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The Cleveland-West Correspondence:
Record of a Friendship

BY WILLARD THORP

In the course of working through the Andrew Fleming West papers in the University Archives, I fortunately came on a group of twenty-one letters and two telegrams from Cleveland to West which the Dean had carefully saved. One additional letter subsequently turned up in the Miscellaneous Manuscripts collection (A M 11906). These documents seemed to me very much worth publishing. They are frank and revelatory. They show Cleveland’s increasing affection for West and reliance on him in various matters. And they are good letters. But were there any surviving West letters to Cleveland?

The Cleveland papers are in the Library of Congress. They have been well sorted and indexed and put on film. The Princeton University Library has a set of the reels. Thus it was easy enough to look in the Index to the films to see if any West letters are among the Cleveland papers. Luck was with me. A few West letters had survived Cleveland’s indifference to his papers—five letters to Cleveland and two to Mrs. Cleveland.1 Many other West letters have vanished. The reader will notice that Cleveland

1 Cleveland believed that Presidential papers were the property of the President who wrote or received them. (See his unequivocally expressed message to the Senate in 1866, printed in H. G. Jones, The Records of a Nation, New York, 1969, pp. 159-160.) But this belief did not induce him to collect or preserve his papers. At his death they were scattered in many places. In 1912, when the Library of Congress asked Mrs. Cleveland to deposit the late President’s papers, the effort to assemble them began and continued until 1949 when Professor McElroy, the official biographer, turned over to the Library the immense amount of material he had recovered. (This information is taken from the Introduction to the Index to the Grover Cleveland Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, 1965.)
alludes directly to letters he has received from West nine times, letters which are now missing. The receipt of a letter from West, inquiring about a proper time for a visit, seems to be implied in another letter (August 8, 1903). The telegram from Cleveland dated August 17, 1905 also suggests an inquiry from West about a meeting of some sort.

Thus the correspondence is fairly one-sided, but there are a few points at which the letters mesh. It seemed best, therefore, to print the correspondence in chronological sequence, although there are stretches when Cleveland does all the talking and West seems to be interdictively silent. We know that he was not.

There is no need to write in detail here about Cleveland's connections with the academic side of Princeton during the last eleven years of his life, 1897-1908. The subject has been well covered in the biographies by McElroy and Nevins, in Dean West's article, "Grover Cleveland: A Princeton Memory," and in other works which will be listed at the end of this introduction. But a brief outline is in order, to show how fully he became caught up in the affairs of the University, a possibility which he had probably not anticipated.

In June 1897 he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. (During his presidential terms he did not deem it right to accept such honors.) Reluctantly, at first, he walked with the President of the University in academic processions, with Patton and then with Wilson. On October 15, 1901, he was elected a Trustee. He was most faithful in carrying out the duties connected with the office. He was particularly interested in the prospects for the Graduate School and in 1904 he gave up his membership on other committees to become Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Board of Trustees on the Graduate School.

At first he was hesitant about making speeches before the academic community. He was moved to assent when in 1899 Henry Stafford Little of the Class of 1844 endowed a lectureship, with the suggestion that Mr. Cleveland be invited to deliver before the students of the University "such lectures as he might be disposed to give from year to year." The first two were delivered in 1900 and dealt with "The Independence of the Executive." Alexander Hall was jammed on those two nights, April 9 and 10. In the following spring he lectured twice on the Venezuelan boundary question. In 1904 he delivered one lecture on the Pullman strike. Cleveland worked hard on the Stafford Little Lectures, seeking information and advice from associates who had gone through with him the struggles of his second term in office.

The students took a great liking to Cleveland, and it soon became their custom to march to "Westland" to get a word from him. As Dean West says in "Grover Cleveland: A Princeton Memory," "A victory in athletics or intercollegiate debating, the entrance on Sophomore year, or the farewell after graduation, inevitably brought them en masse at evening to his door. It is a pity these talks have vanished on the night air without a reported record. Yet the informality and agreeable absence of reportorial preparation made these impromptu addresses all the more engaging in their pleasant freedom." To mark his seventieth birthday in March 1907 the students brought with them an inscribed loving-cup, which Professor Hibben presented on their behalf. He spoke to the students—it was to be the last time—concluding with these words.

I feel young at seventy because I have here breathed the atmosphere of vigorous youth and of hopeful aspiring young manhood. You have created this atmosphere, and through the providence of God it has been given me to breathe, in these latter days, its healing, stimulating influence. . . . I can only promise that during all the time awaiting me I will make partial payments by an increasing love for you and for all undergraduates of Princeton, and by an increasing devotion to the badge of Princeton wherever I may find it.

Cleveland soon responded to requests for public addresses on academic occasions. He spoke for the Trustees at the inauguration of Woodrow Wilson as President of Princeton in October 1902. He even consented to address the alumni in St. Louis at the time of his visit to attend the opening of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904. In 1906 when the south wing of Nassau Hall, which had been by turns a prayer-hall, a library, and a museum, was rebuilt in its present form as the Faculty Room, Cleveland made the address. It was his last public speech in Princeton. He rededicated the venerable room to the purposes for which the College was founded.

The meaning of this occasion should be, that Nassau Hall is to-day consecrated anew to the high ideals of her early time; that those who held in trust her name and fame are to-day
newly stimulated in the cause of sound learning and high patriotism; and that the true Princeton spirit is to always here preside to bless and prosper those who keep the Princeton faith and follow the standard that Princeton holds aloft.

Why were Cleveland and West so closely drawn together, as their letters abundantly prove they were? On Cleveland's side there was, of course, the gratitude he felt for the many things West did for him. West not only found the ideal house for the Cleveland to retire to; he carried through the negotiations which led to its purchase. Thereafter we find him doing errands, large and small for Cleveland, especially after he moved in 1905 to the house Cleveland had built for Professor Finley at 90 Bayard Lane. From this time until Cleveland's death in 1908 they must have seen each other almost daily when both were in town, since the house West rented from Cleveland was within hailing distance of “Westland.”

It is manifest that Cleveland greatly enjoyed West's company. Cleveland had spent his life with lawyers, politicians, businessmen. Save for Joe Jefferson and Richard Watson Gilder, Editor of The Century Magazine, Cleveland knew well no artistic or literary men. He found in West a scholar whose company he enjoyed. Writing to West from his summer home on Buzzards Bay, in 1898, urging him to come and make a visit, he adds: “Taking it as granted that you were entirely truthful and sincere when you said you would like to come, the question arises, why in Sam Hill don't you come?” Cleveland's conception of the office of professor was a high one. Beginning with West, he found that professors could be human as well as erudite. Cleveland liked to play billiards. So did West. Cleveland was passionately fond of fishing. West enjoyed fishing and could weigh down his end of the boat with a respectable catch. Cleveland soon found other members of the Princeton Faculty whose company he delighted in—John Finley, John Grier Hibben, Howard McClenahan (“Irish Mac”), Paul Van Dyke and Woodrow Wilson.

After he became Chairman of the Standing Committee of the Board of Trustees on the Graduate School in 1904, Cleveland found another welcome outlet for his still abundant energies. He gave West his whole-hearted support in his effort to establish a resident Graduate College. He helped to bring about the opening of “Merwick” as the “Graduate House” in 1905. Speaking to the graduate students in his after-dinner talk when the House was opened, he said that on what they were and achieved would finally depend the real success of the attempt. “You must do it,” was his closing word. On March 20, 1907, he wrote West a strong letter of encouragement, in which he said: “Speaking for myself, I want to say to you, that I have never been enlisted in a cause which has given me more satisfaction or a better feeling of usefulness.”

As for the West side of this friendship, perhaps all one needs to do is to ask the question, Who would not be proud to be the close friend of one of our great Presidents—great, that is to say, if uprightness, valor, the ability to endure the “arrows of outrageous fortune” outweigh success? West admired the way Cleveland had through two terms held out against the corruption of the times which had thwarted him in nearly everything he tried to do. There was in West this same doggedness. His time of trial was longer than Cleveland's. Cleveland had helped him through the first of the bad years, beginning in 1904 when the Graduate College controversy was just starting to heat up. Cleveland spoke strongly in the Standing Committee of the Board, in his reports as Chairman of the Committee, and in the full Board itself. He tried his hand at raising the money required to endow West's “Proposed Graduate College.” On January 18, 1908, he wrote Andrew Carnegie a long letter urging upon him the needs of the Graduate School, in the course of which he said: “I have never given up the idea that in time the Princeton University Graduate School will quite naturally become a supplementary adjunct to the Carnegie Institute in the sense that, with other similar agencies, it will carry out or greatly aid its splendid purposes; and I know this School, strongly built and entrenched, will give to

2 I have not printed this letter in the correspondence because it is still, in a sense, a “private” letter and I have not asked permission to reproduce it. It must have been with the other Cleveland letters, but West extracted it and placed it in the large file of documents and letters (filling an entire case) which he assembled to substantiate his story of the Graduate College controversy. This he issued privately, in mimeographed form, in 1909, as A Narrative of the Graduate College of Princeton University from Its Proposal in 1896 until Its Dedication in 1913. West Princeton University, pp. 39-61.

2 The letter is printed in Allan Nevins, ed., Letters of Grover Cleveland, pp. 692-693. Carnegie had given Cleveland an opening by enquiring of him what he would do if he had a certain sum “to be put to the best use possible.” Carnegie did not rise to the bait. In December 1906 he had handed over to the University deeds to land which was to be transformed from a swamp into still swampy Lake Carnegie. He had evidently done enough for Princeton for the time being.
Princeton University, more than anything else can, the prestige of leadership among the universities of our land."

What Andrew Fleming West felt about his friend Grover Cleveland he said most eloquently in the opening sentences of his "Grover Cleveland: A Princeton Memory."

Those who live in Princeton have found it a slow process to adjust themselves to the fact that Mr. Cleveland is gone from our sight and now dwells with us only in memory. His presence for over eleven years had become one of the fixed traditions of the place, an accepted possession, something that again linked Princeton with the permanence of national history—something unobtrusive, yet pervading, known indeed to be transient, like all mortal concerns, and yet taken as though it would abide indefinitely.

In preparing this introduction and the notes to the correspondence I have relied most heavily on the following works: Robert McElroy, Grover Cleveland, the Man and the Statesman, An Authorized Biography, 2 vols. (New York, 1923); Allan Nevins, Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage (New York, 1932); Allan Nevins, ed., Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1850-1908 (Boston, 1933); Richard Watson Gilder, Grover Cleveland: A Record of Friendship (New York, 1910); Jesse Lynch Williams, Mr. Cleveland, A Personal Impression (New York, 1909); Andrew F. West, "Grover Cleveland: A Princeton Memory," The Century Magazine, LXXVII (January, 1909), 328-337; George F. Parker, "Grover Cleveland's Life in Princeton—1897-1908," Saturday Evening Post, Nov. 10, 1923, pp. 40-48; John Finley, "Cleveland—Gentle but Inexorable," Scribner's Magazine, LXXXI (April, 1927), 340-344.

It gives me pleasure to thank Mr. Richard F. Cleveland '19 for permission to print the letters of President Cleveland and Mr. Andrew F. West, II '43 for permission to print the letters of Dean West. Both men responded promptly and cordially to my request.

The letters are printed as literally as letter-press permits. The President and the Dean have allowed their vagaries of punctuation (or lack of it). Cleveland's hand, for so burly a man, is curiously small and crabbed. In elucidating it I have been helped by Mrs. H. J. Wright, Jr. and Dr. T. H. Vail Motter.
CROFTER CLEVELAND AND ANDREW F. WINT
Buzzards Bay
Princeton University Archives

CLEVELAND FISHING IN LAKE ERIE
Photograph by L. Van Ooyn from C. W. Sanders' article, "Grover Cleveland Goes Fishing," Outing, September 1909
Princeton University Library

ANDREW FLEMING WEST IN THE GARDEN OF THE GODS, 1901
Princeton University Archives
1. CLEVELAND TO WEST

   Executive Mansion,  
   Washington.  

   Nov 8, 1896

My dear Professor West

I want to write you a little bit confidentially; and I write to you, because I do not know a better-natured man to bother with a private matter.

Mrs. Cleveland and I, naturally enough, are casting about for a resting place where we can settle with our three babies, after the fourth of next March. Somehow for the last few days the idea has entered our minds, that we might be very comfortable and satisfied at Princeton. This may be only a passing notion which will disappear when other schemes crowd in.

I think I would like to buy a house in which I may live and die (if I could afford it) having plenty of room and a fair share at least, of the conveniences of modern existence; and in this house I want to be free from all sorts of social and other exactions, that might interfere with the lazy rest which I crave. This house must be one which can be maintained cheaply.  

4 This letter is printed in Nevins, Letters of Grover Cleveland, p. 491.
5 Ruth Cleveland, born in New York City, October 9, 1871; Esther Cleveland, born in the White House, September 5, 1873; Marion Cleveland, born at Buzards Bay, July 7, 1875.
6 President Cleveland was much moved by the tumult of applause which followed his address on the third day of Princeton's Sesquicentennial. "Round after round of cheering rose from the great assemblage of college graduates. Every variety of Princeton cheer rent the air. To each salvo was added 'Cleveland, Cleveland, Cleveland,' and finally three cheers were given for Mrs. Cleveland" (Memorial Book of the Sesquicentennial Celebration, p. 169). He met Professor West, who was the chief designer of the celebration, for the first time at the ceremonies and evidently was much taken with him as well as with Princeton. The Princeton students had prepared their own welcome. In the torchlight procession the night before the address, they carried a transparency which read: "Grover, send your boys to Princeton." In his Grover Cleveland, A Study in Courage (p. 746), Allan Nevins tells how the Cleveland's settled on Princeton as a place to retire to private life. "Mrs. Cleveland, who had been to Westchester to look at houses, came down to breakfast one morning and said, 'I have an inspiration about our future home.' So have I," said Cleveland. Simultaneously they asked each other, 'What is it?' And simultaneously each replied, 'Princeton.' Within a week after the election Cleveland wrote his letter of enquiry to Professor West.

7 Daniel Lamont, Secretary of War in Cleveland's second administration, estimated that Cleveland was worth $500,000 to $550,000 at the time of his retirement in 1897 (Nevins, Grover Cleveland, p. 757). That was a modest fortune in those days. He had made his money from his law practice, savings from his Presidential salary,
These personal considerations, except the last one mentioned, are not however so important as the following:

For my wife and children I want some grounds about the house, a pleasant social life, a healthy and comfortable climate (especially in the winter) and good school advantages. The second and last of these I consider assumed at Princeton but its weather—cold and damp, cold and dry or temperate with dampness or cold—I know nothing about.

Will you take the trouble to write me what you know of all these matters? If you happen to know of a house and lot which you think might suit us and which could be bought reasonably, I wish you would mention it. If not perhaps you will give me the name of someone acquainted with such matters.

I fear I am asking too much from you. Mrs Cleveland desires to be remembered and we both are very glad we attended Princeonts Sesqui-Centennial.

Yours Sincerely

GROVER CLEVELAND

2. WEST TO CLEVELAND

Princeton, New Jersey
November 12, 1896—

My dear President Cleveland—

I was delighted and honored in receiving your letter of November 8th, and beg to assure you that I will be only too glad to make any inquiries you may desire.

I take up the several points one by one:

1. The climate of Princeton is mild and agreeable. The only unpleasant times are the hot season from the middle of August until the latter part of September and the windy month of March. Sometimes we have a disagreeable February—but not often. The winters are moderate and there is often fine open weather straight up to Christmas. This is one of the solid attractions of Princeton. However, a better witness than I am is Dr. M. Allan Starr of New York City, who sends his patients out here for rest, quiet and pleasant outdoor weather.

2. The social life of Princeton is, of course, not the social life of a large but of a small society. It is unpretentious and most delightful. There is more privacy and really independent comfortable home life, than in any other small place I know. Princeton is indeed an ideal place for those who covet real freedom in their home life, combined with just as much or just as little in the way of social engagements as they may find acceptable.

3. There is a very nice school for young children, conducted by two ladies. I think it just about perfect for the little ones, and they love it dearly. However, there is no entirely satisfactory school for grown up girls,—say of fifteen years,—although Evelyn College is fairly good.

4. I have delayed this letter so as to give definite information respecting a suitable house with grounds. The long business depression has brought three of our most desirable residences into the market.

One is the former residence of Professor Osborn on Prospect Avenue. This is a good roomy modern house with over three acres of grounds, and on the whole the most beautiful view in Princeton. It is next door to the residence of Mrs. McCosh. The place could be bought for $20,000,—possibly for $18,000. I consider it the best property for the price in Princeton.

The second is the place of Mr. Conover on Bayard Avenue. It is a substantial house with nine acres of grounds and some fine old trees. It would cost probably $25,000,—perhaps $24,000.

The third is the place of Mrs. Slidell, who is leaving Princeton. This is decidedly the best house of the three. It is an old style country mansion, built by Commodore Stockton. There are five acres of grounds, and unusually fine trees. Mrs. Slidell is asking

8 Founded to become the Radcliffe of Princeton, Evelyn College survived only ten years, from 1887 to 1897. Its first catalogue announced that it had “substantially the same course of study that is pursued in Princeton College, including lectures of the Professors.” The College failed because endowment was not forthcoming. The large house which the students occupied still stands at the end of Evelyn Place.

9 Henry Fairfield Osborn, Professor of Comparative Anatomy, left Princeton to join the faculty of Columbia in 1891.

10 The Conover property was at the head of Bayard Lane, on the west side.


12 Commodore Robert Stockton built three houses for his children: Springdale (on the Seminary campus) for his eldest son, Richard; the Walter Lowrie House for John Potter Stockton; and the house we are presently considering, for his daughter Caroline Stockton Dod. “Westland,” as Cleveland named the house in honor of Professor West, was built in 1854. It is post-Colonial in style, with an overlay of Italianate ornamentation. The house faces on Hodge Road (then Hodge Avenue) but the carriage drive entered the property at the corner of Hodge and Bayard Lane.
$40,000,—but will not get it. I know the property can be bought for $35,000,—and perhaps for a little less.

These three are all in the best neighborhoods. They are retired and thoroughly private, pleasant for young children, and seem to me to correspond closely with the preferences expressed in your letter.

In case Mrs. Cleveland or yourself care to look at these or any other places, I can arrange this without any publicity, and will be very glad to tender my services for this purpose. As I am to be in Washington in about a week or ten days from now, I will gladly call in case it happens to be convenient to Mrs. Cleveland or yourself, and explain orally many details that are hard to explain in writing.

Of one thing you may be sure. An abundant and enthusiastic welcome awaits you, in case you come to Princeton to live. It is a lovely, unspoiled place,—a place especially made for the pleasantest kind of country life, combined with easy access to the city.

Please present my best regards to Mrs. Cleveland and say how heartfelt a welcome we have ready for her also, and for the dear little girls.

Very respectfully Yours

ANDREW F. WEST

3. WEST TO MRS. CLEVELAND

Princeton
November 28, 1896

My dear Mrs. Cleveland—

The sale of the property was effected yesterday evening at six o'clock to the minute and a copy of the agreement sent to the President by the evening mail. This copy has a receipt for the $2000 entered at the end.

I gave out a short statement to the reporters,—and see that the New York papers are full of the news, this morning.13

13 The *New York Times* felt the item was worthy of the front page. It appears at the top of the fourth column. West's two-paragraph statement is a model of discretion. After saying that negotiations for the house had been going on for about three weeks, he added these words: "A number of reasons have attracted President and Mrs. Cleveland to Princeton. The President's father was educated for the Presbyterian ministry here. The quiet and independent home life of the place, its healthfulness, its convenience to New York, the attraction of a university society, as well as other reasons, have been influential in his decision."

The reporter had to add something of his own, so he speculated (wildly) about the purchase price of the estate—"generally understood to be between $45,000 and $50,000"—and noted that "the situation is by far the most desirable one in the town."14

14 Professor of Physical Geography. He lived at 20 Bayard Lane (now the Peacock Inn) and so would soon be a neighbor of Cleveland's.

15 This must refer to the coachman's house which stood at the back of the lot.

Professor Libbey14 at my request photographed three views of the house,—one from the front, one from the west side, and a third view of the coachman's house and the stable. I send copies in this enclosure with his compliments.

There is great delight expressed on all sides at the prospect of you and the President coming to live here.

Very Sincerely Yours

ANDREW F. WEST

4. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Executive Mansion,
Washington.

Dec 21, 1896

My dear Sir:

Enclosed please find my check payable to Mr. Feilder agt etc for $30,915, the balance due on the 24th inst in settlement of the contract for the purchase of the Slidell property in Princeton. May I ask you to further serve us by handing the check to Mr. Feilder and receiving on our behalf the deed of the property? I suppose it ought to be recorded.

I would like the deed made to me and if there is no objection under the laws of New Jersey I should prefer that the consideration in the deed be stated as "One dollar" or some other nominal sum. I do not place great stress on this, but would be glad to thwart newspaper gossip concerning the terms of the sale.

There are some expenses attending this matter—title search, carriage hire for Mrs Cleveland, recording deed etc which I am prepared to pay when I know the amount. I suppose Mr Bayard Stockton who was I believe to examine the title reports it all clear.

I find that the insurance expires in June next, $10,000 on house $1,000 on stable and $2000 on house-hold furniture. The latter item is of course of no avail to me or anybody else; and the agent suggests that the sum be transferred to the lodge or cottage,15 upon which there is now no insurance. I think however this matter may be delayed until we know better how we want the insurance placed.
We shall probably begin such alterations as are determined on, very soon to the end that the house may be ready for our occupancy on the 4th day of next March.

Notwithstanding your willingness I hate to bother you so much with our affairs.

Yours very sincerely

GROVER CLEVELAND

Professor Andrew F. West
Princeton
N.J.

5. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Executive Mansion,
Washington.

Jan 30, 1897

My dear Sir—

Enclosed please find check for $80, intended to cover two months pay for the man in charge of Westland. Mrs Cleveland thinks he is now working under an agreement that his wages should be forty dollars a month. If you will attend to this matter I shall be greatly obliged.

I suppose the man ought to be notified very soon whether we desire to retain him or not. We are not quite prepared to do this but shall be in a few days. In the meantime I wish you would say to him that it is altogether probable that we shall want to take with us to Princeton a man who has been in our employ some time etc.

Yours very truly

GROVER CLEVELAND

6. WEST TO CLEVELAND

Princeton N J
February 1, 1897

My dear Sir—

I received this morning your check for $80, to be used in paying the monthly wages of Callahan, the man who is taking care of your Princeton home—I have paid him $450 this morning for the month from Dec. 24, 1896 to January 24th 1897. I will pay him the other $450 when it becomes due.

I have told him very plainly that his term expires on March 4th, and that it is probable you will bring your own man to take care of the place. I have, however, promised that in case you wish to employ a man, I will recommend him—as he is a very good man.

The repairs on the house are going ahead expeditiously, and everything ought to be finished by February 20th at latest.

Very Respectfully Yours

ANDREW F. WEST

7. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Princeton, March 23, 1897

I have been here almost a week and have not seen you yet. How am I to get on in this way? Unless I see you within a very "brief period" I shall pull stakes and clear out.

8. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Gray Gables, Mass.

July 11, 1898

My dear Professor

You must permit me to revert to a topic often spoken of between us, and upon which I am very intent. I refer to your visit here

18 From Letters of Grover Cleveland, 1890-1908, ed. Nevins, p. 472.
19 Cleveland's summer place, bought in 1891, on Monument Point on the eastern shore of Buzzards Bay, near the present entrance of the Cape Cod Canal. Richard Watson Gilder was largely responsible for the choice of site. He tells the story in Grover Cleveland: A Record of Friendship (pp. 55-62). "One day, soon after the first term, and while he was staying at the Victoria Hotel, he turned to me and said: 'Are there any fish up around Marion?' This was the village near Cape Cod where my family then spent their summers—a place which had been visited by

81
during the summer vacation. Taking it as granted that you were entirely truthful and sincere when you said you would like to come, the question arises, why in Sam Hill don't you come? I honestly think you could stand a sojourn here quite comfortably—that is if you are as good a loafer as I hope you are. I have no billiard table but am in possession of its adjinents, and can give you plenty of fishing of all sorts.

I wish you would locate a period which you are willing to devote to our pleasure and which will be convenient to you and write me when you will come. Make your arrangements to stay long enough to outlast by a long time, any "northeaster" or "southwester" that may enviously attack us.

Mrs Cleveland lends to this invitation her utmost powers of persuasion.

Yours very sincerely

GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof Andrew F. West
Princeton
N. J.

9. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Westland,
Princeton,
New Jersey.

Jan 4, 1899

My dear Professor

I shall be alone this afternoon and evening.

Mrs. Cleveland and her mother soon after the President's marriage. Gilder said the question ought to be referred to Joe Jefferson, who was an expert on Buzzards Bay as a fishing ground. "So one day Jefferson came and told the ex-President all about the fishing in Buzzards Bay, and in the streams and lakes of Cape Cod, near the home of that great actor and enchanting personality. The result was that the Cleveland took a small cottage next to us at Marion for the first part of the summer of 1889; and another cottage for the last weeks of their stay. Next year they again came to Marion, taking a larger house. Then they bought a place across the bay, near the Jeffereons, which they named "Gray Gables," and occupied for years, till their summer home was changed to Tamworth, New Hampshire."

The region was then wild. There was at first no railroad station at "Gray Gables." The only approaches were by sea or a six-mile carriage drive. Cleveland must have places on the Bay. He could indulge his great passion for fishing to the utmost, for the rest of his life but contrived to get in some sea-fishing before his tenants came or after they left.

Can you not take "pot luck" with me—say at 7 ¼ o'clock—and play billiards with me afterwards?

Yours Sincerely

GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof Andrew F. West
Princeton

10. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Princeton May 3, 1899

My dear Professor

I enclose a letter received from Mr Brooks.20 I hope you will be able to start with me and hereby agree to make you comfortable if you will do so. The "Judson" referred to in connection with transportation, is Judson Harmon formerly Attorney General and now intimately related to the management of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.21 I would be glad to have you return Mr Brooks' letter when you are through with it.

Yours sincerely

GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof Andrew F. West
Princeton

11. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Gray Gables
Buzzards Bay
Massachusetts

July 25, 1900

Dear Professor West

Your letter is just received. You are just in time and we shall reserve for you Room 816 which we regard as a most desirable apartment for the price charged for it.

20 Probably the "LeRoy Brooks" mentioned as a fishing companion in C. W. Sanders, "Grover Cleveland Goes A-Fishing," Outing, September 1903. Mr. Brooks' letter has not been found.

21 Cleveland wrote E. C. Benedict on April 19, 1899: "I am under an engagement to go to Ohio bass fishing, some time in May—but whether it will be late or early in the month is uncertain." That the present letter refers to this expedition seems likely since Harman was a prominent Ohio Democrat. He later served two terms as governor of the state, 1909-1911 and 1911-1913.
Let us know when we may expect you at Gray Gables station. All trains going from Buzzards Bay to Woods Holl stop at that station to let off visitors to us on notification to the Conductor. Your notice must be promptly given as there is but two or three minutes between the two stations—Buzzards Bay and Gray Gables.

If we know what time you will arrive at Buzzards Bay we will have the free omnibus for you at Gray Gables.

We have had a tremendous amount of wind and it is blowing hard this instant. The fishing business has therefore not been as good as I have seen it; but there is all the more sport due us and I think it will come along just about next week.

We all send love, and I am

Yours very sincerely,
GROVER CLEVELAND

12. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Buzzards Bay
July 26, 1900

Dear Professor West

It has occurred to me since I wrote you yesterday that perhaps Randolph might be induced to share the hardships of his father's trip to this region.

This is merely to assure you that we would be very glad to see him; and that you must not have the least fear that such an addition to your expedition causes us the least inconvenience.

Yours very sincerely,
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof Andrew F. West
Princeton
N. J.

22 The only child of Professor West and Lucy Marshall Fitz Randolph West. He was born August 7, 1890. His mother became an invalid after his birth. This is why Randolph was with his father on his summer vacation sojourns. Randolph was graduated from Princeton in 1914. The class year-book shows that he was well-liked by his classmates, who entrusted various tasks to him. He was a member of the Senior Council, of the Class Day Committee, and the 1912 Memorial Committee. He was one of the famous "Henley Four"—1912's four-oared crew. As we say at Princeton, he "ate" at Cottage Club. He stated in the year-book that he intended to go into medicine, that his favorite study was chemistry and his favorite sport, fishing.

Randolph received the M.D. from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1917 and later served as Professor of Medicine at Columbia. He died in 1949.

13. WEST TO CLEVELAND

Dear Mr. Cleveland—

The enclosed cartoon23 was given to me by Mr. Armour24 yesterday. It appeared in a Chicago paper October 19th.

It is so witty and pertinent that I want you to have it. Anything better as a piece of fine political satire rarely comes my way.

Ever Sincerely Yours
ANDREW F. WEST

Princeton, October 17 [1900]

14. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Tyringham25 Aug 27, 1901

My dear Professor West

Your letter is just at hand. We should be very glad to see you on Saturday next. Take the train (Pittsfield Express), leaving New York at 9 a.m., for Lee. You will arrive there at 12.49 and we will meet you. This is the best train. Another leaves N.Y. at 3.30 P.M. and arrives at Lee at 7.15. If you take that train perhaps we will meet you and perhaps not; but a stage runs in connection with that train which arrives here a little before 9.

When you get this letter you had better telegraph at once which train you will take. Address your dispatch to Lee and add: "deliver by stage."

If my plan miscarries you can be brought here from Lee by buggy for one dollar and fifty cents.

Yours very sincerely
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof Andrew F. West
Mantoloking N.J.

23 The cartoon has vanished.
24 George Allison Armour '77 moved to Princeton from Chicago in 1895. He bought the Notman-designed house built by Commodore Stockton for his son John Potter Stockton, adding on the library wing to house his fine collection of rare books. He was a close friend of Professor West, and for several years helped him and other members of the Department of Classics in building up the University's collection of classical literature.
25 A village in western Massachusetts, about five miles southeast of Lee. In the summer of 1901 the Cleveland's occupied "Riverside," the roomy L. B. Moore farm house there. R. W. Gilder (Grover Cleveland: A Record of Friendship, p. 91) recalls the following from his visit to Tyringham that summer. "We used to see him sitting out on the piazza at Riverside solemnly engaged in mock-fishing with Richard [born, 1897], consulting his companion gravely as to proper bait, and other important details of the sport, the boy being an apt pupil in the gentle art." Cleveland did fresh-water fishing, which at first he did not like very much, in Lake May.
My dear Professor

You and I have spoken together about a growing tendency towards commercial and other odd methods impinging on educational matters. I enclose you a letter from a lady who is frank enough to confess her willingness to employ a teacher on the basis of a per-centange and canvassing for pupils.

I have written her that that [sic] I would refer her communication to a member of our faculty.

Perhaps we ought to be as frank and honest as she is, in this affair.

Yours faithfully
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof A. F. West
Princeton N. J.

Aug 3. 1902

Dear Professor West

We shall all be very glad to see you; and the earlier you come the better we shall like it.

I especially want to see you soon. I have been blundering away at my Wilson inauguration task; and the more I tug at it the madder I become at you and the others who managed to get me into the scrape. You are not to understand that I intend to go to the length of venting my outraged feelings by inflicting upon you personal violence—and yet you are not entirely safe. I hope so long as you are my guest at least, I shall be able to restrain myself. If you have Randolph with you we shall be very glad to see him too.

I want your judgment on the plan I have blocked out for what I am to say when Wilson is inaugurated—and I don't want any feeling about it either. If I am on a wrong tack I want to set my sails differently and go to work again. I want to be early about it, for I have another thing to do of a similar sort and I may get sick or some other mischance might intervene later on.

We have had pretty hard weather here since we arrived; but I hope it is nearly spent and that Gray Gables will "[dress] on herself" soon.

Everybody has had a cold but me. I suppose I am not worth it. We all send love; and I am

Yours very sincerely
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof Andrew F. West
Princeton N. J.

July 18 1903

The Western Union Telegraph Company
Received at 98 Nassau St. Princeton, N. J.
Dated Buzzards Bay Mass 18
To Prof A F West
Princeton N. J.
It happens to be a big boy.27

GROVER CLEVELAND

27 Announcing the birth of the Cleveland's fifth child and second son, Francis Grover Cleveland. He did not follow his older brother Richard to Princeton, but went to Harvard where he was a member of the Class of 1905. He has devoted most of his mature life to The Barnstormers, a successful summer stock company which had its first season in 1913. For a time the company had no fixed home but made the circuit of Maine and New Hampshire villages in the Tisbury region. In 1935 the Cleveland's bought an old store in Tisbury with the Grange Hall above. This became the home of The Barnstormers. The theater was extensively rebuilt in 1954. Mr. Cleveland has occasionally acted with the company but has done most of the staging of the plays. Other members of the Cleveland family have helped out as actors or in the organizational side of the enterprise.
18. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Buzzards Bay
Sunday Aug 8. 1903

My dear Professor West

I expect to start to-morrow with Mr Jefferson on a trip which I suppose will keep me from home until next Saturday morning (the 15th). This is to say to you in the most sincere and unreserved terms that we shall be very glad to see you and Randolph at any time during our stay here, after the date above mentioned.

Mrs Cleveland and the new boy are getting on very well. Mrs Cleveland has been up a good part of the day and the boy has not omitted a vigorous exhortation (as becomes the day), in an unknown tongue, which sounded to me like Latin, with a continental pronunciation.

We have just heard that the McClannahans (?) have a new boy also.

We are all well but me; and I expect to fetch out right in the morning.

Mrs Cleveland sends love

Yours sincerely

GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof A. F. West
Mantoloking
N. J.

19. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Tamworth20 July 20. 1904

Dear Professor West

I arrived here last Friday (the 15th inst) having been delayed on the way, about ten days, by illness.

20 Howard McClenance was at this time Assistant Professor of Physics and Electrical Engineering at Princeton. He was made a Professor in 1906. From 1912 to 1923 he was Dean of the College. He left Princeton in 1925 to become Secretary of the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia. He died ten years later. The "new boy" was Richard Lee McClenance.

20 In 1904 the Cleveland began spending their summers near Tamworth, New Hampshire, not far from Mt. Chocorua and Lake Osipee and the larger Lake Winnipesaukee. Their first child, Ruth, had died of diphtheria on January 7 at the age of 12 and they could not face the summer at Gray Gables where the whole family had spent so many happy seasons. Cleveland asked Professor John Finley, who had a place at Tamworth, to find him a house for the summer. This summer's sojourn led to the purchase of a farm and a house which the Cleveland named "Intermont." Cleveland took to fresh-water fishing in earnest and found it more exciting than sea-fishing. As his letters show, he was constantly making improvements on his place. One of his first tasks was to build a new road straight up Stevenson Hill to the farm. This he later gave to the town. After his death John Finley arranged to have it named "Grover Cleveland Memorial Road."

Mrs. Cleveland continued to come to Tamworth after Cleveland's death and her remarriage to Thomas Jex Preston in 1913.

There is a photograph of "Mr. Cleveland at his Summer Home, 'Intermont,' Tamworth, N. H." in Gilder, Grover Cleveland: A Record of Friendship, opposite p. 250.

21 In "Grover Cleveland: A Princeton Memory" (pp. 334-336), Dean West wrote as follows about Cleveland's reading. "He did a great deal of it, but mainly in connection with what he was writing. . . . Of light reading he did little. He simply had not the time. What he did of this had to be casual and infrequent, until the last two or three years of his life, when he read every novel in reach, mostly in bed, at night or when ill. Perhaps he relished as much as any other reading for an unoccupied hour the bright sketches of W. W. Jacobs, dealing with the 'Old salts' on the Thames below London."

22 In "Grover Cleveland: A Princeton Memory" (p. 337), Dean West recalled this Tamworth moment. "One bright, still day in September he was fishing on a clear lake circled by hills covered with the green forest, and only here and there were the leaves touched with crimson and gold. It was too much for him, and he stopped fishing. Then he gazed long and tranquilly at it all, as if spellbound. There was a look of joy in his face like that Fenimore Cooper gives in his novel to the old huntsman walking through the sunlit woods in calm communion with something beyond and back of what eyes could see. Long afterward he spoke of it, and with hesitation. He had felt his all."
that vex the soul of a pampered victim of the pleasures of Cape Cod and the luxuries of Princeton? I enjoy the sight of the hay in great quantity and of the finest quality, that is drawn past my window every day; and I know that my moral stamina is improved by my fight against discontent and envy, when I compare it with the scant grass and stalwart weeds and daisies that grow in the meadows of the Cleveland farm.

Already the thought has sped across (and past) my mind that my stay here offers me a good opportunity to do some work; but I am as yet far away from a steady mood for it.

I am very much pleased with the results of the Democratic Convention" and am exceedingly anxious to see that the good and conservative people of the land think enough of the plain, simple and strong theories that underlie our National structure, to avail themselves of the opportunity now offered them to decree their re-instatement and enforcement.

This letter conveys a storage battery of love and affection and each member of our family—from the oldest to the youngest (Francis Grover was a year old on the 18th) has contributed towards it; and I especially am

Yours faithfully
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof A. F. West
Flume House

N. H.

20. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Princeton June 5, 1905

My dear Professor

I received your letter yesterday at the Buckingham hotel enclosing a check for $225 in full of the first quarter of rent under your 23. From the time of Princeton's Sesquicentennial West had argued for the building of a Graduate College to accommodate the students of the Graduate School. His handsomely printed and illustrated The Proposed Graduate College of Princeton University, issued in an edition of 100 copies in March 1903, had fallen on stony ground. The sum he asked for—$5,000,000 ($600,000 for a building and the rest for endowment)—seemed farther away than ever. West then tried a more modest approach. He could at least hope to have a "Graduate House," by renting a suitable dwelling and making it over to "sleep" a dozen or so students and receive another group of about that size at the table. Moses Taylor Pyne, a member of the Standing Committee of the Board of Trustees on the Graduate School, made this idea workable in 1905 when he quietly bought "Merwick," the former home of Professor George L. Raymond on Bayard Lane, and turned it over to West's use, rent-free. Money was needed, of course, for maintenance. Several gentlemen, most of them members of the Committee, had pledged various sums to cover a three-year period.

Ex-President Cleveland's name heads the list—$100 a year, 3 years." 24. The summer place of Elias C. Benedict, one of Cleveland's closest friends. The friendship began when the Clevelanders were living at Marion, on the day Richard Harding Davis brought Benedict to call. Benedict was a man of great wealth and broad culture. A good deal of his money had been made in gas stocks and bonds. During the '90s Cleveland consulted him frequently on his investments. By 1900 he had learned that the "Commodore," as Benedict was known to his friends, should be trusted to invest whatever surplus Cleveland had, with little or no consultation. Benedict's steam yacht, the Oenida, was almost always at Cleveland's call. The two friends traveled thousands of miles on it, on long excursions or in moving from one home to another. It was on board the Oenida that Dr. Joseph D. Bryant and his assistants operated on Cleveland for cancer of the jaw, as the yacht steamed slowly up the East River on July 1, 1898. The operation was successful, and after a short cruise on the Oenida, Cleveland was able to walk ashore to "Gray Gables" on July 5. Cleveland and Benedict were ceaseless cribbage players. They played for ten-cent stakes, using bright new dimes, which they called "shiners."

The closeness of this friendship is well shown in Cleveland's letter to the Com-
lease. I am delighted to know that the house suits you so well and I certainly hope you will enjoy your home there as much as you can possibly anticipate.

I have a day off here because I did not see that I could do any profitable work in New York. I had quite a notion of running up to Princeton for the day, but gave it up to accept a dinner invitation for to-night.

It is barely possible (mind I say barely possible) I may run up next Saturday or Sunday. If I do I will telegraph or write you or Sam Young our coachman. If it should be Sunday I would arrive at 9:53 or 11:26 a.m. and would want Sam to meet me at the Junction. So if I should notify you instead of Sam you can tell him to be on hand.

I hope to leave for Tamworth, to spend the remainder of the summer or at least a large part of it there, next week Wednesday or Thursday at the latest. If I could make a start towards the moving of my lane etc I would feel like waiting a day or two longer on that account. Things of that kind are however so hard to start in Princeton that I expect to wait until someone besides myself, is or are ready to act.

I shall be at the Buckingham nearly or quite every day until say next Wednesday the 12th.

Yours very sincerely
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof Andrew F. West
Princeton
N. J.

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22. CLEVELAND TO WEST
The Buckingham
Fifth Ave. & 50th St
New York
July 10, 1905

My dear Professor

My plan to visit Princeton was not carried out. It was dreadfully hot. I have had notice that a box of peaches, a 100 pound water melon, a crate of pine apples, and a case of blue lick water have been sent to me—presumably at Princeton.

I wish that you would see that such of these things as will not stand transportation to Tamworth are eaten in your home and that the remainder are forwarded.

Yours faithfully
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof A. F. West
Princeton N. J.

23. CLEVELAND TO WEST
The Western Union Telegraph Company
Aug 17, 1905
Dated West Ossipee [sic] N. H 17
To 18 Boylston St. Boston Andrew F. West
Ho. Touraine

I am starting on a fishing trip and shall be gone today and perhaps tomorrow.

GROVER CLEVELAND

24. WEST TO CLEVELAND
[Oct 17, 1905]

Dear Mr. Cleveland—

The enclosed Bible question is too hard for me to solve. It also seems to have [been] hard on poor old Methusaleh.

What Became of Methusaleh?

To the Editor of the New York Times

was serious and in due course the house was built. Finley tells of an amusing retort Cleveland made to him when he complained mildly about water in the cellar. "Without a moment's hesitation and with a sober face he said: 'Well, my dear fellow, what did you expect, champagne?'" (Finley, "Cleveland—Gentle but Inexorable," p. 341.)
According to the Bible Methuselah begat Lamech and lived 782 years thereafter. Lamech lived 182 years and begat Noah. Noah was 600 years old when the flood occurred.

Was Methuselah drowned?

QUERY


Isn't it funny?

Ever yours
ANDREW F. WEST

October 17

25. WEST TO CLEVELAND

The Overland Limited
Electric Lighted
Chicago—San Francisco—Los Angeles
Every Day in the Year
via
Union Pacific and Southern Pacific

Sunday evening
at sunset —
March 11, 1906

Dear Mr. Cleveland—

I am now riding through western Nebraska and hope to mail this letter in half an hour in Julesburg, a little town on the edge of Colorado, made famous by Mark Twain in "Roughing It." For the last three hundred miles we have been travelling over cold snow-covered prairies—endless cornfields, with millions of stubble-stalks shining against the white snow,—lots of herds of black cattle feeding at fodder-stacks—frozen irrigation ditches—long rows and scattered groves of cottonwood trees—sometimes with orchards planted close by on the northern side, and the Platte river near by all the time and almost frozen over.

By the time I write this I suppose you are settled in Florida, and I hope you may receive it by next Sunday, the 18th, your birthday—and the ninth anniversary of your first arrival in your Princeton home. How much has happened in all that time! of health and sickness, sorrow and joy, bright days and gray days! I hardly know what to write except to say anew what you already know—that I have learned to respect and love you more than I do any man living; and that I can never repay the kindness you and Mrs. Cleveland have shown me. It's a long way from here to Florida, but not too far to send just as much love and a little more, than a letter can convey. May good luck and good cheer be with you on your trip—and always. I sincerely hope the Doctor and Irish Mac are behaving with due gravity, and that they are a comfort rather than a trial. By this time Tuesday night, the 13th,—48 hours hence—I expect to be in San Francisco unless they shut the Golden Gate on me.

Ever yours
ANDREW F. WEST

26. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Stuart Fla\nMch. 25. 1906

Dear Professor West

It was quite like you to write me such an affectionate letter as a kind of consolation on reaching the advanced age of sixty

West's letter was among the more than fifty letters Cleveland received which were written by close friends and associates to mark his sixty-ninth birthday. See note 42 to the Cleveland letter which follows.

42 Eighteen miles south of Port Pierce, Stuart was well known both for commercial and sport fishing. Cleveland had taken to making a trip south in the early spring to get relief (as he believed) from his gout and rheumatism. Of his plans for the trip of 1905, he wrote to Joe Jefferson on February 10, 1905: "Perhaps it is imagination, but it really seems to me that my physical condition gives me an unusually good excuse for a stay in Florida this season. Dr. Bryant being in somewhat the same situation, we have calculated on starting together during this month for a sojourn with Mr. Bessey at Stuart. . . . We both would prefer stopping with Mr. Bessey to any other arrangement and hope to bring that about. The freedom from crowds of strangers and the privilege of being as uncivilized as we desire appeal very strongly to us both." Letters of Grover Cleveland, ed. Nevins, p. 594.
nine years. Your warm expressions of attachment were a great delight to me. Somehow sixty nine seems at least ten years more than sixty eight. I cant shake off the feeling that I am an old man. How is it that I cannot longer cajole myself, as I have been able to do till now? Yes! My life in Princeton has seen dark days as well as bright ones. But the friendships I have formed there are so true and so sound and beautiful that I shall count on them to furnish me much of the solace and comfort of the remainder of my days. And of all these friendships I shall feel that yours is ever near at hand.

Perhaps you will observe that I am not in first rate letter writing mood to-night. I don't know why.

Our party are pretty well, but my opinion is that McClenahan is in the best physical condition of the three. The Doctor has had a dreadful cold for a week or more and I—weal you know I am very subject to ups and downs in these days.

Both the Doctor and the Professor have received the cards you sent them displaying catches of fish which after consultation we have determined we ought not to try to match, though there is a fish house near by.

I hope you are enjoying your trip as much as is possible under the circumstances and that you will read this letter sometime—

27. CLEVELAND TO WEST

July 10, 1906

My dear Professor West

As I leave for the summer to-day, I desire to put under your direction the work going on in the rear of my home lot and on the lot opposite. I want no more done by Mr. Foley the mason. I want Mr. Rousseau to give his first attention except as to filling vault to the work on the new lot, and before all things else to the grading etc. about the barn and coachman's house so that they, especially the barn, can be used. I would like to have the old lanes torn up graded and sown and the new lane completed; but I feel like conditioning this upon better progress and less expense. The fence around the new lot must be completed and good strong posts put in at entrance of lane. With what I have said I must [illegible] to your discretion.

I will try and write to Mr. Stillwell and implore him to move in his part of the work.

Mr. Stryker should also be pleased with; but I doubt if I will have time to do so.

This I intend as an authorization to give directions as to the work or oversee the same on my behalf.

Yours truly
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof Andrew F. West
Princeton

96 97

42 Cleveland wrote E. C. Benedict on March 7, 1906, from Princeton. "My plans are all perfected for a Florida trip; and if nothing intervenes to prevent it, we shall start on Friday afternoon, with the intention of remaining about four weeks among the surroundings in which you spent your sixty-ninth birthday. Dr. Bryant and one of our young professors who needs the change will reinforce me in making up the party."

Thus his sixty-ninth birthday—March 18—occurred while he was in Florida. He certainly did not anticipate the spontaneous flow of letters of congratulation which reached him there. Benedict wrote of the joys of being seventy. "I am on velvet, as the gamblers say... Your value as an antique has increased, and bums of veneration come to your support on every hand and head." Woodrow Wilson said in his letter: "It has been one of the best circumstances of my life that I have been closely associated with you in matters both large and small. It has given me strength and knowledge of affairs." Andrew Carnegie's letter was accompanied with his usual gift of Scotch whiskey made from the same vats which supplied the British royal family. S. L. Clemens wrote: "Your patriotic virtues have won for you the homage of half the nation and the enmity of the other half. This places your character as a citizen upon a summit as high as Washington."

Richard Watson Gilder suggested to Dr. Bryant that Cleveland in his replies use some kind of form letter which he might sign. But in the end he insisted upon acknowledging all the letters with his own hand.

43 Professor Howard McClenahan.
44 Dr. Joseph D. Bryant.
45 Mr. Cleveland was apparently having the stable and the coachman's house behind it (both at the rear of the "home lot") reconditioned for use again. The "lot opposite" would seem to be the one carved out of the orchard upon which Cleveland built the house in which Dean West was then living.
46 Possibly S. H. Stillwell, Contractor and Builder, Chambers Street.
47 Possibly A. Stryker, Gas Fitting and Plumbing, 10 John Street.
Dear Professor

Your letter came while I was temporarily from home, and I only read it last night. I enclose you my check for $62.18 to pay Mrs. Creasy's bill of 3.41 and $5.95 to reimburse you the money paid Rousseau for his last week's work. Will you please have him discontinue (as soon as this letter reaches you) all work about the place except completing the fence around the new lot and tightening it, and repairing in a substantial and effective manner the bank on the Bayard Lane side of your house. The work on the fence must include of course two strong, firmly set, decent look[ing] posts at the entrance to the lane from the road. And I want your bank fixed, so that there need be no more trouble on that score. I have determined to discontinue all work except that expressly mentioned, because the bills for the same are larger than I can afford to pay.

I also endorse you a separate check to your order for $5.18 for horse stalling at Merwick as by accompanying statement.

I hereby distinctly approve and confirm all acts and things thus far done and performed as Commissioner of Works, and desire to place on record my grateful appreciation of your faithful and patriotic devotion to official duty.

We are all well and we all send our love to you.

Of course the discontinuance of work I have mentioned, only refers to that immediately under Rousseau's superintendence.

Yours faithfully

GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof. Andrew F. West
Princeton
N. J.

29. CLEVELAND TO WEST

Tamworth N. H. Aug 5, 1906

Dear Professor

All sorts of things have intervened—some by force and some through weak toleration—to postpone until now a reply to your exceedingly entertaining and reassuring letter. And before writ-
desire to keep Alma\textsuperscript{48} with you, I am confident we can take care of her without trouble.

I wish you'd "put your head" on this subject and let me know what is evolved.

Yours faithfully
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof A. F. West
Hatley\textsuperscript{49} Quebec

30. CLEVELAND TO WEST
Tamworth N. H. Aug 27, 1906

My dear Professor

We were all delighted to learn that you and Randolph will be with us on the 8\textsuperscript{th} instant. We have that date in mind as we have Christmas or any other gladly anticipated holiday.

If possible I wish you could notify us in advance as nearly as you can of the hour you will arrive at West Ossipee or wherever else you expect to leave your route of public travel hitherwards.

Mrs Cleveland has gone to stay with Mr and Mrs Finley for a White Mountain tramp with Rev Dr Richards. McClenahan went two or three days ago with his wife to spend Sunday with Dr Brackett at Wolfeboro on the Winnipesaukee. His wife returned alone to day bringing with her 2 four pound black bass of Macks catching, and also bringing the news that he was sick with overeating.

I have been repeating here the same disturbing tearing up etc that engaged my activities in Princeton just before I left there, and I am just now in the height of my enjoyment of the desolation and ruin I have made. My previous performances in that line were only a preliminary flourish to the real work I now have in hand.

A postal card from Randolph informed us of your successful encounter with a 5 pound muscalonge. I think you may make a fisherman yet; but the best way to become really proficient is to fish as often as you can with a "master hand."

We are all well and, present or absent, according to a rule of the house send you and Randolph lots of love.

\textsuperscript{48} I cannot identify Alma. Is she, perhaps, a maid or housekeeper?
\textsuperscript{49} Twenty miles above the New Hampshire border, North Hatley was then much visited in summer.

Hoping nothing will interfere with your promised visit to us and that we may soon hear the details of your travel here, I am—

Faithfully Yours
GROVER CLEVELAND

Prof A. F. West
North Hatley
Quebec

31. WEST TO MRS. CLEVELAND

Dear Mrs. Cleveland—

I enclose a copy of the minute adopted by the Faculty. The official copy will come to you later.

Ever yours
ANDREW F. WEST

Wednesday
November 18 1908

At a session of the University Faculty held in Nassau Hall on November 16th the following minute was read and ordered placed on record.

The Faculty of Princeton University places on record the expression of its sorrow for the great loss sustained by our nation and especially by our university through the death of Ex-President Grover Cleveland.

In the closing year of his Presidency he visited Princeton and delivered the chief address at the Sesquicentennial Celebration, and on retiring from the Presidency made Princeton his home. For eight years he held the Lectureship on Public Affairs founded in his honor, for nearly seven years he held the office of Trustee and for the last four years he was Chairman of the Committee on the Graduate School.

The elemental strength, simplicity and dignity of his character have exerted a pervasive and powerful influence here. His constant concern for the inner worth rather than the outer show of our academic life appeared in his advocacy of measures of lasting value which have already gone into effect with the promise of complete accomplishment.

His death and burial in Princeton have committed his memory to our keeping and have also served to emphasize the fact that
our greatest loss is in the withdrawal of his unobtrusive and beneficent personal presence. He was a true American, a man of the people and an exponent of the common human virtues in a measure of extraordinary power. To see him was to realize what a man might become, without adventitious aid, by relying on sturdy honesty, commanding intelligence, fearless independence and a quiet faith in God.

Nassau Hall
November 1908

"Democritus Junior," alias Robert Burton

BY NICHOLAS DEWEY

Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy has always appealed to the bibliophile and collector. Five folio editions, each "corrected and augmented by the Author," succeeded the publication in 1621 of the original stubby quarto. The revisions and additions that characterize these early imprints, scarce as they are now, make it desirable for the enthusiast to have access to all of them. The Library of Princeton University is one of the very few in the United States where a complete collection of Burtoniana may be consulted.

The general reader will find ample diversion in but a single copy. Praised by one modern critic as the "most comprehensive survey of human life in one book that English literature had seen since Chaucer," Burton's Anatomy makes excellent browsing, the ideal companion on a desert island. Although crammed with authoritative citations and out-dated lore, it has survived the vagaries of taste where so many of its contemporaries are now forgotten. We can still enjoy Burton for his witty yet sympathetic analysis of man's foibles and weaknesses, and for the variety of topics with which he seeks to entertain and instruct the would-be melancholic.

The presence of these riches is belied by the rather depressing title which he chose for his treatise. In naming the work an "anatomy," Burton claimed "honourable precedents" in the literary genre that derived its method of systematic dissection from the discoveries of Andreas Vesalius, set forth in his De humani corporis fabrica (1543). The structure of Burton's Anatomy also fol-


4 Burton cited Anthony Zara, "his Anatomy of Wit"; also, in a note, "Anatomy of Popery, Anatomy of Immortality, Angelus Salus' Anatomy of Antimony, etc."
followed a medical tradition of the time. The divisions enumerated as the “Kinds, causes, symptoms, prognostickes, and severall cures” of the disease were commonly to be found in Medieval and Renaissance works of physic. To these formal sections, each rambling and digressing into subjects beyond the scope of medicine, Burton added lengthy discussions of “Love Melancholy” and “Religious Melancholy”—the latter being an original and “distinct species” of the illness without authority among earlier writers (III, 311).

The front matter of the *Anatomy*, which became more varied and entertaining from one edition to the next, contains prefatory verses in both Latin and English, an engraved frontispiece (including a depiction of Burton himself as “Democritus Junior”), and an introductory essay separately titled, “Democritus Junior to the Reader” (I, 15-123): a “Satyrical Preface,” Burton described it, “Conducing to the following Discourse.” Precisely how it “conduces” to the bulk of medical writing that follows is not always clear. The reader is assured that the work came to be written for his particular benefit and out of the author’s personal experience: “I would help others out of a fellow-feeling,” the promise runs; “I will spend my time and knowledge, which are my greatest fortunes, for the common good of all” (I, 22).

Yet the comforting ministrations of the healer and the consolatory advice of the priest are mingled throughout with the stinging barbs of the social critic. It is just such a mixture that has given to Burton’s *Anatomy* its enduring interest; but it has also caused confusion as to what purpose the book was written and by “whom”: Robert Burton (1577-1640), Oxford don and divine of the Church of England, a physician “by inclination”; or his literary persona, the pseudonymous Democritus Junior, whose mocking voice is heard so persistently in the opening pages and again

in the substantial “Digression of the Misery of Scholars” (I, 300-330).

These seemingly contradictory attitudes of sympathy and scorn are chiefly resolved through Burton’s conception of the disease itself. On the one hand an affliction of the individual, calling for long-accepted remedies both medicinal and spiritual, melancholy was also viewed by the anatomist as a malady of universal prevalence, affecting whole “kingdoms and provinces . . . cities and families, all creatures, vegetal, sensible, and rational . . .” It had come to be associated, furthermore, with the wider corruption and sinful conduct of an irrational humanity: “Folly, melancholy, madness, are but one disease, delirium is a common name to all” (I, 39). Such generalized strictures of mankind at large he penned in the vein of Erasmus and Baistuau, Christian satirists who ridiculed the stupidity of a fallen world.

Burton’s satire was frequently more pointed, his exasperation at the iniquitous state of Jacobean England very often outspoken. Well aware of the moral, political, and academic problems of his day, he castigated in the name of a second Democritus all those whom he found responsible for the folly of the age:

> Never so much cause of laughter as now, never so many fools and madmen. ‘Tis not one Democritus will serve turn to laugh in these days; we have now need of a “Democritus to laugh at Democritus”; one jester to flout at another; one fool to leer at another: a great stentorian Democritus . . . (I, 52).7

It was this very need that Burton himself purported to fill, boldly placing the name of Democritus Junior on the title page of each successive edition of The Anatomy of Melancholy. His pattern thereafter, in the opening pages of “Democritus Junior to the Reader,” followed the *exordium* of classical rhetoric, with its purposeful attempt by the author to ingratiate himself with possibly hostile critics.

This recourse to a borrowed identity, his exploiting the fame

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7 Burton borrowed this idea from the *Moriae Encomium* of Erasmus (1511), but it was an ancient tradition of satire that the present age always demanded the ridicule of Democritus to set it right. As a cure for melancholy Democritus’s laughter was likewise invoked, as two contemporary works in Burton’s own library suggest: the anonymous *Tyros Roriring Megge. Planted against the Walls of Melancholy* (1598); and Samuel Rowlands, *Democritus, or Doctor Merry Man, His Medicine against Melancholy Humours* (1607).
of an established figure in antiquity in order to deflect prejudice against himself, the real Burton, was no remarkable manoeuvre: the popularity of the persona in Roman satire had given it a recognized place in English literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nor was Democritus an especially original prototype. It had been “always an ordinary custom” to write under his guise, Burton admitted (I, 15), since his standing as a philosopher gave authority to the utterances of weaker minds. Not surprisingly, then, we discover in the first few paragraphs of the Anatomy an avowal that no more than the name of Democritus was being put to use, and that any implied comparison would be “both impudence and arrogancy” (I, 17).8

The evidence in the work itself would alone be sufficient to throw doubt on Burton’s sincerity; biographical facts further support the view that his “usurping the habit” of Democritus was no mere literary convention. But what were his motives in allowing a fictitious personality to assume the whole burden of authorship, to overshadow Robert Burton for nearly twenty years of his life? This paper may help to provide an answer. It also suggests how the priest-physician’s attachment to his public personality was such that posterity came to believe in the legends initiated by Democritus Junior about himself, and eventually to make out of them a caricature that was damaging to the reputation of both the man and his book.

It was Robert Burton who first confounded the issue. Although he never tried to disguise his authorship, the passages of distinct and revealing autobiography that occur in The Anatomy of Melancholy are so few and so dull that they are overwhelmed by the colorful character of Democritus Junior, who asserts himself from the very beginning.9 Democritus of Abdera, the renowned Greek atomist of the fourth century, B.C., is made the author’s model. Burton’s knowledge of that eccentric genius derived chiefly from a supposed work of Hippocrates—a series of Epistles, notably that addressed to Damagetus—and from the writings of Diogenes Laer-

8 “I do not presume to make any parallel,” Burton added unconvincingly (I, 17).

9 Most critics have been satisfied with what little Burton has to say about himself in the Anatomy, while others unwittingly accept the Democritus persona as a substitute. “Objective biographical details are superfluous” for an understanding of the work, claim J. W. H. Hobel and H. H. Hudson, Prose of the English Renaissance (New York, 1958), p. 897.

tius.10 Out of this material he wrought his own portrayal of the elder Democritus, adhering to the broad typology of temperament and mental disposition then fashionable in the Theophrastan “characters” composed by his Oxford contemporary, John Earle, and by Joseph Hall and Thomas Overbury.11

Immediately following this passage comes Burton’s depiction of himself, his much-quoted apologia pro vita sua, with its curious mingling of Democritan traits and Burtonian facts (I, 17-19). We learn of the exact number of years that he has had the use of Oxford’s libraries and are apprised of his membership in the collegiate society of Christ Church; at the same time we must believe his self-effacing remarks about leading a “silent, sedentary, solitary, private life . . . penned up most part in my study” (I, 17). His most plausible argument for being the just successor of the old Abderite is that Democritus had written an incomplete work on the subject of melancholy and madness: “Democritus Junior is therefore bold to imitate, and because he left it unperfect, and it is now lost, quasi succenturiator Democriti, to revive again, prosecute, and finish in this treatise” (I, 20). In other respects the similarity between the two portraits of the original Democritus and his younger counterpart is too close to be taken on trust. Both men laugh and scoff at the world, withdrawn from its troubles and “averse from company”; both are learned and omnivorous in their studies, sharing the expertise of the divine, doctor and mathematician; above all they suffer together the fate of the Saturnine melancholic (I, 16-20). There is little to distinguish them.

In thus establishing the verisimilitude of his persona, Burton must have had more profound reasons for shrouding himself in the garment of Democritus than that of the satirist’s accustomed search for license of expression. It was his confessed desire to “assume a little more liberty and freedom of speech” than would

10 Burton acknowledges his sources in a series of notes (I, 16 and 451). These are briefly discussed by Lawrence Babb, Sanity in Bedlam (East Lansing, Mich., 1959), pp. 32-37. This paper takes issue with Babb’s conclusion that the assumed role “is by no means foreign to Burton’s actual personality” (p. 37).

11 The nature of this early form of English biography is most succinctly described in the introduction to David Nichol Smith, Characters from the Histories and Memoirs of the Seventeenth Century (Oxford, 1936). See also the early chapters of Benjamin Boyce, The Theophrastan Character in England to 1628 (Cambridge, Mass., 1947). Earle’s depiction of the melancholy type in his Micro-cosmographie (1628) is certainly indebted to the Anatomy.
have been afforded him in his own person (I, 19), but this stance becomes more insistently defensive as Burton shifts the responsibility for The Anatomy of Melancholy off his own shoulders:

'Tis not I, but Democritus, Democritus dixit: you must consider what it is to speak in one's own or another's person, an assumed habit and name—a difference between him that affects or acts a prince's, a philosopher's, a magistrate's, a fool's part, and him that is so indeed—... (I, 121).

Burton's position is only partially explained by the dark hint that "there be some other circumstances for which I have masked myself under this wizard, and some peculiar respects which I cannot so well express" (I, 16), but we are made aware that Democritus Junior had become a necessary agent for defending the popularity of the Anatomy against the "scurril obloquies, flouts, calumnies of railers and detractors" who "scornfully rejected" the work (I, 29-30); and also for justifying (as Erasmus had had to do before him), the employment by a priest of so sharp a pen (I, 121). If Robert Burton himself could not shun defiance at those who had vilified him for being "too phantastic, too light and comical for a divine, too satirical for one of my profession," then "cavil thou wilt," he declared: "I ward all with Democritus' buckler... strike where thou wilt, and when: Democritus dixit, Democritus will answer it" (I, 121-122).

We may never know what particular threats existed to compromise his freedom or to force him to withdraw into the shadows of his own book. His urgent appeal in the opening lines of "Democritus Junior to the Reader," "Seek not after that which is hid;... I would not willingly be known" (I, 15), does suggest, however, that in the narrow ecclesiastical atmosphere of Oxford, where his treatise was published with authority, there were indeed "circumstances" and "respects" compelling him not to write in propria persona. The conclusion that must be drawn is that Burton, foreseeing harassment and discomfiture at the hands of potential objectors (and the subsequent threat to his career as a college tutor and minister of God), chose to mask himself as a legendary

eminence whose withdrawn habits and studious propensities would make the author of the Anatomy appear to the world as an innocent. Relying upon the art of self-deprecation—"parvis sum, nullus sum, altum nec spiro, nec spero" (I, 17)—he sought to dissolve suspicion and antagonism by setting himself up as the "little wearish old man" who was moved to mend the abuses and follies of mankind: Democritus of Abdera reborn.

Burton was capable of enjoying this predicament. He certainly made the best of it, devising novel ways of blending his self-characterization into the texture of the Anatomy, both in "Democritus Junior to the Reader" and in later Sections also. One such device was to exploit the imagery of the stage, whose conventions he knew well as the author of two successful Latin comedies. Few writers of the Renaissance have made such varied use of the theatrum mundi metaphor, with its analogies between the world and the play, man and the player, and so on. Burton's confident handling of this figure—he was indebted to many of the same sources that informed Shakespeare's "All the world's a stage"—devolves upon Democritus Junior, who is assigned the appropriate rôle of laughing observer of the human comedy, a "mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts" (I, 18).

Not as "an auditor only," was he made to participate in life's drama (II, 121), but as a performer too, exposed in turn to the critical judgments of Burton's own audience: "Gentle reader," begins The Anatomy of Melancholy, "I presume thou wilt be very inquisitive to know what antic or personate actor this is, that so insolently intrudes upon his common theatre to the world's view, arrogating another man's name" (I, 15). To these functions Democritus Junior attached a third: the directorship of the whole "performance," through which he could select and control the

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12 Dr. Johnson, in his final Rambler essay, sums up the tradition to which Burton was appealing: "A Mask" says Casiglione, "confers a right of acting and speaking with less restraint, even when the wearer happens to be known." (Rambler No. 208, Saturday March 14, 1754, in Works, VI [1824], p. 398).
13 Again Burton cites from the Moriae Encomium (I, 464, note).
shifts of scene and changes of costume that, figuratively, closed the
gap between the obvious artifice of the drama and the monstrous
realities of his own world, otherwise hidden from men by their
own blindness:

Give me but a little leave, and I will set before your eyes in
brief a stupend, vast, infinite ocean of incredible madness and
folly: ... unspeakable misery, such comedies and tragedies,
such absurd and ridiculous, feral and lamentable fits, that I
know not whether they are more to be pitted or derided (III,
318).

The equivocation suggested in this passage, the uncertainty
whether mankind deserved derision or pity, opened fresh possi-
bilities in the resemblance of life to a tragi-comedy; but for
Burton's artful pose as the non-author of the Anatomy it was more
expedient that he should reconcile the pagan philosopher with the
Christian moralist, himself, and so dispel some of the bitterness
associated with the scornful laughter of the traditional Democritus.
This he was able to effect through a ready-made paradox,
attractive to his own peculiar vein of thinking.

The popular conception of Democritus as the laughing philoso-
pher who found an antidote to melancholy in cutting up the
world was by no means the only one; contrasted as he so often
was with the weeping Heraclitus—Burton stresses this opposition
of temperament more than once—the Abderite assumed in the
course of time certain of his counterpart's distinctive qualities and
thus emerged in Renaissance painting and literature as a Chris-
tianized philosopher, frequently identified with the figure of Christ
himself, mocking mortality yet sorrowing for its folly. Burton
was well acquainted with this late tradition through the writings
of Montaigne and Erasmus and especially through a work which
was twice represented in his own library, Le Démocrite Chrétien
of Pierre de Besse (1615).

In adopting what he called a "mixed passion" in his judgment
of men and affairs—contrary emotions expressing a single grief—
Burton again drew attention to the ambiguous nature of melan-
choly itself. At the same time, dressed in this variant costume, he
could humble himself before those who might object to the levity
of Democritus Ridens, denying the while that he had ever intended
to pen a "pasquill, a satire, some ridiculous treatise" (I, 15). It is
noteworthy, moreover, that this defensive posture was less char-
acteristic of the first edition of The Anatomy of Melancholy than
it was of later impressions. In the quarto of 1621 he had included,
under his own signature, an "Apologetical Appendix" whose
ostensible purpose was "to crave pardon for that which is amis." The
apologies, and perhaps even the sense of guilt, did not dis-
appear in the revised format of 1642 and thereafter, but they then
bespoke the afflicted conscience of his book personality, not of
Robert Burton in persona auctoris.

What this might tell us about the initial reception of his
Anatomy is early hinted: at its first publishing, he commented,
"people opened their eyes, and began eagerly to pick holes in it"
(I, 25). Such was the fortune of Democritus. But if this were not
reason enough for Burton to rely increasingly upon the "modesty
and simplicity" of his public self, then there may be another
explanation for the melting together of fiction and reality. This
concerns Burton's failure to obtain advancement in the world.

It is known that he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of
Christ Church to a living in the western suburbs of Oxford in
1616 (when just short of his fortieth birthday), and that subse-
sequently he was incumbent of two country parishes as well. With
these inadequate rewards for his talents he seems ultimately to
have been satisfied, reconciling himself thus to temporal disap-
pointment and to his own lack of ambition:

Greater preferment as I could never get, so I am not in debt
for it, I have a competency (laus Deo) from my noble and
munificent patrons, though I live still a collegiate student, as

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17 The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), Sig. Ddd v ("The Conclusion of the
Author to the Reader").
18 The alterations made by Burton after the publication of the 1621 quarto can
be studied in Robert G. Hallwachs, "Additions and Revisions in the Second Edition
of Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy" (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis: Princeton
University, 1944).
19 See Andrew Clark, ed., Survey of the Antiquities of the City of Oxford, compiled
in 1661-6 by Anthony Wood (Oxford, 1899), III, 282; The Anatomy of Melancholy,
I, 18; II, 64 and 273 (note); II, 68 and 274 (note); and II, 189 and 297 (note).
Democritus in his garden, and lead a monastic life, *ipse mihi theatrum*, sequestered from those tumults and troubles of the world . . . (I, 18).

Now sheltered and withdrawn, Burton appears to have been mellowed by age and experience. But to assist him in justifying his station, to sweeten the sour grapes of disappointment, he turned to Democritus, the elderly thinker, who, having spent his younger years wandering in search of knowledge, became “addicted to his studies at the last, and to a private life” (I, 16).

In the first two editions of the *Anatomy*, on the other hand, we find Burton far less willing to adjust his circumstances to those of the old Aberdite; more honest, too, about his own inadequacies and the currents that flowed against him. In 1621 the above passage was rendered rather differently:

Preferment I could never get, although my friends provide[,] care, alacrity and bounty was never wanting to doe me good, yet either through mine owne default, infelicity, want or neglect of opportunity, or iniquity of times, prepos- terous proceeding, mine hopes were still frustrate, and I left behind, as a Dolphin on shore, confined to my Collledge, as Diogenes to his tubbe.²⁰

Unquestionably the victim of that melancholic situation characteristic of the early Stuart age—“there being more scholars bred than the state can prefer and employ,” as Bacon expressed it in a letter to King James—²¹ he did finally compromise by elevating his literary existence at the expense of the other, and by seeking in the career of the anatomist of melancholy the success and esteem denied to him as Robert Burton: “I had as lief be still Democritus Junior, and . . . [an obscure individual, if I had the choice, than a doctor of divinity or a bishop]” (I, 314).²²

With the completion of a fourth edition of the *Anatomy* (1632), the functional role of Democritus Junior had been fully developed, having already become responsible in no small way for the unusual popularity of the work. With the scorn came the admiration: “the first, second, and third editions were suddenly gone, eagerly read . . .” (I, 29). The self-aggrandizement of Democritus Junior was finally justified; the worldly ambitions of Robert Burton, now fifty-five years of age, made quiescent at last by the acceptance of mediocre fortunes. It may not astonish us that he should have bowed in his lifetime to his own fictional creation. “He wrote an excellent book,” recorded his contemporary, Thomas Fuller, “(Commonly called ‘Democritus Junior’).”²³

That Burton has been little remembered in his own person is owing chiefly to the calculated concealment of his outer existence, while the almost total dearth of recorded facts in letters or diaries and memoirs of the day has abetted our present ignorance. Were it not for the disruption of Oxford life during the Civil War (the years immediately following Burton’s death), there might have been handed down some valuable papers or records that would sustain the writing of the anatomist’s story. Nothing of this nature is known to have survived, however. Only from the background events of his routine existence as don and divine is it possible to patch together a loosely connected narrative—but one that would at least deny any close correlation between author and persona.²⁴

There is evidence enough besides to refute Horace Walpole’s generalization that the “deep or extensive learning of a man of letters, is but a barren field for biography.”²⁵ The forty and more years of Burton’s Oxford career were certainly not without incident. He was among those who welcomed King James I to the University with literary oblations and who witnessed the royal visit to the new Bodleian Library in 1605 (II, 91); he must have been present twenty years later when the Parliament assembled in Christ Church to avoid the plague raging in London; and in 1636 he was still alive to help dispense the hospitality of his College at

²⁰ The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621); “Democritus Junior to the Reader,” p. 4. “I was once so mad to bustle abroad, and seek about for preferment, tire myself, and trouble all my friends,” he acknowledged later (II, 189).
²² Trans. ed.
²⁴ The deliberately oblique or even antithetical relationship of the satirist to his literary mouthpiece—too often forgotten by those who would identify Burton with Democritus Junior—has been insisted upon by Maynard Mack, in “The Muse of Satire,” Yale Review, XLI (1951-52), p. 84.
the visitation of Charles I. He lived in momentous times but in the Anatomy reacted as if it were a leaden age through which he was passing, full of deceit and calumny. Very rarely did he descend from the general to the particular, and only the scattered names of colleagues and pupils are there to remind us that occasionally he skirted the periphery of national life. Claiming the "intimate friendship" of certain "prominent military men, clergymen, and nobles" (I, 29), he had nothing more to say about them since they never recognized his worth and capability with practical tributes.

The details of Burton's active and responsible life as tutor and librarian of his college, Christ Church, and as minister of the Church of England can nonetheless be conjectured. If to these commitments we add his varied interests in science and medicine, astrology and surveying, geography and mathematics, and the collecting and reading of books; his duties (on three occasions) as Clerk of the Oxford Market, as landowner and scrupulous benefactor of institutions; and his loyal adherence to a large family of brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews;20 then it can safely be inferred that the Democritean pattern of life and character depicted in The Anatomy of Melancholy is at variance with the truth about Robert Burton.

Such an inventory also serves as a reminder that the writing of his great omnium gatherum was not the whole of his life—a widely held misconception actually denied by what Burton had to say about his circumscribed conditions (I, 30-31 and 122). Esteemed as he undoubtedly was for his scholarship and erudition, the popular picture of the anatomist "penned up most part in my study," forever revising and correcting his proofs while buried in a "confused company of notes," does not stand up to the facts.

Yet it was precisely this distorted image of the author that Burton not only grew to like but sought to encourage. It has even been suggested that he "went so far as to reproduce the old philosopher's oddities of conduct" in his own habits of living.27 Be that as it may, there is unequivocal evidence that in the final parting from his readers, he deliberately chose to identify his working life as well as his death with the character to whom he had given being

20 The sources from which these biographical details may be gleaned are too many and various to be cited here. The writer of this paper is completing a Life of Burton which will provide the positive evidence necessary for the final diminution of Democritus Junior.
and whose rôle he, Robert Burton, had played most successfully in the creation of his fabled treatise on melancholy.

To commemorate Burton's death in Oxford on January 25, 1640, his brother William, the Leicestershire antiquary, caused to be raised in the north aisle of Christ Church cathedral a "comely monument." Inset within a niche can still be seen the colorfully painted effigy of the beloved Robert, correctly garbed in the pleated sleeves and narrow ruff of the cleric, staring fiercely down as if to guard the paradox sealed forever within the lines engraved beneath him:

Pauca notus. Paucrioribus Ignovs
Hic Iacet
Democritus Invius
Cui Vitam dedit et Mortem
Melancholia

Undoubtedly "an inscription made by himself," it evokes in the seasoned reader of the Anatomy a recognizable playfulness and teasing ambiguity. But what purpose had Burton, himself ordained to the "holy Office of Priesthood," to mock his own interment within the sacred precincts of Christ Church, the chapel of "the most flourishing college of Europe," where he had lived as a worthy member for nearly half a century? (I, 17). Man "steed as it were a shadow," he must have pronounced at many a graveside, "and never continueth in one stay."

The enigma is only partially unraveled in the Christian theme of human mutability. If Burton could so trust his assumed personality as to give it permanence in stone, then the jest was less in self-criticism than in provocation: around him were buried canons and bishops and deans, officials of the Church from which he had received little advancement. As Robert Burton, "known to few," he could yet retaliate as the deceased Democritus Junior, "unknown to fewer," the author of a popular book. Whether it was Melancholia, the disease of which he complained in the Anatomy, that "give him life and death," or whether it was the work

28 "Known to few, unknown to fewer, here lies Democritus Junior, to whom melancholy gave life and death." The monument is very well reproduced in the frontispiece to Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, and Fritz Saxl, Saturn and Melancholy (New York, 1954).
itself (Burton’s *Melancholy*, as it was known in his own time), that sustained and then destroyed him, this problem admits no exact solution. It was just the way Burton intended it. And with equal success his paradoxical epitaph has helped to perpetuate a fanciful legend—created on the title-page of his first edition and still flourishing.

Under the protective guise of Democritus Junior, berating the world for its absurdities and contradictions, the anatomist of melancholy has best survived in the affections of the reader: “I am not rich . . . I have little. I want nothing: all my treasure is in Minerva’s tower . . . I hear and see what is done abroad, how others run, ride, turmoil, and maceate themselves in court and country . . . I laugh at all!” (I, 18). Variations and elaborations of this character comprise the mythology that today substitutes for an account of Burton’s life. Imagined traits have been engrafted upon it, petty details magnified, and anecdotes of doubtful provenance allowed to circulate for centuries without scrutiny. A quite recent vignette of Burton asserts the durability of this apocryphal nonsense:

The grim solitary of Christ Church spent his whole life reading and observing, without responsibility, without desire for action or advancement, without any other thought but to cure himself of his melancholy.  

It would be impossible to trace the birth and development of all the prevailing misconceptions about the author of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, but we shall try to strip some of these legends of their ancient authority and to show them for what they are: the residual lees of antiquarian gossip. The climate of fabrication originated with the brief notice which appeared in Anthony a Wood’s *Athenae Oxonienses* (1691/92), already cited. Wood, born in 1632, could very well have met and talked with some of Burton’s younger contemporaries in Oxford; but he seems to have been more concerned, as he so often was in his writing of biography, to record incidental trifles. Like Fuller before him, he had shown an early interest in the horoscope or “nativity” that Burton had caused to be placed at one side of his memorial bust in Christ Church cathedral.  

From the anatomist’s astrological predictions as to the time of his passing, Wood drew the malicious inference (confirmed for him in the gleamings of the credulous John Aubrey) that . . . the said R. Burton paid his last debt to nature, in his chamber in Ch. Ch. at, or very near that time, which he had some years before foretold from the calculation of his own nativity. Which being exact, several of the students did not forbear to whisper among themselves, that rather than there should be a mistake in the calculation, he sent up his soul to heaven thro’ a slip about his neck.

This piece of titillating, coming from a high churchman who bore little regard for those of different persuasions within the Anglican communion, does seem to mock the balanced yet largely sympathetic discussion in the *Anatomy* on the lawfulness of self-violence, to which melancholics were of course predisposed. Burton’s concluding words on the subject tend not only to deny the Augustinian and Thomist doctrines condemning suicide but also to touch upon something more deeply personal: “We ought not to be so rash and rigorous in our censures as some are; charity will judge and hope the best; God be merciful unto us all!” (I, 439). Democritus Junior, to whom (if we thus choose to read his epitaph), “melancholy gave life and death,” might well be blamed, then, for the rumors that went unquestioned for nearly a hundred years. More reliable testimony, however, points conclusively to Burton’s death from natural causes.

The horoscope is also delineated, in Burton’s own hand, in a copy of an astronomical work by Polyjeny (bequeathed to the Bodleian Library). It is reproduced as the frontispiece in *Oxford Bibliographical Society Proceedings and Papers*, I, Part III (1905).

Appendix to a “scheme of the nativity of Democritus Junior on his monument at Christ Church in Oxford: the writt the Melancholy” is an undated memorandum in Aubrey’s hand to the effect that Burton, “non oblivite all his Astrologie and his booke of Melancholie, . . . ended his days . . . by hanging him selfe” (cited from Bodleian MS. Aubrey, fol. 92, in Andrew Clark, ed., *Brief Lives* [Oxford, 1898], 1, 150).

*Athenae Oxonienses*, loc. cit. Wood’s story also needs to be read in the light of a growing controversy over self-destruction, which coincided, between the years, 1650 and 1660, with a markedly increased incidence of the illory.
Many of the facts in Wood’s “character” can be verified. Other features are plainly reflections of Democritus Junior: that he was accounted a “melancholy and humorous person”; unsurpassed for “interlarding his common discourses . . . with verses from the poets or sentences from classical authors”; his company, besides, “very merry, facetious and juvenile.” Much of this is only harmless hearsay and likely enough was accepted uncritically at the time.77

A Whig bishop of the early eighteenth century, Dr. White Kennett, provided some embellishments, noting that, “In an Individual of Vapours he [Burton] would be extremely pleasant, and raise Laughter in any Company . . . .” Of the suicidal tendencies Kennett had his own explanation to offer: “. . . in his College and Chamber so mute and moody that he was suspected of Felo de se.”78 Then, to compound this rather inconsistent portrayal, he distorted the anatomist’s confession, “I write of melancholy, by being busy to avoid melancholy” (I, 20), with the opinion that the author “laboured long in the Writing of this Book to suppress his own Melancholy, and yet did but improve it”—another possible echo of Democritus Junior’s epitaph.79

The most familiar portion of Kennett’s fragmentary recollection is the tale of Burton and the barges:

Yet I have heard that nothing at last could make him laugh, but going down to the Bridge-foot in Oxford, and hearing the Barge-men scold and storm and swear at one another, at which he would set his Hands to his Sides, and laugh most profusely . . . .80

The intricate backwaters of Isis and Cherwell provided in those days any number of bridge crossings in and near Oxford, and it is most probable that the navigable channels in the western part of the city (where the Cotswold freestone was brought downstream to the wharves or hythe to be unloaded) were swarming with loose-tongued watermen, many of whom would have been Burton’s own parishioners. Thomas Warton and Matthew Arnold enjoyed these scenes in later eras of Oxford’s history. Is it especially remarkable

Chancellor of the University, provide more than sufficient evidence that Burton did not transgress the law by taking his own life.81

Athenae Oxonienses, loc. cit.


Ibid.

Ibid.

that Burton should have done so?82 If regarded as a characteristic example of Democritian eccentricity, this anecdote is best dismissed altogether: its resemblance to the narrative borrowed by Burton from Hippocrates and Juvenal is too exact for credibility: “. . . saving that sometimes he [Democritus] would walk down to the haven, and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects, which there he saw” (I, 16).

The foibles of a recluse, “sequestered from those tumults and troubles of the world” (I, 18), are among the most compelling qualities of Burtonian self-portraiture; they lend weight to the supposition that his life was spent among books, locked away in an ivory tower. Only thus can his learning be accounted for, and the lack of acquaintance with the world which inevitably accompanied it:

The earl of Southampton went into a shop and inquired of the bookseller for Burton’s “Anatomy of Melancholy”. Mr. Burton sate in a corner of the shop at that time. Says the bookseller, my lord, if you please, I can shew you the author. He did so. Mr. Burton, says the earl, Your servant, Mr. Southampton, says Mr. Burton, your servant, and away he went.83

This story of Burton, the gauche bookworm and absent-minded scholar, is to be found among the antiquarian jottings of Thomas Hearne, one time Under-Keeper of the Bodleian Library, who entered it in his diary for August 2, 1713. Attractive as it may sound to adherents of the mythical Democritus Junior of The Anatomy of Melancholy, it is clearly a fiction in the form in which it is told: the great Henry Wriothesley, third Earl of Southampton, although a lover of good literature, could scarcely have excised himself from political difficulties at that time in order to be dallying in an Oxford shop. His heir, Thomas, on the other hand, matriculated at Magdalen College only a few weeks before succeeding to the title on his father’s death (November 10, 1624), and was probably searching for a copy of Burton’s second edition when he bumped into the author. The “Mr. Southampton” bespeaks the lack of deference traditionally shown toward younger nobility by Oxford dons (in contrast with the snobbish solicita-
tristic essays on Burton that flooded the fortnightlies and other genteel periodicals of the age. No writer in our language has received so much attention from those who knew so little about their subject. It becomes clearer in retrospect why this tide of impressionistic criticism finally ebbed some thirty or forty years ago with the lucubrations of Middleton Murry, John Squire, Desmond MacCarthy and their like. Content with fanciful notions inherited from the past, English and American men of letters had been able to maintain their cozy misunderstanding of Burton and his Anatomy for so long only because no authoritative interpretation existed of either. Burton was simply the whimsical scholar of age-old tradition who had endeared himself to the common reader through his bedside book of wit and curious lore.

It was not until Sir William Osler insisted upon the medical interest of the work that this view began to change; it was Osler too, a great believer in what he called the "bio-bibliographical" method of studying a writer and his work, who became the first in modern times to make assiduous inquiries into the anatomist's life. Mr. Paul Jordan-Smith has since made us aware of the need for research into some of the more profound mysteries—although the less profound require investigation, too—and perhaps in the course of time the fresh and perceptive analyses that have recently enhanced our knowledge of The Anatomy of Melancholy itself will be complemented by equally valuable studies in Burtonian biography. After three hundred years it is time for Democritus Junior to give way to the likeness of Robert Burton. That the two ought not to be confused has been only suggested here; the other half of the story, the writing of Burton's life, will help us to re-evaluate one of the great works of seventeenth-century English literature.

45. Wood, Athenae Oxonienses, col. 554 ("he wanted not a tutor"); Boswell's Life (entry for October 21, 1768).
A Colonial Binding and Engraving Discovery:  
The College Ledger of 1759

BY FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT

The cornerstone of the Archives of Princeton University, office of deposit for "the manuscripts and printed materials produced by the operations of the University," is the series of minutes of the Trustees running in unbroken sequence from 1748. These precious volumes, written in manuscript before 1901, when the aid of the typewriter was first enlisted, provide the foundation upon which the history of the College of New Jersey, later Princeton University, is constructed.

Important as the Trustees' minutes are for the historian, they are of less interest to the bibliographer and book collector, for past rebindings have stripped the early volumes of their original clothes. The first minute book in a contemporary calf binding is that covering the period 1797-1829. Disappointment over the divesting of eighteenth-century bindings and the loss of early end papers can be tempered by the presence of a companion volume in contemporary covers bearing a hitherto unrecorded Colonial Philadelphia bookbinder's ticket, itself executed by an accomplished but little-known Philadelphia engraver.

The "Ledger of the Trustees of the College of New Jersey May 1st: 1759," as the title page of the calf-bound volume is labelled, is an isolated record book of the securities, income and expenditures of the corporation. No successor volume has survived from Princeton's first century. More to the point, it is the only Colonial binding on any official record of the College in the University Archives.

The acquisition of the College Ledger No. I, to call the volume by the shorter title inscribed in ink on its front cover, is set forth on the first page:

The Trustees of the College of New Jersey at their meeting in April 1759 entered into a Resolution to keep a Ledger to contain a full account of the Effects of the Corporation and

1 The first Refectory Day Book, of 1769-1830, is, like the Trustees' minute book of 1797-1829, in a late eighteenth-century styled binding.
the Growth or Decay of their Stock to commence on the 1st of May 1769 which follows in this Book.

In accordance with the resolution, the blank book was acquired in Philadelphia, perhaps by the Reverend William Tennent, Jr., the only Philadelphia member present at the Trustees' meeting in Nassau Hall on April 5, 1769. The new volume came to Princeton and in it were listed the bonds and other assets held by the Trustees together with the accounts of the College Treasurer, Jonathan Sergeant. It remained in use for more than two decades; the last entry is dated October 1, 1791.

The tersely worded ledger forms a useful appendix to the Trustees' minutes. The story of the financial development of the College in the Colonial era can be traced in its pages. Recorded are receipts of subscriptions from scattered Presbyterian congregations throughout British North America and of payments for student board, together with the disbursements for faculty salaries, for building materials and for such items as its President John Witherspoon's "Voyage to Europe." These stand beside the official record of the investments of the College for which the volume was acquired. The value of the *College Ledger* as a source of information for the history of Princeton is obvious. Less obvious has been the significance of the volume as a prime exhibit in the history of the book in America.

The physical characteristics of the *College Ledger* as a book can be stated briefly. The volume measures 15 3/16" height, 9 3/16" width. Its calf binding is blind-tooled with both binder's roll and binder's stamp. (See illustration.) The roll was used for the two-line fillets of the covers. There are three of these, the two outer fillets elaborated by a fancy scallop roll composed of dots. The inner fillet outlines another roll, 2/16" wide, with a design of two alternating stylized decorative figures. The binder's stamp has its part in the ledger's binding in the form of a corner stamp, 14/16" in depth, of a crown over parted stylized tulips.

The binding displays no gilt ornamentation and is unsophisticated in design. It is a perfectly ordinary stationer's blank book made for commercial use. Its importance lies in its identification as the work of John Dean, a contemporary Philadelphia bookbinder, whose ticket is inside the front cover, and in the ticket

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2 An entry in the *College Ledger* showing the payment to David Rittenhouse for his orrery is reproduced in Howard C. Rice, Jr., *The Rittenhouse Orrery* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1954), Plate XI.
itself, engraved on copper and signed. (See illustration.) Mid-eighteenth-century American trade cards are valuable evidence of the economic and artistic development of the Colonies; binders' tickets of the period are excessively rare.\footnote{See comments on the subject by Willman and Carol M. Spawn, “Francis Skinner, Bookbinder of Newport, an Eighteenth-century Craftsman Identified by His Tools,” Winterthur Portfolio II (Winterthur, Del.: the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1965), pp. 47-61.}

The bookbinder's ticket, or, more properly, trade card, which measures 2 15/16" x 3 13/16", advertises that

\textit{John Dean}  
\textit{Book-binder & Stationer}  
at the \textit{Sign of Dean Swift} in front Street  
between Walnut & Chestnut Streets  
\textit{PHILADELPHIA}  
\textit{Binds & Sells all sorts of}  
\textit{Stationary Wares}

The text is set in a central panel framed on each side by floral sprays and elongated sheaths, one topped by an inkwell and quill Pens, the other by a bundle of feathers. Above, strung on a chain of scrollded links, is a framed portrait of Dean Swift, evidently a replica of John Dean's shop sign.

Centered at the bottom of the card is a cartouche enclosing shelves of books which forms the pictorial gate for a rococo fence guarded each side by couchant unicorns. Included in the composition are four books with the words "Journal," "Bill-book," "Sale-book" and "Ledger" lettered on their fore edges, as well as a compass and two levels, also elements of the stationer's stock in trade. In the lower left corner appears the signature of Dunlap Adems, the engraver of this attractive eighteenth-century American copperplate.\footnote{David McNeely Stauffer, \textit{American Engravers upon Copper and Steel} (New York: Grolier Club, 1907), Part I, 84. No copperplate work by Dunlap Adems was then known.}

There was little portrait engraving in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia. Hence, the focal point of the bookbinder's label, the miniature likeness of the British satirist, the Reverend Jonathan Swift, D.D. (1667-1745), dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin and author of \textit{Gulliver's Travels}, is of considerable importance.

The profile of Dean Swift, which was evidently used as the shop sign of John Dean—who doubtless profited from the play on the name—and was then engraved by Dunlap Adems for Dean's trade card, is a precise replica of the portrait of the Irish literary figure etched by Benjamin Wilson as the frontispiece for Lord Orrery's \textit{Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift} (London, 1752).\footnote{Accession numbers in the 1770 Catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia go as high as 970. The copy of Orrery's \textit{Remarks}, still in the possession of that institution, is numbered 972. Letter of Edwin Wolf, H. Librarian, The Library Company of Philadelphia, to the author, October 24, 1909.}

This portrait, framed in an oval by Wilson, is based on a crayon likeness of Swift, in his unhappy later days, by Rupert Barber, but the London etching shows the Dean facing right instead of left and wearing a soft open collar, missing from the bare-necked portrait by Barber. The etching and the Philadelphia copperplate faithfully followed the crayon in portraying the beetle-browed balding cleric in his own hair.\footnote{John Boyle, 5th Earl of Cork and Orrery, \textit{Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Jonathan Swift}, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, In a Series of Letters from John Earl of Orrery to his Son, the Honourable Hamilton Boyle (London, 1754). See illustration. A German edition of the same year, \textit{Des Grafen John vom Orrey Fächerliche Briefe an seinen zu Oxford studirenden Sohn Hamilton Boyle, in moralischen und kritischen Anmerkungen über das Leben und die Schriften des berühmten satyrischen Dechanten Dr. Jonathan Swift verfasst} (Hamburg and Leipzig, 1754), has for its frontispiece a copperplate engraving by Christian Fritsch of the same portrait. Copies of both editions are in the Princeton University Library.}

Jonathan Swift enjoyed a considerable vogue in Colonial America. Lord Orrery's commentary in the London edition was undoubtedly in private circulation in Philadelphia where a copy was placed on the shelves of the Library Company soon after 1770.\footnote{The Right Honourable Frederick R. Talkiner, "Of the Portraits, Busts and Engravings of Swift and Their Artists," \textit{The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift}, D.D., ed. by Temple Scott, XII (London, 1908), 50-53. William Peartree Smith, serving as a Trustee of the College of New Jersey when the \textit{College Ledger} was acquired at the sign of Dean Swift in Philadelphia, owned the Library Company the 1754-55 edition of \textit{Swift's Works}. His copy, with his bookplate, is in the Princeton University Library. Also at Princeton, in the Lawrence Hutton Collection, is one of the three deist books of Swift. T. G. Wilson, "The Death Mask of Dean Swift," \textit{The Princeton University Library Chronicle}, XVI, No. 3 (Spring, 1955), 107-110. Hereinafter abbreviated as \textit{PULC}.}

In preparing the miniature portrait for John Dean's trade card, engraver Adems had the London engraving at hand. He even attempted to reproduce the excessive use of dark hatching which gloomily characterizes Benjamin Wilson's work.

The story of the binder of the \textit{College Ledger}, and of the engraver of his label, is an interesting one. John Dean, binder of the business book acquired for use at Princeton, was working
in Philadelphia in 1765 at the street address of the trade card, which indicates that it was produced in that year. In view of his predilection for Dean Swift, it is possible that he was an Irishman. He may also have been an emigrant from Scotland. By 1766 he was in partnership with a Scot, William Woodhouse, and used a second trade card which appears in a business book of that year: "W. Woodhouse & J. Dean Bookbinder & Stationers, at the Bible & Crown, the corner of Front & Chestnut-Streets Philadelphia Makes & sells all sorts of Stationary Wares."9

Woodhouse had learned his craft at Berwick-upon-Tweed, as apprentice to Samuel Taylor, a binder who arrived in Philadelphia in 1764, followed by Woodhouse, by two other of his apprentices and by their fellow townsman, Robert Aitken.10 Of the coterie, Aitken made the greatest reputation. The story of his bindery, the leading shop of its kind in Colonial America’s largest city, has been delightfully recounted by two of the leading authorities on early American bookbinding, Willman and Carol Spawn.11

The label of Samuel Taylor, master of John Dean’s early partner, has been reproduced.12 It appears on a binding from his shop, at the Sign of the Book in Hand, which was made for a copy of Urania, A Choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems and Hymns (Philadelphia, 1761), now in the library of the Princeton Theological Seminary.13 Urania is familiar for its many Philadelphia associations. The author, the Reverend James Lyon, was a member of the class of 1759. A large proportion of the subscribers to his work were officers and students at Nassau Hall. Indeed, the title page of Urania was engraved by Henry Dawkins, familiar to Princetonians for his copperplate prospect of Nassau Hall and the President’s House (1764), which was taken from a drawing by William Tennent. Dawkins almost surely produced the Taylor trade card.14

By 1775 John Dean was working alone in Laetitia Court in Philadelphia.15 On March 24, 1779 he advertised in the Pennsylvania Gazette that he carried on the bookbinding business in the corner house, Laetitia Court and Black Horse Alley.16 Nothing more is known of him.17

The engraver of the newly discovered trade card was Dunlap Adams, as he signed and advertised himself (Adams seems to be an error, and quite a natural one).18 He was located first in New York and advertised as a writing master on January 10, 1763 in the New York Mercury, having lately opened a school for the subject in Queen Street, near the Fly Market. Five months later, as "Schoolmaster and Engraver, on Golden Hill," he solicited the engraving of bookplates and bill heads.19

Arriving in Philadelphia simultaneously with Dean, he set up, like the bookbinder, in Front Street between Chestnut and Walnut Streets, from which he advertised on September 6, 1764 that he had "but lately come to Town" and was ready to undertake engraving on gold, silver, copper, brass and ivory, that he made "the nicest pierced or plain Medals in Gold or Silver" and that

February 15, 1956. An imperfect copy of the work, without the binder’s label or the title page, is in the University Library.


15 Brown, p. 38. Woodhouse established the only pencil manufactory in the United States in 1782 and died in 1793.

16 Ibid., French, p. 112.

17 There are three records of marriages of a man (or men) of this name in Philadelphia in 1774, 1770 and 1775. A John Dean died intestate in that city in 1798. Any one of these may be the bookbinder.


he would give instruction in writing for two dollars a month.\textsuperscript{20}

It is probable that the trade card in the Princeton College Ledger was engraved by Adems in 1765; before Dean joined in partnership with William Woodhouse. Adems may have produced the Woodhouse & Dean label also. Little more is known about the calligrapher-engraver. The record of John, “son of Dunlap & Elizth. Adams,” born May 17 and baptised December 2, 1764 at the First Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia appears to be the only mention of his family.\textsuperscript{21}

The first College diploma engraved in copperplate perhaps came from the hand of Dunlap Adems, or, more probably, from that of Henry Dawkins, who earlier contributed the view of Nassau Hall and the embellishments for Urania. The Bachelor of Arts diploma awarded on October 7, 1765, was struck from a plate, in contrast to the earlier hand-illuminated manuscript certificates, but while classified as an engraving it consisted only of a text in gothic and roman characters without a single vignette or other pictorial elaboration. It could have been drawn by any practiced writing master of the time.\textsuperscript{22}

This competent but simple specimen of engraving for the College of New Jersey cannot compare in interest to the handsome pictorial and portrait copperplate of the same year which Dunlap Adems executed for his binder client, John Dean. It is singular good fortune for bibliophiles and for students of the arts of Colonial America that the Dunlap Adems trade card, and the John Dean binding in which it is fixed, have been preserved at Princeton for two hundred years and are now available for study.

\textsuperscript{20} Stauffer, pp. 8-4.
\textsuperscript{21} “Record of First Presbyterian Church Philadelphia, Baptisms 1701-1856, Marriages 1702-1855,” manuscript transcript in the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania.
\textsuperscript{22} The diploma collection in the University Archives starts with that of John Brown, A.B. 1749. The first copperplates are the A.B. diplomas of John Bacon and Robert Ogden, Class of 1765. In 1766, 1767 and 1770 the College returned to the manuscript form; the plate was again used in 1769, 1773 and 1775. The first A.M. diploma in the collection, that of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1775. represents a second copperplate; the A.M. of James Fish, 1781, a third. In manuscript is the D.D. diploma of Elizur Goodrich, 1783, and, in woodcut, the A.B. diploma of Charles Smith, 1788.

“From the Library of Jean Grolier”

BY GABRIEL AUSTIN

The Princeton University Library owns two volumes from the library of Jean Grolier, the 16th-century Treasurer of France and amateur of bindings. One is on the \textit{opera omnia} of Joannes Baptista Mantuanus (vulgo Battista Spagnuoli) printed in Bologna in 1502 by Benedictus Hectoris, the other on a \textit{Virgil} printed in Venice in 1541 by the “children of Aldus Manutius.”\textsuperscript{23} The coincidence is curious as there is a statuary group in Mantua, representing Poetry with a laurel crown, hesitating between the poet sons of Mantua. An exaggerated conceit, we might think, until we learn that Erasmus compared the two favorably. Mantuanus, the son of a noble Spaniard, was born in Mantua in 1447. After an “irregular youth” he became a Carmelite monk, and was General of that order from 1513 until his death in 1516. He was beatified in the 19th century.

Apart from his saintly virtues his fame is based on his more than 55,000 lines of verse in Latin.\textsuperscript{24} He was an important figure in the history of Renaissance Latin literature. He was a monk, and one in high position, and he was a devout man. Most of his poetry is on religious themes—four books of Parthenia to the Virgin, three books to Saint Catherine, one to Saints Margaret and Agatha. His ten Elogues treat of such subjects as the conversion of youth to a religious life, the religion of country people, the morals of the Roman curia. But besides these he wrote also on political happenings—the marriage of the daughter of Federigo d’Urbino, the legation of the King of Spain to Innocent III, the expulsion of the French from Italy.

Yet even more important is the quality of the poetry. Unfortunate in the comparison with Virgil, Mantuanus now suffers from having been overpraised. But there are elements in his verse which are fresh and give him claim to be among the foremost of

\textsuperscript{23} The Mantuanus is No. 543 and the \textit{Virgil} is No. 547 in Carolyn Shipman’s edition of \textit{Researches concerning Jean Grolier, his life and his library with a partial catalogue of his books} by A. J. F. Le Roux de Lincy (New York: The Grolier Club, 1907).

\textsuperscript{24} I have not counted them, but take the figure from Paul Van Tieghem’s \textit{La Litterature Neo-Latine} (Paris, 1948). I don’t know if he counted them.
his contemporary Latinists. His Eclogues, or Bucolics, are his best poetry, mixing much detail of rustic life and rustic realism. He is a good observer of nature and his descriptions of the Mantuan countryside are pleasant reading. He was popular in the 16th and 17th centuries and the Eclogues were often republished. Seventeen editions are recorded in England to 1700, as well as three translations. The Eclogues often appeared under the title of "Adolescentia" and indeed they served as schoolbooks for two centuries. The subjects are appropriate to adolescents. Sylvius, Candidus, Bemus, Alphus, Galbula and their friends discourse of "honest love," of the madness of love, of the unhappy results of an insane love, of the nature of women, and of various religious themes. The mixture of mythological references and modern subjects was highly praised (and condemned), and the "moral Mantuan," the "honest Mantuan" was preferred over Virgil in the hands of schoolboys because of the latter's occasional "offences to modesty."

He was a model for imitation and plagiarism and was thus flattered by Edmund Spenser and John Milton and Torquato Tasso. Nathaniel in Love's Labour's Lost (IV:i) quotes the opening line of the Eclogues of "The good old Mantuan." The best known tag comes from the same eclogue when Fortuna, queried by Fautus "I see you are not ignorant of love," replies "Id commune malum. Semel insanivimus omnes"—"we've all been mad once." It was so often quoted that Nash referred to it as "That wether-beaten piece of verse out of the Grammar." But by the 18th century the source had become obscure and Samuel Johnson offered 10 guineas to whomever could give the source. He refers to Mantuanus (in his Life of Philips): "He was read, at least in some of the inferior schools of this kingdom, to the present century."

This Opera omnia of 394 leaves was printed in 1502 (finished on June 11) in Bologna by Benedictus Hectoris. Hectoris (or Benedetto di Ettore Faelli) was the outstanding printer of his time in Bologna. The historian of Bolognese printing in the first two decades of the 16th century, Alberto Serra-Zametti, calls him "the printer ... who above all stands out by the force of his intelli-

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3 All of these references, and many more, can be found in W. B. Mustard's edition of the Eclogues, 1911.
gence, of will, of study and of work, by the beauty, the elegance and the variety of types and by the clearness and the efficacy of the technical construction...the most expert and the most cultivated...the most enterprising and the one with the widest outlook...the only one who succeeded in giving to his publishing initiative, an agile cultural direction, varied and constantly true to the new needs of study, to the new ideas and to the new horizons of cultural and spiritual life.” His preferred model was “always a severe and unadorned book, which expressed its beauty and artistic dignity by constructive and architectonic forms, purely typographical.” Serra-Zanetti singles out this edition of Mantuanus as particularly beautiful as indeed it is, with its wide margins and severe columns.

Grolier owned eleven books published by Hectoris, of which seven were edited by Philippus Beroaldus, Senior (1453-1505), a classical scholar highly esteemed by his contemporaries, who had spent a year in Paris in 1476 and was greatly regarded by French humanists. Sylva IV of book VII of Mantuanus' Sylvarum is a 130-line poem on the return of Beroaldus to Italy in 1477. Whether Grolier personally knew Beroaldus or not, the latter's works were certainly required reading for gentlemen aspiring to culture in the period, and Grolier had many others edited by Beroaldus.

The binding provides the only mark of Grolier's ownership, having at the foot of the upper cover, his ex libris, 10. GROLIERI ET AMICORUM (with the title in the center) and in the center of the lower cover his motto “PORTIO MEA DOMINI SIT IN TERRA VIVENTIUM.” There is no signature inside nor are there any notes. It was probably acquired by Grolier in Italy, and was later rebound in France by Claude de Picques. The squat figure in the corners with a tulip head is hollow tool number 24 assigned by Howard Nixon to de Picques in the catalogue of the Grolier exhibition at the British Museum. Also present are hollow tools 25ab, with solid tool number 7 on the edges and, on the spine, between the eight raised bands, are copies of hollow tools 23 and 28. The hollow tools were meant to be filled in by painting, as they are here, in white, red and green. The leather used is calf. The strap-
work is painted black, with one border painted red. The paste-Lebe (similar to Briquet nos. 8077-8082), of the papermaking family of Troyes in the 16th century. The edges of the pages are gilded, and there remain traces of four ties.

The binding has some unusual aspects. The *semé* (dotted) effect in the corners is composed of dots of red and white paint instead of the more usual dots of gold (as in the center strap at Grolier binding I have found which is symmetrical only vertically, without horizontal symmetry). Usually the design of the bindings is a repetition of one quarter of the design, left and right, and top and bottom forming mirror images.

Most of Grolier's bindings which have survived are variations of rectangular interlacing (*entrelacé*) with semicircles or triangles added, inspired by Italian originals. To my eye the design of the present binding represents an early attempt at designs not based on geometric forms. Later bindings, however, revert to symmetry of top and bottom as well as left and right, and have a more pleasing effect.

This may be due in great part to the damages suffered by the present binding. The white is no longer white, but rosy and has been repainted, as have the other colors. The gilding has been completely retooled and the spine hinges and most corners are new. (The covers measure $33 \times 21$ cms. Of the $21$ cms., $5$ towards the spine on the upper cover and $4$ on the lower are new.) In spite of this restoration one can imagine the beauty of the original when the paint was fresh, and the gilding gleamed.

The volume has marks of its later ownership. From the 16th century are the numbers on the fly leaves and pastedowns of the lower cover:

\[ij\] \[iij\] \[xiiij\]

*Clix*

*Cltvij*

whose meaning is unknown. The volume probably remained with the bulk of Grolier's library which passed to the Vic family and was sold at auction in 1676. It first appears as lot 568 in a sale in London of the library of Louis-Henri de Loménie, Comte de Brienne, on 28 April 1724, but as it has no marks of Brienne's ownership, it was probably added to the sale by the auctioneers.\(^{10}\)

The volume itself tells its later history. On the second fly is written "Hunc librum eximis tum rariatis tum pulchritudinis laude commendatum, tribus aureis Anglicis, quos Guineas vacant, comparavi. Anno 1730. Thos. Ruddiman." Ruddiman was the great Scotch philologist and printer, who made a catalogue of his library\(^ {11}\) which was sold in Edinburgh in February 1758 (the Mantuanus being lot 1306).

On top of Ruddiman's note is the signature, "Alex. Boswel. Edinb. 1758".

He was the Biographer's father, Lord Auchinleck, and very proud of his collection of Greek and Latin books which passed to the Biographer and to his elder son, Sir Alexander. It was possibly in the latter's time that the volume was so skillfully repaired. Although we have no knowledge of bibliophilic activities, Sir Alexander was a typophile, who had established a private press in his house, Auchinleck, and from the Auchinleck Press issued poems and ballads, ancient and modern (of his own composition). Like his younger brother, James, he was a member of the Roxburghe Club. At their deaths, both in 1822, the library remained dormant for some years, until Sir Alexander's son, Sir James, entered into legal possession.

Sir James was more a sporting than a collecting nobleman and the library continued dormant. It was inherited by his daughter, Mrs. Mounsey, and by her put up for sale at Sotheby's on 23 June 1893.\(^ {12}\) The Mantuanus, lot 4282, is described with hinges and corners repaired. It was knocked down for £30 to B. F. Stevens, for Robert Hoe, first president of The Grolier Club. Hoe (whose bookplate has been removed) reproduced it in his One Hundred Seventy Six Artistic and Historic Bookbindings . . . selected from the library of Robert Hoe (New York, 1895).\(^ {13}\)

In the second part of the spectacular sale of that spectacular library at the Anderson Galleries on 8 January 1912, the Man-

\(^{10}\) For an excellent account of this library and sale see Robert Birley, "The library of Louis-Henri de Loménie, Comte de Brienne," *The Library* (June 1962), pp. 105-31.\(^ {11}\) *Bibliotheca romana . . .* (Edinburgh: Ruddiman, 1777). The Mantuanus is catalogued on page 65.\(^ {12}\) The fascinating and complex history of the Boswell library and the Boswell Papers is being written by Mr. David Buchanan, who kindly supplied information for this account.\(^ {13}\) Plate 10.
tuanus was sold for $320 to Bernard Quaritch, the least expensive of Hoe's fourteen Grolier bindings. It was secured by Wilton Lloyd-Smith and, after his death, was presented by his widow to Princeton University, where it joined a Grolier binding on a 1541 edition of the other Mantuan, Virgil, which had been presented by Junius S. Morgan with his Virgil collection.

Library Notes

WILLIAM BLAKE ENGRAVER

A comprehensive exhibition of Blake's engraved work has been on display in the Library's main gallery during the months of December, January and February. The printed catalogue, compiled by Charles Ryskamp, with an introductory essay by Sir Geoffrey Keynes, provides a permanent record of the exhibition and at the same time indicates the range of Princeton's Blake collections. 1 Supplementing and completing the books and prints selected from the Princeton Library and Art Museum, the exhibition included materials lent from the personal collections of Miss Caroline Newton, Mrs. G. B. Lambert, Mrs. Landon K. Thorne, Mrs. Seth Dennis, Robert H. Taylor, G. E. Bentley, Jr. and Charles Ryskamp. Not recorded in the catalogue is the original copperplate (formerly in the Linnell collection) for “The Whirlwind of Lovers,” Plate 1 of Blake's Illustrations of Dante, kindly lent by Lessing J. Rosenwald. The Princeton exhibition presented an unusual opportunity to see not only splendid copies of Blake's most famous illustrated books in variant states, but to see them in the context of Blake's entire career as an engraver, ranging from his early apprentice work under Bästir and Stothard to such examples of his late work as the unexpected stipple engraved portrait in colors (1820) of Harriet Quentin, the Prince Regent's mistress. Blake's journeyman engravings appeared in a wide variety of books, some of them obscure and forgotten, and have seldom if ever been brought together as they were in the Princeton exhibition.

As a sequel to earlier articles published in the Chronicle, 2 Mr.


Ryskamp has reviewed the growth to date of the Princeton Blake collections in the following paragraphs, reprinted here from the preface to his exhibition catalogue:

'Thirty years ago the Philadelphia Museum of Art held an exhibition of the works of William Blake selected from collections in the United States which was in all likelihood the most comprehensive showing of his works ever arranged. There will probably never be another exhibition like it. The catalogue, by Miss Elizabeth Morgan and Edwin Wolf 2nd, was a suitable and splendid companion to the exhibition. The present display of Blake's engraved works is in part an anniversary tribute to the greatness of that show in Philadelphia.

'In 1939 neither the Princeton University Library nor the Art Museum of the University lent any work to the exhibition. It was no wonder, for there was really nothing to lend. Since that time there has been a radical change in the Princeton collections of William Blake. It has not been nearly so remarkable as the growth of the collections of Mrs. Landon K. Thorne and Mr. Paul Mellon, but aside from their libraries, it is doubtful whether any American collection has improved so noticeably.

'The alteration in the Princeton collections began near the time of the exhibition at Philadelphia. About 1938-1939, Frank Jewett Mather, Jr., Professor of Art, started to give books and prints of Blake and his circle to Princeton. His gifts went far beyond Blake and English art, but Blake was obviously a favorite. They continued for the next ten years, and as late as the early 1960's Princeton was receiving engraved works by Blake from Professor Mather's estate. Most of these came to the Art Museum of the University.

'Somewhat after Professor Mather, Mr. Sinclair Hamilton, who established the distinguished collection of early American illustrated books in the Princeton University Library, and frequently also gave fine English and European illustrated books, began to give engraved works by Blake to the Library. Not until January 1960, however, did the University Library receive a Blake collection which showed the range of Blake's skill and technique as an engraver. At that time Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert (Grace Lansing Lambert) gave her collection of Blake's books and engravings, including the first Illuminated Books to come to Princeton, and

several of the greatest rarities in the bibliography of Blake. Since then two people in particular have contributed to the growth of Princeton's collections: Miss Caroline Newton and Mr. Robert H. Taylor. Miss Newton's recent gift of one of the finest copies of Songs of Innocence and of Experience is undoubtedly the star of the Blake collections now at Princeton.

'The present exhibition honors those people who have made possible this exhibition and the study at Princeton of Blake, the engraver. Every aspect of Blake's work in engraving, whether on copper, on pewter, or on wood, can now be enjoyed here. The evolution of his technique in line and stipple, and in relief etching, is shown in this exhibition. We have also been able to show various editions of the books and the states of his engravings (in some cases, proofs and states which have probably never been exhibited before), being reminded that Blake's restless mind was rarely content with any engraved work as it came from the press. 'The man who never alters his opinion is like standing water, & breeds reptiles of the mind,' he wrote in The Marriage of Heaven and Hell, and this exhibition emphasizes those alterations in his engravings. The lenders, named in the catalogue, are all close friends of Princeton. We have not gone beyond this circle to find examples for the exhibition; we are most grateful to those who have often befriended us in the past and who have generously let us show their prints and drawings at this time. . . ."

THE COLORADO RIVER

"The Colorado: an exhibition marking the centennial of its exploration by John Wesley Powell" filled the gallery of the library during the months of October and November 1969. Based on Francis P. Farquhar's The Books of the Colorado River & the Grand Canyon (Los Angeles, 1933), the books in the exhibition spanned the centuries of European consciousness of the river from 16th-century Spanish rumor to details of the latest jet boat passage through Cataract Canyon. The literature on the river is prodigious, but Mr. Farquhar's guidance enabled the show to offer only the more significant printed landmarks.

The rumors of incalculable wealth that motivated the earliest approaches to the Colorado were represented by the 1555 edition of Cabeza de Vaca's Relacion. The Ulloa and Coronado expedi-
tions, which almost simultaneously approached the river, the first by sea, the second by land, were represented by accounts in Gomara’s 1554 *Historia de Mexico*, Con El Descubrimiento de la Nueva España and Ramusio’s *Delle Navigazioni et Viaggi Raccolta gia* of 1505. From these primary and illusive impressions of the great river of the West, the exhibition progressed through the steadily accumulating accuracy of our impression of the River, the country around it, and its inhabitants. The idea of the Colorado River of which we are heir is an achievement of four centuries. The Conquerors, the Padres, the Trappers, the Explorers, the Scientists, the Way-farers, the Inheritors and their diverse purposes in and around the River during those centuries, formed separate focuses for the exhibition.

A number of the classics of Western Americana, such as the Venegas 1758 *History of California* and the 1831 *Personal Narrative of James Ohio Pattie* were seen in the new context of their contribution to our concept of the River. Other volumes whose focus is more specifically on the River ranged from such infrequently seen books as one of the fifty copies of *Un Voyage Sur Le Colorado* which Francis Berton, then Swiss consul in San Francisco, had privately printed there in 1878, to such allusive ephemeral printings as Frank E. Masland, Jr.’s 1949 *By the Rim of Time* and the 1950 *The Goat Run*.

One was confronted on entering the gallery by a chromolithographed view of the Grand Canyon by William H. Holmes in the massive *Atlas to Accompany the Monograph on the Tertiary History of the Grand Canyon District* by Capt. Clarence E. Dutton (Washington, 1882) and throughout the exhibition one was aware of the exceptionally lavish efforts made over the years to transmit to readers a visual impression of the wonders of the Colorado. From such monuments of 19th-century color-plate printing as the Dutton, the Leipzig 1858 edition of Mollhausen’s *Tagebuch einer Reise vom Mississippi Nach den Küsten des Süddees* and A.W. Whipple’s *Report of Explorations for a Railway Route* (Washington, 1856), to their equally sumptuous 20th-century counterparts—the Sierra Club’s “museum format” volumes on *Glen Canyon, Grand Canyon* and the *Navajo Wildlands*—viewers were persistently reminded of the extravagant nature of the color which gave the River its name and the country around it its fame.

—A.L.B.

**New & Notable**

**RECENT ACQUISITIONS—BOOKS**

_The following is an informal record of significant additions of printed materials to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections between January 1 and November 30, 1969._


**AGUIRRE, MANUEL.** _Doctrina Christiana, y Pláticas doctrinales, traducidas en Lengua Oñata._ Mexico, 1765. Purchase.

**AMERICAN ILLUSTRATED BOOKS.** Some forty additions to the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books including a broadside, *The last Words and dying Speech of Elisha Thomas, who was executed at Dover, on the 3d of June 1788 for the Murder of Captain Peter Drowne*, Portsmouth [1788]. The gift of Sinclair Hamilton ’06.


**ANDERSSON, NILS JOHAN.** _En Verildomssegling; Skildrad i Bref._ Stockholm, 1853-1854. Purchase.


**BALTIMORE, FREDERICK CALVERT, 7TH BARON.** _Gaudia poetica._ Augsburg, 1770. The author’s corrected copy of the first forty-six pages. Purchase.


BECCARIA, GIOVANNI BATTISTA. *Dell' Elettricismo artificiale, e naturale.* . . . Turin, 1753. Purchase.


BOCCACCIO, GIOVANNI. *A Treatise excellent and compendious, shewing and declaring, in maner of Tragedye, the Falles of sondry most notable Princes and Princesses with other Nobles, through ye Mutabilitie and Change of unsteadfast Fortune together with their most detestable & wicked Vices.* London, 1554. The gift of Sinclair Hamilton ‘06.


CORBIALE QUATTUOR NOVISSIMORUM. *Cologne, 1492. Goff-C 897.* Purchase.


DICKINSON, EMILY. More than 200 printed works by and about Emily Dickinson, including books, periodicals, and pamphlets together with approximately eighty clippings, photographs and other ephemera and 180 pieces of correspondence relating to the formation of the Margaret Jane Pershing Collection of Emily Dickinson. The gift of Mrs. John Pershing (see the *Chronicle*, XXXI, No. 1 [Autumn, 1969], 47-54).


DRAKE, DANIEL. *Natural and statistical View, or Picture of Cincinnati and the Miami County.* . . . Cincinnati, 1815. Purchase.


EKELÖF, ADOLF. *Ett Är i Stilla Hafvet.* Stockholm, 1872. Purchase.


EMERSON, RALPH WALDO. Seven printed additions to the Herman Elfers Collection of Ralph Waldo Emerson, including two broadside catalogues of the officers and students of Harvard University for 1817 and 1818 in which Emerson is listed as a freshman and as a sophomore respectively. The gift of William Elfers ’41.

GERMAN LITERATURE OF THE 16TH CENTURY. A collection of approximately 300 volumes including first and other early editions of works by Luther, Erasmus, Melancthon and other leading figures of the period of the Reformation. Acquired through the generosity of Carl Otto von Kienbusch '06.


HARTLIB, SAMUEL. A Discoverie for Division or Setting out of Land as to the best Form. London, 1653. Purchase.

HAYLEY, WILLIAM. Ballads . . . London, 1805; and his The Triumphs of Temper, London, 1803, together with a second copy of the same title and date on large paper. The gift of Sarah Hamilton '06.


HEMINGWAY, ERNEST. For whom the Bell tolls. New York, 1940. A first edition, one of fifteen copies bound with all edges untrimmed, uncut and unopened with the author's autograph inscription to Charles Scribner, Jr., '43. And his The Old Man and the Sea. New York, 1952. A first edition, one of the first thirty sets of sheets, uncut in a binding described as being for presentation, with the author's autograph inscription to Mr. Scribner. The gift of Mr. Scribner.


JUVENILE FICTION. Approximately 800 numbers of various paperbound juvenile series published from ca. 1905 to ca. 1920, including selections from the Alger Series, Buffalo Bill Border Stories, The Burt L. Standish Library and The Liberty Boys of '76. Presented as The Mary Robinson Memorial Collection of Hero Fiction. The gift of Roy Robinson.


KIPLING, RUDYARD. The absent-minded Beggar [London, 1899] "This souvenir is presented by Mrs. Langtry on the occasion of the 100th performance of the "Degenerates" at the Garrick Theatre . . . " The gift of Mrs. Gerard B. Lambert.


LUTHER, MARTIN. Eighteen sermons, tracts and commentaries largely from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries both by and about the Great Reformer. The gift of Bernhard K. Schaefer '20. *His Wider die Antinomier.* . . . Wittemberg, 1539. Purchase.

MACHEN, ARTHUR. Fifteen additional titles for the Arthur Machen Collection of Joseph Kelly Vodrey '26. The gift of Adrian H. Goldstone.


MARTIN, JOHN, JONATHAN, AND WILLIAM. A collection of more than 500 books, pamphlets, and broadsides by and relating to the eccentric Martin brothers: John (1789-1854), the painter and engraver; Jonathan (1782-1838), preacher and pyromaniac; and William (1772-1851), inventor, "natural philosopher and poet." Acquired in part through the generosity of Robert H. Taylor '30.


MORRIS, WRIGHT. Nineteen volumes including first and some subsequent editions of his novels and his non-fiction. The gift of Robert J. M. Horton '33.

MUSSET, ALFRED DE. *Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie.* Paris, 1830. Purchase.


R., C., OF C. C. C. OXFORD. *The Danger of Masquerades and Rare-shows, or the Complaints of the Stage.* . . . London, 1718. Purchase.


ROSSETTI, DANTE GABRIEL. *The collected Works.* . . . London, 1901. With marginalia including variant readings and a then-unpublished poem by Rossetti transcribed in 1903 by Arthur L. Benson from Rossetti manuscripts then in the possession of


RUNDLE, THOMAS. A Sermon preached at St. George's Church Hanover Square, on Sunday February 17, 1733/4. London, 1734. Purchase.

SCHIOPPALALBA, JOANNES BAPTISTE. In perantiquam sacram Tabulam Graecam Insigni Sodalito Sanctae Mariae Caritatis Venetiarum. Venice, 1769. Purchase.

SCRIBONIUS, WILHELM ADOLF, 16TH CENTURY. Natural Philosoph. . . . London, 1621. Purchase.

SELECT TRACTS RELATING TO COLONIES. London [1732]. Purchase.


SHEBBEAR, JOHN. The Marriage Act. A Novel. In which the Ruin of Female Honour, the Contempt of the Clergy, the Destruction of Private and Public Liberty, with other fatal Consequences, are considered; in a Series of interesting Adventures. London, 1754. Acquired through the generosity of Robert H. Taylor '30.


STEINBECK, JOHN. *Saint Katy the Virgin.* [Mount Vernon, New York, 1936]. Acquired with the generous assistance of Theodore D. Ticken, Jr. '66.


STURT, CHARLES. Narrative of an Expedition into Central Australia . . . London, 1869. Purchase.


TARKINGTON, BOOTH. Presentation copies of twelve books by Booth Tarkington '93 with inscriptions to his Princeton roommate, Harold Griffith Murray '93. The gift of Miss C. E. Murray.


UDALL, EPHRAIM. *Noli me tangere: Or, A Thing to be thought on.* [n.p.] 1642. Purchase.

VELASQUEZ DE GARDENAS Y LEON, CARLOS CELEONIO. *Breve Practica, y Regimen del Confreressorio de Indios, en Mexicano y Castellano.* . . . Mexico, 1761. Purchase.

VICTORIAN BOOKBINDINGS. More than fifty examples of nineteenth-century English and Scottish bookbindings for the Robert F. Metzdorf Collection of Victorian Bookbindings. The gift of Mr. Metzdorf. And an example of nineteenth-century Russian binding, a photograph album bound in velvet-covered boards to which enamelled panels are fixed, the front decorated with a colored winter scene showing two men and a troika and the back a plain panel of unembellished black enamel. Acquired through the generosity of Robert H. Taylor '30 and presented to the Metzdorf Collection in honor of Mr. Metzdorf.


—PAUL WAGNER

WESTERN AMERICANA:


BARREIRO, ANTONIO. Ojeada sobre Nuevo-México, que de una Idea de sus Producciones Naturales, y de Agunas Otras Cosas Que se Consideran Oportunas Para Mejorar su Estado, & Ir Proporcionado su Futuro Felicidad. Pueblo, Mexico, 1832. Purchase.


THE BOOK OF MORMON. Kirtland, Ohio, 1837. Purchase.

BROWN, JAMES S. California Gold, an Authentic History of the First Find. Oakland, 1894. Purchase.


DICTIONARY OF INDIAN TONGUES, CONTAINING MOST OF THE WORDS AND TERMS USED IN THE THSIMPSEAN, HYDAD, AND CHINOOK, WITH
in the Park on the 8th inst., the following Resolutions were adopted . . . New York City, 1854; Omaha Illustrated . . . Omaha, Nebraska, 1888; Frederick J. Taylor, The Mormon Flip Flop n.p., n.d.; and three broadside poems satirizing the polygamous underground in Utah during the 1880’s: The Underground Road; Winding the Clock, and Are You Getting Much Now? The gift of J. Monroe Thorington '15.

UTAH TERRITORIAL IMPRENT. Fifty-four items including Deseret News Extra [broadside]. Great Salt Lake City, 31 January 1852; The Mountaineer, 13 October 1860; Lewis Robinson, [broadside beginning:] Notice to all whom it may concern! Whereas, the premises, known as Fort Bridger, including the lands adjoining . . . Salt Lake City, 1861; [broadside reading:] Tax-Payers of Davis County. The Territorial and County Taxes for Davis County must be paid, according to law, before the 1st of September . . . Lot Smith, Assessor and Collector, per William Budge, Deputy. Salt Lake City, 1861; Telegraphic. Great Salt Lake City, Numbers 97, 150, 152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 158, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 177, 178, 248, 254, 21 April 1862 to 12 January 1862; Thomas D. Brown, Utah Silver Mines. Great Salt Lake City, 1856; Edward Hunter and others, [broadside reading:] . . . By the return mail you will please forward to us a full, detailed and complete list of the number of teams . . . sent East for the poor . . . Great Salt Lake City, 1866; C. M. Hawley, Arrest of militia officers in Utah Territory. Salt Lake City, 1870; The Utah Pomologist, Volume 1, Number 2, St. George, May 1870; Salt Lake Mining Institute: its present condition, and plans for useful work in the future [broadside]. Salt Lake City, 1875; The Word of the Lord. Unto the Saints in all the World. Salt Lake City, 1877; Platform of principles of the pretended reformers of Utah. Salt Lake City, 1881; Extracts from “Solid Facts from a Loyal Man.” Speech of U.S. Attorney W. H. Dickson. Salt Lake City, 1884; How Polygamy is Dying. Salt Lake City, 1884; three broadsides by Angeline French (Thornton) Newman: Observation No. 2; A Scene in Salt Lake City; To the Members of the Senate and House of Representatives of the 50th Congress. Salt Lake City, 1884; Murder by a Deputy U.S. Marshal, E. M. Dalton Waylaid and Assassinated in Cold-Blood. Salt Lake City, 1886; Statehood for Utah!! Have Abolished Polygamy? Read! [broadside]. Salt Lake City, 1887; John Lynch and others, Salt Lake Boodlers. The
County Court and City Government Deplete the Public Treasury . . . Salt Lake City, 1889; O. W. Powers, Campaign Document No. 3. Address of the Liberal Committee . . . Salt Lake City, 1889; C. W. Bennett, The Wasatch Mining Company vs. the Crescent Mining Company. Salt Lake City, 1892. The gift of J. Lionberger Davis ’00.


The tailpiece of Plate I of the 1765 Aguirre Doctrina.

Friends of the Princeton University Library

THE COUNCIL

At a meeting of the Council held on December 5, 1969, Richard M. Huber, Chairman of the Membership Committee, reported that there were as of that date 1,863 Friends of the Princeton University Library.

Upon the Treasurer’s recommendation the Council voted to approve the transfer of $7,500 from the free balance of the Operating Account to the Acquisitions Committee Fund. Of this amount $1,000 is to be allotted for additions to the Morris L. Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists. Also, as a token of its esteem for the late Dr. Rudolph N. Schullinger the Council approved the transfer of a sum from the free balance of the Operating Account to the Rudolph N. Schullinger, Class of 1917, Book Fund.

Memorial resolutions for Dr. Schullinger and for Eugene V. Connett III were read.

It was announced that the next annual meeting and dinner of the Friends will take place on May 1, 1970 at the Princeton Inn.

LIBRARY PUBLICATIONS

New Jersey Road Maps of the 18th Century, published in 1964 at the time of the New Jersey Tercentenary celebration, is again available after having been out of print for some time. This 48-page booklet, with an introduction and commentary by Howard G. Rice, Jr., contains reproductions of the following manuscript maps from the Princeton University Library collections: “A Map of the Road from Trenton to Amboy,” copied by Gerard Bancker, 1762, from John Dalley’s survey of 1745; “A Map of the Division line Between the Counties of Middlesex & Somerset,” by Azariah Dunham, 1766; and seven maps by Louis-Alexandre Berthier depicting the route of the French Army across New Jersey in 1781. The reproductions, printed in offset lithography by The
Meriden Gravure Company, also include engraved maps from the Library's copy of The Traveller's Directory (Philadelphia, 1804) showing the road from Philadelphia to New York. Copies of the second issue of New Jersey Road Maps of the 18th Century may be obtained from the Princeton University Library, Department of Publications. Paper bound, $2.00. Hard covers, $4.00.

FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton University Library, founded in 1929, is an association of bibliophiles and scholars interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has secured gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other materials which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

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

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

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Chairmen will welcome inquiries and suggestions.