Forgery and fakes are a tricky business. For as long as people have collected, it seems, some have been creating fakes in every imaginable field. Sometimes the mischief of the miscreants is laughably bad—the voluminous manuscripts of Jesus Christ, Mary Magdalene, Judas Iscariot, Julius Caesar, and other notables of the early Christian era that one late-nineteenth-century scamp wrote in modern French and sold to a particularly naïve buyer come to mind—and sometimes they fool collectors and curators alike with devilishly good imitations. Separating the wheat from the chaff can be quite challenging, to the point that libraries like the Clements have to exercise great care in evaluating both manuscript and printed primary sources that come our way.

Dear readers of The Quarto who have seen the recent revelations about Marino Massimo De Caro’s stunning forgery of Galileo’s Sidereus Nuncius (Venice, 1610), a remarkable effort that stumped everyone for several years, know that when modern technology, misspent talent, and malicious intent come together, the results can be devastating for the antiquarian book and manuscript world.

This issue of The Quarto looks at the Library’s nine decades of experience with forgers and their work. When you collect early Americana at the highest level, fakes inevitably come your way. We’ve been fortunate in having curators and directors with keen eyes and skeptical natures, so we’ve picked off a lot of the bad stuff over the years and set it aside rather than add it to the genuine collections on our shelves. Our curators detail some of those adventures here (I’m especially fond of the puckish trick Howard Peckham played on Randolph G. Adams with his fake bookplate for Chief Pontiac), and you should regard these as the tip of the iceberg in our frequent encounters with the work of unprincipled rascallions like Robert Spring and Joseph Cosey. If you like reading about such things, take a look at the books of Charles Hamilton, the longtime New York City autograph dealer (and a native of Flint, Michigan) who loved catching forgers, bursting the balloons of those unfortunate enough to boast about owning something spectacular he knew to be fake, and writing about it afterwards. Hamilton was a wonderfully enthusiastic spokesperson for the joy of collecting manuscript Americana, but I would not have enjoyed being the subject of one of his “what an idiot” reminiscences about the unwary collectors, dealers and librarians he had known.

The upshot of all this is that the rising monetary value of the early Americana the Clements and our peer institutions collect requires constant vigilance on our part against the machinations of past and present practitioners of the forger’s art. Friends of the Library, who collect at the upper end of our field, need to be equally careful; as long as there is money to be made in creating fake historic letters, maps, prints, and books for sale to the unsuspecting, you can bet that someone is going to do it. If you own any fakes, please label them as such lest your heirs or descendants who come upon them decades from now think they’ve got the real thing. We can’t ensure that nobody will ever be fooled, of course. One of the worst moments of my professional career came some twenty-five years ago when a family of eight, from great-grandmother to toddler, crowded into my small office, pulled out one of those awful dime-store reproductions of the
The Declaration of Independence, and presented it to me as something they’d like to sell to the University of Vermont Library for one million dollars. When I gently explained that they had about a nickel’s worth of early 1950s junk on their hands, they bitterly accused me of trying to cheat them and marched out in determined search of a more honest buyer. I hope the next curator they encountered helped them see the light, but it must have been painful to watch their dreams of instant wealth evaporate. The stories here are happier, I think, and they should offer readers a fascinating inside perspective on a different side of what we do here at the Clements. If they pique your interest and you’d like to see some of the “forgeries, facsimiles, follies, & phonies” we’ve accumulated over the years, let one of our curators know and we’ll bring you in for a look.

— J. Kevin Graffagnino
Director

A forger used the period paper of the margins and endpapers of A Collection of the Several Protests in the House of Lords (London, 1723) to practice George Washington’s signature. The clipped corner suggests that the forger, possibly S. Millington Miller, was satisfied with one of his efforts.

akes and forgeries can tell us much about the process of looking for authenticity in library collections. With instincts honed by years of experience, a curator, conservator, or dealer can sometimes immediately spot a forgery. TELLTALE SIGNS such as the wrong paper, typography, language, or other subtle clues may warn the experienced eye that something is wrong. At other times, it might take considerable research and careful examination to detect a skillful forgery or facsimile. Even without the intent to deceive, a high-quality facsimile can sometimes be difficult to distinguish from the original. When it comes to scarce collectible items, where the forger has a motive for profit, it is prudent to examine their claims with skepticism.

One noteworthy curiosity in the Clements Library’s newspaper collection is a sampling of Confederate editions printed on wallpaper. These unusual items were the result of a paper shortage that forced several publishers to print on sheets of wallpaper instead. The most famous of these is the Daily Citizen of Vicksburg, Mississippi, dated July 2, 1863. On July 4, when Vicksburg surrendered to Union forces, the publisher fled, and Union soldiers found the type standing on the press. They added a note and printed a new edition, using the remaining stock of wallpaper. The note concludes, “This is the last wall-paper edition, and is, excepting this note, from the types as we found them. It will be valuable hereafter as a curiosity.” As the note predicted, copies of this wallpaper edition became a valuable souvenir item, with as many as thirty later reproductions made.

The Clements holds original wallpaper copies of Le Courier des Opelousas (April 18, 1863); La Sentinelle de Thibodaux (February 7, 1863); and three copies of the Vicksburg Daily Citizen of July 2, 1863. We also have facsimile copies of the Daily Citizen for comparison. Some of the facsimiles are clearly labeled as such, while others were apparently forgeries meant to capitalize on the popularity of these historical artifacts. These facsimiles and forgeries turn up regularly and are often mistaken for the extremely rare originals.

In 1936, the Library of Congress published a circular listing a number of typographic characteristics by which the originals can be identified. The wallpaper patterns on the verso may also confirm the authenticity of the newspaper sheet. According to the Library of Congress, only three genuine patterns are known to have been used for the Daily Citizen and none of the facsimile patterns resemble them. Non-contemporary colors and patterns are an immediate giveaway.

In some cases of forgery, a book is genuine but its provenance has been faked. The addition of a forged signature by Abraham Lincoln, for example, could add immense value to an otherwise undistinguished book. For one title in the Clements Library, the forger attempted a most ambitious swindle by adding not one, not two, but three phony associations. The book is Boots and Saddles, or, Life in Dakota with General Custer (New York, 1885), by Elizabeth B. Custer. The first and most innocuous forgery is the bookplate and ownership inscription of an American collector,
Eugene Field (1850–95). Field, the author of *Love Affairs of a Bibliomaniac*, might well have owned this book in 1893 as the inscription claims. Being from Field’s library gives it a plausible provenance and adds some authority to its other claims. Surely such a notable collector as Field would have authenticated the volume before deeming it worthy of his personal collection. This would also explain why it was on the market after Field’s death in 1895, when his son, Eugene Field II, began to sell off his father’s manuscripts and book collection. Unfortunately, although the signature is quite well done, the bookplate is a crude photogravure reproduction that does not match Field’s known design.

The inscription “Sincerely yours, W. F. Cody, Buffalo Bill” appears on the verso of the front free endpaper. Cody (1846–1917), the famous Wild West showman, was not highly educated but could have been interested in a book about Custer. Cody had scouted for the army in the campaign following Custer’s defeat at the Little Bighorn (June 25, 1876), and his Wild West show featured Sitting Bull, the “slayer of General Custer.” However, Cody’s signature hardly passes muster. Held to the light at an angle, it appears that it was first traced in pencil, then gone over with heavy black ink. While at first glance it resembles other examples of Cody’s signature, it looks too deliberate, not scrawled rapidly as a true signature would have been. Some of the thicker lines might even have been drawn several times to get the right shape.

The most ambitious part of the forgery is a lovely watercolor illustration of an Indian pony on the back of the frontispiece. Reproduced in vivid color, the pony is arrayed in blankets and carries a Native American child in a cradle board. Below the pony is inscribed “My Book/Frederic Remington,” with a sketch of a kicking horse leaping from the tail of the “F.” Remington’s signature also decorates a second illustration in the back of the book, a kicking horse, with a peace pipe and arrow.

Frederic Remington (1861–1909), an artist known for his depictions of the West, could have read this book and been inspired to extra-illustrate it with a drawing or two. On the other hand, it strains credulity to believe that this volume passed through both Remington’s and Cody’s famous hands in the eight years between publication and Field’s ownership inscription in 1893. Moreover, while the drawing is skillful, the Remington signature lacks fluidity, with ink feathered out where the pen hesitated on the page. Also, while Remington favored horses as a subject, he was never known to write his signature with a bucking bronco in this manner. He normally used black ink, while both of these inscriptions are rendered in brown.

To get to the truth, we return to that first item, the false bookplate of Eugene Field. After Field’s death in 1895, Eugene Field II acquired some of his father’s books and manuscripts and began selling them. This became more profitable as the elder Field’s fame grew in the 1920s. Sometime in the ’20s or ’30s, as Eugene II was probably running out of authentic materials to sell, he entered into a partnership with Harry Dayton Sickles, a known forger. The pair began buying antiquarian books, adding Field’s bookplate and signature and sometimes a notarized statement by Eugene II that the book had come from his father’s library. When they ran out of original bookplates, they created a “reproduction” Careful comparison will reveal the differences between genuine (left) and phony patterns of wallpaper used to print the Vicksburg Daily Citizen while the city was besieged in the summer of 1863.
with a family crest not found on the original.

They also started forging and selling documents and books with more valuable names, such as Mark Twain and Abraham Lincoln. The Remington “bucking bronco” signature appears to have been their invention, used on multiple books about the West. According to William L. Butts in Absolutely, Mister Sickles? Positively, Mister Field! New Light on the Eugene “Pinny” Field II and Harry Dayton Sickles Forgery Case (Florida, 2001), Sickles was likely the forger, while “Pinny” provided the association with his father’s library. Although their forgeries are now widely known, neither Eugene II nor Sickles were ever formally charged with their crimes.

The result of the Field-Sickles forgery business is a shadow cast on the legacy of Eugene Field as a book collector. Any volume said to have come from his library must now be carefully checked for evidence of forgery, especially if it includes any other famous signatures. The Book Division has two other volumes containing Eugene Field’s bookplate, both of which had to be re-examined for this article. William Barnes’s Notes on Ancient Britain and the Britons (London, 1858), a gift to the Library in 1944, includes Field’s autograph and bookplate. The Indiana Gazetteer, or Topographical Dictionary (Indianapolis, 1833), purchased by the Library in 1995, contains Field’s bookplate, a partially erased and rewritten inscription of “Eugene Field’s library,” and a note on the back flyleaf that reads, “This book came from the library of my father, Eugene Field. Nov. 9, 1931. Eugene Field II.”

Both bookplates bear a coat of arms, identifying them as the forged “reproductions,” and the provenance note written by Eugene II can only add suspicion at this point. Less ambitious than the Boots and Saddles forgeries, these two books do not include any other signatures of greater value, such as Buffalo Bill or Lincoln. It seems likely that they were from early in Eugene II’s and Sickles’s careers, when the men were simply adding Field signatures and bookplates to miscellaneous volumes. The books were added to our collection for their subject matter, not their autograph value, and so have escaped detection until now.

A more light-hearted example of fakery in the Book Division was meant to amuse rather than to deceive. While the Clements is known for having a Columbus letter of 1493, another treasure written by Columbus is not nearly as well known. My Secrete Log Boke purports to be a facsimile of the journal that Columbus tossed overboard during a storm. Handwritten in “old” English style, it is printed on crinkled brown parchment to imitate a water-damaged vellum manuscript. Shells and seaweed stuck to the cover provide further evidence of its time in the water. It was purportedly discovered in 1890 by a fisherman named Jonas Cokes. His letter, which accompanies the logbook, states, “There has been found hear a curus box with a old buk in it it were tuk by me an mi mate bil Winch wile we was trowling.” The logbook’s introduction reads: “I Christopher Columbus have writ this little boke to be my secret logboke, that it may go with me on my journey of enterprise over the unknown seas. I will write down and report in it both truly and faithfully all the events and things that happen, joyfull and sad, which attend me on my journey, without adding to them or concealing any things.” Conveniently written in English, the logbook is such a cheerfully transparent fake that it seems unlikely to have been meant as a genuine hoax. A number of copies were printed by Frz. Rangette & Sons in Dusseldorf, Germany, ca. 1892, undoubtedly inspired by the 400th anniversary of Columbus’s first voyage.

Finally, we have a forgery perpetrated right here in the Clements by Howard Peckham, second Director of the Library. The details are recounted in Charles Hamilton’s Great Forgers and Famous Fakes (New York, 1980). In 1943, when Peckham was Curator of Manuscripts, he pulled an elaborate prank on Dr. Randolph Adams, first Director of the Library. Peckham was working on a biography of the Ottawa leader Pontiac and knew that Adams’s knowledge of the Ottawa language was limited to one word: Pontiac’s name Obwandiyag. Peckham had some pieces of blank eighteenth-century paper and a small printing press, and it occurred to him to try printing a bookplate for Pontiac. He called a specialist in the Ottawa language, Emerson Greenman at the U-M Museum of Anthropology, for the translation of “his book” or “ex libris,” and found a phrase that could be read as “from his bookcase.” In its entirety, the bookplate reads “Ogima Obwandiyaq omasinaigani-tessabang,” or “Chief Pontiac from his book case.”

Once Peckham had printed up a few examples on the authentic paper, he gave one to a visiting autograph dealer and asked him to show it to Adams. The dealer told Adams he had found...
in 1931, the William L. Clements Library received a manuscript from a reputable New York rare book dealer. The item was a single-page document, written on laid paper with brown ink, and it showed distinct signs of age. Organized in tabular form, it recorded the sum total of regular soldiers enlisted in each of the American states for the years 1775–83 and summary expenditures for each year of the war. The bookseller offered the manuscript as an eighteenth-century document, which would fit neatly into the Library’s strong Revolutionary War holdings. The asking price was $35.00. An analysis of the manuscript provided an alternate perspective. While the paper and ink initially looked appropriate, the document bore a watermark of a seated Britannia, with the clear date of 1840. The Library counter-offered with $15.00 and became the owner. What did we buy? A convincing copy of an eighteenth-century document? Nineteenth-century Revolutionary War research? Or perhaps a complete fabrication?

Copies of primary source materials are made for a variety of reasons, many of which are legitimate. Scholars, for example, accept photostatic copies, microfilm, printed facsimiles, and digital reproductions for the purposes of research. Family members transcribe and duplicate their ancestors’ letters to share with others. These copies are nothing more than what they purport to be: reproductions of materials that exist elsewhere in an original form. When manuscripts or other materials are copied or fabricated and then presented as genuine, they become forgeries.

Forgeries are problematic for collectors. After all, the monetary value of a Joseph Cosey imitation of an Edgar Allan Poe manuscript is far less than an original Poe. The specter of spurious documentation also looms over scholars.

This report of troops enlisted annually for the Continental Army illustrates the importance of preserving the original document. A watermark on the paper (not visible on a digital copy) reveals that the report was created after 1840, not during the eighteenth century. The time of creation has a significant impact on the purpose and meaning of a manuscript.
The historical analysis of an item depends in part on the identification of its author and the time, place, and purpose of its creation. Consequently, evaluating the authenticity of every item is of the utmost importance. Archives and special collections libraries are often thought of as bastions of evidence, keepers of source materials that provide a foundation for empirical study. Therefore, curators, archivists, and librarians must be ever-diligent when acquiring and describing their holdings. A Civil War-era condolence letter from Abraham Lincoln to a grieving widow might tell us something about the human costs of the conflict, bereavement, or the perception of an empathetic President. A forged condolence letter, carefully mimicking the handwriting and style of an original, has historical value of a different sort, suggesting that the demand for such letters existed at the time of its creation, or perhaps something about the motives of an individual entrepreneurial criminal. The authentic Abraham Lincoln letter and the authentic forgery of a Lincoln letter each have their own story and historical significance but must be described accurately in order for their context and meaning to be understood.

The Clements Library cares for a two-page manuscript, written on November 24, 1807, in Barnstable, Massachusetts. The text begins: “Being a true Copy of a letter written by our Blessed Lord And Savour Jesus Christ & found 18 miles from Iconium Sixty five years after our Savours Crucifiction transmitted from the holy City by a Converted Jew, faithfully Translated from the original hebrew at misopotamia.” In the letter, Jesus Christ warns against vanity and the purchase of expensive clothing, and he commands regular church attendance, a work-free Sabbath, and five days of fasting per year. With fire and brimstone Old-

Testament zeal, this Jesus warns of plagues that will destroy the children and livestock of the impious. The letter concludes by assuring that “neither Pestilence lighting nor thunder” will harm anyone who copies the letter and keeps it in their home. The text, of which this claims to be a translated copy, was found beneath a “great Stone & found 18 miles from Iconium where a Village called Cinner was built on the place where this Stone was found. It is said by our Lord and Savour Jesus Christ it was built by a Jew who says it was built by a Jew, for which reason we have marked it and call it a true Copy of a letter written by our Lord and Savour Jesus Christ.”

The difference between holy writ and non-canon sources has been the foundation of violent conflicts throughout history, and so the validity of religious texts is scrutinized very carefully. Disagreements surrounding the papyrus fragment alluding to Jesus’s wife (recently verified as ancient, using spectroscopy analysis) have been widely publicized. The fictitious documents of the Church of Latter-Day Saints, composed by forger and murderer Mark Hoffmann in the 1980s, caused considerable tribulation for the Mormon Church. Fortunately, the Clements Library’s chain letter is in no danger of being misconstrued by biblical scholars (or most other persons) as a transmission of Jesus Christ. It was first printed in England in 1724 and remained in print into the nineteenth century. The Clements’s manuscript is one of many variant handwritten copies created in America during the same period. The genuine author of the letter may have intended it to be a tongue-in-cheek work of moral instruction, but its frequent replication and retention suggests that it was not universally recognized as fiction. The apocryphal letter may not give us any insight into Jesus Christ’s perspectives, but it does provide researchers with a glimpse into Protestant, pre-Great Awakening-nineteenth-century carrot-and-stick proselytizing.

Manuscripts made up of entirely fabricated text may be exposed by their content, but the same cannot necessarily be said for carefully penned forgeries of existing documents. Sophisticated scribblers will seek out period paper, mix their own ink, and attempt to duplicate the handwriting and writing style of their target. Clever criminals will add docket, office notes, or other features to add believability to their construction. The Clements Library cares for examples produced by many different forgers. One of the most well-known of the nineteenth-century forgers is Robert Spring (1813–76), an English-born bookseller based first in Philadelphia, then later in Baltimore. Spring began his illicit career by adding George Washington signatures to slow-selling books in his store. By the 1850s, he expanded his repertoire to include letters and documents “written and signed” by Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Benjamin Franklin, and others. Spring either learned the handwriting of the person he wished to impersonate or traced portions from original manuscripts, and then, if needed, stained the paper with coffee grounds. He created a fictional provenance when necessary.
In brazen fashion, he would sometimes personalize the items by incorporating the names of his intended dupes’ ancestors into them.

Robert Spring employed his craft for financial gain, though after two stints in prison he died penniless in the charity ward of a Philadelphia hospital. Letters by Spring in his own hand, ironically, are quite rare and valuable. Other forgers, like the brilliant Joseph Cosey (b. 1887), were concerned first and foremost with the artistic craft and successful deceit of experts. The financial gain was a secondary, though still significant, motivation.

We return now to the expense report described at the beginning of this article. The watermark on the paper confirms that someone created it on or after 1840. It was not, therefore, created as part of any accounting processes following the American Revolution. Additional research shows that the item is a manuscript copy of a table printed in Hezekiah Niles’s *The Weekly Register* in Baltimore on September 7, 1811. The item is an authentic mid-nineteenth-century manuscript, but not an authentic product of an eighteenth-century bureaucracy. The motives of the unidentified copyist are unknown. Were it not for the tell-tale watermark, the document could easily have been mistaken for an eighteenth-century item—and would have been described accordingly. The document might then have been mistaken as the source for *The Weekly Register*’s printed table, rather than a later copy.

Watermarks, paper and ink types, and other physical attributes of primary source documents are rarely apparent in surrogate digital copies. The institutions that care for and describe original materials become increasingly significant for the preservation of history, even as researchers rely more on online resources. When scholars work from digital images or other copies, they place their confidence entirely in the accuracy of the descriptions of their source materials. The Clements Library is beginning to digitize its holdings for the benefit of the University and for distant scholars, but it will always recommend and encourage the use of the originals.

— Cheney J. Schopieray  
Curator of Manuscripts

Robert Spring sent printed circulars and personalized solicitation letters to acquire rare books and manuscripts and to sell legitimate and forged items.

One of Robert Spring’s most common forgeries was a pass “Written and signed” by General George Washington. This grants passage to a Mr. Johnson and “his Negro man Sam.”
Every now and then the Clements’s phone rings and an excited caller announces that, while cleaning out the attic, he or she found a copy of the Declaration of Independence that “looks really old.” Although odds are it is a museum gift shop item, we take such calls seriously because, hey, one never knows. The odds of a 1776 copy of the Declaration surfacing are very remote, but there is a long history of facsimile printings of the document, and they have been around since, well, since July 4, 1776.

Before the most famous version of the Declaration was signed, the text was printed in broadside form. The Continental Congress had voted for independence on July 2, 1776, and a draft copy of the Declaration, likely in Jefferson’s hand, was sent to a local Philadelphia printer, John Dunlap, who produced approximately two hundred letterpress copies. These broadsides were intended for circulation for ratification in the colonies. This version, the Dunlap broadside, is exceedingly rare, with most of the twenty-six known copies now held by institutions. The Clements does not have a Dunlap printing, sorry to say, and we’re not likely to see one on “Antiques Roadshow.” If you happen to have one, you could almost name any price.

The 1776 vote for independence was a colossal news event. Widespread interest on both sides of the Atlantic quickly brought forth other editions of the Declaration in newspapers and in broadside form, many before the actual signing. The Clements Library’s earliest broadside version is an example of the first official Massachusetts edition, printed in Salem by E. Russell in 1776. The format and typography carefully matches the Dunlap edition that it was certainly based on. The Library also has eight early American newspaper editions, as well as two intriguing manuscript copies in the papers of Lord George Germain (1716–85), British secretary of state for North America.

After colonial authorities had posted and responded to the text, the Declaration was engrossed—carefully copied by hand in elegant cursive—on vellum. This is the document that was signed by the Continental Congress on August 2, 1776, in what we now call Independence Hall in Philadelphia. Although the vote for independence was on July 2, and the signing on August 2, we celebrate July 4 as Independence Day because that is the date that appeared on the first broadside version, printed by Dunlap.

Considered fundamental to the existence of the nation, the signed copy was rolled into a tube and traveled with the Continental Congress during the Revolution; to New York with Congress after the war; and then back to Philadelphia. In 1800 it went to the new capital city, Washington, D.C.; was evacuated into Virginia in 1814 while Washington burned; was framed and displayed in Philadelphia at Independence Hall in 1876; stored at Fort Knox during World War II; returned to Washington to the Library of Congress in 1944; and finally transferred to the National Archives in 1952, where it is on display in the Rotunda for the Charters of Freedom.

After its first few decades of travel the document was somewhat the worse for wear. Reproducing the engrossed copy, with the all-important signatures, was seen as vital for the preservation of the document, and it would foster patriotic values within the general public. In the era before photography, the greatest technical challenge of reproducing the signed copy would be replicating the signatures themselves.

The Tyler facsimile was first off the mark in 1818.
As the fiftieth anniversary of independence approached, veterans of the Revolution were venerated and interest in the “charter documents” of the nation rose, particularly the Declaration. About 1810, educator and master penman Benjamin Owen Tyler (b. 1789) took on the challenge of reproducing the document “from which more public good has emanated than any other ever composed by man” so that “every American who duly appreciates the value of liberty and independence can point his children to it and say ‘There hangs the pledge that secured your liberty and rescued you from the jaws of tyranny.’” Tyler determined to publish a printed Declaration, with facsimile signatures, designed to celebrate the document and preserve its appearance for the future.

The patriotic penman received permission to study the original signatures, and he duplicated them with care. At that time, veneration was signified through faithful authenticity, but also through embellishment. To celebrate the importance of the document, Tyler added decorative typographic headings, unlike anything on the original, to his copper printing plate. After several years of painstaking production by Tyler and engraver Peter Maverick (1780-1831), his broadside edition appeared in 1818. It was widely lauded as a success, but not everyone who saw it was pleased. Tyler’s facsimile enraged newspaper editor and publisher John Binns (1772–1860), who had had the exact same idea at the same time but had essentially been scooped by Tyler.

Binns let Tyler know how he felt through his newspaper, the Democratic Press of Philadelphia. In the April 9, 1818, issue he stated that “the attempt on the part of Mr. Tyler, to appropriate to himself the merit and the profit of a plan originally suggested, matured, and prosecuted at much trouble and much expenses by the subscriber, is manifestly inconsistent with all common notions of fair and honorable conduct.” Furthermore, Tyler had even stolen the wording of his prospectus from Binns. After frequent apologies to his advance subscribers for the many delays (to assure the “fidelity, taste, superior workmanship, and all that can give splendor and effect”), the Binns engraved broadside finally appeared in 1819. Included across the top were portraits of George Washington, John Hancock, and Thomas Jefferson, and across the bottom, an endorsement from Secretary of State John Quincy Adams stating, “I certify, that this is a CORRECT copy of the original Declaration of Independence.”

In answer to this, Tyler published a raging pamphlet titled a “candid statement of the facts.” In it he claims that it was Binns who had stolen the idea from engraver William Gardner and that Tyler and Gardner had in fact planned the publication of a facsimile with signatures in 1817. He had letters indicating that it had been discussed as early as 1810 with Thomas Jefferson.

Furthermore, said Tyler, Binns accomplished nothing other than “employing the men who possess talents to execute it for his profits.” Tyler ridiculed Binns for including the portraits that did not appear on the original, and also for failing to include one of John Adams. Acting Secretary of State Richard Rush weighed in for Tyler: “the signatures . . . executed by Mr. Tyler, are curiously exact imitations, so much so, that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for the closest scrutiny to distinguish them, were it not for the hand of time, from the originals.” Tyler insinuated that the Binns project was tainted by foreign influences and championed himself and his engraver, Maverick, as nativist, and his project, “truly American, and worthy of the patronage of every friend of liberty and the ‘Rights of Man.’”

Binns’s editorial colleagues most likely sided with him and either reprinted his reoccurring complaints from the Democratic Press or wrote endorsements of their own. The editor of the Albany Register opined that the Binns

![Declaration of Independence](image_url)
American politician, editor, historian, and War of 1812 veteran Peter Force (1790–1868) collected important printed materials from the nation’s Revolutionary War history and printed a massive facsimile set, American Archives: A Documentary History of the United States of America, published in a multi-volume series from 1837–53. Included in this set was another edition of the Declaration printed from the William Stone engraved plate. As many as 4,000 copies of the Declaration may have been printed by Stone for Peter Force. These copies, on wove paper rather than parchment, differ slightly from the preceding edition in the publisher markings and are less rare. They are however, also very exact replicas of the original item with a fascinating bibliographic history. If you have one somewhere in your garage, bear in mind that it may be worth as much as a nice new automobile. The Clements does have the Peter Force American Archives set, with the Declaration facsimile.

As printing technology advanced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, decorative broadsides became affordable for the middle class, and numerous versions of the Declaration appeared. A further spike in interest occurred around 1876 during the Centennial of independence and then again a century later for the Bicentennial. Today one can get Declaration t-shirts, coffee mugs, posters, miniatures, playing cards, as well as the “Charters of Freedom 3-Pack” (Declaration, Constitution, Bill of Rights) from the National Archives gift shop. You can download a high-resolution digital image directly from the National Archives website and print your own. Display of these documents still makes a statement about our patriotic values and national identity, arguably a different statement than it did in 1776 or in the nineteenth century. As faithful and exact as these replicas can be, however, in my view, they lack the charm and cultural complexity of the Tyler and Binns engraved broadsides.

So clean that garage, check the attic and the basement, and when you find that really old looking Declaration of Independence, examine the fine print for publication information. If you have questions, give us a call. We won’t roll our eyes. We’ll want to see what you have.

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials

The Pennsylvania statehouse has been known since 1776 as Independence Hall. The building lost its familiar steeple in 1781, and it had not been replaced by the time William Birch & Son published Views of Philadelphia in 1800.

broadside was “a stupendous monument of virtue and patriotism,” and it was printed on paper “superior to any ever made.” As for Tyler, “we deny [his] claim to any praise but that of plagiarism.” The Northern Advocate announced the Binns piece as simply “the most truly splendid thing ever produced in America.”

In spite of enough mud-slinging to dampen anyone’s patriotic spirit, both versions apparently sold well, suggesting that there is no such thing as bad publicity. It has been estimated that Tyler sold over a thousand copies at $5 each for the wove paper version and $7 printed on parchment. Recently, copies of each version have been listed in the five-figure range.

For historians today, these prints indicate the emerging interest in documenting the historical record through facsimiles, and the advancing nineteenth-century American visual culture that included increasing measures of frivolous celebratory adornment. The Clements is pleased to have both the Binns and Tyler broadsides in its collection.

Concern about the degradation of the original signed, engrossed Declaration may have actually accelerated its deterioration. In 1820, with the approval of Congress, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams commissioned engraver William J. Stone (1798–1865) to produce a facsimile of the Declaration, exact to both the engrossed text and signatures. Congress loaned the original copy to Stone for approximately three years. Although no documentation exists, an examination of the original in the 1880s concluded that Stone may well have made his engraved printing plate by a transfer method. This involved transferring ink from the original by dampening the surface and blotting off the ink onto a piece of transfer paper that would then become a template for engraving the printing plate. It is also possible that Stone used a mechanical tracing device such as a pantograph, or an optical device such as a camera obscura, but the extreme faded condition of the original makes one wonder. Regardless, the William Stone engraved copper printing plate is remarkably accurate to the original, and without the embellishments in typography and illustration of the Tyler and Binns versions. Editions from this plate have been declared the most accurate depictions of the original document, close to its original condition. Two hundred copies on parchment were printed for the surviving signers, members of Congress, and other dignitaries. In 2007, a copy of the William Stone edition surfaced in a thrift shop and was sold at auction for about the price of a nice large home in Ann Arbor.

The Declaration of Independence, September 30, 1776 — Clayton Lewis, Curator of Graphic Materials

— Clayton Lewis
Curator of Graphic Materials
QUESTIONABLE CARTOGRAPHY

Something about a map projects an air of authority, even when it presents details of geography or architecture that don’t actually exist. Of course, the history of cartography has been one of a steady growth of human understanding of our surroundings as rendered on paper. One can see the blank, unknown spaces on old maps fill in as new and more accurate information became available. By the same token, errors that crept into maps—the nonexistent islands on many eighteenth-century maps of Lake Superior, for example—were often perpetuated for many years for lack of better information or the mapmaker’s laziness or pursuit of profit.

The Clements Library map collection holds few outright fakes, and those we have are easily identified. Most were, in fact, acquired as examples of fraudulent cartography. Some might have been intended to deceive, while others could have simply been exercises or attempts to learn the techniques used by mapmakers of an earlier time.

One of the Library’s outright “fakes” is a plan and order of battle for an assault on the Rebel redoubt on Bunker Hill, drawn on vellum and signed by British General Sir Henry Clinton (1738–95). It provides an example where nearly everything is wrong—the style of cartography and lettering, the material on which the map is drawn, the apparent preparation for an attack more than a month before the actual event, and even Clinton’s signature and notes (readable here instead of in his usual illegible scrawl). The plan is dated May 4, 1775, and the notations suggest that the American rebels had occupied the position in the autumn of 1774 (the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought on June 17, 1775). The fakery is so bad here that perhaps it was not intended to deceive, only amuse.

More often represented in the collection than fakes are examples of mapmakers’ geographical errors or misconceptions—or the perpetuation of the fancies of other cartographers. The imaginary islands in Lake Superior—dubbed Philippeaux, Pontchartrain, Maurepas, and Ste. Anne—have been noted above. They appear on printed French maps by the 1740s and persist for many years in the cartography of the region. The imaginary islands seem to match the major bodies of land that do exist in the greatest of the Great Lakes—Royale, Michipicoten, and some smaller islands. It is possible that the genuine islands were sighted and charted from opposite sides and assumed to be different features. At any rate, they were picked up by British and other European mapmakers so that many of the best-known maps of the mid- to late-eighteenth century, including John Mitchell’s influential work of 1755, include them.

An even better known error is the representation of California as an island. As early Spanish explorers moved north from Mexico, they encountered the Gulf of California bounded by the Mexican coast on the east and the Baja Peninsula to the west. The length of the peninsula must have at first suggested that it was a fabled island, but that belief was disproven by other explorers as early as 1539. Maps of the sixteenth century correctly show Baja as a peninsula.

The cartographic error reestablished itself in the seventeenth century, possibly because of explorer Juan de Fuca (1536–1602), whose 1592 explora-
Randolph Adams (1892–1951), energetically acquired photostats of significant collections of manuscript maps held by other institutions. Louis C. Karpinski (1878–1956) and Abel Doysié (1886–1973) compiled sets of photographs of manuscript plans held by French and Spanish archives, while Archer B. Hulbert (1873–1933) did the same for important British manuscript plans relating to America. The Huntington and other great American libraries provided facsimiles of their own manuscript cartography. Clements readers may thus consult these significant maps at the Library.

A final category is fanciful maps or follies. Although many were probably drawn or printed in the belief that their imagery was accurate, they are in fact misunderstandings of the actual appearance of territory or of a place. Many of these were printed by German mapmakers. The Clements has just recently acquired a manuscript example of this type that so far presents only a mystery, "Plan von Fort Cumberland auf der Insel St. Laurenti" is signed by one C. Coltz and assigned a date of circa 1760 by the dealer from whom we purchased it.

It is immediately apparent that Coltz's beautifully colored plan is not the Fort Cumberland located at the head of the Bay of Fundy on the isthmus connecting Nova Scotia with New Brunswick. Constructed by the French in 1751 as Fort Beauséjour, the latter place was captured by the British in 1755 and renamed for the Duke of Cumberland. Coltz’s creation bears no resemblance to the pentagonal fort nor to another in Maryland of the same name and period of use. His drawing depicts a walled city with a fortified harbor and three tall lighthouses. Fort Cumberland did not occupy an island in the St. Lawrence.

What is the truth? It seems most likely that Coltz confused descriptions of the fortified town of Louisbourg with the name Fort Cumberland. Located not too far to the east, Louisbourg stood on an island—Cape Breton—that could be described as being in the St. Lawrence River. There the matter stands for the time being until research can tell us more.

— Brian Leigh Dunnigan
Associate Director & Curator of Maps

Fake map of Bunker Hill with the order of battle for a British attack on the Rebel position—dated more than a month before the actual event.
As imitation is the sincerest form of flattery, so are facsimiles the most congenial way of bringing rare and sometimes no-longer-extant objects back to vibrant life. Map facsimiles have a long history, dating to the early nineteenth century, when the Portuguese Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa Carvalhosa (1791–1855), the 2nd viscount of Santarém, and the French scholar and geographer Edme Jomard (1777–1862) published their atlases of “monuments in cartography” within several years of each other. Santarém’s *Atlas composé de mappe mondes et de cartes hydrographiques et historiques depuis le Xie jusqu’au XVII siècle* (1842) and Jomard’s *Monuments de la géographie* (after 1847) both present lithographed facsimiles of manuscript maps representing highlights of medieval cartography. As Santarém pointed out in his *Essai on the history of cartography* (1848), however, theirs were not the first facsimiles, as many had appeared before.

Perhaps the earliest printed facsimile, and certainly one of the most important, was that of a Roman road map prepared by Abraham Ortelius (1527–98) with the aid of Marcus Welser, a German Humanist to whom the facsimile is dedicated. One may find this facsimile at the Clements in the *Parergon* of Ortelius, his collection of maps of the ancient world. Titled by Ortelius *Tabula Itineraria ex illustri Peutingerorum Bibliotheca* (*Itinerary Map from the Library of the illustrious Peutingers . . . .*), the map represents, in a reduced format, the unique copy of a fourth or fifth century Roman road map, known as the *Tabula Peutingeriana* for Konrad Peutinger, its sixteenth-century owner, and now housed in the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, in Vienna, where it is on the UNESCO Memory of the World Register because of its importance and rarity. The parchment scroll, which probably dates from the thirteenth century (and is itself therefore a copy of an earlier map) is nearly one foot high and about twenty-two feet long, in eleven sections. It is a schematic rendition of the Mediterranean world, essentially the Roman Empire in the fourth or fifth century A.D., extending from Great Britain (on a segment now lost) in the West to the Ganges and Sri Lanka (*Insula Taprobane*) in the East.

If viewed in its entirety, the area represented would appear flattened at the north and south and markedly elongated to the east and west, as if the globe had been pushed down at the poles and pulled sideways at the 45th parallel. The emphasis is on roads and settlements with the distances between them; 555 cities and 3,500 place names are present, and other features such as rivers, mountains, forests, and seas are depicted. It is called an “itinerary” because its network of roads and distances allows it to serve as a route map, not a depiction of territory in true relationship to its space.

On the Ortelius facsimile, two segments of the map are engraved on each copper plate, with the symbols for natural features and settlements rendered as closely as possible to the original. In the image reproduced here, one sees the city of Rome, displayed with a figure seated on a throne, shield at his side, with scepter and orb in hand. The map is oriented with east at the top, so the port of Ostia, identified with a rendering of its harbor, is below (west of) Rome. Roman numerals symbolizing mileages are visible between stages along the straight lines of the roads. Stippling denotes water, which on the original manuscript scroll in Vienna is rendered in green. Images of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* in Vienna may be viewed at http://www.euratlas.net/cartogra/peutinger/index.html.

Ortelius’s effective production of a facsimile preserved the details of a historic map and established a technique that has been of great use to scholars who might not have had access to the original cartography. The facsimile maps held by the Clements Library follow in that tradition and broaden the cartographic resources available to our readers.

— Mary Sponberg Pedley
Assistant Curator of Maps
At least once a month the Clements Library receives an offer from a dealer of a collection that “you can’t do without.” Often the rhetoric is inflated, and we turn our attention to other matters. But, on occasion, the opportunity arises to buy something of great potential value to our readers, and then we move heaven and earth to complete the acquisition.

Such is the case with the papers of Henry Burbeck (1754–1848), an American military officer with a long and distinguished career. Burbeck enlisted as a young man at the outset of the Revolutionary War and concluded his service with the U.S. Army in 1815. Along the way he oversaw the arsenal at West Point, commanded Fort Mackinac, helped develop the army’s artillery corps, and rose to the rank of brevet brigadier general. Students of early American military history know him as a noteworthy figure whose service encompassed the first four decades of the United States.

The Burbeck Papers are a remarkable acquisition for the Clements. In an age that far more often sees large historical archives broken up for sale by lot rather than kept intact for research, five cubic feet of early nineteenth-century papers constitute a very significant collection. It includes 1,200 incoming letters, muster rolls, returns, and other documents addressed to Burbeck from the military posts under his command and some 250 drafts of his outgoing correspondence. In addition, a dozen manuscript maps and plans offer new details on American forts from Boston to the Great Lakes.

While the items relating to the outposts at Mackinac and Detroit may be of special interest to Michigan members of the Clements Library Associates, the presence of correspondence from New York, New England, Virginia, Arkansas, Louisiana, Ohio, Indiana, and the Mississippi and Ohio River Valleys offers scholars a rich new trove of information on the emerging American frontier of Burbeck’s day.

The Burbeck collection complements some of the Library’s best sources on the early American republic. Scholars will welcome the opportunity to use the papers in conjunction with our Anthony Wayne, Josiah Harmar, Nathanael Greene, Thomas Jesup, James McHenry, Northwest Territory, and Oliver Hazard Perry manuscripts. While the Clements has long been known for its extraordinary array of primary sources on the American Revolution, the acquisition of the Burbeck papers enhances the Library’s standing as a prime destination for students of American military and frontier history from 1783 through the War of 1812.

As you might expect, the cost of acquiring the Burbeck archive was substantial. We are spreading payments over two years, but we still face a daunting challenge in stretching our budget to cover the cost. Our current Director, Kevin Graffagnino, past Director, John Dann, and two curators who work closely with this collection, Cheney Schopieray and Brian Leigh Dunnigan, have made personal donations to the Burbeck acquisition fund before asking friends and supporters of the Clements to do the same.

Collectors, students of American military history, historic manuscript aficionados, and anyone with an interest in early Michigan and the Northwest Territory will welcome this fresh, new mass of documentation. If you would like to make a gift to ensure its place in the Clements Library, please use the enclosed envelope. If you would like more information or wish to see the papers, please call me at 734-647-0864 or email annrock@umich.edu. I hope you will join us in this effort to add a major collection to the Library’s holdings.

— Ann Rock
Director of Development
Due to the Earhart Foundation’s generous support, the Clements Library can accommodate the needs of an expanded research staff. This year, the Library is launching the 2014 Price Visiting Research Fellowship. The fellowship assists younger scholars in traveling to the Clements Library. Since 1995, nearly 140 promising historians have used the Library’s collections to support their dissertations or first books. This year twelve more Price Fellows will mine the Clements’s manuscripts, books, maps, and graphics.


Dr. Greg Brooking, Kennesaw State University, for his topic, “The powers of government are wrested out of my hands”: Sir James Wright and the Struggle for Power in Colonial Georgia.”

WILLIAM H. DANCE
It is with deep regret that we report the passing on January 15 of Clements Library Associates board member William H. Dance. Bill joined the board in 1996. Though illness curtailed his attendance at meetings in recent years, he was a longtime supporter of the Library and a true gentleman.

STEPHEN LANDES
The Clements Library is fortunate to have the active support of a very dedicated corps of volunteers, who assist with research and collections work and serve as docents. Stephen Landes was one of our biggest supporters, both in enthusiasm and in stature. Associates will remember him as a jovial greeter towering above guests at our fall and winter programs and on our most recent field trips. We lost Stephen on March 24, but the memory of his good humor and easy manner will live with those who worked with hm.

READING ROOM STAFF CHANGES
As we begin to plan our move back to 909 South University, we have been considering staffing needs for maintaining a reading room in the Avenir Foundation Room. As a first step, we are reorganizing our reference staff. Diana Sykes has been promoted to head of reader services and will manage the reading room, orient new readers, and coordinate reference services. Three half-time reading room staffers will assist her. Two will serve as assistant curators for half their time. Jayne Poolemy has been confirmed for one of the positions, and the other appointment is pending. Receptionist Valerie Proehl is our third reading room helper.

2014 POST-DOCTORAL FELLOWS
We are delighted to welcome a record number of post-doctoral fellows in 2014. Eleven scholars from as far away as Italy will use the splendid resources of the Clements to pursue their research. Once again, we thank the Earhart and Upton Foundations, William Reese & Co., several anonymous donors, and the University of Michigan for making this possible.

Dr. Gregory Wigmore, an independent scholar, is the recipient of the Howard H. Peckham Fellowship on Revolutionary America for his topic, “The Limits of Empire: Allegiance, Opportunity, and Imperial Rivalry in the Canadian-American Borderland.”

Prof. Sarah E. Gardner of Mercer University has been selected for an Earhart Foundation Fellowship on American History for her topic, “Reading Confederate Defeat.”

Prof. Kristofer Ray of Austin Peay State University has been granted an Earhart Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, “Cherokees, Europeans, and Empire in the Tennessee Corridor, 1670–1763.”

Prof. Vikki Vickers of Weber State University will receive an Earhart Fellowship on American History for her topic, “Parchment Barriers: American Citizenship in the 18th Century.”

Prof. Jeff Birkenstein of St. Martin’s University is the recipient of an Earhart Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, “Community and Story in Pre-19th Century American Cookbooks.”

Prof. Andrew J.B. Fagal of Binghamton University has been awarded an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, “Guns and Butter: The Political Economy of War in the Early Republic.”

Prof. Joy A.J. Howard of New Jersey City University is the recipient of an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for her topic, “Iroquois Captive and Haudenosaunee Interpreter: Reconstructing the Borderlands Life of Rebecca Kellogg Ashley.”

Prof. Paul Kelton of the University of Kansas is the recipient of an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, “Empires of Blood: Indigenous Peoples and the Fight for North America, 1754–1783.”

Prof. Krysta Ryzewski of Wayne State University has been selected for an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for her topic, “Forging Independence: A Social History of Technological Innovation at the Illicit Rhode Island Ironworks of General Nathanael Greene.”

Prof. Andrew Sturtevant of the University of Wisconsin—Eau Claire will receive an Upton Foundation Fellowship on American History for his topic, “Jealous Neighbors: Rivalry and Alliance Among the Native Communities of Detroit, 1701–1766.”

Prof. Antonio De Francesco of the University of Milan has been awarded the Reese Fellowship in the Print Culture of the Americas for his topic, “Publishing the Federalist in 19th-Century United States: A Political Bibliography.”

2014 PRICE FELLOWS
The Jacob M. Price Visiting Research Fellowship assists younger scholars in traveling to the Clements Library. Since 1995, nearly 140 promising historians have used the Library’s collections to support their dissertations or first books. This year twelve more Price Fellows will mine the Clements’s manuscripts, books, maps, and graphics.


Dr. Greg Brooking, Kennesaw State University, for his topic, “The powers of government are wrested out of my hands”: Sir James Wright and the Struggle for Power in Colonial Georgia.”

Dr. William P. Deringer, Columbia University, for his topic, “Calculated Values: Financial Politics and the Quantitative Age, 1688–1776.”


Prof. Justin duRivage, Stanford University, for his topic, “Taxing Empire: Political Economy and the Ideological Origins of the American Revolution.”

Brenton Grom, Case Western Reserve University, for his dissertation, “The Death and Transfiguration of New England Psalmody.”

Christian Juergens, Florida State University, for his dissertation, “For Profit and Reform: Meritocratic Military Organization and Soldatenhandel in the American Revolution.”

Jacqueline Reynoso, Cornell University, for her dissertation, “(Dis)Placing the American Revolution: The British Province of Quebec in the Greater Colonial Struggle.”


Sarah Weickel, University of Chicago, for her dissertation, “The Fabric of War: Clothing, Culture and Violence in the American Civil war Era.”

CALENDAR OF EVENTS


October 7, 2014: Clements Library Associates Board of Governors Meeting. 10:00 a.m. Location to be announced.


Clements Library

J. Kevin Graffagnino

Chairman

Mary Sue Coleman, Chairman; James L. Hilton; Charles R. Eisendrath; Robert N. Gordon; Martha S. Jones; J. Kevin Graffagnino, Secretary

Clements Library Associates Board of Governors

Peter N. Heydon, Chairman


Clements Library Associates Honorary Board of Governors

Thomas Kingsley, Philip P. Mason, Jacob M. Price, Joanna Schoff

Clements Library Associates share an interest in American history and a desire to ensure the continued growth of the Library’s collections. Funds received from Associate memberships are used to purchase historical materials. Annual Membership Contributions: Student $5, Donor $50, Associate $75, Patron $100, Fellow $250, Benefactor $500, Contributor $1000 and above. Contributions are tax deductible in accordance with current federal and state law and may be made by check or credit card.

Published by the Clements Library  •  University of Michigan
1580 East Ellsworth Road  •  Ann Arbor, Michigan 48108
phone: (734) 764-2347  •  fax: (734) 647-0716
Internet: http://www.clements.umich.edu
Brian Leigh Dunnigan, Editor, briand@umich.edu
Kathleen Horn, Designer, Blue Skies Studio

Regents of the University

Mark J. Bernstein, Ann Arbor; Julia Donovan Darlow, Ann Arbor; Laurence B. Deitch, Bloomfield Hills; Shauna Ryder Diggs, Grosse Pointe; Denise Ilitch, Bingham Farms; Andrea Fischer Newman, Ann Arbor; Andrew C. Richner, Grosse Pointe Park; Katherine E. White, Ann Arbor; Mary Sue Coleman, ex officio

Nondiscrimination Policy Statement

The University of Michigan, as an equal opportunity/affirmative action employer, complies with all applicable federal and state laws regarding nondiscrimination and affirmative action. The University of Michigan is committed to a policy of equal opportunity for all persons and does not discriminate on the basis of race, color, national origin, age, marital status, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, gender expression, disability, religion, height, weight, or veteran status in employment, educational programs and activities, and admissions. Inquiries or complaints may be addressed to the Senior Director for Institutional Equity, and Title IX/Section 504/ADA Coordinator, Office of Institutional Equity, 2072 Administrative Services Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48109-1432, 734-763-0235, TTY 734-647-1388. For other University of Michigan information call 734-764-1817.