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John James Audubon: A Backwoodsman in the Salon
BY HENRY LYTTLETON SAVAGE

THE proud possessor of a copy of the 1827-38 folio edition in four volumes of the Birds of America by John James Audubon, oft finds himself a bit embarrassed by the treasure he owns. The book is some four feet high by four feet broad (99¼ cm.). Each volume weighs, by rough measurement, between fifty and sixty pounds, that weight being caused not only by the heaviness of the paper which had to receive the impression of the copper-plates, but also by the author's insistence that nearly every drawing should be life size. The book is far too bulky to stand upright on a bookshelf (its pages would "buckle down" or sag), but must repose upon its side, and even when so placed, buckling or crinkling of the title page is an omnipresent danger that requires constant vigilance on the part of the owner. Hardly a book that one—or would want to—pick up nonchalantly and leaf through lightly as he lounges after luncheon in a favorite chair. Distinctly a treasure that will bear watching; less than other men can the owner of an elephanticus Audubon afford to indulge any "little blindness to moth and rust."

Yet no owner of an elephanticus Audubon is aught but proud of his "worrier" charge. His nose tilts a little higher in the air as he walks the street, thinking of the men and institutions who would have an elephanticus if they could. He smiles condescendingly as he reads the advertisements of the print-sellers who offer single prints of the lithograph folio of 1856; nor does that smile disappear when the print-seller advertises single plates taken from a folio of '27-28, for he knows that the poor "rich" man who buys
the superb plate of the Canvas-backed Duck (with its view of the City of Baltimore), probably has not gotten, and will never get, the plate of the Ruffed Grouse and his harem.

Princeton is not badly off as regards Auduboniana. Harvard University has a richer collection of items connected with the ornithologist, and probably also have the New York Historical Society and the American Museum of Natural History (though I write without precise knowledge of their collections). But in the past we have been fortunate in possessing friends or alumni who were interested in Audubon's work or had connections with his milieu.

To one such donor our copy of the folio Birds is due. Its original owner who subscribed to the first edition was Stephen Van Rensselaer of Albany, of the class of 1808. The copy remained in that family, passing from father to son as an heirloom until 1927 when Alexander Van Rensselaer '71, a charter trustee of the University, generously presented it to the Library. Few books in our possession are more cherished than this one.

How we got our copy of the Ornithological Biography, 5 vols., Edinburgh, 1831-39, is unknown. This work, it should be explained, is the written account of the birds depicted in the several volumes of plates (for the folio contains no letterpress). Should some need of honor be given to a watchful librarian who picked up at a sale a good thing when he saw it, or are we still indebted to an alumnus? This copy was in our library before we began to keep any record of the sources of our acquisitions. It is a presentation copy from Audubon to the Philadelphia physician G. S. Morton, with a signed inscription "Phila. Mar. 24, 1840." Did it come to us after Dr. Morton's death in 1857?

Nor are books the sum total of our collection. We possess four of the original copper-plates from which reproductions were made, among them the plate of the Raven, one of the finest of the entire set. ²

The year 1943 proved an annus mirabilis for our Audubon collection. It opened auspiciously by bringing to us a sumptuously

1 Thirty-seven copper-plates are known to exist, see Rudven Banne, The Audubon Society (1956). For the benefit of bibliographer and bibliophile it should be said that the engraver of the copper-plates put his plate with Audubon's water color or pastel sketch before him, this sketch, in many cases, having been made from a specimen freshly killed, that rigor mortis might not stiffen or distort the limbs nor the plumage lose its iridescence. After the impression from the copper-plate was taken, it was painted by hand from Audubon's colored sketch, whose magister bore his pencilled instructions to the painter about the precise shades of each color required.

² There are three editions of The Quadrupeds, one, dated '49, another '50-'51, the third '51-'54. The first two are small folios, the third an octavo. We possess copies of the third only.
Mr. Williams' gift is really double. He has given generously and given twice, so that the writer feels somewhat like a small child on Christmas Morning, bewildered by the richness that lies before him. And what lies before him is indeed rich. There is first, the collection of twenty-five manuscript letters, twenty-four of them written by J. J. Audubon, and one by his son, Victor Gifford; and second, Audubon's own personal copy of Thomas Nuttall's *Manual of the Ornithology of the United States and Canada*, 2 vols., 1832-34, with his comments on the margins of its pages. With this second gift goes a letter from Mrs. J. J. Audubon, presenting the two volumes to a former owner.

There is time in this article for describing only the first gift. The second requires closer study than time has allowed me to devote to it. I promise the reader more at another time.

The twenty-five letters are contained within a beautifully bound portfolio graced with illustrations taken from copies of the *Quadrupeled* and from the octavo edition of the *Birds*, and with two contemporary photographs, one of the ornithologist, and the other of his wife, both taken in their last years. These letters fall within the span 1846-47. Seven were written in this country, one at Quebec, and the rest in London and Edinburgh. Of the European letters the first four, between 1846-31, cover an important period in Audubon's life—the period of his first European sojourn, the years in which he labored to bring off the publication and sale of his folio *Birds*. The remaining nine that were written from the British Isles during the second European sojourn cover routine matters or are requests to members of his family in this country to send him books, papers, or preserved specimens, things that he needed to get on with his job—and to send them quickly. For, like all men absorbed in a labor of love, Audubon could not brook delay and was unwavering and relentless in the pursuit of both birds and subscribers. One of our letters has been previously printed by Mr. Howard Corning, who published in 1930 all the letters of the ornithologist to which he was allowed access. I find nothing to indicate that Professor Francis H. Herrick had seen or used these particular letters in the preparation of his biography, Audubon The Naturalist, 2 vols., N. Y. and London, 1917, so there is strong possibility that I am seizing unfinish waters. And now let us see what the net brings up.

Before 1846, Audubon was to most of those who knew him a hopeless ne'er-do-well. Everything to which he turned his hand ran down or failed through lack of application. And at this point Lucy Bakewell Audubon enters the stage. This inspiring and inspired lady saw clearly two things. She saw first that if their children were not to suffer, things could not go on as they had been going. Being a born teacher, she quietly secured a very good position as governess in a private family at West Feliciana, Louisiana, where she reared her own two sons along with the children of her employer. But she also saw that her disconcerting husband had genius, a genius unwanted then in America. If he was to "emerge" it would have to be in the Old World and not in the New. So by one means or another they gathered enough to send John James and his paintings to England.

This was a master stroke, for it put John James in the only position where he had a chance for the fame and success he deserved, and it also got him out of the country, so that his wife could get on with the education of their children, untroubled by his vagaries and undisturbed by his frequent changes of plan. One can readily believe that with matters thus arranged Lucy Bakewell was determined to leave them so, and not to cross the straining sea the next day or for many a day thereafter. This resolve of hers explains the pleadings and expostulations which crowd the letters written by her husband in the early years of his European Aeneid. The quotations that follow sound amusing now, but to John James they were then serious matters. Unfortunately (or fortunately?) we lack Mrs. Audubon's replies.

*That letter was written from Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1847, Letters of John James Audubon, Club of Odd Volumes, Boston, 1909. This letter once belonged to Mr. Victor Tylee of New Haven, Conn, a great grandson of J. J. Audubon.*

*In fact the letter written from London, Dec. 4, 1847 corrects a minor detail given in Professor Herrick's biography, Professor Herrick states (1. 580) that Audubon "was gratified to receive the subscription of Lord Stanley" (later fourteenth Earl of Derby) in London. The letter shows that the subscription was received not in London but in Liverpool.*
We cannot help but smile at the naïveté of his first impor- tant summons in a letter of Dec. 9, 1846:
I hope no more constraint or opposition will be made to my will.*
By the next spring his tone has come down, for he informs Lucy
(May 15, 1827):
It is also quite useless for me to say that I would be happier if thou
writ with me... but I almost abandon the hope (as according
to thy expressions) thy habits and my [sic. Read thy?] ideas of things
are so different from mine.
But a year's passage has brought no Lucy and John James is
growing desperate (Nov. 2, 1828):
And if it is thy intention not to join me before that time, I think
[it] will be well off for both of us to separate, then to marry in
America, and I to spend my life most miserably alone for the re-
mainder of my days... Depend upon it, Lucy, my affections are
not of adamant [sic] substance.
Eventually, at her own good time, Lucy did come over and her
husband was at last happy.
The letters of this Princeton Ms. illustrate with some vividness
of detail several incidents from the orthologist's roving life as a
bookpeddler. Such a life carried disappointments and humiliations
without number, and it also brought into the open many an odd
or eccentric character, who appears briefly before us and then is
lost forever to our view. It will be amusing to learn some of
Audubon's comments on the cities and the men who did—or did not
buy some of his wares.
As others before and after him, he found "on experience the
Scotch in Scotland tight dealers." But he can also find those nearer
home who know how to drive a hard bargain; for, writing a little
later from London (Dec. 21, 1827) he says "be assured that such
men as subscribe to my work are all of good standing and wealthy—
No Yankees here in such matters." He animadverts upon "Yank-
eens" and their ilk in some of the letters written on this side of
the Atlantic. A trip to Portsmouth, N. H. having proved unsuccessful,
he writes (Boston, Sept. 20, 1828): "All I have derived in fact has
been the feeling of plain [sic. "pain?"] almost unknown to me pre-
viously, and of having seen the habits and habits of people all
used to hard work and extremely tenacious of their money." In

* I have normalized Audubon's punctuation. It is based on no principle, marks being
spare with the dash predominant. Where the sense of a passage is vague and seem-
frequently guilty of net capitalizing the initial letter of a sentence, and this habit
I have corrected without comment.

a letter dated Quebec, Sept. 21, 1842, he openly takes sides in a
famous feud of l'ancien régime. "Montreal is far superior in point
of wealth, and, I believe, local taste than Quebec."
Among those who proved to be stumbling blocks to success
were Dr. Holmes and Messrs. Kennedy and Critie [?] of Liverpool,
who had taken out subscriptions, but wished to discontinue them.
Time permits me to relate the account of Audubon's visit to only
one of these gentlemen, and that one shall be Mr. Critie.
Trotted off to Wm. Critie; I found him seated most comfortably,
twisting my card with his fingers—"The work was too bulky; did not
know what to do with it, and at last told me he would willingly
sell me do guineas worth of it, now in his possession for 40! I
bowed and retired.
Perhaps there is still a modicum of truth in Mr. Critie's first two
criticisms.
One can see well that Audubon is hardly on the same plane as
a letter writer as Walpole or Cowper or Madame de Sévigné. He
could not write as fluently as he could speak, his spelling is uncer-
tain and his punctuation almost naught. Born a Frenchman, he
was never completely master of the English idiom. We shall look
in vain for any interest in philosophic questions or any power of
analyzing the spirit. Yet he is not without humor, and some of
his remarks have the true Gallic pungency. Moreover, the fact that
he was in a favorable position from which to view English upper-
class life, and the additional fact that he viewed it as an American,
make his letters valuable to the historian of men and manners of
the late Georgian era. We can pardon him his defects because
his picture is both truthful and vivid. Unlike Carlyle or Cobbett,
he was accustomed to viewing things as they were.
We would give a great deal to know Audubon's theory of art,
his prescription for good painting, but he does not choose to en-
lighten us. Once or twice he seems almost on the point of telling
us, but other matters draw him off.
Perhaps his view as to what is the true purpose or end of paint-
ing is implied in his directions for his painter-son Victor (Dec. 9,
1846):
In this country John can receive an Education that America does
not yet afford. Urge him by all means to set to and begin a Colle-
cction [sic] of Drawings of all he can—and not to destroy one
Drawing no matter how indifferent [sic], but to take all from Na-
ture—I find here that although I have drawn much, I have not
drawn half enough—Tell him to employ my method of putting up

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Birds before him, etc.—to draw fishes, turtles, eggs, trees—Lands- 
sapes, all, all he can draw.

"To take all from Nature." The advice smacks of Pope's recipe 
for artistic success, and no doubt Audubon would have approved 
of many of the implications of Pope's doctrine—"first follow Na- 
ture." Like Pope, his own beliefs seem based on Deistic founda- 
tions, which meant that the world he beheld was a world not of 
ilusion but of reality. To him also, as to Pope, Art meant hard 
work, and the methods by which one attained success in it were 
the traditional ones that had been proven in the past.

If we wonder how this holder of such a typical 18th century 
credo could have so painted far lands and broad waters and the 
lovely forms of plant and animal life which enlivened them, that 
one must reckon him as one of the leading romantic artists of all 
time, the answer lies in the fact that men in America were even 
more blind than men in England to the Nature that was just out- 
side their kitchen stoups, a Nature of whose wealth Pope could 
never have dreamed. There it was for all to see—and only he 
sees it. Alexander Wilson had done something to interest 
men and women in the wild life of their own land, but 
through Audubon did America speak of animate Nature in terms 
of Art. In his avian portraits there is that super-clarity of form and 
line which is to be found in the paintings of his former master, 
David, that super-heightening of traits to be found in the successful 
human characterizations of Scott's novels. Like David and Scott he 
is a devotee of the far-away and mysterious, and like them, there- 
fore, a romanticist, but he also has the power which they possess 
of sweeping Nature's forms up into the timeless and unchangeable. 
Social histories of America lament the embryonic existence, or 
even the non-existence, of American Art in the '40s, '50s, and '60s of 
the last century. Yet in these four elephantic folios here it is. We 
could not recognize it when we saw it, and only believed that we had 
produced it, after Philaret-Chasles, Pierre Joseph Redouté, 
the Earl of Derby, Lord Elgin of the "Marbles," Sir Walter Scott, 
and Sir Thomas Lawrence had assured us that it was indisputable 
Art—and Art of our own making.9

9 For an article comment on Audubon, see L. Tuttle, Letter to the Editor (Yale 
Review 90, 429-43). Mr. Tuttle's opening sentence deserves quotation: "While it may 
there Yale Review, "that there are several living men" (I am tempted to shorten 
the familiar challenge, "Name three") "and at last one dead" (I suppose Louis Uertes 
is here referred to) "who in line and color, in close observation and anatomical 
knowledge far outstrip Audubon's quaint pictures, yet I doubt it."
tall; but some remarks on the subject of fables in general, with
mention of a few features of the collection, may be of interest.

There have been many attempts to define the fable or apologue,
and to differentiate it from other types. For Joseph Jacobs it is "a
short humorous allegorical tale, in which animals act in such a
way as to illustrate a simple moral truth or inculcate a wise max-
im." This definition is faulty because it limits the fable to a spe-
cialized form of the beast-tale. J. Baudoin in 1631 gave this defini-
tion: "une fante qui par quelque ressemblance représente la
vérité." La Motte in 1719 gave this: "La fable est une instruction
déguisée sous l'allégorie d'une action. C'est un petit poème épiq-
ue"; and this was copied by Charles Denis (Select Fables,
London, 1754): "A Fable is no more than a moral instruction
disguised under the allegory of an action. It is an epic poem in
miniature." La Fontaine called the moral the 'soul' of the fable;
but with him it was not so much a precept to be followed as a
warning against the results of folly or weakness. He described his
work as "an ample comedy in a hundred acts, of which the scene
is the universe." Dean M. Ellwood Smith, who has devoted much
attention to the subject, gives this: "A Fable is a short tale, ob-
viously false, devised to impress by the symbolic representation
of human types, lessons of expediency and morality." When the
symbols are animals endowed with the power of speech, even
though they act in character, the tale is in fact obviously fictitious;
but many fables are without dialogue, and introduce human beings
or gods, as well as inanimate objects. The fable of la Laitière et le
pot au lait, for example, which has analogues in India, is entirely
credible. Thus the element of falseness is relative, and some com-
positions that are ordinarily classed as fables do not conform
strictly to Dean Smith's definition. In general, however, the fable
can be distinguished from the parable, also a symbolic tale, but
one in which the action is made natural so that the moral may be
more persuasive. The exemplum, an anecdote introduced in a
sermon, may be incongruous like a beast-fable or plausible like a
parable. In all these cases the essential feature is the represent-
ation in brief compass of human types by means of symbols.

The moralizing tendency distinguishes the fable from the satire,
which points the finger of scorn at the foibles of society. It is diffi-
cult, however, to draw a line between satire and morality, and in-
deed fables have been used from ancient times as vehicles for social
and political satire through animal symbolism. In the Middle
Ages there developed an independent genre in the beast-epic, a
parody of the epics of chivalry. The many branches of the Old French *Roman de Renart* and similar poems in other languages, in which the fox as protagonist outwits more powerful animals, contain episodes based on fables and in turn have given rise to new fables. The origin of these fox-poems is found in certain medieval Latin works; but in ancient times there was an example of satiric beast-epic, the *Batracomyomachia* (Battle of Frogs and Mice), long ascribed to Homer, and frequently printed as his in Greek with a Latin translation. In our collection it is found, accompanied by *Galeomyomachia* (Battle of Cats and Mice) in editions of *Aesop* printed at Basle, 1541; Lyon, 1582; and Paris, 1585. In more recent times a dull political satire in the form of an animal-epic, *Gli Animali Parlanti*, was published in 1804 by G. B. Casti, who also wrote fables (we have an edition of 1811).

Other types allied to the fable are the folk-tale, often similar to a fable; the fabliau, a short realistic humorous story or *conte*; and the bestiary, a work in which descriptions of the traditional characteristics of animals are accompanied by symbolic or ethical interpretations. The bestiary stands between the beast-fable (a story with a moral) and the medieval encyclopedias, which contain the same descriptions of animals as the bestiaries, without the moralizing. In medieval manuscripts a bestiary and a group of fables are often side by side, as if they belonged to the same category. From the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* of Bartholomeus Anglicus the immensely popular *Fiore di Virtù*, of which we have several editions, derived descriptions of birds and beasts illustrating a series of virtues and vices, each description being followed by a fable or tale. The so-called books of emblemata show symbolic pictures interpreted by fables, proverbs or maxims; of one of the most famous, the *Emblemata* of Alciati, the collection has the fine 1561 edition. Likewise folklore and mythology have many connections with fables, which in fact developed out of primitive animistic beast-tales. In all parts of the world animals have been made the personages of stories, whether to explain natural phenomena or simply for entertainment. Originally the stories were accepted as literal truth; with the growth of sophistication the action was no longer taken literally and the animals became by analogy symbols of human types. Other actors beside animals were introduced, and the 'moral' was added. The fable developed into a literary form which became universally familiar. Proverbial expressions are derived from fables ("borrowed feathers," "sour
grapes”), or as it were fables in embryo (“the dog in the manger,” “a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush”).

Without going extensively into these collateral fields, our collection has some works representative of them. Particularly interesting is a copy of the 1492 edition of the De Proprietatibus Rerum mentioned above. This thirteenth-century encyclopedia, with its exhaustive descriptions of the animal world, was widely used for centuries in the original Latin and in various translations. The only other incunabulum in the collection is the Summa de Exemplis ac Simitudinibus Rerum by Johannes de S. Geminiano (Venice, 1499).

Originating spontaneously in widely separated regions, tales about animals migrated both orally and in writing from one part of the world to another. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that in European folklore animals occur which are not found in Europe—lions, tigers, elephants. Whether the fables that we know as Aesop’s originated in Greece or came there from Asia is a much debated question. Certain Greek fables have parallels in India, from the Jatakas (tales of the Buddha’s former incarnations) down to late compilations like the Panchatantra and the Kalila and Dimna ascribed to Bidpai or Piplay, in which fables are incorporated in a frame-work narrative. The truth seems to be that neither Greece nor India can justly claim priority in all cases where borrowing is apparent. Some fables originated in India and migrated to Europe, while others went in the opposite direction. From an early period there was intercourse between Europe and many parts of Asia. Some tales, such as the famous Tar-baby story, told in Ceeole French in Louisiana and by Uncle Remus, were brought to America by Negroes, whether they originated in Africa, or as some think came there from India. Other stories told by Negroes in this country are European, such as the one about the fox and the wolf in the well. This medieval tale is found in many versions—in the Roman de Renart, in an Italian terza rima fable of the fourteenth century, in the Middle English Fox and Wolf, in a fable by Passerini in the eighteenth century. In every case the kernel of the story is that the fox persuades the wolf to pull him out of the well by getting into the bucket on the other end of the rope, leaving the heavier and less resourceful animal where the fox had been (in Uncle Remus, Brer Rabbit is the clever animal, corresponding to the fox in European versions; and Brer Fox represents the wolf). This action is certainly far removed from reality, but the moral of it is obvious. The moral is similar in another fable, Greek in origin, the Fox and the Goat in well.

As to Aesop, the traditional biography, dating from the Middle Ages, makes him a Phrygian slave who came to Athens in the sixth century B.C., by his telling of fables secured freedom, but incurred the enmity of powerful persons whom he satirized and was put to death. Classical scholars are not sure that such a person ever existed, but his name was attached to fables by later Greek writers. The first written collection in Greek, made about 300 B.C., has been lost; and a later collection by Babrius, in verse, was also lost until the nineteenth century. The Greek fables were familiar in ancient Rome, and in the Middle Ages Greek literature was known in Europe in so far as it had taken a Latin form. Fables were transmitted orally, but as literature they reached the Middle Ages in the versified Latin collection of Phaedrus, a freedman of the first century. His name, however, was forgotten, and his fables were preserved in a prose paraphrase by a writer of the tenth century who calls himself Romulus. Numerous versions in Latin and other languages were derived from Romulus, bearing in some form the name of Aesop (Old French Esop, Italian Esopo, etc.). All fables came to be called Aesop’s, and we now speak of them, particularly those about beasts and birds, as Aesopic.

In the twelfth century the prose of Romulus was put into Latin verse by a certain Walter of England (Guilerus Anglicus), whose text was long known as Anonymus Neveleti, because printed at Frankfort in 1610 in the Mythologia Esopicca of Isaac N. Nevelet. It had, however, been printed before; there were many editions from the fifteenth century: for instance, in several printed at Brescia in the sixteenth century the Latin verse of Walter is
accompanied by a paraphrase in Italian and by rough wood-cut illustrations. We have in the collection two of the Brescia editions (1542, 1587), as well as Nevelet. This and other Latin versions of Romulus, including one by another Englishman, Alexander Neckam, were translated into various languages. The best known collection in Old French, that of Marie de France, written in England before 1200, was based in part on a lost English translation from Romulus. The Old French Tuyset-Aucommunication, a fourteenth-century version of Walter of England and the fourth century Avianus, has been edited by the writer together with the Latin original edited by W. A. Oldfather. The text of all the Latin fables from Phaedrus to the end of the medieval period has been published in five volumes by Léopold Hervieux, Les Fabulistes latins, Paris, 1897-99.

Fables also occur singly or in small groups in versions that differ from those of the literary tradition just mentioned. For example, the fable of "borrowed feathers" in versions descended from Phaedrus has an ugly bird—graculus (jackdaw) in Latin, becoming the raven, jay or crow in other languages—adorn itself with peacock feathers and be repulsed by both the peacocks and its own companions. In the independent versions the ugly bird, almost invariably the crow, displays itself before a council or assembly decked in feathers of various birds, which join in stripping the upstart, and the peacock is usually not mentioned (it will be remembered that Robert Greene referred to Shakespeare as "an upstart crow beautified with our feathers"). Animals disguise themselves in Oriental tales, but this fable is undoubtedly Greek in origin, and it was preserved by oral transmission. It is alluded to by various ancient and medieval writers, including Horace. It is related in a political discussion by Froissart, from whom it was taken by James Howell in his Dodona's Grove, or the Vocal Forest, first published in 1640. In this curious work the prominent personalities of the age are represented by the names of plants. Howell's familiarity with fables, particularly with the fable of "borrowed feathers," is shown by the following passage, in which the Ivie is the Pope, Ampelona is France, the Poet Laureat is Petrarch, Petropolis is Rome or the Papal Court, the Vine is the French King (so Howell himself tells us in a key):

And if it be lawful to passe from Trees to Birds, that memorable comparison which one publikely preached in the very Court of the Ivie, when he was residentiary upon the skirts of Ampelona three Ages since was not improper, at which time that renowned Poet
Laureat did so bitterly inveigh against exorbitancies of Petropolis, calling her the mother of heresie, shop of vice, and forge of falsehood; which comparison was.

That this so high growne Ivice was like that featherlesse bird, which went about to beget plumes of other birds to cover his nakedesse, they moved with commiseration clad him with part of their owne, to which worke the Eagle did contribute much; This Bird having his barenesse coverd with those adventitious feathers, did thrive wonderfully, and grew so gay that they all turned to Peacocks plumes, into whose nature the Bird himselfe did also degenerate, and it is well knowne what the Peacock is Eembleme of. He begun to pecke at, and prey upon those Birds that were his benefactors, until he made some of them starke buzzards.

Others have compar'd the Ivice to the Stagg in the fable, which shrowded himselfe under the branches of the Vine in a time of necessity, which being passed, he fell a browsie, and to eate those leaves which preserved him.

The passage is quoted from Howell’s second edition (1644), pp. 46-47, which also contains “Parables reflecting upon the times,” not included in the first edition. One of these “Parables” is The great Counsell of Birds: “Nor was it the first time that Birds met thus, for the Phrygian fabler tells us of divers meetings of theirs.” In fact, fables often relate meetings of birds, or of beasts, or of both together. Sir Roger L’Estrange, who like Howell and many others used fables to express political ideas, followed each of his 500 prose fables with a brief ‘moral’ and a longer ‘reflection.’ In no. 399 he tells of “A Council of Beasts” called to discuss putting an end to “perpetual feuds and factions” (this was a great while ago, he says); the haries declare that there “can never be any quiet in this world, so long as one beast shall be allow’d nails, teeth or horns, more than another . . . wherefore we humbly propose an universal parity.” The idea of disarmament did not commend itself to the author, whose reflection is that “leaving no power to do hurt is the leaving no power to do good neither; and to make short work on’t, the leaving no power at all.” L’Estrange’s subjects were borrowed but his ‘reflexions’ were his own. Our collection has several editions of his Fables of Esop and other eminent mythologists. The fables of John Gay, the author of the Beggar’s Opera, were original in subject; first published in 1727, they were reprinted many times and translated into other languages. We have an edition of 1766. Also original were Fables for the Female Sex by Edward Moore (1744), of which we have the third edition (1766), containing sixteen fables, with illustrations. Gay and
Moore were printed together in one volume at Paris in 1800. These are only a few of the numerous fabule-books in English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The revival of classical learning in Italy in the fifteenth century brought to light a manuscript of fables in Greek prose which was printed at Milan about 1479 by Bonus Accursius, with a Latin translation. Although of uncertain age and probably of Byzantine composition, this text was reprinted as Aesop’s in many editions of small format, with the Greek and Latin in parallel columns, illustrated with wood-cuts. Latin fables by contemporary authors were sometimes added, so that the contents of different editions varied. We have a number of these pocket-sized bilingual volumes of the sixteenth century, printed at Basle, Venice, Paris, Lyon, and Antwerp.

The first German book to be printed was Ulrich Boner’s Der Edelstein (Bamberg, 1481), a translation from Walter of England. Its name comes from the fable of the Cock and the Jewel, which is the first in nearly all the collections descended from Romulus and Walter; Dante speaks of it as the first fable of ‘Aesop poeta.’ About 1480 Heinrich Steinhöwel published a volume of fables in Latin with a German translation, including Romulus, Avianus, the Latin version of the recently discovered Greek fables, the Disciplina Clericorum of Petrus Alphionius (a version of Oriental tales), and material of medieval origin. This important collection was translated into French by Julien Machault, and from the French into English by Caxton in 1484. Our collection includes reprints of Boner (1844), Steinhöwel (1875) and Caxton (edited with an introduction by Joseph Jacobs in 1889). The French of Machault has not been reprinted in modern times.

Original fables in Latin verse by Gabriele Faerno of Cremona were printed many times. We have the first edition, 1568, with fine full-page engravings; also translations in French (by Charles Perrault, 1715) and Italian. The chief fabulist writing in Italian between 1500 and 1700 was Giovanni Mario Verdiotti, whose Cento Favole Morali appeared first in 1570; we have editions of 1607 and 1661, with illustrations said to be from designs by Titian, who it seems was a friend of Verdiotti.

Of French fables produced in the sixteenth century, we have the 1588 reprint of those by Gilles Corrozet (1548), the 1877 reprint of those by Guillaume Haudent (1547), and an edition (Rouen, 1937) by De Vaux de Lancy, a former graduate student at Princeton, of the Premier livre des Emblèmes (containing sev-
ural fables) by Guillaume Gueroult (1550). In the first half of the seventeenth century a few fables were written in French, including *Fables Héroïques* by Audin (1648). All these writers are overshadowed by the master fabulist of all time, Jean de La Fontaine. His twelve *livres* of fables appeared between 1668 and 1693. Our collection has an Amsterdam edition of 1693, containing the first eleven books but not book 12, published that same year; also a Lyon edition of 1698. Important modern editions are those of Guillou (1809), of Robert, *Fables inédites des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles et fables de La Fontaine* (1825), and of Regnier, three vol-

Fables nouvelles dédiées au Roy, avec un discours sur la Fable appeared in 1719 with fine engravings; the frontispiece by Coyel, engraved by Tardieu, shows a figure which represents Fable pointing out Truth to King Louis XV, at that time nine years of age. This frontispiece, here reproduced, was copied in later books. La Motte has been called "un poète doublé d’un philosophe," and one critic says of him that “none could write better in prose, and few much worse in verse.” His influence on fabulists during the century was second only to that of La Fontaine. If the salons of France were fertile ground for the production of fables, so were the Ar- cadian academies of Italy, where the chief fabulists were Crudeli in the first half of the century, Passeroni, Bertola, Pignotti and Clasio in the period from 1773 to 1800. We have the writings of these and many others in both French and Italian. In addition to collections, separate fables appeared constantly, and it would hardly be possible to trace them all. Older texts were reprinted; for instance, a fifteenth-century prose version of Walter of Eng- land which goes by the name of *Esopo vulgarizzato per una da Siena*. In Germany the best known fables of the period were those of Leising, who also wrote *Abhandlungen über die Fabel* (1759); with Gellert and others he continued the writing of fables in Ger-

numes of the *Grands Ecritains* edition of La Fontaine’s complete works. Like many of the fabulists mentioned, La Fontaine drew his subjects from various sources, Greek, Latin, French, or Oriental. His shrewd observation and keen characterization, his witty and quotable phrases, and the variety of his versification make up a style which is inimitable; yet other writers have tried to imitate him or have been influenced by him. The output in the following years of *Fables nouvelles* and *Favole nuove* shows attempts to be original; but few of these achieved success. The most successful fabulists have been those who, like La Fontaine, treated the well-

known subjects, for it is the traditional character of fables that gives them their chief appeal. The popularity of the genre is indicated by the success of two comedies by Boursault, *Esop à la ville* (originally called *les Fables d’Esop*, 1690) and *Esop à la cour* (1701), in which fables are introduced. Boursault was imi-

tated by John Vanbrugh in *Esop: a comedy*, 1702.

The period when fable-writing flourished most luxuriantly was the eighteenth century. While in England fables often took a polit-

cal color, in France the tendency was toward philosophy. This was due largely to the influence of Houdar de La Motte, whose

Lyon, 1609

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Among other French names it is hard to select those of most importance. We have the fables of Arnault, 1818, Gingué, 1814; Guttinguer, 1817; Le Bailly, 1811; Viennet, 1865; Lavallette, 1847, with amusing illustrations by Grandville; Roussel, 1856, with illustrations by Gavarni; and many others. The Scènes de la vie prouve et publique des animaux, 1853 (it appeared first in 1842), contains stories by various prominent authors with numerous illustrations by Grandville, who liked to show animals dressed like people. In Italy and in England the printing and reprinting of fables con-

![Image of a fable illustration: Venice, 1587.](image)

continued, and new ones have appeared frequently. As a rule the fabulists of the nineteenth century continued to employ the style of the eighteenth, apparently unaware of such movements as Romanticism and Realism. Yet there is little warrant for saying that "the fable, today a plaything for children, is a survival . . . of a form that once occupied the thoughts of mature men." Pietro Pancrazii in his Etisto moderno (1930) expresses the opinion that adults, seeing in fables a criticism of life, appreciate them more than children do who study them as lessons or read them as stories pure and simple. In ancient times, in the Middle Ages and Renaissance, and down to the present, fables have been woven into the consciousness of generation after generation. They have been used in the study of languages, in ethical instruction, and during periods when more direct expressions of opinion might have been dangerous, in political satire. Innumerable allusions and references in literature cannot be understood without a knowledge of fables, the best of which amply justify their existence as a literary form.

This brief account is intended to give a suggestion of the amount and variety of the material in our Fable Collection, though there is space for mentioning only a few of its features. In addition to the printed books there are manuscript notes and letters, a card catalogue giving information about the books and authors, and a mass of clippings from dealers' catalogues concerning fables. This material is now available for consultation and study by all who may be attracted to a field which many have found fascinating.

**PUBLICATIONS OF KENNETH MCKENZIE**

**ON FABLES AND BESTIARIES**

**Books**


**Articles**

'A sonnet ascribed to Chiaro Devanti and its place in fable literature,' *PMLA*, XIII (1898), 505-520.


'An Italian fable, its sources and its history,' *Modern Philology*, I (1904), 497-584.

'Unpublished manuscripts of Italian Bestiaries,' *PMLA*, XX (1905), 380-436.

'Italian Fables in verse,' *PMLA*, XXI (1906), 285-478.


'Note sulle antiche favole italiane,' Miscellanea In onore di Vincenzo Crescini, Civitale del Friuli, 1910, 50-73.

With M. S. Garver: 'Il Bestiario Toscano secondo la lezione del codice di Parigi e di Roma,' *Studi Romanza*, VIII (1914), 3-100.

'Per la storia dei Bestiari Italiani,' Gliereale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, LXIV (1914), 355-371.


'Italian Fables of the Eighteenth Century,' *Italia*, XII (1923), 59-64.


**Reviews**


Karl Warnke: Die Fabeln der Mittelalter, Halle, 1898, in *The Nation*, LXVII (1898), 505-506.


The Astonishing Chivers: Poet for Plagiariats

If you know Chivers, give me your hand
—Swinburne

Among the more interesting possessions of its Treasure Room, Princeton is fortunate to own some rare first editions of one of the most striking, albeit obscure figures of American literature. These are four books of poems, Nacoochee (1837), The Last Pleiad (1845), Eoona of Ruby (1851), and Memorialis (1853) by Thomas Holley Chivers.

Chivers was born in Georgia in 1809, the year which also marked the birth of Poe, with whose career that of Chivers is curiously woven. Before he was twenty, Chivers married and shortly found himself the victim of his first tragedy. The happiness of this marriage was terminated when Mrs. Chivers, apparently influenced by some sort of scandal now unknown to us, left her young husband and refused to allow him even to see their child. As an escape, the young man matriculated at Transylvania University, Kentucky, and there found some relief in writing poetry. Unfortunately some of his worst and most melodramatic lines are concerned with this affair.

The birth in 1839 of Allegra, his first child by a second wife, introduces another tragedy of Chivers' life, and reveals an interesting aspect of his personality—his mysticism. Eight years before, he had had a vision of two angels; now, in 1839, he recognized that Allegra was none other than the first angel. The second child materialized in the form of a son a year later. In 1849 Chivers was heartbroken at the death of Allegra, and the death, too, was accompanied by another preternatural experience, during which he seemed to hear the song the child had sung earlier as an angel.

Such experiences encouraged Chivers to support the spiritualism that blossomed in the 1840's. Many of these he published in Univercoelum, the publication of Andrew Jackson Davis, a famous clairvoyant of the time. But after the death of his friend, Poe, he no longer sympathized with the movement, because he could accept neither such childish ghostly manifestations as spirit rappings, nor the published verses which mediums asserted were dictated to them by the dead Poe.

Meanwhile, of course, he was writing poetry. Aside from his contributions to magazines, he published eleven volumes which today are exceedingly rare. Two are poetic dramas (and bad ones); one is an "Epic—in three Lustrea"; another is a philosophical prose work; and the remaining seven are collections of poems.

Taken generally, the poems exhibit two tendencies, both remarkable for their time. First, Chivers frequently employed words more for their connotative than their denotative effect. The poem "Georgia Waters," is a good example of this characteristic:

On thy waters, thy sweet valley-waters,
O! Georgia! how happy were we
When thy daughters, thy sweet smiling daughters,
First gathered sweet-william for me,
Then thy wildwood, thy dark, shady wildwood
Had many bright visions for me.

For my childhood, my bright rosy childhood
Was cradled, dear Georgial in thee—
Bright land of my childhood, in thee.

This, of course, places Chivers in the Poe and Coleridge tradition.

A second tendency, writing poetry which approaches imitative sound, establishes him as a precursor of Vachel Lindsay. It is really quite startling to come across his "Railroad Song," for example:

Glitter, clatter, clatter,
Like the devil beating batter.
Down below in iron platter—
Which subsides into a clanky,
And a clinky, and a clanky,
And a clinky, clanky, clanky,
And a clanky, clunky, clanky;
And the song that I now offer
For Apollo's Golden Coffer—
With the friendship that I proffer—
Is for Riding on a Rail.

His first volume, Path of Sorrow (1852), is interesting in several ways. Technically, it is extremely varied and shows its author as a bold experimenter in metrics. But his interest in linguistic experiments is also obvious. For example, he uses such words as "concretion," "oblection,""pedigal," and "sanglinize."

1 See, for example, the poem quoted in S. Foster Damon, Thomas Holley Chivers, Friend of Poe (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1890), p. 41. Damon's book is the most definitive study of the poet's life and writings.

2 See Univercoelum, December 9, 1848, p. 23.

5 This is the first stanza only. The poem appeared in one of the Princeton-owned volumes, Nacoochee.

6 Georgia Citizen, June 21, 1851; Graham's Magazine, February, 1854; Waverly Magazine, October 8, 1855.
NAZCOOHEE (1897), the second volume, is also the title of the initial poem, a symbolical and incomplete love story with an American Indian setting. Most of the remaining poems are lyrics, some being reprints from earlier publication, some original.

The third volume, The Lost Pleiad (1845), shows a better control of the technique of verse. In theme it is his gloomiest book, containing elegies on deceased members of his families and on dead celebrities. The style of many of these poems is simpler, with more normal word order and better handling of metre and rhyme.

Eunchs of Ruby (1851) has so much bad verse in it and so much good that it represents a true cross section of Chivers' talent. In this volume he returns to his love of experiment, metrical and linguistic. The title itself is of his own creation; his explanation reveals both his ingenuity and his learning:

The word Eonch is the same as Concha Marina—Shell of the Sea. Eonch is used instead of Concha, merely for its euphony. It is the same as the Kour Gaur of the Hebrews. Ruby signifies, in the language of Correspondence, Divine Love. The word Eonch is used, as a title, by metonymy, for Songs. The meaning of the title is, therefore, apparent—namely, Songs of Divine Love. The clouds, I hope, are now dispelled; and the mystery, I presume, vanishes. I hope the day will continue clear. 7

Virginalia (1853) contains some verse which reminds one of Poe in its successful use of the emotional value of sound which demonstratively means little. 8 This volume was followed the same year by Memoralia, which contains several new poems and many of those printed in the poorly selling Eonchs of Ruby.

But it was not Chivers' poetry which perpetuated his name so much as it was his friendship with Poe, and certain unusual consequences of that relationship. Their first contact occurred in 1845 when a notice, probably written by Poe, appeared in The Southern Literary Messenger. 9 A correspondence ensued, but it was not until 1845 that the two poets met and became more than epistolary acquaintances. Their friendship, based on mutual respect, mutual interest in literature, and, on Chivers' part, concern for and tolerance of the eccentricities of Poe's character, lasted until Poe's death in 1849.

Out of this relationship arose an interesting critical controversy. When Eonchs of Ruby appeared, many critics accused the author of having plagiarized from the works of Poe. Chivers, in answering the attack, over-stated his case and in support of his position used one of his most unfortunate pieces of verse. 6 This opened him to most unfair ridicule and as a result, for many years he was thought of merely as a literary curiosity who exploited the talent of his friend.

In fact, however, Chivers' position is quite defensible. In the most famous item of the controversy—the charge that he plagiarized from Poe's "The Raven"—the credit is all on Chivers' side. In the idea, in the unusual refrain, in the metre, and to some extent in the atmosphere, Chivers actually had precedence. 5 And in other matters Chivers and Poe borrowed from each other, casually and openly. This unacknowledged borrowing was, for that matter, a common practice among writers of the day, and ordinarily considered no violation of auctorial ethics. It was the more natural for two persons of similar poetic temperament, however distant their accomplishments.

At any rate, owing to this charge of plagiarism, Chivers remained from 1858, the year of his death, until very recently, an obscure figure. This he did not deserve; as a personality, few contemporaries can make such a strong appeal, and as a poet, although he is surely not of the first rank, he occasionally reached heights which make his place in American letters secure.

6 Quoted in Damen, op. cit., p. 201.
7 See, for example, "Rosalie Lee" in that volume. Virginalia is also available in a modern reprint by Kearsley Classics, 1847.
8 March, 1855, p. 387.
9 Georgia Citizen, June 26, 1851.

WILBUR S. SCOTT
University of Rochester
How Two Princeton Students
Saw Lincoln in 1861

TO William Stewart Cross Webster of the Class of 1864 the Library is indebted for this unusual manuscript, the letter of a freshman written during an interesting national period and edited forty-four years later by the mature man. In 1861, deeply impressed by the experience of seeing Abraham Lincoln on his way to take office, he wrote home a detailed account which fortunately included observations on the student reaction at Princeton. In 1905, knowing the letter to be of historic interest, he recopied it and prefaced it with an explanation of his political background. In copying, however, he could not refrain from judging the literary efforts of his youth, and his carefully bracketed comments add a flavor to the whole.

LILLIAM M. BLEASE

We were brothers, Charlie and I. He had been at Princeton—then styled the College of New Jersey—since the autumn of ’58 and was now half way on in his Junior Year. He had prepared me for college and in January ’61 I had entered the Freshman class, half-advanced as we called it.

At our Pennsylvania home we had been studying national affairs. The mail brought us at 4 P.M. the New York Times, Henry J. Raymond’s Times. After supper the paper was read as we sat about the parlor lamp. We had been brought up on the editorials in the Times. We knew our father’s interest in the rise of the Republican party. He was dead now. But our Mother, a loyal Maryland woman, was keenly alive—and still is—to all these great matters. We older boys had heard many good speakers in the campaign of ’60, notable among them the great German Carl Schurz. Not content with what came to our own doors we had made our way over to Pottsville, partly on foot to hear John W. Forney a leading political force in those days. And now we were at Princeton, in the exhilaration of life in a college where many of the students were Southern born and where all were wild with excitement over the strange things that were happening.

A letter came into my hands the other day, a letter that has been kept all these years, one of the first I wrote home from college. As a man of sixty I read the letter of the boy of sixteen and live over again the hours of an eventful day, the day I saw Abraham Lincoln. I am going to copy a part of that letter that the boys and girls of 1905 may see how we two boys in 1861 felt when we saw Abraham Lincoln. Remember it is a boy’s letter and I will not try to correct its faults. Here it is.

Princeton, Feb. 23rd, 1861

My Very Dear Mother,

I think it will be entirely my fault if I do not write an interesting letter to you... As soon as we saw in the papers that Mr. Lincoln had accepted the invitation from the legislature to visit Trenton [He was on his way to Washington to begin his presidential career] we made up our minds that if possible we would see him. Thursday at about 11 o’clock was the hour to pass the Princeton depot en route for Trenton. Our class had a recitation at 10, instead of 11—after which almost every one went down to the Depot. I walked down with Alick McGill. [He reached the highest judicial post in his state, having become Chancellor of New Jersey]. After some time the 11 o’clock regular train passed through and although Dr. Maclean [President of the College, but doing police duty] was on the spot to prevent any one going to Trenton, quite a good many went. At 11 3/4 the Special train with the Pres’l Elec and suite came thundering in, slackened a little and went on. No Lincoln appeared even on the platform. The engine was a fine one, beautifully decorated with flags, etc. ‘Sold, Sold’ was the universal cry. A great many of us had started up the hill [The rail-road then kept along the Delaware and Raritan canal and was much nearer Princeton than it is now] and I supposed Charles had gone too proceeded back quite disconsolate. I had not gone far when another train came in slightly decorated, which led some to suppose Mr. L. might be on that. I had walked toward the depot a little, when I saw Charles speak to Dr. Maclean. I rushed through the crowd, fortunately found Charles, asked if he had permission, got a quarter (for that was the price to Trenton and back, 20 miles), got a ticket and got on board the cars. We were soon off at good speed, got to Trenton at 12:15. [Charlie says that he got Dr. Maclean to let the fellows go]. [There are no more ‘gots’, I hope, in the letter].

Mr. Lincoln had on his arrival proceeded to the State House and had spoken before the Senate and House of Assembly. His family had gone immediately to Judge Dayton’s, who was candidate for Vice-President in 1856 with Fremont. [Oh, you Freshman:]

* Alexander Taggart McGill, Class of 1864.
just as if the home-folks had forgotten Fremont and Dayton]. Of course we did not arrive in time to see him on his arrival nor at the State House—but following the crowd we came to a stand still in front of the Trenton House, from the balcony of which he was to speak. The crowd was immense: the papers estimate from 20,000 to 29,000 in town. Several amusing incidents occurred—a man very desirous of drink [Here the man of sixty must interpose. How could that boy of sixteen know this?] was handed over the heads of the crowd into the barroom. . . .

After waiting a long time an open carriage drawn by four sorrel horses preceded by a fine company and a band from New York, which played Dixie [No verb here, my boy. "An open carriage" did what? Read on, please]. In the carriage sat the wonderful Abraham bowing graciously right and left—by his side sat Judge Dayton, who acted as the Gov.'s substitute. [This was our sight of Abraham Lincoln: "we saw the great Lincoln plain": it can never be forgotten, "the bowing very graciously right and left"][at end]. In a few minutes Mr. L. appeared on the platform and said a few words. His manner was pleasant and a vein of humor pervaded his whole face [Don't stop to analyze that clause. How oddly it reads! A vein pervading a face!] He was cheered vociferously. I was unlucky enough to hear nothing he said. [So the Freshman put it: let it stand]. I knew what was said but forbear giving it [See the columns of Raymond's Times. Little brother at home, peg away at those editorials. The Junior recalls his saying "I came here to see the people and let them see me: after looking you over I think I have the best of the bargain"] He then retired and eat dinner [Eat, pronounced et, a provincialism for ate]. . . .

The letter then tells where the boys had their dinner. They met two old ladies who took the most intense interest in the great events of the day. They had gone out to see Mr. Lincoln and were much pleased with his looks. . . .

We stayed for dinner—immediately after which Mr. S., our host, proposed that we should see the last of him [of Mr. Lincoln] by going to the depot. He had been running after him all day. They were every one Republicans to the back bone. Finding we could not get to the depot for the crowd, we walked down the rail-road a piece, but when the train passed Lincoln was not on the platform. Mr. Smith intended to have said to him, "Stand by the flag": In one of his speeches L. says, "I will stand by the flag if you stand by me". . . .

I will not draw any more on that letter except to give the in-

cident of the very pleasant young lady who showed us her collection of autographs. She had Seward, Sumner, Bayard Taylor, Longfellow and many others. Wendell Phillips added to his name this sentiment, "Let the Union be dissolved, if thereby the slave go free" . . . We left Trenton at 6, got up to town at about 6: cheering each of the Professors as we passed their house [Unless the Junior and the Freshman had joined the main crowd, these cheers could not have been very lusty] . . . Then the letter closes: Excuse me if I have dwelt too much on our Trenton adventures and believe me

Your loving son
A QUERY came in to us the other day about our extremely rare copper-plate engraving of Nassau Hall. While we could pass along the information that it first appeared as a frontispiece for Samuel Blair’s Account of the College of New-Jersey, printed by James Parker at Woodbridge in 1764 and that the original drawing was made by “W. Tennent”; we realized that very little seems to be known about the engraver, Henry Dawkins, except that he was born in England and after emigrating to America set up as an engraver first in New York and then in Philadelphia. In the Pennsylvania Journal for July 19, 1758, he described himself as an engraver from London, capable of engraving “all sorts of maps, shopkeepers bills, bills of parcel, coats of arms for gentleman’s books, cyphers and other devices on plate; likewise mourning rings cut after the nearest manner and at the most reasonable rates.” Apparently Henry Dawkins added still another talent to this extensive list of accomplishments, for according to Peter Force’s American Archives, volume three, fifth series, we find him apprehended for counterfeiting and issuing “Continental Bills of Credit.” On October 19, 1776 he petitioned the Provincial Congress of New York “that being weary of such a miserable life as his misconduct has thrown him into,” the subscriber, “begs for a termination by death to be inflicted in what manner the honourable House may see fit.” We do not know how the “honourable house” received this extraordinary petition and we would be very much interested in learning Dawkins’ ultimate fate.

THE PAPERS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON

Princeton University is sponsoring the publication of a definitive edition of the writings of Thomas Jefferson, aided by a gift of $200,000 from The New York Times Company. The work is to be published by the Princeton University Press and it is expected that the edition will extend to approximately fifty volumes.

The editorial office has begun operations with a small staff. It will work entirely with photofacsimiles and approximately sixteen thousand of these documents are already on the shelves. This edition will include not only all of the letters and documents written by Jefferson but it will also include letters written to him.

One of the hardest problems facing the editorial staff is the location of letters and documents owned by individual collectors, dealers or descendants of Jefferson or the persons with whom he corresponded. Any assistance that readers of the Chronicle may be able to give to the Editor, Julian P. Boyd, will be greatly appreciated. Any information concerning the location of Jefferson documents should be addressed to The Editorial Office, The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.

What with witnessing at frequent intervals the construction of platforms for the various groups of students being graduated during this 1944 Commencement-time, we have been thrown into a state of some confusion. It was reassuring to run across an account of Princeton’s first commencement. It was held in Newark on Wednesday, the ninth of November, 1746. According to the New York Weekly Post-Boy of November twenty-first of that year, the President of the College of New Jersey descended from the pulpit in the presence of “his Excellency, Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Governor and Commander-in-Chief of said Province,” and the sixteen trustees, named in the Royal Charter, “After the Manner of the Academies in England, admitted six young scholars to the Degree of Bachelor of the Arts.”

In fanciful dreaming, we have imagined how exciting it would be to come upon one of the six diplomas granted to a “young scholar” of the class of 1746, but we were more than a little pleased to receive recently two diplomas of other early classes. The diploma of Robert Ross, member of the class of 1751 and Revolutionary War pastor, through the kind efforts of Dr. Henry L. Bowly ’03, was presented to the Library by members of the class of 1901. The diploma issued to John Bacon of the class of 1756 came to us as the gift of Francis FitzRandolph a descendant of the Nathaniel FitzRandolph who in 1756 deeded to the Trustees of the College of New Jersey the four and a half acre lot upon which Nassau Hall was eventually built.

These very welcome acquisitions prompted us to take stock of our growing collection of early diplomas. We found the class of
1749 represented by a small unembellished piece of parchment measuring only eight by twelve inches. Somehow the flourishes of its eighteenth century handwriting appeals to us more than the elaborately engrossed documents done up with paper seals and pale blue ribbons.

When we discovered that the device on a Whig Hall diploma had been engraved after a painting by Thomas Sulley, entitled "The Choice of Hercules," we decided that the motive for designing such an ornamental diploma plate could be put down to the traditional rivalry between "the Halls."

Ever since President Burr penned his signature on the six diplomas of that first graduating class, it has been customary for each Princeton diploma to be signed by the president as well as by a committee of six trustees. We were therefore very much impressed by the number of illustrious names which appear among these "Prose et Curatones" and we hope that our collection may be rounded out by the addition of a great many more diplomas.

Turning over the leaves of a manuscript, entitled "Recollections of an Atlantic Editorship," is an experience which has served to open the pages of nineteenth century American literary history most realistically for us. This manuscript, attractively bound in half morocco, is in the handwriting of William Dean Howells who in November, 1897 published his editorial reminiscences in the Atlantic Monthly. The manuscript has recently been acquired by the Library along with a number of letters written by or relating to William Dean Howells who for over fifty years, as editor and critic held a dominant place in the field of American letters. Because Howells carried on an extensive correspondence with men who were outstanding figures in the literary and publishing world it is not surprising to find included in our collection such interesting items as: a letter to Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson dated February 10, 1867 concerning an article for the Atlantic Monthly and certain "literary matters"; a letter to Charles Dudley Warner in which Howells mentions a recent visit to Mark Twain; as well as ten letters to Lawrence Barrett, the actor, which discuss the production of "A Counterfeit Presentment" and "Yorick's Love" in which Barrett appeared.

In 1885 after fifteen years of service as editor of the Atlantic, William Dean Howells began to conduct a department in Harper's Weekly, known as the "Editor's Study." This step led to Howells' association with Harper and Brothers and it is quite illuminating to read over the six letters written between June, 1885, and January, 1889, which have to do with the taking over of Howells' books by Harpers from Ticknor, his first publisher.

Among the manuscripts of Howells' own writings included in this group are a critical review of George William Curtis's books; a manuscript entitled "The Fiction of Eden Phillpotts"; a typescript essay, "The Fiction of Leonard Merrick," accompanied by galley proofs as well as the printed broadside of a poem "Judgment Day," autographed by William Dean Howells.

In a recent number of the Chronicle, we mentioned the acquisition by the Library of a number of letters written, April, 1767-May, 1768 by Dr. Witherspoon of Paisley, Scotland to Benjamin Rush, graduate of Princeton, at that time studying medicine in Edinburgh. We were made very happy when we discovered that we would be able to add to this collection six more letters offered at a later session of the Biddle sale. We find these letters of great interest because of the frequent references to Dr. Witherspoon's election to the presidency of the College of New Jersey but the letter which came to the Library as the gift of Mr. M. Daniel Maggin has a very special appeal for us because it mentions "Books for the Library at the College of New Jersey."

Before coming to this country to accept his new charge, Dr. Witherspoon apparently made use of a trip to London to secure a subscription for the college library and our letter, written from the city, on April 2, 1768, reads as follows: "I received your Letter on my return from Holland the beginning of the Week. On Several Accounts it was impossible for me to make any general Application for the Library at N. Jersey—however one gentleman of his own Accord made a present of £100. for that purpose. They will be purchased immediately and sent over. I shall bring a list of them with me."

And speaking of Dr. Witherspoon reminds us that we intended to mention an addition to the Library's file of eighteenth century newspapers—an issue of the Pennsylvania Evening Post for Thursday, June 26, 1777 in which Dr. Witherspoon, urging his students in spite of the distractions of war to return to their classes, inserted a notice which reads as follows:

"Philadelphia June 26, 1777
The Undergraduates of the College of New Jersey are desired to repair to Princeton without delay, as College orders will begin on
Tuesday, the 8th day of next month. They are desired to take all possible pains to provide themselves with books, according to their standing and future studies, which are already known to them. It is hoped, that all of them have been pursuing their studies separately as well as their circumstances would allow, and that they will now apply extraordinary diligence, to recover the ground that has necessarily been lost. The seniors in particular are requested to come prepared for continuing at Princeton until the end of September, as the examination for Bachelor's degrees will not be this year as formerly, in the middle of August, but immediately before Commencement.

JOHN WITHERSPOON

N.B. The printers of newspapers in this and the adjacent states are requested to insert the above, for the information of those concerned."

"NUMISMATOLOGICAL CABINET"

In searching through some files of nineteenth century newspapers, Mr. Malcolm O. Young has recently unearthed the following item about the plaster casts of coins in the Library's Coin Collection.

Extract from The Princeton Whig, June 29, 1849:—

The College has recently come into possession of a curious treasure, worthy of being noticed, we mean a collection of Greek and Roman coins and medals, in sulphuret facsimiles. These are in number more than six thousand arranged chronologically, and presenting an historical series of great value. At a first sight, one might pardonably take them for the veritable originals; so complete is the imitation in regard to color, abrasion etc. When it is considered that the originals could not now be commanded by the most princely fortune, that even many European libraries possess only portions of these, and that the smallest collections of ancient coins are rare in America, we cannot but regard this numismatological cabinet with peculiar pleasure. The sulphures were made by Odelli, of Rome, for Lord Vernon. We take pleasure in adding, that they were purchased for the College chiefly by the contributions of a few Alumni; one fifth of the expense being borne in Newark, the original seat of the venerable institution.
New & Notable

With the coming of late spring, the auction season comes to an end, the second-hand book-dealers space their catalogues further apart, and library acquisitions inevitably fall off a little until fall. Princeton, however, has had a profitable spring and added some choice and interesting items to its various collections.

Because the William Seymour Theatre collection is so fine, it is always pleasant to report an addition to it such as the Miscellaneous Writings on the Drama, The Theatre, Actors and Actresses, and other Subjects by Charles Hervey, the author and theatrical historian, together with his Theatres of Paris, Paris, 1847. The Writings were gathered together by Hervey himself, and bound in fifteen volumes with specially printed titles lettered "Miscellanies in Prose and Verse." The illustrations consist of inserted playbills, views, engraved portraits, original photographs of actors, actresses and managers, and over a hundred autograph letters signed by people well known in dramatic and literary circles of his time. Among these are Mlle. Louise Fitzjames, Paul Leroux, W. H. Oxberry, Charles Dickens, Jr. and W. Harrison Ainsworth. One of the letters from Ainsworth, dated April 4, 1877 reads "... But Adrienne Lecouvreur is the real thing—a charming paper, which I have read with unmixed delight. Go on, I repeat—no other Englishman can write such thoroughly French sketches as these. You have the liveliness of the Comte de Grammont." Since the Comte de Grammont was one of the most famous of French wits, Ainsworth was paying Hervey a very neat compliment. Students and lovers of the theatre will spend many delightful hours over these papers, grateful to Charles Hervey for keeping and arranging so carefully his many interesting photographs and letters.

This important theatrical collection was bought with general Library funds from a London dealer.

The Lloyd Smith Fund has added another seventeenth century drama to Princeton's collection—the first edition of Sir William Davenant's The Man's the Master, 1669. It is not one of his best known plays but is none the less an important item in the rounding out of the works of this dramatist. To watch these first editions increase is one of the delights of the librarian as well as of the scholar of the English department.

Two sixteenth century titles of interest appeared in a single catalogue recently—in fact an unusual number appeared in it. It is sometimes almost annoying when the readers of catalogues must make a limited choice from a list of many tempting items. Two of these, however, Princeton did buy and they are very widely separated in interest. The first is a rare tract printed in Rome in 1526. It has a very imposing title Apologia Altera Refutatoriar illius quae est Pacti Madriciae Conventionis Dissuasoria, dealing with the Treaty of Madrid which was signed between France and Spain in 1526. Being a practically contemporary document, it held much interest for students of European history and early international law. It was bought on the Pitney Fund.

The second item, purchased on the Le Brun Fund, is the Poemata Juvenilia of Théodore de Beze, the famous French reformer and theologian, biographer and administrative successor of Calvin. These juvenile poems of his, written in the loose taste of the period, help to give us a complete picture of his life. The edition is a lovely one, called a "petite edition peu commune" by Brunet, with a charming woodcut border on the title page.

The Theodore Sanxay Fund enabled the Library to purchase a rare work by François Viète, the founder of modern algebra. This is the Opera Mathematica. In unum volumen congesta, ac recoginita, Opera atque studio Francisci a Schooten, Leyden, Exeuvir, 1646 a folio volume printed in red and black with a large woodcut device on the title page and many diagrams throughout the text. It is the only collected edition of the works of Viète who has been called "the greatest mathematician of the 16th century," and in addition, was in the service of Henry IV of France, for whom he decoded messages sent from Spain to the Netherlands.

To find a 16th century book of interest to psychologists is unusual indeed, but here it is, proving that the Library at Princeton keeps in mind all fields of learning when watching for books to enrich its resources. The Philosophia Naturalis, Basle, 1506 by Albertus Magnus, more commonly known as Philosophia Pseudo-German, "The Poor Student's Philosophy," was a popular text in the Middle Ages. It is really a handbook of Aristotelian philosophy, and the book, De Anima, on the intellect is of especial interest, in that Albert goes into great detail concerning the mental and
psychical faculties of the head, assigning definite locations to judgement, imagination and memory. A full page woodcut, which should be seen to be appreciated, serves to illustrate his theory. With the *Philosophia Naturalis* is Alberti's *De virtute intellectus*, and the *De regimine principe of Aegidius Columba*. The volume is rarely found, neither the British Museum nor the Bodleian Library possessing a copy. As background material for the period of Montaigne and Rabelais, it was purchased on the Le Brun Fund.

The dealer who listed Pieter Goos' chart, 1666, in his catalogue rightly headed the description “New Jersey in the Making” although the name of the state, even in a Dutch form, appears nowhere on the map. The cartographer of Amsterdam included this chart in a sea atlas and it covers the territory from the South to the North River in New Netherland, the “South” River being the Delaware. Goos delineates both rivers clearly, the coast line somewhat sketchily, and the interior of New Jersey not at all, but there are many names which are recognizable even in their early Dutch forms. There are Caep Macy and Barnegat, Mannathans Eylant and Poulus Hoeck, Hele Gat and Sant Putt, the last being Sandy Hook, perhaps a little more difficult than the others unless one has the map before him. The chart measures 12 3/4 by 23 1/4 inches and is in black and white with coat-of-arms in colors of *Nieuw Amstel* on the Delaware. Money contributed by the Friends of the Library together with general funds made possible the purchase of this impression of the original issue.

A persistent scanning of second-hand catalogues usually brings results in the end and the final spotting of a copy of John Hay's "Letters . . . and extracts from his diary, 1860-1905, selected by Henry Adams, Washington, 1908" was a highlight of the spring. Princeton has coveted this for a long time. The two volumes were printed but not published in a limited number of copies and are therefore very difficult to find. Their addition to the growing American history sources at Princeton means much to students of Hay's period. The fund established by the Class of 1922 gave us this long sought title.

*The Princeton University Library*

VERNA E. BAYLES

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**Biblia**

**DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY**

**Volume XV, Number 4**

**JUNE 1944**

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**MEETING OF THE COUNCIL**

The Council held its regular meeting on May 4. It was voted that present officers and members of the Council continue for another year—with one change: Henry L. Savage is now Secretary, and Lawrence Heyl continues as Treasurer only.

The financial report, as well as the budget for the coming year, were presented and approved. A summary of the report follows:

**Receipts**

- Cash balance July 1, 1943: $348.51
- Dues collected: $1872.00
- Subscriptions to the *Chronicle*: $311.38
- Miscellaneous: $17.50

**Total Receipts**: $2769.39

**Expenditures**

- Payments on debts: $538.73
- Miscellaneous (printing, postage etc.): $144.48

**Total Expenditures**: $1345.42
Receipts exceed expenditures by $1443.97. From this amount will have to be deducted roughly $600.00 to cover the cost of printing the Chronicle, Volume V, numbers 3 and 4. The balance available toward the year 1944-45 will be therefore approximately $800.00.

The budget for the coming year allows $1500.00 for the Chronicle, three hundred more than in the past year. The justification for enlarging the issues lies in the fact that it has been a trying problem to print available material and to do that material justice by means of adequate illustrations. We do not want to make the Chronicle larger just for the sake of size, although the more material it contains that is worthwhile the more attractive and desirable it becomes.

One hundred percent renewals of memberships, together with a sharp increase in the number of members (now 227) will insure the development of the Chronicle and also make it possible to have surplus money with which to purchase books for the Library.

Forty Mercer Street, another important activity of the Friends, has finished another year. The Forty Mercer Street Committee, under the very able chairmanship of Alfred C. Howell, made this possible through securing special contributions. The budget for the Graphic Arts Program, capably directed by Elmer Adler, is distinct from that of the Friends as a whole. Contributions carry the expenses of maintaining the building as well as the insurance on the contents thereof. Receipts for the year totalled $921.73 (contributions $929.90, balance from preceding year $78.18). Expenditures totalled $2918.73 leaving a balance of $58.56. The contributions came from the following persons:

Max A. Adler
Frank Altschul
John Taylor Arms
Paul Bedford
Donald Brace
Stanley Bright
Alfred T. Carton
Henry J. Cochran
Andre de Coppet
Jasper E. Crane
Jonius P. Fishburn
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P. H. B. Frelinghuysen, Jr.
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Robert McLean
Harry T. Peters
William Reidel
R. J. Schoeffler
Charles Scribner
A. N. Spigel
Frederick J. H. Sutton
William Vermilye
Anonymous

The Friends start the year 1944-45 with the balance from the preceding year (see above) plus $1675.60, received as membership dues, contributions from David H. McAlpin and Laurence G. Payson and subscriptions to the Chronicle.

Forty Mercer Street starts the year with $2610.00 from contributors. Roughly $500.00 more is needed. The contributors for the new year are these:

Max A. Adler
Frank Altschul
Paul Bedford
Donald C. Brace
Alfred T. Carton
Henry J. Cochran
P. H. B. Frelinghuysen
Robert Garrett
Sinclair Hamilton
Philip Hofer
Alfred C. Howell
Alfred A. Knopf
Arthur Lowenthal
David McAlpin
Robert McLean
Charles Scribner
William N. Vermilye
Anonymous

SHAKESPEARE

A collection of editions of Shakespeare's works, numbering some 2500 volumes, has been presented to the Library by Henry N. Paul '84. These volumes were collected by Mr. Paul in order to study the reception of Shakespeare in England and America, and consist of editions which appeared during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are the splendid editions such as those of Boydell and Halliwell-Phillips, and several of considerable interest for the reason that they were the popular editions of their time. One of these is the so-called "Billy Jones" edition, actually printed in Leipzig although it bears a London imprint. The only other known copy is in the Folger Library, but ours is a much finer one. All the editions will strengthen very greatly our collection of Shakespeare, which already contained former gifts of Mr. Paul.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions for book purchases received since the last issue of the Chronicle total $190.00. Robert C. McNamara '09, Datus C. Smith, Jr. '29, and Willard Thorp helped us to acquire a copy of Walter Savage Landor's Poems, 1795, containingcopious corrections and annotations in the author's hand. Willard Thorp also continued his support of the Freneau Memorial Fund for books in American Literature. Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06 gave an additional sum to the fund in memory of Carl Otto v. Kienbusch, Jr.
for purchases of books for the American Civilization Program. Arthur M. Mizner '30 contributed for books of modern poetry.

GIFTS

Several gifts from Friends have been received since those reported in the April Chronicle. Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06, strengthened our Mark Twain holdings by presenting five uncommon titles in first editions; from Robert C. McNamara '05 came Sir Hovenden Walker's A Journal; or Full Account of the Late Expedition to Canada, London, 1720; Sterling Morton '06, in addition to presenting 25 volumes of history and biography, continued his splendid practice of sending us another collection of pamphlets and serial publications on current problems; Henry N. Paul '84, presented Thomas Jefferson's copy of Sophocles' Tragedies, two volumes, 1665, each volume bearing Jefferson's secret mark and having in it a laid in leaf with Jefferson's marginalia; from Edward Seese '24, came a charcoal sketch by himself of Vachel Lindsay made before his lecture at Princeton, 1924, as well as a pamphlet on aviation; W. Frederick Stohlman '09 presented the Paris, 1688 edition of René François, Essay des Merveilles de Nature; Willard Thorp gave eight letters signed by Archibald MacLeish, Philip B. Marston, E. Ramsay MacDonald, and James Billson.

Gifts came also from other Friends, and lack of sufficient space prevents detailed listing. The names follow: Clifford N. Carver '39, Allison Delarue '25, Thomas H. English '18, Harvey E. Fisk '02, Robert Garrett '97, Chauncey H. Griffith, J. V. A. MacMurray '15, T. Leslie Shear, Mrs. Roswell Skeet, Jr., Datus C. Smith, Jr. '29,

Morris Longstreth Parrish, -88

With the death of Morris L. Parrish -88, the University Library loses one of its staunchest friends. An internationally famous bibliophile and bibliophile, Parrish inherited a passion for collecting books for his father who, while stationed in England, began to buy the novels of Dickens as they appeared in monthly parts. Parrish's own collection of Dickens is probably unsurpassed in this country and to the printed works of the great novelist he added a most interesting collection of the playbills of those novels which were adapted to the stage. Dickens, however, was not the only Victorian that Parrish collected. His library at Dormy House is especially rich in the work of nineteenth century novelists from Walter Scott to R. L. Stevenson, and his books are famous for their perfect condition.

In a delightful essay, published in the Chronicle, February 1942, he recorded his adventures in reading and collecting Victorian fiction, an essay rich in the anecdotal reminiscences with which he was wont to charm hearts of his guests at Dormy House.

Mr. Parrish was not one of the tribe of collectors who brood over their books as miser above their gold, denying access to their treasure to all outsiders. His doors were generously thrown open to students and scholars from an undergraduate seeking aid in the composition of a senior thesis to an author engaged on a definitive life of Charles Kingsley. From time to time, also, he loaned portions of his collection for exhibition in Philadelphia, New York and Princeton. It had been his cherished dream that he might see his beloved books transferred with their Dormy House setting to their permanent home in the new university library. He did not live to see the fulfillment of his dream, but he had at least the satisfaction of knowing that this transfer would be accomplished as soon as the war comes to an end. Here as in their former home his invaluable collection will be accessible to scholars.

Princeton's recognition of Parrish's worth as a collector and bibliographer was shown not only in the honorary degree of M.A. awarded him in 1939, but also by a dinner recently tendered by President Dodds to Paul '84 and Parrish '88 and the Shakespeare Society of Philadelphia of which they were both outstanding members. Mr. Parrish arose from a sick-bed to attend this dinner and
it was the last occasion on which he had the chance to express his loyalty to his Alma Mater and his love of books. Those who knew him best feel most deeply the loss, not merely of a great collector and a benefactor of the University Library, but of a fellow bibliophile, a sincere friend, and a most genial host. The books he left will come to Princeton, but the lovely library of Dormy House will no longer be what it was for years a Mecca of pilgrimage for all booklovers.

Thomas M. Parrott
THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY CHRONICLE

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