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CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ROBERT F. METZDORF, Vice-President in Charge of the Book Department of the Parke-Bernet Galleries in New York City and Editor of The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America, has presented to the Princeton University Library a collection of Victorian bookbindings.

CARLOS BAKER, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Literature at Princeton University, is the author of Hemingway: the Writer as Artist and editor of the anthology, Hemingway and His Critics.

ULYSSE DESPORTES, a painter and sculptor as well as a scholar, will soon complete the biography of Ceracchi which he began in 1956 while a student at the University of Paris. He is Associate Professor of Art at Mary Baldwin College.

W. J. CAMERON, a Senior Lecturer in the Department of English, University of Auckland, New Zealand, is editing a volume of the series of Poems on Public Affairs, Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660-1714, which is currently being published at Yale University.

CAROLINE NEWTON, of Berwyn, Pennsylvania, is the daughter of one of this country's best-known bibliophiles, the late A. Edward Newton.

Victorian Book Decoration

BY ROBERT F. METZDORF

To attempt an analysis of sixty-four years of the book arts, or even of bookbinding, in the compass of a few pages is an act of temerity and foolhardiness. Such a treatment can be only an introduction, a sketch, outlining in broad strokes many complex influences and events. The real story lies in the books themselves, and only an examination of the books can give the facts. Artifacts can speak in their own right: that is why libraries borrow the techniques of museums, and why historians consort with archaeologists.

It should not be imagined that the members of the Stationers' Company, their employees, sub-contractors, and artists gathered together in London on the morning of June 20th in 1837 and were thus addressed by the Worshipful Master: "Gentlemen: England has a new Queen whose name, it appears, is Victoria. From this moment forth we will design Victorian books." The style we call Victorian was made up of many things—some old, some new; some considered and others quite fortuitous. The nature of the typically Victorian book results from many theories, many movements, many expediencies; and it is the object of this essay to examine some of them.

There were at least three major streams of influence which came together to form what we think of as Victorian taste. The period is so complex, however, and the "typical" is so difficult to isolate, that others may find additional and completely different influences. There is much studying of the Victorian arts yet to be done, and much collecting to be accomplished to bring together the study materials. There are many records to uncover, many books to re-examine and rediscover. The recent past is often so overlaid
with prejudice and hidden by preconceived opinion that time alone, aided by industry and a study of the less recent past, can bring facts into focus.

The first of the three themes which I discern is medievalism. England had long been aware of her own rich tradition of the Middle Ages, and interest in the epoch had burgeoned in the years directly preceding Victoria's accession. The taste for medieval romances had never quite died out. As a boy, Samuel Johnson read them by the yard. Percy, Ritson, Ellis, and others had investigated the ballad. The chapbooks kept alive the stories of Robin Hood and other worthies of the time. Gray had begun his "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" in 1742 (it was published eight years later) and the "ivy mantled tow'r" was a fixture in English landscape—if such a fixture was missing, it was often constructed by well-meaning and obliging landscape architects. In 1747, ten miles west of London at a place he named Strawberry Hill, Walpole settled and proceeded to adorn the property with turrets, crockets, and all sorts of Romanticized Gothic fancies. Boswell was well-known for his devotion to the medieval and feudal aspects of Scottish life. Beckford's architectural and collecting zeal at Fonthill is but another aspect of the phenomenon.

Leaving, for an interval, the theme of medievalism—the second major influence to adumbrate is an interest in the Oriental. This, too, had reached quite a height in the 18th century: trade with the Far East developed rapidly, the riches of Golconda poured into Europe, travellers returned with accounts and souvenirs of Persia, Africa, and the Levant. A Chinese craze swept the country, affecting furniture, table appointments, jewelry and dress, gardening, and many other social phases of everyday life. The Oriental tale, in the second half of the century, became something of a literary fad. But so far as book-decoration is concerned, it was the East as filtered through the Hispanic peninsula—the Moorish East—which had the strongest influence in the first part of the new Queen's reign, later to be reinforced by another wave of interest in the Far East, almost one hundred years after the first.

And the third major factor in Victorian book decoration was naturalism—the contemplation of nature (in security and comfort), the cultivation of nature (indoors and out), the admiration of nature's works, and the direct or stylized reproduction of natural forms as ornaments for the bindings and pages of books. All three of these major forces are identified with the Romantic movement. Medievalism, Orientalism, and an evocation of nature in all her manifestations—these three things have long been conceded to be hallmarks of Romanticism.

But the Victorians were not mere delayed Romantics. Granted that the earlier movement made a powerful impression upon the art and thought of the period, Romanticism—watered down by sentimentalism—was but one factor in their approach to life in general and the decorative arts in particular. The Victorians were eclectic: their range was unlimited; the sun never set on their empire or on their sources of ideas; they regarded themselves as the heirs of the ages, their civilization as the logical and admirable culmination of all that had gone before, and every decorative motif contributed by any of their predecessors was theirs to use, transmute, adapt, change, and combine with whatever else took their fancy. Utterly incompatible designs were used in the same die for book casings, and sometimes unlikely combinations were united with complete success. There were also slavish imitations of one particular style. Most important of all, the Industrial Revolution was in full swing, and the resultant dislocations and re-accommodations created all sorts of problems affecting design and production.

If the decision to create Victorian books was not taken on the morning of Victoria's ascension, who were some of the men who prepared the way for this style, as we now know it? What of the role of Medievalism, and who were the medievalists?

In the general field of influence there are Gray, Walpole, Beckford, Monk Lewis, the Lake and Cockney poets—but the man chiefly responsible for the general interest in Medievalism in England in the years just preceding the Victorian era was Sir Walter Scott. He wrote about the Middle Ages up to the year of his death, 1832; and after he died, the presses continued to pour out edition after edition of his novels and poems. We have somehow forgotten Scott in recent years and tend to overlook the tremendous formative effect he had upon the taste of his period and that immediately following, but the most elementary study of the matter shows that without a doubt he is the major figure in forming literary taste from about 1810 almost until 1850. And literary taste affects the physical form of books (but this is the subject for another essay).

Architecture also affected the Victorian book in a powerful fashion—a curious combination of the arts in spite of the earlier
example of the “cottage-roof” bindings of the 17th century. Four men were chiefly instrumental in shaping the taste of Victoria’s time, so far as the decorative arts were concerned, and all four of them were trained as architects. They were Henry Shaw, Augustus Welby Pugin, Owen Jones, and Matthew Digby Wyatt. They were not alone—there were many others, but perhaps none equal to those four in stature and influence; they share whatever credit or blame one chooses to give them for the effect they had on the Victorian book and on Victorian art in general. Without a thorough study of their papers, of the periodical literature of the day, of privately printed and of unpublished memoirs, and of their own writings, it is impossible to allot to each of them justly the credit he deserves. But it is clear that Shaw has been neglected, as he was in his own time, when his works were rifled by Jones; Pugin has been overshadowed by Ruskin, who borrowed from him without acknowledgment; Jones has always had his just deserts as well as a large share of Shaw’s; and Wyatt’s reputation has sunk beneath the effulgent glow of that great designer, lavish borrower, and accomplished self-publicist, William Morris.

A brief examination of related publications by some of these four men indicates the complex relationships. Comparative dates are of great importance. Henry Shaw’s first publication, *A Series of Details of Gothic Architecture*, appeared in 1823 (Pugin’s first work on the subject was printed two years later, in 1825); Shaw’s *Illustrated Ornaments of the Middle Ages* was published in 1833 (eleven years later Owen Jones published *Illustrated Books of the Middle Ages*); Shaw’s *Examples of Ornamental Metal Work* dates from 1836 (Digby Wyatt’s first book on the subject—he published three, in all—came out in 1852); Shaw’s *Encyclopaedia of Ornament* saw the light in 1842 (Jones’s *Grammar of Ornament* appeared in 1856, fourteen years later); Shaw published *Alphabets, Numerals, and Devices of the Middle Ages* in 1845 and *The Hand Book of Medieval Alphabets and Devices* in 1853; Jones also issued two similar books, *One Thousand and One Initial Letters and Seven Hundred and Two Monograms*, both in the year 1864. This is not to state that these paired books in all cases indicate wholesale plagiarism, but from the dates and contents of the books it is clear that Shaw was the unacknowledged leader and that his contributions have not received the recognition they deserve.

Augustus Welby Pugin was also a most influential author. He published a book on Gothic furniture in 1835—a very successful book—and followed it with studies of Gothic architecture, ecclesiastical ornament and costume, and his last great work, *Floriated Ornament*, which was published in 1849. He designed dozens of Gothic churches, and he was associated very closely with Barry in constructing and decorating the Houses of Parliament.

Owen Jones travelled in the East and in Spain in the early 1830’s and was deeply influenced by Arabic and Moorish art. He issued an elaborate study of the Alhambra in 1836 (Washington Irving’s impressionistic book had appeared in 1832), and later won the honor of decorating the Crystal Palace.

Matthew Digby Wyatt (perhaps even less known today than Shaw, although of wider repute in his own time) came from a family of architects, one of whom had designed Fonthill, and began publishing art and architectural treatises in 1847; he was closely associated with the Great Exhibition of 1851, designed many public buildings, and was the first Slade Professor of Fine Art at Cambridge.

Jones, Pugin, and Wyatt worked with Henry Cole and Prince Albert on the Exhibition of 1851. The interrelationships of these men and of others in England were numerous. The debt which all of them owed to Gottfried Semper and to other Continental theorists and practitioners has not yet fully been worked out, but that such a debt existed has been made clear by Pevsner. Wyatt eulogized Pugin and publicly accused Ruskin of adopting Pugin’s ideas and then denigrating his work. Shaw, all unwillingly, furnished ideas or treatments for each of the other men and had followers later in the century—Viollet-le-Duc in France, and Barry, Scott, and Morris in England.

Perhaps five of the most typical and striking constructions of the Victorian Age are the Martyrs’ Memorial in Oxford, the Crystal Palace, the Houses of Parliament, the Scott Memorial in Edinburgh, and the Albert Memorial. It is not by mere chance that three of these five were memorials, nor that they were all (with the exception of the Crystal Palace) in the most blatant and derivative tradition of Victorian Gothicism. They reflect the backward glance which the period affected in so many of its arts, and combined overpowering medievalism with a full-bodied Roman-
tic flavor and a wealth of naturalistic forms. Nor is it by chance that they were all heavily affected by the pioneering work and publishing of Shaw, Pugin, Jones, or Wyatt. The Crystal Palace, however, remains sui generis and is perhaps the exception which proves the rule.

This is a great deal about architecture but very little about bookbinding. Is there a direct connection between the work of these four architects (including their own publications) and books of the period? When one examines the publications of the time he sees how closely—even slavishly—some of the die-makers followed architectural models. All the elements are there, and the treatment of detail is also carried out in architectural fashion.

William Pickering's title-pages illustrate the point in a striking manner, especially his title-pages of the Forties. Archways, columns and entablatures, and cartouches frame the printed text: the attempt is made to give a setting and perspective to the printed message—to lead the eye into the book. The same attempt was often made in bindings, and many examples show an effort to obtain a perspective, within a frame; to give the flavor of the contents and the effect of more to come. This is commonplace today, but at the time it was rather new, and the style can be seen in publications of all types.

Professor Theodore Sizer has pointed out a fact which is often overlooked. In medieval times, as well as in others, architecture was indeed the mother of the arts—all decoration was keyed to it and one style reigned throughout. Reliquaries and other altar furniture, statues, tapestries, tessellated pavements and mosaics—all were designed for particular positions and specific functions, and all had to fit a general scheme of decoration. It is a tribute to the accuracy which the Victorians employed in using Gothicism that they, sometimes unconsciously, followed out this principle. Pugin (who was keenly aware of what he was doing) is the chief exponent of this position. Many Victorian creations in the medieval style, taken out of context and removed from the situation for which they were designed, appear monstrous and completely tasteless to us. But in the manner in which they were done, and in the places for which they were erected, the objects generally had a suitability now denied them; we have overlooked the philosophy under which they were created. By conceiving the whole artistic milieu which was to be completely harmonious and in key, the artists of the time were successful; but we examine each
object—in this case, the book—as an entity, separate and apart, an isolated artifact, and fail to relate it to the general setting which had been provided for it. This is a basic link between book design and the principles of architecture in Victorian times.

The "fitness" of the book to its setting is true, of course, only of the best work of the period. Debated Victorian design (what we are only too ready to call "bastardized Gothic" and "Victorian bad taste") accounts for some of the ugliest works of man which have ever encumbered the face of a long-suffering world. It is natural, as a period declines, to associate with it the years immediately succeeding, the worst creations of the era rather than the best. A feeling of superiority, of self-congratulatory progress, is thereby induced—hence, perhaps, some of the sweeping acceptance of abstract art in recent years—an acceptance which is more of a comment on those who embrace the doctrine than on the art they espouse. The setting removed, the isolated example is bereft of all artistic comfort. We can see the same phenomenon occurring today, some unprejudiced and able critics believe: a creation in the new setting of Brasilia would look quite different (and be judged quite differently) were it to be set in the architectural jungle of a New York thoroughfare. Events lead to change and sometimes to progress. The equation of change and progress, to follow out the thought, leads to a sterile and short-lived artistic expression.

There is no space to trace the story very much further. It would be possible to elaborate upon the renaissance of Orientalism in the latter half of the century, to comment on the important part played by the Pre-Raphaelite movement, to tell how there was a revolt in the last fifteen years of the century (from seeds planted earlier) against the debasement which took place in book design.

The part played by Owen Jones in reviving interest in Oriental art should not be overlooked. In 1867 he published Examples of Chinese Ornament Selected from Objects in the South Kensington Museum and Other Collections. The "other collections" included those of Alfred Morris of Frognal, Louis Leopold and Mathew Digby Wyatt. These names can be included among those of the "makers" of Victoria's era.

Other significant dates and events which need to be considered in any full-dress study of the Victorian interest in art history are the founding of the Victoria and Albert Museum itself (a direct outgrowth of the Exhibition of 1851), the establishment of the Royal Institute of British Architects (1834), the founding of the Royal Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (1848), and the reawakening of the Public Record Office, which began the publication of Rerum Britannicarum septem scriptores in 1854.
in the Seventies and Eighties; or to chronicle the rise of Morris’s hot-house brand of medievalism, the growth of French influence (and the waning of German), and the rise of “Art Nouveau.” Merely to list these topics, however, gives a dim idea of the richness of the period and of the endless avenues of exploration which can be traced in the history of the Victorian book. Let no judicious collector, dealer, librarian, or auctioneer say there are no more books to collect, and nothing more to be learned about the books we have! Of the sixty-four years of Victoria’s reign alone there is a great deal to be learned, and the investigations have scarcely started.

It is fitting to begin the peroration of this paper with a quotation from the person who gave her name to the age—Alexandrina Victoria, Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Empress of India. One hundred and twelve years ago Her Majesty was graciously pleased to drive to Hyde Park and open the Crystal Palace, a glass and iron structure 1900 feet long and 400 feet wide, which contained the first international exhibition of art and industry. The whole undertaking was the result of the vision, energy, and pertinacity of her much-loved and soon-to-be-lost consort, Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha. Victorian art, ranged in its massy splendor through all these glass-enclosed acres, filled the Queen with an ecstasy which was shared by many of her subjects. She returned to Buckingham Palace, doffed her gown of pink watered silk brocaded with silver, slipped into something more comfortable (we may hope) and confided to her diary:

"It is a day which makes my heart swell with pride and glory and thankfulness! . . . One felt—as so many did whom I have since spoken to—filled with devotion, more so than by any service I have ever heard. The tremendous cheers, the joy expressed in every face, the immensity of the building, the mixture of palms, flowers, trees, statues, fountains [there were book-bindings there, too, although the Queen does not mention them] . . . and my beloved husband the author of this Peace-Festival, which united the industry of all nations of the earth—all this was moving indeed, and it was and is a day to live for ever. God bless my dearest Albert. God bless my dearest country, which has shown itself so great to-day!"

There are many reflections of the great Queen’s taste in the bookbinding of her age. Her era is so far away, although so close in time, that we are apt to forget the sense of discovery of that period, the excitement of progress, the confusion caused by change.

To this last, perhaps, can be traced the basic search for fixed principles in art, the harking back to earlier times and to nature itself that had a very real as well as a sentimental attraction for the Victorians.

We should be unwise, in the shifting artistic sands of our own period, in times when we face adjustments and adaptations as profound as those which the Victorians were called upon to make, to revert to the 19th century for complete artistic, critical, and philosophic guidance. But we may learn something from the problems they faced and the expedients they employed to meet them. There is something there for every taste. But the chief things are the richness, the inventiveness, and (in some instances) the daring of the designers of their books. They were people who studied eagerly and deeply the history of design as art historians, architects, and archaeologists presented it, who took the entire cultural heritage of the past as their own birthright, and struggled with the genius of mechanism to express themselves and their own time in the books they produced for their own use and detection—and for ours.

It is a cluttered, serious, tense, calculating, sentimental, charming, and often amusing period. It has much in common with our own, a century later. Perhaps some of the answers for which we feverishly search can be found by studying it.
Typical Victorian Bindings:

1. Medieval influence with naturalistic motifs, treated with characteristic formalization:

2. Medieval influence, with heavy German trends; geometrical arrangements:

3. Oriental influence, using lotus motif in border and in sub-pattern:

4. Oriental influence, overall pattern in gold:

5. Naturalistic motif of the ivy, plaque-embossed, printed in two colors—dark green for the sunk background and gold to pick out details:

6. Degeneration of design—use of chromolithograph pastel and eclectic, fussy surroundings:
   Francis Orpen Morris, *Dogs and Their Doings*, London, S. W. Partridge & Co., [1890?].

7. Naturalism and heavy symbolism:

8. Medieval influence together with experimentation with new materials:

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**Letters from Hemingway**

*BY CARLOS BAKER*

Ernest Hemingway's death in Idaho on July 2, 1961, soon brought into question the problem of what was to be done about his biography. By the following November, it had been determined that the task would be undertaken by Carlos Baker, Woodrow Wilson Professor of Literature at Princeton University. Professor Baker is the author of Hemingway; the Writer as Artist (Princeton, 1932 and 1956) and editor of a Hemingway anthology, Hemingway and His Critics (New York, 1961). The long task of gathering data was begun. During the first year of this operation, three groups of letters came into the possession of the Princeton University Library through the generosity of three separate donors. Besides the originals described in the following essay, a year's work has brought under one roof hundreds of other letters of Hemingway in the form of photocasts, photocopies, and reproductions by Xerox and Verifax. Also gathered and filed are scores of interviews, chronologies, pictures, reminiscences, and other memorabilia, out of which a substantial biography may be made to emerge. The search for additional Hemingway material is going on and while the body of the material is at present being restricted for Professor Baker's use, the collection will eventually be an impressive assemblage of material for research and study. This article contains an interim report on these notable accessions and an assessment of their importance in the preparation of a biography of Hemingway. — THE EDITORS

**Letters**—particularly the kind that Hemingway wrote—are indispensible to a biographer. They reveal where the subject was at a particular date, what he was doing and thinking, and how the weather was, both outside his house and inside his head. One can find out from them how many words he had managed to set down on paper that day and that week, the latest figures on his blood-pressure, accounts of his progress in recovering from his most recent accident, or his quotidian records as a shooter of pigeons, deer, bear, ducks, lion, leopard, kudu, wildebeest, rhino, plower, and buffalo. It is possible to learn from them the dimensions of
the fish he caught, the current state of his bank account, the amount of his income tax, the itineraries of his trips, his scorn for his enemies, and his love for his friends. As his world-fame steadily grew, so did the quantity of the mail which reached his desk in the house on Whitehead Street, Key West, and afterwards at Finca Vigia, the establishment in San Francisco de Paula some miles outside Havana, Cuba, where he spent the greater part of his time from 1940 until his death. It was a matter of honor with Hemingway to give as good as he got, whether in boxing, big-game fishing, or letter-writing, and his output in the latter respect, particularly in the last quarter-century of his life, seems to have been enormous. He loved all his life to receive letters. Those that he sent back, so far as they were kept by scores of recipients, constitute (in effect) Hemingway's autobiography. Nothing that can be gleaned from interviews, newspaper stories, gossip columns, or even his own public writings is quite so important to one who seeks to tell "the truth" about his life as the letters he wrote.

At the time of his death, Princeton already possessed the nucleus of a good Hemingway collection, with first editions of all his books, and with the originals of the letters he had sent to F. Scott Fitzgerald, Christian Gauss, and some other correspondents. Harold Loeb's valuable collection of papers connected with his editorship of the little magazine, Broom, added a few items: not only Loeb's own reminiscences of the famous visit to Pamplona out of which grew The Sun Also Rises but also some letters and notes of Hemingway dating from the same period. But it was not until General Lanham's decision to give Princeton his long file of letters from Hemingway that the nucleus began to be fleshed out in a genuinely decisive way.

For the better part of twenty years, General "Buck" Lanham was Hemingway's best and closest friend. They first met in France in July, 1944, shortly after General Lanham, then a Colonel, had taken command of the 22nd Infantry Regiment, 4th Infantry Division. During his term of service as a war correspondent, Hemingway spent more time with the Twenty-Second Foot than with any other military unit. From that parlous summer of 1944 until Hemingway's death in 1961, the two men remained fast friends and invertebrate correspondents. It was Lanham's skill and courage as a professional soldier which first endeared him to Hemingway, and the war-time record of the 22nd shows why. Under Lanham's leadership, this regiment was the first American unit to place a patrol on German soil, the first to infiltrate the allegedly impene trable Siegfried Line, and the first to reach the Cologne Plain. Despite casualties in excess of eighty per-cent, Lanham's command doggedly held its position as the easternmost regiment in the German Reich during the bloody, dark, muddy, sleet-and-rain harassed, and otherwise hellish campaign in Hürtgenwald during the early winter of 1944. Subsequently assigned to a supposedly quiet sector in Luxembourg, the 22nd Infantry and the 4th Division established the southern shoulder of the line of resistance to von Runstedt's winter offensive, widely known as the Battle of the Bulge. In the counter-offensive, the regiment fought its way back onto German soil and once more penetrated the Siegfried Line. For its part in both the break-out in Normandy and the Hürtgen Forest victory, the 22nd earned two Distinguished Unit citations.

A native of Washington, D.C., and a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point in the Class of 1924, Lanham had been a professional soldier for nearly a quarter-century before his friendship with Hemingway began. The author's interest in military men and military history had been a persistent factor in his life for an even longer period. But Lanham, who was promoted on the field of battle to the grade of General Officer at the age of forty-two, quickly ascended to the highest echelon in Hemingway's gallery of personal heroes. In fact his friend called him "the finest, most skillful, and most intelligent infantry soldier I have ever known,"—a designation evidently shared in other quarters, since General Lanham holds no fewer than seventeen decorations, including the Purple Heart, the Silver Star, and the Distinguished Service Cross, the nation's second highest award, given only for "extraordinary heroism in battle."

Although Hemingway and Lanham met and talked as often as occasion allowed in the years after the war, it is posterity's good fortune that their respective duties kept them so far separated over a seventeen-year period that between them they exchanged something like 300 letters. The general's postwar activities included divisional commands in Czechoslovakia and Austria, as well as special service under General George Marshall, General Omar Bradley, and Secretary of Defense James Forrestal. Ordered back to Europe in the summer of 1949, Lanham held staff posts in Heidelberg and Brussels, organized the Military Aid Programs for Belgium and Luxembourg, became Chief of Public Relations under General Eisenhower at the Paris Headquarters of SHAPE,
and continued in this post when the command shifted to General Ridgway. In 1953—shortly before Hemingway set out on the African safari which would end with his near-death in two airplane accidents—Lanham took command in Germany of the First Infantry Division, the oldest, most decorated, and most distinguished division in the United States Army. During these and subsequent years, the letters flowed (literally) back and forth between the two friends. Although they were by no means intended to become what they did become in 1962—the Hemingway biographer's greatest boon—they quickly attained that status when General Lanham decided that Princeton University Library was their most fitting and safest repository.

As had happened in his military career with such admirable frequency, so it happened here: once the general decided to move, he moved. He came up from Washington with his invaluable record in a worn brief-case, delivered it in person to the librarian, met and talked with those who shared his enthusiasm for Hemingway, and went back to his work as Vice President of Xerox Corporation with the assurance that he had performed an exemplary act of scholarship in making available to those who needed it, when they needed it, the closest thing to a seventeen-year autobiography which Hemingway ever wrote. For these letters averaged one a month, and ran in total to something like six hundred pages—longer than Hemingway's longest published book. They cover a time that included the author's return from the war to his Cuban estate, his writing of *Across the River and into the Trees*, *The Old Man and the Sea*, and *The Dangerous Summer*, his African adventure, the almost fatal plane crashes of early 1954, the award of the Nobel Prize later in the same year, the fishing and hunting and movie-making exploits of the late 1950s, and the onset of the final illness which kept the author hospitalized at the Mayo Clinic in Minnesota during much of the year before his death. "I hope," wrote General Lanham, "that my gift will encourage others who have Hemingway letters or manuscripts to follow my example, since it is to the manifest interest of the scholar to have this material available in one place."

Others, as it happens, are now beginning to follow General Lanham's example. The most significant among these is a much earlier friend of Hemingway's, the artist Henry Strater, Princeton Class of 1919, who first met the young author when both were apprentices in their respective arts in Paris in the summer of 1922.

"Mike" Strater is now in process of presenting to the Princeton University Library a run of more than fifty letters which he received from Hemingway beginning in 1923 and continuing through the 1930s, another seventeen-year period in the life of the novelist, and one of immense significance for the biographer, since it was in these years that he rose from journalistic beginnings to fame as novelist, short-story writer, hunter and fisherman, boxer and bullfight aficionado, and citizen of the world.

When William Bird brought out the Paris edition of *In our time*, early in 1924, he used as a frontispiece a woodcut of the author based on a portrait in oils painted by Mr. Strater in Rapallo, Italy, the year before. This is the famous "boxer" portrait, showing Hemingway (characteristically) in a sweatshirt, with eyes downcast as if he were somewhat shy, although in fact he was probably reading a book while he posed for Strater. Another portrait, executed at Rapallo that same winter, shows Hemingway's left profile, the visible ear being almost concealed behind the thick brown hair which the young writer did not care to entrust to the shears of Italian barbers. Strater's third Hemingway portrait, done at Key West in 1930, depicts a tanned and ruddy Hemingway in a sea-blue open-necked shirt, a good deal heavier in the neck and muscled shoulders than the relative striping of the days at Rapallo, and obviously a good deal sprucer sartorially than the somewhat rumpled young newspaper reporter of the early days in Paris. By this later date, of course, Hemingway had written his way to the notice of the world. Behind him lay not only the early *Three Stories and Ten Poems* and the vignettes of the Paris edition of *In our time*, but also the first major short story collection, *In Our Time*, published in New York in 1925; *The Torrents of Spring* (1926) in which he satirized Sherwood Anderson; *The Sun Also Rises* (1926) in which he victimized Harold Loeb; the second collection of stories, *Men Without Women* (1927); and the romantic second novel, *A Farewell to Arms*, which had earned him acclaim in 1929. By 1930, in short, Hemingway could afford the trim sea-blue sportshirt in which Mr. Strater painted him, to say nothing of a house in Key West, a considerable amount of expensive fishing-tackle, a habit of making frequent sea-voyages to points both near and far, and enough left over to carry him to the Alps for skiing and to Spain for bullfighting whenever the spirit moved him.

It had been otherwise back in Paris in the early 1920s. Strater
first met Hemingway in Ezra Pound’s studio at—of all things—a tea-party. Balancing a tea-cup and standing around rather uncomfortably in the crowded room, Strater became conscious of another tall young man in similar situation at his elbow. The new acquaintance signified his comparative boredom, produced a hip-pocket flask, filled Strater’s tea-cup and his own, and was soon appearing with some regularity at Strater’s studio in Auteuil, where the order of the day was boxing rather than tea-drinking. “We were sparring partners for years,” wrote Mr. Strater recently, “and with plenty of mutual damage, as we were both 195-pounders. Hem joked that one beautiful black eye that I wore around New York for three weeks in the late Twenties had increased his book sales by thousands.”

As Strater’s own reputation rose on a parallel curve with Hemingway’s, the two men continued their sporting association, boxing, fishing, and hunting together as often as the exigencies of their professional and domestic lives would permit. When Hemingway began to dream of a hunting-trip to Africa early in the 1930s, he wanted Strater and Archibald MacLeish as his companions on safari. As it turned out in 1933, when the dream at last became a reality for mighty hunter Hemingway, neither of his two friends was able to accompany him to Kenya and Tanganyika.

But the letters from Hemingway which Mr. Strater is now giving to Princeton are filled with accounts of deeds of derring-do among the happy hunting-grounds of Wyoming and the equally happy fishing-grounds in the Gulf Stream north of Cuba. There are pencilled diagrams on the proper way to rig baits for trolling among the “mackerel-crowded seas” and shark-infested waters where El Pescador relaxed from the rigors of writing. There are enough stories of western big-game hunting expeditions out of Lawrence Nordquist’s ranch in Cooke City, Montana, to make any Nimrod’s mouth water in anticipation of venison cutlets, bear steaks, plump roast ducks, and other emoluments of pack-trips into the wilderness under the expert guidance of men like Chub Weaver and Ivan Wallace. Reading this superb run of letters, replete with Hemingway’s alfresco entusiasm, one often wonders how he ever found or made the time to write stories like ‘The Killers,’ ‘The Snows of Kilimanjaro,’ or ‘The Short Happy Life of Francis Macomber,’ or books like Death in the Afternoon, Green Hills of Africa, or To Have and Have Not. Yet write them he did, on top of all the rest he had done, and one is continuously impressed by the fact that during the years of his friendship with Mike Strater, Hemingway seems to have evolved an almost ideal balance between hours at the desk and days in the landscapes and seascapes to which he remained in these years so passionately devoted.

Among the Library’s other recent accessions are five letters in Spanish which Hemingway sent during the last dozen years to his old friend Juanito Quintana. For many years before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War, Señor Quintana was proprietor of the hotel in Pamplona which served Hemingway as headquarters at the time of his annual visits to the Navarrese city for the fiesta of San Fermin, which is both immortalized and popularized in The Sun Also Rises. In the fall of 1961, through the generosity of Mr. C. Waller Barrett, as well as through a happy train of circumstances, the Library was able to purchase these letters, the only letters of Hemingway’s in the Spanish language which Princeton University now owns. According to Professor John Hughes, who has lately translated them for the biographer’s benefit, the Spanish used in the letters is lively, colloquial, and idiomatic, despite the fact that Hemingway seems to have had little or no training in textbook Spanish and showed, up to about 1940 at any rate, a marked disinclination to trouble his brain with the niceties of Hispanic syntax.

The small size of the new cache may be attributed to los desastres de la guerra. A good friend of Hemingway’s for almost forty years, Señor Quintana once owned many more than the handful which have now found their way to Princeton. Like his hotel in Pamplona, the other letters were lost to him, and to posterity, during the Spanish Civil War when Quintana had the good sense and the bad luck to have aligned himself with the Spanish Popular Front. Sic transit. But among those few which remain are several which contain information which would not otherwise have been available for the Hemingway biography.
Ceracchi's Medallion Portrait of James Madison

BY ULYSSE DESPORTES

In his valuable study of the life portraits of James Madison, Theodore Bolton has remarked how well our fourth President fared at the hands of his several excellent portraitists. One of the Madison portraits distinguishes itself easily from all the others in that it is a life-size alabaster profile in high relief and of a striking and unique realism. It was carved by Giuseppe Ceracchi, in Florence, in 1794, from a terra-cotta bust which he had modeled from life, in Philadelphia, in 1791 or 1792. We are told that this portrait, which was prominently displayed at Montpelier until after Madison's death, "was considered by his contemporaries to be the most faithful of the likenesses of him."

Although the original alabaster and marble medallion of Madison has been much reproduced, it has never been on permanent public display, and has only made rare appearances in exhibitions. Acquired by the Department of State during the secretariat of Thomas F. Bayard, in 1886, the medallion had lain forgotten for many decades in a basement when it was exhumed, in recent years, by an admiring porter who brought it to the attention of the Historical Office. It is now in the office of Dr. E. Taylor Parks, Chief of the Research Guidance and Review Division.

While the original has been secluded, an excellent and probably unique plaster cast of it has been on display at Princeton University for about a century. Having thus been more constantly accessible to the public, this replica may be thought to have been more influential than the original in shaping the image of Madison in the public mind. This very clean cast, which has sharply registered every detail and texture of the finely chiseled alabaster, bears all the signs of having been produced in a waste mold which would have been destroyed by chipping it carefully away from the cast. The casts of Ceracchi's popular Hamilton bust, which were turned out in hundreds by Lanelli from a piece mold of plaster or gelatin taken on the original, do not have any of that crispness of detail to be seen in the Princeton cast of the Madison Medallion.

The provenance of the Princeton cast remains a mystery. The earliest evidence of its existence is a photograph, made in 1876, which shows it in the Elizabeth Marsh Museum of Geology and Archaeology of the College of New Jersey—a collection then housed in what is now the faculty room of Nassau Hall. This is proof that the cast was on view there before the original work made its first public appearance at the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington. With such scant information, however, it is impossible to date the cast or to determine its author. Thomas Jefferson, writing to William Thornton about his own bust by Ceracchi, said, "any artist who might dispose to do so shall be welcome to come and take a cast of plaster from it."

Any of the sculptors working on the Capitol, in Washington, during Madison's presidency, could have taken a cast of the medallion. Giuseppe Valaperta, tragic sculptor of the eagle in the Hall of 

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3 The Writings of James Madison, ed. Gaillard Hunt, New York, 1910, I, text on frontispiece reproducing the Ceracchi medallion.
8 C. W. Bowen, loc. cit.
the House of Representatives, visited Montpelier in 1816. Peter Cardelli, another Italian sculptor, came to the Madison residence in 1819, and John H. I. Browere, author of the famous life masks, was there in 1825. One of these artists could have made the Princeton cast.

The medallion portrait of Madison has some unusual qualities. Not only is it carved in exceptionally high relief, being close to half the actual width of the head, but the subject is presented slightly though distinctly in "lost profile"—the face turned farther away from the viewer than it would be in exact profile. This peculiar presentation contributes to the startling realism of the portrait, as it emphasizes the projection of the brow, the cheek bone and the ear. The neoclassic hair, which the Roman artist has given his subject, takes him out of the eighteenth century and makes him look at home in our own time.

The personal relationship which Madison had with the colorful author of this portrait adds a particular interest to the Ceracchi medallion, and may be traced through the correspondence which the artist had with both Madison and Thomas Jefferson.

Madison met Ceracchi in the summer of 1791 when the sculptor came to Philadelphia to bid for the commission to execute the equestrian statue of Washington which had been voted by Congress in 1789. The two men were the same age (40), about the same size (5 feet, 5 inches), and both lodged at Mrs. House's boarding house, on the corner of Fifth and Market Streets. Congressman Madison, a protégé of Jefferson, had gained new importance as the draughtsman of the Constitution of the United States. Ceracchi, for his part, had achieved a considerable reputation in sculpture. As an adolescent he had won the highest prize of the year in sculpture at the Accademia di San Luca, in Rome. Then he was invited to Milan, where the Emperor Napoleon commissioned him to carve his bust and to design the decoration for his palace. A little later he came to London and was patronized by Lords Shelburne and Temple, the Adam brothers and others. Finally, through the influence of Sir William Chambers, he received a commission from the king for two colossal statues.

Through the friendship of the Austrian ambassador to London he was called to Vienna, where he lodged in the town house of Prime Minister von Kaunitz-Rietberg. He carried out government commissions for busts of the emperor and the marshals and for a number of decorative marbles.

Under the auspices of von Kaunitz-Rietberg he returned to Rome, and there did a very successful bust of the pope. Cardinal Braschi also sat to him, and Cardinal Riminaldi ordered a bust of the poet Metastasio for the Pantheon. In 1780 Ceracchi completed his most important undertaking, a large commemorative monument subscribed by the Antistatoldists of Amsterdam.

Shortly before coming to America he had opened negotiations with the Palatine Elector for a grand monument to the Union of the Palatine and Bavarian States. The suspension of these negotiations, due to the imminence of a European war, prompted the sculptor to try his fortune in the New World.

The sculptor's contemporary success may be explained in part by his brilliance in portraiture which impressed all who saw his busts. He appears to have combined an authentic and intense likeness of his sitters with a convincingly antique representation. Besides the Roman coiffures and costumes which he gave his subjects, he also managed to capture for them an expression that, while remaining characteristic of the individual, still recalled the energy and strength to be seen in the faces of ancient Roman republican portraits. In his monumental statue Ceracchi was apparently able to impose a degree of originality upon the neoclassical style.

20 Ibid., pp. 87 and 95.
22 Archivio dell'Accademia di San Luca, Rome, VII, 14.

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that, as a Rome-trained sculptor, he was obliged to follow. The large marble figures of his Dutch monument, now in the Borghese Gardens in Rome, have the ample proportions, the measured gesture and dignified pose that have always defined the Roman grandiloquent, but they also retain enough baroque exuberance, especially in the drawing of the drapery, to give them an excitement and vitality unmusical in works of their style. It may be that Ceracchi's admirers recognized this quality in his work; certain it is that they saw in him technical virtuosity and an impeccable mastery of the contemporary style. Although he was handicapped by a consuming pride and a neurotic sensitivity to personal slight, he had nevertheless asserted his position in a highly competitive profession, and was eager for the glorious commissions of which he thought his talents worthy.

In Philadelphia Ceracchi made a six-foot terra-cotta model of the elaborate equestrian monument of Washington which he wished to propose. This was set up for public inspection at Oelner's popular tavern. Besides the equestrian group, to be cast in bronze in accordance with the congressional resolution, Ceracchi's project included four colossal allegorical groups to be carved in "stature marble" and placed at the corners of the base. Further to demonstrate his skill and to ingratiate himself with influential men, the sculptor modeled some thirty-six portrait busts in clay during the year he remained in the United States. Besides Madison and Jefferson, George Washington, John Adams, Alexander Hamilton, George Clinton, John Jay, David Rittenhouse, Henry Knox, John Trumbull, William Bingham and his wife, and Jeremiah Wadsworth were among Ceracchi's American sitters. He had these busts baked in a potter's kiln, and then shipped them off to Leghorn where they were to be forwarded to his studio in Rome.24

A Description of the Monument Consecrated to Liberty.

The Goddess of Liberty is represented seated in a niche formed by a marine arch, through a aperture of glass, which conceals the former of a sarcophagus. Her form is in a state of repose, and grace, her right hand resting on the pediment a flowing dress, which by embracing the robe of blue, drapery, displayed in the act of seating the whole length of her body; her left hand raised, her hair copiously flowing from her shoulders. She is seated on an altar, the base of which is composed of a deep, snowy, polished stone, which her mantle rests. The figure of her drapery is elegant, her body upright, her head adorned with a diadem of laurel leaves, in the midst of which is inscribed the word "Liberty," and a star, and from this the image of the world, which is supported by the eagle, who, with his wings spread, holds in his beak a tablet, inscribed with the word "Liberty." The figure is harmony in motion, the drapery gracefully falling in folds around her figure, and the whole forming a perfect composition, which is admirably executed by the artist.

Ceracchi’s prospectus for a monument

Princeton University Library
For James Madison, Ceracchi appears to have had a particular admiration and feeling of congeniality which is reflected not only in his portrait of the man but also in the references to him in two letters which he wrote to Jefferson after his return to Europe. Immediately upon disembarking at Amsterdam, in July of 1792, Ceracchi wrote Jefferson "to acquaint you with my safe arrival. I was extremely satisfied to confirm the merit of Mr. Madison as you represented me to me some time ago. He had the Eminent Genius to draw the plan of the present Constitution that proves great knowledge of Human passions. Now excuse me, Sir, for I can't help to observe the coolness of the People of America upon personal merits, in any connexion, and in every age Mr. Madison would have received public acknowledgments which are the soul of Elegance; by that why Greas and Rome became the nursery of Illustrious Men. If those honors produced disorders it must be attributed to the Time that corrupts every think, however I believe it is a vicious severity to confound Eminent merit with the crowd of unites. I am very hangry on this subject and will take revenge. I shall honor my chisel with cutting his bust in marble. Artists reputation must be raised under the shadow of Great Men, so I serve myself at same time."  

It is just possible that Ceracchi's complimentary reference to Madison was intended as a suggestion to Jefferson that he propose a congressional resolution to have the marble bust of Madison purchased for the government as a tribute to the author of the Constitution.

The following two years (1793-1794) were extremely busy and troubled for the sculptor. In October of 1793 he received the important monumental commission from the Elector Palatine of Bavaria, but he had hardly begun work on it when he was banished from Rome by the pontifical government which “feared of [his] principles of Liberty that [he] had certainly much improved in America.” He fled to Florence, and it was there that he had

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shipped the clay busts modeled in America. His republican principles having also caused the cancellation of the Bavarian commission, Ceracchi set about carving some of the American busts in marble. He had already informed Jefferson and Hamilton of his intention to carve their busts. Using the clay busts as models, he executed busts of Washington, Jefferson, Hamilton and Rittenhouse, and of others perhaps. From the models of John Adams and of James Madison he carved alabaster profiles which he mounted on ovals of veined marble to make medallions. He wrote to Jefferson from Florence, in March of 1794, to inform him that he was shipping his marble bust to him as a present for his daughter. He added the following postscript to the letter:

P. S. With your bust, Sir, I shall send you a profil executed in alabaster as large as life of my friend Mr. Madison. I beg you to accept it as a memory of so respectable man, and at same time afford me an occasion to show my sentiment of attachment to him. I tried to do it in marbre as represented with the bust I modeled but the block torned with spots and my situation in troubles didn't permit me to perform my proposition.

The box containing the Jefferson bust and the Madison medallion was detained by the custom offices in New York and was not released until Ceracchi himself returned to America in the fall of 1794. The sculptor had the portraits sent to him at Philadelphia where he exhibited the Jefferson bust before shipping it forward to Monticello. Having learned of Madison's recent marriage, Ceracchi probably decided at this time to present the medallion portrait to his bride instead of giving it to Jefferson as he had announced he would. When the Department of State acquired the medallion it was presented with a letter from Ceracchi relating to the piece. It has been impossible to trace this document in the archives of the Department, but the writer has recently come into possession of an undated note from the sculptor to Mrs. Madison which may refer to the medallion portrait.

The annexe medal representing a Subject highly esteem'd by Mr. Ceracchi, as been desireos to place it with propriety, therefor he takes the opportunity to present it to Mrs. Madison requesting the favor to accept it as a token of the respectful Esteem that Mr. Ceracchi as the honour to acknowledge to her as well as to her Husband.

Saturday Morning

During his second stay in Philadelphia Ceracchi tried to interest Congress in commissioning a huge monument to commemorate the War of Independence, the commission of the Washington monument having been postponed until the end of the President's second term. In his old age Madison recalled that he "constantly throw cold water" on Ceracchi's hopes of "obtaining the aid of Congress for his grand project." The former president also remembered his own role in advising the sculptor "to make the experiment of subscriptions with the most auspicious names head ing the list, and considering the general influence of Washington and the particular influence of Hamilton on the corps of speculators then suddenly enriched by the funding system, the prospect was encouraging." Indeed the members of Washington's cabinet constituted themselves "managers" of the campaign for funds, and Washington himself made a generous pledge. A curious letter from Ceracchi to Madison explains the discouragement that rather quickly brought the sculptor to abandon the campaign and return to Europe.


28 The Adams medallion cannot be found: see Montanari, op. cit., p. 41


Dear Sir,

Been wondered at the delay of the National Monument subscription coming out, I called this morning upon the gentlemen of the Departments. Mr. Randolph candidly convinced me that he would sign the papers as soon as they were sent to him. Fifty of them signed only by Mr. Wolcott are not gone farther till now than to the Secretary of War Office. By this may be conceived that it would require a month more before the signatures would be done. But much more wondered since I hear Mr. Bradford and Mr. Boudinot spike against the project and representing it as the most ridiculous and improper, and employing all the documents of [three words illegible] in expressing the narrow compass of there soul. I thought to hear the imploration of holy Ignorance descending from heaven upon the people of America as it was implored in Room [Rome?] last ear in contradiction of common sense. Then I could not help to remare that there reasoning was contrary to the sanction they give to my plan with there signature, to which Mr. Boudinot answered that he did it as well as the other gentlemen that did the same act merely to encourage my feeling, and to give me some credit. Fulusch and indifferent character expressed in the sentiment of Mr. Boudinot make me believe that a plot of not common kind are against the plan of National Monument for some other object that I can discover.

I am ready to decline of any farther attempt if you think it prudent, upon which I desire your opinion. I am, Sir, with full respect

Your most obt
and Humst
Jos Ceracchi

Home the 21 March
1795

In writing his memories of the affair, Madison said that Ceracchi, "being of the genus irritabile, suddenly went off in anger and disgust, leaving behind him heavy drafts on Gen'l Washington, Mr. Jefferson, &c. &c. for busts &c. he had presented to them. His drafts were not the effect of avarice, but of his wants, all his resources having been exhausted in the tedious pursuit of his object. He was an enthusiastic worshipper of Liberty and Fame, and his whole soul was bent on securing the latter by rearing a monument to the former, which he considered personified by the American Republic. Attempts were made to engage him for a statue of Gen'l Washington but he would not stoop to that." 27

Ceracchi demanded $1,500 each from Washington and Jefferson, for the busts he had offered as presents. His much more modest bill to Madison for the medallion is preserved in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

250 doll Philad* 8th May 1795

Two days after sight of this my only bill please pay to the order of Mr. George Meade two hundred and fifty Dollars and charge the same to acct as per advice from Sir

Your most obt Servt
Jos. Ceracchi

To James Madison esqu. 28

Convinced that his radical and democratic republicanism had caused the Federalists to frustrate his plans for the American monument, Ceracchi determined to try his luck in Paris. 29 He had, after all, been exiled from Rome because of his sympathies for the French Revolution. Encouraged by Citizen Fauchet, the minister from France at Philadelphia, who furnished him with letters of recommendation to members of the Convention, Ceracchi sailed for Bordeaux in May of 1795. 30 When he reached Paris, in August, the Convention had been dissolved and replaced by the government of the Directory. 31 By means of a plan for a monument to the French Revolution (the American monument somewhat modified) and a detailed scheme for bringing about a revolution in the Papal States, the sculptor soon gained the confidence and support of Joseph Barras and Lazare Carnot, both powerful mem-

27 Letter from James Madison to Henry St. George Tucker, April 30, 1850, loc. cit.
29 Letter from Ceracchi to Jean-François Delacroix (Minister of Foreign Affairs and future father of the painter Eugène Delacroix), Paris, March 12, 1797, published in Correspondance des Directeurs, op. cit., XVI. 504.
31 Ibid.
bers of the Directory. His collaboration in the Italian campaign of 1796 and 1797 was probably more bothered than help to General Bonaparte, but at his headquarters in Milan the victorious chief posed to the Roman sculptor for his bust, which Ceracchi later called "the only one, of which all the others are but the babies." It was certainly the first bust of the future emperor to be made by a master sculptor, and it may even be considered to have been the first portrait of Napoléon by an artist of international reputation.

Always ready with a plan for a monument, Ceracchi now made a great clay sketch of General Bonaparte, mounted on a fiery steed and surrounded by appropriate allegorical groups. In 1798, having returned to Rome through the provisions of the Treaty of Tolentino, Ceracchi took a leading role in the events that led to the occupation of the city by the French Army which established a republic in Rome and carried the venerable Pius VI away to die in exile at Valence. Thus the sculptor, whose bust of 1788 gives us our most interesting effigy of the tragic pontiff, and who had been exiled by Pius' government in 1799, now had helped to realize his dream of a new republic in the fatherland of the Brutii and the Horatii. He was named a member of the Roman Institute in recognition of his services, but he considered this reward far below the deserts of his sacrifices, and insisted upon an indemnity to repair the great material losses that his exile had cost.

When the Roman Republic was toppled by the Neapolitan Army, Ceracchi again sought refuge in Paris, and there renewed his efforts to have the French Army liberate his country. For this monument see Archives Nationales, Paris, F 31; for the military plan see Archives du Service Historique, Ministère de l'Armée, Paris, Plan d'Exécutée sur Rome, adressé au gouvernement français par Joseph Ceracchi, 30 Primaire an IV, 21 December 1795. Ceracchi's political career has received its most complete published treatment in Renzo De Felice, "Ricerche storiche sul 'Glaucionismo' italiano, 2, Giuseppe Ceracchi," Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento, XLVII, No. 1 (Jan.-March 1960), 3-32.

43 Letter from Ceracchi to Napoléon Bonaparte, First Consul, Paris, 20 Vendémiaire an 9, loc. cit.
44 Procès instruit au Tribunal criminel du département de la Seine contre Demeville, Ceracchi, Aréna et autres . . ., Paris, an IX, 1801. See also Gustave Hue, Un Complot de police sous le Consulat, Paris, 1901.
46 Letter from John Trumbull to a Mr. Irwin, February 23, 1818, Library and Autograph Collection of Thomas B. Clarke, American Art Association Anderson Galleries, Sale No. 3932, New York, December 9, 1891, lot 270.
47 Montanari, op. cit., p. 41.

appointed at the result of the victory of Marengo, and at the coldness and neglect of Napoléon Bonaparte, who, as First Consul, promised him a commission and then refused to see him, Ceracchi became enmeshed in the web of political plots and counterplots which tormented the first year of the Consulate. Deliberately tricked by Bonaparte into participating in a simulated conspiracy to assassinate him, the sculptor and several of his friends were arrested at the opera. After a trial, held in the hysterically hostile atmosphere created by the explosion of "the infernal machine," Ceracchi and three others were carted to the guillotine on 31 January, 1801.

When news of the sculptor's dramatic fate became known in America, his visits here and the busts which he had made must have been recalled with a curious piquancy. Governor Clinton, of New York, whose bust had been left unbaked in his home, and who had never bothered to have it fetched from the local potter's where it had been baked, now took great pains to recover it because it was by "the famous Ceraqui." John Trumbull wrote to an interested correspondent of his desire to recuperate the American busts in clay which Ceracchi had taken back with him to Italy. In 1809, a Philadelphia merchant, named Thomas Hubert, gave an affidavit stating that he had visited the Pisani brothers' studio in Florence and there had recognized the models of twelve of Ceracchi's American busts including those of Jefferson, Washington, Madison and Rittenhouse. He also saw fragments of the sketches for the Washington and Bavarian monuments.

In letters to both Washington and Jefferson, Ceracchi stated categorically that he had made busts of thirty-six distinguished Americans during his stay in the United States. What has be-
come of this gallery of Early Republican statesmen and soldiers? Henry T. Tuckerman wrote that in Ceracchi’s “wreck all were lost,” yet Hubert saw some of the portraits more than two years after Ceracchi’s disaster. The merchant’s affidavit was published in 1841 along with other papers belonging to Ceracchi’s family, which suggests that the document was composed for the sculptor’s widow, who may have already been trying to claim the busts. Many American travelers, some of them painters and sculptors, visited Florence during the first half of the nineteenth century. For years the sculptor Hiram Powers operated a studio there where he did posthumous statues of some of Ceracchi’s subjects, but, as far as can be determined, neither Powers nor any other American knew about the Ceracchi busts. Recent efforts to trace them in Florence have met with no success. The shop of the Pisani brothers, where they were last seen, disappeared from the city directories long ago. The possibility that the collection or part of it may still exist is tantalizing indeed. From the quality of the seven American portraits and the number of European busts by Ceracchi that have survived we may judge the extraordinary interest that this vanished gallery would have today. As long as these works remain lost, such rare survivors of the tragedy as the Madison medallion and its plaster replica will be all the more cherished.


55 Letter from Dr. Maria Fossi, Gabinetto disegni e stampe degli Uffizi, Florence, to the author, September 3, 1957.

The Princeton Copies of Poems on Affairs of State, Vol. II, 1703

By W. J. Cameron

The period following the restoration of Charles II was marked by a rise of political and ecclesiastical satire. The public was eager for pamphlets and gibe of any nature—almost all of which were produced anonymously. When authors’ names were attached they were very possibly apocryphal and the individual pieces were rarely connected with an author’s name. The Licensing Act, by which the government could attempt to control these productions, expired for a time in 1679; was renewed with little effect in 1685; and expired permanently in 1695. These satires were collected and republished in various collections, one of the more important of which is the subject of this bibliographical study.

The edition of Augustan satirical verse on public affairs now being undertaken at Yale has led the editors to take a closer look at the four octavo volumes known as Poems on Affairs of State, which appeared in a bewildering number of editions from 1697 to 1716. As a result, two volumes in the Princeton University Library have taken on an unexpected value and significance. These are copies of Poems on Affairs of State, Vol. II, 1703.

Arthur E. Case in A Bibliography of English Poetical Miscellanies 1521-1750 (1935), under entry No. 211, first attempted the formal description of the various editions of the four volumes, and, to a certain extent, some of the variant issues. His descriptions are still standard for reference purposes, but much of his work needs to be brought up to date, as a result of his quite understandable failure to record all editions or issues. In this article, it is proposed to concentrate upon the various editions, issues, and states of Volume II—i.e. Case 211 (a), (b), and (c)—in order to demonstrate the importance of the Princeton copies and to help librarians and cataloguers to identify copies in their collections.

Case distinguishes two editions of 1703 and a 1716 re-issue containing some variants. He assumes that (a) is the “first” edition; states that (b) may be a piracy; and concludes that (c) is a re-issue of (a). Norman Ault in The Cambridge Bibliography of English
Literature (ed. F. W. Bateson 1940, Vol. II, 186 and 193) distinguished another 1703 edition but confused matters a little by labelling the 1703 editions "issues" and the 1716 re-issue an "edition." Nevertheless, his distinctions are valid and useful. He identifies the three 1703 editions by the reading of the 3rd line from the end of the Preface:

(a) 'least tentimes the Price'
(b) 'least ten times the Price'
(c) 'wou'd be at least ten times'

He does not attempt to infer which is the first edition. As this is of prime interest to an editor who wishes to secure a trustworthy text of the contents, it was imperative to secure a copy of each of these editions. A search of libraries in the Eastern United States revealed that Ault's edition (b) is very rare indeed. Only two copies could be found, and even they were not exactly alike. They are both at Princeton. The copy with shelf-mark Ex 359.8.725—henceforth called P—was taken as a control copy. Ault's edition (a) is fairly common, and a copy with shelf-mark 1b68.c697.e.2 in the Yale University Library—henceforth called Y—was selected as control copy. For the equally common edition (c), a copy belonging to Mr. George DeF. Lord—henceforth called L—was selected as control copy. Sixteen copies of Volume II have been carefully compared with these three control copies to secure the following information.

Title-pages

Four title-pages may be distinguished. Case 211 (2) (a) is presumably meant to be a transcript of the title-page of Y, but because of an error, could just as easily refer to L. Y has a bold roman comma after "State" and a normal italic Z in "VIZ". L has a black-letter comma after "State" and a swash Z in "VIZ". Case 211 (2) (b) is presumably meant to be a transcript of a Bodleian copy of the title-page of P, but is inaccurate. Nevertheless, Case's claim that a copy of P has a black-letter colon after "State" needs further investigation. American copies of P and L have a black-letter comma after "State" and a swash Z in "VIZ". The fourth title-page is dated 1716 and is as in Case 211 (2) (c) except that the comma after "State" is bold roman. It is usually found as a cancel title-page in copies identical with Y or having minor variants from Y. In one case however it appears in a volume which is a variant of L (copy owned by Howard H. Schless, Columbia University). This would suggest that the same booksellers either took over the sheets of, or were responsible for, both Y and L.

Collation and Pagination

The collation of all editions is as given in Case, i.e. A^4, B-Gg^8, Hh^4, Ii^2

However, there are some copies (usually of Y or its variants) where Ii^2 is bound in after A^6, suggesting strongly that Ii^2 was part of sheet A. This is confirmed by the watermark in some copies.

Pagination varies from copy to copy. The control copies are as follows:

P: pp. 42, 49, misnumbered 44, 4
L: pp. 267, 359, 412 misnumbered 26, 357, 12
Y: pp. 375, 448, 469 misnumbered 376, 444, 269

Thus Case 211 (2) (a) is a description of Y and two identical copies in the Bodleian and British Museum; Case 211 (2) (b) is a description of a Bodleian copy of P; and 211 (2) (c) describes a British Museum copy of the 1716 re-issue of a variant of Y in which p. 264 is misnumbered 294, i.e. it includes an early state of sheet S. A copy is held by Yale University Library, shelf-mark 1b68.c697.e.2. Only the page number was corrected. Even the misprint "Popole" (for People) in the first line of verse on the page was uncorrected.

Pagination peculiarities not noted by Case are as follows:

Variants of L: Two copies have a variant state of sheet S in which p. 267 is correctly numbered (1703 edn: James M. Osborn, Yale University; 1716 re-issue: Howard H. Schless, Columbia University).

Variant of Y: Two copies contain a variant state of sheet Ff in which p. 443 is misnumbered 443 instead of 344. (James M. Osborn; Pierpont Morgan Library).

In none of these is there any textual alteration.

Running-titles

The running-titles in P reveal that two skeletons were used alternately throughout the machining of sheets C-Gg. Some of the evidence for this inference can be used to distinguish copies of P from copies of L and Y. The letter "P" in the running-title "POEMS on" on the verso of each leaf offers the most convenient criterion. Two fonts can be distinguished. In one, the serif at
the top of the letter descends in an arc over half-way down the shaft of the letter; in the other, it is a very short horizontal extension. The first is like a veil over the head of the letter, the second like a small peaked cap. The "veiled P" appears on the verso of the four leaves in sheet B where the running-title is "POEMS on" (and the leaf where it is "POEMS, &c.") as well as on the verso of each leaf, except the fifth, throughout sheets C-Gg. The verso of the fifth leaf in each of these gatherings has the "capped P." It also appears unexpectedly in the running-title of Hh2v, but the veiled P, as usual, appears on Hh1v and Ii1v.

Both Ps also appear in the running-titles of L. The veiled P is most usual, but the capped P occurs on the versos of the following leaves:

B3, B8, C3, C4, C5, C6, D1, D2, D5, D6, E3, E5, E6, H4, I3, I4, K5, K4, L4, M4, N4, O3, O4, P4, Q4, R3, R4, Ee3, Ff3, Ff4, Gg4, Ii1.

Thus, although sheets C-E have a capped P on 5v, they may be distinguished from those of edition P by checking whether 6v also has a capped P.

To distinguish sheets of edition Y by this means, one need only note that no capped P appears in gatherings D-li and that no veiled P appears in gatherings B-C.

This is sufficient information to make sure that every gathering except Hh and Ii that occurs in a hybrid edition may be assigned to its proper edition. Running-titles also distinguish Ii in L from P and Y. The mispagination of p. 469 in Y provides a convenient method of distinguishing between P and Y. Another criterion is needed to provide exclusive identification of Hh. But before leaving running-titles, we should perhaps note another criterion for easy recognition of L. It is the only edition to employ a swash M in the running-titles. The swash M appears in "POEMS on" on the verso of the following leaves:

B2, B9, C1, C2, C3, C4, D1, D2, D7, D8, E1, E2, E3, E8, F2, S2, T1, T2, V2, X2, X3, Y2, Z1, Aa1.

As this suggests, no pattern can be inferred from the running-titles of L to help discover how the volume was machined, but it does raise the possibility that it could be a page-for-page reprint.

Press-marks

Yet another way of identifying the sheets of each edition is by noting the occurrence of "press-marks." Asterisks are used in all three editions, but they usually occur on different pages, thus:

P: A2v, E1v, E2v, S5v, T4v, X9v, Z9v, Aa4v, Bb3v, Dd7v, Ee3v, Ff5v, Ff4v, Gg3v.
L: F2v, G8v, K7v, K8v, P1v, P2v, R2v, R8v, T8v, V2v, V8v, Y3v.
Y: T4v, X3v, X4v, Bb3v, Dd7v, Ff3v, Ff4v.

By checking asterisks, one finds that the second of the two Princeton copies, shelf-mark Ex 3598.725.11, contains a variant state of sheet X, for an additional press-mark appears on X4v. It would seem, however, that no textual alteration was made in adding or deleting the asterisk.

More useful for identification of editions is the fact that only L uses an obelus for press-marks. The obelus occurs on I1v, O7v, S1v, T1v, Cc2v, Dd3v, Dd5v, Ff1v, Ii1v and (upside down) on H3v, L4v, M1v, M3v, Q6v, Q7v, Y7v, Z6v, Z6v, Aa8v, Bb4v, Ee6v, Ee7v, Ff5v.

Other criteria

Despite these elaborate criteria for establishing what edition a particular sheet belongs to, variant sheets can still escape identification. Other criteria are therefore necessary. For instance, gathering Hh as it occurs in P is readily distinguished by the capped P on Hh2v. To distinguish L from Y, one need only note that the fourth line of the text on Hh1 ends with a colon in L. In P and Y it ends with a semi-colon. A more difficult variant to detect is to be found in a 1716 re-issue of Y in the Houghton Library, Harvard University, shelf-mark 15476.27.4.5 (2). This is identical with Y except that sheet E is completely reset. The usual setting has the following textual readings on p. 49: line 6, Judge; line 9, Application (italics); and, on p. 50: line 5, choose. The Harvard resetting reads Judg, Application (roman), chuse. Possibly the sheet was reset to make up copies of the 1716 re-issue. If Y proved to be the first edition as Case claimed, the inclusion of such reset material would have to be taken into account by the textual editor. However, comparison of existing copies will produce a very different relationship from that suggested by Case.

Relationships between the editions

So far we may conclude that variant states of sheets in the three editions have no textual significance except for the reset sheet E in Y. For the editor, then, any copy of P and L may be used to represent these editions. Princeton has the only two copies of P readily available in America; in addition to the copies of L men-
tioned above, two copies identical with the control copy are to be found in New York Public Library, two in the Folger Shakespeare Library and one at Harvard. Other copies (identified only by some of the criteria given above) are at Northwestern University, University of Cincinnati, Library of Congress, and Newberry Library. For the editor, any copy of Y must be checked to ensure that sheet E is of the original setting. Apart from this, it matters not whether the title-page is of 1703 or of 1716. In addition to copies mentioned above, two copies identical with the sheets of the control copy are to be found in the Folger Shakespeare Library, one at Columbia University, and one at Vassar College. A copy at the University of Cincinnati has been identified by the criteria above except that sheet E has not been checked.

What then, is the relationship between the three editions? Which of the three are reprints? Whatever the answer, the accuracy of the reprinting is noteworthy. Collation of poems taken from different parts of the volume (a total of over 1000 lines) reveals that variants occur in fewer than 200 lines. About 65% of these variants are minutiae of punctuation, italicization, and capitalization. Differences of spelling, misprints, substantive changes (nearly always accidental), and omissions are therefore to be found only once in every fifteen or sixteen lines.

This collation also revealed conclusively that P is intermediate between L and Y. Y differs from P almost twice as many times as does L. Omissions, one-directional substantive changes, and circumstantial minutiae demonstrate adequately that Y is a terminal text and is a direct reprint of P with no influence from L. One-directional changes between L and P are difficult to determine, but comparison with authoritative texts from other sources provides just sufficient evidence to demonstrate that L derives from P and not vice versa. Thus the tree is as follows:

```
P   L
  /   \
 Y```

Therefore, P is the first edition of Poems on Affairs of State Vol. II, 1703.

To conclude, we should perhaps relate the new information to the old. The volume which Case suspects is a piracy is in fact the first edition. The edition which he calls the first is a reprint of it. It is unlikely that it is a piracy as it is such a careful reprint of it. It is unlikely that it is a piracy since it is such a careful distinguished by Ault) is an even more careful reprint of the first edition. It would seem much more likely that the reprints were quite normal attempts by the original publisher to fill a demand. What Case thought was the first edition is probably the third edition chronologically. This is suggested by the type-faces used and the kind of normalization apparent in the textual variants. It is perhaps confirmed by the fact that it is the usual edition found with the 1716 title. For the editor of poems that appear in the collection, only the first edition (represented by the Princeton copies) is of real textual value.
Mr. Audubon's Lucy

BY HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

The Library has recently purchased, thanks to the Friends' Acquisitions Committee fund and to a donation from Smith, Kline and French for American historical manuscripts, a significant group of letters for its John James Audubon collection.* Included are one letter—one of the earliest extant—from Audubon himself, seven written by his wife, Lucy Bakewell Audubon, and a subsidiary series of some twenty letters written by other members of the Bakewell family. These were addressed to Gifford relatives in England, and have remained in the possession of descendants until they were sold last summer at Sotheby's in London. The Princeton purchase comprises the material described as lots 227, 228, 230, and 232 in the Sotheby sales catalogue for July 2, 1962.

The series of seven letters written at long intervals over a period of some thirty-five years by Lucy Bakewell (who became the wife of John James Audubon) to Gifford cousins in Derbyshire, provides, in addition to routine family news, a summary chronicle of Lucy's life and of her husband's career. The first of the letters, dated October 16, 1809, is written from New Haven, Connecticut, where William Bakewell had settled with his family upon his first arrival in America. Lucy, then a girl of fifteen, mentions that they will soon be moving to a farm which her father has acquired twenty miles from Philadelphia. This was the estate known as "Fatland Ford" on Perkiomen Creek, and it was here, as has been often related, that Lucy Bakewell made the acquaintance of a young Frenchman named Audubon, who had come to settle on an adjoining farm called "Mill Grove," which his father had earlier acquired as an investment. A letter written by Lucy to her English cousin from Fatland Ford, Sept. 2, 1805, mentions a "Mr. Audubon," who has gone to Nantes and intends returning in the fall, and also speaks of a parcel which she fears her cousin


Audubon's letter to William Bakewell
La Gerbetière, May 20, 1805

Princeton University Library

Continued overleaf
has not received, containing "views of our house," one done by her brother Tom and "the other by Mr. Audubon."

Lucy's father, William Bakewell, had also mentioned "Mr. Audubon" in a letter written to Miss Gifford on July 19, 1805. More than that, he enclosed a letter written to him by the young Frenchman the previous May from La Gerbertière near Nantes. The original letter, now at Princeton, is reproduced in facsimile here, since no transcription can fully render the flavor and enigmatic quality of Audubon's gallicized English. William Bakewell's somewhat perplexed comment on it, when forwarding the letter for the perusal of his cousin in England, is still pertinent: "I inclose you a short letter I lately rec'd. from Mr. Audubon who is at his Father's near Nantes. You must make it out as you can for I cannot exactly understand it. The French modes of expression are so highly coloured that they seem strange to Englishmen. Last winter before his departure he was very ill I believe owing to drinking cold water when overheated & as I then paid him all the attention possible that is what he alludes to in his expressions of obligation. His 'companion of fortune' is an ass of the Spanish kind which I desired him to procure me for breeding mules. I do not understand his snares of the Eagle but suppose it is that the government are wishing to put him in requisition for the army which requires him to keep within doors."

Audubon's letter of May 20, 1805, provides, among other things, striking evidence of his early gropings in the English language, in which he later acquired great fluency, and which indeed became with time the language of his personal journals, his correspondence, and his formal literary writings. A year or so after writing this letter to his benefactor and future father-in-law, Audubon, having successfully evaded "the snare of the eagle," returned to the United States in the spring of 1806. Lucy's uncle, Benjamin Bakewell, who was in business in New York, reported from that city on May 6 that "Mr. Audubon (Lucy's Beau) arrived from France a few days ago to the great satisfaction of his & her friends, as from the difficulty of leaving France which all young men now find we were apprehensive he would be detained. He is a very agreeable young man, but volatile as almost all Frenchmen are." Two years later, on April 5, 1808, Jean-Jacques, or John James, Audubon was married to Lucy Bakewell at Patland Ford.

The next in the series of Lucy's letters to her English cousin is written from Louisville, Kentucky, May 27, 1808, a few weeks
after her marriage. The young bride describes their arduous honeymoon journey by stage coach over the mountains to Pittsburgh and thence down the Ohio by flatboat. “High mountains on all sides environ Pittsburgh, and a thick fog is almost constantly over the town, which is rendered still more disagreeable by the dust from a dirty sort of coal that is universally burnt. Coal is found at the surface of the earth in the neighbourhood of this place, which is really the blackest looking place I ever saw.” The flatboat journey down the Ohio was more attractive, and “Mr. Audubon regretted he had not his drawing implements with him, as he would have taken some views for you. . . .” Of Louisville itself, where the houses and adjoining gardens were “very prettily laid out indeed,” Lucy added: “I am very sorry there is no Library here or book store of any kind, for I have very few of my own and as Mr. Audubon is constantly at the store I should often enjoy a book very much whilst I am alone.”

After another interval of four years Lucy writes on January 5, 1819, from Patland Ford, where she had come to visit her family, having made the long journey from Kentucky on horseback with her husband and their son “Gifford” (Victor Gifford Audubon, born in Louisville, June 12, 1809), who “rode before his Papa all the way.” Uncle Benjamin Bakewell, then established in Pittsburgh, noted in a letter written on December 22, 1811: “Mr. & Mrs. Audubon paid us a visit a few weeks ago on their way to Patland Ford. Their little boy endured the fatigue better than his mother. He had rode on horseback six hundred miles when he was here & appeared very willing to proceed. Thomas Woodhouse [Bakewell] & Mr. Audubon are going into business at New Orleans.” Lucy’s letter mentions her husband’s departure for New Orleans and her intention of joining him there in the spring. Again, there is a tantalizing reference to a drawing: “Mr. A. has a view of Louisville and the falls of the Ohio river for you,” she informs her cousin, “but when we shall get an opportunity of sending it to you I know not.”

Nearly a decade has elapsed before Lucy’s next letter, written this time to “Mrs. Gifford,” another cousin (presumably the sister-in-law of the “Miss Gifford” to whom the earlier letters are addressed), from Louisville, April 1, 1821. She has just learned of the death of her father, William Bakewell, and with the passing years her thoughts turn frequently to “old friends and the early scenes of my youth.”

The various losses and misfortunes of my husband’s affairs you have probably heard of, [she continues], and for the last year he has supported us by his talent in drawing and painting which he learnt from David as a recreation in better times. This last year we have spent in Cincinatti where Mr. Audubon combined a drawing school with a situation in the Museum, and taking portraits of various sizes and kinds; at the same time he is prosecuting a large work on Ornithology which when compleat he means to take to Europe to be published. The birds are all drawn from nature the natural size and embellished with plants, trees or views as best suits the purpose. It is his intention to go first to England, and I hope it will be in my power to accompany him and visit once more those scenes of happy childhood. Mr. A. is now out on a tour of search for the birds, he has not: at present he is in New Orleans and it will be a year before he returns. I am now with my two boys Gifford and Woodhouse at my Sister Eliza’s, but I expect soon either to go to housekeeping here or return for economy sake to Cincinatti which is a cheaper place. My two children occupy nearly the whole of my time, for I educate them myself.

Before concluding the letter with a budget of news about various relatives and their whereabouts, Mrs. Audubon mentions to her cousin: “I have by me a striking resemblance of my Uncle [Benjamin Bakewell] taken hastily by Mr. Audubon, if it were finished I would send it you.” The letter was apparently forwarded to England via New Orleans, for Audubon himself added to his wife’s letter a brief postscript of greeting dated there April 11, 1821.

Lucy Audubon did not accompany her husband to Europe during his sojourn there from 1826 to 1829, when the publication of his Birds of America was launched. She was, however, by his side during subsequent transatlantic journeys, as related in the last two letters in the series recently acquired by Princeton. Writing from Edinburgh, November 27, 1834, concerning a hoped-for visit to her cousin, Mrs. Gifford, Lucy also mentions that she had left London for Edinburgh “to be with Mr. Audubon whilst he was bringing out his second volume of letterpress [Ornithological Biography] and to aid him by copying &c, we have now nearly finished our work. . . .”
Four years later, Lucy writes again from Edinburgh, September 29, 1838:

I wrote you a few lines in July telling you of the Birth of our Grand Daughter, and of she and the Mother [Maria Bachman Audubon] doing well. I was at that time in very poor health, but the warm weather, with such good Medical aid as I have had about that time was of great service to me, and it was so very disagreeable as well as expensive to us to be part living in London & part in Edinburgh that the moment it was thought safe for me we all removed to this beautiful city. I still find myself mending, though obliged to live very quiet and strictly attend to my Physician’s orders. Whether I shall be well enough to undertake the Voyage to America this year or not, is still doubtful, even if the work be done in time and the business closed. But we are fully sensible of the advantage of our living in the United States as soon as we can, with our limited means. We do not yet know exactly when the letter press will be out, but the printers are working as fast as they can, and all Mr. A.’s time is fully occupied in correcting the proof sheets. Our Sons are occupying themselves in the most advantageous manner they can under the present circumstances of not being permanently settled, & our Daughter is quite engaged with her little Babe who grows finely and takes up nearly all her time; she is indeed a nice little thing and we all make quite a pet of her . . . . Before we sail for America I hope we shall be able to shew the young people the curiosities and beauties of Derbyshire. I should like very much to peep at the spots of my childhood once more . . . .

Mr. Audubon says it will not be many months before you have your Volume. It is strange rather how few compleat copies of the “Birds of America” there will be, every one believing that afterwards, it would be cheaper, and already the mistake is beginning to be felt since the Coppers are all put by—in the application of some for a few extra plates which cannot be had even now . . . .

My Brothers have had some pecuniary difficulties to contend with but they have happily none of them had the trials we endured for about 15 years. For the sorrows I have had I am more than recompensed by the continued and unremitting kindness of my own immediate family, who during these (nearly three years) of illness have watched and ministered to my comfort night & day. When these pains and attacks will cease we know not, but as I am better hope at last to be well.

Mrs. Audubon courageously surmounted this lingering illness, as she had so many other trials, and returned in 1839 to America, where the family was soon to acquire a home on upper Manhattan Island. During the years in Edinburgh Lucy’s children had called their mother by the familiar Scottish term, “minnie,” so the new home on the banks of the Hudson was named “Minnie’s Land” in her honor. Lucy Audubon outlived her husband (who died in 1851) and her two sons, Victor Gifford (died in 1860) and John Woodhouse (died in 1862). In a letter written August 14, 1863 to Prof. Joseph Henry, Mrs. Audubon had the satisfaction of telling him that her husband’s original drawings for The Birds of America had been purchased by the New York Historical Society.* In 1867 she completed, with the aid of a friend, the Rev. Charles Coffin Adams, a biography of her husband, which was published in London (1868) under the title The Life and Adventures of John James Audubon, the Naturalist, but with changes and interpolations by the English editor, Robert Buchanan, which caused Mrs. Audubon no little pain. The same work, in a version more to her taste, was issued in New York (1869) as The Life of John James Audubon, the Naturalist, edited by his Widow. Towards the end of her life Lucy journeyed once again over the mountains to Kentucky. She died in 1874 at the age of eighty-six in the Shelbyville home of her sister-in-law (Mrs. William Gifford Bake- well), far from “Minnie’s Land” and from the scenes of her childhood in Derbyshire.

The letters now at Princeton are a modest but fitting monument to Lucy Bakewell Audubon—a remarkable woman in her own right, and one whose share in her husband’s great achievement was no less remarkable. A Princeton poet of the twentieth century, James Whaler, has nicely summed things up in a few lines of his Green River, A Poem for Rafinesque (1931). Constantine Rafinesque—the “odd fish” of Sicilian origin whom Audubon commemorated, perhaps a bit unfairly, in one of the “episodes” of his Ornithological Biography entitled “The Eccentric Naturalist”—explored the American wilderness with as much zeal as did

* Original letter in Princeton Library, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Willman Spawn.
Audubon, but he never tasted the fruits of success and died obscurely in a Philadelphia garret. "Constantine," the poet asks, "why should such fame be Audubon's, and yours a shadowy name? Why do you journey to oblivion?" Then, the reply:

"I'll tell you why: Audubon's not one,
Alone like you: he's two—he's twenty—more!
Because he found the woman to adore
him, lean upon his shoulder, light his heart
With love the quenchless, touch him into art!
... She
Fledged him to be the phoenix,—constantly
Reborn like fire, artificer of Life!
Genius embraced him when he chose that wife!
Chose?—no; none but America, he said,
Had chosen Lucy, Pennsylvanias wed
Them, and Kentucky blessed them. Every bird
Of North America must be characterized
Vivant! he cried,—made glorious forever,
To recompense America the Giver!

Thomas Mann and Sigmund Freud

BY CAROLINE NEWTON

Miss Caroline Newton, member of the Vienna Psycho-Analytical Society since 1921, a close friend of Thomas Mann and his family, has sponsored three commemorations in his honor: at Bryn Mawr College in 1956, at Haverford College in 1959, and at Swarthmore College in 1962, and under her sponsorship Princeton University is to hold a fourth commemoration in the autumn of 1964. The following remarks by Miss Newton were delivered at Swarthmore, on September 29, 1962, preceding an address by Professor Victor Lange of Princeton University on "Thomas Mann as a Critic of His Age."

We were privileged to welcome Thomas Mann on these shores at a time when his life was in danger in Europe. He constantly spoke, and frequently wrote, of his debt to this country. We believe that America, in turn, will long remember that he lived fifteen years among us, broadening and deepening our lives by his simple presence. Of the quality of the work which he produced in the United States this is not the place to speak; of his attachment to America there can be no doubt: we need only remember Mann's profound and touching devotion to President Roosevelt which he recorded in the character of Joseph in Joseph the Provider.

When Dr. Mann died on August 12, 1955, an acquaintance at once telephoned me saying that he hoped that the news would come as less of a shock from him than over the radio. After thanking him I remarked, "The world has lost one of the greatest men that ever lived, and life for me will never be the same." Today I would add Ernest Renan's famous remark—unknown to me at the time: "Every one of us wears mourning in his heart for Marcus Aurelius as if he had died but yesterday."

An incident in his life illustrates the quality of Mann's personality. One of the most intimate friends of the Mann family was the German literary historian, Ernst Bertram. Dr. Bertram turned Nazi. Erika Mann told me almost twenty-five years ago in New York of her father's grief: "Nevertheless," she remarked, "My father placed the first three thousand dollars which he earned
in a New York bank for his friend's use." The fact that Mann
risked his life in the Beethoven Saal in Berlin in 1930 by deliver-
ing a speech opposing Hitler's rise to power, and the sacrifices
he made in losing his German audience, which were a far greater
and more poignant renunciation than the loss of his home and
financial security, gives this act of generosity the deepest signif-
icance.

About a year ago, Mrs. Mann sent me a copy of the volume con-
taining her husband's letters to Ernst Bertram. Those written
while Mann was in exile in Switzerland were cooler than formerly,
but he continued to write. Later they resumed their old tone. The
there is a note in the book in which Mann writes that in view of
Bertram's psychological orientation his turning Nazi was quite
natural.

A dear delicate confused man who was never guided by an
ignoble motive. Do you know what he is doing now? I can-
not be angry at him, and if I were called upon to judge in
Germany, which God forbid, I would say: 'let him go in
peace'!

This was not an exalted action but simply a characteristic gesture
of Mann's daily life. He took this for granted.

The way in which I first met him seems to me significant: I told
Jacob Wassermann that I would like to be introduced to Thomas
Mann, and shortly thereafter found myself seated next to him at
luncheon. This was in Berlin in the winter of 1930.

"Dr. Mann," I inquired, as soon as I could cut through the
usual social amenities, "I asked our host to introduce me to you.
I would like to know something—directly from you—about a
matter which has preoccupied me for a long time. How much
Freud did you read before writing The Magic Mountain?"

Mann kindled; I was now talking to the writer. "Your ques-
tion interests me greatly, Miss Newton. Obviously I have been
asked this before. I had never had a volume of Freud in my hand
until after The Magic Mountain was published." That was in
1924. "However, I owe a great debt to Freud; he is the foremost
thinker of our time. He has undoubtedly influenced me enorm-
ously, both directly and indirectly. To be an artist is to have a feeling for
'Zeitgeist'—the spirit of one's time. Freud must have made an
impact upon me, but certainly I had never read him nor do I
recall any direct discussion of his work."

The comment was a serious one and seriously made. Let us
look at a few dates, for dates are facts. Freud's The Interpretation
of Dreams was published in Vienna in 1900 by a man forty-four
years of age. Simultaneously, an almost unknown young writer,
Thomas Mann, completed Buddenbrooks in Munich at the age
of twenty-five. It has been said that The Interpretation of Dreams
contains the gist of Freud's theory. Let us examine Buddenbrooks
from the angle of what we today regard as Freudian psychology.

One of the cardinal points in Freud's theory is that dreams are
wish fulfillments. An entire volume of Freud's works is devoted to
this conclusion, meticulously presented. Here is Mann's cele-
brated description of Tony Buddenbrook's dream. Tony, we
recollect, went to sleep trying to decide whether to marry a second
time. She dreamed that she saw in the family album, in which
all the events of the Buddenbrooks were set down, the date of
her second engagement, that was to erase the dark blot of her
previous marriage, and her brother Tom's gratification. Might
one not say that Freud, the scientist, has given us a theory
elaborated with the utmost detail whereas Mann, the artist, has
tersely presented the finished creation?

Perhaps the description of Tony Buddenbrook's life is even
more remarkable. Tony was talking about herself. She spoke well.

This happy creature so long as she had been in the world had
never felt obliged to swallow or to overcome the slightest
thing in silence. She had never refrained from expressing
herself about the blandishments, or the insults with which
she had met in life. Everything, all the happiness, all the sor-
row, had been poured forth in a flood of banal, childish and
important words. Expressing herself had satisfied entirely her
need of communication. Her stomach was not quite well,
but her heart was light and free, she herself did not know
how free.

Repression as a factor in illness, expression as a determining force
in health, both Freudian notions, are conceptions which Thomas
Mann took for granted in 1900.

A few more observations about the similarity of thought be-
tween Mann and Freud deserve attention. Freud has given us
many case histories of hysteria. Has he ever surpassed Mann's
story of the life of Christian Buddenbrook? We recall Christian's
pathological concern with an attack of indigestion as a small boy,
his fear, a little later, of having swallowed a peach stone, a truly remarkable description of hysteria and its effect upon his family, the shortened nerves in his left leg, and all of the detailed and tragic decay leading relentlessly to his end in a mental institution.

Hanno Buddenbrook also comes to mind, that moving little boy, sickly from the moment of birth, his childhood dominated by all of the problems which Freud spent many years elucidating, including the pavor nocturnus—that dread nightmare of childhood—for which the Viennese psychoanalyst makes far-reaching claims. There is also the symbolism in the death of Thomas Buddenbrook, who falls to the ground after an unsuccessful tooth extraction. "But one does not for the love of heaven die of a tooth!"

I would like to mention one more date: Freud's work on the death instinct was not published until 1920. Let us look at the death of little Hanno in which the decline of the Buddenbrooks culminates. I have translated Mann's words.

With typhoid fever the course is this. Into the distant feverish dreams, into the torrid detachment of illness, life will call with an unmistakable encouraging voice. This harsh fresh sound reaches down to the spirit wandering forward on the road towards shadows, coolness and peace. He will hear that clear, cheerful, slightly mocking voice penetrating to the regions which he has left behind and already forgotten. There may then well up in him a feeling of cowardice and shame. If this sound renews in him energy, courage, joy and love, a feeling of participating in that mocking colorful and brutal activity towards which he has turned his back, no matter how far he has strayed on that strange hot path he will turn around and live. But if the call of life makes him shrink with fear and aversion, if the memory of this cheerful challenging tone causes him to shake his head in distaste, to ward it off and to flee down the path of escape which has opened before him, then he will die.

I am not forgetting that there are other striking examples of similarity of thought occurring simultaneously between two men as far apart in space, as different mentally and spiritually as Thomas Mann and Sigmund Freud. However, so much has been written and spoken about the influence of Freud on Mann that the duty of establishing the facts seems to me imperative. If any-

"My debt to Freud is great." The words will surprise no one who knew Thomas Mann, no one who was moved as I have been so often by the depth, the pervasiveness of his humility. Whether he ever considered the possibility of some thought-transference I have often wondered. I wish that I had asked him, although I am convinced that his mind did not work in this way.

Well might he write, as he did in his last finished work, and his final gift to me, "The moral and the intellectual impulse go together." His life was based on that conviction; his novels in their increasing affirmation of life illuminate this thought.

It would be an interesting and rewarding task to examine some of the masterpieces of world literature, to compare them with Mann's achievements. War and Peace comes at once to mind and others of the great Russians, whom Thomas Mann so loved. I have at times wondered whether they did not surpass Mann. But recalling Felix Krull one wonders. I do not, however, press the point. I do venture to ask where in all literature one finds a man producing works of such variety and profundity for over sixty years. I would furthermore suggest that these novels are all-embracing, that we are presented with man and human nature from babyhood to old age, in sickness and in health, in a style which has elevated the German language to new heights. I am presuming to ask what place Thomas Mann occupies now and for all time in human thought. I suggest the question. For myself, I have found the answer.
From February 15 to April 15 the Library sponsored, in cooperation with the Princeton University Press, an exhibition entitled, "P. J. Conkright, Typographer: Twenty-Five Years of Craft and Art." As typographer, or book designer, Mr. Conkright has been largely responsible for the attractive physical appearance of the books published by the Princeton University Press since 1919. These books have carried the name of Princeton to all parts of the world, and have served, in many instances, as a standard and example for others to follow. Books "designed by P. J. Conkright" have with almost clocklike regularity received an annual accolade from the American Institute of Graphic Arts in its "Fifty Books of the Year" selection. "P.J."'s influence on book design has thus been felt far beyond the bounds of Princeton, and has earned for him an assured place among America's outstanding typographers.

The books in the display, for each of which Mr. Conkright has found an appropriate "mood" and design, were supplemented by the designer's original drawings and working materials, and by printed ephemera. A special section was devoted to Princeton University Library publications, since the Chronicle, the occasional publications published by the Library under the sponsorship of the Friends of the Princeton Library, bookplates for special collections, and leaflets issued for successive exhibitions have all benefited from the art and skill of P.J. Conkright. Books from the Library's collections which have served as sources for ornaments and other typographical embellishments also found their place in the exhibition. The University of Kentucky Library, which has assembled a fine collection of Mr. Conkright's work, generously lent special items and original designs.

As part of the general tribute the American Philosophical Society lent a walnut box containing designs for letters and ornaments which was purchased in Paris in 1781 by Benjamin Franklin from a letter-maker named Bery, whose shop was on the Notre-Dame Bridge. The box of stencils—with a specimen sheet, Franklin's own monogram and his carte de visite cut in brass—remained in the possession of descendants of Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, until it was acquired in 1947 by the American Philosophical Society. This relic associated with America's most famous printer has been of particular interest to Mr. Conkright, who has studied the contents of the box, made proofs from the stencils, and adapted the designs for books printed at Princeton. The ornament following "Library Notes," for example, is based on the "Franklin stencils."

The Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation also joined in the salute to Mr. Conkright by lending from the Monticello collections a gold-headed cane with engraved monogram, presented to Thomas Jefferson at Christmas time, 1809, by Joseph C. Cabell, and an example of the rare David Edwin stipple engraving of Jefferson (which derived, via a drawing by William Russell Birch, from Gilbert Stuart's medallion profile taken from life in 1805). The Edwin engraving appears on the title-page of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, designed by P.J. Conkright and published by the Princeton University Press; while the "T.J." monogram on the gold-headed cane has been used on publications designed for the Thomas Jefferson Memorial Foundation.

Preceding the opening of the exhibition, on the evening of February 15, a group of Mr. Conkright's friends assembled in the Library for dinner, followed by an informal talk by Mr. Alvin Eisenman, president of the American Institute of Graphic Arts. For this occasion Mr. Conkright's colleagues at the Princeton University Press printed a special booklet, with illustrations contributed by the Meriden Gravure Company, which includes an essay by John Dreyfus, of the Cambridge University Press, entitled "P.J. Conkright and University Press Design," and a selective catalogue of the exhibition, compiled by Mrs. Helen Van Zandt, Assistant Typographer at the Princeton University Press. Subscribers to the Chronicle may obtain copies of this booklet upon application to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.—H.C.R., JR.

PRINCETON PRINTING BEFORE CONKWRIGHT

Running concurrently with the exhibition in honor of P.J. Conkright was a showing in the Princetoniana Room of Princeton imprints of the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The 18th century was represented by one of the eleven
known issues of James Tod's year-long Princeton Packet and his three known books: a catalogue of the College, one of President Witherspoon's sermons and a book of sermons by James Muir. (Adaptations of Tod's woodcut of Nassau Hall—used on the masthead of his Packet and College catalogue—serve today as ornaments for the cover and masthead of the Chronicle.)

The quiet title-pages of 1786 and 1787 gave way to streaks of the ornate fat-face type used by David Borrenstein between 1824 and 1848. From 1824 on, a steady flow of printing issued from the various shops, and from 1833 until 1906 John T. Robinson and his son, Charles S., were responsible for the lion's share. The presses, some of them designed and manufactured by John T., turned out addresses, discourses and sermons as Princeton, like thousands of communities, celebrated Washington's Birthday and the Fourth of July, and edified the Young Men's Literary Association. The College and Theological Seminary were, of course, reliable sources of textbooks, more sermons and addresses, catalogues, and humorous and serious academic literary endeavors. There was music to be printed, Greek, Latin, and the Syllabus of Professor S. Alexander's Lectures on Astronomy. The annual hilarity between Freshmen and Sophomores produced huge and amusing posters; some of N. Booth Tarkington's youthful quips appeared on programs printed for early Triangle Club productions in the basement shop of William C. C. Zapf at 2 Nassau Street. From 1832 on, the local weekly came out under its successive titles. Extras were issued when Richmond was taken, and an inquest held over the brutal murder of James Rowand, Princeton's jeweller and watchmaker.

Many readers of the Chronicle can visualize these products of the press. For two decades after the disappearance of the fat-face type belonging to David Borrenstein, title-pages and wrappers were plain. During the fifties and sixties borders incorporating holly or made up of rustic branches began to appear along with ornamental corners to be used with straight rules; bright colors supplanted dull brown and bluish gray. The title-pages of the seventies and eighties are dominated by fancy letters but now the ornamentation is delicate with hairline ligatures, dots and shapely pothooks. As the Gilded Age progressed the books, pamphlets and ephemera of Princeton more frequently have the look of having been produced by professionals. Zapf worked for a year in the plant of Theodore DeVinne; C. S. Robinson was probably getting young, well-trained printers from New York and Philadelphia. Both Zapf and Robinson sold their equipment in 1905 to the organizers of the Princeton University Press. Charles S. Robinson had succeeded to his father's business in 1866; he had witnessed several minor revolutions.

The items displayed were drawn primarily from the Nelson Collection of New Jerseyana, the Princetoniana Collection, the University Archives and the Theatre Collection. Our principal sources of information were W. L. Collins' Early Princeton Printing (1911), a file of cards for Princeton imprints built up for several years by M. Halsey Thomas and Alexander D. Wainwright and based partly on the WPA Inventory, and Whitney Darrow's Princeton University Press; an Informal Account of its Growing Pains (1951). Borrenstein's life and works have been described by George J. Miller in the Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America for 1936.—E.E.C.

RECENT ADDITIONS TO THE SINCLAIR HAMILTON COLLECTION OF AMERICAN ILLUSTRATED BOOKS

In the five years since the publication of the catalogue of his collection of American illustrated books, Early American Book Illustrators and Wood Engravers 1670-1870, Sinclair Hamilton has added more than four hundred items. His book, now out of print, and his collection are already considered the cornerstone of any study in this field, being the first scholarly investigation of the first significant collection of American illustrators and illustration. It includes with equal weight the very obscure artists as well as the famous ones. The recent additions show as much variety of material as the original collection.

The Graphic Arts division has put on display a selection of representative works from Mr. Hamilton's recent additions. The most interesting single item is a scrapbook entitled "A collection of Original Drawings in pencil, pen and ink and sepia by F.O.C. Darley commencing with those made at the early age of six years 1828-1866." Darley has been considered the first American illustrator of stature with a truly American style, his predecessors having imitated European styles and European subject matter. Many of the Darley sketches and drawings can be traced to published works such as Major Jones's Courtship (1844), The Big Bear of Arkansas (1845), Sketches Abroad with Pen and Pencil (1868), and the sketch for the title masthead of The John-Donkey (1848).
remarkable collection shows an artist growing and maturing over a period of some forty years.

A number of rare broadsides have been added. Shown were two western American items printed on light blue paper: “Crossing the Plains. Views Drawn from Nature in 1848,” by George H. Baker, and “San Francisco Past and Present... San Francisco as it was, 1849... San Francisco as it is, 1849,” also drawn by Baker. “The Grecian Daughter, or, an example of a Virtuous WIFE, who fed her father with her own milk—he being condemned to be starved to death by Tiberius Caesar, Emperor of Rome; but was afterwards pardoned, and the Daughter highly rewarded... Windsor, printed for the flying book-sellers” is an example of an earlier broadside. “Little Eva Song. Uncle Tom’s Guardian Angel” was copyrighted in 1852 and printed on linen as an advertisement of Uncle Tom’s Cabin. It boasts a sale of 115,000 copies of that book in six months.

Copies of humorous works such as The Wickedest Woman in New York, and Augustus Hoppin’s Crossing the Atlantic add a light touch to the exhibition, while such shockers as Zilla Fitz James, the Female Bandit of the Southwest, or the horrible, mysterious and awful disclosures in the life of the creole murderess, Zilla Fitz James, paramour and accomplice of Green H. Long, the treble murderer, for the space of six years, add a certain spice.

—GILLET G. GRIFFIN

UNDERGRADUATE BOOK COLLECTING CONTEST

In memory of Elmer Adler’s encouragement of young collectors, the executors of his estate have presented an endowment of five thousand dollars to the University for the Undergraduate Book Collecting Contest, the income of which is to be awarded each year in prizes.

Since 1922 an undergraduate book collecting contest has been held in the Princeton University Library. The late George Mann Peck, Curator of Special Collections, acted as the original sponsor, presenting a prize for the best undergraduate book collection. Elmer Adler, who came to Princeton in 1940, energetically helped to stimulate and encourage the connoisseurship of fine and rare books with his own seminars and talks by visitors and book collectors. For a number of years the Princeton University Store offered prizes of books to undergraduate winners of the contest, but in 1954 the Friends of the Princeton Library took over the sponsor-

ship of the contest, awarding the sum of fifty dollars to be divided according to the recommendations of the judges.

The number of students competing varies each year from three to sometimes more than ten. Students are asked to submit no more than ten books to represent each collection, together with a paragraph explaining the aims and directions of the material. They may then individually discuss with the judges how and why they collect and the course they plan to follow. Judges in the past have been impressed by the maturity of the contestants and the intelligence which they have shown in their selection.

—GILLET G. GRIFFIN

DR. ARNOLD HERMAN KNAPP

In a communication to the Editors, Edward Steese ’24 has added supplementary information to a footnote appended to James Kritzeck’s article on Albert von Le Coq which appeared in the Spring 1962 issue of the Chronicle. Elinor von Le Coq, in a letter printed on page 120, speaks of her father, Adolph Weber, as a genius in ophthalmology and mentions “Knapp” as a comrade in the States. Dr. Kritzeck, in his editorial note, reported correctly that Knapp did not appear to be listed in the standard biographical dictionaries. Dr. Arnold Herman Knapp, writes Mr. Steese, was “perhaps the best known ophthalmologist of his day. He probably did more to prevent blindness than any other man who ever lived; and... his Knapp Memorial Foundation continues his research and teaching in ophthalmology...’ (Century Association Year Book, 1957, p. 172).” Dr. Knapp was graduated from Harvard in 1889 and from the College of Physicians and Surgeons in 1894. He practiced in New York City from 1896, and was Professor of Ophthalmology at P. and S. from 1903 to 1928, and thereafter emeritus. Columbia made him D.Sc. in 1930. He died February 29, 1956.—M.H.T.
improvements on the printing press since Gutenberg, and descriptions of the printing house which Blaeu built the year before his death show evidence of a printing organization that was highly developed.

The Blaeu press became renowned for the excellence of the work which bore its imprint and its map engravers were among the finest in the world. Not only did Blaeu's work win him the appointment of hydrographer to the Dutch East India Company, but also the Estates General of Amsterdam, in January of 1633, appointed him Map-Maker of the Republic. After his death, in 1638, the firm was continued by his two sons, Joan and Cornelis, the elder of whom had been collaborating since 1631 on the most ambitious enterprise of his father's life, the production of a world atlas.

As early as 1604 Blaeu had begun to publish maps of atlas size, but it was the *Atlantis Appendix* of 1639 that was Blaeu's first concerted attempt at the creation of an atlas. The following year a second *Appendix* appeared. Both of these publications were intended not only to supplement the atlases of Ortelius and Mercator, but also to act as the beginnings of his own great work. In 1644 the first edition of Blaeu's atlas was published in a volume of 160 maps with descriptions in German. The following year the atlas was greatly enlarged and appeared in two volumes, with editions in four languages. From this small beginning sprang the great series of atlases that culminated in Blaeu's magnificent *Atlas maior*, *sive Cosmographia Blaviana...*, issued in nine to twelve volumes, with separate editions in Latin, German, Dutch, French and Spanish and containing over 600 maps.

One of the earliest editions of this atlas in four volumes with French text, is among the rarest versions of this great cartographic accomplishment. It is this distinguished landmark of map making which was recently presented to the Library's Maps Division by Dr. J. Monroe Thorton, a fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London and a member of Princeton's Class of 1915.

Magnificently produced as handsome and expensive books to appeal to the extravagant European merchant-connoisseurs of the 17th century, the copies of the *Atlas maior* that have survived are usually found in full vellum bindings tooled with gold and the edges of the sheets gilded. The Thorton volumes now at Princeton meet these specifications, with the maps themselves—exploiting the pictorial possibilities of map design as never before—embellished with ingenious variations on decorative motives.
Volume I of the Princeton set of this *Théâtre du Monde ou Nouvel Atlas* is dated 1643. Volume II and III bear the year 1644, while the imprint of volume IV has the date 1646. All have the bookplate of Henri de Ristori. Each part has a lavishly colored frontispiece, heightened with gold; the volumes contain 355 hand-colored maps.

Dr. Thorington's gift takes its place among other productions of Blaeu and his contemporaries in the Princeton collections which include a recently acquired globe found, after close investigation, to be the work of an unidentified seventeenth-century painter who used as his source the engraved maps of Willem Blaeu. This globe serves as the decorative centerpiece of the Rare Books and Manuscripts reading-room in the new Dulles wing. Executed in Venice in 1690, the globe—a better example of painting than of cartography—bears Blaeu's Latin dedication, partially illegible, to Maurice, Prince of Nassau, a collateral ancestor of William III, Prince of Nassau-Orange, for whom Princeton's Nassau Hall is named.—*Johanna Fantova*

**FORD MAIDO FORD LETTERS**

With an allocation from the John E. Annan Fund, the Library has purchased from Mr. Paul Alexander Bartlett more than eighty letters written by and to the English novelist, Ford Madox Ford. Over sixty letters are addressed to Ford's good friend and literary agent, James B. Pinker, or his sons, who continued to run the agency after Pinker's death. The dated letters span the years 1901-1930.

Among the other twenty are a long letter to Joseph Conrad, dated November 8, 1923, written from the offices of the *Transatlantic Review*, which Ford was then founding in Paris; a letter to the novelist Alec Waugh in reply to a request from his publisher, Chapman and Hall; a letter to the editor of *The New York Times* as well as a long complaint which he wished the editor of "Books" to publish; a brief letter signed Daniel S. Chaucer, that being one of Ford's pseudonyms; and four letters to Mr. Bartlett himself, written from Olivet College in 1988 and 1989, the last one not long before Ford's death. Of contiguous interest are seven letters in this collection written by Violet Hunt, the English novelist who describes her association with Ford in an autobiographical volume called *The flourished Years*.

—*Richard M. Ludwig*

James B. Meriwether, William Faulkner: A Check List, 1957. 24 pages, paper. $1.00


The Princeton University Library Chronicle. Copies of most of the back issues are still available from the Library, including the special issues devoted to the Garrett Collection of Manuscripts, James Boyd, John Peale Bishop, the Parrish Collection of Victorian Novelists, Ford Madox Ford, the Rollins Collection of Western Americana, the Cyrus H. McCormick Collection, the dedication of the Firestone Library, the Grenville Kane Collection, Moby-Dick, Booth Tarkington, Woodrow Wilson, Americans in Paris, the Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books, John James Audubon, and the dedication of the Dulles Library of Diplomatic History. Prices vary.

Library exhibition leaflets. Many of the leaflets issued by the Library in connection with its major exhibitions are still available for complimentary distribution.

Although not the Library's own publications, copies of the following, both reproducing material from the Princeton collections, are available upon request. No charge.


Caron du Chassey, La Double Victoire, Poème dédié à Madame la Comtesse de Rochambeau (Paris, 1781), facsimile reproduction of copy in the Princeton University Library. Institut Français de Washington, 1954. 20 pages, paper.

Occasional Publications Sponsored by the Friends

Two of the ten volumes in the series of occasional publications issued by the Library under the sponsorship of the Friends are now out of print, Howard C. Rice, Jr., The Rittenhouse Orrery, 1574, and The Arte of Angling, 1577, edited by Gerald Eades Bentley, with an introduction by Carl Otto v. Kienbusch and explanatory notes by Henry L. Savage, 1956, but a revised edition of the latter, published by the Princeton University Press in 1958, is available from the Press at $8.75. All but one of the following books may be purchased by Friends at reduced rates, as indicated.

Anthony Trollope, Did He Steal It?, with an introduction by Robert H. Taylor, 1952. 80 pages, decorated paper over boards. $3.00 ($2.00 to Friends)

L. H. Butterfield, John Witherspoon Comes to America, 1953. 114 pages, 4 illustrations, decorated paper over boards. $4.00 ($3.00 to Friends)

Elia Boudinot’s Journey to Boston in 1809, edited by Milton Halsey Thomas, 1955. 112 pages, 5 illustrations, decorated paper over boards. $3.50 ($2.75 to Friends)

F. Scott Fitzgerald, Afternoon of an Author, with an introduction and notes by Arthur Mizener, 1957. 236 pages, 9 illustrations, cloth. $5.00

Charles Kingsley’s American Notes: Letters from a Lecture Tour, 1874, edited by Robert Bernard Martin, 1958. 72 pages, 5 illustrations, cloth. $3.00 ($2.50 to Friends)

On Plays, Playwrights, and Playgoers: Selections from the Letters of Booth Tarkington to George C. Tyler and John Peter Toohey, 1918-1925, edited by Alan S. Downer, 1959. 110 pages, 13 illustrations, cloth. $5.00 ($4.50 to Friends)

John Rupert Martin, The Portrait of John Milton at Princeton and its Place in Milton Iconography, 1961. 42 pages, 24 black and white illustrations in text, with reproduction in color of the Princeton portrait of Milton. cloth. $7.50 ($5.00 to Friends)

The Princeton portrait of John Milton, attributed to William Faithorne. Reproduction in color by the Meriden Gravure Company. Same size as original, 10% x 8¼ inches. $2.00

Esther Felt Bentley, A Vanished Society: Essays in Ameri-
can History, 1962. 86 pages, 8 illustrations, decorated paper over boards. $3.00 ($2.25 to Friends)

PRINCETON PRINT CLUB

The following prints of Princeton buildings and scenes were commissioned by the Princeton Print Club and may be purchased in the Graphic Arts Room of the Firestone Library. Orders by mail should be addressed to the Curator of Graphic Arts, Princeton University Library. The price per print is $5.00.

Blair Arch. Drypoint etching by Louis C. Rosenberg. 8½ x 6¼ inches.

Stanhope and Reunion Halls. Aquatint by George J. Mess. 10 x 7¼ inches.

Dillon Gymnasium. Etching by John Taylor Arms. 9¼ x 8¼ inches.

Clio Hall. Lithograph by John C. Menihan. 14¼ x 10 inches.

Firestone Library. Chiaroscuro woodcut by Hans A. Mueller. 12¼ x 8¼ inches.

Lake Carnegie in winter. Serigraph by Leonard Pytlak. 16 x 11 inches.

Tiger Gateway and Little Hall. Lithograph by Francis F. A. Comstock. 16¼ x 12¼ inches.

Nassau Hall. Serigraph by Philip Hicken. 16¼ x 12¼ inches.

The Burning of Nassau Hall. Linoleum cut by Joseph Low. 15¼ x 9 inches.

FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton Library, founded in 1930, 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 which has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other material which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to anyone subscribing annually seven dollars and fifty cents or more. 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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