain* in 1901, and *History of the Inquisition of Spain* in four volumes in 1906–1908. During the same period he also compiled several volumes of essays incidental to the larger projects, and he began his final, unfinished project, the history of magic and witchcraft, which was published only partly and posthumously by Arthur C. Howland in 1939.<sup>5</sup> Here, too, Lea generously offered the resources of the library to visiting students and scholars for the rest of his life.

Lea bought continuously, and he often identified himself as a publisher in order to obtain trade discounts. And when he could not buy, he borrowed from Europe. He established a growing network of scholars and booksellers who hired copyists for him to work in the local archives which would not lend original manuscripts. But Lea also borrowed the originals. It never occurred to him that archivists and librarians in Europe might be reluctant to loan their manuscripts to a respectable Philadelphia “man of business,” providing that the materials were transmitted through proper channels (often generous diplomatic pouches) and his own character testified to by European scholars. At first Lea was not mistaken. The Royal Library of Copenhagen sent him the famous Moldenhower Codex, which he copied and later used extensively, a remarkable directory of the procedures of the Spanish Inquisition, obscurely acquired by the Danish Lutheran theologian. The Bodleian Library sent its own manuscripts, as did the libraries of the universities and learned academies of Ghent, Halle, and Munich. The great scholars of Europe elected him a member of a dozen learned societies. The professionalized

<sup>5</sup> *Materials Toward a History of Witchcraft, Collected by Henry Charles Lea, Arranged and Edited by Arthur C. Howland, With an Introduction by George Lincoln Burr*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1939; rpt. New York, 1957).

academic scholars of the United States elected him president of the American Historical Association in 1902. Lord Acton asked him to write the chapter on “The Eve of the Reformation,” for the first volume of *The Cambridge Modern History*, the only American historian invited. The University of Pennsylvania, Princeton, and Harvard awarded him honorary doctoral degrees.

Lea had made very brief trips to England in 1873 and 1879, but never found the time to work in European libraries. He resorted to working over library catalogues and archival inventories. He asked trusted friends on the scene to hire reliable copyists for him, specifying which materials he wanted, and then pay the copyists for their work as it arrived in box after box at 2000 Walnut Street, Philadelphia. Boxes of books and transcripts kept arriving at 2000 Walnut Street for several months after Lea’s death in September, 1909.

Any family that has had to dispose of a scholarly library knows the immense difficulties involved. In the Leas’ case, there was certainly no precedent for the disposal of such a set of libraries within libraries, all possessed and kept in the home of a single private individual. Even Lea’s own plans were not entirely clear on the subject. He had long been interested in the Library Company of Philadelphia and in 1888 had paid for a building to house it that doubled its capacity, evidently at one time planning to donate his own library to the Library Company. But Lea was also briefly a trustee of the University of Pennsylvania from 1871 to 1873 and made extensive gifts to both the Library and the Museum. At the University he had close relations with the physician-novelist S. Weir Mitchell of the Medical School, Edgar Fahs Smith, the scientist-Provost (as well as with Provosts Pepper and Harrison), and the political scientist Edmund J. James.

Not only were the libraries of Lea immense, but several of them had long been highly praised. The *Robinson’s Epitome* author had lavished superlatives on the quality and extent of the literature holdings, again on the holdings in legal history: “There is probably no library in the country that can show so large and varied a selection of such material.” He concluded the last installment of the 1878 essay with the observation that “The library contains the materials for a tolerably complete survey of the history of European institutions prior to the French revolution.” The great historian of witchcraft, George Lincoln Burr, observed in 1925 that the library held, “in the literature of the Inquisition the richest collection, I think, outside of Rome,” and that it was “the finest library in existence covering the church history of

*Opposite page:* Petrus de Palude’s extracts from the *Liber bellorum domini* concerning the Albigensian Crusade. France, ca. 1425.







In noīe dñi nēstri Ihesu ch̄risti. Amen.  
Incipit liber qui dicitur Supplementum.



## De monia summa que

magistrutia seu pisanella vulgarit̄ nūcu-  
pat. pp̄t ei⁹ op̄endiositatē apud cōfessores  
cōius inoleuit. Et q̄a pp̄t eius abachicas  
quotationes nimīū in suis quotis repitur  
corrupta. ac pp̄t ei⁹ hūitatē i plerisq; suis  
decisiōib; valde dubia. declaratiōe 7 sup-  
pletiōe idigēs. Idcirco ad eōdem simpliciū  
cōfessorū utilitatē q̄tū mibi oīs cederit ve-  
creui dictā sūmā emendatā ad eōdem q̄ta-  
tiōē reducē. ac ei⁹ hūitati q̄ hui⁹ valuerō  
q̄d visū fuerit expedire. addendo supplē.  
utq; additio cognoscat: i eius p̄ncipio A  
In fine vō B lra ex rubro ponetur. vidē  
sūmā alphabeticū ordinē sequendo. 7 pa-  
graphos i marginib; p̄ q̄tas notādo post  
p̄ncipiū capli. h̄ in p̄fata sūmā op̄uter p̄n-  
cipiū p. s. p. Et p̄pter p̄dicta hoc op⁹ sup-  
plementū appellari potest. B

**A**bbas i suo monasterio  
conferre pōt suis  
subditis p̄mā tonsurā 7 duos  
ordines minores. vūmō sit sa-  
cerdos. 7 man⁹ i posita sit ei scōm mozem  
p̄ficiēdoz. e⁹ d̄ eta. 7 q̄li. cū ctingat. et. 69  
oīf. qm̄ videm⁹. A. Ordines mīores sūt  
hostiariat⁹. psalmistat⁹. 7 lectorat⁹. exorci-  
stat⁹. acolitat⁹. zi. oīf. d̄eros. Et psalmista-  
tus 7 lectoratus idem sūt ut pōt colligi ex

textu 7 gl̄. a d̄. cū ctingat. Abbas autē  
cōferre pōt lectoratū. oīf. c. cū ctingat. 7 c  
qm̄ cōsequē. 7 hostiariatū q̄ p̄cedit. 7 sic  
istos duos. cū ad ordines nō sit p̄cedēduz  
p̄ saltū. ut extra de cle. p̄sal. pro. c. vno. B  
Hoc etiā pōt elect⁹ i abbate si ep̄s differat  
eū b̄ndicē. e⁹ de supplē. ne. p̄la. statum⁹.  
A. Ibi d̄r. Si ep̄s tertio cū humilitate ac  
deuotiōe sicut uenit requisit⁹. abbates b̄n-  
dicere forte renuerit. eis dē abbatib; liceat  
p̄pos monachos b̄ndicē. 7 alia q̄ ad offi-  
ciū h̄mōi p̄tinent exercere. donec ipsi ep̄i  
iuritiā suā recogitēt 7 abbates b̄ndicere  
nō recusent. B. Alienis autē cōferre nō pōt  
e⁹ de pui. abbates. li. 6. A. Ibi d̄r. Nec  
abbatib; licitum sit alijs q̄ monasteriōz  
suoz ouertis 7 q̄ ad illa uolauerit 7 i q̄s  
ecclesiasticā 7 q̄si ep̄alē iurisdictionē obti-  
nent p̄mā clericalē cōferre tonsurā. nisi eis  
id cōpetat ex pleno p̄fate sedis indulto. B. I.  
**A**bbas 7 q̄libet ouentalis p̄lat⁹ regre  
tebz mōachos fugitiuos. A. Adde. 7 elec-  
tos. ut in. c. ne vagandi. i. allato. B. Et ad  
claustrū reducē salua ordinis disciplina. e⁹  
de regula. ne vagādi. A. Al̄ incipit. ne te-  
ligiosi. vide. i. apostasia. s. s. z. B. II.  
**U**trū abbas possit licētiare subditos suos  
ad aliā religionē. R. fm̄ Monaldū. Sōt  
qdē licētiare ad eālem religionē de cōsen-  
su capli. aliē non. ad minozē vō nō pōt. ar.  
i9. q. 3. statum⁹. iz. q. z. sine exceptiōe. De  
artiori vō religiōe dic ut. i. religio. s. s. p.  
A. Ex ibi d̄icd pōt colligi q̄ ad artiozem  
pōt licētiare. nisi cederet i q̄uē iacturā seu  
infamiā cōgregatiōis vnde trāsūt. B. Ad  
ep̄atuz q̄q; si subdit⁹ eligat. p̄lat⁹ licētiare  
pōt etiā nō requisito cōuentu. e⁹ de elec. si te-  
ligiosus. i. fine. li. 6. A. Intellige si iam  
fuerit facta electiō. nō autē electiōi future.  
ut i de. si. e⁹ de elec. vbi d̄r. Cū cōcessa reli-  
giō a supioze suo licētiā ut electiōi uel  
p̄uistiōi si quā d̄ ipo cōtingerit fieri suū dare  
possit assensū ambitiois vitio viam parer  
null⁹ eā existē posse volum⁹ firmitadē. B  
**A**bbas on⁹ nō pōt p̄fidē in ouertis mo-  
nasterijs. e⁹ de relig. do. c. vlt. in fine. A. II.  
Ibi etiā d̄r. In q̄s i ouertis monasterijs





the Middle Ages.” It is no easier to dispose of a scholarly library described in superlatives than to dispose of any other. There was also the physical room to dispose of as well, since it had been designed specifically to hold Lea’s combination of library and workroom and could be used for little else.

In the end, the room came to the University of Pennsylvania, but not the entire library. Although the records are not as precise as one would like, it seems that the Lea children donated to the University only what they (and perhaps the University itself) considered to be the scholarly books and correspondence in the collection, retaining many of the early literary works and the private and domestic papers in their own possession. Of the books they gave, they permitted the University to donate anything that duplicated its own holdings to the Free Library of Philadelphia. But they also donated to the University Lea’s scholarly material, reading notes, academic and scholarly honors, and other related materials. A later generation of the family, particularly the late Mr. Henry Lea Hudson, also donated surviving personal records of Lea from the family archives. The library now holds not only the original scholarly core donated by Arthur and Nina Lea, but also a considerable amount of juvenilia and incidental biographical material. These materials illuminate not only the life and work of a great historian, but also much of the political and intellectual climate of Philadelphia and North America from the late 1830s to the eve of World War I.

At that time, the University of Pennsylvania Library was housed in the Furness Building; however, the Furness Building had no space for the Lea bequest. Arthur Lea and Nina Lea then financed the construction of a new east wing on the Furness Building, which was completed in 1924 at the cost of \$100,000. They also donated \$10,000 for the library’s maintenance and another \$10,000 for future acquisitions. And they endowed the Henry Charles Lea Chair in History as well as chairs in history in Lea’s name to Princeton and Harvard. The first holder of the Lea chair at Harvard was Charles Homer Haskins.

In addition, Arthur and Nina Lea covered the costs of dismantling the reading room at 2000 Walnut Street and installing it in the new wing of the university library. The wing and the library were formally dedicated in 1925. On the exterior wall facing 34<sup>th</sup> Street, across the street from Smith Hall, the building that Lea had earlier donated to the School of Medicine for the study of public health in 1892, there was (and still is) inscribed: “The Henry C. Lea Library and Reading Room.”

*Opposite page:* Nicolaus de Ausmo, *Supplementum summae pisanellae ... et consilia Alexandri de Nevo contra Judaeos foenerantes* (Venice: Franciscus de Renner, de Heilbronn, and Nicolaus de Frankfordia, 1476). Acquired by Lea in 1893.

Incipit prologus i expositione  
ne decalogi scdm fratre Johā  
nes pder. sacre theologie pro  
fessorem ordinis predicator.

**D**ecalogi lege  
sacratissima;  
p̄mū d̄m̄tus  
p̄thoplastoz  
insertam cor  
dibus: et de  
nuo dei digi  
to i tabulis exarata lapideis  
postremoq; per incarnatū al  
tissimi verbi propalatā cristi  
colis ubi cūdā ait. Si vis ad  
vitā ingredi serua mandata.  
Hanc normā cūctorū fidelīū  
regulā iter a directorū eē oñ  
derans ⁊ fratru mei ordinis q̄  
predicator e votis satisfacere  
cupiens p multorum tempoz  
curricula ex famosorū d̄as di  
uine sophie preceptorū tā p  
p̄dicantium q̄ pro confessorū  
debitis exercitijs p̄ticularia et  
specialia dei ⁊ eccie mandata:  
i vnū preceptorū colligere i  
sequētibz studiū singula de  
calogi precepta s̄b̄distingue  
do p̄ sp̄ealia capitula ut ita p̄  
cepta paterēt cuiq; lucidius  
pro quo labore in p̄cor a lec  
toze sequētū oracoe; imptiri.  
quātulacūq; paruulā ut eter  
ne sapientie a qua cūcta bona  
pcedūt pro p̄mio copulari in

patria tandem merear. n̄c.

Incip̄ p̄ceptorū diuine legis  
Capitulum primum.

**S**unt igitur tria p̄  
cipaliter p̄notada  
p̄ceptorū preābula.  
Primo q̄ stricte  
deus velit p̄cepta sua custodi  
ri. Secundo q̄ rōbile sit deo in  
preceptis suis per obediētiam  
s̄bici. Tertio quomō p̄ce  
pta habet distigui. Quātū  
ad prīmū illd̄ docet scriptuā  
multipliciter. Nā p̄ trāsgressi  
one p̄cepti vnius de nō edēdo  
fructū vetidum prīm parētes  
et tota posteritas d̄anata est  
gen. ij. Itē precepta iubentur  
meditanda in domo. extra in  
via. dormiendo. ⁊ vigilando.  
deu. vi. Item prīmū p̄ceptum  
p̄ blasphemiam; quidā trāsgre  
dies a deo iubetur extra castra  
ab oibz lapidari. leuit. xxij.  
Itē quidā modica ligna sab  
bato colligens similiter lapi  
datur numeri. xv. Item Saul  
sc̄d; sonū lre oītra dei p̄ceptū  
seruās victimanda de regno  
eicitur ⁊ a demone possidetur.  
i. re. xvi. Item oīa archam cō  
tra dñi p̄ceptū tangēs subi  
tanee a deo occiditur. ij. reg.  
vi. Itē p̄pheta long contra dei  
p̄ceptū manducans pater



But the library and reading room are no longer there. When the Van Pelt Library was built in 1962, the Lea Professor of History, Kenneth M. Setton, was also the Director of Libraries and saw to it that the Lea Library—paneling, bookcases, skylight, doors, fireplace, and furnishings—as well as the Furness Shakespeare Library and other special collections—were moved to the sixth floor of the new building, where they remain today.

In his address at the formal opening of the Lea Library in 1925, George Lincoln Burr said:

He has left us with still another contribution to history—his library itself.... Here you have what a great historian actually used—the sources to which his footsteps are an index.... It is a wonderful collection, manuscripts and transcripts and books as rare as manuscripts.... In all the fields of Mr. Lea's studies it is a noble body of sources; and, henceforth in the keeping of a university and a city which have always stood for fairness of temper and openness of mind, it may yet prove, to those who here catch the spirit of the great scholar who gathered it, the most fruitful outcome of his scholarly work.

The University of Pennsylvania's keeping of the Lea Library was provided for by naming the Lea Professor of History as curator of the collection. Each succeeding curator was one in a series of remarkable scholar-librarians: E.P.Cheney, Arthur Howland, John LaMonte, Kenneth M. Setton, Gaines Post, Lionel Butler, George R. Potter (the last three of these visiting professors during 1965–1968), and Edward Peters. Although Howland (who edited and published two works of Lea posthumously), Potter, and Peters worked in fields close to those of Lea, and their acquisitions increased Lea's own areas of concentration, LaMonte and Setton were specialists in Latin relations with the eastern Mediterranean and the Crusader States, expanding the library in the direction of their own interests.<sup>6</sup> Presently, acquisitions are limited to the broad areas of Lea's own interests.

Under the care of these scholar-librarians, the library has been carefully maintained and catalogued, although several of Lea's own distinctive cataloguing systems have also been preserved. In all, the library now uses six different cataloguing systems: manuscripts, incunabula, Lea's reading room designations, Lea's stack designations, the Dewey Decimal System, and the Library of Congress system. During the tenure of the late Rudolf Hirsch

*Opposite page:* Johannes Nider, *Praeceptorium divinae legis* (Cologne: Ulrich Zel, 1480). Acquired by Lea in 1894.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Charles Lea, *Minor Historical Writings and Other Essays*, ed. Arthur C. Howland (Philadelphia, 1942).





as Associate Director of Libraries, Hirsch and Norman Zacour compiled a catalogue of Lea manuscripts, revised in several later numbers of *The Library Chronicle*.<sup>7</sup> Under the care of the late William E. Miller and Bernard Ford the physical condition of a number of deteriorating volumes was corrected. The late Matthias Shaaber and Margaret Allen compiled a manuscript catalogue of printed books in the Lea Library before 1825. Under the present library administration, the Lea reading room is used frequently for undergraduate, graduate, and faculty seminars held beneath the large oil portrait and a bronze bust of the historian, and the collection remains internationally known and used by scholars from all over the world.

The University's keeping has been as attentive and honorable as George Lincoln Burr expected it to be, and it continues as the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the University Library coincides with the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Library of Henry Charles Lea at the University of Pennsylvania.

*Opposite page:* Manuscript transcript of the acts of the Inquisition in Perugia, Italy (1448-9).

<sup>7</sup> *Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the University of Pennsylvania, Compiled by Norman P. Zacour and Rudolf Hirsch* (Philadelphia, 1965).