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THE PRINCETON UNIVERSITY LIBRARY CHRONICLE

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An Early Audubon Drawing

BY ALICE FORD

When John James Audubon drew his Red-shouldered Hawk of 1809, recently acquired by the Princeton University Library,1 Princeton's James Madison was newly President of the Republic. Napoleon was yet a good many years from Waterloo. Audubon's beloved Louisiana, then known to him only through tales told to him in boyhood by his sea-faring father, was still three years from statehood. Except, however, as the temporal circumstance that frames the picture of our bird, all such "horizontal" history is by the way.

The real interest of this rare and early drawing emerges from its engaging limitations and palpable inferiority to the more finished hawk portrayals of Audubon's years of mastery. However, far from detracting from its importance, these very deficiencies serve a most worthy purpose. While the work may suffer by comparison with the handsome Red-shouldered examples in Plates 56 and 71 of The Birds of America, the latter of which was mistaken by Audubon for a separate species, it nevertheless heightens appreciation of this virtually self-trained artist's progress toward his concept of perfection. Audubon's ideal, in his own oft-repeated words, was truth to nature. When judged by artistic rather than purely scientific standards, his success in the pursuit of that ideal may be regarded as nothing short of phenomenal and great.

Taking the Princeton hawk as a point of departure, it is possible to see the painter's genesis and to trace his development toward

1 Presented by Edwin N. Benson, Jr., '09 and Mrs. Benson in memory of their son, Peter Benson '89. The drawing in pencil and crayon is on an uncut sheet of rag paper, measuring 21 5/8 x 17 inches, with the watermark of J. Whatman, 1809. The bird itself, of the species now known as Buteo lineatus, is of natural size, measuring 18 inches (from head to tip of tail) by 5 3/4 inches.
later examples which, in their unmitigated beauty, are the delight of all those who choose to regard art as mere decoration. Considered alongside the pastel and water-color examples of this species among the same four hundred originals owned by the New York Historical Society, which purchased them from Mrs. Lucy Audubon in 1869, the early hawk seems overshadowed. Beside the hand-colored copperplate engravings, or aquatints, of these birds—the work of the Havells, particularly Robert Jr., done for Audubon's eleventh folio of 435 plates published by him in London in 1827-1838—the hawk fares no better. Yet in no sense does this comparison minimize its significance.

Dated “Falls of the Ohio, 29th November, 1809.” the drawing was evidently eliminated from the final selection by 1846, the year when Audubon sold it and others for, apparently, thirty dollars to his newly discovered friend who was destined to be a repeated benefactor, Edward Harris (1799-1867). The occasion was a futile mission to Philadelphia in search of ways and means of publishing a growing collection of American bird portraits. Harris, as the two men parted, being a gentleman farmer of means from Moorestown, New Jersey, and an ardent field naturalist, made Audubon a present of a hundred dollars. He pressed the bill into the needy painter.

Audubon's later version of the Red-shouldered Hawk (the original of which is now in the New York Historical Society) was engraved by R. Havell as Plate 56 of the eleventh folio Birds of America. The descriptive text for his plate: “Red-shouldered Hawk. Falco Lineatus, Gmel., Male, 1 Female, 2.” issued in 1843, appeared in the Ornithological Biography, 1 (Edinburgh, 1841), 396-399.

Audubon also drew and published another specimen of the Red-shouldered Hawk, although it was not originally so identified. It is shown in Plate 71 of the elephant folio “Winter Hawk, Falco Hyemalis, Gmel., Male, Bullfrog, Rana taurina.” issued in 1843, described in the Ornithological Biography, 1, 396-397, whereas Audubon mentions that both Alexander Wilson and Charles Bonaparte have confused this Winter Hawk with the Red-shouldered Hawk, although he himself “cannot hesitate a moment to perceive them different and distinct species.” However, Audubon later implicitly admitted his error; in the Appendix to the Ornithological Biography, V (Edinburgh, 1850), 586-587, he groups these two hawks together and refers to them in the singular as “this species.” In A Synopsis of the Birds of North America, also published at Edinburgh in 1850, he again records (p. 7) only a single species, calling it Buteo Lineatus and listing as variant common names, “Red-breasted Buzzard, Chitten Hawk, Red-shouldered Hawk, Winter Hawk,” while referring to his Plate 71 as a “young male” of this species. In the octavo edition of The Birds of America (first edition, New York and Philadelphia, 1820-1844), which for the first time combined the descriptive text and small plates (lithographed by Bowen), the “Winter Hawk,” Plate 71 of the original folio, and the corresponding descriptive text were omitted entirely. Only the “Red-breasted Buzzard” (originally the “Red-shouldered Hawk,” Plate 56) remained.

er's hand with the remark that such men ought not to want for money. Audubon chose to look upon this modest total as a nest egg toward a journey to England and eventual recognition, such as his adopted country had thus far denied him.

Between the rejected hawk and the aquatints published in The Birds of America there are noteworthy technical differences apart from the medium. Each parallels a stage of artistic growth and maturity. The solitary creature of 1809, a stiff, conventional profile drawn in the traditional manner of preceding centuries, perches on a bare stump or rock (Fig. 1). No real habitat was attempted. The same hawks, as depicted in the Folio, are not only animated and vibrant, but the one in Plate 76, drawn in New Orleans between 1820 and 1825, is seen pouncing on a frog in a natural setting of rushes with skyline. The pair in Plate 56 (Fig. 2), drawn about 1835 in Louisiana, the scene of a succession of masterpieces, seem almost to move on the decorative branches, to their noisy, familiar “ka-hee, ka hee.” Such was Audubon's eventual or ultimate daring and improvisation. Not long after he completed these fine examples he was on his way to England; by November 1846, publication was begun with the aid of the firm of Lizars in Edinburgh, to be taken over in 1827 by the Havells of London.

Long before Audubon painted the early hawk, indeed long before he reached America in 1803 at the age of seventeen (or eighteen, depending, uncertainly, on the month), the aspiring naturalist had pored over ornithological works provided by his father. However, when he entitled the bird “Red Shouldered Hawk, A. Willson, Falco Lineatus,” he must have been bringing his record up to date years after the sketch was completed. The signature, and also the inscription at the right (which speaks only of “this bird,” leaving it nameless) seem to belong to the actual time of the drawing. The father of American ornithology, Alexander Wilson, did not include this hawk in the first volume of his American Ornithology, published at Philadelphia in 1808; the hawk appeared only in 1812 in Volume Six. Wilson and Audubon were destined to meet scarcely four months after the latter's hawk was drawn. In March, 1810, the Scottish poet, painter and naturalist visited Louisville to seek new species and subscribers. Many years later, in the first volume of his Ornithological Biography, Audubon alluded to Wilson's visit and their rambles, within an autobiographical "episode"
called “Louisville in Kentucky.” Numerous other mentions of Wilson in the same work further indicate that mutual jealousy precluded any chance of warm friendship between these rivals.

Audubon’s situation, when he drew the hawk, was that of the bridegroom and young parent. Since their arrival by stage and flatboat, in company with Audubon’s able French business partner, Ferdinand Rozier, he and his wife Lucy had been living at Louisville’s Indian Queen Hotel, where their son, Victor Gifford, had been born the previous June. The year before, Audubon and Rozier had come out on a visit to look for a location. Then, immediately following the wedding, on April 8, 1808, at Lucy’s plantation “Fatland Ford,” near Audubon’s home, “Mill Grove,” close by the junction of the Perkiomen and the Schuylkill a few miles from Norristown, Pennsylvania, the couple had departed from Montgomery County, Concerning 1809, the year of the drawing, Audubon wrote:8

We had by this time formed the acquaintance of many persons in and about Louisville; the country was settled by planters and farmers of the most benevolent and hospitable nature; and my young wife, who possessed talents far above par, was regarded as a gem. ... All the sportsmen and hunters were fond of me, and I became their companion. ... I seldom passed a day without drawing a bird, or noting something respecting its habits, Rozier meantime attending the counter.

Merchants crowded to Louisville from all our Eastern cities. None of them were, as I was, intent on the study of birds, but all were deeply impressed with the value of dollars. Louisville did not give us up, but we gave up Louisville. I could not bear to give the attention required by my business, and which, indeed, every business calls for, and, therefore, my business abandoned me.

Rozier and myself still had some business together, but we were discouraged at Louisville, and I longed to have a

8 J. J. Audubon, Ornithological Biography, Edinburgh, 1831, I, 437-440. The Ornithological Biography, in five volumes published from 1831 to 1839, provided the descriptive text for the plates of the elephant folio Birds of America. This text, after some revision, was combined with small plates in the octavo edition of The Birds of America (New York and Philadelphia, 1840-1844). The “episodes,” however, were omitted from the octavo Birds. They have been reprinted, with an introduction by Francis H. Herrick, in J. J. Audubon, Deliberations of American Scenery and Character, New York, 1966.—En.


wilder range; this made us remove to Henderson, one hundred and twenty-five miles farther down the fair Ohio [the summer of 1810]. We took there the remainder of our stock on hand, but found the country so very new, and so thinly populated that the commonest goods only were called for. I may say our guns and fishing-lines were the principal means of our support, as regards food.

That Audubon’s own mien was as sober as that of the bird he sketched seems strongly likely. Then, and for a decade after, his misgivings as to his aptitude for business (save as it might later pertain to the publication of his birds) may well have outnumbered even his vicissitudes. But his abiding passion for his art became “almost a mania.” By 1819 he had not only abandoned all hope of prospering as a merchant, but he had experienced the ignominies of failure—bankruptcy, jail, and threats from a mob of his creditors. He learned not only to accept poverty but to embrace it, while it stood for freedom from business cares and reverses. If indignation made the way clear for bird study and time for sketching to fill his portfolios, he would, he decided, make the best of it. He would let improvidence serve as a steppingstone toward that realization which he vowed never to relinquish.

By the time he again drew the Red-shouldered Hawk—this time in Louisiana in the 1820’s—he had sloughed off his fear of public opinion and abandoned himself to his one objective. In New Orleans he could be trouble by the former owner of the Indian Queen Hotel, Robert Gwathmey, whom he had known in Louisville in better days, and not mind the slights that his frazzled nankeens and unkempt appearance cost him. At the height of his powers and well aware of it, he was working with a single-mindedness that produced mostly brilliant results. Humiliation and want counted for little. Lucy Audubon had not only bowed to the inevitable, but she had prayerfully and wisely encouraged his course, while hoping to help him pursue his apparent fortune. Her earnings as a tutor were but part of her contribution. “It is the hawks and the other noble creatures of his art in those years in the bayou country have the light, life and boldness that make them classics. Only Audubon’s engagements as a tutor of French, art and dancing, plus some black chalk portraits commissioned by the wealthy, interfered with his hunting, drawing, and visionary plans. It is not surprising that the hawk of 1809, a product of his amateur
beginnings, is unrelievedly buzzard-like and restrained; for that year was a time of divided allegiance—of gathering anxiety sufficient to impede his creative progress.

Like all of the artist's birds, early and late, the hawk of the Princeton drawing was first figured in lead pencil, then colored with pastel crayon and black chalk. Except for an aqueous black highlight on the tail feathers, no water color was used. As usual, close attention was paid to the bill, of a translucent aquamarine hue, true to nature. The fine hairs between the gape and the gleaming eye, with its black-ringed, dark brown iris, were effected with ink strokes of an extraordinarily fine metal pen or else with the much favored Canada Goose quill. The leg surface, painstakingly graphined in pencil, is unfinished as to color, facilitating study of the careful detail. Various letters attest to Audubon's increasing interest in the delineation of eyes, legs and bills. Surely the head of the early hawk is the drawing's finest part, entirely worthy of its master. The black wings and back, barred with white more haphazardly than in the published examples of the species, might have escaped their present dull flatness if Audubon had known the magical illusion of soft feathering to be achieved by an undercoat of water color. This he learned later by experiment. Eventually, after long, patient, improvisation, he would hesitatingly combine pencil, India and other inks, water color, wash, crayon, whiting, spots of gold and of varnish, and indeed anything at hand that might serve his exacting ends.

Although the Princeton hawk is referred to as early, the term is relative. Audubon had already drawn countless birds in France, Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and elsewhere in America. He had a separate collection of French birds of the Loire Valley, which he presented to Edward Harris in appreciation. These now form part of the large collection of early Audubon originals at Harvard University. The hawk and other drawings escaped the destruction by Norway rats in Kentucky which Audubon wrote about in the introduction to the Ornithological Biography, an event that made unnecessary the re-drawing of many of his birds. By its sale to Harris the hawk also escaped burning in the great New Fire of 1835 which took some of the artist's books and treasures. Unlike many of the published birds, this study of a hawk was entirely by Audubon, without background or botanical accessories by such collaborators as Joseph Mason, George Lehman and Maria Martin, not to mention Robert Havell, Jr., and his artist engravers, Stewart, Blake, Edington and others.

Audubon's description of the Red-shoulder, as published in the Ornithological Biography, apparently grew out of notes made in Louisiana in the 1820's, rather than in Kentucky. The nest described was partly of Spanish moss. The word picture of the bird's depredations against squirrels is not, incidentally, reading likely to please the squamaque. Its call, flight, courship ritual, nesting-place, eggs, and lifelong fidelity are reported with eyewitness authority. At first hand, Audubon learned the violence that the Red-shoulder displays toward him who would disturb its nest. "I knew the pair represented in the Plate for three years," he wrote, "and saw their nest each spring placed within a few hundred yards of the spot in which that of the preceding year was." 

North American birds are highly migratory, and it may well be that Princeton's hawk is one of the most traveled. This drawing went from Louisville to Henderson and back to Louisville; presumably with all the others brought to New Orleans by Lucy in December 1822; possibly with Audubon on the steamer Eclat bound for Natchez in March 1823; and to Philadelphia in the autumn of 1823 in his portfolios, to await the painter's arrival from Louisville the following spring, when Harris acquired it. The painter wrote in his journal: "Young Harris, God bless him, looked at the drawings I had for sale, and said he would take them all, at my prices. I would have kissed him, but that it is not the custom in this icy city." 14 Not even the kindness of Harris could alter the fact of Audubon's failure in Philadelphia, where George Ord, with his clique that feared for Alexander Wilson's established position, tried the coup de grâce. Years later Audubon said of Edward Harris to John Bachman, his colleague for the Quadrupeds: "He is in fact one of the finest Men of God's Creation—I wish he were my Brother." Repeatedly a patron, Harris also was present on the Gulf of Mexico and Upper Missouri expeditions. He advanced cash for the purchase of J. K. Townsend's specimens of western birds, needed for the completion of The Birds of America, after

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14 J. J. Audubon, Ornithological Biography, I, 296-299.
15 Audubon and His Journals, I, 57.
handling all negotiations. Several times he befriended Lucy Audubon after her husband’s death in 1851.

Edward Harris died in 1865. His widow went to Italy, and, with her, the hawk drawing and an otter in oils by Audubon. Her daughter, Nobel Donna Sadie de Gori Pannaleni, inherited them. Countess Caterina de Gori Sergardi, Harris’s granddaughter, sent the otter back to America in 1951 and the hawk in the summer of 1958. In a matter of months the hawk found its way into Princeton’s outstanding collection of Auduboniana.12 Not only is the early crayon a welcome addition to the Library’s fine Folio of the Birds, but it is a rare companion for the actual copperplate, also at Princeton, of Number 56, the “Red-shouldered Hawk.” Perhaps, among readers of the Chronicle, there may be knowledge of the whereabouts of an oil of this same subject sold by Audubon to Mr. George Howland, Sr., in New Bedford in 1840 for fifty dollars, according to his published journal of that year. Perhaps, too, it might be possible to determine the whereabouts of the skin of the Red-shouldered Hawk used to guide the colorists in the engraver’s shop. It is not among the some five hundred bird skins presented to Amherst College in 1884, but other possibilities for search include the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and Colgate University, Hamilton, New York. All four of these institutions have been given bird and/or mammal skins once owned by Audubon.

In Audubon’s final elimination of the “Winter Hawk” from his later editions and his identifying it with the Red-shouldered species, there is special fascination.13 Throughout his century

12 The collection formed the basis of an exhibition in the Main Gallery of the Library, November–December 1890, under the title “An Audubon Anthology of Drawings, Prints, Plates, Books, and Manuscripts” (see the Chronicle, XII, No. 1 (Winter, 1935), 88-90). A typewritten catalogue of this exhibition is available in the Rare Books Reading Room. Since 1950, additions to the Audubon collection have included a fine copy of the first edition of The Birds of America, presented by Edwin N. Benson, Jr., ’92 and Mrs. Benson (see the Chronicle, XIV, No. 1 (Fall 1952), 46-47); Audubon’s manuscript notes for descriptions of twenty-four of the quadrupeds; the gift of Mr. E. Sturgis Stout ’25, which will be the subject of an article in a future issue of the Chronicle; several Audubon letters and various editions of his works.—Ed.

13 This is one of four copperplates presented by William E. Dodge ’92, now in the Museum of the Department of Biology, Guyot Hall. The others are: Plate 101, “Raven”; Plate 107, “Marie’s Woodpecker . . .”; and Plate 422, “Rough-legged Falcon.” An uncolored print from Plate 56, the Red-shouldered Hawk, also in Guyot Hall, is reproduced here as Fig. 2.—Ed.


15 See Editor’s note 2, above.
flared acrimonious debate, among scientists of varying degrees of competence, about claims regarding new species. Although Charles Lucien Bonaparte, Prince of Canino and of Musignano, who was Napoleon’s nephew, had befriended Audubon in Philadelphia in 1824, rivalry ensued when Bonaparte took up the deceased Wilson’s publication where it ended. The Prince and William Cooper of the Lyceum of Natural History, New York, wrote back and forth between America and Europe on subjects of mutual concern. In 1828, for example, they were debating about a Cooper’s Hawk seen by Bonaparte in Washington; he was beginning to think it a young Goshawk, instead. Not long before, he had been scoffing at Temminck and Orf for their naming of certain Phalaropes. When Audubon’s “Winter Hawk” appeared in 1831, Cooper reluctantly confessed to the Prince in September of that year—reluctantly because he looked down on Audubon as an intruder: “I believe Audubon is right in saying that the Red Shouldered and Winter Hawks are two different birds; I have specimens of two species, one of which agrees with Wilson’s Red-shouldered and the other is much more like his Winter Falcon.” Months later, Bonaparte replied: “It may possibly be that the Red Shoulder and Winter Falcon form two species: all what I can assure is that I never saw any of the latter; all the Winter Falcons I have examined being Red Shouldered (that of Audubon’s included).”

Nearly a year after his original uncertainty, Cooper more or less agreed: “On the subject of [the two hawks] I am almost or quite satisfied that they are the same bird. I have examined and possess in my collection numerous skins of both. I have compared fresh specimens minutely, measuring and collating every part. But I believe the lineatus is the old bird and the winter hawk the young. How does this supposition agree with your recent observations? If I am not mistaken, you thought the Red Shouldered the young, but examine this again.” Bonaparte’s reply is not available; he differed with Audubon far more than once. But the Prince was also fallible; even as he wrote, he was engaged in the parlous task of trying to integrate American and European species.

What was Audubon’s score of accuracy? According to the naturalist’s authoritative biographer, the late Francis H. Herrick, Wittmer Stone first published the answer in 1906 in the American Ornithologists’ check-list: “According to Stone, 5 species recog-

18 This paragraph and the one following are based on the Bonaparte-William Cooper correspondence at the Museum of Natural History in Paris, a microfilm copy of which was consulted at the American Philosophical Society.
nized in the folio are suppressed in the 'Biography'; 26 new names are given, and 502 species are recognized, but as 11 were more or less hypothetical, 491 remain in supposedly good standing." Of 507 birds claimed to be American by Audubon (385 of which he himself had seen alive), 17 were proved duplicates; 10 were "extraterritorial"; two were hybrid; and five had been seen by Audubon only. Two birds that he "suppressed" were later reinstated. As Herrick has pointed out, that score far surpassed Thomas Jefferson's 109 species; William Bartram's 191; Alexander Wilson's 278; and the Wilson-Ord count of 506, allegedly increased to 582 by Bonaparte. It is unlikely that any better statement regarding Audubon's true place, in what appears a kind of limbo between the worlds of art and science, exists than one made by Daniel G. Elliot in 1849 before the New York Academy of Sciences. The occasion was the erection of a monument to Audubon in Trinity Cemetery, New York. Dr. Elliot said:

He was a woodman, not a scientific naturalist. . . . As a naturalist, we must not judge him by the standard of to-day, achieved in the severe and exacting curriculum of modern scientific teaching. . . . He was an ornithologist artist, not a scientific naturalist, and no one appreciated this fact and was more ready to acknowledge it than [he] . . . . We must consider him as he struggled and worked in the dawn of the scientific period. . . . He was the type of that class of naturalists whose labors provide the means by which his more scientific brothers are enabled to reach definite conclusions. . . .

There, surely, is the fairest possible appraisal of the world of science. To the world of art, Audubon is great. The seed of his greatness is there, for all to see, in Princeton's early hawk.


A. E. van Braam Houckgeest
The First American at the Court of China

By George R. Lehrs

The Library has recently received as a gift from Walter Van Braam Roberts '15 a copy of the rare first edition of a book by his ancestor, A. E. van Braam Houckgeest, entitled Voyage de l’Ambassade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises vers l’Empereur de la Chine, dans les années 1794 et 1795; où se trouve la description de plusieurs parties de la Chine inconnue aux Européens. The title-page further describes the work as "extracted from the Journal of André Everard Van Braam Houckgeest, Head of the Management of the Dutch East India Company in China, and Second of this Embassy; former Director of the Society of Arts and Sciences of Haarlem in Holland; of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, &c."

The two quarto volumes of this work, illustrated with numerous engravings, were translated from the original Dutch text, edited, and printed at Philadelphia in 1797 and 1798, by the French émigré bookseller and publisher, Moreau de Saint-Méry. A distinguished production from Moreau de Saint-Méry's press, this publication is not only the first edition, but also, for reasons that will presently be described, the only complete edition of Van Braam's journal. In addition to a firsthand account of the embassy to the Emperor of China, it also provides a detailed description of the first comprehensive collection of Chinese art and artifacts to be exhibited in the United States. The author, though one of the two ambassadors sent to the Emperor of China in 1794 and 1795 by the famous Dutch trading firm, was nevertheless an American, the first to journey the length of China and be received by its ruler. We, one hundred and sixty years later, cannot but find interest in the circumstances surrounding this journey and this reception, in view of the present status of Chinese-American relations. The publication of Van Braam's journal is also replete with drama.

Andreas Everardus van Braam Houckgeest was born in the province of Utrecht in the Netherlands in 1739. He started a career in the Dutch navy, but whereas two brothers continued in it, rising to be admirals, Van Braam, as we shall call him, decided to leave the navy in 1759, to enter the service of the Dutch East India Company as a suppcargos in Canton and Macao. There he remained till
1779, except for two voyages back to his native land. On the second of these, in 1763, he married the second of thirteen children of the "Fiakal" of the Cape Colony. In 1774 he settled down as a country gentleman in the province of Guelderland. The struggle of the North American Colonies in their fight for independence aroused his sympathy and admiration, so that when the Peace of Paris was signed, he decided to throw in his lot with the new nation. Accordingly, in 1785, he was appointed Dutch consul to North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. He came with his wife and five children to Charleston, where he purchased a house, opened a mercantile business, and operated a rice-plantation. It is evident that he was capitalizing on his business experience, and on his careful and intense observation of agricultural methods in China. Chinese farmers, at that time, in many respects, were considered more able, and therefore, more successful, than their European counterparts. The following spring, 1784, Van Braam became a naturalized American citizen. A terrible blow struck him within a month, when in September and October, he lost his four youngest children in a diphtheria epidemic. Yet he was planting his roots here: henceforth there was to be an American, as well as a Dutch branch of the family. Van Braam's eldest child, Everarda, was married on January 10, 1786, to Captain Richard Brooke Roberts, a Revolutionary officer. Their first-born son was patriotically christened Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, in honor of the Society of the Cincinnati which had recently been founded. Van Braam himself became a father once more on July 13, 1788, when his daughter Françoise was born.

The death of four of his children, as well as financial difficulties, induced Van Braam to accept an offer, through a brother, to return to Canton as Head of the Factory of the company for whom he had worked before. So in August, 1788, he sailed from Charleston for Holland with his wife and baby, who remained there while he proceeded on his journey to China. He reached his destination on July 8, 1790, after having stopped over in Malacca and Batavia. In his new post and position, being by birth a Dutchman, and working for a great Dutch mercantile organization, and being also by adoption an American, Van Braam inevitably was a jealous rival of the British East India Company. In 1791-1794, Earl Macarney

was sent by George III, with a letter and presents on an embassy to the Manchu ruler, well-known under the reign-title of Ch'ien-lung, then sitting on the throne of China. As Ch'ien-lung was to enter the sixtieth year of his reign in 1795, Chinese officials at Canton thought that the presence of European embassies not only would add lustre to the imperial celebration on such a rare occurrence, but also enhance their own positions. Accordingly, a suggestion to this effect was made to Van Braam, with the result that the Dutch East India Company sent Isaac Titisingh, and Van Braam, as second ambassador, on an embassy of congratulation to the eighty-four-year-old monarch.

This embassy left Canton on November 28, 1794, arriving in Peking on January 9, 1795, after a most hurried and uncomfortable journey. Staying in the imperial capital about the allotted time of 40 days, till February 15, to be exact, it started out on the return journey for the southern seaport, where it arrived on May 9, traveling in a much more leisurely and comfortable fashion.

Aided by a good memory, at the end of each day's journey, made in sedan-chairs or carts, Van Braam would note down what he had observed of the landscape, state of agriculture, life of the people, and his thoughts on social and political conditions. In the capital, it was easier to set down at length the accounts of various audiences with the emperor, banquets and festivities, in palace and park, and descriptions of palaces and gardens. While traveling on house-boats on canals and rivers, he kept the journal open on a table, ready to receive his momentary observations and impressions. This journal was kept in Dutch. Extreme care was taken with its preparation. Corrections in style and statements of fact were made. Illustrative materials were assembled—not only drawings based on those he himself made and others commissioned to Chinese artists—but also maps from the best available sources. Thus it is possible to share his purpose and feelings when in Peking: "We are assured that we shall have occasion to see things which have never been seen by any foreigner. I wish it very ardently, and with the sole
desire of enlightening Europe by our observations on particularities relative to China." Besides his native language and English, Van Braam knew French and Portuguese, which latter was the lingua franca in the Far East at that time. He also had a speaking knowledge of the Chinese colloquial of Canton. During his thirty-six years of familiarity with China, he often enquired of scholars concerning everything that had to do with the history, customs, and other features of their country.

Due to the invasion of the Low Countries by France, it was feared that Holland would be at war with England. Consequently ships of the Dutch East India Company were ordered to remain at Batavia. But Van Braam was helped by American fellow citizens: the captain and two supercargoes of the Pegou, from Philadelphia. The two latter purchased in their name the Lady Louisa, a two-hundred ton English vessel. Two Americans were put in charge as captain and first-officer. The crew was made up of thirteen Frenchmen, mostly prisoners of war brought to Canton, and five Chinese. After having loaded packing cases, chests, furniture, and his presents from Gh'ien-lung, and been entertained by the European community of Canton, when he received expressions of their consideration for him and regret at his leaving, Van Braam embarked for the United States on November 28, 1795. The voyage was broken by a two-week stay, in February 1796, in Capetown, where he took on board an eighteen-year-old niece of his wife. On April 24, Van Braam went ashore at Philadelphia.

The last item on the supplement to the manifest of the Lady Louisa's cargo, entered at the Custom House at Philadelphia, lists: "A Box of China for Lady Washington." This "set of tea China that was given me by Mr. Vanbraam every piece having M W on it," was left by Martha Washington in her will to her grandson George Washington Parke Custis. Surviving specimens of this China have become highly prized items in private and public collections. It is fascinating to speculate on the part that Van Braam had in the conception of the design, with its symbolism and its artistic execution. The set was made at Ching-Té-Chen, the great center for porcelain manufacture, and then decorated, either there or at Canton. In the center of a plate appears the interlaced monogram of Martha Washington on a gold disc representing the rising sun of the Republic. This is surrounded by a wreath of olive and laurel leaves symbolizing peace. From the wreath extend rays of gold touching a chain composed of fifteen large links with the name of one of the fifteen states—Vermont and Kentucky had been added to the original thirteen—in each link. Beneath the wreath a ribbon scroll on the sun's rays has the inscription, referring to the Union: Decus et tutamen ab illo.—Honor and defense come from it. Around the endless chain of states is entwined a serpent with its tail in its mouth, the symbol of eternity. On the outer edge is a gold band.

In Philadelphia, the former ambassador came into the circle of refugees from France. Through Talleyrand, on May 17, 1796, he met M. Édric-Louis-Elie Moreau de Saint-Méry, who had played a significant role in Paris at the beginning of the French Revolution in 1789. A capable jurist and author, as well as a tireless historian of the West Indies, where he had long resided, Moreau de Saint-Méry had set up as a publisher, printer, and bookseller at the corner of First and Walnut Streets. At this meeting, Moreau de Saint-Méry entered into an agreement to translate into French, edit, and publish Van Braam's Dutch manuscript journal. The work appeared in two quarto volumes; the first in 1797, followed the next year by the second. The author and publisher felt the growing interest on both sides of the Atlantic in the possibilities for increased trade with the great empire of the East. So far, the standard works on China had been published mostly in Paris, made up of researches in history, geography, astronomy, language, government and other aspects of culture, principally done by Jesuits in Peking. The American and European world at large was anxious to get an account of China through a layman's eyes, and was eagerly

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2 Ibid., I, 128.
3 Samuel W. Woodhouse, Jr., "Martha Washington's China and Mr. Van Braam," Anales, XXVII, No. 5 (May 1895), 185-188.
awaiting the reports of the embassies led by Macartney and Van Braam. The appetite of the public had been whetted in 1795 by a Narrative of the British Embassy to China, by Aeneas Anderson, a member of the ambassador’s suite. It was not till two years later, in 1797, that George Staunton’s Authentic account of an Embassy from the King of Great Britain to the Emperor of China was published in London. As has been seen, the first volume of Van Braam’s Voyage appeared the same year; the Gazette de Leyde of October 6 announced that it was already in Amsterdam.

From the quality of the paper, the typography—the type was set by professional Frenchmen—engravings, and arrangement of materials, it is plain that Moreau de Saint-Méry spared no effort to produce a work which stands out as a real landmark in the history of printing and bookmaking in the United States. The dedication is to George Washington, who had granted his consent. Van Braam ends it with these words: “I should not know how to show myself more worthy of the title of Citizen of the United States, which has become my fatherland by adoption, than by paying a just tribute to the Chief whose principles and sentiments are such as to assure for these States a duration equal to that of the Chinese Empire.” The editor has a foreword, followed by a description of Van Braam’s collection of Chinese art objects, principally the drawings and paintings made to order by Chinese artists to illustrate geography, history, customs and manners. There is a section of Notes, which explain names and terms that appear in the text. It is especially here that one realizes the great contribution of Moreau de Saint-Méry, who was far more than a mere translator, and who, by steadily and deeply studying the best available works in the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Library of the American Philosophical Society, was able definitely to place a scholar’s stamp on the work. A most copious index facilitates ready reference to persons and subjects. It is rewardingly gratifying to discover the resources for the study of China then available in Philadelphia, many of the standard works having been secured by Benjamin Franklin.

As for the engravings ornamenting the work, John Vallance, Samuel Seymour and A. P. Folie are the artists whose names appear. The first was one of the founders of the Association of Artists.

*Van Braam’s letter to Washington asking his permission to dedicate the work to him, dated Philadelphia, December 19, 1796, is reproduced in facsimile from the original in the Library of Congress in J. J. L. Dupuydak, op.cit., p. 104.
in America, organized in Philadelphia in 1794. He did the plates for the map of China and that of Macao. The map of China is an exact copy of maps in the monumental folio work by the Jesuit J. B. Du Halde, which appeared in Paris in 1735. This *Description géographique, historique... de la Chine* contains maps based on those made by Jesuits at Imperial command during the first quarter of the eighteenth century. The map of Macao was made from a copy of one originally drawn by the younger De Guignes in 1792. This copy was given to Van Braam by Don Agostó, a Spaniard, agent for the Royal Philippine Company. De Guignes was attached to the French Consulate in Canton. He took advantage of the desire of the Peking officials to have a non-Dutchman, who knew both Latin and some Chinese, accompany the embassy, and by applying to Titsingh, was attached as a secretary. His own account of the embassy was not published until 1808.  

The subjects of the engravings in Van Braam's *Voyage* are: the Viceroy's reception at Canton (Fig. 1); bridges; pagodas; palace buildings in Peking; modes of transportation, such as boats, wheelbarrows, even sails, and carts; a plow and a drill for sowing; tomb enclosures; mandarins in their summer and winter robes; one of the two mechanical pieces presented to Ch'ien-lung: Chinese chess; and the Road up the Mei-Ling-shan. These engravings derive from different sources. Some of them, for instance the view of the mountain road up Mei-Ling-shan showing the method of travel in interior China and that of the transport of goods, is a very clever and exact copy of a Chinese painting. This certainly is a unique example in which an artist in the European tradition so faithfully copies a Chinese original that the characteristic brush strokes, especially those that represent rocks, are reproduced.  

The Chinese agricultural instruments represented, brought to this country as part of Van Braam's collection with the distinct purpose of serving as models, were no doubt drawn from life in Philadelphia, as they were displayed in Peale's Museum, then housed on the ground-floor of the American Philosophical Society. There is also a view of the Wu-Mên or Meridian Gate, in the Forbidden City, which

10 M. de Guignes, *Voyages à Peking*, Monique and Ville de France, faites dans l'interval de années 1789 à 1802, Paris, 1808, 3 vols. and an atlas of engraved views and maps. A copy of this work has been presented to the Library, as an addition to the materials on Van Braam, by Mr. Edward Roberts Barnsley of Newtown, Pennsylvania, a cousin of Walter V. B. Roberts 14.  

11 This view is listed among the items from Van Braam's collection sold at Christie's in London in 1799. See J. J. L. Duyvendak, *op. cit.,* p. 123.
is from a sketch drawn by Van Braam himself. Though without a title, it is easily recognizable, even if it is not "ten parts accurate," as the Chinese expression goes.

We have now come to the fateful period in the history of Moreau de Saint-Méry's edition of Van Braam's *Voyage*. In 1798, as a result of the Jay Treaty with Great Britain, a state of undeclared naval warfare existed between France and the United States. The Directors authorized the use of privateers to prey on American shipping. In spite of the aid given by France to the American colonists in their struggle for independence, there was a strong prejudice, inherited from England, against France, and revived by members of Congress and municipalities in their addresses to Vice-President John Adams. Volney, a member of the French Academy, who was making a study of the American people and its government, who also knew Van Braam and who had gone with Moreau de Saint-Méry to see his collection of objets d'art from China, mentions in the preface to his *Tableau du climat et du sol des États-Unis d'Amérique*, that even the students of Princeton were encouraged by prizes in 1797 and 1798 to speak and write against the French. Thus it was that twice in March 1798 news was sent from Paris to Moreau de Saint-Méry and to Van Braam that five hundred copies of the first volume, which were on an American vessel bound for England, were confiscated and sold, after the ship had been taken as a prize by a French privateer. There was no redress for this loss, as it was done under official sanction. What became of this shipment still remains a mystery, but its disappearance sufficiently accounts for the rarity of the work.

That same year, 1798, a printer in Paris named Garnery pirated the first volume of the Philadelphia edition, bringing out its contents in two octavo volumes. He rearranged the contents and took out references to the second volume of the Philadelphia edition. An English translation of this Paris edition appeared in London in the same year, a German translation was published in Leipzig in 1798-1799, and finally, the full circle of translating was run when an edition in Dutch, also from the incomplete Paris piracy, was published at Haarlem in 1804-1805. As a consequence of the scarcity of the first volume of the Philadelphia edition, and of its piracy by Garnery, a very incomplete, if not distorted picture of Van Braam's work was received by the world, which was in general ignorant of the fact that there was another volume. This second volume concludes the narrative of the embassy and includes in an appendix the official documentation for the embassy, for example the correspondence between Chilnong and his officials with the Commissioners-General of the Dutch East India Company and the stadtholder of Holland, and also the lists of presents exchanged. In this volume there is also a very exhaustive and enlightening account of Macao, from which we gain a very clear picture of the population, history, geography, government, religious, social, and economic conditions of that anomalous city. Due also to the rarity of this second volume of Van Braam's *Voyage*, his essay on Macao does not appear to have been used by later writers on the history of that Portuguese colony, as it might well have been to great advantage. An extended summary of a Chinese drama, "Fidelity Rewarded," concludes the volume. Only two other Chinese dramas were known to Europe at the time. One was a translation of "The Orphan of the House of Chao," which Voltaire found in Du Halde's publication on China and used as the basis for his *Orphelin de la Chine*. The other was "The Argument or Story of a Chinese Play acted at Canton, In the Year MDCCXIX." Van Braam no doubt felt that an elegant translation of another Chinese play into a European language would surely appeal to all sensitive souls. Thus he prepared his summary of "Fidelity Rewarded" with the hope that some celebrated author, capable of understanding the characters, would compose from it a play for the European stage.

12 *Voyage de l'Amboisade de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales Hollandaises...* ed. du Journal d'André Evrard Van-Braam [Amsterdam], 1798, 2 vols. 8vo. In the Library's copy of this edition the two volumes are bound in one.


14 *Reise der Gesellschaft der Hollandisch-Ostindischen Compagnie, Haarlem, François Rohn, 1804-06, 2 vols. 8vo. A copy of this edition has been presented to the Library by Walter V. B. Roberts 15.


16 Although few Chinese plays were known in Europe, the European merchants at Canton had to rely for dramatic entertainment mostly on native plays presented at feasts given by the Hong merchants. To return the courtesy, and to give some idea of European plays to their Chinese hosts, the French, in 1793, prepared a stage according to European ideas, in a very large room in their Factory. The other guests were the European merchants of the other Factories and officers from merchant vessels in the harbor. After the dinner, Voltaire's *Siège*, and then Grébillof's
From the autobiography of Van Braam's grandson, L. Q. C. Roberts, we learn that the former Director of the Dutch Factory at Canton purchased in June 1796 a farm called Mount Bergen, near Bristol, Pennsylvania, seventeen miles up the Delaware River from Philadelphia. A head carpenter and mason were engaged to construct a fifteen-room house which Van Braam named "China's Retreat." In it he could live somewhat after the fashion that he had in Canton and Macao, wait on by Chinese servants and by a Malay housekeeper. The retired man of affairs was very fond of entertaining friends and their acquaintances, who went to hear him personally tell of his experiences and to absorb something of the Chinese atmosphere by inspecting and critically appraising the objects he had brought from China. This was undoubtedly the first comprehensive Chinese collection seen in the United States. It is worth noting, too, that the Chinese Museum of Van Duyn—for whom John Notman built a "Chinese cottage" at Mount Holly on the other side of the Delaware—was opened to the Philadelphia public only in 1838, nearly a half-century later.

Van Braam no doubt contemplated settling down in "China's Retreat" for the rest of his life. But something happened. Perhaps financial difficulties played their part in his decision to sell the house and return to Europe. His wife had divorced him, so he married her niece, packed his collections, and in mid-summer 1798 set sail for London. The Paris publisher of the pirated edition of Van Braam's book stated in a note at the end of the work that Van Braam had offered his precious collection to the French Government, that it had been accepted, and that the Parisian public would soon be able to see it. This announcement, however, was both erroneous and premature. The actual facts of the case were recorded by Moreau de Saint-Méry, who wrote in his diary: "Mr. Van Braam offered his collection as a gift to France and had written to Talleyrand to get it accepted. I wrote too .... But the Directory attached no importance to this inestimable offer, made no reply, and Mr. Van Braam finally took his collection to London where he sold it, A most blameworthy example of French casualness!"

Thus, on February 15 and 16, 1799, Van Braam's paintings and other Chinese art objects were sold at auction in Christie's "great room" in Pall Mall. Describing one of the lots offered, the sales catalogue noted: "The following miniatures in Oil, being original Views and Designs, and partly Copies from European Prints, are entirely executed by Chinese Artists, with a singular Degree of Delicacy and Finishing, and are beautiful Specimens of the Progress of the Fine Arts in China." It may be a matter of surprise to realize that among these Chinese copies of European works were a "Venus" after Titian and a "Venus attired by the Graces" after Angelica Kauffmann.

Although the abundant collection of paintings and drawings assembled by Van Braam was dispersed, parts of it were subsequently utilized in at least three publications. The first of these, published in London in 1808 by Major George Henry Mason, is entitled The Costume of China, illustrated by sixty engravings with explanations in English and French. The colored engravings are copies of the pictures of Chinese arts and crafts made for Van Braam by the Cantonese artist Pu Qua. Van Braam's account, among others, is drawn on for the explanations. Mason's work was in turn the basis of a second publication, Gerbere und Kleidungen der Chinaer dargestellt in bunten Gemälden von dem Maler Pu-Qua in Canton als Zusatz zu Macartney's and van Braam's Reisen, published by Johann Gottfried Grohmann in Leipzig (n.d.) in a quarto volume. There are sixty plates, with explanatory text in German and French. The third publication is Icones plantarum sponte China nascentium; et Bibliotheca Braamiana excerptae, composed of thirty colored plates illustrating flowers of China, published by J. H. Bohle, "Foreign Bookseller to His Majesty," in London in 1821.

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It seems likely that some items, at least, from Van Braam’s extensive collection may have survived in libraries, museums or private collections. One group of drawings is now in the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and perhaps the present article may lead to the identification of others. The drawings in the Cabinet des Estampes have a curious origin. When in Canton, Van Braam had been lent a set of twenty copper engravings, the first ever made in China. The artist had been pupil of Giuseppe Castiglione, a Jesuit painter and architect in Peking. The engravings were views of the European Palaces in the Yuan-Ming-Yuan, designed by Castiglione. Van Braam had these engravings copied in drawings, nineteen of which form the group in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Van Braam died on July 8, 1801, in Amsterdam, in a small house he had purchased for his second family.

A train of observations and reflections on Sino-European diplomatic intercourse is opened up when one looks at two engravings: the “Reception by the Viceroy,” in the first volume of the Philadelphia edition of Van Braam’s Voyage, and the “Leave-taking of the Ambassador from the Emperor,” in the second volume of the Haarlem edition. In the first engraving (Fig. 1), the scene represents the reception to Titisning and Van Braam, given by the viceroy, at Canton on October 15, 1794. In a hall, to the right, are seated seven Chinese officials, while opposite them, also seated, are the two ambassadors. All the Chinese are wearing their hats, which are an absolutely necessary part of their official costume. Titisning has his hat on also, but not Van Braam. Why this discrepancy? One wonders as to the origin of the engraving. Was it original a drawing or painting made by a Chinese artist or was it the idea of the composition and design thought of in Philadelphia? In the “Leave-taking,” the five Europeans are represented with uncovered heads. Showing them thus, the Dutch engraver was only being faithful to the account as given by Van Braam, though in setting and portraiture, he drew on his imagination. In the “Reception,” an official is in the act of performing the kowtow to the viceroy. This cere-

...monious act is being watched by Titisning, doubtless curious and anxious to see how the “three kneelings and nine knockings of the head to the ground” were to be correctly executed, as he and his fellow-ambassador had been ordered to perform this salut d’honneur, as Van Braam called it.

What lay back of this form of showing honor and reverence to a superior in age, authority, and holiness? The unit consists in one kneeling and three knockings. This unit is doubled or tripled, depending on the degree of respect to be accorded the person honored. A group of incidents from Chinese history may speak for themselves, to illustrate the theory and practice.

In 1676, Spathary, an envoy from Tsar Alexis Michailovich to the Manchu, K’ang-hai, then on the Dragon Throne, in arguing with the Askaniama, an official in charge of him, concerning the request of the Emperor for him to kowtow, reported: “The Ambassador mentioned that when anyone makes his bow to any Christian King, it is bareheaded—at which the Askaniama laughed, saying: ‘You see what different customs there are; what one holds a great honor, the other finds the reverse—God forbid that you should come into the presence of the Khan and bow bareheaded! That would be a gross indignity and insult to His Majesty.’”

About 1712, Matteo Ripa, a missionary of the Propaganda, in Peking, noted that in the church serving the Albizinés (descendants of Russian prisoners-of-war, who had married Manchus), the Russian Orthodox clergy permitted the men to have uncovered heads during divine service. “This, he said, is as we do in Europe, but it is not the practice of our Christians in China. Indeed the priest himself, while he is celebrating mass, has his head covered. This is because it is a sign of respect in China. Thus, when one is speaking in the presence of some Lord, and even of the Emperor, only those worthy of death, or who confess themselves as such, have uncovered heads.”

Titisning and Van Braam had the example of Macartney before them. This Englishman had consistently refused to kowtow to anyone, whoever he might be. He had taken this stand on principle, believing the kowtow was the symbol per se of the tributary status of a nation vis-à-vis the ruler of China. He did not realize that in Chinese eyes, the sending of presents by the King of Great Britain, was in itself the evidence of that status, regardless of the

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23 “Vues de l’Empereur de la Chine, a Yuan ming yuen, construites dans le goûte européen.” Classified as: Oe 15.

24 J. F. Buddlesey, Russia, Mongolia, China, London, 1919, II, pgs.

25 Matteo Ripa, Storia della fondazione e della Congregazione e del Collegio de’ Gesuiti, Naples, 1832, II, 471.
performance of the kowtow. It is significant that Grammont, a Jesuit who had been in China for twenty-six years, wrote to Agost from Peking, giving as one of the five reasons why the Macartney Embassy had failed, the refusal to kowtow. A copy of this letter was given Van Braam, who informed Tislingh of this fact. So the two of them determined scrupulously to comply with the request of the Chinese officials on each and every occasion. The series of eighty-odd kowtows on their part began at the reception by the viceroy.

The Leave-taking Audience took place in the Yuan-Ming-Yuan, on February 8, 1795. "His Majesty seating himself," Van Braam says, "all the Envoys were led to him; those of each nation going in a group. We were the third." After we had performed the salute of honor, with our heads uncovered, the Emperor told us through the Prime Minister, to tell our Prince how we had found His Majesty on our arrival, the state in which we left him, the manner in which we had been received and treated, and what we had seen in his palaces. His Excellency thanked the Emperor for all the favors we had received, and expressed wishes that his reign would be extended for a long time, accompanied by the happiness which good Rulers merit. We then repeated the salute of honor and resumed our places."27

A pictorial record of what might well be considered the greatest audience of all, in the last year of Ch'ien-lung's sixty-year reign, is a painting in colors on a silk scroll, in the collection of the National Museum in the Forbidden City (Fig. 4). It is not known who the Court artist was, though it seems that either Poiriot or Panzi, two Jesuits at the Court, may have had a hand in the work. The title, "Tribute-bearers from Many Nations," well expresses the subject. The scene shows the twenty-seven tributary delegations, waiting just outside the T'ai-Ho-men, or Gate of Supreme Harmony, ready for the order to approach Ch'ien-lung, who is seen sitting quietly in a small palace, just northwest of the enclosing wall of the main Throne-hall, the T'ai-Ho-tien. Snow is on the roof-tops and on the far-distant hills, so it is the season of the Chinese New Year. There are two groups of Europeans: one, consisting of five men, in their three-cornered hats, is standing beside the big bronze lion on the right. It must consist of the members of the Dutch embassy. The other group seems to be made up of missionaries. This scroll.

24 Taking rank after the Koreans and Mongols.
is unique, in that it is the only one, to my knowledge, in which Europeans are represented, by any Court artist.

The purpose of the embassy sent by the Dutch East India Company had been performed, that of congratulating Ch'ien-lung. Nothing was asked for, therefore the ruler was not obliged, however politely, to refuse anything. Van Braam had his great desire fulfilled, a visit to Peking as the guest of a ruler who had enjoyed the most brilliant reign of his dynasty. True, the visitor was not allowed to see everything he had planned on, though he was shown much more than any other European. Through the pages of Van Braam's Journal, we get to know something about the first member of the American Philosophical Society to make a contribution to the field of sinological studies, a Dutchman by birth and an American by adoption, who, in his delighted entusiasms, hoped that his fellow-Americans and Europeans would share his joy and learn what he had learned, in China and from China.
The Rittenhouse Orrery
Princeton's Eighteenth-Century Planetarium
1767-1954

A Check-list of Items shown in the Exhibition
held in the Princeton University Library, May-June 1954

As mentioned elsewhere in this issue of the Chronicle, the Library has published, under the joint sponsorship of the Friends of the Princeton Library and of the Friends of the Observatory, a book by Howard C. Rice, Jr., designed as a narrative commentary on the exhibition and as a permanent record of the Rittenhouse Orrery. The check-list printed here, as an addendum to this book, provides footnotes to Mr. Rice's text as well as a catalogue of the exhibition. It may also serve to demonstrate how the varied resources of the Library can be marshalled to bear upon a given problem of research, whether that be exhibition, term paper, thesis or book. The editors hope that the check-list will be useful to scholars interested in the diffusion of Newtonian ideas, in colonial America and eighteenth-century Princeton, as well as to those concerned with orreries and with David Rittenhouse. They suspect, too, that many of their readers enjoy perusing lists of this kind.

THE SYSTEM OF COPERNICUS AND NEWTON

1. Nicolaus Copernicus, De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium, Nuremberg, 1543. First edition. [Ex 890.0466; another copy, Kane]
2. Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler, Tabulae Rudolphiniae. Ulm, 1627. First edition. [Ex 890.3466]
3. Galileo Galilei, Dialogo ... sopra i Due Massimi Sistemi del Mondo Teloematico e Copernicano. Florence, 1632. First edition. [Ex 890.3475; another copy, Kane]
4. Galileo Galilei, Dialogue de Systemate Mundi. Strasbourg, 1634. [Ex 890.3475; another copy, Kane]
7. Christian Huygens, "Systema Saturnium" (1695). In his Opera omnia, Leyden, 1710. [Ex 820.4483a]

16. F. M. A. de Voltaire. Eléments de la Physique de Newton, Mis à la portée de tout le monde. Amsterdam, 1738. First edition, two different issues. [Ex 810.794.435; Ex 810.794.435.1]

THE NEWTONIAN SYSTEM EXPLAINED

21. Photographs of planetarium designed by Christian Huygens, executed by Johannes van Clelum, 1689. [Courtesy of Rijksmuseum voor de Geschiedenis der Natuurwetenschappen, Leyden]
25. Photographs of the "original" orrery. [Courtesy of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, and of the Science Museum, London]

29. T. B. Bingley. Lectures on Experimental Philosophy . . . To which is added, a Description of Mr. Rowley’s Machine, called the Orrery, which represents the Motion of the Moon about the Earth, Venus and Mercury about the Sun, according to the Copernican System. London, 1757. First edition. [Ex 8004-295]

30. Edmund Stone. The Construction and Principal Uses of Mathematical Instruments. Translated from the French of M. Nicolas Bion . . . To which is added, The Construction and Use of such Instruments as are omitted by M. Bion; particularly those invented or improved by the English. London, 1752. With engraving of the Orrery. [Ex 8109-1815]

O R R E R Y  I N  T H E  1 8 T H  C E N T U R Y


33. Orrery by Thomas Wright, 1735, formerly part of the King George III Collection of Scientific Instruments. Photograph. (Courtesy of the Science Museum, London)


37. Orrery similar in type and design to Ferguson’s four-wheeled Orrery. Photograph. (Courtesy of the Franks Henry Dupont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware)

38. “A Philosopher Giving that Lecture on the Orrery, in which a Lamp is put in the Place of the Sun.” Colored reproduction of oil painting by Joseph Wright of Derby, 1760, now in Museum and Art Gallery of Derby, from The Illustrated London News, Christmas Number, 1959, p. 50. [Ex 8901-430]


41. Orrery by Abbé Nollet, adapted from English models, ca. 1770. Engraved plates i and ii in his Leçons de Physique Expérimentale, Vol. VI, Paris, 1764. [Ex 8009-6788]


44. Plasindale anglais, or Orrery, by Thomas Heath, ca. 1790. Photograph. [Courtesy of the Conservatoire National des Arts et Métiers, Paris]


50. Asa Smith. Smith’s illustrated Astronomy, designed for the Use of the Public or Common Schools in the United States New York, 1826. With plate of commonly used type of 19th-century orrey. [Ex 8009-1115]

O R R E R Y  I N  A M E R I C A


52. Isaac Greenwood. Explanatory Lectures on the Orrery, Armillary Sphere, Globes and Other Machines, Mathematical Exercises, being selected from a series of experiments, and schemes made use of by astronomers. Accompanied With a Great Variety of Practical Experiments and Curious Remarks. Boston, 1794. (Lent by the Massachusetts Historical Society)


55. Orrery by Benjamin Martin, acquired by Harvard College in 1757. Photograph. (Courtesy of Harvard University and of Mr. I. Bernard Cohen)

56. Orrery by Joseph Pope of Boston, acquired by Harvard College in 1759. Photograph. (Courtesy of Harvard University and of Mr. I. Bernard Cohen)


80. Notebook of Joseph Shippen (Class of 1779), with copies of his letters written in 1754 from the College of New Jersey at Newark to his father, Edward Shippen of Philadelphia (a Trustee of the College). Mentioning Lewis Evans’s course of natural philosophy (cf. No. 51, above). [Manuscript Division]


89. Benjamin Martin. The Philosophical Grammar; Being a View of the Present State of Experimental Physiology, or, Natural Philosophy. Seventh Edition. London, 1754. Copy from John Witherspoon’s library, with his signature. [WIT 0909.618]


91. Minutes of the Trustees of The College of New Jersey, Vol. I of the original records, showing appropriation of funds for improvement of the "Philosophical Apparatus," September 25, 1769. [Lent by the Secretary of Princeton University]

THE HISTORY OF THE RITTENHOUSE ORREERY

THE ORREERY: 1756-1774

76. The Provinces of New York, and New Jersey; with part of Pennsylvania, and the Province of Quebec. Drawn by Major Holland, corrected and improved from the original materials by Governor Governor Forster, Franckfort upon the Main, Harry Ludlowick Bromer, 1777. [Maps Division]

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ORDER IN WARTIME: 1775-1777

89. William Taden. Plan of the Operations of General Washington against the King's Troops in New Jersey, from the 26th of December 1776 to the 2d January 1777, London, 1777. [Maps Division]


91. Comment on alleged British deportation in New Jersey. In The Annual Register, or a View of the History, Poetics, and Literature for the Year 1777, London, 1778. [1010-185]

92. William Gordon. The History of the Rite, Progress, and Establishment of the United States of America; including an Account of the Late War. London, 1788, Vol. II. [Ex 1081-404]


VISITORS TO PRINCETON: 1780-1790

94. "An accurate and correct List of Roads to the principal Cities and Towns of the Continent, &c, from Boston: With the names of those Persons who keep the Genteelst Houses of Entertainment." With woodcut of stage-coach. In Backwards' Genuine Boston Almanack... for 1785, Boston, 1790. [Harison Collection No. 62.01]


100. Abbe Green to John Cross, Nassau Hall, May 21, 1788. A.L. [Manuscripts Division]. Also, printed version of the letter, in John N. Norton, Life of Bishop Cross, of New Jersey, New York, 1859. [1757-247-00].

101. Thomas Jefferson. Notes on the State of Virginia; written in the year 1781, somewhat corrected and enlarged in the winter of 1782, for the use of a Foreigner of distinction, in answer to certain queries proposed by him. 1782. [Paris, 1785]. First edition. [McCormick] Another copy of this edition [lent by Miss Elizabeth Baring, Abbot] with presentation inscription from Jefferson to Rittenhouse on flyleaf, and, in margin opposite tribute to Rittenhouse (p. 121) the manuscript notation (possibly in Rittenhouse's hand), "and a Jefferson."


103. Jedidiah Morse. The American Geography; or a View of the Present Situation of the United States of America, East, 1786. [Ex 1905-505].


TROUBLE WITH THE ORERY


111. Diary of W. M. Woodford (clerk of Loyalist Claims Commission), entry dated October 25, 1875. Manuscript. [Lent by The American Philosophical Society]


THE ORERY REPAIRED


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119. Daniel Mulford. *Notes on a Journey to Georgia, 1808.* Manuscript. Entry dated October 11, 1808. [By the Yale University Library]  
120. Samuel Maila. Pen and ink drawing of unknown authorship. Made after 1804, and before 1856. [Lent by Mr. Allridge C. Smith, III]  

**THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ORREY**  

125. "The Rittenhouse Planetarium." Clipping from *The Princeton Press,* October 22, 1892, in Moses Taylor Pyne Scrapbook (P 9742 v. 12)  
127. Printed letter, signed, to Messrs. Cyrus H. McCormick, James W. Alexander, M. Taylor Pyne, Special Committee of the Trustees of Princeton University in charge of the proposed Princeton Educational Exhibit at the World’s Columbian Exposition in Chicago, from Committee of Faculty, H. S. Smith, W. B. Scott, Andrew F. West, September 26, 1893. Including plan of exhibit, schedule of costs, etc. [Princetoniana Collection]  
129. Committee and Report of Special Committee of the New Jersey School Exhibit at the World’s Columbian Exposition, at Chicago, 1893. [Ex 1893-1894]  
132. Board with World’s Fair shipping label, from packing-case in which the orrey was returned was from World’s Fair exhibit in 1893, and in which it was found in 1898. [Ex 1898]  
133. Herman S. Davis. *"David Rittenhouse, L.L.D., F.R.S."* Reprint from *Popular Astronomy,* July 1896. [Ex 1896-1897]  
134. Conversation in Mr. Collin’s Office, February 2, 1915. Typed notes on statements concerning orrey made by Col. William Libbey ‘93 to Vernon Lansing Collis, Secretary of the University. [Lent by the Secretary of Princeton University]  
135. Correspondence between V. L. Collins and Howard McClenan, concerning "the Rittenhouse Orrey mystery," 1915. [Lent by the Secretary of Princeton University]  
138. Typewritten statement, signed by James M. Keel, Assistant to Superintendent of Grounds and Buildings, May 13, 1955, concerning discovery of the orrey in Cooper Hall basement in summer of 1946. [Manuscript Division]  

**THE ORREY RESTORED: 1951-1954**  

139. The Orrey before restoration. Photographs by Willard Starks (March 16, 1951), and by R. V. C. Whitehead, Jr. (April 7, 1951). [Manuscripts Division]  
141. Restoration of the Orrey: non-mechanical details. Statement by Julian E. Garmey concerning the painted background. Trial sample for decorative background of stars, by Norman Hengland. Design by G. V. Duffield for hands, executed by Ball and Ball. Drawing and scale model for installation of restored orrey, by G. V. Duffield. [Manuscripts Division]  
142. Details of the Orrey photographed during restoration. Photographs by Willard Starks, June 1952. [Manuscripts Division]  
144. Damaged parts of the orrey replaced during restoration. [Ex 1970]  
145. The Restored Rittenhouse Orrey. [Ex 1970]  

**DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ORREY**  

147. *Description of a New Orrey, planned, and now nearly finished, by Mr. David Rittenhouse, of Norriten, in the County of Philadelphia.* In *The Pennsylvania Gazette,* No. 2054, May 5, 1788. [Ex 1788-1789]  

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February 1879. [Lent by The American Philosophical Society. Library copy, lacking this place: Ex 0901.679]
184. Eighteenth-century surveying instrument, including compass, chain and stakes. Made by David Rittenhouse’s brother, Benjamin, who was also well known as an instrument and clock maker. [Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry E. Copey]
186. Thomas Jefferson. (Secretary of State) to David Rittenhouse, concerning weights and measures, New York, June 12, June 30, 1790. Two a. I. A. [Lent by Miss Elizabeth Sergeant Abbot]
187. David Rittenhouse to Thomas Jefferson, relating to purchase of a site in Philadelphia for the Mint, June 16, 1792. Rittenhouse’s retained copy of the letter. [Lent by Miss Elizabeth Sergeant Abbot]
189. Thomas Jefferson to David Rittenhouse, April 2, 1798, returning books, some of which belong to the State Department and are to be used by the Mint. A. I. A. [Manuscripts Division]. Formerly tipped into a copy of Lalande, Astronomie, Paris, 1771. Vol. I (Ex 0903.673.1)
190. U.S. coins minted while Rittenhouse was director of the Mint. Silver dollar (1794), cent (1794), and one-half cent (1795). [Numismatics Collection]

New Library Publication

The Rittenhouse Orrery, Princeton’s Eighteenth-Century Planetarium, 1767-1854, by Howard C. Rice, Jr., the third in the series of occasional publications issued by the Princeton University Library under the sponsorship of the Friends of the Princeton Library, appeared in May 1954. The publication of this volume, sponsored jointly by the Friends of the Library and the Friends of the Observatory, was made possible by Mr. Bernard Peyton ‘17.

In addition to tracing the history of the most important surviving piece of Princeton’s pre-Revolutionary “philosophical apparatus”—originally housed in the college library and long associated with the teaching of astronomy at Princeton—Mr. Rice’s account treats of the rise of the Newtonian system of the universe, the popularity of the orrery as a “visual aid” for demonstrating this system, the teaching of Newtonian science in America, and the career of the Pennsylvania clock-maker and astronomer, David Rittenhouse, president of the American Philosophical Society and recipient of honorary A.M. and LL.D. degrees from Princeton.

The Rittenhouse Orrery, a 100-page cloth-bound volume with sixteen collotype illustrations executed by the Meriden Gravure Company, was designed by P. J. Conkright and printed at the Princeton University Press. The cover design was drawn by Gillett C. Griffin, of the Graphic Arts Division, from the Signs of the Zodiac as represented in the Hoch-Deutsch-Amerikanische Calender, printed by Christopher Saur at Germantown, Pennsylvania, in the 1770’s, copies of which have recently been added to the Sinclair Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books. All members of the Friends have been invited to accept a complimentary copy of The Rittenhouse Orrery; further copies may be obtained by members for $1.75, and by others for $2.50. Earlier volumes in the series, still available, are: Anthony Trollope’s comedy Did He Steal It?, with an introduction by Robert H. Taylor ’80, and John Witherspoon Comes to America by Lyman H. Butterfield.
VISIT OF THE HROSITHA CLUB

The Library was host, on the afternoon of May seventeenth, to members of the Hrositha Club and their guests. After a visit to the exhibitions and a tour of the building, tea was served in the Graphic Arts room. The Hrositha Club, composed of women book collectors whose object is "to foster an interest in books in all their aspects," was founded in 1944. The club customarily meets five times a year, either in New York or in other cities, where libraries and private collections are visited.

THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN IN VERSE

A versified account of the Yorktown campaign by one Caron du Chansel, published in Paris in late December 1781 scarcely two months after the event, has been reprinted in facsimile from a copy of the scarce original edition in the Princeton Library by the Institut Français de Washington. Extra copies of this reprint of La Double Victoire: Poème dédié à Madame la Comtesse de Rochambeau, with a brief introduction in English by Howard C. Rice, Jr., have been made available to the Library through the courtesy of Professor Gilbert Chinard. Subscribers to the Chronicle may obtain copies, as long as the supply lasts, by writing to the Editor.

GRAPHIC ARTS COLLECTION

Exhibits arranged in the Graphic Arts room during the past year have aimed to explore various fields connected with the graphic arts. From late summer to early October, 1955, a display called "Cigar Box Art, A Traditional Application of Color Lithography," included original lithograph stones and progressive proofs as well as early and recent examples of labels, boxes and bands from all over the world. In October and November, the American Color Print Society let its fourteenth Annual Traveling Print Show, comprising American color prints in all media. Examples of photographs from the 1840's to the 1880's, together with camera equipment and early viewers, were shown in December, 1955, and January, 1956. "Japanese Prints, Their History and Technique," on display during February and March, coincided with the performances of the Kabuki Theatre in New York and with a demonstration of Japanese woodblock printing by Toshi Yoshida held in the Graphic Arts room on February 19th under the joint sponsorship of the Princeton Art Museum and the Library. One of the features of this exhibition was the newly acquired Dharani—an example of the earliest known datable printing (A.D. 770). Monotypes by Gwyneth King (Mrs. Joe Brown), with drawings, proofs and tools explaining the process, were shown during April. Other examples of Miss King's work, illustrating "Off-Campus Princeton," were on display during this same period in the Princetoniana Room. The final exhibitions of the year, on view during May and June, were a fine selection of prints lent by the International Graphic Arts Society, and a group of characteristic mid-Victorian book bindings, chiefly from the Sinclair Hamilton Collection.

Undergraduate print lending, in October and February, was as successful as in previous years, with all available prints taken in side three hours. The Graphic Arts Press, now installed in temporary quarters on C floor, has been used extensively during the past year. Posters for many of the Library exhibitions have been printed. A souvenir "emblem" was printed for guests at the symposium, "Emblems in Art and Literature," held on March 12. Students and faculty members have experimented with bookplates, letterheads, invitations, posters and menus. Several seniors and graduate students have printed title pages for their theses. Professor James Thorpe assigned to each of the graduate students in one of his courses the task of printing a poem on the press, while a "period" broadside listing "Some Materials for American Social History, 1850-1860" was printed in connection with Mr. Robert Arthur's undergraduate precepts in American History. A large serigraph press, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Frederick B. Adams, Jr., was used to prepare the attractive blue papers, with star design in gold, which supplied the decorative background in the display cases of The Rittenhouse Orrery exhibition.

The 1955 Print Club print, behind Nassau Hall," is a serigraph by Philip Hicken, who came to Princeton in June 1955 to sketch the scene. Mr. Hicken, who was at that time teaching serigraph and watercolor at Harvard, is now teaching in Boston. His attractive serigraph of Nassau Hall, issued in an edition of one hundred copies, catches the freshness of color on the campus in late spring.

COLOPHON CLUB

The Colophon Club, with a membership of some thirty undergraduates interested in book collecting, has had an active year. In December Mr. Robert H. Taylor 'go spoke to the group on his book collecting experiences, illustrating his talk with books and...
manuscripts from his library. In February Mr. W. Hugh Peal commented on items from his personal collection in a talk arranged by the Colophon Club in cooperation with the Department of Modern Languages. Several members of the club were the guests. In December, Mr. Sinclair Hamilton '06 and Mr. Robert H. Taylor '30, at dinner and at the opening of the Grolier Club exhibition, "Famous Children's Books." In March club members visited the residence of Mr. Frederick B. Adams, Jr. to see his collection, and in April seven of the group were the guests of the "Jared Eliot"—the Yale undergraduate book collectors' society—during a trip to New Haven, which concluded with a visit to Wilmarth Lewis's Horace Walpole Collection at Farmington. The year's activities were fittingly brought to a close with a picnic supper at the Bucks County home of Elmer Adler, the original organizer of the Colophon Club.

UNDERGRADUATE BOOK COLLECTING CONTEST

The twenty-ninth annual undergraduate book collecting contest took place on Wednesday evening, April 28. The judges, Mr. Hamilton Cottier '22 and Mr. J. Holly Hanford, awarded the first prize to Virginia G. Hall Jr., '54 for the beginning of a fine collection of Charles 1's Eikon Basilike, and the second prize to Robert J. Ruben '55 who is making a collection of early medical books.

COLLECTOR'S CHOICE

A selection of American school books from the collection of illustrated children's books assembled by Gillett Good Griffin formed the "Collector's Choice" exhibition for the month of April. Printed rewards of merit and examples of flyleaf scribbling, as well as books, were included in the display. Of particular interest were three copies of a popular nineteenth-century grammar, The Paths of Learning Strewn with Flowers, present in the New York, 1855, edition (with illustrations colored by hand), a smaller 1826 edition (apparently never published) still in unfolded sheets, and the Hartford, 1850, edition made from the plates of the 1826 edition.

Fifteen books and prints, ranging from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century, generously lent by Mrs. Jules Arestey from her cookery-book collection, were exhibited from the first of May through June 15 as the final "Collector's Choice" of the academic year 1953-1954. Among the books shown was an incunabulum printed at Venice in 1475, Bartolomeus Platina's De Honesta Voluptate et Valetudine, the first cook book bearing the date of its printing; bound with Mrs. Arestey's copy is a fifteenth-century manuscript copy of the De Re Coquinaria, a collection of recipes put together during the third century by Caelius Apicius, member of a celebrated family of Roman epicures. Other outstanding items included a copy of the scarce London, 1599, edition of Henry Buttes' Dyets Dry Dinner, a scholarly treatise on the dietary value of certain foods; an early seventeenth-century manuscript cook book containing the ownership notation of William Daille, innkeeper of the "Golden Bore in Chesheside"; the first edition (Paris, 1846) and the first illustrated edition (Paris, 1848) of Brillat-Savarin's Physiologie Du Goût.

EXHIBITIONS

The exhibitions in the main gallery during the past year were: "Cultural Traditions of Islam," September-October (see Chronicle, XV, No. 1 [Autumn 1955], 39-41); "The World Spread Before You," an exhibition of maps, November-December (see Chronicle, XV, No. 2 [Winter 1954], 101-103); "The Graver and the Pen," Renaissance Emblems and Their Ramifications, February-March (see Chronicle, XV, No. 3 [Winter 1954], 55); and finally, in May and June, "The Rittenhouse Orrery, 1767-1954, Princeton's Eighteenth-Century Planetarium." In connection with the exhibition of emblem-books an informal symposium on "Emblems in Art and Literature" was held on the evening of March 12. The speakers at this gathering, which attracted many art historians and literary scholars from several neighboring universities as well as from Princeton, were Erwin Panofsky of the Institute for Advanced Study, Philip Hofer of the Harvard College Library, Sinclair Hamilton, Chairman of the Friends of the Princeton Library, Blanchard Bates of the Department of Modern Languages, and Durant Robinson, Jr. of the Department of English. The Rittenhouse Orrery exhibition was formally opened on the evening of May 12 at another well-attended gathering which included members of the Friends of the Observatory and many guests from the Philadelphia region. On both these occasions refreshments were served in the Manuscripts Room adjoining the exhibition gallery.

Princetoniana Room exhibitions have been devoted to Jonathan Edwards (see Chronicle, XV, No. 2 [Winter 1954], 69-89); "Lotteries in Princeton's History" (based on the article by Philip G.
Nordell, *Chronicle*, XV, No. 1 [Autumn 1955], 16-97); "The Timid Soul and Others," original drawings by H. T. Webster, lent by Mrs. Webster; "Off-Campus Princeton," monotypes by Gwyneth King; and "New and Notable," a selection of books, manuscripts and prints acquired by the Library during the past year.

Exhibits in the Graphic Arts room are described above in the note on the activities of this division. Theatre Collection displays have included "Theatre—U.S.A. and Canada, Summer 1953," and an exhibition of Chinese shadow-play figures selected from the collection of more than 2,500 such pieces in the Gest Oriental Library. These were supplemented by Turkish shadow-play figures lent by Prof. L. V. Thomas and David Richardson. In connection with the display a talk was given, on the afternoon of May 20, by Dr. Hu Shih, honorary curator of the Gest Library, and a demonstration of the shadow-play figures was performed by William E. Weber '54.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

ALICE FORD, editor of *Audubon’s Animals* (1951) and *Audubon’s Butterflies, Moths, and Other Studies* (1952), is preparing a study of the Audubon family.

GEORGE E. LOEBER, at present a member of the Princeton Library staff, was born in China and taught at Yenching University in Peking from 1925 to 1946. His *Giuseppe Castiglione* (Rome, 1940) is a study of the Jesuit painter and architect who worked at the Manchu court from 1715 to 1766.

DOROTHEA KINGSLEY, a resident of Peterborough, New Hampshire, is at work on a book about Ridgely Torrence.

ALLISON DELARUE '28, who has written extensively on the dance, has a fine "Ballet Americana" collection which includes materials on Fanny Elsler.

**New & Notable**

**THE RIDGELY TORRENCE COLLECTION**

Ridgely Torrence, Princeton '97, poet, playwright, editor, was also a born archivist. Records of all sorts fascinated him—old family letters and diaries, genealogical trees, daguerreotypes, Revolutionary and Civil War documents. All of these having already been preserved by his family, were watched over by him throughout his lifetime. In addition, although he lived in New York City and these records were far off in his native Ohio, he gradually added to them his own literary and personal papers. As a very young man, he would send home his correspondence and his manuscripts, week by week, instructing his enthusiastic family to take care of them for him.

Even while he lived in cramped city lodgings, he managed somehow to save leaflets, clippings, programs and everything else that caught his attention, and as all phases of life roused his curiosity, his hoard was remarkably varied. You have the feeling, when looking over his papers, that he could not bear to throw away anything that had once been a part of his life—even the saddest reminders. The most casual memorandum about a Negro song or a humorous story or a scientific oddity was preserved as carefully as those poetic manuscripts of his own which in certain instances he meditated upon and polished for nearly fifty of his seventy-six years.

All of these papers, Ridgely Torrence's own reflecting the first half of our century, his family's going back a hundred years, and those of his wife, Olivia Howard Dunbar, have been gathered together in twenty boxes and two trunks to form the Torrence Collection. The Torrence papers have been given to the Library by the estates of Ridgely and Olivia Dunbar Torrence, through the courtesy of Miss Jessie Ames Dunbar, sister of Mrs. Torrence, and Findley M. Torrence, brother of the poet.¹

¹ Selected items from these papers were shown, through the courtesy of Mrs. Torrence, in the Ridgely Torrence exhibition held in the Library from December 10, 1951 to February 1, 1952. See the *Chronicle*, XII, No. 3 (Spring 1952), 105-106; XIII, No. 3 (Spring 1953), 130-131.
From an imaginative point of view, the highlights of the Collection are the poet’s working manuscripts. Poems can be traced from their genesis in a few lines or prose sentences through, at times, a multitude of revisions, until the final version emerges so inevitably as to disguise completely the meticulous labor that created it. Never was there a more striking record of passionate search for the right word.

The human aspect of the Collection is brought out in Torrence’s hundreds of letters from his family and friends. He was a close friend of William Vaughan Moody, Edwin Arlington Robinson, Robert Frost, Mrs. William Vaughan Moody, Zona Gale, Edgar Lee Masters, Percy MacKaye, William Rose Benét and many other contemporary writers. Frost’s poem “Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening,” sent to Torrence as Poetry Editor of the New Republic, is inscribed “To Ridgely,” and another, “The Passing Glances, To Ridgely Torrence on Last Looking into his Hesperides,” was sent with the mocking injunction that it was not for publication—an injunction that Torrence delightedly overlooked. Robinson, writing of the same book of poems, remarked with characteristic laconic enthusiasm, “They are going to live for a long time.”

The affectionate nature of Ridgely Torrence’s family relationships and friendships is manifest throughout his correspondence as is also his loyal partnership with his wife, the writer Olivia Howard Dunbar, whose personality and career are revealed in her own manuscripts and letters which have been added to the Collection.

Unusual features of the Collection are the bibliography and accompanying scrapbooks assembled by Professor Robert S. Newdick of Ohio State University. Professor Newdick died before his bibliography, as he called it, was completed, but the scrapbooks were kept up to date by Torrence himself. One book consists almost entirely of photographs, for the handsome poet with his angelic look was a favorite subject for photographers and artists. Another book contains clippings marking the unique success of Torrence’s “Plays for a Negro Theater”—the beginning of serious dramatizations of the Negro people.

The great value of the Torrence Collection lies in its duality—it is on the one hand a minute chronicle of the life and writings of a poet and on the other hand it presents an extraordinarily complete picture of his American background. It should be a delight to social and literary historians alike.—DOROTHEA KINGSLAND

CHEVALIER HENRY WIKOFF

The Library has received as a gift from Miss Louise Harshorne a group of manuscript material relating to the Chevalier Henry Wikoff (1812-1884), including thirty-five letters written by Wikoff to his grandfather, Charles I. Hendrickson, of “Locust Wood,” Middletown, New Jersey, and to her aunt, Hendrickson’s daughter, Miss Mary Matilda Hendrickson. The letters date from 1839, when Hendrickson visited Wikoff in Paris, to 1861. They are an invaluable biographical source of the Chevalier’s life, and cover years when his name was less frequently in the press. For example, in a letter dated the twenty-ninth of September, 1871, Henry Wikoff tells of spending several months in Madrid, of visiting the Countess de Montijo, the mother of the Empress Eugénie, and of being made by the King a Knight Commander of the Order of Isabella the Catholic.

Henry Wikoff’s grandfather, Peter Wikoff, looked like George Washington, was clothier general during the American Revolution, and owned one of the show places of the day, “Blockley,” in what is now Blockley Township, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. His father, Henry Wikoff, Sr., was a wealthy and socially prominent Philadelphian. Wikoff spent four years at the Reverend Robert Baird’s academy in Princeton in the ’20s, in preparation for Nassau Hall. After the death of his father in 1826, his guardian, Samuel Price Wetherill, decided the boy should go to Yale. “I doubt if I could have learned less if I had been allowed to linger four years longer in Princeton,” Wikoff wrote in The Reminiscences of an Idler, “and to bask in idleness under the lofty shade of the fine old campus, the pride of the college.”

In June, 1836, Wikoff was admitted to the bar. He was of age and he thought only of going to Europe. Wikoff was already something of a Pelham, a novelty for a Yankee of his day, when everybody else was thinking of making money and railroads. In Lady Blessington’s circle the young man perfected his dandyism under Count d’Orsay. Wikoff made his headquarters in Paris and London for the rest of his life, but he was never an expatriate. He was always on guard for the honor of his country and countrymen abroad, and visited the States almost annually. Wikoff was a personal friend of Prince Louis Bonaparte, was influential in the administrations of Presidents Van Buren, Buchanan, and Abraham Lincoln, was thoroughly acquainted with the Second Empire, and ran many er-
rands for his government, including negotiations for the peaceful evacuation of French soldiers from Mexico after the civil war.

Henry Wikoff first made the headlines in the early '40s. Stephen Price, part lessee of the Park Theatre in New York, asked him to persuade Fanny Elsler, the celebrated danseuse of the romantic ballet, to come to America. Following the death of Manager Price, Wikoff brought Fanny Elsler here in 1840, acted as her friend and impresario, and toured with her in the States and Havana for two years. James Gordon Bennet of the Herald said that Henry Wikoff was our first great impresario, as superior to P. T. Barnum as the Elsler was to the bearded lady.

In the '50s the Chevalier's love of theatricals got out of hand. His romance with Jane C. Gamble, abduction of his fiancée, and trial at Genoa, made sensational news. It was straight melodrama. The story of this piquant escapade was written up in My Courtship and Its Consequences, published in 1855. It sold like wildfire. In 1857 Wikoff published a sequel to this book, The Adventures of a Rowing Diplomatist. Wikoff had been in the employ of the London Foreign Office, and Lord Palmerston had played the villain at Wikoff's trial at Genoa. It was an occasion to give the "Yankee diplomat" the brush. Already talking of an international entendre cœudałe or a U.N., Wikoff was spoiling Lord Palmerston's fun in foreign interference. Wikoff was said to know more backstage secrets of the diplomatic scene here and abroad than any other American. He was working on the second volume of his memoirs, The Reminiscences of an Idler (1880), at the time of his death. Some chapters had been run off; if they turn up, they may solve that mystery of Lincoln scholarship, The Diary of a Public Man. In keeping with the extreme good form of a dandy, the Chevalier Henry Wikoff died at Brighton, the twenty-eighth of April, 1884, and was buried in the Extra-Mural Cemetery, overlooking the Royal Pavilion.—ALLISON DELARUE '88

JOHN DAVIDSON AND ARTHUR SYMONS

The Princeton Library has for a number of years been interested in acquiring material relating to the literary figures of the nineties and during the past few years it has assembled particularly notable collections of the Scottish poet, playwright, and novelist, John Davidson (1857-1900) and Arthur Symons (1865-1945), English critic, poet, playwright, editor, and translator.1 An unusually in-

1 For an account of the Davidson material in the Library, see J. Benjamin Town-
teresting group of additions to those two collections has been received recently from J. Harlin O'Connell '14, who had also included among his numerous previous gifts to the Library a number of important Davidson and Symons items.

The additions to the Davidson collection consist of five first editions, four of which are presentation copies from the author, and a letter written by Davidson in 1904 in which he states that he "would gladly see all the publications of the last fifty years destroyed irreparably, and also the bulk of the literature of the past." The presentation copies are A Full and True Account of the Wondrous Mixture of Earl Lavender, London, 1895, presented to John Lane; Godfrida, New York, 1898, presented to Lionel Hunt; The Last Ballad and other Poems, London, 1899, presented to Edmund Gosse; and Self's the Man, London, 1901, presented to H. Beerbohm Tree.

Arthur Symons is represented in Mr. O'Connell's gift by seven manuscript copies, five first editions, and by Symons's copy of Théophile Gautier's Hémiord de Balzac, Paris, 1859. Among the manuscripts are the copy for the printer of the collection of reprinted essays entitled Figures of Several Centuries (1916), composed of tear sheets with the author's autograph corrections; and corrected page proof of The Fool of the World & Other Poems (1906). The first editions include presentation copies of Symons's first two books, An Introduction to the Study of Browning, London, 1886, presented to Walter Pater; and Days and Nights, London, 1889, inscribed "To A. C. Swinburne Esq. In deepest admiration Arthur Symons."

GEORGE MACANENY PAPERS

The papers of George McAneny (1869-1954), banker and publicist, have been presented to the Library by his widow, Mrs. George McAneny of Princeton. These papers, covering the period from 1883 to 1953, comprise mainly Mr. McAneny's correspondence and related documents connected with his many activities on behalf of the City of New York. A few of the institutions, causes and activities which engaged his attention were Civil Service reform, the development of the New York subways system, the preservation of historic sites, zoning, the Carl Schurz Memorial Commis-

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sion, the Russell Sage Foundation, and the New York World's Fair, 1939-1940. Mr. McAneny was Borough President of Manhattan, 1910-1913; he served as executive manager of the New York Times; was a member of the board of directors of numerous New York corporations, a trustee of the College of the City of New York, and lecturer on municipal government at Yale University and at Union College. The papers presented to the Library reflect all phases of Mr. McAneny's active and useful career.

JAMES MONTGOMERY BECK PAPERS

Through the generosity of James M. Beck, Class of 1914, the Library has acquired the papers of his father, James Montgomery Beck (1861-1936), lawyer, publicist, and political figure, who served in Congress as a Republican from 1917 to 1933, and who was Assistant Attorney General of the United States from 1900 to 1903, and Solicitor General from 1921 to 1925. Beck's opposition to the governmental policies of the 1930's, which led him to resign his seat in Congress, was the author of such books as The Passing of the New Freedom (1920), Vanishing Rights of the States (1927), and Our Wonderland of Bureaucracy (1933). The Beck Papers include his voluminous correspondence, his writings from 1893 to 1936 either in printed or manuscript form, and an extensive collection of clippings covering his entire professional career.

Biblia

DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY

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Summer 1954

ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Friends was held in the Library on May 17. A meeting of the Council preceded the informal supper served in the Staff Lounge to members and their guests. A public lecture by Padraic Colum on William Butler Yeats and Irish poetry, in the Faculty Lounge, was followed by a visit to the exhibitions and by refreshments in the Manuscripts Room.

NEEDS

The first issue of Needs: An Occasional Discursive List of Books and Manuscripts Earnestly Desired by the Library appeared in April 1954. This bulletin, to be "published from time to time by the Needs Committee of the Friends of the Library," of which William S. Dix is chairman, calls attention to "not only rare books and manuscripts, but also other research material urgently needed for the University's program and for which regularly budgeted funds are not available." Since it hardly seems fair," Mr. Dix states, "to make the regular subscribers to the Chronicle pay for printing lists of our wants, Needs will go only to the Friends, who presumably are more interested in the satisfaction that comes from helping the Library than in getting their money's worth in material things." Several Friends have already contributed to the purchase of items listed in the first issue of Needs; a detailed re-
port on these contributions will appear in the second issue of the bulletin.

CONTRIBUTIONS

Contributions totaling $610.00 have been received from four Friends for various purposes. John G. Buchanan '99 increased the amount available for purchase of the Great English Books still unrepresented in the Library; his contribution also created a special fund for books by his classmate Samuel Shellabarger '99. From Sinclair Hamilton '06 came a contribution which balanced the amount paid to Padraic Colum for his lecture on the evening of the annual meeting. A separate fund for Princetoniana has been established by C. O. V. Kienbusch '06. Dr. Louis C. West continued to support the special fund for the purchase of coins and of books on numismatics. Several Friends are among the contributors to the new endowed fund created as a memorial to Thomas Riggs, Jr. '97.

GIFTS

E. Duff Balken '97 has presented the log book of the schooner Enterprise kept on a voyage from Mobile, Alabama, to New York, in 1880, and also an edition of Alciati's Emblematum, Antwerp, 1608. Sinclair Hamilton '06 has added some forty items to the Hamilton Collection of American Illustrated Books. R. Sturgis Ingersoll '14 has given a group of letters from Jared Ingersoll to his son Charles Jared Ingersoll, written from Philadelphia in 1757-1760 while Charles was a student at Princeton, together with other manuscript items relating to the latter's years at Nassau Hall.


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The Friends of the Princeton Library, founded in 1905, is an association of bibliophiles and scholars interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has purchased gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other materials which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to anyone subscribing annually five dollars or more. Checks payable to Princeton University should be addressed to the Treasurer, Mrs. Frederick Henry Alsop, 239 University Avenue, iv.

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