

























ANDREW DICKSON WHITE

THE FOUNDING OF THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

Mark G. Dimunation and Elaine D. Engst

CORNELL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY
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> Issued on the Occasion of A Legacy of Ideas: Andrew Dickson White and the Founding of the Cornell University Library.

An Exhibition Celebrating the Thirty-Seventh Preconference of The Rare Books and Manuscripts Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries, A Division of the American Library Association

> Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections Carl A. Kroch Library

> > June 17 — September 20, 1996

Cover Illustration

Andrew Dickson White in front of Goldwin Smith Hall, ca. 1910

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PREFACE

Andrew Dickson White built a great library. The exhibition, A Legacy of Ideas: Andrew Dickson White and the Founding of the Cornell University Library, has been assembled in recognition of the accomplishments of this distinguished collector of books and manuscripts. White began acquiring books during his undergraduate years, and continued to do so until his death in 1918, at the age of eighty-five. Of the collections that he built, those focusing on the French Revolution, witchcraft, architecture, the Reformation, and slavery, abolition, and the Civil War were of the first rank. His achievements have left a remarkable legacy, yet White is seldom identified as one of the great collectors of the nineteenth century.

That Andrew Dickson White is often overlooked is surprising but understandable. White's reputation as an educator and historian have always overshadowed his bibliophilic achievements. His approach to collecting was utilitarian rather than flamboyant, and he gave away ownership of his library soon after its creation. He is best known for his collaboration with Ezra Cornell in designing and establishing Cornell University. Their vision of a "truly American university" fully integrated the teaching of agriculture and mechanical arts with a broad liberal education in a non-sectarian institution "where the most highly prized instruction may be afforded to all regardless of sex or color." Such an institution was, indeed, unique in 1865. White's and Cornell's ideas significantly influenced the development of higher education in the United States.

White was also a founding figure in the development of the American historical profession. When in 1857 he was appointed Professor of History and English Literature at the University of Michigan, he was one of the very first individuals to hold such a title. He served as the first president of the American Historical Association. As a scholar, White viewed excellent libraries as essential to the quality of universities and to the teaching of history. He did not believe that one could have a great university without a great library. He also believed that instruction in history depended heavily on the use of original sources. Nonetheless, his reputation as an educator and historian, as well as his notable career as a politician and diplomat, have obscured his role as a distinguished collector.

White's utilitarian approach to collecting also may have affected his reputation as a collector. Because of his strong belief in the didactic value of books, he concentrated on acquiring in depth and breadth on a given theme, rather than on the aesthetic importance or celebrity of particular volumes. This approach certainly contributes to the continuing vitality and broad use of his collections, but it may not have enhanced his fame as a collector.

Unlike J. Pierpont Morgan, Henry Edwards Huntington, John Jacob Astor, and James Lenox, White did not establish an institution to house his library and to maintain its unique identity. In 1891 he gave his library in its entirety to Cornell University. Although most of his significant assemblages have survived largely intact, some have not, and all have been subsumed within the larger profile of the Cornell Library.

Therefore, it is with pleasure and enthusiasm that my colleagues here in the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections seek to delineate White's prodigious accomplishments and to convey his thoughts and experiences in the building of the Andrew Dickson White Historical Library. The exhibition was curated by Mark Dimunation, Cornell's Curator of Rare Books, and will open on the occasion of the meeting of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section of the Association of College and Research Libraries at Cornell, July 2-5, 1996. This catalog was authored by Mark Dimunation and by Elaine D. Engst, Cornell University Archivist. They were assisted by Lucy Burgess, Nancy Dean, Ann Ferguson, Maggie Hale, Keith Johnson, Phil McCray, Margaret Nichols, and Katherine Reagan. Leslie Carrère designed the catalog, using photographs by Robert Barker and John Pachai. Publication has been made possible by the generous support of the Cornell University Library Associates and the Helene and Elisabeth Mayer Publication Fund.

H. THOMAS HICKERSON

Director, Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections



ANDREW DICKSON WHITE left a rich and varied legacy. As a scholar, educator, and diplomat, he shaped ideas, influenced this nation's politics, and built a university. And he collected books. The library he gave to Cornell University in 1891 was the product of over forty years of passionate collecting. He gathered the scholar's tools and the collector's delights, and amassed one of the great book collections of the nineteenth century. At the center of Cornell University is the Andrew Dickson White Historical Library. It was his enduring occupation.

FOR "BETTER PURPOSES"

Andrew Dickson White was born in Homer, New York, on November 7, 1832, the first of two sons of Horace and Clara Dickson White. In White's Autobiography (1905), he described his ancestors as "sturdy New Englanders": on his father's side, Asa White and Clara Keep from Munson, Massachusetts; on his mother's side, Andrew Dickson from Middlefield, Massachusetts



Andrew Dickson White, Cornell University, 1878

and Ruth Hall from Guilford, Connecticut. They were all of "good stock." The Whites may have been descended from Peregrine White of the Mayflower, but White was never interested enough to verify the claim. As he later wrote: "Enough for me to know that my yeoman ancestors did their duty in war and peace, were honest, straightforward, God-fearing men and women, who owned their own lands, and never knew what it was to cringe before any human being." They came to New York State to claim some of the lands in the Military Tract that had been set apart as bounty for Revolutionary War veterans, and they prospered. White's paternal grandfather had been the richest man in the township, but lost his money when a fire destroyed his mills. In his early teens, White's father was forced to leave school to help support the family. "But he met the emergency manfully, was soon known far and wide for his energy, ability, and integrity, and long before he had reached middle age was considered one of the leading men of business in the county." By the time White was born, his family were "well-to-do people."

The Dicksons were also a prosperous and prominent family. Andrew Dickson, White's grandfather, was a businessman and state legislator. He was one of the founders of Cortland Academy, one of the most prominent schools in the region. As a child of five or six, White was "proud to read on the cornerstone of the Academy building" his "grandfather's name among those of the original founders." In his Autobiography, White considers this experience the first impetus to his later career: "Not unlikely there thus came into my blood the strain which has led me ever since to feel that the building up of goodly institutions is more honorable than any other work,—an idea which was at the bottom of my efforts in developing the University of Michigan, and in founding Cornell University." At an early date, Cortland Academy began accepting women students, and White's mother, Clara Dickson, was able to attend. While White himself did not enroll

at Cortland Academy, he credited it with influencing his education in two ways: "it gave my mother the best of her education and it gave to me a respect for scholarship. The library and collections, though small, suggested pursuits better than the scramble for place or pelf..." He learned to read at an early age. As he remembered in 1905: "Influences of a more direct sort came from a primary school," where he was taken by a servant who "wished to learn to read—so she slipped into the school and took me with her. As a result, though my memory runs back distinctly to events near the beginning of my fourth year, it holds not the faintest recollection of a time when I could not read easily." His first books were children's works: Sanford and Merton, "Rollo Books," "Peter Parley Books," and Children's Magazine. White had a happy childhood, and from both of his parents and his surroundings gained a love and respect for education and the life of the intellect.

When White was seven the family moved to Syracuse, where his father had become president of a new bank. White attended public schools and Syracuse Academy. It was at Syracuse Academy where he met Joseph A. Allen, "the best teacher of English branches I have ever known." Allen was a major influence on White: "He seemed to divine the character and enter into the purpose of every boy. Work under him was a pleasure." Allen stimulated the young man's love of learning in all subjects: literature, spelling, geometry, and natural science. It was also at Syracuse Academy that White was first exposed to abolitionism. "On the moral side, Mr. Allen influenced many of us by liberalizing and broadening our horizon. He was a disciple of Channing and an abolitionist, and though he never made the slightest attempt to proselyte any of his scholars, the very atmosphere of the school made sectarian bigotry impossible."

White was a serious child, particularly given to reading. He wrote in his Autobiography:

As to education outside the school very important to me had been the discovery, when I was about ten years old, of "The Monastery, by the author of Waverley." Who the "author of Waverley" was I neither knew nor cared, but read the book three times, end over end, in a sort of fascination.... I reveled in Scott's other novels.... I also read and re-read Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, and, with pleasure even more intense, the earlier works of Dickens which were then appearing.... But, far more important [were] all Scott's novels, and especially... the one which I have always thought the most fascinating, Quentin Durward. This novel led me later, not merely to visit Liège and Orléans, and Cléry, and Tours, but to devour the chronicles and histories of that period, to become deeply interested in historical studies, and to learn how great principles lie hidden beneath the surface of events.

White recollected with great fondness the early books of his youth. One in particular, *The Gallery of British Artists*, arrived in the White household when Andrew was ten. The volume—a typical nineteenth-century deluxe production full of engraved plates of English landscapes, literary scenes, and architectural renderings—opened the world to the young boy. Twelve years later he would

evoke the memory of the book when he wandered through the cathedrals of Europe: "It has always been the dream of my boyhood to stand within these old places and it takes some time to gain the sense that these things are real." White later recalled that the book's literary and historical vignettes and its plates of architectural gems neatly forecasted his own collecting interests in literature, history, and architecture. These same themes ran through White's early education. At the Moravia Academy he encountered Agrippa D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, a work that he felt had strengthened and deepened his "better purposes" and set him on the path of historical studies in the Reformation. Thomas Carlyle's Past and Present and John Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture similarly inspired and prefigured White's research and collecting interests.

In his teens, White expanded his literary taste to include contemporary authors. Charles Kingsley emerged as his favorite writer, but he read widely in poetry as well, including the verse of James Russell Lowell. He developed a new interest in political writing, especially about slavery and its abolition. During the 1840s Syracuse evolved into a center of this political dialogue. White was able to attend frequent public debates between the various abolitionist groups, represented by such men as Gerrit Smith, Wendell Phillips, William Lloyd Garrison, John Parker Hale, Samuel Joseph May, and Frederick Douglass. The young man was profoundly influenced by the arguments he heard, and the passions that abolitionism stirred in him would later guide his own political philosophy.

In 1849, on the recommendation of the Bishop of Syracuse, White's father sent him to Geneva (now Hobart) College. Andrew was repelled by the atmosphere of "waywardness and dissipation" there, although he did appreciate some of the professors and "the little student's library in my college building." "Moreover," he recalled in his *Autobiography*, "I then began to accumulate for myself the library which has since grown to such large proportions."

But books did not sufficiently ease his displeasure with his educational experience, so White began a campaign to persuade his father that another institution would be more appropriate for his schooling. After some conflict, White's father finally allowed him to transfer to Yale University, from which he graduated in 1853. While he found the education available to him there deficient in many ways, relying primarily on recitations from textbooks, and neglecting "all studies that did not tell upon 'marks' and 'standing,'" his friendships among his classmates and teachers were critical in shaping his intellectual development. The studies that interested him most were political and historical; he was stirred by the events of his time. His prize-winning essays and orations reflected his continuing interest in politics, statesmanship, and diplomacy.

"AN AVALANCHE OF THE MOST SPLENDID BOOKS"

Upon Graduation, White and one of his best college friends, Daniel Coit Gilman, went to Europe to take their Grand Tour, further their education, and establish their interests in future occupations. White traveled in England, lived and studied in France and Germany, and served as the attaché to Thomas Hart Seymour at the American Legation in St. Petersburg. During the three years' trip, he kept a diary, describing the people, sights, and events he encountered. He also continued his reading, primarily in history, listing the books he read. He also attended plays, and visited libraries and museums. Most important, he became a serious book collector.

No doubt influenced by his experience of the paucity of appropriate books at Geneva College and inspired by his historical studies at Yale, White began accumulating his own library during college. His trip to Europe intensified his acquisitiveness, although his purchases of books began slowly, with a few cautious and judicious selections. But his passion had been whetted, and he soon began to acquire books at a rate and with an acuity that would ultimately make him one of the great book collectors of the nineteenth century. After only a few weeks in London, White had accumulated an enormous book bill, one large enough that he hesitated to write home about it until the deed was done and he had moved on to Paris. From there he wrote to warn his mother in February of 1854 that although the bill had been paid, she should still brace herself for a "terrible financial revelation as well as an avalanche of the most splendid books ever seen in Syracuse." The letter opened a

lows and they are covered with buch hideons words that I would be ashamed to name them in consection with a youth I such good provise as the young man afresaid ment be. I shall write you Egain soon when you shall be better treated than at present. I have get a lang negotiation to enter into with the head of the family about an immerce book file I have the up in Lada, Dant le scared though, it is faid but prepare garrely for a lisible fi hancial revelation as well as an analarely of the west splended books ever seem in Syse. cuse, the if I had fifteen hunder more! Good bye all by lue to all the family. Does lote receive the papers I have sent almost every week? I shall gin him a touch of French guidely in This respect before lay. But I ha hinde were food by a again

Andrew Dickson White to his mother. Paris, February 9, 1854. "...the most splendid books ever seen in Syracuse."

dialogue between White and his family about his forays into book collecting. In part to justify himself, and in part to share his excitement, White frequently recorded his purchases in his diary and in his letters home. "Your father looked rather <u>blue</u> at first about so large an investment in books," his mother responded, "but the remainder of your letter was so very interesting, and, united with my own reasoning soon brought him 'all O.K."

Horace White had encouraged his son in academic pursuits, and even in the acquisition of an appropriate library, but Andrew's enthusiastic entrée into the antiquarian book market challenged his father's more modest notion of how the family's wealth should be administered and displayed. Nevertheless, Andrew's mother, who early on became his great ally in building his collection, reported that although his father found the expenditure to be significant, he "acknowledges that it is much better so than the same amount upon anything else." With his justification clear in his own mind, and with a semblance of his family's blessing, White launched into the building of his library with great determination. His first serious efforts in London were guided by Henry Stevens, an agent for the Smithsonian Institution and an eminent bibliographer in his own right. White described this tutelage in a letter to his mother:

I saw the magnificent editions of books which would be so useful to me and so ornamental to my library. Moreover, though they were dear, they were much cheaper than English books imported into our country. More than this, after becoming acquainted with Mr. Stevens, the agent of the Smithsonian Institute, whose taste in the matter is perfect, I received so many useful hints about buying and as to the dates of the best editions &cc. that I really could not resist the temptation, and before leaving I had bought to the amount of £100.... This collection by no means comprised all that I wanted, but merely all I dared to buy. It is small, but as far as it goes perfect, and is by far the best collection of the kind ever seen in our central city.... I have for a long time, dear mother, desired as you know to build up a fine library-not of great size but choice and at the same time useful-a library such that if I ever write again at home, as I have done, on any subject requiring study, I shall not have to do almost entirely without books of reference or to ransack the bookstores to find a volume to give me some little help, or perhaps no help at all. The chance to make an addition to my collection seemed to me such a one as I could not afford to lose.

White had already developed a taste for modest sets of volumes, typically preferring substantial and plain bindings over a more elegant production. His business was to gather together a respectable reading library of established authors. His diary noted: "Thursday, December 29 [1853]. Employed this day mainly in looking after books, of which I bought a fine copy of Burnet's Reformation, 6 vols., bound works of Sir Thomas Browne and Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy; in all £5 10s." A luxurious binding or the fetching provenance, though tempting, was



Un monstre à trois têtes (1789)

usually passed over in favor of content, although White was indeed more susceptible to fine points than he would admit. The day before he was to set off to Paris from London in February of 1854, White noted in his diary: "Wanted very much to get a copy of Plutarch containing the poet Gray's autograph and notes but thought it best not to do so." By the following day, he had succumbed. "To Union bank and drew £20...and took the Plutarch 77s (3 guineas)."

Even in his early purchases in England, White revealed an interest in materials that reflected the daily lives of ordinary people in the midst of extraordinary circumstances. Throughout his collection are substantial representations of popular literature, prints, political cartoons, posters, newspapers, and a vast array of ephemera that document intimately the experience of grand historical moments. He acquired a massive volume of James Gillray's caricatures of the French revolution because they could speak to the "wild partisan madness of England toward France" in a manner that no text could mimic. Similarly, he bought a complete run of *Punch* because of its compelling images: "Looking over the caricatures, the leading events in modern English history are fastened to one's mind so that it is utterly impossible ever to lose them." This same reasoning would propel White's collection for the next fifty years, and prompted him to acquire significant batches of such popular materials as French political cartoons, examples of European and American paper money, and an impressive collection of Civil War posters, pamphlets, and broadsides.

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Andrew Dickson White to his mother. July 3, 1856. "I have the most choice little German and French library of 700 vols."

While in Russia, he commented on political events, the Crimean War, and the funeral of the Emperor Nicholas I. Upon returning to France, he went to the Hôtel des Archives de l'Empire to try to find letters from Jefferson to Robespierre. Later in 1855, he went to Berlin and wrote: "Tuesday, October 2. Letter from Mother dated Sept. 15. to Berggold's, where I bought first volume of Gervinus, History of XIX Century and a splendid copy of Reynard the Fox by Goethe and illustrated by Kaulbach. At noon was matriculated into the University."

It was a heady atmosphere for White at the University of Berlin, where he had decided to continue his studies. History was a strong course of reading there, and the world of the German university, with its vigorous lecture system, gave White a perspective on scholarship and education that would guide his entire career. With his studies complete, he went on to Switzerland and Italy, seeing the sights and continuing to buy books. In a letter to his mother, July 3, 1856, shortly before his return home, he boasted of his library, which he had just finished packing:

Fact is, I have the most choice little German and French library of 700 vols seen in a long time—a perfect gem—by no means so rich and expensive in proportion as my English library, but—never mind—I'll show it to you one of these days, Heaven prospering, and if you or grandma commence any unpleasant philosophizing as the use of so many books, I shall take the greatest pleasure in convincing you of the exceeding propriety and profit of the speculation.

White's library, after all, was to be a scholar's library, one that reflected his newly realized intention of becoming a professional scholar and teacher. He had discovered in Berlin a taste for the academic life—the contemplative researcher, peering over a fortress of volumes, "books sprawled out around me looking scholarly to a degree hitherto unknown in my personal history."

Upon coming home to the United States, White returned to Yale for a year of post-graduate study. There he lobbied to secure one of the nation's first appointments in the newly defined field of History. He did some public speaking, notably a lecture on "Civilization in Russia," for a New Haven series. He also wrote historical essays for *The New Englander* and *The Atlantic Monthly*. The University of Michigan offered White a position as Professor of History and English Literature. He accepted, and moved to Ann Arbor in October 1857, just after his marriage to Mary Amanda Outwater.



Tot, tot, tot (1789)

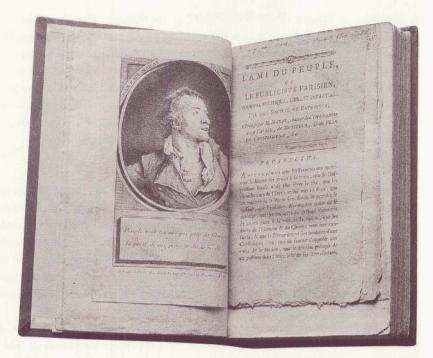
"THE MAKING OF HISTORY"

WHITE was quite aware of the uniqueness of his assignment as Professor of History at Michigan, and his approach to the students' course of study reflected his own innovative views on education. Although White followed the example of his instructor at Yale, President Theodore Dwight Woolsey, and assigned to his Michigan students close readings of François Guizot's History of Civilization in Europe, he balanced this nod to tradition with an enthusiastic exploration of primary sources. White's lectures on "The French Revolution" or "German History from the Revival of Learning" made ample use of original documents in his possession. "I found," he later observed in the Autobiography, "that passages actually read from important originals during my lectures gave a reality and vividness to my instruction which were otherwise unartainable." He prepared for his

classes "the most important originals bearing upon their current work," and for him "it was no small pleasure to point out the relations of these to the events which had formed the subject of our studies together." Students were required to read liberally in a wide range of such historians as Edward Gibbon, Henry Hallam, Leopold von Ranke, Augustin Thierry, and Thomas Macaulay. Pulled from the shelves of his personal library, these volumes fulfilled the promise White had made while in Europe—anything worth reading or writing about was to be found in his collection.

First and foremost, White was a teacher, and he was determined to convey his enthusiasm to his students by lectures, independent reading, discussion, and illustrative materials from his own collections. As he wrote in his *Autobiography*, it was his library that made all of this possible:

In order that my work might be fairly well based, I had, during my college days and my first stay abroad, begun collecting the private library which has added certainly to the pleasures, and probably the usefulness, of my life. Books which are now costly rarities could then be bought in the European capitals for petty sums.... My reason for securing such original material was not the desire to possess rarities and curiosities.... A citation of the ipsissima verba of Erasmus, or Luther, or Melanchthon, or Peter Canisius, or Louis XIV, or Robespierre, or Marat, interested my students far more than any quotation at second hand could do. No rhetoric could impress on a class the real spirit and strength of the middle ages as could one of my illuminated psalters or missals; no declamation upon the boldness of Luther could impress thinking young men as did citations from his "Erfurt Sermon," which, by weakening his safe-conduct, put him virtually at the mercy of his enemies at the Diet of Worms; no statements as to the fatulty of Robespierre could equal citations from an original copy of his "Report on the Moral and Religious Considerations which Ought to Govern the Republic"; all specifications of the folly of Marat paled before the ravings in the original copies of his newspaper, "L'Ami du Peuple"; no statistics regarding the paper-money craze in France could so impress its actuality on students as did the seeing and handling of French revolutionary assignats and mandats, many of them with registration numbers clearly showing the enormous quantities of this currency then issued; no illustration, at second hand, of the methods of the French generals during the Revolutionary period could produce the impression given by a simple exhibition of the broadsides issued by the proconsuls of that period; no description of the collapse of the triumvirate and the Reign of Terror could equal a half-hour's reading from the "Moniteur"; and all accounts of the Empire were dim compared to grandiose statements read from the original bulletins of Napoleon.



First issue of Marat's L'Ami du Peuple (1789)

Several decades after his time in Michigan, when White was describing how his library should be incorporated into the Cornell University collections, he noted that the library he had gathered was not "a mere mass of historical narratives." Its value lay in the bulk of his collection, the "material which in and by itself shows the making of history, especially the greater epochs."

"MY LIBRARY ON THE REVOLUTION"

Andrew Dickson White's interest in the French Revolution dated back to the time when he lived in Paris as a young man and studied at the Sorbonne and the Collège de France. Then, he was able to visit the sites of major events, talk with veterans of the Republic and the Napoleonic period at the Hôtel des Invalides, and begin collecting original sources for the period. "During my student life in Paris," he later recalled in his *Autobiography*:

...I had devoted much time to the study of this subject, had visited nearly all the places most closely connected with it not only in Paris but throughout France, had meditated upon the noble beginnings of the Revolution in the Palace and Tennis-court and Church of St. Louis at Versailles; at Lyons, upon the fusillades, at Nantes, upon the noyades; at the Abbaye, the Carmelite monastery, the Barrière du Trône, and the cemetery of the Rue Picpus in Paris, upon the Red Terror; at Nîmes and Avignon and in La Vendée, upon the White Terror; had collected, in all parts of France, masses of books, manuscripts, public documents and illustrated material on the whole struggle: full sets of the leading newspapers of the Revolutionary period, more than seven thousand pamphlets, reports, speeches, and other fugitive publications, with masses of paper money, caricatures, broadsides, and the like, thus forming my library on the Revolution.

White's collection included a substantial number of printed books and pamphlets, an important gathering of manuscripts, and a prominent collection of prints and portraits documenting all facets and periods of the French Revolution. It chronicled the events and ideas of the Revolution from the Old Regime through the Napoleonic era, and addressed social, political, and economic issues at the center in Paris as well as in the outlying provinces. Political theory, economic trends, agriculture and subsistence, public affairs, provincial administration, literature, the theater and the arts, and the popular view of Revolutionary France all fell within the scope of White's collection.

At the core of the collection is an impressive grouping of thousands of pamphlets, documenting in intimate detail the course of the Revolution and the people's reaction to it. The catalog of the collection described the pamphlets: "he bought from an old dealer on one of the Quais

the great body of contemporary pamphlets—filling nearly five hundred classified and indexed cartons—which is still the bulkiest element of the collection..."

An additional ten cartons of pamphlets documenting the early years of the Revolution came from the library of Charles Brunet. Other books and journals were

obtained from the libraries of Buckle, Pochet-

Deroche, and the Comte de Nadaillac. Central political texts, such as significant editions of Rousseau, Montesquieu, and other Enlightenment philosophes, are complemented by fine holdings of revolutionary texts, among them the Projet de déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen. The collection is exceptionally strong in works emanating from the Parisian democratic and



Membership tag from a political party during the French Revolution

"THE GREATEST PRIVATE LIBRARY THIS COUNTRY HAS YET SEEN"

WHILE AT MICHIGAN, White solidified his unique philosophy of American education. Inspired initially by his experience in Europe and his interaction with colleagues at Yale, White was also greatly influenced at Michigan by President Henry Philip Tappan. Tappan conceived of the university as a place where medicine, law, and engineering were taught equally with arts and letters. This was accomplished partly through a system of visiting lecturers. One of these lecturers, George William Curtis, became a friend of White's. In his speech at the Inauguration of Cornell University in 1868, Curtis recalled that, while still at Michigan, White had "unfolded to me his idea of the great work that should be done in the great state of New York. Surely, he said, in the greatest state there should arise a university which by the amplitude of its endowment and by the whole scope of its intended sphere, by the character of the studies in the whole scope of the curriculum, should satisfy the wants of the hour.... It should rise...until it fulfilled the highest ideal of what a university should be.... Until the hour was late this young scholar dreamed aloud to me these dreams; and at the close, our parting, our consolation was that we lived in a country that was open to every generous idea, and that it was still a possibility that his dream one day might be realized."

In 1860 Horace White died, leaving a large estate for his son to settle. With substantial funds—between \$200,000 and \$300,000—at his disposal, White was now at liberty to explore avenues that he had previously only imagined. He returned to Syracuse for his father's funeral, and renewed his commitment to fulfill his father's wishes. In his acknowledgment of Charles C. Tiffany's condolences, White wrote: "Therewith I hope to aid in laying a goodly foundation for education—but I am determined...to build up the greatest private library this country has yet seen and after I have done with it to make it a public library. That was the wish of my father."

On returning from Syracuse, White began to sketch out his vision of university education. In the meantime, his teaching continued to attract broad interest on the Michigan campus, at times prompting controversy as White challenged his students to view the political questions of their own time with the same critical approach that they took with, say, the French Revolution. White responded to the issues of the Civil War period in almost every way he could. In his teaching he culled from the past laudable examples of societies that valued the rights of free men over the shallow benefits of slavery. The lesson of the demise of Louis XIV of France, as one lecture suggested, is that we are absolute in authority only over our own lives; that we are each merely a "limited monarch" over the lives and souls of those about us. White brought a more direct message to Michigan by inviting abolitionists such as Wendell Phillips and Frederick Douglass—reformers he had first encountered in Syracuse—to lecture on campus. And when war broke out, White rallied the Michigan units and exhorted students with lectures on individual duty. This level of involvement would have to suffice, for White failed to qualify for military service. He later

AMAN INAPPEDI

A PUBLIC MEETING AT

FANEUIL HALL!

WILL BE HELD

THIS FRIDAY EVEN'G

May 26th, at 7 o'clock,

To secure justice for A MAN CLAIMED AS A SLAVE by a

VIRGINIA KIDNAPPERI

And NOW IMPRISONED IN BOSTON COURT HOUSE, in defiance of the Laws of Massachusetts. Shall be be plunged into the Hell of Virginia Slavery by a Massachusetts Judge of Probate?

BOSTON, May 26th, 1854.

Poster rallying Boston to protest the Fugitive Slave Law, 1854

Manuscripts in the collection parallel the strengths of the printed materials. Most of the pieces date from the decade of the Revolution, but there are also many documents, chiefly military, from the Napoleonic period. Included are administrative, financial, and military documents, official and personal letters, minutes, and clippings. Among the major figures represented are Bailly, Babeuf, Danton, Dumouriez, Fouché, Lafayette, Louis XIV, Marie Antoinette, Mirabeau, Napoleon, Necker, Robespierre, Sièyes, and Talleyrand.

A prominent feature of White's collection is a superb group of over one thousand prints and portraits, which stand as vivid testimony to the experience of the French Revolution. These engravings, many of them political caricatures, each illustrate with a single image the sentiments and the various viewpoints expressed during the Revolution. They include sensational depictions of events, from the Revolution to Napoleon, satirical portraits, and vicious attacks. They chronicle the course of events of the Revolution, commemorating battles and ceremonies, and capturing the likenesses of key participants of the Revolution. A good number are hand-colored.

Throughout his life, White returned to the French Revolution, lecturing and writing on the subject, including "An Abridged Bibliography of the French Revolution," published as an appendix to O'Connor Morris' History of the French Revolution (1875), and Paper-Money Inflation in France: How it Came; What it Brought; and How it Ended (1876). His popular lectures on the French Revolution were published in Outlines of Lectures in History, Addressed to the Students of Cornell University (1883), including "France before the Revolution," "The French Revolution," and "Modern France, including the Third Republic." They also appeared in The French Revolution, a syllabus of lectures that went through various editions, extended and revised for students at the University of Michigan, Cornell University, the University of Pennsylvania, Johns Hopkins University, Columbia University, Tulane University, and Stanford University from 1859 to 1889. "He used the collection in his political speeches as well: "Nor has the collection been without other uses. Upon it was based my pamphlet on 'Paper Money ...,' and this, being circulated widely as a campaign document during two different periods of financial delusion, did, I hope, something to set some controlling men into fruitful trains of thought on one of the most important issues ever presented to the American people."

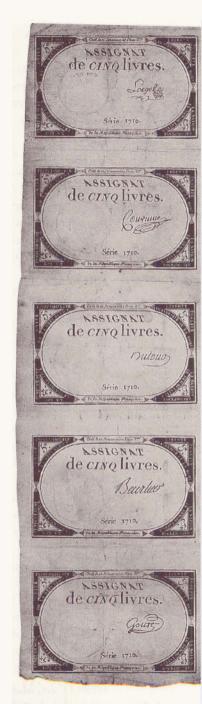
In 1891 White presented his historical library, including his French Revolution Collection of pamphlets, books, manuscripts, newspapers, and prints, to the Cornell University Library. A detailed catalog of the collection, Catalogue of the Historical Library of Andrew Dickson White. Vol. II: The French Revolution, was published in 1894. White's librarian, George Lincoln Burr, later added to the collection, among other items, documents on the pre-Revolutionary and Revolutionary period from the Revue Retrospective, works on French local history, and a collection of French pamphlets on the fall of Napoleon and the Bourbon Restoration. Other donors, notably Arthur H. and Mary Marden Dean, would continue to build on White's legacy. Currently the collection includes over 18,000 books and pamphlets.

republican Left, from the beginning of the Revolution to the collapse and liquidation of the Babouvist conspiracy in 1797. The history of these radical forces may be traced not only through the journals of their leaders, but also through the activities of the political clubs, the Commune, and the assemblies of the various districts and sections of the capital. The collection is particularly strong in the writings of democratic leaders such as Marat, Hébert, Robespierre, Brissot de Warville, Bailly, and Pétion.

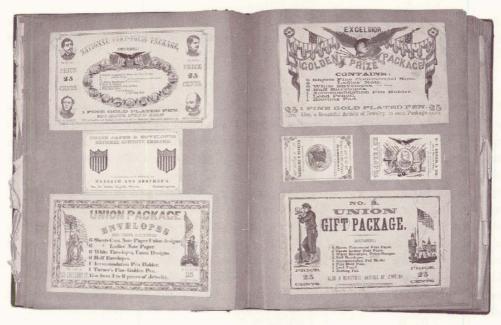
Materials on the Revolutionary government include laws and other documents from the Estates General, the National Assemblies, the National Convention, and other bodies at the national, departmental, and local levels. The collection concentrates on the areas of economics and finance, with materials on agriculture, taxation, currency reform, transport, customs, and the Calonne-Necker dispute. Books and pamphlets also document such subjects as freedom of the press, human rights, women and divorce, the abolition of slavery, the Santo Domingo (Haiti and the Dominican Republic) question, foreign affairs, the military, secularization, the press, and the theater.

The creation of a democratic and republican culture is also documented by a wealth of popular literature. A group of almanacs illustrates the political and cultural climate of the Revolution; some convey a political message, while others testify to the continuity of rural life in eighteenth - century France. Broadsides, revolutionary catechisms, songs and hymns, speeches, and denunciations from Paris and the provinces make up a majority of the collection. As documents and artifacts they speak to both the overwhelming experience of revolution and its daily realities.

The collection also contains a comprehensive set of French newspapers from the Revolutionary era, including those that reported events and debates in the central government, those connected with Parisian political clubs, and those from the provinces. The collection is extremely strong in its holdings of popular newspapers, as well as aristocratic, royalist, and anti-revolutionary papers. Some contain songs; some include engraved illustrations. Also included are prospectuses for many newspapers.



Assignats



White's Civil War scrapbook, "Rebellion Miscellany"

recalled that "my friends all about me were volunteering, and I also volunteered, but was rejected with scorn." The examining physician tried to assuage White's disappointment by counseling him: "Your work must be of a different sort."

White took this advice to heart. Part of his work would be to observe, comment on, and document the war. In a letter to Daniel Gilman, he noted that he was represented throughout the army by his students, and he retained their letters from the battlefield as evidence. Correspondence from Union soldiers was but a small part of what eventually became White's Civil War Collection, a documentary assemblage largely made up of pamphlets, newspapers, posters, maps, documents, and ephemera. This collection differed from White's others in that it was a gathering of contemporary materials. The items selected for the collection reflect White's direct personal relationship with the subject. The collection focuses on the political maneuverings of the period as well as the reporting of the actual military conflict. White's passion for debating current politics in the public forum is revealed through numerous batches of pamphlets and booklets on a variety of topics. He accumulated large groupings of pamphlets on issues such as the Fugitive Slave Law, the entry of free states into the Union, and the money question. The Civil War Collection comprised several thousand pamphlets and documents when it was finally transferred to Cornell University in 1891. The volumes of pamphlets, bound in the distinctive green White

Library binding, carried titles such as "Scriptural Anti-Slavery," "War Songs, 1861-1867," or "Harpers Ferry, Draft Riots, Death of Lincoln." Hundreds of volumes were labeled simply "Rebellion Pamphlets."

White's involvement with this collection is most clearly felt in a series of folio scrapbooks entitled "Rebellion Miscellany." Full of clippings, prints, announcements, and mementos glued to large, thick pages, the albums tell a detailed and personal story of the Civil War from Fort Sumter to Lincoln's assassination. Remnants from a myriad of daily events are given focus and weight in these scrapbooks. Covering the pages are news clippings and pictorials from papers such as Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper. Posters from Sanitary Fairs, fund-raisers for orphans' homes, or announcements of lectures and sermons are found along with paper patterns for hospital slippers and mittens to be made for the Union soldiers. Paper money, draft posters, roster lists, and battle plans demonstrate the constant presence of the war, as do mundane bits of paper from daily routines, heavily decorated for the cause—calendars, receipts, playing cards, tobacco labels, and even paper shirt collars and swatches of patriotic calico, emblazoned with the flag and the word "Union" to show one's loyalty. Each album is indexed by White in his own hand, organizing the contents by battle, personal name, and "chronological record." This was the Civil War as White collected it.

Perhaps surprising for a professor who attracted considerable attention for his strong abolitionist stance, White did not collect heavily on the subject of slavery and its abolition. The topic was instead substantially covered by the gift of the collection of White's close friend, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, an active and early champion of the Anti-Slavery movement from Syracuse. He was "one of the noblest, truest, and most beautiful characters I have ever seen," White later recalled, and "a man who had exercised a most happy influence over my opinions and who had contributed much to the progress of anti-slavery ideas in New England and New York." May donated his large collection of pamphlets, books, and newspapers to Cornell in 1870. The May Anti-Slavery Collection became the focus for a strong collection development campaign among Abolitionists and their friends in the United States and Great Britain. William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and Gerrit Smith wrote, signed, and circulated an appeal in 1874. They reminded friends of the movement that it was of "great importance that the literature of the Anti-Slavery movement, both in this country and Great Britain, should be preserved and handed down, that the purposes and the spirit, the methods and the aims of the Abolitionists should be clearly known and understood by future generations." The effort was successful; the Cornell University Library developed an Anti-Slavery Collection that is unique for its depth and coverage. The May Anti-Slavery Collection, in combination with White's Civil War holdings, gave the Cornell Library a significant strength in nineteenth-century American history.

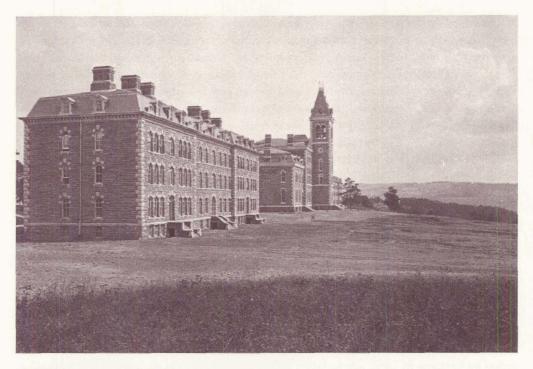
The outbreak of the war and his own bad health led White to take a leave of absence from Michigan. He returned to Syracuse, where he continued to develop his dream of a new approach

to education. In August 1862 he wrote to the Syracuse philanthropist and abolitionist Gerrit Smith, proposing "a truly great University...to secure a place where the most highly prized instruction may be afforded to all—regardless of sex or color." Such an institution, he continued, "must be splendidly endowed. It must have the best of Libraries—Collections in different departments—Laboratory—Observatory—Botanical Garden perhaps,—Professorships—Lectureships." Smith replied that his health was very poor and he could not think about establishing a university. White went off to England, with the idea of trying to influence British public opinion for the Union cause. He wrote letters and pamphlets, and his responses to the American correspondent of the London *Times* were published in this country. He spent the spring and summer in Europe, taking health cures and buying books.

THE CORNERSTONE OF A GREAT UNIVERSITY

WHEN WHITE RETURNED to the United States, he was astonished to find himself nominated as the Republican candidate from Syracuse to the New York State Senate. He was elected, and in 1864 became Chairman of the Education Committee, There White at thirty-one, the youngest member of the Senate, met Ezra Cornell, chairman of the Agriculture Committee. Ezra Cornell's bill to endow a public library in Ithaca was one of the first matters to come before White's committee. The Education Committee also administered the Morrill Land Grant Act which had been passed by Congress in 1862, appropriating public lands to aid state agricultural and mechanical colleges. While Cornell initially wanted to use half of the Morrill funds for the agricultural college at Ovid, White was determined to keep the fund together for the development of a single great university. Through their discussions, the idea of a university also grew in Cornell's mind. When the Legislature met in 1865, White introduced a bill in the Senate "to establish the Cornell University and to appropriate to it the income of the sale of public lands granted to this State." After much political maneuvering, the bill was passed in the Assembly and in the Senate, and was signed by Governor Reuben E. Fenton on April 27. White was elected to the Board of Trustees and asked to prepare bylaws. His Report of the Committee on Organization provides a detailed description of White's conception, intellectual and physical, of the new university. The Trustees applauded the report and unanimously elected Andrew Dickson White the first president of Cornell University.

The new university opened on October 7, 1868. White's inaugural address reiterated his fundamental ideas: the union of liberal and practical education; equality in prestige among the courses of study; variety of courses and freedom of choice among them; the elevation of scientific study; the need for full cultural development of the individual; student self-government; continued renewal of the Board of Trustees and election of Alumni Trustees; a close relationship between the University and the state school system, with state revenues provided for higher education; non-sectarianism; and the refusal to make any distinctions by race or sex.



Cornell University, ca. 1869

White enunciated the ideals of the new university through his "Plan of Organization" and inaugural address. He traveled in Europe to learn about the newest innovations in technical education. He was largely responsible for recruiting faculty for the new institution, and particularly for introducing the idea of non-resident professors who could enhance the educational atmosphere. White had long considered coeducation an integral part of his educational plan. He had advocated it while he was at Michigan, deliberately selected the word "person" in the Cornell Charter, and urged it in his inaugural address. In 1871, White, with Henry W. Sage, visited a number of coeducational institutions and the next year published a remarkable report to the Board of Trustees in support of coeducation.

To Andrew Dickson White, the ideas of a great university and a great library were inextricably linked. White envisioned the library as the heart of the university, "the culmination of all." As President, he was instrumental in the development of the university's library and its other collections by his own purchases, by encouraging the gifts of others, and, after his retirement, by the gift of his own collection. He influenced the design of the building that would house the library for many years and whose tower would become the symbol of Cornell University.

Ezra Cornell provided the initial funds for equipping the new university, including its nascent library, while White articulated the institution's philosophy. In his *Report of the Committee on Organization*, White argued that libraries must contain both the new and the old, and "a worthy library should possess the works of every man who has made his mark in literature, science or the arts." The trustees appropriated \$7,500 for the purchase of books in September 1867; this was increased to \$11,000 in 1868. White traveled to Europe that year to purchase books and equipment for the new university. When he had spent the University's funds, he appealed to Ezra Cornell for additional money, and used his own resources as well. He later wrote of his friend Cornell:

During my stay in Europe, through the summer of 1868, under instructions to study various institutions for technical education, to make large purchases of books, and to secure one or two men greatly needed in special departments not then much cultivated in this country, his generosity was unfailing. Large as were the purchases which I was authorized to make, the number of desirable things outside this limit steadily grew larger; but my letters to him invariably brought back the commission to secure this additional material.

With Cornell's assistance, White the book collector could now influence the creation of a university library. In his *Autobiography* and diaries, he recorded some of his acquisitions on this significant buying trip: "Having found, in the catalogue of a London bookseller, a set of Piranesi's great work on the 'Antiquities of Rome,'—a superb copy, the gift of a pope to a royal duke,—I showed it to him, when he at once ordered it for our library at a cost of about a thousand dollars." Purchases included large collections of books as well as individual titles. One example was the library of Professor Charles Anthon of Columbia University, "probably the largest and best collection in classical philology which had been brought together in the United States. Discussing the situation with Mr. Cornell, I showed him the danger of restricting the institution to purely scientific and technical studies, and of thus departing from the university ideal. He saw the point, and purchased the Anthon library for us."

White was a spirited collector. The thrill of his buying excursions and his genuine enthusiasm for a successful purchase always flavored his notes and correspondence. "April 27, 1868. I have been hard at work every day & have saved several thousand francs by prowling around the books shops of the Latin Quarter instead of buying of Agents.... If it is possible i.e. if it is not absolutely impossible I want the Univ. to put 5000 dollars more at my disposal." He would comment later that he felt most in his element when he was hunting down books in Europe. The trip to London also allowed him to renew his acquaintance with Henry Stevens, whom he had now retained as a book agent, and to enter into the social world of literary London: "July 8. London. Hard at work finishing book purchases. Check to Stevens for £600.... In evening dined at MacMillan's house with Longfellow, Kingsley, Mat. Arnold, F.P. Meurice, Huxley, Lockyer, and others." Stevens remained a strong influence on White's collecting, guiding him toward editions

of a particular caliber and encouraging him to acquire in bulk collections relating to a specific subject. When the merit of the books alone seemed insufficient to capture White's attention, Stevens knew that an appeal to the quality of White's collection would turn the key. "Let me tell you a secret worth knowing," Stevens wrote to White in August of 1868:

Among the books that I have already shipped to you...are more than 2000 well bound volumes of good books relating to America and American history, which are not in the world renowned library of John Carter Brown. And if not in his library, can they be in any other one library in the United States?... I put the prices 25 percent lower than I have ever done before. I hope to induce you to buy the lot. No such collection can ever again be made—and none also exists. In certain rare books it is excelled by the collections of Mr. Lenox and Mr. Brown, but in good standard books on America, in all languages, it is unexcelled.

Andrew Dickson White returned to Ithaca to administer the new university and to advance his academic experiment. As president, he was responsible for many educational innovations. He suggested establishing mechanical laboratories and workshops for the Department of Mechanical Engineering and bought the first piece of equipment, a power lathe. He promoted the first Department of Electrical Engineering in the United States, taught and encouraged historical studies, and founded the Department of Political Science "for practical training." He suggested the amendment of the Charter by the State Legislature to provide for the election of Alumni Trustees. He encouraged the Trustees to provide scholarships and fellowships out of university funds. Through his encouragement, donors like Hiram Sibley and John McGraw supported the construction of the buildings that bear their names, and Jennie McGraw gave the first bells for Cornell's chimes. White was also deeply interested in architecture, and in 1871 established a department at Cornell that offered the first four-year course in architecture in the United States. He reminisced in his *Autobiography*:

Another department which I had long wished to see established in our country now began to take shape. From my boyhood I had a love for architecture. In my young manhood this had been developed by readings in Ruskin, and later by architectural excursions in Europe; and the time had now arrived when it seemed possible to do something for it. I had collected what, at that period, was certainly one of the largest, if not the largest, of the architectural libraries in the United States, besides several thousand large architectural photographs, drawings, casts, models, and other material from every country in Europe. This had been, in fact, my pet extravagance; and a propitious time seeming now to arrive, I proposed to the trustees that if they would establish a department of architecture and call a professor to it, I would transfer to it my special library and collections.

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"Books Added to the Private Library of Andrew D. White." Library acquisitions log, 1881 to 1891

White's architectural library contained about 1,200 volumes, both European and American, including major journals of the day such as The Architectural Magazine, The Builder,) The Building News, and The Civil Engineer and Architect's Journal from London; the Journal de Menuiserie Spécialement and Revue Générale de l'Architecture et des Travaux Publics from Paris; and Architektonisches Skizzenbuch from Berlin. The collection included the most important contemporary works on the subject, historical, theoretical, and practical, ranging from a nineteen-volume set of The Beauties of England and Wales by John Britton and Edward Wedlake to J.C. Loudon's Encyclopedia of Cottage, Farm, and Villa Architecture and Furniture to Steam Heating for Buildings. There were a number of older items as well. While in Europe, he had purchased eighteenth-century works by Piranesi together with three illustrated seventeenth-century titles by Pietro Santi Bartoli (84 plates), Pietro Ferrerio and Giovanni Battista Falda (105 plates), and Pier Leone Ghezzi (40 plates) that were part of a set presented by Pope Clement XIV to Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, during the Duke's residence in Rome. He also owned several sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works including a 1501 Parma printing of Franciscus Marius Grapaldus, a 1584 Venice edition of Sebastiano Serlio, a copy of Vetruvius' De architectura libri decem, published in Amsterdam in 1649; and, bound with the Ghezzi, a volume by Giovanni Pietro Bellori, published in Rome in 1690 (52 plates). A catalog of White's Architectural Collection, "Works Relating to Architecture in Cornell University Library," was published in January 1882 in the inaugural issue of The Library Bulletin of Cornell University.

Even as president, White continued to write and teach. He published his lecture outlines, with interleaved blank pages for students to take notes. He also continued to play an active role in public life. In 1871 President Ulysses S. Grant appointed White to a Presidential commission to investigate the possibility of annexing Santo Domingo. In 1875 White took a trip south, pausing in Washington to spend an evening at the White House with Grant, stopping in Columbia and Charleston, South Carolina, and then traveling on to Florida. The trip was also an opportunity to add to his collection: "In all this journey through the South I added much to my library regarding Secession and the Civil War; accumulating newspapers, tracts, and books which became the nucleus of the large Civil War collection at Cornell." He was appointed a judge at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, served as a delegate to the Republican National Convention, and was encouraged to run for governor of New York State. He and his family spent most of 1877 and 1878 traveling in Europe, where White served as honorary commissioner to the Paris Exposition, attended an international copyright convention, and was named an officer of the Legion of Honor by the French government. White's position within the Republican Party was rewarded by a term as United States Minister to Prussia from 1879 to 1881. In Berlin, he enjoyed the social opportunities, renewed his acquaintance with leading German scholars, and negotiated with Bismarck on trade and monetary issues. In 1884 White was a delegate to the Republican National Convention in Chicago. Later that year he became the first president of the newlyfounded American Historical Association, and in 1888, president of the American Social Science Association.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR

Association, a scholar who would do more than anyone other than White to influence the range and texture of the Andrew Dickson White Historical Library—George Lincoln Burr. Burr's life provides many parallels to White's. Burr was born in 1857 in the town of Oramel, Cortland County, New York, not far from Homer, where his grandfather had built the first house and where White was born. Although the family moved to Newark Valley, New York, after the Civil War, Burr returned to Homer and lived with his grandparents while he attended Cortland Academy. He described his first visit to the school in 1869: "It was a great experience for a boy of twelve, and vividly I recall it.... There I first saw President Andrew Dickson White." Burr was also interested in the study of history from an early age. His graduation oration was entitled "The Crusades," which concluded: "After all, there is but one crusade,—reaching down through all the centuries,—ever changing, yet ever the same,—Right against Wrong,—Knowledge against Ignorance,—Wisdom against Folly,—Enlightenment against Superstition."

Burr's family could not afford to send him to college immediately after graduation from Cortland Academy. He spent time as a teacher in a country school, and for three years as an apprentice printer. In 1877 he entered Cornell University. To support himself, he found work at the Cornell University Press, which had been established by President White in 1869 as the first university press in the country. He counted White among the professors who most inspired him. "What lectures those were!" Burr wrote in an undergraduate essay. "No barren recital of more bar-

ren facts...but a young man talking to young men about a world still young, and in language that young men could understand." White was equally impressed by Burr, even as a sophomore, and hired him to grade papers and to take care of White's private library. During vacations, Burr would go to Syracuse, where the larger part of White's library was still kept, to classify and catalog the books. White quickly recognized that in the purchase of books, Burr's judgment was equal if not superior to his own.

After 1879 the White Collection must be viewed as the product of the partnership between White and Burr. Together they elaborated, refined, and expanded the White Collection significantly. Each traveled to Europe on extended book-buying junkets, and each, with very different styles and outlooks, brought the collection to its maturity. White bought liberally when he traveled. He cast a wide net and often exceeded his own spending limits, his comfort with this approach due in no small part to the fact that



George Lincoln Burr, ca. 1890

it was his own money that he was spending. Burr, on the other hand, was characteristically cautious, precise, and somewhat reticent when it came to spending White's money. "Do not hesitate to make such [purchases] as you think we need," White instructed Burr, "and in regard to other things, remember that the presumption is always in favor of purchase."

Burr had an astute eye for books and an extraordinary knack for recalling bibliographic detail. Not only did this make him a savvy book buyer, it also made him a tough customer. The market for French Revolution materials was becoming more and more extensive as the centennial of the event approached, and the vastness of White's library made purchasing for the collection rather complicated. Burr carried an impressive knowledge of the collection and the offerings he had received from dealers. This recall would serve him well. In one instance, White questioned Burr

as to his reluctance to deal with a particular antiquarian book seller. In August of 1889, Burr responded in a letter to White, recapping the previous conflict with the dealer and the trick he had used to expose the unscrupulous vendor:

You speak of my distrust of Baer: have you forgotten how he made up from French provincial catalogues which he thought we would never see a manuscript catalogue of what he claimed was a rich private collection on the French Revolution—enormously advancing the original prices, of course?—and how we pinned the fraud by ordering from it the identical copies which we had already on our shelves, and which of course he found himself unable to supply.

Despite Burr's admonition, White continued to make substantial purchases from Joseph Baer, including a number of medieval manuscripts, eighteenth-century French texts, manuscripts of witchcraft trials, and sixteenth-century German imprints.

"LUTHER IS CHIEF"

EARLY IN HIS COLLECTING, White managed to amass in a relatively short time an impressive book collection documenting the Reformation. His interest in the subject harkened back to his school days, and it was further intensified by his first trip to Europe as a young man. In the summer of 1855, the twenty-three-year-old White visited the celebrated old Wartburg castle where the Saxon Elector had shielded Martin Luther for a time against his enemies. "Have hardly ever visited a more interesting place," White noted in his diary. Here Luther had:

...translated the Scriptures and wrote many works. I lingered for a long time at his window, looking at the wild scenery at which he once looked. I can see that a great change has come over me in the things that I love to see and to linger over. At my first sight, seeing it was all castles and abbeys, regardless of their tenants in great measure. Now I ask more—ask for places where something has been done for the race, for men as well as monks, and of these man-monks Luther is chief.

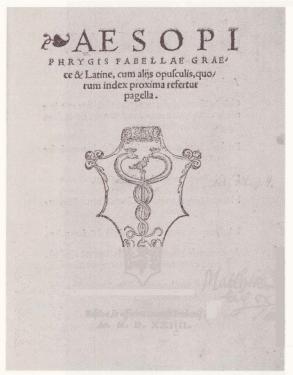
By the 1880s, White had brought together several thousand sixteenth-century imprints to form a library that traced the evolution of religious dissent.

Burr, who ultimately cataloged the collection and prepared the first in the series of the printed catalogs of the White Collection, *The Protestant Reformation and Its Forerunners* (1889), felt that although the Reformation Collection was surpassed by the Lutheran holdings of the Beck Collection in Hartford, it stood favorably in comparison with all other American collections. In general, the holdings reflected White's usual practice of acquiring commonplace materials along with significant editions. The collection is strong in substantial holdings of the leading Reformers,



Sixteenth-century portrait of Martin Luther

especially the works of Martin Luther. Found here also are the editions of the reformers Desiderius Erasmus, Ulrich von Hutten, and Philipp Melanchthon that would later inform White's historical research, his lectures, and his History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom. In addition, the writings of minor reformers are heavily represented, and the collection features an important gathering of Reformation prints, caricatures, and satires. The pictorial holdings grew to such an extent that White found it necessary to announce them in a separate publication, Portraits of the Reformers, which was released as a supplement to the Reformation Collection catalog.



Aesop. Fables (1524), with Melanchthon's annotations

There are points of great depth in the collection. In addition to a large gathering of Melanchthon's single works, the collection includes Melanchthon's own copy of the 1524 Froben printing of Aesop's Flables in Greek and Latin. The text is heavily annotated throughout, and on the blank page following the colophon, Melanchthon has penned a Latin epigram "To Erasmus." In the same manner, the Aldine 1508 printing of Erasmus' Adagia contains numerous manuscript notes contemporary with the period when Erasmus was a guest in the printer's Venice household.

Burr made an ongoing study of inscriptions in the Reformation Collection, and his painstaking research revealed a large number of volumes with significant provenance. From disparate lots, the collection had acquired several volumes that had belonged to Conrad Pellican, the sixteenth-century Hebraist and one of the translators of the Zurich Bible, and to his contemporaries. In a ragged copy of Luther's German Bible printed in Wittenberg by Hans

Lufft in 1546, Burr discovered several annotations. Their content and language suggested that they were contemporary with Luther, and "worth a careful study." On a blank page at the front of the volume, Burr found "more of the same old handwriting, this time in Larin." After transcribing the text, Burr realized he had uncovered a previously unrecorded eyewitness account of Martin Luther's death. "We have lost our chariot and true charioteer in Israel: Doctor Martin Luther has died in Eisleben," the letter begins. It records Luther's decline and his prayerful last words. "Thereupon," the text continues, "he forthwith gave up the ghost. This is a true account, and whoever say otherwise know norhing about this matter."

With one particular book, the lure of an appropriate provenance easily captured White's attention. Sometime before 1878, White acquired an early fifteenth-century manuscript Psalter because the Sotheby catalog description suggested that the manuscript originated from Martin Luther's monastery in Erfurt. "It is somewhat more than probable," the catalog asserts, "as Mr. Sotheby justly observes, that the great Reformer may have studied this very volume while a Monk in the Monastery." This was not altogether an unlikely claim; the flyleaf was annotated "Liber Sancti Petri in Erffordia," strongly suggesting that the piece was available at Luther's seminary. "Be

it as it may," the Sotheby description continued, "it is a matchless specimen of the labour and assiduity of the Monk of Erfurt, and most interesting as emanating from the site of Luther's studies," After careful research, White and Burr drew the disappointing conclusion. Luther probably never saw this manuscript. White annotated the flyleaf succinctly: "Erfurt not Luther's monastery." Burr later added a note indicating that this manuscript came from the Benedictine monastery,



Psalterium glossatum. Fifteenth-century manuscript, originally thought to have come from Luther's monastery

rather than Luther's Augustinian monastery. Numerous volumes in the collection received this kind of scholarly attention from White and Burr—obscure authors were frequently identified, minor works were placed in a larger context, bibliographic rarities were carefully analyzed and cataloged. Their efforts and their crudition were extraordinary given the number of titles that arrived in Ithaca on a regular basis.

Despite the size of White's collection, the literature in this area was far too vast to allow the comprehensive coverage that White was later to attain with the Witchcraft Collection. Burr recommended that they cease purchasing in the area after the catalog was published, suggesting that White could "at best only cover the praise of having made a good selection" from the immense literature of the Reformation. Nevertheless, White continued to acquire large quantities of sixteenth-century books for his library, the printed catalog was soon outdated, and the collection continued to expand on several themes. Eventually Burr, too, disregarded his own advice and aggressively sought out Reformation materials on the market.



Mathew Hopkins. The Discovery of Witches (1647)

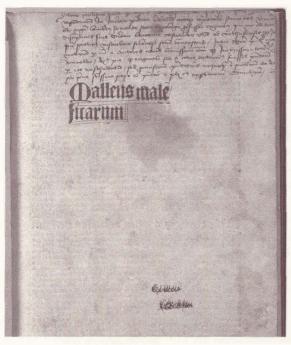
THE "DARK HISTORY" OF WITCHCRAFT

Both professor and student had developed an expertise in the study of the Inquisition and the "dark history of persecution for witchcraft." And both were interested in the social and religious forces that defined and perpetuated the phenomenon as well as those voices that clamored for its elimination. Together, White and Burr amassed and developed one of the most comprehensive book collections available for the study of European witchcraft. The Witchcraft Collection, which today comprises over three thousand titles, reflected the scholars' shared interests. Its loose boundaries included the history of superstition and witchcraft persecution in Europe. It documented the earliest and the latest manifestations of the belief in witchcraft as well as its geographical boundaries, and elaborated this history with works on canon law, the Inquisition, torture, demonology, trial testimony, and narratives. Most important, the collection focused on witchcraft not as folklore or anthropology, but as a theology and a religious heresy. The "central message of White's original holdings," according to historian Rossell Hope Robbins, was the "proposition that knowledge could and should conquer ignorance and bigotry and superstition: a comprehension of the witchcraft delusion was but one aspect of that crusade."

White approached the topic of witchcraft from two distinct tacks. His interest in Reformation theology naturally led him to explore the late sixteenth-century doctrinal debates about demonology and possession. In his study of legal procedure and punishment, White again found himself considering witchcraft persecution and the torturous punishments it fomented. On one book-buying trip in 1877, White had the opportunity to add substantially to all of these areas in his collection. "In the course of these studies I realized as never before how much dogmatic theology and ecclesiasticism have done to develop the most frightful features in penal law.... On this subject I collected much material, some of it very interesting and little known even to historical scholars." His investigation into the history of criminal law and torture turned up a substantial quantity of materials pertaining to witchcraft trials and inquisitions. White was extremely successful in documenting the phenomenon in Germany: "I had collected details of witchcraft condemnations, which, during more than a century, went on at the rate of more than a thousand a year in Germany alone, and not only printed books but the original manuscript depositions taken from the victims in the torture-chamber."

The bulk of the Witchcraft Collection was accumulated during the 1880s. Both White and Burr made book-buying trips to Europe during this time, and both were engaged in research that touched directly on the issue of witchcraft persecution. They picked up the core of the secondary research materials at this point, along with large quantities of the German doctrinal works and trial narratives. It was also at this stage that the collection took on the central categories that gave it shape. It contains many early texts from the period when the theory of the heresy of witchcraft was being formulated. The collection includes fourteen Latin editions of one of the more sinister works on demonology, the *Malleus maleficarum*, which codified church dogma on heresy. Burr

recalled that in his lectures White would display the *Malleus maleficarum* to "his shuddering class," warning them that it "had caused more suffering than any other product of human pen." The Witchcraft Collection holds four fifteenth-century editions, most notably the very scarce first edition printed before April 14, 1487.



Malleus maleficarum (1491)

Classic texts by those who established the outlines of the doctrinal discussion of demonology are also substantially represented in White's collection by works such as Jean Bodin's De la Demonomanie des sorciers (1580), Nicolas Remi's Daemonolatreiae (1595), Henri Boguet's Discours des sorciers (1602), and Pierre de Lancre's Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges (1612). Others who concentrated on the process of securing testimony, such as Pierre Binsfeld, are also to be found. Unique to the White Collection is a small and extremely scarce group of oppositional works, written as exposés by those who had a direct knowledge of trials and punishments. Cornelius Loos, the first theologian in Germany to write against the witch hunts and an author of particular interest to Burr, is present in his De vera et falsa magia (1592), as are Hermann Witekind, Johann Matthäus Meyfart, and Hermann Löher.

The defining materials of the Witchcraft Collection, however, are the court records of the trials of witches. Found in substantial numbers, in manuscript and in print, these documents reveal the harsh outcome of the more remote doctrinal disputes. Burr managed to acquire a number of verbatim court records, which were extremely difficult to locate, as well as substantial manuscript transcripts of trials. Perhaps the most important of all the manuscripts in the Witchcraft Collection is the minutes of the witchcraft trial of Dietrich Flade, a sixteenth-century city judge and rector who spoke out against the cruelty and injustice of the persecutions. The manuscript was discovered "in Germany in a state of almost perfect preservation," and acquired by White in 1883. Burr devoted a good deal of study to this important trial; it was the focus of his careful analysis in "The Fate of Dietrich Flade." In his "A Witch-Hunter in the Book-Shops," Burr recounted the arrival of the much anticipated manuscript purchased from the Berlin bookseller Cohn, "a manuscript witch-trial which we hoped might prove that of the most eminent of all German victims of the great persecution, Dr. Dietrich Flade, of Treves."

The case had been one of peculiar interest to Mr. White; for Dr. Flade, jurist, scholar, head of his city's courts,...had brought on his own fate by his attempt to check the persecutions, and from his trial, long lost to scholars, we might hope to learn the details of his story. And how our hearts leaped when the manuscript really came, when it proved what we hoped, and all but complete, telling us the whole sad tale of the old judge's fate, from his arrest in 1587 to the closing scene in September of 1589, when he was brought for the last time into the court-room, there to hear from the bench...his own terrible sentence.

Burr and White shared the habit of writing notes in the books they acquired and studied. This is particularly true of the witchcraft materials, where their annotated reactions permeate the collection. Burr's copy of Johann Grässe's Bibliotheca magica et pneumatica (1843), for example, is interleaved and heavily annotated, serving as his guide to purchases for the White Collection. It offers a detailed record of the witchcraft acquisitions over a span of many years. In some titles, Burr's notes are extensive—a scholar's gloss—placing the text or the author within the context of witchcraft studies. In the copy of Samuel Harsnett's A Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures (1605), Burr opens a lengthy commentary with the note that the "author of this book...was one of the most rational men of his time." After much discussion, Burr notes that Harsnett has revealed himself as an opponent of witchcraft superstition by "declaring it delusion and humbug," and by announcing himself as a "thorough-going disciple of Reginald Scot." Other entries expose a more personal reaction to the books and the subject. White, for example, identified Pierre Binsfeld's Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum et sagarum (1589) with a single, poignant comment: "This is the book...which brought such horrible suffering to Flade, and torture and death to Loos."

Burr was consistently reluctant to "finalize" the Witchcraft Collection, and he failed to publish a printed catalog of its holdings largely because he expected that fresh material would come to light to enrich the collection. "With the witchcraft we have nothing to gain and all to lose by haste," Burr warned White in October 1889. "Every study in this field which you will first leave me time to publish will add to the prestige as well as to the worth of the catalogue." Besides, he noted, the "reputation of the collection is already international." This same hesitancy found its way into Burr's recommendations as to how the collection should be publicized. "It would be wise to avoid exaggeration as to the treasures of our library," he counseled Cornell's President Livingston Farrand in 1926. President White was responsible for most of the previous descriptions of the collections; but, he noted diplomatically, White "was an enthusiastic, sanguine man who saw things large."

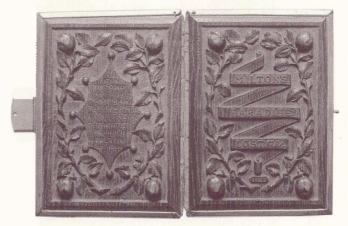


Galileo Galilei. Dialogo (1632)

MISCELLANEA

Burr, however, did complete *Miscellanea*, the final volume of the *Catalogue of the Historical Library of Andrew Dickson White*. The listing displays the range of White's collection and reveals his collecting strategies in building a working library. In addition to developing specific subject strengths in his collection, White also acquired a sizable general research and reading library. Largely made up of sets of complete works and solid scholarly editions, this portion of the library reflected White's ongoing use of his books for his academic work. Yet even in the general collection, certain subject threads are fully developed. White accumulated extensive holdings on German history, the Thirty Years' War, the Counter-Reformation, Jesuits, Mazarinades, and Stuart England.

Certain subjects are represented by only a few significant volumes. White did not collect literature, but his library contained some fine representative pieces, usually editions of a text of high moral character. White had acquired the first edition of John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667), for example, in the 1860s. He was attracted by its unusual binding. The wooden covers were carved by George Alfred Rogers, who attested in 1864 that the oak was part of a beam taken from "the House in which Milton was born." Burr responded predictably to this asser-

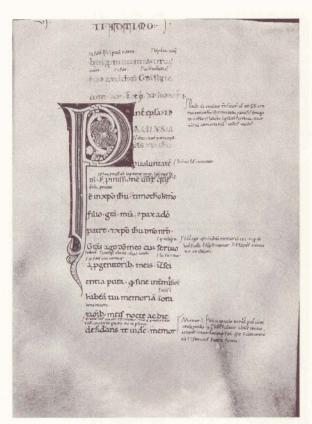


Wooden binding for the first edition of Milton's Paradise Lost

tion when he cataloged the book, and did further research. He annotated the volume with his correction: "Since Milton's birthplace was destroyed in 1666, the wood...was probably taken from the house in the Barbican in which Milton lived from 1645 to 1647."

Some of the collection's subject strengths were developed over decades. The history of science holdings, for example, built up slowly over years, and the titles were often acquired as pieces of larger lots. White picked up his copy of the first printing of Galileo's *Dialogo* (1632) in a large gathering of Italian imprints. Other subject areas were acquired quickly, such as his comprehensive collection of Spinoza's philosophical works, which White amassed in the span of a year. Several collections were bought in a single purchase. Burr acquired the Charles X Papers while in Europe in 1885. After a long period of hunting down manuscripts for the Witchcraft Collection in Germany, he switched his attention to uncovering Latin manuscripts when he arrived in Paris. While roaming the city's bookshops, he discovered one of his "most interesting finds" in "a score of thick portfolios." They contained "the private financial papers of the last of the Bourbon Kings

of France, from the establishment of his household as Comte d'Artois in 1773, to his exile as Charles X, and indeed also a series of vellum documents relating to his estates running far back into the sixteenth century."



Epistles of St. Paul, with Commentary. Twelfih-century Latin manuscript on vellum, acquired by White in 1877.

Medieval and Renaissance manuscripts also formed an integral part of White's collection. In addition to the manuscripts he accumulated for the Witchcraft Collection, he brought together over one hundred medieval manuscripts, most of them illuminated. White acquired manuscripts for their instructional value, and the collection contains illustrative examples of most periods and styles. Several manuscripts add important textual examples to the collection. On one of his early buying trips, White purchased a number of notable codices, among them a twelfth-century Italian manuscript of the Epistles of St. Paul with commentary. The Latin text is matched by copious marginal and interlinear glosses, slightly later than the text. The commentary is not fully developed, indicating that the manuscript is of a period before the text had become set in an accepted form. A significant number of fifteenth-century texts, including several works of Cicero in a splendid humanist hand, were added in 1886 after one of White's trips.

White's purchases in Italy in particular culled illuminated manuscripts of extremely high quality. He purchased two massive fif-

teenth-century Graduals, both from the Lombardy region. One volume is filled with numerous penwork designs and flourishes typical of the region around Milan. The other, referred to as "The Lombard Gradual," is heavily decorated and has twenty-seven foliate initials, most painted by the Master of the Franciscan Breviary, an anonymous Lombard illuminator. The gradual is bound in fifteenth-century Italian boards with stamped leather decorated with brass bosses and spikes. Numerous Books of Hours, many of them French productions from the early fifteenth century, add strength to the collections as an important resource for the study of illumination. White attempted to acquire a wide range of illuminated pieces in order to build a working collection. The number of antiphonaries, breviaries, benedictionals, and assorted fragments attest to White's efforts to shape his collection into one that was "useful in the instruction of things Medieval."

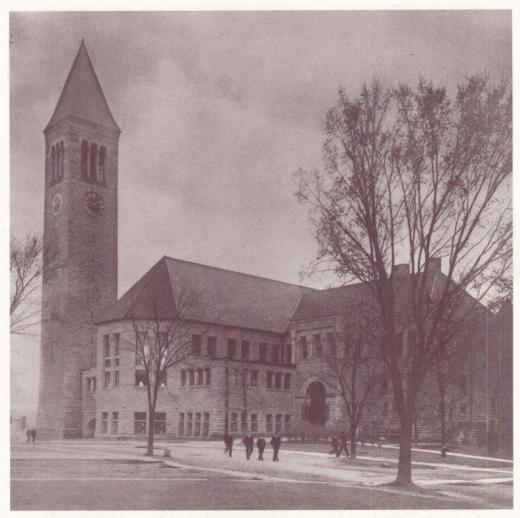


The Lombard Gradual, ca. 1450

"THE GREAT LIVING, GROWING HISTORICAL WORKSHOP"

Andrew Dickson White resigned as president of Cornell University in 1850 to devote his attention to his family, to further study, and to writing. At that time he also decided to present his historical library to the University. In January 1887 he offered to the Trustees a library of "about thirty thousand voluties," the cost of which, he estimated, "with its catalogues, has been...rather more than a hundred thousand dollars. Its present value, consisting as it does in great part of works scarce, long sought, and yearly appreciating in price, it would be hard to reckon in dollars and cents; but something of its practical worth I have had occasion to know by its use during my professorships at the University of Michigan and at Cornell University; and I hope that it may yet serve others even more fully than it had served me."

White offered the collection on the conditions that the university would provide "a suitable fire-proof room in any building which shall be erected for your general library, and proper provision...for its maintenance and usefulness..." White also asked for \$5,400 annually for the purchase of books in history and related topics, \$800 for the salary of a librarian, \$500 for fellowships in modern history and political and social science, and \$3,000 for a professorship in history. Additionally, \$10,000 was to be provided for the preparation and publication of a catalog for the collection. The Trustees agreed to provide a new building for the growing library



University Library soon after completion in 1891

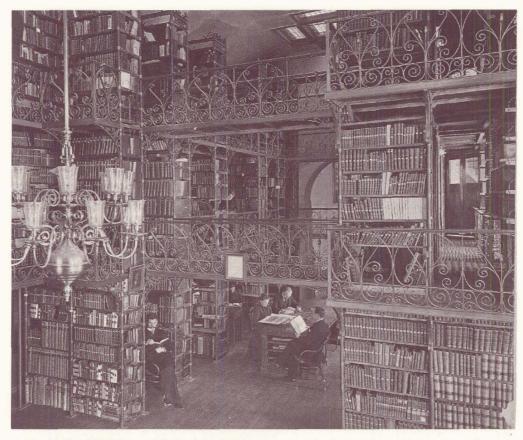
The new library would be Cornell's first real library building. In the initial plan for the Cornell campus, drawn in 1866, a library building had been suggested for the southwest corner of a proposed university square. But when Cornell opened its doors to students in 1868, the library was temporarily housed in two rooms in Morrill Hall, the only building on the main quadrangle then under cover. A shortage of classroom space soon forced the university to use even the two library rooms for regular classes, leaving several thousand volumes stored in boxes. The library was moved to new quarters in McGraw Hall in the fall of 1872, but by the 1880s it had outgrown them. Although plans were made for the construction of a proper library building, lack

of funding prevented any real progress. White continued to dream of a new library. While visiting the University of Michigan, he had been impressed by the architecture of its new library, which included seminar rooms. Charles Kendall Adams, at Michigan, called the one he used "the historical laboratory" where specialized books "constituted the furniture of the investigator's workshop."

When White resigned as President in 1885 and was succeeded by Adams, the two kept in close contact. Their correspondence included discussion of the proposed library, with numerous sketches of possible buildings and sites. In their April meeting in 1886, the Trustees appointed a new committee on the library building. Henry Van Brunt, who had designed the library at Michigan, was initially retained as the architect. By the end of 1887, however, Trustee Henry W. Sage, who had agreed to endow the library, assumed full control of the project. Sage's choice of an architect was William Henry Miller, of Ithaca, who had graduated from Cornell in 1872. Miller had likely been a student of White's and the two were long-time friends. As Kermit Carlyle Parsons, Cornell's architectural historian describes, the committee was pleased by Miller's plans: "administrative space was ample, the reading room was large and 'fortunately situated,' the White Library was 'commodiously provided for,' and the basement provided the largest usable space of any of the plans. Best of all the bookstack design was excellent: two stacks making imaginative use of the site's steep drop to the west were easily accessible from the main reading room and the White Library. The book resting on its shelf farthest in the stack was only one hundred and twenty feet from the delivery desk. The reading room floors were at the mid-point in the stack levels, further reducing the time required to deliver books." The library also contained a separate room for the White Library, sixty-six feet by twenty-three feet, with space for 40,000 volumes in twostoried galleried cast-iron stacks. The upper gallery opened to the European and American history seminar rooms, two of the seven seminar rooms in the building. Sage approved the plans and formally agreed to provide \$250,000 for the construction of the building and \$300,000 to endow book purchases.

In his address at the cornerstone-laying ceremonies, White reflected on his vision of a university library:

But how in regard to the building up of a *University* Library as distinguished from every other form of public library? I think the answer to this question is, that the two conditions of every adequate university library are, first, depth, and secondly, breadth. In obedience to the first of these conditions,—depth,—it should accumulate the best books, those which go down deep and touch the sources of human thought: as to the second condition,—breadth,—the collection of works which it includes should spread as far as possible over the whole field of human thought.



Andrew Dickson White Historical Library, ca. 1892

Throughout his collecting career, White attempted to accumulate subject strengths and specialties in his library. Whether these were shaped one purchase at a time, or en bloc, the goal was the same—to build a solid research collection. When White gave his historical library to Cornell, he passed on his seasoned advice as to how to build a book collection. Three approaches should be considered. The first was to poll the faculty and to build collections around their recommendations. The second took a similar approach toward selections from catalogs of leading publishers and dealers. The third method, one that White practiced consistently in acquiring his library, was to purchase all or part of gathered collections. And it was by this means that White brought to Cornell significant representations of the libraries of Henry Thomas Buckle, Thomas Macaulay, Thomas Gray, Robert Southey, Charles Lamb, Daniel Webster, Maximilian of Mexico, and Leigh Hunt. In his speech at the laying of the cornerstone, White also urged his listeners to follow his example:

In this great student audience there are doubtless many who hereafter will be in condition to make collections of books in worthy departments, and who will feel some gratitude toward their Alma Mater. Let me here and now remind them that there is no more suitable repository of any worthy special collection than a great edifice of this kind;—permanent and so ensuring care;—connected with an institution of learning, and so ensuring for every book deposited in it a career of constant usefulness among those best fitted to enjoy it, to profit by it, and to bring whatever of good it contains to bear upon their fellow-men.

In the same speech, White noted his own role in the creation of the library: "Of all now present, indeed of all now living, it happens that I am the one who was connected most directly with the Library at its earliest moment. As a simple matter of University history I may say that it happened to me to purchase the first book that was ever bought for it, to prepare the statute under which this development has been made, and to have had much to do during all these years in securing the volumes it contains." In the summer of 1891 White began the process of moving his books. Looking at the new library in September, Burr wrote that it "gave one such an idea of a multitude of books. You see and feel them all. They quite overawe one." Burr enthusiastically set the objective for the collection: "what I hope to help make it from the start," he promised, is "the great living, growing historical workshop of the University."

The formal dedication of the University Library (now Uris Library) was held on October 7, 1891, exactly twenty-three years from the date of the inauguration of the university. In the acquisitions log he maintained, "Books Added to the Private Library of Andrew D. White," Burr noted: 7 Oct. 1891, this library of Andrew D. White was formally transferred as 'the President White Library of Cornell University,' to the University's keeping." At the dedication ceremony, White again spoke of his library. He described the first book his father gave him as a boy, "the first I ever looked upon with a sense of ownership," and noted his efforts at collecting while he was at Yale and in Europe, where he indulged in a "passion for book hunting...out of season as well as in season." He returned to his old theme of the importance of primary sources: "As professor of history...the need of more and more historical material, both for my classes and myself, was constantly forced upon me, and this caused the collection to grow steadily. Many journeys in our own country and eight visits to Europe added to it: the study of each new historical period opened up new necessities as to books, and to secure these, during more than thirty years, a keen hunt has been carried out in book shops, new and old, from Quebec to Saint Augustine,—from St. Petersburg to Naples,—from Edinburgh to Athens,—from Constantinople to Cairo." And he reaffirmed his belief in the necessity of a great library for a great university: "this Library will be for generations, nay, for centuries, a source of inspiration to all who would bring the good thought of the past to bear in making the future better."



Andrew Dickson White in the library of his Ithaca home, ca. 1890

A PASSION FOR BOOKS

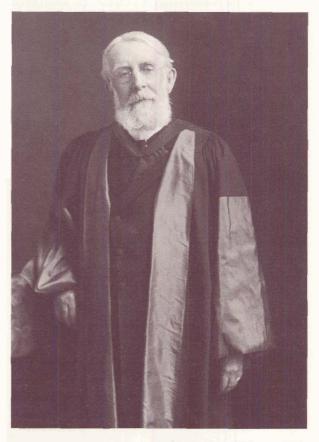
WHEN HIS WIFE, Mary Outwater White, died unexpectedly in 1887, White returned to his interests in politics and diplomacy, supporting civil service reform and again considering a run for the governorship. He also traveled through Egypt, Greece, and Turkey with his friend Willard Fiske. While there, he collected books and manuscripts: "From Constantinople, by Buda-Pesth, Vienna, Munich, Ulm, and Frankfort-on-the-Main, to Paris, stopping in each of these cities, mainly for book-hunting. At Munich I spent considerable time in the Royal Library, where various rare works relating to the bearing of theology on civilization were placed at my disposal; and at Frankfort added largely to my library—especially monographs on Egypt and illuminated manuscripts of the middle ages."

In September of 1890, White married Helen Magill, the daughter of his old friend Edward Magill, President of Swarthmore College. Helen Magill was a scholar in her own right. She had studied at Newnham College, Cambridge, and received a Ph.D. from Boston University, possibly the first doctoral degree awarded to a woman in the United States. White had first met her in

1887, when she presented a paper at the annual meeting of the American Social Science Association. Soon after their marriage, he was appointed Minister to Russia, where they lived until 1894.

During that period White wrote his most famous book, A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom, which was published in at least six languages during his lifetime. White assigned the proceeds from the sale of the book for the support of the President White Library. He also continued to add to the library: sets of the Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology, the National Manuscripts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and four early editions of the Encyclopaedia Britannica. In 1892 he donated a collection of Mormon literature that he acquired on a visit to Salt Lake City with Andrew Carnegie. Between 1893 and 1895, he gave the Spinoza Collection, a collection of works on Russian history, books on the early history of science, and cases of books from Florence, Rome, and St. Petersburg.

In 1896 President Grover Cleveland appointed him to the commission charged with settling a boundary dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela. Before the commission completed its work, the British agreed to accept arbitration, and the crisis was resolved. White went on to serve as Ambassador to Germany from 1897 to 1902, and in recognition of his accomplishments he was awarded the "Great Gold Medal for Science and Art" in 1902. He was further honored by an appointment as the president of the American delegation to the Peace Conference at The Hague in 1899, where he also worked to secure an international court and a mechanism for arbitration. He helped Andrew Carnegie plan the Carnegie Institution. He continued to buy books for the library: historical journals and French revolutionary and Napoleonic pamphlets; provided funds for the President White Fellow, George M. Dutcher, to buy additional French material, particularly a collection on the Vendée; and gave a collection on Fra Paolo Sarpi that he had purchased in Venice.



Andrew Dickson White, ca. 1915

White retired from active public life in 1903, and spent some time with his family on the Italian Riviera, writing his memoirs. Within the next two years, he gave over four hundred standard works to the general collection and two rare Dante works. He returned to Ithaca in 1904, and lived in the President's House for the remainder of his life. He surveyed the library that had been his lifelong mission, recalling with satisfaction "my college days when I was wont to enter the Yale library and stand amazed in the midst of the sixty thousand volumes which had been brought together during one hundred and fifty years. They filled me with awe. But Cornell University has now, within forty years from its foundation, accumulated very nearly three hundred thousand volumes, many of them of far greater value than anything contained in the Yale library of my day."

White continued to write, publishing his last book, Seven Great Statesmen in the Warfare of Humanity with Unreason, in 1910. He worked toward various social and political reforms, and served on the governing boards of the Carnegie Institution, the Carnegie Endowment for Peace, and the Smithsonian Institution. He maintained his interest in Cornell, working with the Trustees and with prospective benefactors. Most important, he followed his passion and continued to build the library until his death at his Ithaca home on November 4, 1918.

THE EXHIBITION



A LEGACY OF IDEAS

Andrew Dickson White in front of Goldwin Smith Hall. Photograph. ca. 1910.

"Books Added to the Private Library of Andrew D. White, 15 Sept. 1881 to 30 Oct. 1891." Autograph manuscript.

Case 2

"AN AVALANCHE OF THE MOST SPLENDID BOOKS"

Andrew Dickson White as a boy. Photograph. 1842.

The Poems of the Pleasures. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1841.

Andrew Dickson White to Clara Dickson White. Autograph letter signed. February 9, 1854.

Clara Dickson White to Andrew Dickson White. Autograph letter signed. March 16, 1854.

Andrew Dickson White.

"Diary, December 21, 1853 - December 15, 1854." Autograph manuscript.

Invoices and receipts from various book purchases made by Andrew Dickson White in 1855. Autograph documents.

Andrew Dickson White.

"Lecture, Luther's Character & Writings & Influences. April 1859. Univ. of Mich." Autograph manuscript.

Andrew Dickson White.

Outlines of a Course of Lectures on History. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1872.

Andrew Dickson White, Cornell University. Cabinet card. 1878.

Case 3

"My LIBRARY ON THE REVOLUTION"

Jacques Necker.

Compte rendu au roi. Paris: de l'Imprimerie du Cabinet du Roi, 1781

Sheets of assignats.

Andrew Dickson White.

Paper-Money Inflation in France: How it Came; What it Brought; and How it Ended. New York: D. Appleton, 1876.

Un monstre à trois têtes designant les trois etats de l'aristocratie s'occupe à dévorer le reste du cadavre du peuple. Hand-colored engraving. Paris, ca. 1789.

L'Ami du peuple. Paris: De l'Imprimerie de Marat, September 12, 1789. With prospectus.

Case 4

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION COLLECTION

France. Assemblée nationale constituante (1789-1791).

Projet de déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen. Paris: Baudouin, 1789.

Gracchus Babeuf.

"Cadastre perpétuel." Autograph manuscript. 1789.

Gracchus Babeuf.

"Précis d'un projet de cadastre perpétuel." Autograph manuscript. ca.1789.

Almanach des muses. Paris: Debalain, 1789.

Jean-Paul Rabaut.

Almanach historique de la Révolution françoise pour l'année 1792. Paris: Onfroy, 1792.

Chansons patriotiques chantées à Lille decadi 10 pluviose, l'an deuxième de la République, à la fête civique de l'anniversaire de la mort du dernier des tyrans français. 1793.

Jacques Louis David.

Marat tel qu'il était au moment de sa mort. Engraving. ca. 1793.

Case 5

THE CIVIL WAR COLLECTION

Andrew Dickson White.

"Rebellion Miscellany." Scrapbook. ca. 1865.

John P. Charlton and Thomas Althorp.

[Gameboard]

The Game of Secession, or, Sketches of the Rebellion. Philadelphia: M'Farland & Thomas, 1862.

Case 6

THE CIVIL WAR COLLECTION

Samuel Joseph May.

Speech...to the Convention of Citizens of Onondaga County...Called "To Consider the Principles" of the American Government, and the Extent to Which They are Trampled Under Foot by the Fugitive Slave Law. Syracuse: Agan & Summers, 1851.

A Man Kidnapped! Poster. Boston, 1854.

The Bloody Week! Riot, Murder & Arson, Containing a Full Account of this Wholesale Outrage on Life and Property. New York: Coutant & Baker, 1863.

Twelve Military and Patriotic Illustrated Songs, Elaborately Colored. New York: Charles Magnus, 1864.

Case 7

"LUTHER IS CHIEF": THE REFORMATION COLLECTION

J. Hopfer.

Doctor Martini Luthers. Engraving. Sixteenth century.

Aesopus.

[Fables. Greek & Latin]

Aesopi Phrygis Fabellae graece & latine. Basel: Froben, 1524. With manuscript annotations by Melanchthon.

Psalterium glossatum. Latin manuscript on paper. Erfurt, Germany, at the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter. Early fifteenth century.

Martin Luther.

Widder die hymelischen propheten von den bildern und Sacrament. Wittenberg: Lucas Cranach and Christian Döring, 1525.

Bible, German, 1546.

Biblia, das ist die gantze Heilige Schrifft, Deütsch, auffs newe zugericht d. Martin Luth. Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1546.

Case 8

"THE DARK HISTORY" OF WITCHCRAFT

Heinrich Institoris.

Malleus maleficarum. Speier: Peter Drach, before 15 April 1487.

Dietrich Flade, defendant.

[Minutes of the Trial for Witchcraft of Dr. Dietrich Flade of Trier]. "Hexenprozesse 1589." Manuscript on paper. Treves, Germany, 1589.

Pierre Binsfeld.

Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum & sagarum. Treves: H. Bock, 1589.

Pierre de Lancre.

Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais anges et demons. Paris: Nicolas Buon, 1612.

Matthew Hopkins.

The Discovery of Witches. London: R. Royston, 1647

Case 9

MEDIEVAL MANUSCRIPTS

Epistles of St. Paul, with Commentary. Latin manuscript on vellum. Italy. Early twelfth century.

Cicero.

Selections from *Opera Rhetorica*. Latin manuscript on vellum. Northeastern Italy. Fifteenth century.

Breviarum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum. Latin manuscript on vellum. Use of Rome. The Netherlands. Late fifteenth century.

Initial "S" from a Gradual. Germany. Fifteenth century.

Miniature showing St. Peter and assembled saints. Italy. Early sixteenth century.

Case 10

THE LOMBARD GRADUAL

Gradual. Latin manuscript on vellum. Northern Italy (Lombardy). ca. 1450.

George Lincoln Burr to Andrew Dickson White. Autograph letter signed. Florence, May 9, 1885.

"Forms for Telegram. President White to Professor Fiske for G.L.B. regarding books." Autograph manuscript. May 9, 1885.

Andrew Dickson White in his library. Photograph. ca. 1886.

Case 11

MISCELLANEA

Albrecht Dürer.

...Vier Bücher von menschlicher Proportion. Nutemberg: Dürer, 1528.

Sebastiano Serlio.

Tutte l'opere d'architettura. Venice: Francesco Franceschi, 1584.

"The President's Fund (Architecture), \$1000. A.D.W. (Private Account)." Autograph manuscript. 1870-1871.

Galileo Galilei.

Dialogo...sopra i due massimi sistemi del mondo, tolemaico e copernicano. Florence: G.B. Landini, 1632.

John Milton.

Paradise Lost. A Poem Written in Ten Books. London: Peter Parker, Robert Boulter, and Matthias Walker, 1667.

Benedictus de Spinoza.

Tractatus theologica-politicus. [Amsterdam: C. Conrad], 1670.

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Case 12

"THE GREAT LIVING, GROWING HISTORICAL WORKSHOP"

George Lincoln Burr. Photograph. ca. 1890.

University Library. Photograph. 1891.

Cornell University.

Exercises at the Opening of the Library Building. October 7, 1891. Ithaca, N.Y.: The University, 1891.

Andrew Dickson White Historical Library. Photograph. 1891.

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Andrew Dickson White. Photograph. 1915.

A NOTE ON SOURCES

All QUOTATIONS used in this essay, unless otherwise indicated, derive from the published or unpublished writings of Andrew Dickson White. As an historian White was conscious of the importance of documenting his own life and career. His papers served as his office files at his home in Syracuse and, after 1874, at the presidential mansion at Cornell. They became part of the Andrew Dickson White Historical Library after his death, and are currently part of the University Archives in the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections. The papers—over 100,000 items in all—include incoming correspondence; manuscripts of lectures, speeches, articles, books, and reports; financial records; clippings; photographs; memorabilia; and diaries. White annotated many of the papers, indicating dates and relationships to activities. He apparently did not make copies of his own letters; however, his associates, especially at Cornell, usually kept his letters to them. When the library produced a microfilm edition of the papers in 1970, the project gathered and interfiled copies of White's letters from the papers of others, notably Ezra Cornell, George Lincoln Burr, Willard Fiske, Jacob Gould Schurman, and Moses Coit Tyler, and from the records of the Cornell University Board of Trustees. Throughout most of his life, White kept a diary, usually one of the pocket booklets designed for the purpose; and he drew on these diaries when he came to write his memoirs. A selection from the sixty-six diary volumes appeared in 1959, edited by Robert M. Ogden. 'The Century Company published his Autobiography, first as a series of articles in its illustrated magazine, and then in 1905 as a complete two-volume monograph. Because of its popularity, Century reissued it in 1914 and again in 1932, in a special edition to commemorate the one-hundredth anniversary of White's birth.

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