John Notman, Architect

BY FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT

A SCALY-LEAVED juniper, many-branched shrub from Kashmir, a cedar of Lebanon, the noblest evergreen tree of the Old World, a great show of rhododendrons, and a well-developed Siberian arboretum were part of the horticultural prospect in 1855 at "Woodlawn," the Princeton residence of Professor Richard Stockton Field. The trees and shrubs of "Woodlawn" surrounded a very fine Italianate house, a delight of the college town. Its mention, therefore, by Henry Winthrop Sargent, in a sixth edition of A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening, Adapted to North America; with a View to the Improvement of Country Residences (New York, 1859), the work of the late Andrew Jackson Downing, merely multiplied the admirers of this milestone in American taste. The landscaping at "Woodlawn" had a studied, albeit natural, beauty and carried the towered villa of the proprietor to its conclusion as a true country seat. It was an achieved work of art. Professor Field's villa, about which the garden and park had been accomplished, was designed by John Notman, the "bottle-deck" Philadelphia architect who rebuilt Nassau Hall after the fire of 1855 and gave Princeton a series of imposing houses.¹

A J. Downing, nurseryman-cum-landscape architect, who lavished many professional blessings on "Woodlawn" and made a

Edinburgh on July 22, 1810, but much of his childhood was spent in a soft grey-green landscape at Lasswade, a village six miles south of the city. His father, David Notman, worked in the stone quarry on the adjoining estate of "Fernside" and according to family tradition was employed upon the construction of the Bonally Reservoir created when the Bonally ponds in the Pentlands were brought into the water supply for the city in 1822 as part of the Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company.

The gardener at "Fernside," Adam Catonach, was also in charge of the gardens at Arith Castle and was the father of Archibald Catonach, a stone mason who married John Notman's sister Margaret and later became associated with the Philadelphia architect. "Fernside" would have been familiar to young Notman and so would other Adam houses not far away, "The Drum" at Gilmerton, "Yester House" at Gifford, and "Mellerstain." Here was plenty of architectural inspiration. Of his formal training, however, there is but a sketchy account. An anonymous early biographer, probably his widow or a close relative, noted that young Notman "attended the School of Arts in Edinburgh, well known to all sojourners in that romantic city as the 'Royal Institution on the Mound.'" He was apprenticed, the account continues, to a builder for four years and was then employed by an architect on a castle he was building in the Highlands of Scotland, and afterward on a similar work in the North of Ireland. Another family tradition indicates that part of Notman's apprenticeship was in London, under Michael Angelo Nicholson (died 1842) at his school of "architecture and perspective" in Melton Place, Easton Square. Nicholson, son of the great mathematician and builder-architect, Peter Nicholson, was a friend and probably a relative of the Notman family. Back in Edinburgh,

Edinburgh on July 22, 1810, but much of his childhood was spent in a soft grey-green landscape at Lasswade, a village six miles south of the city. His father, David Notman, worked in the stone quarry on the adjoining estate of "Fernside" and according to family tradition was employed upon the construction of the Bonally Reservoir created when the Bonally ponds in the Pentlands were brought into the water supply for the city in 1822 as part of the Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company.

The gardener at "Fernside," Adam Catonach, was also in charge of the gardens at Arith Castle and was the father of Archibald Catonach, a stone mason who married John Notman's sister Margaret and later became associated with the Philadelphia architect. "Fernside" would have been familiar to young Notman and so would other Adam houses not far away, "The Drum" at Gilmerton, "Yester House" at Gifford, and "Mellerstain." Here was plenty of architectural inspiration. Of his formal training, however, there is but a sketchy account. An anonymous early biographer, probably his widow or a close relative, noted that young Notman "attended the School of Arts in Edinburgh, well known to all sojourners in that romantic city as the 'Royal Institution on the Mound.'" He was apprenticed, the account continues, to a builder for four years and was then employed by an architect on a castle he was building in the Highlands of Scotland, and afterward on a similar work in the North of Ireland. Another family tradition indicates that part of Notman's apprenticeship was in London, under Michael Angelo Nicholson (died 1842) at his school of "architecture and perspective" in Melton Place, Easton Square. Nicholson, son of the great mathematician and builder-architect, Peter Nicholson, was a friend and probably a relative of the Notman family. Back in Edinburgh,

Edinburgh on July 22, 1810, but much of his childhood was spent in a soft grey-green landscape at Lasswade, a village six miles south of the city. His father, David Notman, worked in the stone quarry on the adjoining estate of "Fernside" and according to family tradition was employed upon the construction of the Bonally Reservoir created when the Bonally ponds in the Pentlands were brought into the water supply for the city in 1822 as part of the Edinburgh Joint Stock Water Company.

The gardener at "Fernside," Adam Catonach, was also in charge of the gardens at Arith Castle and was the father of Archibald Catonach, a stone mason who married John Notman's sister Margaret and later became associated with the Philadelphia architect. "Fernside" would have been familiar to young Notman and so would other Adam houses not far away, "The Drum" at Gilmerton, "Yester House" at Gifford, and "Mellerstain." Here was plenty of architectural inspiration. Of his formal training, however, there is but a sketchy account. An anonymous early biographer, probably his widow or a close relative, noted that young Notman "attended the School of Arts in Edinburgh, well known to all sojourners in that romantic city as the 'Royal Institution on the Mound.'" He was apprenticed, the account continues, to a builder for four years and was then employed by an architect on a castle he was building in the Highlands of Scotland, and afterward on a similar work in the North of Ireland. Another family tradition indicates that part of Notman's apprenticeship was in London, under Michael Angelo Nicholson (died 1842) at his school of "architecture and perspective" in Melton Place, Easton Square. Nicholson, son of the great mathematician and builder-architect, Peter Nicholson, was a friend and probably a relative of the Notman family. Back in Edinburgh,
the lad's friends included the decorative painter, John Gibson, apprentice to David Ramsay Hay, the leading contemporary interior decorator of Edinburgh and author of *The Laws of Harmonious Colouring Adapted to House Painting* (1828). Like the gardener's son at "Fernside," Gibson became Notman's brother-in-law and associate in Philadelphia.

The anonymous early biographer tells us that Notman arrived in Philadelphia in 1831, a date echoed in all subsequent accounts. His family knows that he returned to Edinburgh in 1839 to bring his mother, three sisters, and brother Peter to America. They landed at Philadelphia on April 1, 1834, on the steamship "Susquehanna," from Liverpool, young Notman appearing in the ship's manifest as "carpenter." This is the first definite record of his physical existence in Philadelphia. Perhaps John Notman attended the architecture classes of the Franklin Institute, but most of his technical training was already acquired; he may have lived in 1835 with his brother-in-law, Catanach, then a Philadelphia "carpenter"; there is a possibility that he was working in Burlington, New Jersey.

The architect emerges, however, in May, 1836, in the architectural competition for Laurel Hill Cemetery with his designs for a Doric gate in brownstone and as designer of the romantic planting for the entire cemetery. Here, on a hill of natural beauty overlooking the Schuylkill and on "dry soil," John Jay Smith and the young Scot laid out a garden cemetery, "secure from the idle gaze of heartless passengers" where "one specimen at least of every valuable tree and shrub which will bear the climate" would be grown. Notman designed the walls, the receiving vault, and, in 1836, the Gothic chapel, and received commissions to design many pieces of important and fanciful cemetery sculpture. His ability as a creator of sculpture was to be further demonstrated in church pulpits and fonts and in his projected Washington monument for Richmond, Virginia. No ordinary carpenter-architect was this.

Immediately in the wake of Laurel Hill came commissions described by Professor Smith: "Riverside," a pioneer villa in the Tuscan mode, and the Gothic revival Holy Innocents' Chapel of St. Mary's Hall, both at Burlington, and Nathan Dunn's Chinese cottage at Mount Holly. The attribution to Notman of Eliza Gurney's Burlington residence is vague, but he likely drew plans for another house in Burlington, the cottage of the Rev. Cordelia Van Rensselaer, an edifice remarkably similar to "Riverside." The house he designed for Dr. Joseph Peace, described as at Bordentown, seems to have been across the river at Bristol. The architect was interested equally in the two "schools" of architectural inspiration, the graceful and the picturesque, and attempted to carry out in his designs for houses and the grounds

the Gothic structure housing statues of "Old Mortality" and his pony and of Sir Walter Scott, all mentioned in Smith's Guide; also the classic monument to Captain Lavalet, U. S. N., illustrated as Plate XV in John Jay Smith, *Designs for Monuments and Mural Tablets: Adapted to Rural Cemeteries, Church Yards, Churches and Chapels*, New York, 1836, a "rich and imposing" Gothic monument erected to the memory of three sisters, and the canopy altar tomb of Mrs. George Leib Harrison, which supports a life-size image of a lamb reposing on a cross. See R. A. Smith, *Philadelphia as It Is in 1839*, Philadelphia, 1842, pp. 460, 551.

Notman's sketch of the font for the Church of the Messiah was sent to John Bohlen, April 11, 1838 (letter in Dreer Collection, "Architects and Sculptors," Historical Society of Pennsylvania). The American Institute of Architects Collection, deposited in the Historical Society, contains Notman's sketch for a classical Washington monument for Richmond, dated August 4, 1836, and his sketches of pulpits for St. Mark's and Holy Trinity Churches in Philadelphia, as well as many sets of his elevations and floor plans for various important structures.

Joseph Jackson, *Early Philadelphia Architects and Engineers*, Philadelphia, 1893, p. 485. This source contains many small errors and confusion, "West Hill," the residence of Eliza Gurney in 1874, if this is the same house, was built much earlier, about 1800, by Samuel Ennen. See Recollections of John Jay Smith, pp. 18, 19.

Photograph Np.1604 J1, Library of the Department of Architecture, Harvard University.

The rendition of the name by Jackson, p. 281, is misspelled as "Peace" in footnote 96 of Smith, *John Notman and the Athenæum Building*, Joseph Peace, Jr., M.D. (1807-1853), was physician to the Wills Hospital and a Fellow of the College of Physicians, Philadelphia, who lived at Bristol. See University of Pennsylvania *Biographical Catalogue of the Matriculants of the College... 1772-1859*, Philadelphia, 1865, p. 78. His brother, Edward Peace, M.D. (1811-1879), built in 1853, near Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, "Annaudale," a bracketed villa with Italianate detailing, which has recently been demolished but is illustrated in Henry Graham Ainslie, *History of Delaware County, Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1883, p. 69. This may well have been by Notman.

130

131
which contained them the domestic air of the former and the romantic imagery of the latter.

Although he was unsuccessful in a competition held by St. Luke’s Church, Philadelphia, in March, 1896, Norman’s growing income allowed him to take part in the life of his city. In 1897 he was elected a member of the St. Andrew’s Society of Philadelphia and in 1840 a shareholder of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia, the library for which he drew plans in a competition held in that year and for which he subsequently designed the Italian Renaissance palace structure which has since been its home.

18 From a real estate promoter, a fellow Scot, he bought a lot in Spruce Street, above Broad, in 1898, and within two years was living in the newly erected brick row house which was his residence and office until his death. Here in 1891 came his bride, Martha (Pullen) Anners (1864-1870), who joined her husband in collecting pictures, even as his far wealthier clients were doing.

While advancing his own career, Norman took care of his family. Most of the decorating and building contracts for his structures were given to his brothers-in-law, John Gibson painted the interiors of the Athenaeum and St. Mark’s Church in Philadelphia—the first church in town designed for the full Anglican ritual and Norman’s proudest achievement—and the Gibson firm produced the stained glass for nearly all of Norman’s churches. Catanauch likewise built all the woodwork in St. Mark’s and directed the construction of St. Clement’s Church before he settled at Devault, Pennsylvania, and quarried the green serpentine stone used so widely in West Philadelphia. The architect repeatedly observed ornamental castings and sometimes structural iron from Tasker and Morris of Philadelphia, with whom he had worked out the “fireproof” character of the utilitarian but ugly Academy of Natural Sciences, an early commission of 1859. Stephen P. Morris, one of the partners, engaged Norman in September, 1850, to design for him a house on the foundry grounds in Southwark, Philadelphia. Two plans were submitted, one of a plain but tasteful dwelling with a porte-cochère, entirely Regency in character and one of Norman’s two surviving designs in this style; the second was for a Swiss chalet residence with bracket roof, again employing a classical carriage porch and a blank wall which must have backed onto a foundry building. The house is no longer standing and which plan was finally chosen is not known.

Norman’s reputation spread and between 1840 and 1850 he worked not only in Pennsylvania and New Jersey but also in Delaware and Virginia, and may have executed commissions in Massachusetts and New York. His notable domestic efforts at Princeton, John Potter Stockton’s house at 85 Stockton Street (1845), “Woodlawn” (1848), “Ivy Hall” (1847), and “Prospect” (1848), stand today as the most complete Norman fabric in any American community. “Ivy Hall” is an English Gothic cottage but the others, like the bygone “Glencairn” at Trenton and the still imposing “Dunleith” and “Boothhurst” outside New Castle, Delaware, are all Tuscan villas. The latter medium Norman carried into his three most important country houses near Philadelphia: “Medary,” built in 1847-1848 for Harry Ingersoll, “Fern Hill,” erected in 1840-1850 for Henry Pratt McKean, and “Alverthorpe,” put up in 1850-1851 by Joshua Francis Fisher.

19 Some of the iron used in New Jersey buildings came from Cooper and Hewitt at Trenton. See Smith, “John Norman’s Nassau Hall,” pp. 53-57.

20 The American Institute of Architects Collection contains an ink drawing of the front and flank elevations of the first design and two water colors representing all four elevations and the facades of the two roofs of the second design.

21 I have been unable to verify Norman’s reputed connection with St. Bartholomew’s Church, New York (although a drawing of a floor plan labeled with its location in the American Institute of Architects Collection, with “Belmont Place” (1846), the residence of John P. Cushing, Watertown, Massachusetts, both attributed to him by Jackson, p. 281; or with the “bank near Boston” claimed for him by Historical Catalogue, p. 300.)
Ingersoll built at what is today called Fern Rock, on the northern outskirts of Philadelphia, at Green Lane and Old Second Street Road, close to “Champlin,” the eighteenth-century seat of a close friend which A. J. Downing found admirable. Ingersoll’s land had the “quiet sylvan beauty of English scenery” and Notman’s house, “the handsomest country residence [imaginable] in cottage style,” completed in October, 1848,22 was soon surrounded by a walled flower garden, plant cabinet, greenhouse, vineyard, and “some new peach and orchard-houses.” A herd of fine cattle completed the pastoral picture.23

“Medary,” built of local stone, was of curiously conventional Georgian design, with Italianate bracketed hoods appearing only over the principal doors, although a loggia employed a glass-filled colonnade and Tuscan chimney stacks and a glassed cupola were in evidence on the roof. A balustraded terrace was installed to abut on the walled flower garden. The most remarkable feature of the house as it appeared in later years was a bracketed mansard roof. If the roof dated from the beginning, it was one of the very first so conceived in the United States.24

Downing was also on the scene and from the beginning. Ingersoll, before he went to Notman, employed Downing for one day in the fall of 1847 for advice about the grounds, and Downing gave two days’ professional assistance to Joshua Francis Fisher, who had bought land near Jenkintown as a site for a large house.25 He came down from Newburgh again in November, 1849, to help lay out the grounds of the projected “Alverthorpe”—Fisher had been planting his 150-acre farm for a year but Notman had not yet designed the house—and to help Charles Henry Fisher pick a site for his future residence, “Brookwood,” just planned by Gervase Wheeler, a young architect fresh from London.26

The McKean house, “Fern Hill,” demolished in 1913, was the first of several Notman houses in Germantown, an area in which Notman’s tradition was widely continued by his pupil, George

22 Entry of October 25, 1848 in the diary of Sidney George Fisher, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The diary first mentions work on the house on August 27, 1849. Miss Anna Warren Ingersoll, Penllyn, Pennsylvania, has supplied important information about “Medary.”


24 “Medary,” now demolished, stood on the present corner of Sixty-fourth Avenue and Seventh Street in North Philadelphia. The description of the house comes from a photograph supplied by Mrs. George Lunnells, Philadelphia, a later owner of the estate.

25 Fisher diary, November 1, 1847.

26 Ibid., November 3, 1849. November 23, 1849; August 16, 1850.
Wattson Hewitt (1841-1916), under the patronage of Henry Howard Houston, a Pennsylvania Railroad executive who developed sections of Germantown and Chestnut Hill as a suburban residential community. Early in 1892, Joshua Francis Fisher occupied "Alverthorpe," whose interior was rich in marbelized columns and pilasters and decorated ceilings, nineteen feet in height on the ground floor, reminiscent of the Athenaeum. The mansion was connected with a greenhouse by "a sort of cloister, or gallery" and the grounds gave ample scope to the botanical and agricultural interests of the owner, much as "Woodlawn" did for Field at Princeton. Ingersoll, McKean, and Fisher were active in the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society and all had a developed architectural taste. The plans for all their houses included triple round-arched windows, arcades, a tower, and Florentine chimneys with ornamental cut stone heads, but each one reflects individual variations from Noman's portfolio of stock designs. One of these, "Design IX: A cottage in the Italian, or Tuscan style," was printed for popular consumption in Downing's Cottage Residences (New York, 1842).

This design could be utilized in brick and cement or wood construction; in the first it was estimated to cost three thousand dollars, but Downing added that it "has been executed in a more elegant and costly manner near Philadelphia."14

82 "Fern Hill" stood at the southeast corner of Wissahickon Avenue and Abbotstown Road; the site is now a park. A smaller house built on the property by McKean in 1839 may have been by Noman. "Hefy's villa," built by Noman (Jackson, p. 131), was a three-story house of English Tudor derivation erected sometime between 1841 and 1840 by Francis Hefy and now numbered 6024 Wayne Avenue (see Philadelphia Deed Books RSW-150, p. 75, and AGHH-12, p. 690). The ground floor has been extensively altered. The adjoining house, 430 Walnut Lane, built also about 1840 for John Wyckoff Gibbs on the same tract, was undoubtedly by Noman; it has been removed, but photographs of it have been supplied by Mrs. Frederick H. Pough, New York, New York. For the great art collector, Joseph William Bates, Noman built a villa "in the neighborhood of Philadelphia" (Historical Catalogue, p. 204) which may have been in Germantown. Also adjoining "Hefy's villa" is St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church, whose plans were drawn at the instigation of H. H. Houston in 1839, eight years after Noman's death, by his student, Hewitt; Noman's nephew, Adam A. Catanzar, built the edifice (see Theodore S. Rumney and Charles Bullock, History of St. Peter's Church, Germantown, in the City of Philadelphia, Pa., Germantown, 1857, pp. 5-6). Hewitt went on to design houses in Germantown and Chestnut Hill, including the latter's own residence, "Drum Moir," the Wissahickon Inn, and the Church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields (see Philadelphia and Popular Philadelphians, Philadelphia, 1831, p. 237). Fisher diary, December 31, 1851. The exterior and interior are illustrated as Plates 60 and 59 in Harold E. Dickson, A Hundred Pennsylvania Buildings, State College, Pa. (1954).

14 The American Institute of Architects Collection contains Noman's charming...
In 1849, while the country houses of Ingersoll and McKean near Philadelphia and the Episcopal Academy, an Elizabethan school structure in the city, were being erected, John Notman provided the plans for a brick town house in Richmond, Virginia. His client was Gustavus A. Myers, lawyer, writer, and historian of mountaineering. Several of the details of the Italian cottage designs published by Downing were included in the Myers house, which stood until 1900 at 287 Governor Street: a two-story projecting bay on either side of the entrance door in the street façade, a classical portico below the Italian balcony and the long triple windows of the second story. The roof was slightly projected and had a dentailed rather than a bracket trim. Myers had a home two years earlier, in 1847, a founder of Hollywood Cemetery. He knew Notman because the architect of Laurel Hill had also created the mortuary garden in Richmond.

In the fall of 1847 Notman was engaged to come to Richmond to lay out the pleasure grounds of Huguenot Springs, a spa and hotel to be erected at Midlothian in Powhatan County, fifteen miles up the James River from the capital. At this time the directors of the new Mount Vernon Cemetery asked Notman to prepare a plan for a rural, decorated burying ground. His drawing was received in February, 1848, "after great pains taken to bring out all the beauties of which the site of the Cemetery was capable," and Notman's suggestion to rename the place for the great holly trees growing on the land was adopted. A local engineer carefully carried John Notman's plan into execution. Under watercolor, dated May, 1849, of "No. V. Villa for J. S.," a small eclectic country house on a cross plan with overhanging bracketed roof, a balustraded Corinthian portico, and a pagoda-like porch. A strong Regency feeling is present in another elevation in the same collection of a larger house with long colonnade topped by a second-story balustraded porch running the length of the front façade. A one-story conservatory is appended to the house. Other unidentified house plans by Notman are dated 1848, October 9, 1851, and June, 1852, and his designs for unidentified churches and a theater are included as well.

The portico and regular lines were planned to keep the house in harmony with the adjoining Georgian residence of Myers' father. It is illustrated in Mary Wingfield Scott, Old Richmond Neighborhoods, Richmond, 1950, p. 60. Attribution to Notman is by Jackson, p. 192.

The hotel was a Confederate hospital during the Civil War. It burned shortly after 1900. The property, including the sulphur springs and a few cottages which still exist, is privately owned. The plans figures in C. F. E. Burckhout's novel, The Huguenot Lioness, A Tale of the Old Dominion, Richmond, 1886.

1 Thomas H. Ellis, Historical Sketch of Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, 1879, a pamphlet in the Valentine Museum, Richmond. To Mrs. Ralph Catterall, Curator of Prints and Manuscripts, I owe thanks for details of the Notman commissions in Virginia.

Fortunately, due to a lack of funds, his plan to put a bell tower and other accessories on the brick house near the entrance which had been taken over as a superintendent's lodge was not adopted.

The Philadelphia left one further mark in Richmond. He furnishes a plan, for the sum of two hundred dollars, for the landscaping of the neglected west side of the Capitol Square. Naturally, it was in the romantic style and soon irregularly spaced native trees and grassy lawns bisected by winding paths, and broken by contrived vistas, provided the striking contrast with the prim quality of the eastern half, a contrast for which Notman had striven. The square, ornamented by a monument to Washington (Notman's design for this piece of sculpture had not been adopted), became a popular promenade.

The reputation Notman earned in Richmond garnered new commissions in his home state. To the good list of Notman churches mentioned by Professor Smith's "St. Peter's in Pittsburgh (1851), a sandstone church in the Decorated Gothic style, has been added by James D. Van Trump. Three additional Gothic structures by Notman may be newly added here. The Church of St. James the Less, Philadelphia, was erected in 1848-1849 by the architect. Its plan was derived from the design of the Church of St. Michael's, Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire. The Church of the Messiah, Port Richmond, Philadelphia, was planned by Notman in 1847, and the simple and functional brick-constructed Church of the Annunciation, Philadelphia, was erected in 1860-1862 for a struggling Roman Catholic parish."

A Lithograph "Plan of Hollywood Cemetery, Richmond, Va.," printed by F. S. Durand, Philadelphia, and inserted in the 1849 Richmond directory, contains a vignette of the lodge elevation, but it was never erected as designed by Notman.


The book is in the Library of the School of Architecture, Harvard University.

The Pennsylvania Railroad occupied in October, 1857, a new building at South Third Street and Willings Alley in Philadelphia, a four-story structure of "Albert free brownstone," from New Brunswick in Canada, designed by Notman. Like other Notman buildings, its windows terminated in round arches and it had a bracketed roof. Top of the pediment was an unusual crescent-shaped block of stone in which was cut a locomotive and a fire engine. Carried across the front façade below the pediment was a series of friezes of the kind Frank Furness was soon to make its trademark. A number of town houses may likewise be attributed to John Notman. At about the time he designed the brownstone Athenaeum building in Philadelphia in 1845, he is said to have created the "first brownstone residence" in the city. This, says Joseph Jackson, was "a dwelling for one of the Ingersolls'; he pictures it at the five-story Florentine structure at 524 Walnut Street. The anonymous early biographer gives, however, what is undoubtedly a more accurate statement of the commission, as a Walnut Street office for attorney Charles Wallace Brooke, who first appears in 1845 at what was later 522 Walnut Street. The original rectory of St. Mark's Church, Philadelphia, a stepped gabled house built of green serpentine stone with limestone trim, was a superb and significant experiment by Notman in the "pointed Tudor" style. Notman moved from the church up Locust Street to the factory and then came down the south side of the same wide residential thoroughfare, laying harmoniously ornamented brownstone fronts on the residence of Henry Carpenter Dallatt at 1618 Locust Street and on the houses on either side of Dallatt. Then, at the end of the fifties, came the bulk of the Notman villas in Germantown.

Not true town houses but suburban residences, this German-town group—there are undoubtedly more than can now be identified—by its spirit—by its spirit of the 'human interest'—in all likelihood reflects some of the ideas acquired by the architect when he and Mrs. Notman went home to Scotland and on a Continental tour in 1853, the year after the architect's younger sister died horribly with A. J. Downing in the burning of the steamer "Henry Clay" in the Hudson River. The spacious house of Francis Heyl is far more interesting than the narrow cottage ornamented by a solitary Gothic window and carved wooden verge board which Notman is said to have designed at Norristown, Pennsylvania, for Robert Iredell, newspaper publisher and postmaster of the borough.

In the true city houses of two men of great wealth, Notman had more satisfactory commissions. During the last year of his life, and soon after drawing the plans for the parish school of St. Clement's Church on May 8, 1864, the architect was engaged by distiller Henry C. Gibson to build a house in West Philadelphia, at the corner of Forty-second and Walnut Streets. The brownstone mansion of John T. Taitt, like Gibson and many other Notman patrons, a collector of contemporary landscape and genre pictures, went up at the same time at 1518 Walnut Street and was the last work of the architect.

John Notman died on March 3, 1865, and was buried in his own Laurel Hill Cemetery. He had completed only three decades of work in his adopted country but stood forth a leading architect and landscape designer, a preceptor of the Italian Renaissance revival, and a major inspiration to the good taste and educated, imaginative perspective which were being slowly developed in the United States.  

88 See footnote 32.
89 Jackson, p. 221. The house, at 16 West Airy Street, may date from 1846, Iredell occupied it before 1863. "Colonialized" beyond recognition, it is the law office of Thomas H. W. Jones, who has a photograph of it in its original condition. A local house with a strong Notman flavor very similar to Downing's "irregular villa in the Italian style, bracketed," is the present "Belvoir," residence of Frederick Shill, Jr., 347 Hill Road, near Norristown, built about 1854 for Israel Franklin Whiting, a New Jersey glass manufacturer recently returned from an Italian trip; it was constructed of pink stone which, according to tradition, had to be replaced after the first winter.  
90 Jackson, p. 225. Gibson first appears here in the 1855 directory.  
91 Jackson, p. 221. The anonymous early biographer says it was Notman's last work and Taitt occupied it in 1866. It was later the Middle City Bank.

92 His professional descendants today who owe so much to the Scots-Philadelphian architect may be glad to know that John Notman joined in the founding of the American Institute of Architects (see Edward M. Upjohn, Richard Upjohn, Architect and Churchman, New York, 1899, p. 160). Notman was one of eleven American architects invited by thirteen New York colleagues, under the leadership of Upjohn, to join in the founding in 1857. He may have been a member of the earlier American Institution of Architects, founded in 1837.
Lawrence's Portrait of Cowper

BY CHARLES KYSKAMP

In 1792 William Cowper sat twice for portrait painters: for Lemuel Abbott in July, and a month later for Romney. At that time he wrote to a near relation: “The picture of me by Abbott is reck'n'd here a most exact likeness, and since that was drawn I have sat to Romney whom I met at Mr. Hayley's. His performance also is reck'n'd a most striking resemblance. I have now been sufficiently copied, and hope to have nothing more to do with painters.” But he did. Scarcely a year had passed before his friend Samuel Rose, a young barrister, brought Thomas Lawrence to Cowper's house in Buckinghamshire. “Yet once more is my patience to be exercised,” Cowper wrote, “and once more I am made to wish that my face had been movable, to put on and take off at pleasure, so as to be portable in a bandbox, and sent to the artist.” Lawrence was only twenty-four, and many years away from a knighthood and the presidency of the Royal Academy. The portrait, which was done for Rose, was enthusiastically received by all of Cowper’s relatives. His cousin Lady Hesketh wrote to the poet William Hayley: “Nothing can equal, as a resemblance, (in my opinion) the Sketch done by Lawrence! if the Painter had not lessen’d the Softness of the countenance by heightening [sic] the Animation, it wou’d have been perfect—all his old acquaintance are enchanted with it.”

Lawrence’s sketch was shown at the exhibition of the Royal Academy in 1795. In the half-century which followed it became well-known to all educated Englishmen. It was engraved again and again for periodicals or biographies and as a frontispiece to editions of Cowper’s poems. The early engravings are especially significant in the history of Cowper portraiture. They may help to authenticate the original sketch which has been missing or unidentified for many years. In November, 1799, a month after Lawrence did the portrait, Cowper told John Johnson: “You will not be displeased to learn that Lawrence’s sketch of me is to be engraved by Bartolozzi, though for private use only.” This engraving does not seem to have been made, however, until 1799. At the very beginning of 1800 Lady Hesketh wrote to John Johnson: “Let me ask dear Johnny if you are not quite Enchanted with the Incomparable Engraving from Lawrence’s charming sketch of our dear Cousin? . . . Never most certainly was there so much Countenance expressed in a Print . . . it is Engraved in a Superior Style and has met with the perfect and entire approbation of all the connoisseurs.” Only a few impressions were taken to be given to members of the family, and to a few of the friends who were also great admirers of the poet. So this “Incomparable Engraving,” by the most celebrated engraver of that day in England, has become exceedingly rare.

In the spring of 1801 the drawing by Lawrence was engraved for The Monthly Mirror. It was announced in the April 1801 issue (p. 218) as “from an original drawing by Lawrence,” and a mediocre engraving by Ridley appeared as the frontispiece to the following number. During November of that year Hayley requested the original sketch so that it could be engraved by Blake for Hayley’s life of Cowper. When Hayley had an opportunity to compare the drawing with Bartolozzi’s engraving his conclusions were rather different from Lady Hesketh’s. “The inestimable drawing is safely arriv’d . . . Good heaven! how superior in Truth of Character is the drawing to the Print!—Well might Lawrence be displeas’d with the Engraver, famous & admirable, in many points, as He is allow’d to be!—Bartolozzi is so accustom’d to make things pretty, that He has undesignedly given a sort of pretty finical perversity to those Features of our dear Bard, which in Lawrence’s drawing express tranquill Intelligence, & modest Penetration, as they did in the living original.” At the end of 1801 Hayley reported that Blake had completed his work on the engraving from Lawrence’s sketch, and that it was “infininitely Superior to Bartolozzi’s in tender Fidelity to the Character.”

1 The Poems of William Cowper, ed. J. C. Bailey, London [1905], p. 95 (letter to Maria Frances Cecilia Mадam Cowper, September 24, 1799).
5 The Exhibition of the Royal Academy, M.DCC.XCV, London [1795], No. 596.
8 [1] have not seen any in public collections, and have only heard vague reports of one or two existing in private collections.
10 Add. Ms. 5808 A 37 (letter to Lady Hesketh, December 7, 1801). In 1801 the drawing was in the possession of Lady Hesketh, who sent it to Hayley: Hayley, Memoirs, London, 1833, II, 124.
ter of the original." After Blake had finished with the drawing it was to be returned to Samuel Rose. And after that we hear nothing about the possible location of the original portrait until 1801.

Nevertheless, in the years 1802-1806 it may again have gone into Bartolozzi's hands. Otherwise he made new versions of the portrait from his earlier private printing, for engravings by Bartolozzi were published on May 1, 1805 by William Miller of Albemarle Street and on January 1, 1806 by J. Johnson of St. Paul's Church Yard. The engraving of 1805 shows the clothing finished almost to the waist; the portrait is within a rectangular frame. The print of 1806 is a vignette; below the shoulders there is only rough sketching, though two buttons and a buttonhole have been added which are not present in the Blake and Ridley engravings; the tassel on the cap is fuller, the collar on the left side made to balance that on the right more exactly.

Before the discovery of the rare private printing of the Bartolozzi engraving, we have had to be content with Kenneth Povey's conclusions concerning the most accurate representation of the lost Lawrence portrait:

Ridley's version cannot have been copied from Blake's on account of its date, and it has nearly all the points by which Blake differs from Bartolozzi. It must therefore be derived independently from the original, and its faithfulness in detail is confirmed by Blake. The shape and expression of the features, however, differ from Bartolozzi's, and still more from Blake's presentation of them... There are many other engravings purporting to be after Lawrence besides these three, but none of them has any real claim to first-hand authority, so that Ridley's portrait must be accepted in default of the original as the truest extant representation of Lawrence's sketch.13

In 1951 Douglas Goldring tentatively attributed to Lawrence a pencil drawing (8¼ by 6¼ inches) of Cowper in the possession of the Hon. John Fremantle. An old label on the back of the frame bore the following inscription:

12 Add. Ms. 5805 B, f. 85 (letter to Lady Hesketh, December 20, 1800). Blake's engraving was published November 5, 1804 by J. Johnson, St. Paul's Church Yard; used as a frontispiece to Volume 2 of Hayley's Life, and Posthumous Writings, of William Cowper, Esq., Chichester, 1809-04.
13 Add. Ms. 5808 B, f. 42 (Lady Hesketh to Hayley, May 4th, 1804).
14 [Kenneth Povey], "Lawrence and Cowper," The Times, May 6, 1950, p. 19.

This drawing of William Cowper Esqre... was given me by my dear departed friend Lady Clarges the last time I saw her in the Spring of 1809—she had permitted me to have a copy taken of the drawing the year preceding, she now said... she wished to give the original to a person whom she was pleased to think worthy of it—She was not certain whether the drawing was taken by Lawrence, or his Sister... 16

Goldring concludes that "if Mr. Fremantle's drawing is not by Lawrence, the copyist must have had remarkable talent." Talent there may be, but I do not believe the drawing to be by Lawrence. A feminine quality is revealed in many details of the sketching, and in the expression of the face itself, which is not present in any of the engravings based on the original drawing. There are other notable differences:

1. The under (or lower) part of the tassel has a plain curved surface rather than an undulating one.
2. The nose is more pointed and pert; it does not extend beyond the cheek line.
3. The nether lip is smaller, more delicately rounded, which imparts an effeminate air to the drawing not characteristic of any of the engravings.
4. The chin is rounder and fuller; this gives an old-womanish appearance unlike any of the engravings.
5. The pencilling of the arm on the left is very different at the elbow.

Also, none of these characteristics is to be found in the Bartolozzi engraving of 1799.

During the summer of 1958 I acquired two impressions of this first engraving from a London dealer. One of these (given to the Princeton University Library) bears the following inscription: "For Mr Huskisson with Mr. Rose's Respect..." Rose is the Samuel Rose who brought Lawrence to Cowper's house in Buckinghamshire in order to have the portrait done and who was counselor in defense of Blake at the Chichester Sessions in 1804. Mrs. Huskisson is Eliza Emily Huskisson (nee Milbanke, 1777-1856), wife of William Huskisson, the statesman who was killed at the opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in 1830.
Rose had connections with the Huskisson family and Huskisson was a close friend of William Hayley, especially in the years 1790-1800 when Hayley was also an intimate friend of Cowper. Hayley's villa at Earitham was sold to Huskisson in 1800 (the year of Cowper's death), and Mrs. Huskisson was buried there. Near Earitham, at Felpham, Hayley was living in 1801-1803 when he employed Blake to make engravings, among them one of the Lawrence portrait. And so the various figures come together: Cowper, Lawrence, Rose, Huskisson, Hayley, Blake, Bartolozzi.

As regards the formal nature of the original portrait we have no more than the two words “sketch” and “drawing” used repeatedly in the correspondence of Lady Hesketh, John Johnson and William Hayley, and in printed descriptions of the portrait. Of all the portraits — engravings or drawings — described thus far the privately printed engraving by Bartolozzi (closely allied to his engraving of 1806) is most remarkably similar to a pencil and wash sketch of Cowper which I came upon a few years ago in a dark corner of the Cowper Museum in Olney, Buckinghamshire. This badly worn-out portrait, 7 7/8 by 5 7/8 inches, is also closer to the engravings by Ridley and Blake than is the Frenamtle portrait. In the first engraving done by Bartolozzi and in the Olney drawing the left side of the face shows by its irregular line the effects of age on the man. In the minor details of shading these two works are also most like each other, so that one must conclude that if the Olney portrait is not the original sketch by Lawrence, then it is a brilliant copy of that engraving. But I feel that it very probably is authentic. All the engravings show varying attempts to flatter, to portray a plumper, more gentle and youthful man. Above all other records of the Lawrence portrait, the Olney drawing reveals the signs of age in Cowper's face—the slightly more pronounced pull at the corner of his mouth and the slight droop of flesh about the jowls. The drawing (here published for the first time) alone fulfills the brief descriptions of Lady Hesketh and Hayley: the "softness" which she found lacking is not present; the "sort of pretty finical pertness" which Hayley objected to in Bartolozzi's engraving is not there. And perhaps we may even best see the "tranquill Intelligence" which Hayley saw in the drawing by Lawrence as "the living original."

18 I am grateful to T. T. Radmore, Curator of the Cowper Museum, for his help in obtaining the photograph of this portrait.

William Cowper
Engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi, 1799 (9), from a sketch by Lawrence. Plate size 8 x 11 inches
Princeton University Library
College of New Jersey
Princeton: Dec 2, 1861

My dear Sir,

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance Mr. Charles Deaun Jr. of Delaware. Mr. Deaun is a graduate from college, having been admitted to the bar there in the year 1855. He is now in Paris, where during his studies there, while a student here, he made the most agreeable acquaintance with several of his fellow students.

Mr. Deaun urges that I write to you in the highest terms of respect.

John Deaun

Mr. W. L. Dayton 87

A Diplomat's Mailbag
William Lewis Dayton in Paris, 1861-1864

BY ESTHER FELT BENTLEY

A collection of materials known as the William Lewis Dayton Papers, which was formerly at the Princeton University Library, was given to the Library in November of 1953 by A. Dayton Oliphant, Class of 1910, a Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey and a collateral descendant of Dayton.

The materials in the collection concern the figure of William Lewis Dayton, who was graduated from Princeton with the Class of 1855. He was born near Basking Ridge, Somerset County, New Jersey, in 1837 and died in 1894 in Paris, where he had been United States Minister (the rank of ambassador not yet having been established) since the spring of 1861. The papers are largely from these years in France. They consist in the main of rough drafts or copies of letters sent by Mr. Dayton, letters received by him, including a large number of letters of introduction, legation and personal accounts, canceled checks, newspaper clippings (chiefly related to the famous "Trent" case and the engagement of the "Alabama" and the "Kearsarge"), and certain personal papers such as insurance, passports, estate matters, and the like. There is in addition a much smaller number of letters written to and by his son, William Lewis Dayton, Jr., Princeton Class of 1858, who served as assistant secretary in the legation in Paris during his father's lifetime and who was later himself Minister to The Hague, 1882-1885, together with a few papers concerning other members of the family.

Use was made of certain of these papers for the spring exhibition of 1896 called "Americans in Paris," of which it is perhaps worth while to mention the caricature by George Catlin of Napoleon III and the long and detailed letter written by William Lewis Dayton, Jr. to his father describing the engagement of the "Alabama" and the "Kearsarge," of which he was an eyewitness from the cliffs of Cherbourg.1

The following article is based on certain materials in the papers which are admittedly peripheral to their chief importance.

Among the papers of William Lewis Dayton there are a number of letters which illustrate quaintly the variety of problems that an ambassador must deal with in the midst of the pressing international crises that form the staple of his official life. The fact that Dayton was United States Minister to France during the troubled and bitter times of the Civil War meant that the difficulties and complexities of his office were increased in seriousness as well as in number, for Europe was warily eying the conflict across the Atlantic, her sympathies perhaps more than half engaged by the secessionist side. Dayton's duties, as we can abundantly see from his papers, were manifold. He had to procure arms for the United States and to try to prevent the secessionist states from getting them, or ships, or any other advantages; he had to gather in as much information as he could about European attitudes and sympathies and to try to disseminate as much as possible of favorable publicity for the North in order to influence these attitudes and sympathies; with little or no French and no previous experience of ambassadorial responsibilities and methods, he had to keep in touch on the one hand with the liberal anti-slavery group in France and on the other to combat the strongly secessionist sentiment which animated a perhaps larger group of influential men and to learn enough about them both to keep his own government fully informed—all this at a time when at the very least three weeks would elapse between the posting of a letter and a full response to it.

That Dayton was able to handle the difficult situation in which he found himself on arriving in Paris in the late spring of 1861 we can deduce from the comments of the Paris press at the time of his death in December, 1864. The Constitutionnel says that he was "one of the most distinguished and enlightened men of the United States" and speaks especially of his "courteous manner and his always well-chosen and measured language." The Patrie, though it supported the Confederate cause, regretted the death of 'The able diplomatist, as well as honest man and perfect gentleman'; while the Opinion Nationale remarked that he "fulfilled his diplomatic functions with a rectitude and tact which procured him the esteem of even his political adversaries."

In the midst of the great problems which required Dayton's rectitude and tact, there were lesser ones also calling upon a courteous manner and well-chosen and measured language. The day's mail often brought much to distract, amuse, and annoy. There were, for instance, visiting compatriots, for Americans in surprising numbers continued to travel abroad, and a great many of them wished to be presented at court. The Minister had to vouch for these republican seekers of royal experience: "a young gentleman of education"; "a distinguished professor in a medical college of New York"; another "young gentleman of education travelling for improvement, when at home he is a student at law"; "a gentleman of fortune . . . [with] no profession or occupation"; "a gentleman of high respectability"; "Mr. Davis & his three daughters . . . . He is 'un rentier', and his daughters of most presentable appearance."

The years go by, the war drags on, but still the Minister addresses M. le Baron with the recommendations: "a gentleman of fortune I believe & largely engaged in ships &c to India"; "a man of literary pursuits"; "a Banker of N. York city. He is a gentleman in appearance & manners"; "a lady in her appearance, social position & manners"; "a merchant retired from business, with a fortune largely increased as I am informed by recent operations in the silver mines of Nevada."

These minor duties, and such vexations as finding that a custom-built coach sent from home, though well-made and handsome, was much too small, must have seemed like pleasures when there came to hand certain letters not intended for Dayton but vitally interesting to him. They were written by the Confederate commissioner to England, James M. Mason, whose seizure on board the British mail-steamer "Trent," with John Slidell, the Confederate commissioner to France, threatened for a time to precipitate war between England and the United States. Mason was an experienced man, and it must have made Dayton squirm to read Mason's report not only that "Dayton has been received very coldly at the Department" but that "Dayton is being played with by Drouyn [the French Minister of Foreign Affairs]. I send you proofs of it." How simple the complexities of a law case in Trenton must have seemed to the Minister then!

There was always his family to provide distraction from state affairs. The eldest son, Ferdinand Van Der Veur Dayton, was an active participant in the Civil War; as a member of the Second New Jersey Cavalry he was appointed Surgeon-in-Chief of the
Southern District of Mississippi with headquarters at Natchez. In June of ’62 he wrote from the Valley of the Shenandoah such a letter as would make for anxious thoughts, of a battle near Har-{
}risonburg in which his regiment fell into an ambush. “Gen Bay-
}ards Brigade, that is ours, in fact our regiment of Buck tails, has
done all the fighting & suffered all the loss. Out of our regiment
there is about 140 fit for duty today . . . I have had shells, round
shot & musket balls as close to me as I ever want them to come
again. Yesterday when I was trying to get up to the wounded a round
shot just missed me and hit in the ground in front of my horse.”
Later Ferdinand was hospitalized with diarrhea, which killed
so many soldiers in the Civil War. A passage in the letter telling
of his discharge from the hospital illustrates what now seems the
peculiarly informal nature of war at that time. He hopes, he says,
that his regiment is still in the place where it had been last re-
ported to him, “although I heard last night from some ladies that
were at Mrs Strattons that Gen Bayard had ordered to have 12 days
ration on hand which looks as if it were intended to move for
a long Scout. I hope I shall catch them before they go. The Gen
will not move if he can help it as he wants to be married on the
18th.”
Dayton’s other children were in France with him; his second
son, William Lewis Dayton, Jr., was assistant secretary at the
Ministry in Paris, and his daughter Annie kept Mrs. Dayton com-
pany on shopping expeditions (the bills from dressmakers and
jewelers are full of interest). The youngest son, Edward, to whom
Ferdinand in one letter enclosed “some Reb Postage Stamps that
have never been used,” at least for part of the time that Dayton
was Minister was living as a pupil with a certain M. Jouancoux
at Caderousse. In a letter to Dayton M. Jouancoux says that Ed-
ward is a good boy, “religieux, bon, complaisant, honnête,” who
works hard and speaks French pretty well; he has read all of
ancient history and is good at arithmetic. “Malheureusement,”
says M. Jouancoux just at the point when a parent might com-
come to relax, “Malheureusement sa mémoire ayant été peu
cultivée dans l’enfance, il n’a pu retenir tout ce qu’il a appris.”
In the 1860s it was not John Dewey who could be blamed! Per-
haps the clue to Eddie’s trouble lies in M. Jouancoux’s later com-
ment: “Au reste, il n’a pas un goût bien fort pour les choses lit-
éraires; c’est un esprit essentiellement positif. Il ferait un bon
gentleman farmer: il aime beaucoup la campagne; il s’y porte

bien et tout ce qui concerne l’agriculture et le jardinage l’inté-
resse beaucoup.”

One wonders if this “esprit positif” ever heard from his father
anything about becoming a gentleman farmer; whether his lit-
}
erary interests increased after a little prodding, whether his mem-
ory was jogged by a reduction in allowance. In a letter to his
mother Eddie says bleakly that “Mr J thinks Frank [another pupil]
will get along in life but he has not much hope for Eddie.” The
rest of the letter is cheerful and affectionate, and in a later one
it is pleasing to observe that the putative gentleman farmer has
enough “esprit positif” to request ten francs for a pair of slippers;
“you know I bought a cheap pair in Paris but they were not worth
a snap . . . I think I have spent almost as much money for shoes
(mending) as for all other things since I have been here, the
slippers cost 9 so that 10 will be enough.”

The Minister had scarcely settled the new carpets from Eng-
land on the floors of the apartment at Rue Jean Goujon No. 17
when he received a crackling letter from Eliza W. Gen. Having,
she says, all her life “received the highest attentions from the
highest people and when in Washington being visited not only
by the President himself by Miss Lane the members of the Cabi-
net and their ladies, but those also most highly esteemed in our
own party many times, I very naturally supposed that my call
upon Mrs. Dayton would be returned (or noticed at least).”
Her son, in America, “being justly indignant,” Mrs. Gen says,
procured her a letter of introduction from Boston, where he was
informed that “Mrs. Monroe had said thus-and-so to Mrs. Dayton,
and he presumed, therefore, she had not called.” Since gossip
is entrancing no matter what the year, one longs to hear that
“thus-and-so,” but though Mrs. Gen does not repeat what in-
formation was presumably passed on to Mrs. Dayton, she oblig-
ingly gives us some tidbits to mull over. After a few teasings of
the head over Mrs. Monroe, she says, “Permit me to add that I
never ‘asked’ Mr M for money—I went afterwards to hire, on
good security—Mr Gen never asked for money at all, in any
way—he was requested by Mr M. through me to call.”

Mrs. Gen then draws a deep breath and continues. “The reason
I went to hire money in lieu of him, was, that being newly mar-
rried and having my own and the daughter of a friend with me,
I did not wish so soon, to trouble my husband for ‘pin-money’—
and the more especially as having been absent from Paris some
years, it took some time to arrange his business affairs—and my own property in Mass... is temporarily embarrassed."

Mrs. Gen's affairs are so fascinatingly involved that one is grateful to her for putting at least an outline down on paper, and her movement from point to point is extremely skilful. Note below how explanation of a damning criticism moves into triumphant justification and thence into what, if one did not feel delicate in the presence of a lady so sensitive to slight, might be called bribery. She says:

The "sanguine feeling in the management of my affairs" to which Mr Hall alludes, is the expensive manner in which I established the Seminary of which I transmit the Catalogue and which I am happy to state was a perfect success. I was summoned from it at the printed invitation of clergyman of six denominations residing in Washington [a shrewd thrust] and should have been equally successful there had I remained, but was advised by political friends of what has occurred there, & discontinued.

As I wrote, I am well known to those most highly esteemed in the administration party, but, (with many others), I never admired Mr. Burlingame, and never invited him to my receptions—I fancy he does not admire me!

Hon. W. Appleton of Boston, the Govenor [sic] of Mass. the Mayor of Boston (my native place) and many others there, gave me flattering letters of introduction.

I have troubled you with all this, My dear Sir, because in the coming political movements and consequent changes fore-shadowed to me privately by friends at Washington, I shall, if I have your friendship, write & speak in a manner more gratifying to all concerned, and so will my son (who is telegraphic correspondent of the New York Times) and be able thus to return your kindness perhaps.

After the divagations and complications of Mrs. Gen's letter it must have been a pleasure to Mr. Dayton to plunge into correspondence with Charles Francis Adams, United States Minister in London, on the sound and straightforward subject of procuring arms for the prosecution of the war.

Another kind of responsibility was laid upon the Minister by a Mrs. Francis Peters, writing from the Hôtel Monnet (with three crowns) at Vevey. After establishing her family position in Jefferson County, Virginia, she says that in her "present unprotected position" she has selected Mr. Dayton as "the one most competent to receive papers which the Duc de Medemun may probably place in your hands as proofs of his rank and serious intention of offering himself to my daughter, ... Suffice to say that the Duc is a man of about 23 years of age holding the rank of Major in the service of the King of Italy. He is a Slavonian and inherits the title of his Father who is dead. He declares that he has a right to select his wife himself, and though he has never spoken ten words to my daughter or one word out of my presence he requests that he may have the liberty of doing so after I shall be in possession of all the satisfactory reseignments. Until then he will leave Vevey [sic] where we have met him in the Salon of the Hôtel or at the dinner table. My daughter is as yet quite ignorant of all these details, and his own scrupulous delicacy upon this point is not the least attractive trait in his character."

Poor Miss Peters! With a dazzled scheming mama and a clever ingratiating Slavonian Duc, what chance has she! But she was saved, saved by her own good sense. Mrs. Peters writes again to say that the whole thing is off, and shrewd woman that she is, begins the letter with a reference to possible scandal. "Fortunately my daughter had not the least sentiment in his favor. And as she had never seen him except in my presence no talk or any disagreeable circumstance can occur. I own I was myself a little influenced by a pleasant exterior and a high sounding title [here we begin to think better of Mrs. Peters] and did not feel that I had a right to refuse my daughter what might have been for her a brilliant fate, but she has promptly and decidedly refused it herself—and even were there no other reasons for her refusal than her indifference to him. [Splendid Miss Peters!] I feel convinced that it is all for the best. It is not enough that he should be Duc de Medemon to make her happy." And she ends with a comment on the kindness and good judgment of the Minister which gives us confidence in his dealings with his wandering fellow-citizens.

What did he do about the dentist who put Dayton's name as a reference on his professional card and thus lured Mr. James Rose into entrusting him with a difficult operation in which he was unsuccessful but for which he charged $75 75. 0d.? What (in the intervals of combating the French outcry over the "Trent" case) did he do about Mrs. Andrade, who writes "in greatest agony" on pink stationery to say that "nothing but a personal visit can give you an idea of what I am subjected to now. My room is locked & I have not even clothes or my medicine my hus-
band brutally telling me I could go without both. I am here insulted grossly by the concierge who dares to enter where [when] I am undressed—above all dear Sir, the precious letters, on which depends my all of defence against the pitiless falsehoods and unscrupulous rascals of M. Andrade are in my room, of which he has the keys.” The rest of the letter is even more agitated and heart-rending; one sees the liquid eye and hears the throb of the television voice, until one is brought up sharply, as surely Mr. Dayton must have been again and again, by the possibility that it was all true—that husbands do beat their wives, that men of good family (as other correspondence reveals) do continue to cash worthless checks, that mates of ships do mistreat the crew, that young orphans are held in squalor and ignorance away from their proper guardians.

The war at home continues its bloody uncertain way, Motley writes from Vienna that European opinion was never more against the United States, anonymous letters revile the government he is representing, the secessionists gather for a dinner at Philippe’s to celebrate a victory against the North, the dispatches pour out daily to Seward, and then, after three years and more in Paris, the accumulations of strains great and small take their toll. Dayton in 1864 was only fifty-seven, but we begin to hear of frequent headaches, that because of an indisposition he missed an appointment with Drouyn de Lhuys, that he did not feel up to accompanying his wife on a trip through Switzerland.

One night in early December of 1864, after dining at home with his family, the United States Minister rode with his son in a cab to the Palais Royal Arcade, where they walked along slowly together conversing and looking into the shop windows, until young William decided to go to the Palais Royal theater nearby. The Minister continued on alone to the Hôtel du Louvre.

It is at this point that mystery enters into the account, for we do not know why Mr. Dayton went to the Hôtel du Louvre; the stories differ, the implications shift. The circumstances and events, even at this distance of time, arouse the liveliest curiosity; one suspects that their unraveling might give one a glimpse of espionage and counter-espionage in the capitals of Europe during the American Civil War. Certainly one would want to know more about Lizzie St. John Eckel, of whom Mr. Dayton had written on January the first of that same year that she was the widow of a late consul of the United States in Chile who “brings to me letters of introduction of the best character. She is a most intelli-
THE RETIREMENT OF MALCOLM O. YOUNG

Malcolm O. Young, Princeton University's Reference Librarian for the past thirty-five years and a widely known bibliographer, will retire on June 30, 1959. On March 1, 1959, he left the Library to begin a four-month terminal leave which precedes his retirement. Mr. Young is a member of the Amherst Class of 1916 and a graduate of Thayer Academy, South Braintree, Massachusetts. He completed his library training at the New York State Library School in Albany, interrupting his postgraduate studies for a period of seventeen months while serving with the United States Army in World War I. As Bibliographer of Amherst, 1920-1924, he was editor of the Biographical Record of Amherst College published in 1927 and compiler of Amherstiana, a Bibliography (1928). While at Princeton he compiled a bibliography of Paul Elmer More, philosopher, classicist, and essayist, a member of the Princeton Faculty, 1914-1934, which was published in 1941. In 1944 Mr. Young became Chief of the Circulation Department of the Library as well as Reference Librarian. He held this position until 1956 when a separate Chief of Circulation was appointed.

Frederick L. Arnold has succeeded Mr. Young as Reference Librarian. Mr. Arnold came to the Princeton Library from the Library of Congress in 1954 and served as Supervisor of the Serials Division until his appointment to the Reference Department.

PRINCETON COLLEGE MEMORABILIA

An exhibition of Princeton college memorabilia, mainly of the years from 1840 to 1880, has been on display in the Princetoniana Room. The exhibition consisted for the most part of the autograph albums kept by Princeton students during their undergraduate years. Also shown were other forms of college memora-

bilia, such as undergraduate scrapbooks, photograph albums, and student diaries.

Although the word "memorabilia," as well as the words "album" and "scrapbook," may suggest little more than "souvenirs," or objects of merely sentimental interest, this kind of material in sufficient quantity can be seen to have a somewhat greater value. The usefulness of students' diaries need not be elaborated upon but it may be appropriate to suggest that the undergraduate autograph album of the last century contributes to the biographical record facts which cannot be found elsewhere in university archives. The term "autograph album" is, itself, a limited description, for many of the autographs preserved in these albums represent far more than signatures and brief sentiments. It was the custom to circulate one's album among friends, who would write in them at their leisure. A large proportion of the autographs are, in fact, full letters of genuine interest. They tell something about the writers and, although less directly, something about those to whom their autographs were addressed. They reveal a boy's local origin, his habits of dress, his physical appearance, his politics, his professional ambitions. Caricatures of friends and occasional cartoons and drawings enliven the volumes.

Some forty autograph albums, from a collection numbering approximately 125, were shown. Included was the album of Francis C. Garmany, of the Class of 1879, which contains the autograph, dated April 2, 1879, of his classmate Thomas W. Wilson. A significant, self-revealing letter, this is one of the Library's earliest manuscripts of Woodrow Wilson, as he later became known.

PRE-COLUMBIAN MEXICO: ITS REDISCOVERY AND GRAPHIC RECORD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In 1866 the king of Spain, goaded by necessity to discover a new source for gold, sent Antonio del Rio, a captain of artillery, to explore a "lost city" reported near the little town of Palenque in Chiapas. Del Rio cleared the site of Palenque in the grand old manner, viz., "ultimately there remained neither a window nor a doorway blocked up; a partition that was not thrown down, nor a room, corridor, court, tower, nor subterranean passage in which excavations were not effected from two to three yards in depth. . . ." His account with illustrations of the site was finally published some thirty-five years later in London. The peripatetic Baron von Humboldt in 1810 published a folio volume entitled
Vues des Cordillères, et Monuments des Peuples Indigènes de l'Amérique. He included illustrations of Mexican ruins, objects, and manuscripts from the preconquest period and mentioned in his account what he had seen and had heard about. In 1831 Lord Kingsborough began to issue in large format a series of nine volumes of hand-colored reproductions and descriptions of ancient Mexican codices and manuscript fragments. Interest was awakening in a whole series of cultures which had been forgotten since the seventeenth century and in more prehistoric cultures of much earlier date.

The Graphic Arts Division held during April an exhibition of some of the books and kinds of objects which reopened the study of Middle American civilizations during the nineteenth century. The exhibition traced the graphic record of the rediscovery of these civilizations, and for that reason William Prescott and other important authors of the same period were not included. Based around the beautiful hand-colored lithographic views of Mayan ruins by Frederick Catherwood published in 1844, the exhibition included all the most interesting illustrated books from del Rio and Humboldt to Brasseur de Bourbourg and Waldeck, who published some of the ruins as late as the 1860s. The portfolio of Catherwood lithographs, the large Humboldt, the del Rio, and other material were lent from the collection of Robert W. McLaughlin, Jr., Director of the School of Architecture at Princeton.

GERTRUDE STEIN AND THE THEATRE

From February 27 to April 15 the Theatre Collection held an exhibition dealing with a writer not customarily thought of in connection with the theatre. The major part of this exhibition was on loan from the "Gertrude Steiniana" of Addison M. Metcalf, of Newtown, Connecticut. The connecting link between Mr. Metcalf and the Theatre Collection was Miss Stein's play, Yes Is for a Very Young Man, given in 1948 in Murray Theatre by the University Players and by the Theatre Intime, both productions directed by a student assistant of the collection, John Capsis '50. Since then Mr. Metcalf has given to the Library several programs of other Stein productions, and in February he brought down several large portfolios of Steiniana, from which were extracted and displayed many posters, pictures, programs, and musical scores. These illustrate such plays as Yes Is for a Very Young Man, Doc-

Contributors to this Issue

Francis James Bailly is Secretary and Librarian of the Athenaeum of Philadelphia.

Charles Ryskamp, Assistant Professor of English at Princeton University, is the author of the recently published William Cowper of the Inner Temple, Esq.

Esther Peit Bentley is Assistant Curator of Manuscripts in the Princeton University Library.

Louis C. West is Curator of Coins and Medals in the Princeton University Library.
Robert H. Taylor ’30 has presented to the Library more than twenty English editions of books by Charles Dickens, the majority of which contain inscriptions in the hand of the author. Dickens’ first book, *Sketches by ’Boz*, first series, 1836, the two volumes rebound in one, has on the title-page of Volume I a presentation inscription to Simon McGillicravy, one of the owners of the *Morning Chronicle* and *The Evening Chronicle*, two London newspapers in which many of the sketches had been first published. It was at one time in the collection of A. Edward Newton. *The Village Coquettes*, 1836, unbound as issued, the Barton Currie copy, has a presentation inscription to Miss Julia Smith, who was a member of the cast of this comic opera. The only book in parts in Mr. Taylor’s gift is the J. J. Kern-Bandler copy of *Pickwick*, 1836-37. One of John C. Eekel’s “prime” *Pickwicks*, this is a copy of particular interest to the Library since its first three parts carry the signature of R. C. Vaux, whose name appears also on nine parts of the Library’s MacGeorge-Sawyer-Parrish copy. *Oliver Twist*, 1838, half calf, with the “fireside” plate, the Currie copy, contains on the title-page of Volume I a presentation inscription to Edward J. Stanley (later Baron Stanley); inserted in the first volume is a letter presentation from Dickens to Stanley, November 10, 1838. *Nicholas Nickleby*, 1839, contemporary morocco, the Kern-Currie copy, has a presentation inscription to Dr. John Elliotson and (pasted in) a letter from the author to Elliotson presenting the book to him, October 29, 1839.

Mr. Taylor’s gift includes the set of *The Old Curiosity Shop* and *Barnaby Rudge*, 1841, presented by Dickens to Mrs. Charles Smithson, with an inscription on the title-page of the former, New Year’s Day, 1842, and inserted in the latter a letter of presentation, New Year’s Night, 1842. The two volumes, which are in a modern binding, come from the collections of Henry W. Poor, Edwin W. Coggeshall, and Barton Currie. The copy of *American Notes*, 1842, first issue, original cloth, was presented by Dickens to the American painter Washington Allston, to whom it was delivered by Longfellow. There is an inscription in Dickens’ hand in Volume I, dated October 19, 1842, and Allston’s signature appears in the second volume. Inscribed presentation copies of three of the Christmas books, all in original cloth, are included in Mr. Taylor’s gift. *A Christmas Carol*, 1843, with blue and red title page, heading “Stave I” on page [1], and yellow end papers, has an inscription to Mrs. W. C. Macready dated December 17, 1843. *The Cricket on the Hearth*, 1846, was presented to Macready on December 18, 1845; before it was acquired by Mr. Taylor it had been in the collections of A. Edward Newton and Walter Chrysler. *The Haunted Man*, 1848, was given to Walter Savage Landor on Christmas day of that year.

*Pictures from Italy*, 1846, original cloth, the George Shaw and John A. Spooner copy, has the following autograph inscription on the half title: “Charles Dickens wishes he had given this book to Mrs. Costello, and considers himself a Brute for not having done so. Broadstairs, Eighteenth August 1847.” Two books, both from the collection of Barton Currie, were presented by the author to Miss Burdett Coutts (later Baroness Burdett-Coutts): *David Copperfield*, 1850, contemporary morocco, with an inscription dated January 18, 1851; and *Bleak House*, 1853, contemporary morocco, with an inscription dated February 5, 1854. Inscribed in *Hard Times*, 1854, original cloth (primary binding), is a letter from Dickens to the Rev. William Harness, Boulogne, August 19, 1854, explaining that absence from England had made it impossible for him to inscribe the book which he had sent to Harness. A presentation inscription to W. H. Wills, dated December 6, 1859, appears on the title-page of *A Tale of Two Cities*, 1859, first state, contemporary half morocco, with the bookplates of Wills and Sir William O. Priestley. *Great Expectations*, 1861, original cloth, contains in Volume I an inscription to Lady Olliffe, July, 1861. *Our Mutual Friend*, 1865, original cloth, has on the dedication page an inscription to James Rae, November 8, 1865; the book was formerly in the possession of S. M. Samuel and Barton Currie.

The Library’s collection of Dickens is a distinguished one, but beyond the receipt of Mr. Taylor’s gift it contained only one presentation copy. This was the copy of *Nicholas Nickleby*, London, 1839, presented by the author to Mrs. George Cattermole. The volume formed a part of the collection of Cyrus H. McCormick.
'79, which was given to Princeton in 1947 and 1948 by his widow, Mrs. Marshall L. Brown. Now, thanks to the generosity of Mr. Taylor, the Library possesses a truly notable array of first editions inscribed by Charles Dickens.

THE NUMISMATICS COLLECTION

Since last autumn the Library has received four substantial gifts of coins and paper currency. The first in point of time was a bequest from Charles A. Cass ‘02. Mr. Cass had formed an outstanding collection of United States paper money with particular emphasis on bills issued since the formation of the Federal Reserve Banks. His collection of colonial paper when combined with that bequeathed by Andre deCoppet ‘15 will provide the Library with a noteworthy holding of that interesting series. With this paper money collection came some hundreds of coins, mostly United States and mostly in the denominations up to and including the quarter dollar. Here was one great rarity: the 1827 restrike twenty-five-cent piece. Among the few gold coins were examples of the privately issued pieces from North Carolina, California, Oregon, and Utah.

The other gifts have come from Friends of the Library. One contained fourteen European and South American gold coins; another contained forty-seven pieces of Roman and modern gold; while the third consisted of 437 modern gold coins struck by some sixty issuing bodies. Many of these coins are in uncirculated or proof condition. Included among them were seventy quarter eagles and sixty half eagles, giving the Library a splendid selection of these two denominations. As a part of these three gifts were a few more privately struck pieces from California and rare coins issued by the Emperors Gallienus and Diocletian.

The growing use of the Library’s coin collection and its increasing size and value make these gifts very timely. They should encourage other donors.—LOUIS C. WEST

THE ALEXANDER AUTOGRAF COLLECTION

An autograph collection numbering some five hundred pieces has been presented by DeForest M. Alexander, of the Class of 1914. Letters written to members of the Alexander family formed the basis of the collection, especially those received by the artist John White Alexander (1866-1915) and James W. Alexander, of the Class of 1860. Numerous others of the autographs were collected from various sources by Henry Martyn Alexander, of the Class of 1890, the father of the donor of the collection.

Autographs of statesmen, writers, artists, educators, jurists, military and political figures, of scientists, and of persons in still other walks of life are represented. There are letters of Daniel Webster and of President Grant, Hayes, Benjamin Harrison, and Theodore Roosevelt. There are eight letters of the poet Lydia H. Sigourney and six of Samuel L. Clemens, Walt Whitman, William Dean Howells, Henry James, Thornton Wilder, and Gertrude Stein are represented. Of the artists, James McNeill Whistler is represented by six letters addressed to John W. Alexander; other autographs of artists include those of Eastman Johnson, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, John La Farge, and Rodin. There are several letters of officers in both the Union and the Confederate armies in the Civil War, of which six are addressed to General Robert E. Lee, from the field. An interesting piece is a note, or draft of a note, in the hand of Robert E. Lee, addressed to Jefferson Davis, dated September 9, 1863.

There are other autographs of persons prominently identified with Princeton, such as President James Carnahan, Joseph Henry, Arnold Guyot, Samuel Miller, Charles Hodge, Henry Van Dyke, and Presidents James McCosh, Francis Landey Patton, and Woodrow Wilson.

A group of nearly fifty Italian autographs in the collection includes those of notables from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. There are also several English autographs, among which are letters of William Harrison Ainsworth, Robert Louis Stevenson, Thomas Hardy, and Alfred Noyes.

BOOTH TARKINGTON ’93

The Library has received as the gift of Barton Currie his correspondence with Mr. and Mrs. Booth Tarkinon. The file covers the years 1921 to 1943 and consists of sixty letters and ten telegrams from Mr. Tarkington, four letters from Mrs. Tarkington, and the carbons of thirty-five letters and sixteen telegrams from Mr. Currie to Mr. Tarkington. Most of the correspondence dates from the years 1921 to 1928 and is mainly concerned with Tarkington’s contributions to The Ladies’ Home Journal, of which Mr. Currie was editor. Several of the earliest letters were published in the article, “An Editor in Pursuit of Booth Tarkington,” written by Mr. Currie for the Tarkington issue of the Chronicle,
XVI, No. 2 (Winter, 1955). Mr. Currie has also given, with Mrs. Currie, a collection of more than sixty books by and about Tarkington, many of which contain autograph inscriptions by the author.

From Miss Helen Hayes have come four long letters written to her in 1940 by Tarkington concerning the radio play Lady Hamilton and Her Nelson. A photograph of Tarkington by Pirie MacDonald with an autograph inscription from the author to his godson, Addison M. Metcalf, has been the gift of Mr. Metcalf. During the past year the Library has also acquired by purchase a small number of Tarkington letters.

DOUGLAS GOLDRING CORRESPONDENCE

A selection of letters from the correspondence of Douglas Goldring (1887-1958) has been purchased on the Robert K. Root Fund. An editor connected with such literary periodicals as Country Life and The English Review, Goldring was a writer of verse and founded The Tramp, a magazine of poetry, in 1910. A novelist, Douglas Goldring was the author of The Fortune (1917), The Façade (1927), Facing the Odds (1940), and other popular works. He published biographical and critical studies of James Elroy Flecker and Ford Madox Ford and wrote numerous books of travel.

Among the writers represented in this recently acquired selection of some thirty letters are George Bernard Shaw, Arnold Bennett, Norman Douglas, Theodore Francis Powys, Llewelyn Powys, and Hugh Walpole. Written between 1907 and 1949, they relate mainly to matters of current critical and editorial concern.
to the Hamilton Collection. Among these latest additions are *Mother Goose's Melody*, Worcester, Isaiah Thomas, 1794, one of six recorded copies of the second American edition; and *The Wonderful Life and Most Surprising Adventures of that Renowned Hero, Robinson Crusoe*, New York, Benjamin Gomez, 1795, one of three recorded copies. Recent gifts from Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '66 have included a copy of the rare first edition of the first American apology for angling as sport, Joseph Secomb's *Business and Diversion Inoffensive to God, and necessary for the Comfort and Support of human Society*, Boston, 1743; and letters written by Grover Cleveland and Henry W. Herbert ("Frank Forester"). From Mrs. David H. McAlpin the Library has received the records of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Isabella McCosh Infirmary of Princeton University. Dean Mathes '12 has given three English gold coins. From Frederic G. Melcher have come eighty-five Christmas books and other limited editions. Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24 has presented some twenty items, mainly books in English and American literature. The gift of Charles A. Ryskamp, an engraving by Francesco Bartolozzi of the poet William Cowper, is the subject of an article by Mr. Ryskamp in this issue. Bernhard K. Schaefer '30 has given a copy of the five-volume Bremer Press Bible, Munich, 1926-28. The Dickens first editions presented by Robert H. Taylor '30 are described in "New & Notable." Forty-seven American and Roman gold coins have been received from Louis C. West.

Gifts have been received also from the following Friends: Mrs. Lillian S. Albert, Frederick W. Brown '97, Nelson R. Burr '27, Alexander P. Clark, Rudolf A. Clemen, John C. Cooper '09, Luther P. Eisenhart, Miss Mary L. Fisk, E. Newton Harvey, Andrew C. Imbrie '95, Robert A. Kann, William A. Kienbusch '36, Victor Lange, Renselaer W. Lee '20, David H. McAlpin '20, James B. Meriwether, Charles G. Osgood, Douglas H. Robinson, Fred B. Rogers '47, Henry L. Savage '15, William M. Spackman '27, Edward Steese '24, W. Frederick Stohlman '09, Willard Thorp, and Jacob Viner.
FRIENDS OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY

The Friends of the Princeton Library, founded in 1930, is an association of bibliophiles and scholars interested in book collecting and the graphic arts and in increasing and making better known the resources of the Princeton University Library. It has received gifts and bequests and has provided funds for the purchase of rare books, manuscripts, and other material which could not otherwise have been acquired by the Library.

Membership is open to anyone submitting annually five dollars or more. Checks payable to Princeton University should be addressed to the Treasurer.

Members receive The Princeton University Library Chronicle and publications issued by the Friends, and are invited to participate in meetings and to attend special lectures and exhibitions.

The Council
Robert H. Taylor, Chairman
276 North Broadway, Yonkers, N. Y.

William S. Dix, Vice-Chairman
Edward Nalbandian, Jr., Vice-Chairman
William Tropp, Vice-Chairman

Lawrence Heffy, Treasurer
Howard C. Rine, Jr., Secretary
Princeton University Library, Princeton, N. J.

1956-1959
Frederick B. Adams, Jr.
Elmer Hezekiah
Hans Hirsch
Alexander C. Howard
Albert C. Hovell
Calvin Otto von Kienbusch
Edward Nalbandian, Jr.
David Sandfort
Kenneth H. Rooney
Robert H. Taylor

1957-1960
Henry E. Grinnell
A. C. Roberts
W. Jones
Maxon J. Levy, Jr.
Gilbert S. McClintock
Harold R. MacDuff
Stephen Mort
t
Robert S. Rock, Jr.
William H. Sorensen

1959-1962
C. Walker Eakins
John R. B. Denny-Smith
Robert Glimmer
Selden Haskins
Arman A. Housman, Jr.
Donald M. Huyck
Donald E. Hyde
Edward C. Snyder
Lawrence Thompson

Executive and Finance Committee
Robert H. Taylor, Chairman

William S. Dix
Edward Nalbandian
Lawrence Heffy

Chairmen of Other Committees
Library Nominees: William S. Dix
Manuscripts and Historical Documents: Robert C. Conant
Museum: Richard M. Reeder
Musicology: Louis J. West
Princetoniana: M. Harold Thomas
Publications: Lawrence Thompson
Purchase and Acquisitions: Donald E. Hyde

Chairmen will welcome inquiries and suggestions.

The Princeton University Library Chronicle
Published four times a year: Autumn, Winter, Spring, Summer
Subscription: Four dollars a year
Single numbers: One dollar and twenty-five cents
Orders and remittances may be sent to Princeton University Library

Printed at Princeton University Press
Illustrations by the Princeton Graphic Company