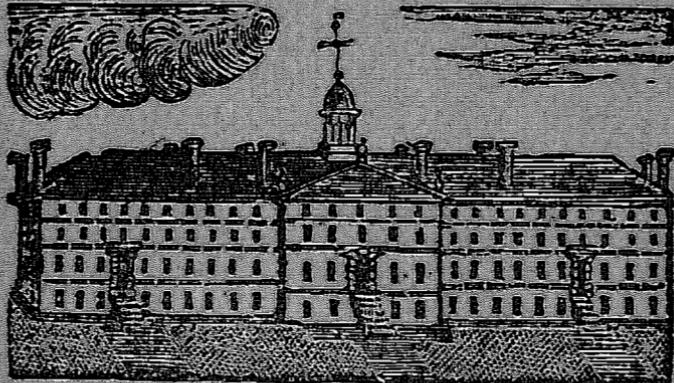


THE PRINCETON  
UNIVERSITY LIBRARY  
CHRONICLE



JOHN JAMES AUDUBON

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VOLUME XXI · NUMBERS 1 & 2

AUTUMN 1959 & WINTER 1960

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John James Audubon  
Some Remarks on His Writings\*

BY WALDEMAR H. FRIES

It was in February of 1957 that I made my first visit to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections of the Princeton University Library. A short time before I had begun my research on the double-elephant folio of Audubon's *The Birds of America*, so that the purpose of my visit was to examine the set of the folio belonging to the Library. At one time this folio had belonged to Stephen Van Rensselaer of Albany, New York, one of the original American subscribers to the "B. of A." It was his grandson, Alexander Van Rensselaer of the Class of 1871 at Princeton, who in 1927 presented the set to the University. It is indeed an honor that two years later I should be invited to participate in the annual meeting of the Friends of the Princeton Library at the time of the opening of the Library's spring and summer exhibition, which this year has been devoted to "The World of John James Audubon." I must confess that inwardly I feel like a bush-league pitcher called up to the majors and then suddenly forced to face that so-called "murderers' row" of Ruth, Gehrig, and those other Yankee sluggers. Fortunately, I was told that my efforts could be devoted to informal remarks rather than to a formal lecture.

Audubon has been honored many times in the past by exhibi-

\* An address delivered at the annual dinner of the Friends of the Princeton Library, at the Princeton Inn, on May 15, 1959.

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tions, especially in the year 1951, the one hundredth anniversary of his death. Heretofore the exhibitions have stressed and emphasized Audubon principally as the artist. But, happily, the Princeton Library, in preparing the present exhibition, has placed particular emphasis on the books, manuscripts, letters, and other material of similar nature. This should bring about a wider and better understanding of Audubon as a writer, traveler, and acute observer of his fellow-men.

From the material on display, let us first consider Audubon's journals. Over a period of many years, commencing as early as 1820 and continuing until the 1840's, Audubon kept a most detailed account of the daily happenings, often writing into the early hours of the new day as he recorded his adventures of the previous day. In 1897 there were published two volumes of *Audubon and His Journals*, edited by a granddaughter, Maria R. Audubon, with zoological and other notes added by Elliott Coues, an outstanding ornithologist. The editor has included in the first volume a life of Audubon, the European journals of 1826 to 1829, the Labrador journal of 1833, and the beginning of the Missouri River journals. In the second volume the Missouri River journals are continued and there are included also certain episodes of which I shall speak in more detail later.

In her preface Miss Audubon refers to nine journals, as well as to much other material, stating that "from the mass of papers I have accumulated, I have used perhaps one fifth." We know that some of the journals were actually destroyed, and we also know that much material in the original journals was omitted from the published version. Fortunately for us, Miss Audubon did include in the second volume an episode entitled "My Style of Drawing Birds." It is from this article that we learn something about Audubon's fixing a dead bird with wires on squares so that he could study the bird, for, as he says, "the more I understood all these particulars, the better representations I made of the originals."

Also from this episode we learn the following about his method of making his drawings. He writes: "My drawings at first were made altogether in watercolors, but they wanted softness and a great deal of finish. For a long time I was much dispirited at this, particularly when vainly endeavoring to imitate birds of soft and downy plumage, such as that of most Owls, Pigeons, Hawks, and Herons. How this could be remedied required a new train of

thought, or some so-called accident, and the latter came to my aid.

"One day, after having finished a miniature portrait of the one dearest to me in all the world, a portion of the face was injured by a drop of water, which dried where it fell; and although I labored a great deal to repair the damage, the blur still remained. Recollecting that, when a pupil of David, I had drawn heads and figures in different colored chalks, I resorted to a piece of that material of the tint required for the part, applied the pigment, rubbed the place with a cork stump, and at once produced the desired effect.

"My drawings of Owls and other birds of similar plumage were much improved by such applications; indeed, after a few years of patience, some of my attempts began almost to please me, and I have continued the same style ever since, and that now is more than thirty years."

Next we come to the *Ornithological Biography*, of five volumes, the first published in Edinburgh in 1831 and the last issued in 1839. It should be explained that Audubon did not include any letterpress with the double-elephant folio, for, had he done so, he would have been required to place a copy of his work in a number of British libraries. These biographies contain an account of each of the birds figured in the folio and are interspersed with delineations (also called episodes) of American scenery and manners. Audubon had introduced these episodes, some sixty of them, to relieve the tedium of descriptive ornithology. Let it not be thought that his descriptions of the birds and their habits make for dull reading—quite the contrary.

Upon reading these descriptions, one becomes fully aware of what a keen observer and field ornithologist Audubon really was. Let me give one example of this. In the very first bird description, that of the Wild Turkey, in writing about the habits of the young birds, he says, "They roll themselves in deserted ants' nests, to clear their growing feathers of the loose scales, and prevent ticks and other vermin from attacking them, these insects being unable to bear the odour of the earth in which ants have been." In recent years there has been considerable study of the anting of birds. It is known that certain species of ants possess formic acid—whether or not Audubon knew about formic acid, he did know what was going on in those "deserted ants' nests." I wish that there might be time to read the description of the humming birds or

the account of the flight of the passenger pigeons which lasted three days.

The so-called delineations give as well a vivid portrait of America in the years from 1820 to 1838. There are among the sixty episodes descriptions of the rivers Ohio, Mississippi, and St. John's; the Florida keys; Niagara Falls; cities such as Louisville and Natchez; with accounts of hunting and fishing, egging in Labrador, the earthquake in Tennessee, floods on the Mississippi—a most varied catalogue of subjects. As one reads the account of Niagara Falls, which he visited in 1824, one learns that he did not feel capable of drawing a picture of the Falls. Having seen some views of the Falls in his room, he writes: “‘What!’ thought I, ‘have I come here to mimic nature in her grandest enterprise, and add my caricature of one of the wonders of the world to those which I here see? No.—I give up the vain attempt. I shall look on these mighty cataracts and imprint them, where alone they can be represented,—on my mind!’” And he advises his reader to go to see the Falls for himself.

Then there are the letters of Audubon. He was a prolific letter writer; where he found the time to write the many long letters to his family and to others is most difficult to figure out. Many of the letters covering the period from 1826 to 1840 were published by the Club of Odd Volumes in 1930. There are many other letters, both of Audubon and other members of the family, scattered around in libraries, museums, and private collections. These letters are really fascinating reading. His language, filled with French idioms of speech translated into English, makes for colorful phrases. Whatever subject he may be writing upon he will discuss in great detail. As an example, I should like to speak about the letter of March 2, 1831, written by Audubon to his engraver, Havell, the original of which is in the possession of the Princeton Library.<sup>1</sup>

When this letter was brought to my attention and I had read it, I realized that here was explained the reason why the legend for the same plate differed in impressions bearing different watermarks. For example, it is well known that plate No. I is the “Wild Turkey,” as it is in the set in the Princeton University Library. But how many of you know that there are impressions of this

<sup>1</sup> See below, Catalogue, No. 71, and Plate 9.

print where the legend is "Great American Cock"? This latter legend is to be found in that state of the print which has a "Whatman" watermark with a date earlier than 1830. Some of the other differences are: "Bonaparte Flycatcher" or "Bonaparte's Flycatcher," "Purple Grackle" or "Purple Grakle," "Brown Lark" or "Brown Titlark." In the letter of March 2, 1831, Audubon wrote his engraver in part, "I wish you to set about having the Plates reengraved I mean the Lettering as soon as possible and to employ such Engravers as will do Justice to the whole of it." In addition, he sets down in detail just how the legends of the first forty-four plates shall read.

I knew then that after the date of this letter all the legends would be as here recorded by Audubon. Just within the last two months, while examining a ledger of Audubon's which has been lent to the Audubon Memorial Library at Henderson, Kentucky, I was to find another reference to this same matter. In the ledger under Havell's account there is the following item:

July 30—1831                      To Havell—for correcting names  
    of the first volume     37-00-0

I could pick out many apt and picturesque expressions in his letters. Let this one suffice: Audubon writes during his early days in London how tired he is from all the functions he has had to attend, admitting that he actually feels lazy, but adding that he has been "thinking monstrous deep." That Audubon realized the true worth of his great undertaking he expresses well in a letter written by him at Charleston on December 23, 1833 to his son Victor, who was in London. (The original of the letter is now at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.) Here he writes: "That Subscribers should die, is a thing we can not help, that such fellows as Vigors should mortify us, cannot again be countermanded.—but depend upon it our *Industry*, our *truth*, and the regular manner in which we publish our Work—this will always prove to the World & to our Subscribers, that nothing more can be done than what we do, nay that I doubt if any other *Family* with our pecuniary means ever will raise for themselves such a *Monument* as 'the Birds of America' is, over their tomb!" From this same letter we learn also that his son "John has drawn a few Birds as good as any I ever made, and ere a few months I hope to give this department of my duty altogether to him."

While he never did just this, some—we do not know exactly how many—of the birds of the folio were drawn by John.

In conclusion, I would like to speak briefly about the set of the double-elephant folio which belonged to the Audubon family. Herrick, in his biography of Audubon (1917), tells us that in 1862 after the death of her last surviving son, John Woodhouse, and the family resources having reached a low ebb, Mrs. Audubon sold the set to John Taylor Johnston (one of the founders of the Metropolitan Museum of Art) for twelve hundred dollars, and adds that the subsequent history of the folio has not been traced. After having been in a Brooklyn, New York, warehouse for many years, the set did turn up again in 1939, when it was sold by a grandson of Johnston to a rare-book dealer in New York. Then it languished in Philadelphia, having been bought by a Philadelphian for "speculation." About five years ago it was sold to a Texan and it now resides in Texas.

The set had been examined only a few times and never carefully. There were stories to the effect that it contained some extra prints, that it contained more than the 435 prints of which a complete set is composed. A year ago I saw the set but only briefly. I, too, realized that it was different. In the first place, when the prints were bound, they did not follow the usual numerical progression but were placed in the five volumes systematically, in a manner similar to that found in the *Synopsis* compiled by Audubon with the aid of Macgillivray and published in 1839, after the folio had been completed.

But what about the extra prints? With a return visit to Texas early this spring, I was able to make an exhaustive study of all thirteen of the additional prints which the set contains. In these extra prints Audubon has combined two prints by imprinting two copper plates on one sheet. Just why did Audubon do this? We can never be sure, but the answer may be that he was in this manner correcting certain mistakes in identification of some of the species he had drawn. For example, on one of these extra prints, which shows three birds, the legend reads "Hooded Warbler." But the regular Hooded Warbler plate is No. CX and it contains only two birds. Where does the third bird come from? I discovered that Audubon had combined Plate CX with No. IX, on which he had originally placed the legend "Selby's Flycatcher," in the

belief that he had discovered a new species. It is known that Selby's Flycatcher was an immature Hooded Warbler. Was Audubon, then, in this manner correcting his mistakes? I do not know. When I have completed my examination of the other twelve prints, perhaps I may find the answer.

THE WORLD OF  
John James Audubon  
Catalogue  
of an Exhibition in the  
Princeton University Library  
15 May-30 September 1959

compiled by  
Howard C. Rice, Jr.



## FOR E W O R D

In publishing this retrospective catalogue of the recent Audubon exhibition, I wish to record the Library's, and my own, indebtedness to the private collectors and institutions who lent materials to the display and thus made it more representative than it could otherwise have been: to Seymour Adelman, Philadelphia; the Audubon Shrine and Wildlife Sanctuary, Audubon, Penna. (J. d'Arcy Northwood, curator); Cleveland E. Dodge '09, Riverdale-on-Hudson, N.Y.; William H. Dillistin, Paterson, N.J.; Donald W. Griffin '23 and Mrs. Griffin, Princeton; the Library of Harvard University; Mrs. Margaret McCormick, Staten Island, N.Y.; H. Bradley Martin, New York City; the National Audubon Society (John S. Baker, director, Miss Amy Clampitt, librarian); Harry Shaw Newman, The Old Print Shop, New York City; Benjamin Page, Jr. '29, Morristown, N.J.; the Library Company of Philadelphia; the Princeton University Store; Henry L. Savage '15 and Mrs. Savage, Princeton; Mrs. Wharton Sinkler, Philadelphia; Mrs. C. Frederick C. Stout, and R. Gwynne Stout '30, Ardmore, Penna.; Mrs. Herbert J. Wetherill, Philadelphia. John S. Williams '24, Old Chatham, N.Y.—to whose gifts the Library's Audubon collection owes much of its strength—has allowed free use of other materials now deposited by him in the Library. The National Audubon Society, Mr. Adelman, Mr. Stout, and Mrs. Sinkler have kindly allowed the Library to retain for its collection photostats of Audubon manuscripts in their possession. Helpful suggestions and other courtesies have also come from J. Bulakowski, Mrs. Julian P. Boyd, George Dock, Jr., Madame G. Duprat (librarian at the Paris Museum of Natural History), Miss Alice Ford, Waldemar H. Fries, Willman Spawn, Mrs. Constance Van Schaack, and from my ever-patient associates on the Library staff. Gillett G. Griffin did the sketches used in the exhibition leaflet and repeated in the present catalogue.

In preparing the exhibition and in revising the catalogue for publication I have leaned heavily on Audubon's own writings—letting him tell his own story as much as possible—as well as on the many books written about him. My basic references are cited in the catalogue notes in abbreviated form as follows:

*Ornith. Biog.*: J. J. Audubon, *Ornithological Biography*, Edinburgh, 1831-39 (Catalogue No. 78). Page references refer to the entire bird description and not specifically to the excerpt quoted.

*The Quadrupeds*: J. J. Audubon and John Bachman, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, New York, 1846-54 (No. 122).

*Journals: Audubon and His Journals*, ed. Maria R. Audubon, New York, 1897 (No. 165).

Herrick: Francis Hobart Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist*, second edition, New York, 1938 (No. 166).

Arthur: Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Audubon, An Intimate Life of the American Woodsman*, New Orleans, 1937 (No. 168).

The volume of reproductions of Audubon's *Birds of America* plates, edited by William Vogt (No. 172-b) has provided the indispensable guide to the elephant folio engravings, while Alice Ford's *Audubon's Animals* (No. 172-c) has rendered similar service as a key to the plates of the folio *Quadrupeds*. Finally, mention should be made of the catalogues of other Audubon exhibitions, especially those printed in connection with the exhibitions at the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, 1938; Reading, Pennsylvania, Public Museum and Art Gallery, 1951, and Brooks Memorial Art Gallery, Memphis, Tennessee, 1954 (arranged by Donald A. Shelley); Lyman Allyn Museum, New London, Connecticut, 1951; series of three exhibitions (arranged by Mrs. Monica Avery de la Salle), National Audubon Society, 1951; Kennedy Galleries, New York, 1954.

It is my hope that this catalogue will not only serve as a record of an exhibition, but that it may also serve to emphasize anew the significance of Audubon's writings. As the catalogue shows, these writings are widely scattered, bibliographically speaking, and many of them are relatively unavailable to the general reader. There exists no single comprehensive corpus of Audubon's writings. Furthermore, such reprints as Herrick's *Delineations* (No. 171-b) and Peattie's excellent anthology, *Audubon's America* (No. 171-c), as well as the basic biographies by Herrick and Arthur, are now out of print. With the present trend in "quality paper

backs," there would seem to be a fine opportunity for some enterprising publisher or generous sponsor to remedy the situation.

I cannot conclude this foreword without mentioning my associate Henry L. Savage, whose long-standing interest and enthusiasm have contributed so greatly to the growth of the Princeton Library's Audubon collection, and whose article, published in an earlier issue of this *Chronicle* (V, No. 4 [June, 1944], 129-136, "John James Audubon: A Backwoodsman in the Salon") was the now remote, but not forgotten, starting-point for the 1959 exhibition.

HOWARD C. RICE, JR.

## INTRODUCTION

Audubon's name is as familiar to Americans today as it was at the time of his death more than a century ago. Towns, streets, parks, mountains, and islands have all been named for him; reproductions of his work hang on the walls of countless homes and decorate crockery and notepaper; while the work of the Audubon societies has made his name practically synonymous with the study and appreciation of nature. No exhibition, then, need bring fresh laurels to honor a memory that remains perennially green. The present display—making use of the Library's collection of Audubon's books, manuscripts, prints, and drawings—is simply an invitation to look again at the vivid human being behind the legendary name. Audubon was not only a naturalist and an artist, but also a writer, a traveler, an acute observer of his fellow-men, whose journey through life encompassed an extraordinary range of people and places. The exhibition traces in chronological sequence the main episodes in Audubon's life. It is not primarily a display of the prints made from his drawings of birds and animals, although these of course have their place, alongside the books, maps, and manuscripts, as illustrations of the successive chapters of the Audubon story.

This story begins in the West Indies, where Audubon was born in 1785 at Les Cayes on the southern coast of what was then the prosperous French colony of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti). In 1789 his father, a merchant trader, naval officer, and plantation owner, took him back to France, where he spent the rest of his childhood and adolescence in the seaport town of Nantes and at the family's country place in nearby Couëron. It was here, on the banks of the Loire, during the years of the French Revolution, that Jean-Jacques Audubon first wakened to the wonders of nature, made his first collections and first drawings, learned the fables of La Fontaine, and received the rudiments of his education. For a brief period in 1802 he studied drawing in the Paris studio of the master of the day, Jacques-Louis David. A family friend, Dr. Charles-Marie d'Orbigny, Audubon's "father in natural history" (whose own sons also became distinguished naturalists), introduced him to the systematic study of nature as exemplified

in the writings of Buffon and the other great eighteenth-century naturalists. All of this is worth recalling as a reminder that Audubon was not entirely a product of the American wilderness, or the unschooled backwoodsman that his later admirers, and even he himself, romantically liked to imagine.

Audubon first came to the United States in 1803, as a young man of eighteen. His destination was a farm on the banks of Perkiomen Creek, near Philadelphia, which his father, in the course of his own wanderings, had acquired as an investment. He was not particularly successful as a manager of the farm and its lead mine; the surrounding woods and the streams proved more attractive, and Audubon's later writings are full of recollections of the birds and animals he found there. It was here, near Valley Forge, at Mill Grove Farm (now preserved as an Audubon memorial) that he devised his system of drawing birds (from freshly shot specimens wired into lifelike poses); it was here, too, that he met his future wife, Lucy Bakewell, a young Englishwoman residing at Fatland Ford, a neighboring estate. In 1805 Audubon returned for a year to France to gain his father's consent to his marriage, which took place in 1808.

From Pennsylvania the Audubons moved to Louisville in Kentucky, then to Henderson. After more than a decade of keeping a store, trading in lands, and managing a steam mill—with little success and less relish—Audubon threw off the traces and henceforth devoted himself with single-minded purpose to his great work, the drawing of the birds of America. In 1820 he set off down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, earning his way by painting portraits, and teaching drawing, dancing, fencing, and French at towns and plantations along the way. Meanwhile, his indomitable wife, Lucy, by her work as a governess, supported their two sons and accumulated the savings which eventually enabled "the American woodsman" to travel to Europe in search of a publisher for the constantly growing portfolio of bird drawings which he had accumulated in America. A trip to Philadelphia and New York in 1824, where he made his debut as a naturalist and became acquainted with the scientists of his day, convinced him that only in Europe could he find the kind of publisher he sought for his work. Audubon's first European sojourn lasted from 1826 to 1829.

At Liverpool, Edinburgh, and London his work was received

with warmth and appreciation, while he himself attained considerable personal success as a picturesque figure from the backwoods of America. During a visit to Paris, his work was praised by Cuvier and other members of the Academy of Sciences. Less than four months after his arrival in Europe Audubon made arrangements with William Home Lizars of Edinburgh to publish his drawings—as hand-colored engravings, all the birds of life size. After the publication of the first ten engravings (No. 1 was the giant wild turkey cock, which Audubon had drawn in 1825 at Beech Woods Plantation, West Feliciana, Louisiana) the enterprise was taken over by Robert Havell, Jr., of London (the elder Havell died in 1832), whose name has remained forever linked with that of Audubon as the creator of the elephant folio *Birds of America*. The first proof of Plate 1 was pulled in November 1826, Plate 435 was issued twelve years later in June 1838.

These were years of prodigious activity in Audubon's life. He himself solicited subscribers to the work throughout the British Isles and the United States, crossed the Atlantic several times, and made field trips far and wide to observe new specimens, all of which he drew and described for the great work. In 1829, for example, he spent several weeks at Great Egg Harbor on the New Jersey coast and in the Great Pine Swamp of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania. In 1831 and 1832 he traveled to South Carolina and down the coast of Florida as far as Key West; the following year he headed an expedition to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence and the southern coast of Labrador; again, in 1837, he went with his close friend Edward Harris (of Moorestown, New Jersey) along the Gulf of Mexico as far as the Republic of Texas, where he saw Sam Houston in the embryonic capital.

Meanwhile, Audubon's pen was as active as his brush. In addition to diaries, field notes, and countless letters, he prepared copy for five volumes of descriptive text to accompany the bird engravings, edited with the help of a young Scottish scientist, William Macgillivray, and published under the title *Ornithological Biography* (Edinburgh, 1831-39). For these volumes he also wrote the autobiographical "episodes" or "delineations of American scenery and manners," which still provide a readable and vivid account of a lost America. A methodical *Synopsis* of American birds, also prepared with Macgillivray's help and issued in 1839, was the keystone of the great edifice. This was followed by the publication

(1840-44) of "the Birds in miniature," in which the texts and plates of the original work were combined and systematically arranged in a series of uniform octavo-size volumes (the reduced lithographic plates are, alas, but a feeble reflection of Havell's resplendent originals). In various aspects of this vast program Audubon's family—his wife and their talented sons, Victor Gifford Audubon and John Woodhouse Audubon—became closely associated, as did many other collaborators in both Europe and America. Yet, even after credit is meted out to each, the work still remains John James Audubon's achievement, for his was the driving force and the unflagging will.

Even before the completion of *The Birds*, Audubon embarked upon a companion work dealing with the animals of North America, this time in collaboration with Dr. John Bachman, of Charleston, South Carolina, whom he had met in the course of his field trips in the South and with whom he was to be closely linked in another way by the marriage of his two sons to two of Bachman's daughters. *The Quadrupeds* occupied the final decade of Audubon's life. To gather further material for it he made his last great field trip—in 1843—a steamboat journey from St. Louis up the Missouri as far as Fort Union, at the foot of the Continental Divide. The harvest was rich in observations and specimens—new birds to be added to the octavo edition, as well as quadrupeds. The trip is richly documented by Audubon's own journal and letters and by the journal of Edward Harris, who was again one of the party. *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America* first appeared as 150 folio plates, splendid colored lithographs executed by Bowen of Philadelphia (1845-48) and three volumes of text (1846-54), followed in turn by successive issues of an octavo edition combining text with reduced-size plates. Audubon did not live to see the completion of this work; one half of the plates are from drawings by his son John Woodhouse Audubon, and the text is in equal measure the work of John Bachman.

The Missouri River trip was the last of Audubon's journeys. Not long after his return his powers gradually began to fail; his final years were spent in tranquillity at "Minnie's Land," the home he had built overlooking the Hudson in the then rural suburbs of New York (now 155-158th Streets). Here Jean-Jacques, or John James, Audubon died on 27 January 1851, at the age of sixty-five.

Such are the bare outlines of Audubon's story. "It is hard to confine oneself to dates and times when contemplating such a man as Audubon," wrote one of his contemporaries, "for he belongs to all time." The world in which Audubon lived has in part disappeared, but that world still lives today in his re-creation of it.

## I. SAINT-DOMINGUE, 1785-1789

*I received life and light in the New World.—J. J. Audubon, Ornith. Biog., I, v*

Audubon was born in 1785 at Les Cayes on the southern coast of what was then the prosperous French colony of Saint-Domingue (now the Republic of Haiti). His father was Jean Audubon (1744-1818), a French merchant-trader and sea captain, who owned a sugar plantation near Les Cayes. His mother was "Mlle. Rabin," a "Creole of Saint-Domingue," that is, a woman of European French parentage born in the colony. The evidence concerning Audubon's birth has been conclusively marshalled by Francis H. Herrick in his authoritative biography of the naturalist (see No. 166). Audubon himself, in his later years, when he had achieved status and fame, made rather vague and conflicting statements about his origins, and his descendants further elaborated on these romantic versions.<sup>1</sup>

When he was four years old, in 1789, the child was taken to France, and spent the rest of his childhood and adolescence in the seaport of Nantes and vicinity. In 1793 he and a half-sister were formally adopted by Jean Audubon and his legal wife, Anne Moynet. Of the latter Audubon once wrote: "Let no one speak of her as my 'stepmother.' I was ever to her as a son of her own flesh and blood, and she to me a true mother."

1. "Isle de Saint Domingue." Engraved map, Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, *Le Petit Atlas Maritime, Recueil de Cartes et Plans des Quatre Parties du Monde*, Paris, 1764, Vol. I, "L'Amérique Septentrionale et les Isles Antilles," Plate 61. [Ex 1009.162q]

## II. FRANCE, 1789-1805

*The first of my recollective powers placed me in the central portion of the city of Nantes, on the Loire River, in France, where I still recollect particularly that I was much cherished by my dear stepmother, who had no children of her own, and that I was constantly attended by one or two black servants, who had followed my father from Santo Domingo to New Orleans and afterward to Nantes.—J. J. Audubon, "Myself," an essay written for his children, ca. 1835, Journals, I, 8*

Audubon spent his childhood mainly in Nantes and at the family's country place called "La Gerbetière," at Couëron, a few miles

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 89-93, the article by Francis James Dallett, "Citizen Audubon: A Documentary Discovery."

outside the city, on the banks of the Loire estuary. It was here, during the years of the French Revolution, that he first wakened to the wonders of nature, made his first collections and first drawings, and received the rudiments of his education. In 1800 he was enrolled for a few months in a military school at Rochefort; in 1802 he studied drawing for a while in David's studio in Paris; in 1803 he made his first journey to the United States, returned to France for a year in 1805, and then, in 1806, established himself in America. Audubon henceforth thought of himself as an American, and not as a Frenchman living abroad. On the personal seal that he used in his later years is the inscription "America My Country."

2. "Cours de la Rivière de Loire Depuis la Mer jusqu'à Nantes." Engraved map, Jacques-Nicolas Bellin, *Le Petit Atlas Maritime*, Paris, 1764, Vol. V, "Les Costes de France," Plate 73. [Ex 1009.162q]

Shows Couëron, the location of the Audubon country place, and other localities along the Loire estuary.

For a description of "La Gerbetière" and photographs of it as it was prior to World War I, see Herrick, I, 136-145. "'La Gerbetière' of Yesterday and Today."

3. Jean de La Fontaine. "L'Hirondelle et les petits Oiseaux." *Fables Choisies*, Paris, J. F. Bastien, 1779, I, 66-68, Livre Premier, Fable VIII. [3262.33.12]. The same, with engraved illustration, *Fables Choisies*, Paris, Denys Thierry, 1668, I, 22-26. [Ex 3262.33.173]

*Une Hirondelle en ses voyages  
avoit beaucoup appris. Quiconque a beaucoup vu,  
peut avoir beaucoup retenu. . . .*

"In those happy days of my youth I was extremely fond of reading what I still call the delightful fables of La Fontaine. I had frequently perused the one entitled 'L'hirondelle et les petits oiseaux,' and thought much of the meaning imparted in the first line, which, if I now recollect rightly, goes on to say that 'Quiconque a beaucoup vu, peut avoir beaucoup retenu.' To me this meant that to study Nature was to ramble through her domains late and early, and if I observed all as I should, that the memory of what I saw would at least be of service to me."—J. J. Audubon, *Journals*, II, 525

Other references by Audubon to La Fontaine's fables, will be found in *Journals*, I, 323, and in *Journal*, 1820-1821, ed. Corning, p. 96.

4. "L'Atelier de David." Oil painting by Mathieu Cochereau, 1812. Photograph of the original, in the Musée du Louvre. Reproduced in Richard Cantinelli, *Jacques-Louis David*, 1748-1825, Paris, 1930, Plate 89. [ND553.D25C16q (SA)]

For a brief period in 1802 young Audubon studied drawing in the Paris studio of the celebrated painter and master of the day, Jacques-Louis David. Although Cochereau's painting, depicting young art students at work in the master's studio, does not represent the atelier exactly as it was a decade earlier when Audubon worked there, it can nevertheless serve to evoke this episode in his life. The few months in David's studio appear to have been Audubon's only formal training in art. Although he belittled the importance of this instruction, he was not unwilling, upon several occasions, to refer to himself as a pupil of David.

"David," Audubon later recalled, "had guided my hand in tracing objects of large size. Eyes and noses belonging to giants, and heads of horses represented in ancient sculpture, were my models. These, although fit subjects for men intent on pursuing the higher branches of the art, were immediately laid aside by me. I returned to the woods of the New World. . . ."

5. "Le Grimperau. de Mr. de Buffon. the Creeper. of Willugby." Drawing by J. J. Audubon, near Nantes, 1805. Pencil and crayon on paper, 9 x 12 inches. [Lent by the Library of Harvard University]. Illustrated, Plate 1

The drawing is signed and dated: "the 7 of June 1805. Near Nantz. J. J. A.—No 97." This is one of the early drawings of French birds that Audubon presented to Edward Harris in 1824; it is recorded by Herrick (II, 375, Appendix II) in his list of "Audubon's Early Dated Drawings Made in France and America." Since the publication of Herrick's list the drawings therein described as being in the collection of Joseph Y. Jeanes have been acquired by the Library of Harvard University.

6. "Le Rossignol de Murailles—de Buffon. the Redstard." Drawing by J. J. Audubon, near Nantes, 1805. Pencil and crayon on paper, 9½ x 12¼ inches. [Lent by the Library of Harvard University]

Signed and dated: "No. 50. Near Nantz. august. 1805. J. L. F. A." The initials used here stand for "Jean La Forest Audubon"—"La Forest" being an apparently fanciful name that the young man occasionally used at this period. Like the preceding item, this drawing was formerly in the collection of Edward Harris and in that of Joseph Y. Jeanes; recorded by Herrick in his list of "Audubon's Early Drawings" and reproduced, I, facing p. 128.

7. "Rossignol de Muraille." Colored engraving [by Martinet], Plate 351, Buffon, *Histoire Naturelle des Oiseaux*, Paris, Imprimerie Royale, 1770-86, VI (1783), facing p. 80. [Ex 8879 .223q]

Audubon's annotations on his early drawings frequently cite Buffon as the authority for the names of the birds. In his early days as a student of nature Audubon turned to Buffon's books—as later generations were to look to Audubon—even though he once remarked a bit scornfully that Buffon was but "a man of wealth, [who] resided in Paris, and wrote his descriptions from dried skins" (newspaper interview, 1843, cited by Arthur, p. 455). Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707-1788), who presided over the Jardin du Roi in Paris, devoted the greater part of his life to the publication of his *Histoire Naturelle, Générale et Particulière* (1749-1804). This all-embracing survey of the "kingdoms of nature"

(completed by Buffon's collaborators after his death) included a section devoted to the natural history of the birds. The volume exhibited is from a quarto edition, with colored plates, published in ten volumes, 1770-86. The "Grimpereau," or Creeper (cf. No. 6, above) is also discussed and illustrated in this volume, Plate 681, facing p. 372.

8. Letter from J. J. Audubon to Charles d'Orbigny, New York,  
29 April 1807 (a.l.s.). [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]. Illustrated,  
Plate 2

The letter, written in French, is addressed to "Monsieur Dorbigny, Dr. Medecin, pres Nantes, Coueron, Loire inférieure." Concerning him Audubon later wrote (*Journals*, I, 39): ". . . my father's physician was . . . a young man precisely after my own heart; his name was D'Orbigny, and with his young wife and infant son he lived not far distant [from "La Gerbetière," the Audubon country place at Coueron]. The doctor was a good fisherman, a good hunter, and fond of all objects in nature. Together we searched the woods, the fields, and the banks of the Loire, procuring every bird we could, and I made drawings of every one of them—very bad, to be sure, but still they were of assistance to me."

In the present letter Audubon describes several curiosities that he has collected during his Sunday walks and that he is sending in a bottle to his friend; the specimens included a "whistling frog," red toad, "Water Snake of Lake Champlain," and another snake called "the Small Racer." In the concluding paragraph he speaks of the bird drawings he has made: "Depuis notre separation J'ai eu le plaisir de Dessiner quelques curiosites en oiseaux. Ma collection de Canards se monte à 27 de ce pays cy, et Je sais que 5 ou 6 ne sont point connu dans vos parages. Si vous vouliez m'écrire il est presque certain que Je me deciderois a vous envoyer quelques exacte copies. Je souhaite que vous et toute votre famille soyez heureux, présentez mes respect à tous et soyez l'ami de

J. J. Audubon."

Several of Audubon's drawings of ducks, dated New York, 1806 and 1807, formerly in the Harris and Jeanes collections, are now in the Library of Harvard University; cf. Herrick, II, 376.

Other letters written by Audubon from New York at this same period, to Claude François Rozier of Nantes, are printed (in English translation) in Herrick, I, 154-166. In one of these (6 May 1807) Audubon encloses a bill of lading for the "bottle of reptiles" being sent to Dr. d'Orbigny.

Audubon's early friendship with Dr. d'Orbigny supplies the human link which connects "the American Woodsman" with the tradition of systematic natural history studies which had developed so notably in France during the eighteenth century. It was presumably Dr. d'Orbigny—Audubon's "father in natural history," as Herrick calls him—who introduced him to the writings of Buffon and the other great naturalists of the period. Although less well-known than his more famous sons (Alcide and Charles-Henry), Charles-Marie Dessalines d'Orbigny (1770-1856) was nevertheless himself a scientist of distinction who, among other achievements, founded the natural history museum at La Rochelle. See Edouard Beltrémeix, *Le Naturaliste d'Orbigny à Esnandes* [La Rochelle, 1889] [photostat copy of this pamphlet, 8604.684.16]; F. Faideau, "Un Naturaliste Rochelais: Charles-Marie Dessalines d'Orbigny," *Annales des Sciences Naturelles*, Dixième Série, Botanique, XIX (1937), 209-220, with reproduction of D'Orbigny's portrait and bibliography [8600.125]. D'Orbigny's family, like Audubon's, had close connections with the colony of Saint-Domingue.

### III. PENNSYLVANIA, 1803-1807

*In Pennsylvania, a beautiful State . . . my father, in his desire of proving my friend through life, gave me what Americans call a beautiful "plantation," refreshed during the summer heats by the waters of the Schuylkill River, and traversed by a creek named Perkioming. Its fine woodlands, its extensive fields, its hills crowned with evergreens, offered many subjects to my pencil. It was there that I commenced my simple and agreeable studies, with as little concern about the future as if the world had been made for me.—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, ix*

"Mill Grove," the Pennsylvania farm to which Audubon came in 1803, at the age of eighteen, had been previously acquired by his father as an investment and was managed by a Quaker farmer, William Thomas. The arrival of Francis Dacosta, sent by Audubon's father to help exploit the lead mine which had been discovered on the farm, led to complications. Partly to clear up these difficulties, and also to gain his father's consent to his marriage to Lucy Bakewell, a young Englishwoman residing with her family at nearby Fatland Ford, Audubon returned to France for about a year in 1805. The following year he came back to "Mill Grove," this time with Ferdinand Rozier as a partner. Further business complications involving the lead mine sent the young man to New York to work in his future father-in-law's commission house, then to Kentucky with Ferdinand Rozier. In 1808 Audubon came east to marry Lucy Bakewell, and then returned to Kentucky with his bride.

9. Mill Grove Farm. Painting by Thomas Birch. Oil on canvas, 17 $\frac{1}{4}$  x 24 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches. [Lent by Mrs. Herbert J. Wetherill]. Illustrated, Plate 3

The painting, unsigned and undated, was probably done in the 1820's. It depicts the stone farmhouse on the hill, and, in the foreground, Perkiomen Creek, with dam and mill race, which furnished power for the grist and lumber mills and for the lead mine. The smelting works and trestle connected with the mine are also discernible. The Mill Grove property, control of which Audubon relinquished about 1807, was acquired in 1813 by Samuel Wetherill, Jr. It remained in the Wetherill family, except for a brief period in the late nineteenth century, until it was acquired in 1951 by the Commissioners of Montgomery County.

What appears to be a replica of this painting by Thomas Birch (1779-1851) is in the New-York Historical Society (Ac. No. 1946.161), which acquired it from The Old Print Shop; see *The Old Print Shop Portfolio*, III, No. 7 (Mar., 1944), 153-155, illus. on cover. The two paintings, of roughly similar dimensions, differ very slightly; a small fisherman, standing in the stream below the dam, is one of the few details distinguishing the New-York Historical Society's version from Mrs. Wetherill's. Herrick (I, facing p. 102) reproduces a water color of the same scene at

a slightly later date, done by Charles Wetherill *ca.* 1835, and apparently copied from the Birch painting; this water color is now the property of William H. Wetherill, Staten Island, N.Y.

10. Mill Grove as it is today. Photographs. [Lent by Audubon Shrine and Wildlife Sanctuary, courtesy of J. d'Arcy Northwood, curator]

An aerial view (by Thomas M. Skilton) shows Perkiomen Creek and dam in foreground, farmhouse and outbuildings in middle ground, and the surrounding woodland and fields. Another view (by Gordon S. Smith) shows the house as seen from the slope leading down to the creek. Also exhibited: leaflet with "Map showing Trails and Roads, Audubon Shrine and Wildlife Sanctuary, Mill Grove Farm, Audubon, Pa."

Audubon's former home, acquired by the County Commissioners of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, is now open to visitors as a museum and bird sanctuary.

11. "Le Wip-poor-Will de Mr. Buffon—même nom en Pensylvanie." Drawing by J. J. Audubon, Mill Grove, 1806. Pencil and crayon on paper,  $9\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{2}$  inches. [E 7210]. Illustrated, Plate 4

Signed and dated: "Mill Grove, Pennsylvania, the 21 of July, 1806, J. J. A." As is the case with many of Audubon's other early drawings, his annotations are a mixture of French and English, and his usual authority for the bird's name is Buffon. A modern ornithologist would probably identify the bird as a Nighthawk; there was some confusion between the three eastern North American species of *Caprimulgidae* at the time the drawing was made.

This drawing was shown in the exhibition of the works of John J. Audubon at the Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, 26 April-1 June 1938, item No. 23 (lent by Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston). It was presented to the Princeton Library in 1945 by John S. Williams. Not included in Herrick's list of "Audubon's Early Dated Drawings Made in France and America." Reproduced, *Princeton Alumni Weekly*, LI, No. 9 (Nov. 24, 1950), 20.

12. J. J. Audubon. "My Style of Drawing Birds." *Audubon and His Journals*, ed. Maria R. Audubon, New York, 1897, II, 522-527. [Rollins]

According to this account, written by Audubon *ca.* 1838, it was at Mill Grove that he devised his method of drawing birds "alive and moving," instead of "stiff, unmeaning profiles." His first successful experiment was with a Kingfisher, shot on Perkiomen Creek: "I pierced the body of the fishing bird, and fixed it on the board; another wire passed above his upper mandible held the head in a pretty fair attitude, smaller ones fixed the feet according to my notions, and even common pins came to my assistance. The last wire proved a delightful elevator to the bird's tail, and at last—there stood before me the *real* Kingfisher. . . . This was what I shall call my first drawing actually from nature, for even the eye of the Kingfisher was as full of life whenever I pressed the lids aside with my finger."

For another account of Audubon's method of drawing birds, cf. below, No. 59.

13. J. J. Audubon. "The Pewee Flycatcher." *The Birds of America*, octavo edition, Vol. I, New York, 1840, pp. 223-231.  
[Ex 8880.134.16]

The text that Audubon wrote in the 1830's to accompany his *Birds of America* engraving (Plate 120) of the Pewee Flycatcher, or Phoebe—first published in the *Ornithological Biography*, II, 122-130—includes a nostalgic reminiscence of Mill Grove Farm, where he had studied this bird three decades earlier.

"While young, I had a plantation that lay on the sloping declivities of the Perkiomen Creek. I was extremely fond of rambling along its rocky banks, for it would have been difficult to do so either without meeting with a sweet flower, spreading open its beauties to the sun, or observing the watchful King-fisher perched on some projecting stone over the clear water of the stream. . . . These impressive, and always delightful, reveries often accompanied my steps to the entrance of a small cave scooped out of the solid rock by the hand of nature. It was, I then thought, quite large enough for my study. My paper and pencils, with now and then a volume of Edgeworth's natural and fascinating Tales or Lafontaine's Fables, afforded me ample pleasures. It was in that place, kind reader, that I first saw with advantage the force of parental affection in birds. There it was that I studied the habits of the Pewee; and there I was taught most forcibly, that to destroy the nest of a bird, or to deprive it of its eggs or young, is an act of great cruelty."

Audubon's description of the Pewee includes an account of what has been called the first experiment in bird-banding. When some of the young Pewees were about to leave their nest Audubon "fixed a light silver thread to the leg of each, loose enough not to hurt the part, but so fastened that no exertions of theirs could remove it." The following spring, having caught several of these birds on their nests, some distance up the Perkiomen Creek, young Audubon "had the pleasure of finding that two of them had the little ring on the leg."

14. J. J. Audubon. "The Musk-rat." Manuscript for the description of this species in *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, I, 108-124. [Manuscripts Division]

This description includes reminiscences of Audubon's early observations at Mill Grove Farm:

"I first became acquainted (partically at least) with the habits of this Species when I was about seventeen years of age, and resided on my plantation of Mill Grove, situated at the confluence of the Schuylkill River and Perkioming Creek. On the latter, and above the Mill dam, there exists an Island, divided from the main on the south side by a channel not exceeding twenty five to thirty feet; and I soon discovered that this rivulet abounded with Musk-rats.—Having a Friend at my house, and the evening propitious as the moon was shining brightly, I proposed to him to accompany me with the view of procuring a few of these animals, and we went as soon as all due preparations were made. We searched the bank quietly and seated ourselves on some moss-covered stones; but waited so long, that my companion became impatient, and said that unless he could be permitted to smoake a few segars, he would return to the House. No sooner had he lighted one segar, than he advised me to follow his example, and being young and foolish I acceded to his wishes; he lighted one for me, and I puffed away for a while, but became so very sick that I threw it away; and have never smoaked another since.—We remained silent, but saw no Musk rats that evening, as these cunning animals no sooner so the light at the end of my friend's segars than they dove and rose

no more within our sight; we returned home, and the next evening I proceeded to the same spot and in less than one hour shot and kill three which I secured, and made a drawing of the finest of them."

This passage, as edited by John Bachman and printed in *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, I, 108-124, text to accompany Plate 15, has been partly rewritten: the "segar" has become a "fragrant Havana," while mention of Audubon's sickness is omitted entirely. For comment on Bachman's editorial practices, see below, No. 131.

15. J. J. Audubon. "Myself." "Audubon's Story of His Youth," ed. Maria R. Audubon, *Scribner's Magazine*, XIII, No. 3 (Mar., 1893), 267-289. [0901.S436]

This autobiographical essay, written by Audubon for his children, was drawn upon for the biography published under the auspices of Audubon's widow (cf. No. 164), was first published in full in *Scribner's Magazine*, and was subsequently reprinted in *Journals*, I, 7-38. In it is to be found Audubon's account of his first meeting with Lucy Bakewell, his wife:

"A few months after my arrival at Mill Grove I was informed one day that an English family had purchased the plantation next to mine, that the name of the owner was Bakewell, and moreover that he had several very handsome and interesting daughters, and beautiful pointer dogs. I listened, but cared not a jot about them at the time. The place was within sight of Mill Grove, and Fatland Ford, as it was called, was merely divided from my estate by a road leading to the Schuylkill River. . . .

"Well do I recollect the morning, and may it please God that I may never forget it, when for the first time I entered Mr. Bakewell's dwelling. It happened that he was absent from home, and I was shown into a parlor where only one young lady was snugly seated at her work by the fire. She rose on my entrance, offered me a seat, and assured me of the gratification her father would feel on his return. . . . and there I sat, my gaze riveted, as it were, on the young girl before me, who, half working, half talking, essayed to make the time pleasant to me. Oh! may God bless her! It was she, my dear sons, who afterward became my beloved wife, and your mother."

16. "House Wren" [*Troglodytes aedon*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved and printed by R. Havell. Plate 83, *The Birds of America*. Uncolored impression, margins trimmed. [Lent by Mrs. Margaret McCormick]

"The House Wren . . . is extremely abundant in the States of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, and Maryland, from the middle of April until the beginning of October. . . . It is seldom . . . at a loss for a breeding place. . . . Now and then, its nest may be seen in the hollow branch of an apple tree. I knew of one in the pocket of an old broken-down carriage, and many in such an old hat as you see represented in the plate . . . look at the little creatures anxiously peeping out or hanging to the side of the hat, to meet their mother, which has just arrived with a spider, whilst the male is on the lookout, ready to interpose should any intruder come near. . . .

"In Pennsylvania a pair of these birds had formed a nest, and the female was sitting in a hole of the wall, within a few inches of my (literally so-called) drawing-room. The male was continually singing within a few feet of my wife and myself,

whilst I was engaged in portraying birds of other species. . . . Having procured some flies and spiders, I now and then threw some of them towards him. . . . In this manner, it became daily more acquainted with us, entered the room, and once or twice sang whilst there. One morning I took it in to draw its portrait, and suddenly closing the window, easily caught it, held it in my hand, and finished its likeness, after which I restored it to liberty. . . . It is it which you see placed on the hat."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, 427-430

#### IV. KENTUCKY, 1807-1819

*I tried various branches of commerce, but they all proved unprofitable, doubtless because my whole mind was ever filled with my passion for rambling and admiring those objects of nature from which alone I received the purest gratification.—J. J. Audubon, Ornith. Biog., I, x*

In 1807 Audubon went west to Kentucky to set up a general store, in partnership with Ferdinand Rozier, in Louisville, "at the Falls of the Ohio." The following year he returned east to marry Lucy Bakewell and brought her back with him to Kentucky. The business partnership with Rozier was not a success, and was eventually dissolved. Audubon, in association with his brother-in-law Thomas Bakewell and others, next attempted several different enterprises, the last of which, a steam grist and lumber mill at Henderson, failed in 1819. This disaster ended his business career. He subsequently turned his artistic skill to account by drawing portraits, and for a time was a taxidermist in the new Western Museum at Cincinnati. In 1820—having by then conceived the idea of publishing his bird drawings—Audubon threw off the traces and started on a memorable exploring trip down the Mississippi.

17. J. J. Audubon. "Louisville in Kentucky." *Ornithological Biography*, I, 437-440. Reprinted in *Delineations of American Scenery and Character*, ed. F. H. Herrick, New York, 1926, pp. 92-96. [EX 1053.134]

"Louisville in Kentucky has always been a favourite place of mine. The beauty of its situation, on the banks of *La Belle Rivière*, just at the commencement of the famed rapids, commonly called the Falls of the Ohio, had attracted my notice, and when I removed to it, immediately after my marriage, I found it more agreeable than ever. . . . During my residence at Louisville, much of my time was employed in my ever favourite pursuits. I drew and noted the habits of every thing which I procured, and my collection was daily augmenting, as every individual who carried a gun, always sent me such birds or quadrupeds as he thought might prove useful to me. My portfolios already contained upwards of two hundred drawings."

This is one of the "episodes" written by Audubon in the 1830's for his *Ornithological Biography*. It includes his account of his meeting at Louisville with the ornithologist Alexander Wilson.

18. "Red Shouldered Hawk" [Buteo lineatus]. Drawing by J. J. Audubon, 1809. Pencil and crayon on paper.  $21\frac{7}{8}$  x 17 inches. [E 9042]

The drawing is signed "J. Audubon" and inscribed by him: "Chute de L'Ohio [Louisville]. 29<sup>th</sup> November 1809. Cet Oiseaux est très sauvage et difficile à tuer." The drawing, which was formerly in the collection of Audubon's friend, Edward Harris, was not among those engraved for *The Birds of America*; the Red-shouldered Hawk depicted in Plate 56 of the elephant folio was engraved from an "improved" version of the species drawn in Louisiana in the 1820's.

For a detailed study of the drawing, which places it in the context of Audubon's life, and for a reproduction of it, see Alice Ford, "An Early Audubon Drawing," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, XV, No. 4 (Summer, 1954), 169-178, illus. Reproductions in color of other drawings done by Audubon at this period (now in the collections of Harvard University) will be found in Miss Ford's edition of *The Bird Biographies of John James Audubon* (No. 171-e, below).

19. J. J. Audubon. "Fishing in the Ohio." *Ornithological Biography*, III, 122-127. [Ex 8880.134]

"When I first landed at Henderson in Kentucky, my family, like the village, was quite small. The latter consisted of six or eight houses; the former of my wife, myself, and a young child. . . . The woods were amply stocked with game, the river with fish. . . ."

These recollections of his Henderson days were written by Audubon in the 1830's as one of the "episodes" interpolated among the bird descriptions of the *Ornithological Biography*.

20. "Carbonated Warbler." Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell. Plate 60, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Harry Shaw Newman, The Old Print Shop]

"I shot the two little birds here represented, near the village of Henderson, in the State of Kentucky, in May 1811. . . . On examination, they were found to be both males. I am of opinion, that they were both young birds of the preceding year, and not in full plumage, as they had no part of their dress seemingly complete, excepting the head. Not having met with any other individuals of the species, I am at this moment unable to say any thing more about them. They were drawn, like all the other birds which I have represented, immediately after being killed; but the branch on which you see them was not added until the following summer. The common name of this plant is *Service Tree*. . . . The berries are agreeable to the taste, and are sought after by many species of birds. . . ."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, 308-309

This is the only extant record of the "Carbonated Warbler," one of the very few birds recorded by Audubon but not subsequently identified. Of the 507 American birds claimed by Audubon, 491 remain in "good standing" among twentieth-century ornithologists.

21. J. J. Audubon. "Mink." Manuscript for the description of this species in *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, I, 250-260. [Manuscripts Division]

"When I was a miller at Henderson (for reader I have had several trades) I observed the mink quite abundant on the premises, and delighted was I at this, when I saw some of them, either during mid-day, or towards the dusk of the evening, issuing from the Steam Mill, with a large brown rat in each one's mouth, walking off literally [?], and carrying the gnawers [?] far above the ground. Indeed on one occasion I pointed at one of these animals in that act to my wife, who has not forgotten it."

In the printed version, edited for publication by John Bachman, this passage reads (p. 254): "Whilst residing at Henderson, on the banks of the Ohio River, we observed that Minks were quite abundant, and often saw them carrying off rats which they caught like the weasel or ferret, and conveyed away in their mouths, holding them by the neck in the manner of a cat."

22. Promissory note signed by John J. Audubon, Louisville, 15 September 1819 (a.d.s.). [Lent by Seymour Adelman]

Audubon promises to pay to Prather & Jacob, three days after date, the sum of \$164.06. The note is witnessed by A. B. Hill. It is endorsed: "Rec'd Dec. 1 1819 One Hundred Dollars on this Note. P & J".

The note serves as an eloquent reminder of Audubon's struggle with business adversity at this time. Speaking of his final days in Kentucky, he later wrote (Arthur, p. 93): "My pecuniary difficulties increased; I had heavy bills to pay which I could not meet or take up. The moment this became known to the world about me, that moment I was assailed with thousands of invectives; the once wealthy man was nothing. I parted with every particle of property I held to my creditors, keeping only the clothes I wore, my original drawings, and my gun."

23. John Keats. *The Letters of John Keats, 1814-1821*. Edited by Hyder Edward Rollins. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1958. 2 vols. [Lent by the Princeton University Store; Library copy, 3809.356.13]

"I cannot help thinking Mr Audubon a dishonest man—Why did he make you believe that he was a Man of Property? How is it his circumstances have altered so suddenly? In truth I do not believe you fit to deal with the world; or at least the american world." Thus wrote the poet John Keats, in September 1819, to his brother George Keats, who had emigrated to Kentucky to seek his fortune (Letter No. 199). Early in 1819 George Keats had been involved in a disastrous business transaction with Audubon at Henderson: Keats purchased a boat with merchandise which was to have been sold at a profit down river, but later claimed that the boat sold to him was actually at the bottom of the river. George wrote his brother John about this unfortunate experience—which in turn called forth the uncomplimentary remarks about Audubon, quoted above. In another letter, written 13-28 January 1820, addressed to his sister-in-law in Kentucky (Letter No. 215), John Keats remarked: "Give my Compliments to Mrs Audubon and tell her I cannot think her either good looking or honest—Tell Mr Audubon he's a fool—and Briggs that 't is well I was not Mr A——."

24. Portrait of Benjamin Page. By J. J. Audubon, 1819. Black chalk and crayon on paper.  $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{3}{4}$  inches. [Lent by Benjamin Page, Jr.]. Illustrated, Plate 5

Signed on the verso of the sheet: "John J. Audubon fecit September 1819 Shippingport K[entuck]y." The present oval shape was probably given to the portrait when it was framed in the mid-nineteenth century. This is a good example of the many portraits that Audubon drew, as one means of gaining his livelihood, during his years up and down the Ohio and Mississippi. The subject of the portrait—Benjamin Page (1765-1834)—was the father-in-law of Mrs. Audubon's brother, Thomas Bakewell; he engaged in various business enterprises in Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Kentucky. The portrait has been reproduced previously in B. G. Bakewell, comp., *The Family Book of Bakewell, Page, Campbell*, Pittsburgh, 1896, facing p. 72.

Audubon's work as a portrait painter is comparatively little known. For a brief but most helpful introduction to the subject, see the catalogue (compiled by Monica Avery de la Salle) for the Second Audubon Centennial Exhibition, *Audubon as a Portrait Painter*, 28 May-15 July 1951, National Audubon Society, New York [8604.134.67].

## V. DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI, 1820-1821

. . . *This day January 1st 1821. I am on Board a Keel Boat going down to New Orleans the poorest man on it.*—J. J. Audubon, *Journal, 1820-1821*, ed. Corning, I, 98

It was in the autumn of 1820 that Audubon started down the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, exploring the country for birds, while earning his way by painting portraits, and teaching drawing, dancing, fencing, and French at towns and plantations along the route to New Orleans. Mrs. Audubon later journeyed from Kentucky to Louisiana, where she obtained a position as governess and took upon her shoulders the responsibility of supporting the needy Audubon family, which now included two sons: Victor Gifford (born at Louisville in 1809) and John Woodhouse (born at Henderson in 1812).

26. "Traveller's Guide. A Map of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers. Extending from Pittsburgh to the Gulf of Mexico." By J. Duff. Entered according to Act of Congress . . . 1835. Published by George Concllin, Cincinnati, 1845. [Maps Division]

A folding map, 23½ x 9¼ inches, printed on yellow paper, in covers. Shows the localities familiar to Audubon, with a table of distances.

27. "Henslow's Bunting" [Henslow's Sparrow, *Passerherbulus henslowii*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved by R. Havell, Jr.; printed and colored by R. Havell, Sr., 1829. Plate 70, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Savage]

"I obtained the bird represented in this plate opposite Cincinnati, in the State of Kentucky, in the year 1820, whilst in the company of Mr Robert Best, then Curator

of the Western Museum. It was on the ground, amongst tall grass, and exhibited the usual habits of its tribe. Perceiving it to be different from any which I had seen, I immediately shot it, and the same day made an accurate drawing of it.

"In naming it after the Rev. Professor Henslow of Cambridge, a gentleman so well known to the scientific world, and who has permitted me so to designate it, my object has been to manifest my gratitude for the many kind attentions which he has shewn towards me."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, 360-361

After leaving "the infernal mill" in Henderson in 1819, Audubon spent a year or more in Cincinnati; he worked as a taxidermist, "stuffing fishes" in the Western Museum there, taught drawing in a young ladies' seminary, and even opened an ephemeral drawing school of his own. Among his pupils was young Joseph Mason, who became his companion on the trip down the Mississippi and who drew many of the flowers which served as backgrounds for Audubon's birds.

It was in 1828, at Cambridge, England, that Audubon first met John Stevens Henslow (1796-1861), for whom this bird is named. Henslow was a noted professor of botany, among whose pupils was Charles Darwin. Cf. *Three Letters of John James Audubon to John Stevens Henslow*, Printed for the Members of the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco by the Grabhorn Press, 1943 [Ex 8604.134].

28. J. J. Audubon. *Journal of John James Audubon, made during his Trip to New Orleans in 1820-1821*. Edited by Howard Corning. Foreword by Ruthven Deane. Boston, The Club of Odd Volumes, 1929. [Ex 8604.134.13, Vol. 1]

"Thursday—Ohio River Oct—12th 1820. I left Cincinnati [today at] this afternoon at half past 4 o'clock, on Board of Mr. Jacob Aumack's flat Boat—bound to New Orleans—the feeling of a Husband and a Father, were My Lot when I kissed My Beloved Wife & Children with an expectation of being absent for Seven Months—

"I took with me Joseph Mason a Young Man of about 18 years of age of good family and naturally an aimiable Youth, he is intended to be a Companion, & a Friend; and if God will grant us a safe return to our famillies our Wishes will be [most Likely] congenial to our present feelings Leaving Home with a Determined Mind to fulfill our Object—

"Without any Money My Talents are to be My Support and My enthusiasm my Guide in My Difficulties, the whole of which I am ready to exert to [meet] keep, and to surmount."

The original manuscript of Audubon's journal for 1820-1821 is at Harvard University.

29. Keelboat descending the Ohio. Drawing by Charles-Alexandre Lesueur. Reproduction in *Dessins de Ch. A. Lesueur, Exécutés aux Etats-Unis de 1816 à 1837*, introduction by Jean Guiffrey [Paris, 1933], Plate 30. [NC1130.L56q (Ex)]

One of the numerous sketches made by the French painter-naturalist, Charles-Alexandre Lesueur (1778-1846), during his extended residence in America from 1815 to 1837. Lesueur's original sketches are in the Museum at Le Havre; microfilm copies of these are in the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia (cf. Gilbert Chinard, "The American Sketchbooks of Charles-Alexandre Lesueur," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, XCIII, No. 2 [May 16, 1949], 114-118). The reproduction exhibited is from a portfolio executed by Daniel Jacomet, which was issued in an edition of two hundred copies "par la Cité Universitaire de Paris pour ses amis américains."

Audubon first met Lesueur in Philadelphia in 1824, and entertained a warm regard for him. Other sketches by Lesueur, depicting scenes in the Mississippi Valley—as Audubon also knew it—include a cotton-boat on the Mississippi, Natchez “under the Hill,” ballroom at Natchez, and Guilmartin’s plantation near New Orleans (Plates 31, 39, 40, 47 in the portfolio of reproductions).

30. “The Great-footed Hawk” [Duck Hawk, *Falco peregrinus*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell & Son. Plate 16, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Harry Shaw Newman, The Old Print Shop]

“. . . While descending the Mississippi on a journey undertaken expressly for the purpose of observing and procuring different specimens of birds. . . . I and my companion counted upwards of fifty of these Hawks, and killed several, among which was the female represented in the plate now before you, and which was found to contain in its stomach bones of birds, a few downy feathers, the gizzard of a Teal, and the eyes and many scales of a fish. It was shot on the 26th December 1820. . . .”

“Look at these two pirates eating their *déjeuné à la fourchette*, as it were, congratulating each other on the savouriness of the food in their grasp. One might think them real epicures, but they are in fact true gluttons. The male has obtained possession of a Green-winged Teal, while his mate has procured a Gadwal Duck. Their appetites are equal to their reckless daring, and they well deserve the name of ‘Pirates,’ which I have above bestowed upon them. . . . Many persons believe that this Hawk, and some others, never drink any other fluid than the blood of their victims; but this is an error. I have seen them alight on sand bars, walk to the edge of them, immerse their bills nearly up to the eyes in the water, and drink in a continued manner, as Pigeons are known to do.”—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, 85-90

31. J. J. Audubon. “Natchez in 1820.” *Ornithological Biography*, III, 539-541. [Ex 8880.134]

“One clear frosty morning in December I approached in my flat-boat the City of Natchez. The shores were crowded with boats of various kinds, laden with the produce of the western country; and there was a bustle about them, such as you might see at a general fair, each person being intent on securing the advantage of a good market. Yet the scene was far from being altogether pleasing, for I was yet ‘under the hill;’ but on removing from the lower town, I beheld the cliffs on which the city, properly so called, has been built.”

32. “Natchez, Mississippi.” Oil painting by J. J. Audubon, 1823. Reproduction in color in Donald Culross Peattie, ed., *Audubon’s America*, Boston, 1940, between pp. 152-153. [8604 .134.O2q]

This view of Natchez, looking northward from the bluffs by the Mississippi, is one of Audubon’s “bread-and-butter” paintings, and one of the few known landscapes by him. The original painting now hangs in “Melrose,” the home of Mrs. George M. D. Kelly, in Natchez. According to information kindly supplied by Mrs. Kelly, it is believed that the original size was 4 x 8 feet, but that it was cut down by a previous owner, Emile Profilet, from whom it was purchased by her father-in-

law, Dr. Stephen Kelly. For a further description of the painting, see Arthur, pp. 264-265.

33. *Audubon's Butterflies, Moths, and Other Studies*. Compiled and edited by Alice Ford. New York [1952]. [8822.134]

Includes reproductions from a sketchbook of insects and reptiles drawn by Audubon ca. 1821-1823. The sketchbook was subsequently presented to Mrs. Charles Basham, to whose daughter, Harriet, Audubon gave drawing lessons during a stay in Pittsburgh when on his way to Philadelphia in 1823. Cf. pp. 13-16, "The Sketchbook, A Brief History."

## VI. LOUISIANA, 1821-1826

*In Louisiana there are two places forever to be associated with the name of John James Audubon—New Orleans, where he starved; West Feliciana parish, where he feasted on beauty. There he roamed the most beautiful of all Louisiana's beautiful woods, studied the birds that abound in them, drew their portraits, and learned many of nature's innermost secrets. In Feliciana it was that his wife earned sufficient money by her years of teachings to send her husband to Europe, to fame, to immortality.*—Stanley Clisby Arthur, *Audubon*, p. 193

34. "Audubon's Happyland. Feliciana." Map by Stanley Clisby Arthur, end papers of his *Audubon, An Intimate Life of the American Woodsman*, New Orleans, 1937. [Limited edition, lent by R. Gwynne Stout; Library copy, trade edition, 8604.134.13]

Shows the localities in Louisiana where Audubon drew so many of his birds in the early 1820's. According to Stanley C. Arthur (p. 506), whose biography provides the fullest treatment of Audubon's Louisiana years, at least 167 of the 435 *Birds of America* engravings are based on drawings done in Louisiana—that is, more than one third. Of these: 56 were drawn in New Orleans, 40 at Percy's Beech Woods plantation, and 26 while Audubon was with the Pirrie family at Oakley plantation in West Feliciana Parish.

35. J. J. Audubon. Self-portrait in oils, made at Beech Woods, Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, in 1822, at the age of thirty-seven. Reproduction in color, frontispiece, Donald Culross Peattie, ed., *Audubon's America*, Boston, 1940. [8604.134.02q]

Arthur, p. 495, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 1; Herrick, II, 392, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 1.

36. J. J. Audubon. "Common Mocking-bird." *The Birds of America*, octavo edition, Vol. II, New York, 1841, pp. 187-193, Plate 138. [Ex 8880.134.16]

"It is where the great magnolia shoots up its majestic trunk, crowned with evergreen leaves, and decorated with a thousand beautiful flowers, that perfume the

air around. . . . But where is that favoured land?—It is in this great continent.—It is, reader, in Louisiana that these bounties of nature are in the greatest perfection. It is there that you should listen to the love-song of the Mocking-bird, as I at this moment do."

Many of Audubon's bird descriptions evoke his years in Louisiana, none more enthusiastically than this account of the Mocking-bird. Audubon's picture of the Mocking-bird with a Rattlesnake attacking the nest (Plate 21 of the elephant folio)—as well as his portrayal of the Brown Thrasher's nest attacked by a Black Snake (Plate 116, elephant folio)—provoked considerable controversy in scientific circles of the time. The arguments (which Audubon and his friends energetically refuted) centered about the snakes' ability to climb trees, the curvature of their fangs, etc.

37. "White Ibis" [Eudocimus albus]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1834. Plate 222, *The Birds of America*. Pattern print, margins trimmed, used by the colorists in Havell's studio. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

"This species is as fond of resorting to the ponds, bayous, or lakes that are met with in the woods, as the Wood Ibis itself. I have found it breeding there at a distance of more than three hundred miles from the sea, and remaining in the midst of the thickest forests until driven off to warmer latitudes by the approach of winter. This is the case in the State of Mississippi, not far from Natchez, and in all the swampy forests around Bayou Sara and Pointe Coupé. . . .

"While in the company of Mr Joseph Mason, a young man who was for some time employed by me, and who has drawn plants to some of my birds, although not so successfully as my amiable friend Miss Martin, or George Lehman, who finish those they draw as beautifully as my learned and valued friend William Macgillivray of Edinburgh does his faithful drawings of birds, I chanced one morning to be on the look-out for White Ibises, in a delightful swamp not many miles from Bayou Sara. It was in the end of summer. . . . and the Ibises had all departed for the Florida coasts, excepting a few of the white species, one of which we at length espied. It was perched about fifty yards from us towards the centre of the pool, and as the report of one of our guns echoed among the tall cypresses, down to the water, broken-winged, it fell. The exertions which it made to reach the shore seemed to awaken the half-torpid alligators that lay in the deep mud at the bottom of the pool. . . . All gave chase to the poor wounded bird. . . . Springing forward . . . [one of the alligators] raised his body almost out of the water; his jaws nearly touched the terrified bird; when pulling three triggers at once, we lodged the contents of our guns in the throat of the monster. Thrashing furiously with his tail, and rolling his body in agony, the alligator at last sunk to the mud; and the Ibis, as if in gratitude, walked to our very feet, and there lying down, surrendered itself to us. I kept this bird until the succeeding spring, and by care and good nursing, had the pleasure of seeing its broken wing perfectly mended, when, after its long captivity, I restored it to liberty, in the midst of its loved swamps and woods. . . .

"The Creoles of Louisiana call this species 'Bec croche,' and also 'Petit Flaman,' although it is also generally known by the name of 'Spanish Curlew.' . . . The Crayfish represented in the plate will be found described in the article [III, 197-201] entitled 'the White Perch and its favourite bait.'"—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, III, 173-180

38. "White-throated Sparrow" [Zonotrichia albicollis]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved by W. H. Lizars; printed and colored by R. Havell, Senr. Plate 8, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Savage]

"This pretty little bird is a visitor of Louisiana and all the southern districts, where it remains only a very short time. Its arrival in Louisiana may be stated to take place in the beginning of November, and its departure in the first days of March. In all the Middle States it remains longer. How it comes and how it departs are to me quite unknown. I can only say, that, all of a sudden, the hedges of the fields bordering on creeks or swampy places . . . appear covered with these birds. . . .

"It is a plump bird, fattening almost to excess, whilst in Louisiana, and affords delicious eating, for which purpose many are killed with *blow-guns*. These instruments—should you not have seen them—are prepared by the Indians, who cut the straightest canes, perforating them by forcing a hickory rod through the internal partitions which intersect this species of bamboo, and render them quite smooth within by passing the rod repeatedly through. . . .

"The Dog-wood, of which I have represented a twig in early spring, is a small tree found nearly throughout the Union. . . ."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, 42-45

39. "Baltimore Oriole" [Icterus galbula]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell. Plate 12, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Savage]

"No traveller who is at all gifted with the faculty of observation, can ascend that extraordinary river, the Mississippi . . . without feeling enchanted by the varied vegetation which adorns its alluvial shores. . . . Now we have ascended the mighty river . . . and entered the still more enchanting Ohio, and yet never for a day have we been without the company of the Oriole. Here, amongst the pendulous branches of the lofty Tulip-trees, it moves gracefully up and down, seeking in the expanding leaves and opening blossoms the caterpillar and the green beetle, which generally contribute to its food. Well, reader, it was one of these pendulous twigs which I took when I made the drawing before you. But instead of having cut it on the banks of the Ohio, I found it in the State of Louisiana, to which we shall return.

"The Baltimore Oriole arrives from the south, perhaps from Mexico, or perhaps from a more distant region, and enters Louisiana as soon as spring commences there. It approaches the planter's house, and searches amongst the surrounding trees for a suitable place in which to settle for the season. It prefers, I believe, the trees that grow on the sides of a gentle declivity. The choice of a twig being made, the male Oriole becomes extremely conspicuous. He flies to the ground, searches for the longest and driest filaments of the moss, which in that State is known by the name of Spanish Beard, and whenever he finds one fit for his purpose, ascends to the favourite spot where the nest is to be, uttering all the while a continued chirrup, which seems to imply that he knows no fear, but on the contrary fancies himself the acknowledged king of the woods."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, 66-71

40. "Solitary Flycatcher or Vireo" [Vireo solitarius]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell. Plate 28, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Savage]

"This, reader, is one of the scarce birds that visit the United States from the south, and I have much pleasure in being able to give you an account of it, as hitherto little or nothing has been known of its history.

"It is an inhabitant of Louisiana during the spring and summer months, when it resorts to the thick cane-brakes of the alluvial lands near the Mississippi, and the borders of the numberless swamps that lie in a direction parallel to that river. It is many years since I discovered it, but as I am not at all anxious respecting priority of names, I shall not insist upon this circumstance. In the month of May 1809, I killed a male and a female of this species, near the mouth of the Ohio, while on a shooting expedition after young swans. The following spring, I killed a female near Henderson in Kentucky. In 1821, I again procured a pair, with their nest and eggs, near the mouth of Bayou La Fourche, on the Mississippi. . . .

"The flight of this bird is performed by a continued tremor of the wings, as if it were at all times angry. It seldom rises high above its favourite cane-brakes, but is seen hopping up and down about the stems of low bushes and the stalks of the canes, silently searching for food. . . . I have represented a pair of them killed near a nest in a cane-brake."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, 147-149

## VII. DEBUT AS A NATURALIST—PHILADELPHIA, NEW YORK, 1824

*I reached Philadelphia on the 5th April 1824, just as the sun was sinking beneath the horizon. Excepting the good Dr Mease, who had visited me in my younger days, I had scarcely a friend in the city; for I was then unacquainted with Harlan, Wetherell, Macmurtie, Lesueur, or Sully. I called on him, and showed him some of my drawings. He presented me to the celebrated Charles Lucian Bonaparte, who in his turn introduced me to the Natural History Society of Philadelphia. But the patronage which I so much needed, I soon found myself compelled to seek elsewhere. I left Philadelphia, and visited New York, where I was received with a kindness well suited to elevate my depressed spirits; and afterwards, ascending that noble stream the Hudson, glided over our broad lakes, to seek the wildest solitudes of the pathless and gloomy forests.*

*It was in these forests that, for the first time, I communed with myself as to the possible event of my visiting Europe again; and I began to fancy my work under the multiplying efforts of the graver. . . . I read over the catalogue of my collection, and thought how it might be possible for an unconnected and unaided individual like myself to accomplish the grand scheme.—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, x-xi*

41. Richard Harlan. *Fauna Americana: Being a Description of the Mammiferous Animals inhabiting North America*. Philadelphia, published by Anthony Finley, 1825. [88861.433]

Among the naturalists whom Audubon met in Philadelphia and whose friendship he henceforth enjoyed was Dr. Richard Harlan (1796-1843), whose *Fauna Americana* was the first systematic treatise on American mammals.

42. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Richard Harlan, Eastport, Maine,  
26 May 1833 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"We have returned last evening from a voyage to the Island of grand Manan & others. We performed this tour in the Revenue Cutter *Swiftsure*, the officers of which we found good & true. We have procured some fine specimens of rare birds, plants, shells and a *Rat* that I never saw before. That rat is the only wild quadruped on these Islands. . . . God bless you and yours [and] remember me to all about you & believe me your Friend Most Truly John J Audubon."

43. "Great Crow Blackbird." Drawn from Nature by John J. Audubon & A. Rider, engraved by Alexander Lawson. Plate 4, Charles Lucien Bonaparte, *American Ornithology; or, The Natural History of Birds Inhabiting the United States, not given by Wilson*, Philadelphia, 1825. [Ex 8880.195.11f]

One of the naturalists whom Audubon met during his visit to Philadelphia was Charles Lucien Bonaparte (a nephew of Napoleon I, then resident in America), who was working on his *American Ornithology*, a continuation of the earlier work by Alexander Wilson. Bonaparte was impressed by Audubon's drawings and hoped to secure his services, but the jealousies aroused among the draftsmen and engravers already employed prevented this. Nevertheless, one of Audubon's drawings, the "Great Crow Blackbird," was engraved for Bonaparte's work. This is the first publication of an Audubon drawing. In the accompanying text Bonaparte writes (p. 36): ". . . we now give a faithful representation of both sexes of the Great Crow-Blackbird, drawn by that zealous observer of nature and skilful artist Mr. John J. Audubon. . . ."

Another copy of Vol. I of Bonaparte's *American Ornithology*, owned by the Princeton Library, is inscribed on the title-page: "To the library of the College of New-Jersey from the Author." There is a similar inscription in the Library's copy of Bonaparte's *Observations on the Nomenclature of Wilson's Ornithology*, Philadelphia, 1826 [Ex 8879.195].

44. Bank notes with engraving of a pair of quail. [Lent by William H. Dillistin]

The six notes—each of which has as part of the design, lower center, a pair of quail—were issued as follows: (1) Government Stock Bank, Ann Arbor, Michigan, Five dollars, 1 Sept. 1850 (Danforth, Bald & Co., N.Y. and Philadelphia); (2) The Mount Holly Bank, New Jersey, Five dollars, 1 June 1852[9] (Danforth, Bald & Co., N.Y. and Philadelphia); (3) Egg Harbor Bank, New Jersey, Two dollars, 1 July 1861 (American Bank Note Co.); (4) the same, 1 October 1861; (5) Farmers Bank of New Jersey, Mount Holly, New Jersey, Two dollars, 1 April 1865 (American Bank Note Co.); (6) Gloucester County Bank, Woodbury, New Jersey, Two dollars, 1 May 1865 (American Bank Note Co.).

It has been suggested that the prototype for the pair of quail appearing on these bank notes is a drawing done in 1824 by J. J. Audubon, who recorded in his journal under date of July 12 of that year: "I drew for Mr. Fairman a small grouse to be put on a bank-note belonging to the State of New-Jersey; this procured me the acquaintance of a young man named Edward Harris of Moorestown, an ornithologist, who told me he had seen some English Snipes within a few days, and that they bred in the marshes about him" (*Journals*, I, 56-57). An article by Herbert T. Armitt, "John James Audubon," *New Jersey Nature News*, XIV, No. 2

(Apr., 1959), 34-35, 37, cites this reference and reproduces the vignette of the "grouse" (identified as Quail, *Colinus virginianus*) from one of the Egg Harbor bank notes in Mr. Dillistin's collection. "The engraving is unsigned," Mr. Armitt concludes, "and it remains to be established that this drawing was made by Audubon." The present editor agrees with this conclusion, and would add, that until certain discrepancies are resolved and some direct filiation can be traced between the bank notes of later date and the earlier drawing, the question is unanswered. Nevertheless, the bank notes here listed supply evidence worth considering by numismatists or historians intent upon solving the riddle of "the Audubon grouse."

45. J. J. Audubon. "Facts and Observations connected with the permanent residence of Swallows in the United States. By John I. [sic] Audubon. Read August 11th 1824." *Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History of New-York*, Vol. I, Part I, 1824, pp. 166-168. [8001.604]

This brief article on "the long agitated question, respecting the emigration or supposed torpidity of the swallow," is Audubon's first published scientific paper. In it he quotes observations recorded by him in a journal kept in Louisiana. The article is preceded (pp. 163-166) by another communication from Audubon, printed as a supplement to De Witt Clinton's article "On the *Hirundo fulva* of Vieillot, with some general remarks on the birds of this genus." The editor adds in a footnote: "This gentleman [Audubon], with an enthusiasm only equalled by that of our lamented Wilson, has devoted nearly twenty years to the study of American Ornithology. He has followed the birds into their most secret haunts, and traversed the United States in almost every direction. To the learning of a naturalist, he unites the skill of an artist, and his magnificent collection of drawings, representing four hundred species, excels any thing of the kind in this country, and has probably never been surpassed in Europe."

## VIII. EUROPE, 1826-1829

*America being my country, and the principal pleasures of my life having been obtained there, I prepared to leave it with deep sorrow, after in vain trying to publish my Illustrations in the United States. . . . As I approached the coast of England, and for the first time beheld her fertile shores, the despondency of my spirits became very great. I knew not an individual in the country; and, although I was the bearer of letters from American friends, and statesmen of great eminence, my situation appeared precarious in the extreme. . . .*

*But how soon did all around me assume a different aspect! . . . The very first letter which I tendered procured me a world of friends. [At Liverpool] The Rathbones, the Roscoes, the Traills, the Chorleys, the Mellies, and others, took me by the hand. . . . My drawings were publicly exhibited, and publicly praised. Joy swelled my heart. The first difficulty was surmounted.—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, xiv-xv*

46. Audubon's journal, April-December 1826. Manuscript. Written in blank book, calf spine, marbled paper over boards, 214 leaves, 12 $\frac{3}{8}$  x 8 inches. [Lent by H. Bradley Martin]

"26 April 1826—I Left My Beloved Wife Lucy Audubon and My Son John Woodhouse on Tuesday afternoon the 26th April, bound to England."

The journal entries cover Audubon's departure from Beech Woods Plantation, Louisiana, on 26 April; his ocean crossing on the ship "Delos" from New Orleans (17 May) to Liverpool (21 July); and subsequent experiences in Liverpool, Manchester, and Edinburgh. The last entry is dated 29 December 1826. The volume also includes copies (in another hand) of letters written by Audubon during this period and of letters of recommendation written by others in his behalf. There are numerous pencil sketches: several specimens of fish and a bird (Dusky Petrel) observed during the crossing, shipboard scenes, and English landscapes. Miscellaneous notes and memoranda are found on some of the leaves at beginning and end of the volume: for example, a note of expenses connected with Audubon's departure shows that the cost of passage on the "Delos" (of Kennebunk, Captain Joseph Hatch) was \$100.00.

A printed text of this portion of Audubon's journal, as edited by his granddaughter, Maria R. Audubon, will be found in *Journals*, I, 81-200. Comparison of the two versions shows extensive omissions and stylistic modifications. The intimate, personal quality of the original—which Audubon wrote as a sort of continuing affectionate conversation with his wife—is almost entirely lost in the printed version. None of the sketches are reproduced.

47. J. J. Audubon. Letter to "Mrs. Audubon, St. Francisville, Louisiana," Liverpool, 3 September 1826 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]. Illustrated, Plate 6

"My Beloved Wife—I have just time to wish thee as ever, Well and Happy. I have not a Word from Thee or any other Soul Living in America Yet. . . . I am doing uncommonly Well, and am positively *cherished here*—I have been spending a Week with old Mrs. Rathbone & family at her seat Calld Green Bank, where not a Day Passes without Drinking thy Health—God Bless thee—Kiss my Beloved Son often—I need not say think of thy Husband and Partner. . . ."

48. "Audubon at Green Bank, Liverpool (From a drawing by himself.) Sept. 1826." Wood engraving by J. Cooper. On title-page of Robert Buchanan, *The Life and Adventures of John James Audubon, the Naturalist*, third edition, London, 1829. [Lent by H. C. Rice, Jr.]

A note, p. viii, explains: "The portrait on the title-page is taken from a pen-and-ink drawing kindly lent by Wm. Reynolds, Esq., of Liverpool. The sketch was made by Audubon himself whilst residing in the house of Mr. Rathbone, shortly after his first arrival in England in 1826. It bears the inscription, 'Almost happy!'"

The original sketch is reproduced in *Journals*, I, facing p. 128. Cf. Arthur, p. 495. "Authentic Likenesses," No. 2.

49. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his wife, Edinburgh, 9 December 1826 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"My situation in Edinburgh borders almost on the miraculous. . . . It is now a month since my work has been begun by Mr. William H. Lizars of this City—it is to come out in numbers of 5 prints the size of Life and all on the same size paper of my Largest Drawings called Double Elephant paper. They will be brought up



No. 48

and finished in such superb style as to Eclipse all of the Kind in Existence, the price of each number is Two Guineas. . . . Two of the Plates were finished last week some of the Engravings Colored are put up in my Exhibition rooms and are truly beautifull. I think that the middle of January the first number will be compleat and under way to each subscriber. I shall send thee the very first and I think it will please thee—it consists of the Turkey Male<sup>2</sup>—the Cuckoos on the Papaws<sup>3</sup>—and three small drawings that I doubt thou doth not remember but will when thou seest them I am sure—The Little Drawings in the center of these beautifull Large Sheets have a fine effect and an air of Richness & wealth that cannot help ensure success in this Country—I cannot yet say that I will ultimately succeed, but at present all bears a better aspect than I ever expected to see. . . ."

The letter has been published in *Letters of John James Audubon, 1826-1840*, ed. Howard Corning, Boston, 1930, I, 7-13, where the date is given as 21 December 1826.

50. William Rhind, ed. *The Scottish Tourist's Picturesque Guide to Edinburgh and Environs*. Edinburgh, Published by W. H. Lizars [n.d.]. [1483.319.76]

With a folding "Plan of Edinburgh," drawn and engraved by W. H. Lizars, and numerous engravings by Lizars after W. Banks.

51. Walter Scott. *The Journal of Sir Walter Scott, from the Original Manuscript at Abbotsford*. Edinburgh, 1890. [3920 .352]

<sup>2</sup> See Nos. 64, 69, below.

<sup>3</sup> See No. 70.

24 January 1827—"Visit from Mr. Audubon, who brings some of his birds. The drawings are of the first order—the attitudes of the birds of the most animated character, and the situations appropriate; one of a snake attacking a bird's nest, while the birds (the parents) peck at the reptile's eyes—they usually, in the long-run, destroy him, says the naturalist. . . ."—I, 344

See also Scott's entry for 22 January 1827.

52. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his wife, Liverpool, 25 November 1827 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"I wrote to thee from London that in consequence of delays by Mr. W. H. Lizars my Engraver and at his request I had removed the Engraving & publishing of my Work to London, I settled my accounts with him in perfect amicableness. and I am glad of this. . . .

" . . . my Engraver, Mr. Robt Havell Junr of London is an able man of business and very exact as to time—I pay for the whole of the Work done by him as it comes out and I am proud to know that if Poor I have no debts but on the contrary have a good Sum due to me which will come some time. . . .

"I have now One hundred and Fourteen Substantial subscribers to whom This Year I will deliver in all 570 sets, costing me of course that number of Guineas and bringing me double that amount. . . ."

The complete text of this letter will be found in *Letters of John James Audubon, 1826-1840*, ed. Howard Corning, Boston, 1930, I, 43-54.

53. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his wife, London, 2 November 1828 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"I returned from Paris yesterday and hasten to write to inform thee of my Success as fully as I can in a single letter.—on my arrival at Paris I called on Baron Cuvier, the greatest naturalist of the age and although I was unknown to him he received me with great kindness and subsequently has treated me with all the friendly treatment that I could have wished.—he introduced me to the Royal Academy of Natural Sciences where I exhibited the 9 numbers of my work then published consisting of 45 plates.—he was appointed by the Society to render an account of the merits of the work and at another meeting did so in the most honourable and agreeable words to myself. . . ."

54. Baron Georges Cuvier. Summary of his report to the Academy of Sciences, in "Analyse des Travaux de l'Académie royale des Sciences, pendant l'année 1828," *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de l'Institut de France*, Paris, 1832, XI, cxcv-cxcvi. [0914.494.61]

"Parmi les ouvrages magnifiques qui ont été consacrés dans les divers pays à représenter les productions de la nature, il n'en est point qui surpassé, pour le fini de la gravure et du coloris, celui que M. Audubon publie sur les oiseaux de l'Amérique septentrionale, et il n'en est aucun qui l'égale pour la grandeur des planches; les aigles, les tétras s'y voient de grandeur naturelle, et quand l'oiseau n'est pas assez grand pour remplir l'estampe, il y est répété dans les attitudes qui lui sont le plus ordinaires. L'Académie en a pris connaissance avec intérêt, et c'est un grand plaisir pour elle comme pour tous les amis des sciences de voir aujourd'hui les naturalistes du Nouveau-Monde rendre avec usure à l'Europe l'équivalent de l'instruction qu'ils en ont reçue."

55. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Baron de la Bouillerie (Intendant Général de la Maison du Roi), Paris, 13 September 1828 (a.l.s.). Photograph from original in Archives Nationales, Paris (O<sup>3</sup> 2214-671). [Manuscripts Division]

Audubon, writing in French, sends a prospectus of his *Birds*—"mon ouvrage commencé depuis plus de 25 ans et toujours continué dans les Bois de l'Amérique Septentrionale"—and requests an appointment to show specimens of the nine numbers completed. He mentions that the Prince de Massena has already subscribed and that he expects that Baron Cuvier will place a subscription for the Institute. The letter is written from the Hôtel de France, rue St. Thomas du Louvre No. 32. In a postscript Audubon apologizes for his French: "Etant Créo de la Louisiane par naissance J'ose esperer Monsieur que vous excuserez les fautes de français dont cette lettre peut être remplie."

Related material, also in the Archives Nationales (O<sup>3</sup> 2216-862), includes: another letter from Audubon to the Baron de la Bouillerie, 18 October 1828, and an inter-office report to the Baron, 27 September 1828, recommending a subscription to Audubon's work.

56. J. J. Audubon. Selections from his journal of his visit to Paris, 1828, as printed in *The Life of John James Audubon*, edited by his widow, New York, 1869. [Ex 8604.134.01]

1 October 1828—"Called to-day on M. Gerard, of whom France may boast without a blush.... Gerard was all curiosity to see my drawings, and old Redouté, who was also present, came to me and spoke so highly of them before they were opened, that I feared Gerard would be disappointed. However, the book was opened accidentally at the plate of the parrots [Plate 26], and Gerard, taking it up without speaking, looked at it with an eye as critical as my own for several minutes, put it down, and took up the mocking-birds [Plate 21], and then offering me his hand, said, 'Mr. Audubon, you are the king of ornithological painters. We are all children in France or Europe. Who would have expected such things from the woods of America!... He also repeated what Baron Cuvier had said in the morning, and hoped that the Minister would order a number of copies for the government."

Gérard is the painter, François Gérard (1770-1837); Redouté, Pierre-Joseph Redouté (1759-1840), the flower painter of *Les Roses*, etc. The same passage from Audubon's journal appears also in *Journals*, I, 330-331, in slightly different wording.

57. A page from Audubon's Paris journal, October 1828. Manuscript. [Lent by H. Bradley Martin]. Illustrated, Plate 7

Audubon tells his wife of seeing a lady standing on a balcony blowing soap bubbles at the passers-by, and adds a pencil sketch of the scene. "This is the French character, Lucy, light as air and as thoughtless as the lamb who goes bounding at the approach of the storm—I drew her position in my pocket book and I repeat it here with the same pencil for thy own pleasure when we meet never to part again."

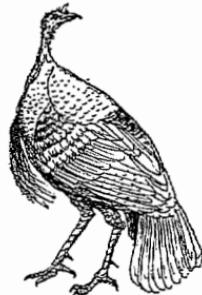
The page has been torn from a bound volume. On the verso of the sheet are Audubon's journal entries for 3 October and 4 October 1828. The description and sketch of the lady blowing bubbles, on the recto, are presumably therefore the last part of the previous entry for 2 October 1828. This passage is not included in

the printed version of Audubon's *Journals*, edited for publication by his granddaughter, Maria R. Audubon (see No. 165); the entire entry for 3 October has likewise been omitted; a comparison of the portion of the 4 October entry included on this detached page of manuscript with the printed version shows that many details have been omitted and that the original has been considerably condensed and even rephrased (*Journals*, I, 332).

58. J. J. Audubon. Fragment of a letter written to his son Victor G. Audubon, London [1829] (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"... to you most particularly to keep this entirely to y[ourselves, do not] mention it to John or your Uncle—my further views and in fact my principal object in going over now is that by *seeing* and *speaking* in person to your Dear Mother I will be able to persuade her to accompany me back and never to be separated more. I wish to go as far as Louisville where I wish to meet her, and where my perambulations for the materials I want will I hope be found in plenty. the pleasure of seeing you again will compensate my present and intermediate difficulties and to you also I will be able to say much that I cannot put down on this paper. . . ."

This fragment, which was presumably preserved for the sake of Audubon's autograph signature on the other side of the sheet, is from a letter written not long before Audubon's return voyage to America on the "Columbus" in the spring of 1829. Concerning the disagreement between Audubon and his wife about future plans, which the letter evidently touches upon, see Arthur, pp. 380-386. The domestic crisis was eventually resolved by some yielding on both sides: Audubon went as far as Louisiana to join his wife, and Lucy in turn consented to return to England with her husband on his next trip there in the spring of 1830.



#### IX. THE PUBLICATION OF "THE BIRDS OF AMERICA," EDINBURGH—LONDON, 1826-1838

Less than four months after his arrival in Europe Audubon made arrangements with William Home Lizars of Edinburgh to publish his drawings. These were to be hand-colored engravings, of "double elephant folio" format, in order that all the birds might be represented in life size. After the publication of the first ten engravings (No. 1 was the giant wild turkey cock, which Audubon had drawn in 1825 at Beech Woods Plantation in

Louisiana), the enterprise was transferred to Robert Havell & Son of London. The elder Havell died in 1832, so that Robert Havell, Jr. may be considered Audubon's principal collaborator in the "great scheme."

The plates of *The Birds of America* were issued to subscribers in "numbers" of five plates each. The first proof of Plate 1 was pulled in November 1826; the last plate, No. 435, was issued twelve years later in June 1838. The original subscribers' price for the complete set was £182 14s. in Europe, and \$1000.00 in America. About two hundred sets were issued. Many of these have since been broken up—as evidenced by the detached framed prints included in the present exhibition.

This section of the exhibition is intended to illustrate the successive stages involved in the publication of *The Birds* and the techniques employed.

59. "Account of the Method of Drawing Birds employed by J. J. Audubon, Esq. F.R.S.E. In a Letter to a Friend." *The Edinburgh Journal of Science*, David Brewster, ed., VIII, No. 1 (Jan., 1828), 48-54. [Lent by the Library Company of Philadelphia]

"The woods that I continually trod contained not only birds of richest feathering, but each tree, each shrub, each flower, attracted equally my curiosity and attention, and my anxiety to have all those in my portfolios introduced the thought of joining as much as possible *nature as it existed*. . . . My plan was then to form sketches in my *mind's eye*, each representing, if possible, each family as if employed in their most constant and natural avocations, and to complete those family pictures as chance might bring perfect specimens. . . .

"My drawings have all been made after individuals fresh killed, mostly by myself, and put up before me by means of wires, &c. in the precise attitude represented, and copied with a closeness of *measurement* that I hope will always correspond with *nature* when brought into contact.

"The many foreshortenings unavoidable in groups like these have been rendered attainable by means of squares of equal dimensions affixed both on my paper and immediately behind the subjects before me. I may thus date the *real* beginning of my *present collection*, and observations of the habits of some of these birds, as far back as 1805. . . .

"I have *never* drawn from a stuffed specimen. . . . nature *must* be seen first alive, and well studied, before attempts are made at representing it. . . ."

See also No. 12, "My Style of Drawing Birds."

60. William Swainson and John Richardson. *Fauna Boreali-Americanæ; or the Zoology of the Northern Parts of British America*. Part II. The Birds. London, 1831. Audubon's copy. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

Inscribed by Audubon on the half title: "John J. Audubon, New York Sepr. 21st 1833.—paid 20\$. —." The volume contains numerous marginal comments, queries, and corrections in Audubon's hand—many of them initialed by him—as well as other such notes in the hand of John Bachman. Several of the plates have been corrected in pencil.

Page 451, describing *Oidemia Americana*, American Scoter, and its relationship to the *O. nigra*, Swainson states: "It is clear, from an inspection of Wilson's plate, that the true *O. nigra* is also found in America, since the colouring he has given to the bill perfectly accords with the English specimens in the British Museum." Audubon has underlined this passage and added in the margins: "how can you judge of Colours from specimen in the B.M.?" Wilson took his Drawing from a specimen in the *Philadelphia Museum!*" On Swainson's illustration of "Falco Aesalon," Plate 25, facing p. 37, there has been added in pencil (possibly by Bachman): "Dry skin naturalist. Swainson Esq."

In his preface to the book (p. Ixiii) Swainson mentions "my friend Mr. Audubon" among the men who have "studied nature, unshackled by system," and adds: "I regret much that his instructive *Ornithological Biography* issued from the press nearly at the time this was terminated. It is replete with facts of the highest interest." Correspondence between Audubon and Swainson, as well as a discussion of the friendship and subsequent estrangement of the two men, will be found in Herrick.

61. "Common Scaup Duck." Drawing by J. J. Audubon, ca. 1842.  
Pen and water color on paper, 17 x 21½ inches. [E 7211].  
Illustrated, Plate 13

A penciled date in the lower right-hand corner has been partly torn away; presumably this was about 1842. On the verso of the sheet are Audubon's penciled notes on the dimensions and weight of the birds.

This characteristic Audubon drawing was not among those engraved by Havell for the elephant folio *Birds of America*. It was, however, reproduced as a small colored lithograph among the additional plates included in the octavo edition of *The Birds* (1840-44), Vol. VII, Plate 498. In the text (pp. 355-357) accompanying the plate Audubon writes: "Until about two years since, I thought that I had given the history of the Common Scaup Duck, but find now that I have been mistaken. . . . About two years ago, my attention was called to notice the typical Scaup Duck, by Mr. John G. Bell. . . . Mr. Bell has kindly sent me specimens in the flesh, and fresh, from which I have figured the male and female, and taken very exact measurements, weight, &c."

Two other water-color drawings (not exhibited) are in the Princeton Library [deposit of J. S. Williams]: "Yellow-throated Vireo" and "Winter Wren." Both are initialed "J. J. A." and dated 1827. Neither was engraved for the elephant folio, although the "Winter Wren" was used for Figure 1 of Plate 121 of the small octavo edition of *The Birds*, Vol. II. See also Nos. 11, 18.

The Audubon drawings used for the elephant folio plates are in the New-York Historical Society, New York City, where selected examples are on permanent display. These drawings were purchased by the Society from Mrs. Audubon in 1863. Reproductions in color of some of these drawings (as distinguished from the colored engraved prints) will be found in: Donald A. Shelley, ed., *Audubon Birds from the Original Water Colors in the New-York Historical Society*, New York, Hastings House [1946] [Ex 8880.134.15]; George A. Zabriskie, *The Story of a Priceless Art Treasure: The Original Water Colors of John James Audubon*, Ormond Beach, Florida, 1950 [Ex 8604.134.98]; *Audubon: Original Paintings of Birds of America in*

*the New-York Historical Society*, Text by Robert Cushman Murphy, "The Metropolitan Museum of Art Miniatures," Album XO, Book-of-the-Month Club, distributor [1957].

62. "Song Sparrow." Painting by J. J. Audubon. Oil on card-board,  $18\frac{1}{2} \times 11\frac{3}{16}$  inches. Unsigned and undated. [E 7209]

A variant version in oils of Plate 25, *Birds of America*, with added landscape background showing distant mountains. On the back of the board is written: "Painted by J. J. Audubon, certified by his elder granddaughter Lucy Audubon Williams." Previously exhibited, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, exhibition of the works of John J. Audubon, 1938, item No. 115 (lent by S. Prescott Fay). Acquired by Princeton Library, 1945, gift of John S. Williams. Another oil ("Yellow Throated Warbler," after Plate 85) with a somewhat similar landscape background was shown in exhibition at Kennedy Galleries, New York, November 1954, item No. 36, illus.

From numerous references in his journals it is known that Audubon did many oil paintings, especially during his sojourns in England, where they provided an additional source of income to him when he was hard pressed for funds. The oil paintings nevertheless pose certain problems of attribution, not entirely resolved. For example, in his journal, Edinburgh, 20 March 1831 (as printed in Lucy B. Audubon, ed., *The Life of John James Audubon*, pp. 206-207), Audubon notes that he made an agreement with a young painter named J. B. Kidd "to copy some of my drawings in oil, and to put backgrounds to them, so as to make them appear like pictures. It was our intention to send them to the exhibition for sale, and to divide the amount between us. He painted eight, and then I proposed, if he would paint the one hundred engravings which comprise my first volume of the 'Birds of America,' I would pay him one hundred pounds." See also the note by Maria R. Audubon in *Journals*, I, 65-66.

63. "Nuthatches." Painting by J. J. Audubon. Oil on canvas,  $26 \times 20\frac{1}{2}$  inches. Unsigned and undated. [E 7264]

A variant version in oils of Plate 152, "White-breasted Black-capped Nuthatch," *Birds of America*, with an added landscape background of tree-tops. Previously exhibited, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, exhibition of the works of John J. Audubon, 1938, item No. 120 (lent by Erskine Hewitt). Acquired by Princeton Library, 1945, gift of John S. Williams.

See note under preceding item.

64. "Wild Turkey." Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved by William H. Lizars, retouched by R. Havell, Jr. Plate 1, *The Birds of America*. The original copperplate. [Lent by Cleveland E. Dodge]

The "Wild Turkey," which launched Audubon's great publication, was engraved in Edinburgh by William Home Lizars in November 1826. When the publication was transferred, the following year, to Robert Havell & Son of London, this copperplate of the Wild Turkey was among those taken to Havell's studio. Before further prints were pulled from the plate, it was "retouched by R. Havell Junr.," as indicated in the engraved legend, and the title was changed from "Great American Cock." Study of this plate indicates that Lizars used only the technique of line

engraving, whereas a combination of line engraving and aquatint was employed to great advantage by Havell in the later plates of the series.

The original copperplates for the elephant folio *Birds of America* prints—engraved in Great Britain by Lizars (Nos. 1-10) and Havell (Nos. 11-435)—were brought to the United States after the completion of the publication. They remained in the possession of the Audubon family until the death of John Woodhouse Audubon in 1862. Soon thereafter they came into the possession of Phelps, Dodge & Company of New York, and eventually the majority of them were melted down as old metal at the Ansonia Brass & Copper Company. Certain of the plates—perhaps seventy-five or so in all—have survived. Several of these remained in the Dodge family, including the Wild Turkey cock, shown here. Others were given to various museums: for example, four were presented by William E. Dodge '79 to the Princeton Zoological Museum, where they are now on display in Guyot Hall. These are: Plate 56 (Red-shouldered Hawk); Plate 101 (Raven); Plate 417 (Maria's Woodpecker, etc.); Plate 422 (Rough-legged Falcon). For further discussion of the copperplates and lists of the survivors, see: Ruthven Deane, "The Copper-Plates of the Folio Edition of Audubon's 'Birds of America,' with a Brief Sketch of the Engravers," *The Auk*, XXV, No. 4 (Oct., 1908), 401-413; Phoebe Knappen, "Some Additional Audubon Copper-Plates," *The Auk*, LI, No. 3 (July, 1934), 343-349 [8879.224]. Other copperplates shown in the present exhibition are described below: Nos. 65, 98, 107.

65. "Red-eyed Vireo" [*Vireo olivaceus*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved by Robert Havell, 1832. Plate 150, *The Birds of America*. The original copperplate. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

This plate has its original copper surface; all the others exhibited have been steel-coated. On the back of the plate is stamped the name of the London firm which supplied the metal: A. Hiam, 9 Ratcliff Row, Bath St. City Road.

All the prints for the elephant folio edition were on "double elephant" sheets of Whatman paper of uniform size, but, as in this instance, the actual copperplate might be smaller, thus leaving generous margins. In this way all the birds were represented life-size.

Other copperplates in the collection of R. Gwynne Stout: "Small Green-crested Flycatcher," Plate 144 (exhibited as No. 98, below); "Yellow-bellied Woodpecker," Plate 190; "Louisiana Heron," Plate 217 (exhibited as No. 107, below); "Pine Grosbeak," Plate 358. With the exception of the "Louisiana Heron," the copperplates in the Stout collection are recorded in Knappen's list of surviving plates (1934) as then in the collection of J. B. H. Greaves.

66. "Carolina Pigeon, or Turtle Dove" [*Mourning Dove, Zenaidura macroura*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved and printed by R. Havell and Son. Plate 17, *The Birds of America*. Uncolored impression, margins trimmed. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

The print as it was pulled from the copperplate. The next stage was coloring such a print by hand. The impression exhibited was apparently taken prior to March 1831, inasmuch as the changes requested by Auduhon at that time have not been made (cf. instructions to Havell for re-engraving legends, below, No. 71).

67. "Ruffed Grouse" [Bonasa umbellus]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved and printed by R. Havell. Plate 41, *The Birds of America*. Uncolored impression. [Lent by Mrs. Margaret McCormick]

Another example of an elephant folio engraving before coloring. See also Nos. 16, 66, 97.

68. "Tufted Duck" [Ring-necked Duck, Aythya collaris]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1834. Plate 234, *The Birds of America*. Margins trimmed. Pattern print, initialed by Robert Havell. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

This is one of the so-called "pattern prints" used by the workers in Havell's studio to guide them in the coloring. Since two hundred or more impressions of each plate had to be hand-colored, it was necessary to establish a standard pattern for the workers to follow in order to maintain uniformity in the coloring. Havell's initials, added in ink, presumably indicate his approval. It is said that the margins of such pattern prints were often trimmed irregularly, or otherwise mutilated, as a security measure, to prevent them from being stolen from the studio or surreptitiously sold.

Three other pattern prints are exhibited: Nos. 37, 91, 115.

69. "Wild Turkey" [Meleagris gallopavo]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved by W. H. Lizars, retouched by R. Havell, Jr. Plate 1, *The Birds of America*, in the Princeton bound copy of the elephant folio. [Ex 8880.134.11e, Vol. 1]

The drawing (now in the New-York Historical Society) from which this print was engraved was done by Audubon in 1825 at "Beech Woods," Robert Percy's plantation in West Feliciana Parish, Louisiana, where his wife was working as governess to the Percy daughters. The turkey cock was shot in the canebrake of Sleepy Hollow Woods. Robert Percy, who was with Audubon at the time, later recalled (Arthur, p. 300): "It weighed twenty-eight pounds. Audubon pinned it up beside the wall to sketch and he spent several days lazily sketching it. The damned fellow kept it pinned up there till it rotted and stunk—I hated to lose so much good eating."

The copperplate for this print is exhibited as No. 64, above. See also Audubon's reference to it in his letter to his wife, No. 49.

Princeton's copy of the elephant folio *Birds of America* once belonged to Stephen Van Rensselaer, of Albany, New York (Princeton Class of 1808), one of the original subscribers to the work, whose name appears as No. 32 on Audubon's list of subscribers. It was presented to the Princeton Library in 1927 by Alexander Van Rensselaer, Princeton Class of 1871 and a charter trustee of the University. The copy is complete in four volumes, with all the 435 plates present (Vol. 3 exhibited as No. 118, below, and Vol. 4 as No. 108). The separate detached prints (from various broken-up copies of the work) shown elsewhere in the exhibition are duplicated in the Library's bound set. Concerning the present whereabouts of the original elephant folio sets, cf. the article by Waldemar H. Fries, "The Elephant Hunter," *Audubon Magazine*, LX, No. 5 (Sept.-Oct., 1958), 222-223, 244-245.

70. "Yellow billed Cuckoo" [Coccyzus americanus]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved and colored by W. H. Lizars. Plate 2, *The Birds of America*. First state of the print. [Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Savage]

This impression is of particular interest as an example of the print in its first state, that is, as it was issued by William Home Lizars before Audubon transferred his publication from Edinburgh to Robert Havell and Son of London in the summer of 1827. Note Audubon's mention of this print in his letter to his wife, above, No. 49. This same print in the Library's bound copy of the elephant folio is a later issue: to the original legend (lower right), "Engraved by W. H. Lizars Edinr.", has been added "Retouched by R. Havell. Junr. London 1829." The name of the bird has also been relocated on the plate, and after Audubon's name the initials "F. R. S. E." [Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh] have been substituted for the "M. W. S." [Member of the Wernerian Society] of the earlier state.

71. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Robert Havell, Edinburgh, 2 March 1831 (a.l.s., with three pages of instructions in Lucy Audubon's handwriting). [Manuscripts Division]. Illustrated, Plate 9

"I wish you to set about having the Plates reengraved I mean the Lettering as soon as possible and to employ such Engravers as will do Justice to the whole of it—I think that if you can have it done under your roof it will be of great advantage.—*You must push this* because I want 10 copies bound up by the 1st day of August next—Therefore I would say as soon as you have a plate corrected print that one, have it coloured and so on each plate as fast as these are corrected—Next week I will send you the remainder of the list."

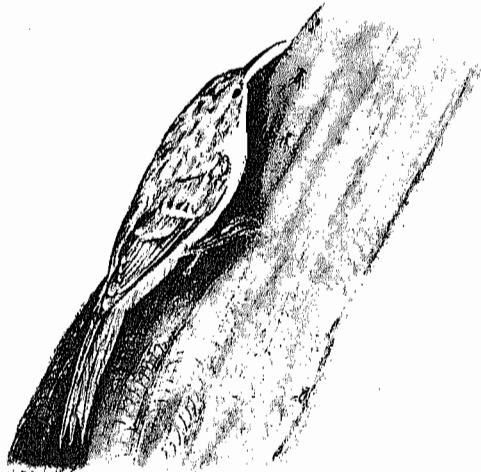
With the letter is included a model and requisite information for re-engraving in uniform style the legends of Plates 1-44; apparently similar information for Plates 45-99 was forwarded a few days later. Audubon's reference to binding indicates that the first one hundred plates (i.e., twenty "numbers" of five plates each) were soon to be bound up to form Volume I of *The Birds of America*. At another point in the letter he says: "Try to have all the Nos 21 [i.e., Plates 101-105] ready by the first day of April." Thus, at this time, the work was about one-quarter completed. Audubon further mentions that the first volume of his "book"—that is, his *Ornithological Biography*, the descriptive text designed to accompany the engraved plates—will be ready by the first of April.

This letter provides an important basis for determining the "states" of the elephant folio plates (cf. Nos. 66, 97).

72. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Robert Havell, Edinburgh, 26 March 1831 (a.l.s.). [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

"I am heartily glad of the industry with which you have pushed this No 21...." Plates 101-105 comprised "No. 21" of *The Birds of America*.

"I send you a Copy of my Book to enable you to see the style of it...." This refers to Volume I of the *Ornithological Biography*, which had been printed in Edinburgh and prepared with the editorial assistance of William Macgillivray. Cf. No. 78.



Mr 2 of June 1805  
Vernon Hand  
330  
No 91

Le Grimpereau. le M. de Buffon.  
the Creeper. of Whitley.

1. "Le Grimpereau." Drawing by J. J. Audubon, near Nantes, 1805  
(Catalogue No. 5)

My Beloved wife

I have duty now to wish thee a  
long, Well and Happy. I have not a word  
from Thee or any other soul living in America  
as yet — I forward my Watch by Way of  
New York in the packet ship Canada  
It will be forwarded to me when I return to the  
and I hope you will keep the —

God Bless You — May the Beloved Son attend  
I send you my best regards of my Husband and Partner =  
remembering Good Partnership to Mr. Percy D  
family = I am sending you my very kind regards  
attention to a Superior Offer and I feel the offer  
will be adequate Please —

for ever thine —  
John D. Hubbard  
Sep: 8<sup>th</sup> 1886 do with often

M<sup>m</sup> Anderson  
St. Francisville  
Louisiana

6. Letter from J. J. Audubon to his  
wife, Liverpool, 3 September 1826  
(Catalogue No. 47)

at a Balcony next far from us a rather well formed  
Lady made her appearance, & I judged her to be about  
36. well dressed etc. — a Snake to her was at her side  
as usual a Hop up was given. The Lady held  
a Step up in one hand, leaning with the balcony  
with the other and, came down & said  
what was that. Left off doing? — as the young  
Audubon Master said "you give it up".  
By God! then give it up? — well the Child  
If 36 was blowing soap bubbles to the Pigeons!!!  
This is the French Parrot to Lucy, light as air and as  
strength as the Lamb who goes bounding at the approach  
of the Storm. — I show her Pigeons in my Parked  
Book and I repeat it here with the same pencil  
for thy own pleasure when we meet never to part  
again —

as much  
not to  
me in  
a way —  
and his  
and now  
the



We have just returning  
like the French Lady as reported  
we thought elsewhere in France,  
just have been two hours at  
Small theater to see Punch  
go condutors for 15 sols.  
dear old wife God bless you  
for ever. — God Night!

7. Page from Audubon's journal, Paris, October 1828  
(Catalogue No. 57)



8. "Sea-side Finch." Plate 93, *The Birds of America*. Engraved by R. Havell, Jr., 1830. Uncolored impression (Catalogue No. 97)

The following arrangement is in a dotted Penmanship.

No. 2.

Plate 10.  
(Always in Roman Letters)

(Always at the bottom of the plate)

Sally's Flycatcher.

Chrysococcyx. Tsch. And.

Hale.

Flock. Honus. Alosia autumnalis.

Drawn from nature by J. Audubon. R.R. Ed.

in green framed and accented by  
R. Havell jun.

When the space left at the bottom of the plate is scarce, let the names run on in a continuous line thus,

Wild Turkey. Meleagris gallopavo. Linna. Rode. American Game. Migrator. Game.

Let the names be uniform in size the plates, that is, let the original names of the birds be all in one character, the given names also in one character, &c.

### Carolina Turtle Dove.

COLUMBA CAROLINENSIS. Linna.

Males, 1. Females, 2.

White-flowered Starling. Sturnus vulgaris. Linn.

The above arrangement will  
fittingly adapt itself to your

For the largest plates, let the letters not be larger than those of Plate 46. No. 10.

For the middle size plates, let them be the size of those of Plate 47. No. 11.

For the small plates, as in No. 12.

The name not to divide any at the top of the plate,  
not to make capital letters unless they should be scarce,  
and to have the whole uniform  
in flourishes. See also in the manuscript.

9. Audubon's instructions to Robert Havell concerning re-engraving  
of the legends of *The Birds* plates, 2 March 1831  
(Catalogue No. 71)

Mrs. Tolman have been presenting  
to S. J. Maynard Esq; Mr. D. with the  
kindest feelings, of his collection and time  
being,  
*John J. Audubon*

Phiz March 28<sup>th</sup> 1840.

## ORNITHOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHY.

# ORNITHOLOGICAL BIOGRAPHY,

OR AN ACCOUNT OF THE HABITS OF THE  
BIRDS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

ACCOMPANIED BY DESCRIPTIONS OF THE OBJECTS REPRESENTED  
IN THE WORK ENTITLED

## THE BIRDS OF AMERICA,

AND INTERSPERSED WITH DELINEATIONS OF AMERICAN  
SCENERY AND MANNERS.

BY JOHN JAMES AUDUBON, F.R.S.S.L. & E.

FELLOW OF THE LINNEAN AND ZOOLOGICAL SOCIETIES OF LONDON; MEMBER OF THE LYCEUM  
AND LINNEAN SOCIETY OF NEW YORK; OF THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF PARIS, THE  
WERNERIAN NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE  
SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY OF MANCHESTER, AND OF THE SCOTTISH ACADEMY OF  
PAINTING, ARCHITECTURE, AND SCULPTURE, &c.

## EDINBURGH:

ADAM BLACK, 55, NORTH BRIDGE, EDINBURGH;  
R. HAVELL JUN., ENGRAVER, 77, OXFORD STREET, AND LONGMAN, REES,  
BROWN, & GREEN, LONDON; GEORGE SMITH, TITTERDOWN STREET,  
LIVERPOOL; T. ROWLER, MANCHESTER; MRS ROBINSON, LEEDS;  
E. CHARNLEY, NEWCASTLE; POOL & BOOTH, CHESTER; AND DEILBY,  
KNOTT, & DEILBY, BIRMINGHAM.

## Glossy Ibis.

See manuscript.

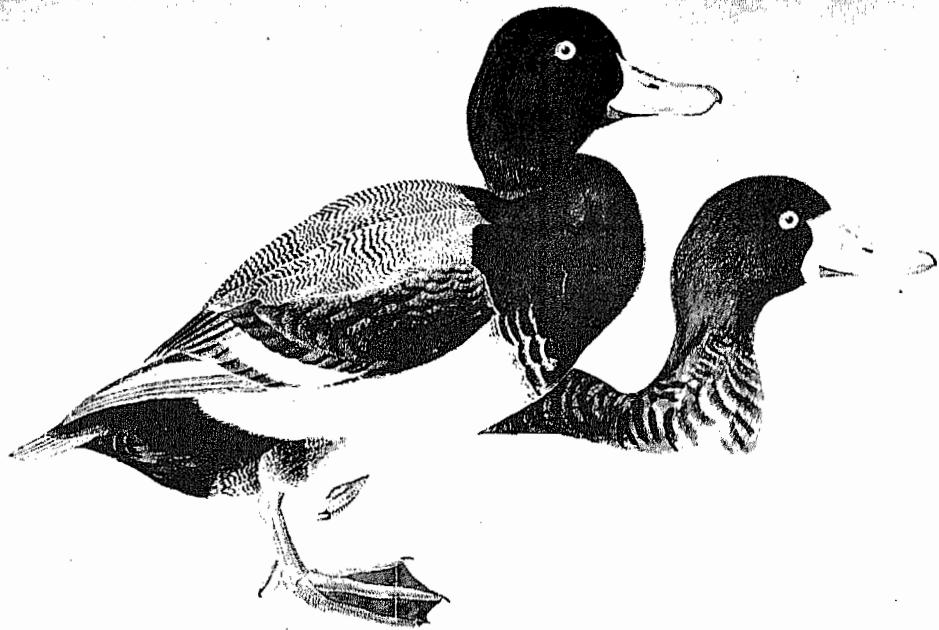
~~This is the first bird that has hitherto been given of this beautiful species of Ibis in America. In an account of this bird by Mr. George Bentinck in an evening paper, and published in the first part of Vol. I. of the Journal of the Academy of Natural History at this last of the year, he gives the following: "In the month of May, of the present year, Mr. Thomas Say received from Mr. Brewer of Great Egg Harbor, a fine Specimen of Gontatius, which had been shot there. Found in it is the first instance which has come to my knowledge of this species having been found in the United States. I was informed that a second Specimen of this bird was likewise in the month of May, probably to the Baltimore Museum; and that two individuals were killed in the District of Columbia." — See the original Mr. Say's account of the Gontatius with the exception of Doctor Bentinck's account of the Gontatius magnificus and conjecture that on his being in the former — The Prince of Mysore who has given figure of the bird mentioned by Mr. Say, under the name of G. fabiornellus, — mentioning that our species was identical with the latter, — knowing that our species was identical with the latter, — but in a late communication with the Prince, in October, I told him that if of this conclusion I entertained that there had been any differences between the two birds, I would call them birds, and distinct species of both and European as already admitted, was it proper for me to transcribe upon the sight of priority, which had until our present epoch been looking upon as the same name of giving bottoms of distinctions and standing though, out of the way, for the benefit of the whole race of Sciences.~~

Thomas Nuttall in his Ornithology of the United States and Canada says that "A Specimen has occasionally been exhibited for sale in Market of Boston" (Massachusetts).

The Glossy Ibis of this article is evidently one in the United States, without any affinities to long and broad-tailed Ibis, as the founders of the American Museum of Natural History, Professor Marsh, and it was not until I reached the Japan in the Spring of 1837, that I observed them in flocks, and even in that country they are only summer residents, associating with the white Ibis but always along the gravelly margins of the Rivers and Rapides and apparently going and returning from settling places in the interior of the Country. No flight is recorded that of its companion the White Ibis, and it is probable that they feed on the same kinds of crustaceous remains, and hunt on low bushes and in the same great migrations, but we unfortunately had no opportunity to verify this. — I have given the figure of a male Ibis in adult plumage perched in the branches of a wooded shrub, and gives a view of which is also given. —



12. Audubon exhibition, Princeton University Library, 15 May-  
30 September 1959. Photographs by J. Bulakowski  
(Below: Catalogue Nos. 117, 115, 118)



13. "Common Scaup Duck." Drawing by J. J. Audubon, ca. 1842,  
for Plate 498, octavo edition of *The Birds*  
(Catalogue No. 61)

I have never attempted to capture them, having to depend upon  
the instinct of instinct of flight to procure it. The only variety of a bird,  
it seems curiously enough, being, and curious the name always,  
on the ground it will alight, and capture them, though  
being aquatic, it is extremely fat, especially in autumn, and  
the flesh is said to be preferable to that of any of our other  
species.

"The last stipulation does not apply, as to the emigration to its habitat. The disappearance of *water-shield* may be fully accounted for by the reduction in a particular variety for a number of years, unseasonableness, in succession, and the want of water for life."

Johns found the anti-slavery party predominant in the  
market of the City of New-Orleans, where I have been a day or two.  
In view of his having no less than thirty slaves of a large  
class, I was informed by the persons who had known of them,  
that they were planted under the name of Long Island. They  
are not now in Georgia, having left the country called  
the Southern Home of Free Society, etc., and to live there  
but, and if there they aged, to die there. I received  
one from Long Island near Hobbs, Massachusetts,  
Massachusetts, that living there as a different species from  
any other. I also received a plan from Baltimore that  
was copied upon as substituted. —

Behaviour of these colours is to great they carry to point out their  
ffy or a hunting party & usually fly two party excepting by  
a little and for that reason have chosen for my title "undeserved  
Scenes." — *The life of a butterfly* and for the second in that series,  
1840.

~~They at 9 lbs. 50¢!  
A broad, flat and distichous. J. Bone reddish, Mamone 8  
in going in toward the base. The upper surface  
is smooth as this is known with us will never undergo  
any form of a dog's ear and is the last but the one in which  
it might still differ very greatly in the respect from our species.  
There is a black squirrel frequently seen in our neighborhood, which  
is often found over a lip mortled with bone  
I find a squirrel about two or three weeks ago which was much like the  
one I found, but somewhat lighter, without the black stripe  
on side and double the size.~~

<sup>14</sup>. Audubon's manuscripts for *The Quadrupeds*: "Cat Squirrel" (with note from William M. Baird attached) and "Soft-haired Squirrel" (Catalogue No. 181).



15. "Striped Ground Squirrel, male and female." Drawing by J. J. Audubon, 1841,  
for Plate 24, *The Quadrupeds*  
(Catalogue No. 125)

Send copy to the friend - You will better have it by mail except that there is delay in getting  
views around the place & I have not time.

Minnie's Land Jan. 28<sup>th</sup> 1847 -

My dear Abby. -

Your few letters of the 1<sup>st</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> of this month, when  
brought home tell me nothing more to bear respecting to  
bring them -

With your very much, you are not in London, and  
I hear at least that you will try to find Mr. Audubon  
published by the way of the British Museum and which can  
be obtained -

I enclose a few drawings today -

1. Mistletoe Parrot - \$1.00  
2. Barred Owl - \$1.00  
3. Scissortail Bobolink - \$1.00  
4. S. griseo-caudatus - \$1.00  
5. Jacaranda Hummer - \$1.00  
6. - - - - - \$1.00 the latter is from Mr. George Cates

I ought returning that you have not sent me the drawing  
named of all the animals that you have sent me, but it seems  
that Mr. Bachman is greatly pleased by some of them  
indeed & he has taken some strong ideas since you have  
been gone, such as taking the birds like animals you have  
sent down from you, for the common and top of this  
Country, whether without having seen them or something  
about what he was saying, but when he sent them he  
will no doubt do better his mistakes.

Do just as naturally the arrangement of all that  
do draw but also the relative size of the animals  
named above -

We are all very sorry to hear that dear Caroline  
is to remain in England until she has recovered from  
her confinement. - Half the time last fall we a good  
bitting party with from London or elsewhere. We  
would have been busy at home long since; but it  
cannot now be helped -

16. Letter from J. J. Audubon to his son, John Woodhouse Audubon,  
Minnie's Land, 28 January 1847  
(Catalogue No. 157)

73. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Robert Havell, New York, 8 April 1834 (a.l.s.). [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

"We sail for Liverpool on the 16th Instant, in the Packet Ship the *North America*. . . .

"I am delighted the 28 drawings reached you safe and that you like them—go on—push on—good work will be an ever lasting memoranda of our existence!"

74. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Robert Havell, Charleston, South Carolina, 18 December 1836 (a.l.s.). [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

"This is to inform you . . . that I yesterday shipped . . . to Liverpool, a [...] tin case, addressed to the care of Messrs Rathbone, containing Nine Drawings for the Publication, and that I hope this tin box will soon be with you. . . .

"We contemplate starting on our expedition around the Gulph of Mexico on the 1st of February next, in one of the Government Vessels.—Mr. Edward Harris goes with us. . . ."

75. "Robert Havell, Engraver, Printseller & Publisher." View of the façade of his shop at 77 Oxford Street, London. Advertising folder, ca. 1834. Photostat from reproduction in Herrick, I, facing p. 386 [8604.134.45.11]. Also examples of engravers' tools [Graphic Arts Collection].

76. Life mask of J. J. Audubon. Made in London by Robert Havell, Jr., 1834. Cast (by D. Baird) from the original mask in the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard University.

[Ex 4898]

Herrick, II, 395, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 10; Arthur, p. 497, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 8.

## X. AUDUBON'S WRITINGS

*I know that I am a poor writer. . . . but meantime I am aware that no man living knows better than I do the habits of our birds; no man living has studied them as much as I have done, and with the assistance of my old journals and memorandum-books which were written on the spot, I can at least put down plain truths, which may be useful and perhaps interesting, so I shall set to at once. I cannot, however, give scientific descriptions, and here must have assistance.—J. J. Audubon, 16 October 1830, Journals, I, 63-64*

It is sometimes forgotten that Audubon was a prolific writer, as well as an artist. During the 1830's he prepared, as an accompaniment to *The Birds of America* engravings, five volumes of descriptive text, published under the title *Ornithological Biography* (Edinburgh, 1831-39). For these volumes he also wrote the auto-

biographical "episodes," or "delineations of American scenery and manners," which still provide a vivid account of the America that Audubon knew. A methodical *Synopsis of The Birds of America*, issued in 1839, was the keystone of the great edifice.

These publications were prepared with the editorial assistance of a young Scottish scientist, William Macgillivray, whose task, in Audubon's words, was "completing the scientific details and smoothing down the asperities of my Ornithological Biographies." The *Synopsis* was followed by the "Birds in miniature" (1840-44), in which the descriptive texts and the plates of the original work were combined and systematically arranged in a series of uniform octavo-size volumes.

77. Portrait of J. J. Audubon in 1831, aged 46. Engraving, by Charles Turner after miniature painted in London in 1831 by Frederick Cruickshank, published by Robert Havell, 1835. [Graphic Arts Collection; another example, colored, lent by R. Gwynne Stout]
- Herrick, II, 394, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 7; Arthur, p. 496, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 5.
78. J. J. Audubon. *Ornithological Biography, or An Account of the Habits of the Birds of the United States of America; accompanied by Descriptions of the Objects represented in the Work entitled The Birds of America, and interspersed with Delineations of American Scenery and Manners*. Edinburgh, Adam Black; London, R. Havell jun., and Longman, Rees, Brown, & Green; Liverpool, George Smith; Manchester, T. Sowler; Leeds, Mrs Robinson; Newcastle, E. Charnley; Chester, Pool & Booth; Birmingham, Beilby, Knott, & Beilby, 1831-39. 5 vols. [Ex 8880.134]. Illustrated, Plate 10

The imprints of the five volumes differ. That for Vol. I is as above. Vol. II: Edinburgh, Adam & Charles Black; London, Longman, Rees, Brown, Green, & Longman; London, R. Havell; Manchester, Thomas Sowler; Leeds, Mrs Robinson; Edinburgh, Alexander Hill; Birmingham, Beilby, Knott & Beilby; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, E. Charnley; Liverpool, George Smith, 1834. Vol. III: Edinburgh, Adam & Charles Black; London, Longman, Rees, Brown, Green & Longman; London, R. Havell; Manchester, Thomas Sowler; Leeds, Mrs Robinson; Edinburgh, Alexander Hill; Birmingham, J. Henry Beilby; Newcastle-upon-Tyne, E. Charnley; Liverpool, George Smith, 1835. Vol. IV: Edinburgh, Adam & Charles Black; London, R. Havell; Edinburgh, Alexander Hill; Liverpool, George Smith, 1838. Vol. V: Edinburgh, Adam & Charles Black; London, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green & Longmans; London, R. Havell; Edinburgh, Alexander Hill; Liverpool, George Smith, 1839.

The titles of Vols. IV and V differ from those of Vols. I-III. Those for the first

three volumes are as above, with the minor exception that in Vol. III a comma follows the words "United States of America" instead of a semicolon. Vol. IV: *Ornithological Biography, or An Account of the Habits of the Birds of the United States of America, accompanied by Descriptions of the Objects represented in the Work entitled Birds of America, together with an Account of the Digestive Organs of many of the Species, illustrated by Engravings on Wood*. Vol. V: the same as Vol. IV except that the article "The" has been inserted before the words "Birds of America."

The Princeton copy is inscribed on the half title of Vol. I: "These Volumes have been presented to G. S. Morton Esqr. M. D. with the Kindest feelings of his admirer and true Friend The Author John J Audubon, Phila. March 24th 1840." Dr. Samuel G. Morton (1799-1851) was secretary of the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Sciences.

The descriptions of birds included in these volumes—frequently quoted in the present catalogue—were written by Audubon as explanatory texts to accompany the elephant folio plates of *The Birds of America*. They were reprinted, in conjunction with reduced lithographed plates, in the "octavo edition" of *The Birds* (cf. No. 87). A selection from these texts was published in French translation by Eugène Bazin in *Scènes de la Nature dans les États-Unis et le Nord de l'Amérique* (see No. 171-a). Some of Bazin's translations were reprinted, with additional translations by Edmond Bruet, in *Les Oiseaux d'Amérique* (No. 171-d). A few of the bird descriptions are reprinted in Peattie's anthology, *Audubon's America* (No. 171-c); another selection, edited by Alice Ford, has recently been published under the title *The Bird Biographies of John James Audubon* (No. 171-e).

In addition to the descriptions of birds, *Ornithological Biography* also includes a series of autobiographical introductions to each of the five volumes, and, in the first three volumes, informal essays called "episodes." See note under No. 81, below, concerning the episodes and reprintings of them.

79. J. J. Audubon. "Purple Gallinule." Manuscript for the description of this bird in *Ornithological Biography*, IV, 37-42. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

Audubon's manuscripts were edited for publication with the assistance of William Macgillivray (1796-1852), a young Scottish scientist of Edinburgh. Comparison of surviving manuscripts such as this one with the printed versions indicate that Macgillivray was a good editor, "completing the scientific details and smoothing down the asperities," as Audubon expected him to do. To call him "Audubon's ghost-writer," as some have done, is certainly an overstatement. Macgillivray edited Audubon's manuscripts far more discreetly than did John Bachman those for *The Quadrupeds* (cf. No. 131).

Two other manuscripts for bird descriptions are included in the exhibition: Nos. 106, 116.

80. William Macgillivray. *Descriptions of the Rapacious Birds of Great Britain*. Edinburgh, 1836. [88827.606]

Macgillivray was a young man of thirty-four when he began his collaboration with Audubon in 1830, and already a scientist in his own right. The volume shown here, the first of his *History of British Birds*, is dedicated "To John James Audubon, in admiration of his talents as an ornithologist, and in gratitude for many acts of friendship." There are several references to Audubon in the text.

In addition to editing Audubon's manuscripts, Macgillivray also supplied the anatomical drawings which appeared in Vols. IV and V of the *Ornithological Biography*. He also collaborated in the *Synopsis* (No. 85).

81. J. J. Audubon. "A Tough Walk for a Youth." Manuscript for the episode of this title in *Ornithological Biography*, III, 371-375. [Lent by the National Audubon Society]

"About Twelve Years ago the Steamer Magnet commanded by Mr. McKnight to whom should these pages ever reach, I repeat my thanks for his attentions to my Son Victor and myself during our passage from Bayou Sarah to the mouth of the Ohio.—The very sight of the waters made my heart bounce with joy as we approached the little village called Trinity where we and several other passengers were put ashore, the water being too low for the steamer to enable her as contemplated to reach Louisville in Kentucky.—Anxious to proceed at once enquiries were made about Horses but none could be procured. The Little Village afforded us the kindly reception of the Tavern Keeper, who took charge of our effects with the view of having them forwarded as soon as possible. . . . I asked my Dear Boy if he thought he could accompany me on foot to Louisville? he was not fourteen, but full of the ardour of children of that age he answered at once in the affirmative. . . ."

Two other manuscripts of episodes are shown in the exhibition: Nos. 82, 110. For printed versions, see Nos. 17, 19, 31, 92, 96, 109.

The episodes were not reprinted in the octavo edition of *The Birds* (No. 87). They have been reprinted in Vol. II of the *Journals*, edited by Maria R. Audubon (No. 165); and by Herrick in the volume entitled *Delineations of American Scenery and Character* (No. 171-b). Selections have also been included in the volume in French edited by Bazin (No. 171-a), and in Peattie's *Audubon's America* (No. 171-c). It should be noted that, in addition to the episodes, Audubon wrote for each of the five volumes of *Ornithological Biography* an introduction in the form of an account of himself and his activities. The introductions to Vols. II and III are reprinted in Herrick's *Delineations*, but the equally interesting introductions to Vols. I, IV, and V are there omitted, and are thus available only in the original edition.

82. J. J. Audubon. "Visits to & from Thomas Bewick." Manuscript for "Reminiscences of Thomas Bewick," *Ornithological Biography*, III, 300-304. [Lent by the National Audubon Society]

Describing his first visit to Thomas Bewick (1753-1828), the great wood engraver, at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in 1827, Audubon writes:

"The Old Gentleman and I stuck to each other, he talking of my Drawings and I of his Wood Cuts—Now & then he would take off his cap and draw up his grey worsted stockings to his 'neither clothes,' but the moment that our conversation became animated, the cap was on, and yet almost off his head, sticking on his occiput as if by magic. The hose were forgotten. . . ."

83. J. J. Audubon. Letter to W. H. Bentley, London, 17 March 1835 (a.l.s.). [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

"I have written nearly one half of my *Third Volume of Biographies!* I intend to have it ought [sic] next Winter early!! how do you like the contents of the Second?"

In this letter written to Walter Horton Bentley of Manchester, Audubon also

remarks: "My opinion is now made up, that not more than 50 or 60 Copies complete will exist in Europe when I close the concern in about three years from this day, and that The Birds of America will then raise in value as much as they are now deprecated by certain Fools and envious persons."

It is worth noting in this connection that the subscription copy of the elephant folio belonging to the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, Edinburgh, with a copy of the *Ornithological Biography*, was sold at Sotheby & Co., London, 19 October 1959, for £13,000 (item No. 9 in the catalogue for that date).

84. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his wife, Edinburgh, 1 July 1838  
(a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"We begin printing *Tomorrow 2d of July 1838!* remember that Mesdames et Messieurs! and Intend to proceed with all possible dispatch and care." The reference is to the printing of Vol. IV of the *Ornithological Biography*. In the same letter Audubon mentions that "I have written 44 articles for my Appendix," that is, for Vol. V (which was to be published in 1839), and says that "MacGillivray is quite well, and works very hard poor fellow."

The letter begins with a reference to Queen Victoria's coronation: "Here the festivals were poor beyond description, and although scarcely any thing was to be seen, the whole population was on foot the whole day and nearly the whole night, gazing at each other like lost sheep. . . . MacGillivray and I went to see the fire works at 10 and soon returned disgusted."

This letter is printed in *The Auk*, XI, No. 4 (Oct., 1894), 309-313.

85. J. J. Audubon. *A Synopsis of the Birds of North America.*  
Edinburgh, Adam and Charles Black, 1839. [Ex 8880.134.2]

"I have been induced to present this Volume to the Public by two considerations. The figures and descriptions contained in the works entitled 'The Birds of America,' and 'Ornithological Biography, or an Account of the Habits of the Birds of the United States,' having been issued in the miscellaneous manner which was thought best adapted to the occasion, or which was rendered necessary by circumstances, seemed to require a systematic index, in which the nomenclature should be corrected, and the species arranged agreeably to my present views. This Synopsis, then, will afford a methodical catalogue of all the species hitherto discovered in the vast regions, extending from the northern confines of Mexico to the Polar Seas, and which have been described, and, with few exceptions, depicted in the works above named. Another important object has been to present an arrangement of these birds, so characterized, that a person desirous of studying them, might, without much difficulty, be enabled to discover their names, and trace some of the most important features in their organization. . . .

"On this occasion I have again to acknowledge the benefit derived from the aid of my friend Mr Macgillivray, whose general knowledge of ornithology, and perfect candour, have rendered his advice peculiarly valuable. J. J. Audubon. Edinburgh, 1st July 1839."

86. Lucy B. Audubon. Letter to her sons, Edinburgh, 30 June 1839 (a.l.s., with postscript by J. J. Audubon). [Manuscripts Division]

"Last night the Synopsis was done!! and in another week we think it will be bound and ready for sale; tomorrow Papa is beginning to pack up and we shall go to Liverpool as soon as we can. . . ."

In a continuation of the letter, dated 2 July, Mrs. Audubon adds: "We have just heard from the agents that there are no state rooms in the Great Western except in the fore cabin which we decline and will come to you in a Packet. . . ."

87. J. J. Audubon. *The Birds of America, from Drawings made in the United States and their Territories.* New York and Philadelphia, 1840-44. As issued to subscribers in parts. Incomplete set, in original gray paper covers, consisting of Nos. 41, 44-45, 47, 58-60, 64-66, 68-71, 79. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

The octavo edition of *The Birds*—sometimes referred to as "*The Birds* in miniature"—combined the texts from the *Ornithological Biography* with small-format colored lithographic plates copied from the elephant folio. These lithographs were executed by J. T. Bowen of Philadelphia. The work was issued to subscribers in parts, each such fascicle consisting of five plates and accompanying text. The number of the part is inserted in ink on the front cover, which reproduces in facsimile the title-page; the letterpress on the back covers varies—for example, a "Prospectus" of the work, as in Nos. 44 and 45, or "Names of Subscribers since the Last," as in Nos. 60 and 64.

The parts were generally bound up to make seven volumes. Volumes from the Library's bound set [Ex 8880.134.16] are shown elsewhere in the exhibition (Nos. 13, 36, 144). The octavo edition of *The Birds of America* was reissued several times and as late as 1870; cf. Herrick, II, 404-409, "Bibliography," Nos. 4, 8-14.

In this octavo edition the plates and descriptions are arranged systematically by species and do not therefore correspond to the order of the elephant folio. For example, the "Wild Turkey," Plate I of the original edition, is Plate 287 of the octavo edition. For this edition Audubon also added new species of birds, bringing the total number of plates from 435 up to 500. It can therefore be considered a revision of the earlier work.

The first five volumes were published by J. J. Audubon in New York and J. B. Chevalier in Philadelphia; for the final two volumes J. J. Audubon acted as the publisher in both cities.

## XI. IN SEARCH OF BIRDS . . . AND SUBSCRIBERS

*. . . I have spared no time, no labour, no expense, in endeavouring to render my work as perfect as it was possible for me and my family to make it. We have all laboured at it, and every other occupation has been laid aside, that we might present in the best form the Birds of America, to the generous individuals who have placed their names on my subscription list.—J. J. Audubon, Ornith. Biog., II, xxvi*

During the 1830's Audubon traveled widely in search of new birds, added drawings to his portfolio, wrote the text of his books and oversaw their publication. At the same time he had to secure subscribers to his work, and for this purpose personally canvassed the centers of wealth and culture on two continents. In this single decade he made three voyages across the Atlantic and back, in addition to major expeditions to Florida, to Labrador, and to Texas. Meanwhile he was traveling up and down the Atlantic

seaboard from Charleston to Boston—by road, by canalboat, and later on, in the “cars,” as the new railroads were then called.

The prints grouped in this section recall a few of the many places Audubon visited in the 1830's, while other documents evoke some of the many people that he met in the course of his travels.

88. “Mitchell's Travellers Guide through the United States. A Map of the Roads, Distances, Steam Boat & Canal Routes &c.”  
By J. H. Young. Philadelphia, Published by S. Augustus Mitchell, 1835. [Rollins]

Colored engraved folding map, containing eight small inset maps. With a broadside showing “Steam-Boat and Canal Routes,” etc. Map and broadside both tipped into pocket-size red leather covers.

89. “Bachman's Warbler” [*Vermivora bachmanii*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1833.  
Plate 185, *The Birds of America*. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

“My friend Bachman has the merit of having discovered this pretty little species of Warbler, and to him I have the pleasure of acknowledging my obligations for the pair which you will find represented in the plate, accompanied with a figure of one of the most beautiful of our southern flowers, originally drawn by my friend's sister, Miss Martin. I myself have never had the good fortune to meet with any individuals of this interesting Sylvia, respecting which little is as yet known, its discoverer having only procured a few specimens of both sexes, without being able to find a nest. The first obtained was found by him a few miles from Charleston, in South Carolina, in July 1833. . . .”—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, II, 483-484

Audubon first met the Reverend John Bachman (1790-1874) during his visit to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1831. The two men became close friends, and later collaborated in the publication of *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. Miss Maria Martin, Bachman's sister-in-law, was one of the Charleston household which came to be almost a second home to Audubon. In 1837 Audubon's son, John Woodhouse, was married to Bachman's daughter, Maria Rebecca; in 1839 his elder son, Victor Gifford, was married to another of Bachman's daughters, Mary Eliza. Both the young wives died from tuberculosis a few years later; Audubon's sons both remarried.

The flower shown in this plate is the “Franklinia”—*Gordonia pubescens*, or *Gordonia altamaha*—a shrub discovered by John Bartram in 1765 growing near Fort Barrington on the Altamaha River in Georgia. Bartram named it in honor of Benjamin Franklin; it was last found as a wild plant in 1790, and is today known only as a garden shrub.

90. “Fox coloured Finch, *Fringilla iliaca*. Plant. Franklinia, *Gordonia pubescens*.” Pen and water-color drawing on paper. 20 x 14 inches. Dated 1837. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

The drawing is attributed to “John James Audubon, probably with Miss Maria Martin.” It seems likely that it is entirely Miss Martin's work. The Franklinia in

bloom, which is the most prominent feature of the drawing, is the plant also represented in the engraved plate of Bachman's Warbler (see preceding item).

91. "Pine Finch" [Pine Siskin, *Spinus pinus*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1833. Plate 180, *The Birds of America*. Pattern print used as a model by the colorists in Havell's studio, margins trimmed, with trial color smears. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

"During the winter months, the Pine Finch is such a wanderer, that it ranges at irregular periods, from the coast line westward to the banks of the Ohio, and southward to the Carolinas. . . . In December 1833, I shot several near Charleston in South Carolina, and on a previous winter procured five near Henderson in Kentucky. Their visits to those Districts, however, are of short duration, the least increase of temperature seeming to recall them to their more northern haunts. . . .

"In August and September 1832, while travelling in the British provinces [Canada], I and my companions frequently met with flocks of these birds . . . feeding amid the branches of the tallest fir trees. . . . While among the Magdeleine Islands, in the Gulf of St Lawrence, I frequently observed groups of five or six of these birds arriving from afar. . . .

"Those which I saw while in South Carolina, in company with my esteemed friend John Bachman, fed entirely on the seeds of the Sweet Gum. . . . The specimens represented in the plate were procured near the residence of Sir Archibald Campbell, Bart. in New Brunswick, of which province he is governor; and I have great pleasure in informing you, that, through his most polite attention and kind hospitality to myself and my family, our time was passed in the most pleasant manner, while we sojourned in the pretty village of Fredericton."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, II, 455-458

92. J. J. Audubon. "The Merchant of Savannah." *Ornithological Biography*, II, 549-551. [Ex 8880.134]

Audubon relates his meeting at Savannah with William Gaston, when journeying from St. Augustine, Florida, to Charleston, South Carolina, in the spring of 1832. ". . . the merchant addressing himself to me, said he could not conceive why the arts and sciences should not be encouraged by men of wealth in our country. The clerk now returned and handed him some papers, which he transferred to me, saying, 'I subscribe to your work; here is the price of the first volume; come with me, I know you now, and I will procure you some others; every one of us is bound to you for the knowledge you bring to us of things, which, without your zeal and enterprise, might probably never have reached us. . . .' "

93. J. J. Audubon. Letter to R. O. Anderson (of Georgetown, South Carolina), London, 16 May 1836 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"Since you honored me with your Subscription to 'The Birds of America,' I have more than once felt the desire to address you, and would have done this sooner had a valuable opportunity occurred. Now however that I have it in my power to announce to you, that I have this day shipped the Third Volume of my Illustrations for you, care of My Worthy Friend the Reverend John Bachman of Charles-

ton, South Carolina via New York I take this liberty with the hope that you will not look upon it as an intrusion of your valuable time.—I have examined each plate with care, as also the Binding of that Volume, and sincerely hope that its contents will meet your approbation."

94. J. J. Audubon. Letter to John Bachman, Baltimore, 13 March 1834 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"I have nothing to do in the way of Drawing as yet although the Markets are crowded with Ducks of Many Kinds, but the Gunners are now at work for us and I expect some birds beginning of next week. . . ."

95. "Canvas backed Duck" [*Aythya valisineria*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1836. Plate 301, *The Birds of America*. With view of the city of Baltimore, Maryland. [Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Donald W. Griffin]

"The range of the celebrated Duck with the history of which I commence the fourth volume of my Biographs, may be considered as limited on the one hand by the mouths of the Mississippi, and on the other by the Hudson or North River. . . . While in our Atlantic Districts, it is found in much greater numbers on the Chesapeake and the streams that flow into it, than any where else. . . .

"As I have not had very good opportunities of making myself acquainted with the modes in which the Canvass-backs are obtained for the markets, I here present an account of duck-shooting on the waters of the Chesapeake, published some years ago in the 'Cabinet of Natural History,' and of which a copy has been transmitted to me by its author, Dr J. J. Sharpless, of Philadelphia, to whom, for this and other marks of attention, I offer my best thanks. . . .

"In the Plate are represented two Males and a Female. In the back ground is a view of Baltimore, which I have had great pleasure in introducing, on account of the hospitality which I have there experienced, and the generosity of its inhabitants, who, on the occasion of a quantity of my plates having been destroyed by the mob during an outburst of political feeling, indemnified me for the loss."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, IV, 1-14

96. J. J. Audubon. "Great Egg Harbour." *Ornithological Biography*, III, 606-608. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout; Library copy, Ex 8880.134]

"In this manner I passed several weeks along those delightful and healthy shores, one day going to the woods to search the swamps in which the Herons bred, passing another amid the joyous cries of the Marsh Hens, and on a third carrying slaughter among the White-breasted Sea Gulls, by way of amusement sometimes hauling the fish called the Sheep-head from an eddy along the shore, or watching the gay Terns as they danced in the air, or plunged into the waters to seize the tiny fry. Many a drawing I made at Great Egg Harbour, many a pleasant day I spent along its shores. . . ."

Shortly after his return from Europe, in 1829, Audubon spent three weeks at Great Egg Harbor, on the New Jersey coast, then a famous resort of both land and water birds in great variety. During the three weeks that he spent in a fisherman's

cabin by the sea, he added several new bird drawings to his portfolio—of which the Sea-side Finch (next item) is one. For a list of birds drawn at this time and at Great Pine Swamp in Pennsylvania, the same summer, see Herrick, I, 425-426, note 4.

97. "Sea-side Finch" [Seaside Sparrow, *Ammospiza maritima*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved and printed by R. Havell, Jr., 1830. Plate 93, *The Birds of America*. An uncolored impression, margins trimmed. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]. Illustrated, Plate 8

"The Sea-side Finch may be seen at any hour of the day, during the months of May and June, mounted on the tops of the rankest weeds which grow by the margins of tide-waters along the greater portion of our Atlantic coast, whence it pours forth with much emphasis the few notes of which its song is composed. When one approaches it, it either seeks refuge amongst the grass, by descending along the stalks and blades of the weeds, or flies off to a short distance, with a continued flirting of its wings, then alights with a rapid descent, and runs off with great nimbleness. . . .

"It is very difficult to shoot them unless when they are on wing, as their movements while they run up and down the weeds are extremely rapid. . . . Having one day shot a number of these birds, merely for the sake of practice, I had them made into a pie, which, however, could not be eaten, on account of its fishy savour.

"The Rose on which I have drawn these birds is found so near the sea, on rather higher lands than the marshes, that I thought it as fit as any other plant for the purpose, more especially as the Finches, when very high tides overflow the marshes, take refuge in these higher grounds."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, I, 470-472

Audubon's drawing, from which the engraving was made, is dated "Great Egg Harbour, June 14."

The impression exhibited appears to be the first state of the print; the title, for example, is in blank space at upper left and not at the bottom, the plate number is in Arabic numerals rather than Roman, as in later states. See Audubon's instructions to Havell, 2 March 1831 (No. 71).

98. "Small Green-crested Flycatcher" [Acadian Flycatcher, *Empidonax virescens*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved by R. Havell, 1832. Plate 144, *The Birds of America*. The original copperplate. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

This Flycatcher on a branch of Sassafras is another of the birds drawn by Audubon in New Jersey. The original drawing (New-York Historical Society) has his annotation "New Jersey May"—probably indicating May, 1829, when he was in the vicinity of Camden. Cf. Herrick, I, 421, 425.

99. "Tawny Thrush" [Veery, *Hylocichla fuscescens*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1833. Plate 164, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Harry Shaw Newman, The Old Print Shop]

"The song of this northern species greatly resembles that of its relative, the ever-pleasing Wood-Thrush. . . . It reaches the mountainous districts of Pennsylvania early in the month of May, but few if any breed there. In the upper parts of the State of New York, they become more plentiful, and there some undoubtedly

spend the summer; but from Massachusetts eastward to Labrador, they become more and more abundant. On the 20th of July [1833], while in the latter country, I saw the young of this species following their mother. . . . By the 12th of August none were seen. . . . In the latter part of the same month, I met with those which had bred at Newfoundland, on their return to the south, and followed them into Massachusetts. . . .

"In the neighbourhood of the city of Boston, some of these birds, according to my learned friend Nuttall, breed sometimes in the gardens, and he has known of a nest placed in a gooseberry bush. . . .

"The specimen represented in the plate was procured and drawn in the State of Maine, and was in full plumage."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, II, 362-365

The plants represented are: the Purple-fringed Orchid (*Habenaria lacera*); and the Bunch Berry (*Cornus canadensis*), of which Audubon writes: "The plate represents the aggregated bright red globular berries, and ovate-acute leaves of this pretty little plant, which is abundant in shady woods and in mountainous situations in the Middle and Northern States, as well as in the British provinces [Canada]."

Audubon's drawing of the Tawny Thrush was made at Dennisville, Maine, which he visited in August 1832 during a trip with his family from Boston up the Bay of Fundy.

100. Thomas Nuttall. *A Manual of the Ornithology of the United States and of Canada*. Cambridge, Mass., 1832-34. 2 vols., Part I, Land Birds; Part II, Water Birds. The second volume was published in Boston. Audubon's copy, with his annotations. [Ex 8880.683.2]

Audubon became acquainted with the botanist and ornithologist, Thomas Nuttall (1786-1859), during a visit to Boston. The two men were familiar with each other's works and exchanged information and specimens. In the preface to Vol. II of his *Manual*, Nuttall writes: "At an advanced period of the publication, I also received much interesting information from my eminent friend Mr. Audubon, and I have only to regret that the whole manuscript had not been placed under his revision."

The many marginal notes and comments in this copy of Nuttall's *Manual* indicate that Audubon had studied it carefully. Alongside the description of the Autumnal Warbler (I, 390-391), for example, is the note: "Seen abundant at Eastport, May 10th"; beside Nuttall's description of Franklin's Rosy Gull (II, 293) is the comment: "This Gull is a Gull indeed! Nonsense." On a flyleaf of Vol. I is a presentation inscription to Joseph M. Wade of Rockville, Connecticut: "Dear Mr Wade Mamma desires me to present you with this delapidated work. Knowing your love for all 'Audubonian' relics, she thinks perhaps you may value the same. Believe me Sincerely Florence Audubon Jan. 1st 1880." "Mamma" was Caroline Hall (Mrs. John Woodhouse) Audubon.

101. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Thomas Nuttall, London, 19 September 1837 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"When I was at Philadelphia with you, I had it in contemplation that before my leaving that City, we would have looked over all my published plates to ascertain through your kind observations what are the species which being found on our Atlantic side of the Union, were also seen by yourself West of the Rocky Mountains."

102. Washington Irving. Letter to Benjamin F. Butler (then Attorney General of the United States), Tarrytown, 19 October 1836 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"The splendid work of Mr Audubon, on the sale of which he depends for the remuneration of a life of labor . . . necessarily, from the magnificence of its execution, is put at a price beyond the means of most individuals. It must depend therefore on public institutions for its chief sale. As it is a national work, and highly creditable to the nation, it appears to me that it is particularly deserving of national patronage. Why cannot the departments at Washington furnish themselves with copies, to be deposited in their libraries or archives?"

The letter is printed (presumably from Audubon's copy of it) in *The Life of John James Audubon*, edited by his widow (see Nos. 163, 164).

## XII. SOUTH TO FLORIDA, 1832

*Pursuing our way through the deep and tortuous channels that every where traverse the immense muddy soap-like flats that stretch from the outward Keys to the Main, we proceeded on our voyage of discovery.*

—J. J. Audubon, "The Florida Keys," *Ornith. Biog.*, II, 315

Audubon's field trip to Florida included a six weeks' cruise (April-May 1832) on board the U. S. Revenue cutter "Marion," commanded by Lt. Robert Day, down the east coast from St. Augustine as far as Key West and the Tortugas. He had with him as assistants Henry Ward, a young English taxidermist, and the painter George Lehman, who drew many of the landscape backgrounds which appear in the engravings of southern birds. Although only two new species were added to systematic ornithology as a result of this expedition, Audubon observed many birds that he himself had not previously seen, and added many notable drawings to his portfolio. His descriptions of birds as well as the "episodes" written for the *Ornithological Biography* are rich in impressions of Florida scenes.

103. "Map of the State of Florida." Compiled in the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, from the most recent authorities. Washington, 1856, reproduced in 1875. [Maps Division]

Shows the localities visited by Audubon during his Florida expedition.

104. "Greenshank" [*Totanus nebularia*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1835. Plate 269, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Harry Shaw Newman, The Old Print Shop]

"While on Sand Key, which is about six miles distant from Cape Sable of the Floridas . . . I shot three birds of this species on the 28th of May 1832. I had at

first supposed them to be Tell-tale Godwits, as they walked on the bars and into the shallows much in the same manner, and, on obtaining them, imagined they were new; but on shewing them to my assistant Mr [Henry] Ward, who was acquainted with the Greenshank of Europe, he pronounced them to be of that species, and I have since ascertained the fact by a comparison of specimens. . . . We did not find any afterwards; but it is probable that we had seen some previously, although we did not endeavour to procure them, having supposed them to be Tell-tales. . . . They had been shot merely because they offered a tempting opportunity, being all close together, and it is not often that one can kill three Tell-tales at once."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, III, 483-485

The background, representing St. Augustine, was probably painted by George Lehman, who accompanied Audubon as an assistant on the Florida trip.

Except for Audubon's record, there is no other evidence of the occurrence of this Old World species in North America; modern ornithologists have therefore transferred it to the "Hypothetical List" of North American birds.

105. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his wife, St. Augustine, Florida, 5 December 1831. *Letters of John James Audubon, 1826-1840*, ed. Howard Corning, Boston, 1930, I, 162-163. [Ex 8604 .134.13.2]

"St Augustine is the poorest hole in the Creation—The living very poor and very high—was it not for the fishes in the bay and a few thousand of oranges that grow immediately around the Village, the people must undoubtedly abandon it or starve for they all are too leazy to work, or if they work at such price as puts it out of the question to employ them. The Country around nothing but bare sand Hills—hot one day cold another &c &c."

106. J. J. Audubon. "Glossy Ibis." Manuscript for the description of this species in *Ornithological Biography*, IV, 608-611. [Manuscripts Division]. Illustrated, Plate 11

The text was written to accompany Plate 387 of the elephant folio. "I have given," Audubon writes, "the figure of a *Male* Bird in superb plumage procured in the Floridas, near a Woodcutter's Cabin a view of which is also given."

A substantial portion of the first paragraph of the manuscript has been crossed out; a rewritten version of this passage, also in Audubon's hand, is in the collection of Mrs. Wharton Sinkler of Philadelphia, who has kindly allowed the Library to retain a photostat of her manuscript. The passage, which Audubon evidently worked over rather carefully (and which was still further reworded in the final printed version), concerns the question of identification and nomenclature, which in turn required mention of two fellow ornithologists, George Ord of Philadelphia and Charles Bonaparte, Prince of Musignano. Audubon notes that Bonaparte had earlier equated the Glossy Ibis, first recorded in the United States by Ord, with the European species (*Ibis falcinellus*), but that more recently, in light of his theory that no species could be common to both continents, he had renamed it *Ibis ordi*—a revision that Audubon cannot accept. Audubon knew that he was treading on dangerous ground, for George Ord (whom he describes in his first version of the manuscript as "the friend & companion of the immortal Alex<sup>r</sup> Wilson," and in the revised version as "the friend and companion of the celebrated Alex<sup>r</sup> Wilson") was one of his most relentless critics, while his relations with Bonaparte were somewhat clouded at the time the manuscript was written (1838). This was still the great age of descriptive ornithology, of census-taking and name-giving; rivalries and

jealousies among naturalists not infrequently arose out of problems of nomenclature and priority.

107. "Louisiana Heron" [*Hydranassa tricolor*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved by R. Havell, 1834. Plate 217, *The Birds of America*. The original copperplate. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

"Delicate in form, beautiful in plumage, and graceful in its movements, I never see this interesting Heron, without calling it the Lady of the Waters. Watch its motions, as it leisurely walks over the pure sand beaches of the coast of Florida, arrayed in the full beauty of its spring plumage. . . .

"On the 29th of April [1832], while wading around a beautiful key of the Floridas . . . my party and I suddenly came upon one of the breeding places of the Louisiana Heron. The southern exposures of this lovely island were overgrown with low trees and bushes matted together by thousands of smilaxes and other creeping plants, supported by various species of cactus. Among the branches some hundred pairs of these lovely birds had placed their nests, which were so low and so close to each other, that without moving a step one could put his hand into several. The birds thus taken by surprise rose affrighted into the air, bitterly complaining of being disturbed in their secluded retreat. . . .

"On the 19th May, in the same year, I found another breeding place of this species not far from Key West. The young birds, which stood on all the branches of the trees and bushes on the southern side of the place, were about the size of our Little Partridge. . . . Many were caught afterwards and taken as passengers on board the Marion. They fed on any garbage thrown to them by the sailors; but whenever another species came near them, they leaped towards its bill, caught hold of it as if it had been a fish, and hung to it until shaken off by their stronger associates."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, III, 136-141

108. "American Flamingo" [*Phoenicopterus ruber*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1838. Plate 431, *The Birds of America*. [Ex 8880.134.11e, Vol. 4]

"On the 7th of May 1832, while sailing from Indian Key, one of the numerous islets that skirt the south-eastern coast of the Peninsula of Florida, I for the first time saw a flock of Flamingoes. It was on the afternoon of one of those sultry days which, in that portion of the country, exhibit towards evening the most glorious effulgence that can be conceived. The sun, now far advanced toward the horizon, still shone with full splendour, the ocean around glittered in its quiet beauty, and the light fleecy clouds that here and there spotted the heavens, seemed flakes of snow margined with gold. Our bark was propelled almost as if by magic, for scarcely was a ripple raised by her bows as we moved in silence. Far away to seaward we spied a flock of Flamingoes advancing in 'Indian line,' with well-spread wings, outstretched necks, and long legs directed backwards. Ah! Reader, could you but know the emotions that then agitated my breast! I thought I had now reached the height of all my expectations, for my voyage to the Floridas was undertaken in a great measure for the purpose of studying these lovely birds in their own beautiful islands."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, V, 255-264

The Flamingo, greatly reduced in numbers since Audubon's time, is now only an accidental visitor to the Florida Keys.

109. J. J. Audubon. "The Florida Keys." *Ornithological Biography*, II, 312-316. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout; Library copy, Ex 8880.134]

"As we rounded the island, a beautiful bird of the species called Peale's Egret, came up and was shot. We now landed, took in the rest of our party, and returned to Indian Key, where we arrived three hours before sunset.

"The sailors and other individuals to whom my name and pursuits had become known, carried our birds to the pilot's house. His good wife had a room ready for me to draw in, and my assistant [Henry Ward] might have been seen busily engaged in skinning, while George Lehman was making a sketch of the lovely isle.

"Time is ever precious to the student of nature. I placed several birds in their natural attitudes, and began to outline them. A dance had been prepared also, and no sooner was the sun lost to our eye, than males and females, including our captain and others from the vessel, were seen advancing gaily towards the house in full apparel. The birds were skinned, the sketch was on paper, and I told my young men to amuse themselves. As to myself, I could not join in the merriment, for, full of the remembrance of you, reader, and of the patrons of my work both in America and in Europe, I went on 'grinding'—not on an organ, like the Lady of Bras d'Or [in Labrador], but on paper, to the finishing, not merely of my outlines, but of my notes respecting the objects seen this day."

110. J. J. Audubon. "The Wreckers of Florida." Manuscript for the episode of this title in *Ornithological Biography*, III, 158-163. [Lent by the National Audubon Society]

"These Rovers of the Waters, both were from 'Down East,' full of health, strong active looking men, and cleanly appalled for the Temperature of this almost Tropical Region.—In a short time [all] was conviviality—They thought my especial Visit to the Tortugas after Birds rather a curious 'fancy,' but they notwithstanding shortly expressed their pleasure whilst looking at some of my Drawings, and immediately proffered their services to me—expeditions far and near were proposed and with pleasure accepted; one of these was concocted for the morrow and we parted from Friends."

The same passage as printed in *Ornithological Biography*, after revision by Macgillivray, reads:

"These rovers, who were both from 'down east,' were stout active men, cleanly and smart in their attire. In a short time, we were all extremely social and merry. They thought my visit to the Tortugas, in quest of birds, was rather 'a curious fancy;' but, notwithstanding, they expressed their pleasure while looking at some of my drawings, and offered their services in procuring specimens. Expeditions far and near were proposed, and on settling that one of them was to take place on the morrow, we parted friends."

Audubon has incorporated into this essay a further account of the Florida wreckers supplied him by his "good friend," Dr. Benjamin Strobel.

### XIII. NORTH TO LABRADOR, 1833

*At length the day of our departure for Labrador arrived. The wharf was crowded with all our friends and acquaintance, and as the "star-spangled banner" swiftly glided to the mast-head of our buoyant bark, we were surprised and gratified by a salute from the fort that towers high over the bay.—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, II, xx*

Only a year after his trip to Florida Audubon fulfilled his dream of journeying northward to the Labrador coast to study its marvelous bird life, unique upon the shores of the Atlantic. This was a full-fledged scientific expedition. At Eastport, Maine, Audubon chartered a ship, the "Ripley," and took with him as assistants—in addition to his younger son, John Woodhouse Audubon—Joseph Coolidge, William Ingalls, Thomas Lincoln, and George Shattuck, all from New England. Their route took them across the Bay of Fundy, around Nova Scotia, through the Gut of Canso into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, thence by way of the Magdalen Islands to the southern coast of Labrador. From American Harbour they went by easy stages along the shore to Bras d'Or, and then returned via St. George in Newfoundland. During these busy months—June, July, and August 1833—Audubon was at the height of his powers. Not only did he accumulate descriptive data and notable drawings for *The Birds of America*, but he also left as his legacy from the Labrador trip numerous letters and a journal, which is one of the most finished and mature of his literary productions.

111. "A Chart of the Gulf of St. Laurence." Published by Laurie & Whittle, London, 1794. [Maps Division]

For an identification of the localities visited and described by Audubon, see also: Charles W. Townsend, "In Audubon's Labrador," *The Auk*, XXXIV, No. 2 (Apr., 1917), 133-146.

112. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his wife, Eastport, Maine, 5 June 1833 (a.l.s., with postscript by John Woodhouse Audubon). [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

On the eve of his departure for the Labrador coast, Audubon writes: "I cannot refrain shedding tears at the thought of leaving my own dear country and my Dearest, best beloved Friend, my own love and true consoler in every adversity. . . ."

This is one of a group of ten letters written by Audubon during his 1833 field trip, the originals of which are on deposit in the Princeton Library through the courtesy of John S. Williams. They have all been printed in *Letters of John James Audubon, 1826-1840*, ed. Howard Corning, Boston, 1930, Vol. I.

113. "Arctic Tern" [Sternia paradisaea]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1835. Plate 250, *The Birds of America*. [Ex 8880.134.11e, Vol. 3]

"Light as a sylph, the Arctic Tern dances through the air above and around you. . . .

"The day after our arrival at the Magdalen Islands, the weather was beautiful, although a stiff breeze blew from the south-west. I landed with my party at an early hour, and we felt as if at a half-way house on our journey from Nova Scotia to Labrador. . . . some dozens of Arctic Terns were plunging into the waters, capturing a tiny fish or shrimp at every dash. Until that moment this Tern had not been familiar to me, and as I admired its easy and graceful motions, I felt agitated with a desire to possess it. Our guns were accordingly charged with mustard-seed shot, and one after another you might have seen the gentle birds come whirling down upon the waters. But previous to this I had marked their mode of flight, their manner of procuring their prey, and their notes, that I might be able to finish the picture from life. Alas, poor things! how well do I remember the pain it gave me, to be thus obliged to pass and execute sentence upon them. At that very moment I thought of those long-past times [i.e., Nantes during the French Revolution], when individuals of my own species were similarly treated; but I excused myself with the plea of necessity, as I recharged my double gun. . . . All this happened in the month of June 1833, when none of the Arctic Terns had yet produced eggs. . . .

"Our schooner now sailed onward, and carried us to the dreary shores of Labrador. There, after some search, we met with a great flock of Arctic Terns breeding on a small island slightly elevated above the sea. Myriads of these birds were there sitting on their eggs."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, III, 366-370

114. J. J. Audubon. "The Labrador Journal, 1833." *Audubon and His Journals*, ed. Maria R. Audubon, New York, 1897, I, 343-445. [Rollins]

3 July—"This afternoon . . . the wind and waves abated, and we landed for a short time. . . . I had the pleasure of coming immediately upon a Cormorant's nest, that lay in a declivity not more than four or five yards below me; the mother bird was on her nest with three young; I was unobserved by her for some minutes, and was delighted to see how kindly attentive she was to her dear brood; suddenly her keen eye saw me, and she flew off as if to dive in the sea."

4 July—"At four this morning I sent Tom Lincoln on shore after four plants and a Cormorant's nest for me to draw. The nest was literally *pasted* to the rock's edge, so thick was the decomposed, putrid matter below it, and to which the upper part of the nest was attached. It was formed of such sticks as the country affords, sea-moss and other garbage, and weighed over fifteen pounds. I have drawn all day. . . ."

5 July—"John and Lincoln returned at sunset with a Red-necked Diver, and one egg of that bird. . . ."

115. "Common Cormorant" [Great Cormorant, *Phalacrocorax carbo*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1835. Plate 266, *The Birds of America*. Pattern print, used as a model by colorists in Havell's studio. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]. Illustrated, Plate 12

"Look at the birds before you, and mark the affectionate glance of the mother, as she stands beside her beloved younglings! I wish you could have witnessed the actions of such groups as I did while in Labrador. . . . I still see the high rolling billows of the St Lawrence breaking in foaming masses against the huge cliffs, on the shelves of which the Cormorant places its nest. I lie flat on the edge of the precipice some hundred feet above the turbulent waters, and now crawling along with all care, I find myself only a few yards above the spot on which the parent bird and her young are fondling each other, quite unconscious of my being near. . . . How pleasing all this is to me! But at this moment the mother accidentally looks upward, her keen eye has met mine, she utters a croak, spreads her sable wings, and in terror launches into the air, leaving her brood at my mercy. . . .

"It was on the 3d of July 1833, about three in the morning, that I had the pleasure of witnessing the scene described above. I was aware before that a colony of Cormorants had nestled on the ledges of the great rocky wall that separated our harbour of Whapatiguan from the waters of the Gulf of St Lawrence. A strong gale had ruffled the sea, and the waves dashed with extreme violence against the rocks, to which circumstance, I believe, was owing my having remained a while unseen and unheard so near the birds, who were not more than four or five yards below me."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, III, 458-469

116. J. J. Audubon. "Great Cormorant." Manuscript note. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

This manuscript, written on a half sheet, is a preliminary rough draft or memorandum, which served as the basis for one paragraph in the description of the "Common Cormorant"; cf. *Ornith. Biog.*, III, 463, "The white markings observed on the old birds of this species. . . ." etc. Of interest is Audubon's memorandum at the bottom of the sheet: "Examine a Young in Spirit to make doubly sure about the opened nostrils at a tender age." In the printed description of the Cormorant (p. 467) Audubon, speaking of "the smaller individual represented in the plate," mentions that "The specimen, which I had preserved in spirits, was examined in my presence by my friend Mr Macgillivray. Whether the fact of the anterior aperture of the organ of smell being open in the young Cormorant has been observed by any other person than myself, I know not; but it would seem that the general opinion is, that Cormorants have no external nares in any stage, and although some state that in the adult they exist, and are extremely small, others allege that there are none at all."

117. "Red-Throated Diver" [Red-Throated Loon, *Gavia stellata*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1834. Plate 202, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Harry Shaw Newman, The Old Print Shop]. Illustrated, Plate 12

"Whilst the icicles are yet hanging from the rocks of our eastern shores, and the snows are gradually giving way under the influence of the April rains, the Bluebird is heard to sound the first notes of his lovesong, and the Red-throated Diver is seen to commence his flight. . . . towards some far distant region of the dreary north. . . .

"The middle of May has arrived; our woods are once more filled with the melodies of numberless warblers, and the Divers have ceased to be seen on our eastern coasts. To study their habits at this season, we must follow them to the islands in the mouth of the broad St Lawrence, or to the granitic rocks of Labrador. The voyage cannot be performed without great expense, and may be attended with danger, but enthusiasm urges me on, and now my bark skims over the blue waters. At length arrived on the rocky shores, I prepare to visit the interior of that rude and moss-clad region. Thousands of little lakes are seen, on which are numberless islets richly clad with grass and sedge. . . . High over these waters, the produce of the melted snows, the Red-throated Diver is seen gambolling by the side of his mate. . . .

"This species begins to breed in Labrador in the beginning of June. . . . On the 15th of . . . [July 1833], Thomas Lincoln and my son John Woodhouse, saw several young ones, which, although quite small, were equally expert at diving. . . . By the 9th of August the young birds had left the fresh-water lakes and ponds for the bays on the coast, and we were informed by the settlers, both in Newfoundland and Labrador, that, by the last days of September, none were to be found in those countries"—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, III, 20-26

118. "Arctic Yager" [Long-Tailed Jaeger, *Stercorarius longicaudus*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Engraved, printed and colored by R. Havell, 1835. Plate 267, *The Birds of America*. [Lent by Harry Shaw Newman, The Old Print Shop]. Illustrated, Plate 12

"During winter this indefatigable teaser of the smaller Gulls often ranges along our southern coasts as far as the Mexican Gulf, where I have seen it, as well as opposite the shores of the Floridas; but I never met with a single individual in summer, even in the most northern parts, although I had expected to find it breeding on the coasts of Labrador and Newfoundland. Few birds surpass it in power or length of flight. . . . Although usually seen single, or at most in pairs, during the winter, I observed this species in April, on my voyage to the Florida Keys, in flocks of from ten to fifteen, congregated as if for the purpose of returning to the northern regions, where it is said to breed in groups. . . . Captain James Clark Ross has informed me by letter, that this species was seen in great numbers during his late voyage towards the Arctic circle. . . ."—J. J. Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*, III, 470-473

Audubon's younger son, John Woodhouse Audubon, who accompanied his father on the Labrador expedition in 1833, painted the landscapes for many of the northern birds. Quite possibly the one forming the background of this plate is from his brush.

119. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his wife, Bras d'Or, Labrador, 5 August 1833 (a.l.s.). [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

". . . 21 Drawings is all I have made although I have laboured hard and all hands have ransacked this Wonderful rocky & mossy desert. . . . When thou readest

my Journal thy astonishment at the description of this country, its productions its weather and its other Etceteras will astonish thee I think as much as it has astonished me and all my youthful companions."

This letter is printed in *Letters*, ed. H. Corning, I, 239-240.

120. J. J. Audubon. "Polar Hare." Manuscript for the description of this species in *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, I, 242-249. [Manuscripts Division]

"When on my return from the coast of Labrador, our vessel entered the superb Bay of St. George in New-foundland, and anchored close to a small village of Seal fishers, where we remained several days. The next morning a canoe containing some Indians came along side the Ripply, and offered us some Moose flesh, of which we purchased a little, but meantime I espied a Hare of this species in the bottom of the canoe, which I bought for twenty five cents.—It was a fine full grown Male of the Polar Hare. . . ."

The circumstantial details quoted here do not appear in the printed version of the text.



#### XIV. "THE QUADRUPEDS," 1840-1851

*My Hair are grey, and I am growing old, but what of this? My Spirits are as enthusiastical as ever, my legs fully able to carry my body for some Ten Years to come, and in about Two of these I expect to see the Illustrations out, and ere the following Twelve Months have elapsed, their Histories studied, their descriptions carefully prepared and the Book printed!—Only think of the quadrupeds of America being presented to the World of Science, by Audubon and Bachman. . . . —J. J. Audubon, letter to John Bachman, 2 January 1840*

Even before the completion of *The Birds*, Audubon was making plans for a companion work dealing with the animals of North America. His collaborator, whose name appears on the title-page as the joint author, was the Reverend Dr. John Bachman, of Charleston, South Carolina, whom he had met in the course of his field trips in the South and with whom he was closely linked in another way by the marriage of his two sons to two of Bachman's daughters.

*The Quadrupeds* occupied the final decade of Audubon's life. To gather further materials for it he made his last extended field trip up the Missouri River in 1843. *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America* first appeared as 150 folio plates—fine colored lithographs executed by J. T. Bowen of Philadelphia (1845-48)—and three volumes of text (1846-54), followed in turn by successive issues of an octavo edition combining text with reduced-size plates. Audubon himself did not live to see the completion of this work. Roughly one half of the plates are from drawings by his son John Woodhouse Audubon; the text is in large measure the work of John Bachman. Victor Gifford Audubon drew many of the backgrounds and assumed the heavy burden of overseeing the publication and sale of the work.

121. J. J. Audubon and John Bachman. *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. New York, J. J. Audubon, 1845-48. 150 colored lithographic plates, 28 x 22 inches, executed by J. T. Bowen, Philadelphia. Bound in three volumes.  
[Ex 88861.134.12e]

This copy, which was formerly in the collections of Oliver H. Payne and the New York Zoological Society, was presented to the Library in 1952 by Edwin N. Benson, Jr. '99 and Mrs. Benson in memory of their son Peter Benson '38.

Plates from an unbound set are shown as Nos. 124, 126, 127, 129, 141, 143, 156.

122. J. J. Audubon and John Bachman. *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. New York, 1846, 1851, 1854. 3 vols. of text. [Ex 88861.134.12]

The text as issued to subscribers to the large plates (preceding item) with five small-sized additional plates numbered 151-155.

The first volume was published by J. J. Audubon, while the second and third were published by his son V. G. Audubon. In the title of the third volume the word "Viviparous" has been omitted.

123. J. J. Audubon and John Bachman. *The Quadrupeds of North America*. New York, V. G. Audubon, 1851-54. 3 vols., with illustrations. [Ex 88861.134]

The so-called "Quadrupeds in miniature," or octavo edition. The text is combined with small colored lithographic plates (J. T. Bowen, Philadelphia), copied from the large ones of the original edition. The numbering of the plates is the same, as is the pagination of the text. The Library has also two later reissues of the work: New York, V. G. Audubon, 1854 [Graphic Arts]; New York, George R. Lockwood [n.d.] [Ex 88861.134.11]

124. "Four Striped Ground Squirrel" [Say's Chipmunk, *Eutamias quadrivittatus*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Lithographed, printed and colored by J. T. Bowen, 1843. Plate 24, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

"This pretty little species was discovered by Mr. Say, during Colonel Long's expedition. . . . We met with this species as we were descending the Upper Missouri river in 1843; we saw it first on a tree; afterwards we procured both old and young, among the sandy gulleys and clay cliffs, on the sides of the ravines near one of our encampments."—J. J. Audubon, *The Quadrupeds*, text, I, 195-198

125. "Striped Ground Squirrel, male and female"; "Striped Ground Squirrel, young." Two drawings by J. J. Audubon. Pen and water color on paper,  $14\frac{1}{2} \times 21$  inches. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]. Illustrated, Plate 15

Audubon's original drawings for Plate 24 of *The Quadrupeds* (preceding item). The drawing of the male and female is signed and dated, lower left, "J. J. A. May 17th 1841, New York"; that of the young, "J. J. A. May 20th 1841, N.Y."

126. "Canada Porcupine" [*Erethizon dorsatum*]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Lithographed, printed and colored by J. T. Bowen, 1844. Plate 36, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

127. "Tawny Lemming. Back's Lemming" [*Lemmus helvolus*; *Lemmus trimucronatus*]. Lithographed, printed and colored by J. T. Bowen, 1847. Plate 120, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

According to the legend appearing on this plate, it is from a drawing by J. J. Audubon. However, the text (III, 84-88) describing the plate states: "This [Tawny] Lemming is one of those animals we have never seen except the stuffed specimens. Our figure was drawn in London by J. W[oodhouse]. Audubon from the original skin procured by Mr. Drummond." Attribution of the drawing to John Woodhouse Audubon is further confirmed by the fact that in the small octavo edition of the same plate the legend has been changed (presumably corrected) to read: "Drawn from Nature by J. W. Audubon." Approximately one half of the *Quadrupeds* plates are from drawings by John Woodhouse, younger son of John James Audubon.

128. "Tawny Lemming, and Back's Lemming." Painting by John Woodhouse Audubon. Oil on canvas,  $14\frac{1}{2} \times 22$  inches. [E 9105]

This is the same subject as Plate 120. It is attributed to John Woodhouse Audubon for the reasons explained in the note to the preceding item.

There exists no complete corpus of original drawings for *The Quadrupeds*, as there does for *The Birds* (cf. note under No. 61, above). A list of surviving originals,

some of them pen and water-color drawings and some oil paintings, compiled by Alice Ford, is included in her *Audubon's Animals*, New York [1951], pp. 215-216. Whether or not there once existed drawings, as distinguished from oil paintings, for all the plates of *The Quadrupeds*, is perhaps open to question. If such drawings did once exist, then the painting shown here (and also No. 130) should probably be considered a variant version in oils (see note under No. 62) rather than the prototype from which the lithograph was made.

129. "Nine-banded Armadillo" [*Dasypus novemcinctus texanus*]. Drawn by John Woodhouse Audubon. Lithographed, printed and colored by J. T. Bowen, 1848. Plate 146, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

The text (III, 220-225) describing the plate states: "The Armadillo is generally much darker in colour than the specimen we figured, which having been a pet, was washed and clean when we drew it. . . . Its flesh. . . . has been described to us by Americans who ate of it during the Mexican War, to be about equal to the meat of the opossum. . . ."

130. "Nine-banded Armadillo." Painting by John Woodhouse Audubon. Oil on canvas, 21 x 26 $\frac{5}{8}$  inches. [Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Henry L. Savage]

The same subject is depicted in Plate 146 of *The Quadrupeds* (preceding item). On the back of the painting, which formerly hung in the house of a Mrs. Haddock, 8th and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia, there was formerly pasted an Audubon autograph—a fragment of a letter—reading "Now my Dear Harlan believe me your sincere [friend?] John J. Audubon."

131. J. J. Audubon. Manuscripts for *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. [Manuscripts Division]. Illustrated, Plate 14

A selection from the twenty-five such manuscripts owned by the Princeton Library (the gift of F. Sturgis Stout '25). These manuscripts, in Audubon's hand, were edited for publication by his collaborator, John Bachman, who generally incorporated Audubon's material, adding further information drawn from his own experience, and supplying most of the "scientific details." As stated in the printed introduction to the work: "For the sake of convenience and uniformity we have written in the plural number, although the facts stated, and the information collected, were obtained at different times by the authors in their individual capacities." Comparison of these manuscripts with the published versions provides a basis for sifting out what Audubon and Bachman contributed "in their individual capacities"; it also shows that some of the personal quality of Audubon's accounts has been lost through the use of the editorial "we" and through other omissions.

Other manuscripts from this group are shown elsewhere in the exhibition: Nos. 14, 21, 120, 142, 154. The Princeton manuscripts were all used for Vol. I, published in 1846, and must therefore have been written prior to that date.

132. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Thomas McCulloch, Jr. (of Halifax, Nova Scotia), New York, 26 June 1841 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"I received your kind letter . . . in due course, but have not answered to it . . . because of my having been constantly engaged in the drawing of Quadrupeds (viviparous) for my contemplated work of the animals of that family which are found in *North America*, and I have made 25 Drawings containing 40 figures all the size of nature, within the last two months. . . .

"And now My Dear Friend that I am not only engaged on a work upon the quadrupeds of our country, but determined to go through it, in a masterly manner, I wish you to assist me as much as is your power in the way of procuring specimens for me and paying for them whatever you may think proper. . . . I send you now a list of such animals as I think you can get for me. . . ."

133. J. J. Audubon. Letter to Increase S. Smith (of Hingham, Massachusetts), New York, 15 August 1841 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"I am at this moment particularly anxious to procure two or three specimens of our Northern Hare. . . . The animals ought to be put in a Keg of Common Yankee Rum, and as soon as possible after death, cutting a slit in the abdomen of not exceeding *Two inches* in length, and pouring Rum in the aperture until well filled. The Entrails must remain untouched. . . ."

134. John Bachman. Letter to John K. Townsend, Charleston, 2 November 1842 (a.l.s.). [Lent by the National Audubon Society]

". . . I should like to hear what you are doing—especially among the quadrupeds as the description of our American species will probably occupy my leisure for some years to come. . . ."

John Kirk Townsend (1809-1851), to whom the letter is addressed, was at the time working at the National Museum in Washington, D.C. He supplied several of the far-western specimens which were drawn and described in Audubon and Bachman's *Quadrupeds*, as well as bird specimens which were added to the octavo edition of *The Birds*. See also No. 173, below. An account of Townsend's western travels was published at Philadelphia in 1839 under the title *Narrative of a Journey across the Rocky Mountains* [Rollins].

Two other letters from John Bachman to John K. Townsend (7 February 1838, 24 May 1838), also in the collections of the National Audubon Society, are available in photostatic copies in the Princeton Library, as is a letter from Bachman to Joseph N. Bevan (4 January 1825) in the collection of R. Gwynne Stout.

The Library has a copy of William Prince's *A Short Treatise on Horticulture*, New York, 1828, which contains a notation by John Bachman to the effect that the volume had been given to him by a friend, Joseph Nicholson; inserted is a letter from Bachman's daughter-in-law to the Audubon authority Ruthven Deane, 10 January 1903, presenting the book to him and mentioning the Audubon material in her possession [Ex 9506.737].

## XV. UP THE MISSOURI, 1843

*Although an old man with silver locks and the weight of years upon him, Audubon retains all the freshness, elasticity, and energy of youth, and is as ready to endure the toils and deprivations of long and tedious journeys through savage wilds and uninhabited territories, for the purpose of pursuing his favorite study, as he ever was in his juvenile days.—A reporter, in the Daily People's Organ, St. Louis, 4 April 1843*

Audubon had completed his *Birds of America* without any direct field experience of western birds, relying upon notes and skins collected by Nuttall, Townsend, Say, and Peale. Now, with *The Quadrupeds* well under way, he made his first trip into the trans-Mississippi West. As companions on this expedition he had Edward Harris, his old New Jersey friend; John G. Bell, the taxidermist; Lewis Squires, as secretary; and Isaac Sprague, botanist and painter. The party assembled at St. Louis, then proceeded by the steamboat "Omega" up the Missouri as far as Fort Union, at the foot of the Continental Divide. The journey up the river and back to St. Louis lasted from late April to mid-October 1843. The results are evident in *The Quadrupeds*, in the supplement added to the octavo edition of *The Birds*, as well as in Audubon's letters and his detailed journal of the trip.

Audubon's journey up the Missouri was his farthest west, as the Florida cruise in 1832 had been his farthest south, and the Labrador expedition in 1833 his farthest north. He never realized his dream of crossing the Rockies to the Pacific (this was reserved to his son John Woodhouse Audubon, who visited the California gold fields in 1849-1850). The journey up the Missouri, made at the age of fifty-eight, was Audubon's last great field trip. After his return to his home in New York his powers gradually began to fail, and his final years were spent in the tranquillity of "Minnie's Land" on the banks of the Hudson.

135. "Map of the Territory of the United States from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean. Ordered by the Hon. Jeff'n Davis, Secretary of War, To accompany the Reports of the Explorations for a Railroad Route." Compiled by Lieut. G. K. Warren, Topographical Engineers, from authorized explorations and other reliable data, 1854-57. Engraved by Selmar Siebert. *Reports of Explorations and Surveys . . . , Vol. XI, Part I, Washington, 1861.* [Rollins]

Shows in detail the course of the Missouri River, with the localities mentioned by Audubon.

136. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his wife, Ohio River, 23 March 1843 (a.l.s.). [Lent by the National Audubon Society]

"We left Louisville this morning at 10, and are now close to Flint Island. . . . The table I am writing upon shakes shockingly and I fear that thou wilst have some difficulty in reading this. However I will try to give thee a long letter of chitchat about our old Louisville acquaintances, as far at least as I did come in contact with them."

137. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his son Victor G. Audubon, St. Louis, 2 April 1843 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"Yesterday morning Capt. Sire took me to the steamer 'Omega' (The Lass) which is now on the dry dock awaiting for her calking and arranging previous to our departure on or about the 25th Inst! She is a flat-bottomed steamer quite large enough, and we have the whole of the ladies cabin allotted for our purpose. My state room is so large that I will keep me a good bedsted and bed. We will have a large table to draw and write on and we will eat with the Captain who I must repeat [is] as fine a man as I ever saw. . . ."

138. J. J. Audubon. Letters to his family written during the journey up the Missouri River, April-June 1843 (8 a.l.s.s.). [Lent by the National Audubon Society]

St. Louis, 23 April—" . . . Tomorrow the 24th the whole of our effects go on board the Omega, and in all probability we will leave on Tuesday the 25th. The River is very high. . . ."

St. Charles, Missouri River, 25 April 1843—"We left St. Louis at half past 11 this morning and are now going up against the most remarkable current I ever saw in a river at the rate of about 3 miles an hour. . . ."

Boonville, Missouri, 29 April 1843, 204 miles above St. Louis—"We are that far above St. Louis without accident and all well thank God. . . . Our progress . . . has been but very slow . . . but the waters are so high and so remarkably swift, that in many places we had great difficulties to pass points &c. . . ."

Black Snake Hills, 60 miles above Fort Leavenworth, 5 May 1843—"We have passed the Kickapoo's Nation, and are now opposite to that of the Sacs. . . ."

Council Bluffs, Missouri Territory, 800 miles above St. Louis by water, 8 May 1843—"We have reached this once famed place in 14 days from St. Louis, which is considered by our good Captain a very fair run. We are now positively out of the *United States* boundaries Westward, and now all the people we will see will be Indians, Indians, and nothing but Indians. . . ."

Fort Pierre, Missouri, just above Tetons River or Little Missouri, 1 June 1843—"To-day at 12 o'clock we will have been detained here 48 hours on a/c of one plate of the Boiler having been burnt out, but we expect to proceed at least a few miles this afternoon. Since our stay here we have hunted far and wide. . . ."

About 25 miles below the Mandan Village or Fort Clark, 6 June 1843—"We expect to reach Fort Clark tomorrow about mid day, and 6 or 7 days afterwards hope to reach Fort Union on the Yellow Stone. . . ."

Fort Union, Upper Missouri, 13 June 1843—"We are now at the end of our journey upward this Missouri River, for we have given up going into the Black Feet country. . . ."

139. "The Missouri River Journals, 1843." *Audubon and His Journals*, ed. Maria R. Audubon, New York, 1897, I, 447-532; II, 1-195. Selections reprinted in Donald Culross Peattie, ed., *Audubon's America*, Boston, 1940, pp. 275-319. [8604.134.02q]

7 June 1843—"We reached Fort Clark and the Mandan Villages at half-past seven this morning.... The Mandan mud huts are very far from looking poetical, although Mr. [George] Catlin has tried to render them so by placing them in regular rows, and all of the same size and form, which is by no means the case. But different travellers have different eyes! . . .

"Harris and I walked to the fort about nine o'clock. . . . We entered Mr. Chardon's own room, crawled up a crazy ladder, and in a low garret I had the great pleasure of seeing alive the Swift or Kit Fox which he has given to me. It ran swiftly from one corner to another, and, when approached, growled somewhat in the manner of a common Fox. Mr. Chardon told me that good care would be taken of it until our return, that it would be chained to render it more gentle, and that I would find it an easy matter to take it along. . . ."

Cf. plate of Swift Fox, below, No. 141.

140. *Up the Missouri with Audubon. The Journal of Edward Harris*. Edited and annotated by John Francis McDermott. Norman, Oklahoma [1951]. [8652.434]

The illustrations include reproductions of sketches made by Isaac Sprague, another member of the party. The editor's introduction provides an excellent summary of Audubon's journey and of the various people involved. On Edward Harris, Audubon's New Jersey friend, see also: Peter A. Brannon, *Edward Harris, Friend of Audubon*, New York, Newcomen Society, 1947 [1083.433.21].

141. "Swift Fox" [Vulpes velox]. Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Lithographed, printed and colored by J. T. Bowen, 1844. Plate 52, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

"The First Swift Fox we ever saw alive was at Fort Clark on the upper Missouri river, at which place we arrived on the 7th of June, 1843. It had been caught in a steel-trap by one of its fore-feet, and belonged to Mr. Chardon, the principal at the Fort, who with great kindness and politeness presented it to us. . . .

"Soon after we left Fort Clark, between the western shore of the Missouri river and the hills called the 'Trois mamelles' by the Canadian and French trappers, on an open prairie, we saw the second Swift Fox we met with on this journey. Our party had been shooting several buffaloes, and our friend Ed. Harris, Esq., and ourself, were approaching the hunters apace. We were on foot, and Mr. Harris was mounted on his buffalo horse, when a Swift Fox darted from a concealed hole in the prairie almost under the hoofs of my friend's steed. My gun was unfortunately loaded with ball, but the Fox was chased by Mr. Harris, who took aim at it several times but could not draw sight on the animal; and the cunning fellow doubled and turned about and around in such a dexterous manner, that it finally escaped in a neighbouring ravine. . . ."—J. J. Audubon, *The Quadrupeds*, text, II, 13-17

142. J. J. Audubon. "Townsend's Rocky Mountain Hare." Manuscript for the description of this species in *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, I, 25-30. [Manuscripts Division]

"... during my last Journey to the Upper Missouri and the Yellow Stone Rivers, I have had the pleasure of seeing several alive, at a great distance East of the same Mountains. On the 8th of June 1843, whilst our Men were engaged in cutting and bringing wood on board the Steamer Omega, one of the men started a young leveret, and after a short race, the poor thing squated and was killed by a stroke of a stick. . . ."

143. "American Bison.—Buffalo." Drawn by J. J. Audubon. Lithographed, printed and colored by J. T. Bowen, 1845. Plate 57, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

"In the days of our boyhood and youth, Buffaloes roamed over the small and beautiful prairies of Indiana and Illinois, and herds of them stalked through the open woods of Kentucky and Tennessee; but they had dwindled down to a few stragglers, which resorted chiefly to the 'Barrens,' towards the years 1808 and 1809, and soon after entirely disappeared. Their range has since that period gradually tended westward, and now you must direct your steps 'to the Indian country,' and travel many hundred miles beyond the fair valleys of the Ohio, towards the great rocky chain of mountains which forms the backbone of North-America, before you can reach the Buffalo, and see him roving in his sturdy independence upon the vast elevated plains, which extend to the base of the Rocky Mountains. Hie with us then to the West! . . .

"One morning in July [1843], our party and several persons attached to Fort Union . . . crossed the river. . . . we approached the Fox river, and at this point one of the party espied a small herd of Bisons at a considerable distance off. . . . The wind was favourable, (blowing towards us,) and now the hunters threw aside their coats, tied handkerchiefs around their heads, looked to their guns, mounted their steeds, and moved slowly and cautiously towards the game. The rest of the party crawled carefully to the top of the ridge to see the chase. At the word of command, given by Mr. Culbertson, the hunters dashed forward after the bulls. . . ."—J. J. Audubon, *The Quadrupeds*, text, II, 32-55

144. J. J. Audubon. *The Birds of America*, octavo edition, New York, Vol. VII, 1844. [Ex 8880.134.16]

The Missouri River expedition of 1843 enabled Audubon to add several new species of birds to the seventh and last volume of the octavo edition of *The Birds*, which was published the following year. Several of these new species were named for Audubon's companions on the Missouri trip: "Harris' Finch," Plate 484, for Edward Harris; "Bell's Vireo," Plate 485, for J. G. Bell; "Sprague's Missouri Lark," Plate 486, for Isaac Sprague.

"New Species. Not in My Synopsis. During my journey to the country around and about the waters of the Upper Missouri and Yellow Stone rivers, in the summer and autumn of 1843, my companions and myself had the good fortune of procuring several new species of birds. . . . In publishing these new species, I have the gratification of naming some of them after those gentlemen who accompanied me on

my late tour; and others, after friends connected with the science of ornithology, publicly or otherwise. With the exception of a few of these birds, procured in the bottom lands along the Missouri river, they all were found on the sterile prairies, which form the greater portion of the country visited by us; and generally during our excursions after the buffalo, the elk, or the antelope."—VII, 330

## XVI. MINNIE'S LAND, 1842-1851

*Our dear "Minnie's Land" is improving as fast as our poor pecuniary means will allow. We have done a good deal since our purchase of it, in a wild state as it was, and next spring we will have a good garden and probably some fruit from our own young trees. . . . We have fish whenever we draw the seine. . . . We have now been enjoying that delightful season, which our Americans call the "Indian Summer" . . . . Would that you all were here at this moment, at my elbow, from which by a peep at the window, I gaze on the "Pallisades" and the breath of the Hudson, between the trunks of the many trees that stand at rest at present awaiting the return of spring for a renewal of fragrant verdure, and fruits innumerable. . . . —J. J. Audubon, letter to Dr. Benjamin Phillips, 7 November 1842*

After their return from England in 1839 the Audubons settled in New York, but, disliking life in the city, acquired a country estate a few miles out of town at Washington Heights. Here, on the banks of the Hudson, Audubon built a home to which the family moved in the spring of 1842. It was called "Minnie's Land" in honor of Lucy Audubon, because her sons, since their residence in Edinburgh, had fallen into the practice of calling her "Minnie," a Scottish term for mother.

At "Minnie's Land" Audubon pursued his work on *The Quadrupeds*, and returned here after his Missouri River trip in 1843. John Bachman, who visited him in May 1848, was shocked at the change he found: "Audubon has heard his little song sung in French, and has gone to bed. Alas, my poor friend Audubon! the outlines of his countenance and his form are there, but his noble mind is all in ruins. I have often, in sadness, contemplated in ruins a home that, in former years, I have seen in order and beauty, but the ruins of a mind once bright and full of imagination, how much more inexpressibly melancholy and gloomy."

John James Audubon died on 27 January 1851, at the age of sixty-five. He was buried in Trinity Cemetery, close by "Minnie's Land."

145. Portrait of John J. Audubon, ca. 1841, by his son, John Woodhouse Audubon. Oil on canvas, 44½ x 35 inches. [Lent by Mrs. C. Frederick C. Stout]

Audubon is seated, holding a gun, with a dog lying at his feet; the landscape background depicts a river and distant hills. The portrait is presumably the one referred to by Audubon in a letter to his son Victor, written 11 February 1841: "John has painted . . . his 'old Dad' Sitting in the Wilds of America admiring Nature around him, with a *Dog Companion*, lying at 'his' feet."

Arthur, pp. 497-498, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 10; Herrick, II, 396-397, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 13. The portrait is reproduced in *Journals*, I, facing p. 454; also in catalogue of *A National Exhibition of the Works of John J. Audubon*, Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, 1938, frontispiece (No. 74). Through early engravings this portrait has become one of the most familiar images of Audubon; cf. Nos. 147, 162.

At least two other versions of this portrait are known: one in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and the other in the American Museum of Natural History, New York. In the latter a horse is shown on the left.

146. A gun once the property of John J. Audubon. Length, 62 inches. [Princeton University Library, deposit of John S. Williams]

This is presumably the gun shown in the portrait by John Woodhouse Audubon (previous item). It is a muzzle-loading percussion-cap shotgun, made by Conway, of Manchester, England. An engraved inscription on the barrel reads: "John James Audubon. Citizen of the United States. F.L.S.L. [Fellow of the Linnean Society of London]."

147. Portrait of John J. Audubon. Steel engraving "from the original painting by [Alonzo] Chappel, in the possession of the publishers." Johnson, Fry & Co., Publishers, New York, 1861. [Graphic Arts Collection, deposit of John S. Williams]

The painting by Chappel from which the engraving was made was itself a copy of John Woodhouse Audubon's portrait of his father (No. 145). The engraving served as an illustration to Evert A. Duyckinck's *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans*, New York [1862] [1246.316]. Herrick, II, 399-400, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 23. Reproduced in Arthur, facing p. 432.

148. *Homes of American Authors; comprising Anecdotal, Personal, and Descriptive Sketches, by Various Writers*. Illustrated with views of their residences from original drawings, and a fac-simile of the manuscript of each author. New York, G. P. Putnam, 1853. [Sinclair Hamilton Collection, No. 960; another copy, 3570.475]

Pp. 1-17: "John James Audubon." The description of a visit to Audubon is by Parke Godwin. The wood engraving of "Minnie's Land" (printed in black and sepia on India paper, mounted on the page) is by Richardson and Cox after W. R. Miller. This same view appears in Nos. 162, 164, below. The facsimile of

*See illustration of Minnie's Land, p. 17, above.*  
17. *Sixty-ninth Annual Report of the Board of Education, City of New York, for the Year 1853*, 2d. Part, 2d. Volume,  
*II. 117.*



Minnie's Land (see Nos. 148 and 164)

Audubon's manuscript (facing p. 16) is an anecdote from his "Journal through British Provinces."

149. "Map of the City of New York." 1851. Engraved by G. Hayward. Folding map in D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New York, for the Year 1851*, New York, 1851. [Ex 1198.67045.2]
150. "The Audubon Estate on the Banks of the Hudson. Foot of 156th St. at Carmansville." Chromolithograph by Major & Knapp. D. T. Valentine, *Manual of the Corporation of the City of New-York*, 1865 [New York, 1865], between pp. 256-257. [Ex 1198.67045.2]
151. Landscape along the Hudson. Painting by Victor Gifford Audubon, 1842. Oil on canvas,  $31\frac{1}{4} \times 45\frac{1}{2}$  inches. [Lent by the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey. Acc. no. 42.16]

Signed, lower left: "V. G. A. 1842."

Another Hudson River view by Victor G. Audubon, very similar to this one, is in the Karolik Collection, Boston Museum of Fine Arts. See *M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Paintings, 1815 to 1865*, Boston, 1949, No. 34, p. 68, illus. [ND210.B65q (SA)]; *American Paintings, 1815-1865. One hundred and thirty-six paintings from the M. and M. Karolik Collection. . . . circulated by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1957-1959* [Boston, 1956], No. 19, p. 26, illus. p. 24 [ND210.B651 (SA)].

Victor Gifford Audubon (1809-1860) painted some of the landscape backgrounds for *The Quadrupeds*, and was the principal business manager for his father's publications. He apparently painted several Hudson River views, like the one shown here. See below, No. 157, the reference to another in his father's letter of 28 January 1847.

152. "Audubon Estate Is Erased By Time." *The New York Times*, Sunday, 27 April 1958.

"On the site, which extended from the Hudson to Bloomingdale Avenue (now Amsterdam Avenue) and from West 155th to West 158th Street, there are now only the hallmarks of a metropolis' progress. . . . On the outside wall of a six-story, yellow brick apartment house at 765 Riverside Drive, at West 155th Street, is a plaque noting that this was the site of the Audubon home, torn down in December, 1931, to make room for the modern structure."

For a description of "Minnie's Land" as it was in 1916, with photographs taken before its destruction, see Herrick, II, 309-312; illustrations facing pp. 236, 294; and p. 459, "Bibliography," No. 254.

153. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his family, Quebec, 21 September 1842 (a.l.s.). [Manuscripts Division]

"I have had no news from you since I bid you farewell . . . as I was ascending the Hudson and you stood on the green fronting our Dear abode. I gazed on Victor & Johny in their boat until I could see it no more."

154. J. J. Audubon. "Wilson's Meadow-mouse." Manuscript for the description of this species in *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, I, 341-346. [Manuscripts Division]

"We have not a more common species than the present through out all the meadow-land, or marshes in this State (New York); on crossing from the City side to Hoboken, you may observe them hasten through the grass of the meadows and even in the salt marshes adjoining. . . ."

This sentence is omitted in the printed version of the description.

155. James E. De Kay. *Zoology of New-York, or the New-York Fauna*. Part I. Mammalia. Albany, 1842. The first volume of *Natural History of New York*. Audubon's copy. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

Inscribed in Audubon's hand: "John J Audubon Bought at N. Y. Jany. 3d 1843 for \$4.11-". The volume also has a few penciled notes by Audubon: these consist chiefly of the names of certain species (mice, for example) written on the illustrative plates which have no engraved legend.

156. "Common Mouse." Lithographed, printed and colored by J. T. Bowen, 1846. Plate 90, *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*. [Lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

". . . would he let our drawings and books alone, we should willingly allow him the crumbs from our table; but he will sometimes gnaw into shreds valuable

papers, to make a bed behind some bureau or old chest."—J. J. Audubon, *The Quadrupeds*, text, II, 277-280.

The legend on this large plate attributes the drawing to "J. J. Audubon." On the later, small octavo edition of the same plate, it is credited to the son, John Woodhouse Audubon.

157. J. J. Audubon. Letter to his son, John Woodhouse Audubon, Minnie's Land, 28 January 1847 (a.l.s., with postscript by Victor G. Audubon). [Manuscripts Division]. Illustrated, Plate 16

Writing to his son, who was then in England, Audubon speaks of the animal specimens that John is to look for in London, gives news of the family, and mentions that "Victor is Painting at a Large Picture, a View up the River from somewhere below us. It is a very large Picture and I greatly fear that it wont sell on that a/c." In the postscript Victor adds: "The old Critter has sent you all the news about the place. . . ."

158. Carte de visite photograph of J. J. Audubon, presumably copied from the Brady daguerreotype, ca. 1848. [Manuscripts Division]

Herrick, II, 398, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 19; Arthur, p. 498, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 14. The Brady daguerreotype is the prototype for the portrait of Audubon on the United States postage stamp, one-cent green, issued in 1940 in the "Famous Scientists" series; a first-day cover, postmarked Saint Francisville, Louisiana, 8 April 1940, is exhibited [W. H. Tower Collection].

159. Carte de visite photograph of Mrs. J. J. Audubon, ca. 1855. [Manuscripts Division]

This photograph appears to have been taken at the same time as the one reproduced in Arthur, facing p. 401, which he dates about 1855.

Lucy Bakewell Audubon died in 1874 at the age of eighty-six in the home of her sister-in-law in Shelbyville, Kentucky. She outlived both her sons, Victor Gifford Audubon, who died in 1860, and John Woodhouse Audubon, who died in 1862. See Herrick, II, 294, for genealogical note concerning descendants.

160. John Gay. *Fables*. London, 1838. [EX 3751.5.33.124]

Inscribed by Lucy Audubon: "To my dear Maria from her Grandmother Audubon. Minnie's Land August 19th 1853." Contains Maria R. Audubon's bookplate, adapted from her grandfather's seal of the Wild Turkey with motto "America My Country." See No. 165.

## XVII. CLOUDS OF GLORY

... go on—push on—good work will be an ever lasting memoranda of our existence!—J. J. Audubon, letter to Robert Havell, 8 April 1834

Audubon's after-life during the century or more that has elapsed since his death would in itself provide the theme for another extensive exhibition. This final section, therefore, can only sug-

gest some aspects of Audubon's posthumous reputation and legend. Nos. 161-168 trace the somewhat troubled course of Audubon biography, while the final numbers indicate some of the various ways by which Audubon has become a familiar name to Americans today.

161. Mrs. Horace St. John. *Audubon, the Naturalist in the New World. His Adventures and Discoveries*. London, Longman, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1856. [Ex 8604.134.82.11]

Although articles and biographical sketches about Audubon had appeared earlier, this may be termed the first formal biography. It is based almost entirely on the information supplied by his own published writings.

162. Mrs. Horace St. John. *Audubon, the Naturalist of the New World. His Adventures and Discoveries*. Revised and corrected, with additions, and illustrated with engravings by J. W. Orr, from original designs. New York, C. S. Francis and Company, 1856. [Ex 8604.134.82.12]

The frontispiece is a wood engraving by J. W. Orr of the portrait of Audubon painted by his son *ca.* 1841 (No. 145, above). The fore-title has the wood engraving of "Minnie's Land" which had previously appeared in *Homes of American Authors* (No. 148, above).

Chapters XVI-XXI, based largely on *The Quadrupeds*, have been added by the American publisher, who explains in a note (p. 205): "We have taken the liberty of transposing some portions of the foregoing pages from the London edition, having ascertained that chronological mistakes had been made by the fair authoress in preparing her interesting sketch of Audubon, and we would further say, that as she appears not to have been aware of the publication of his second great work, the 'Quadrupeds of North America,' . . . it has been deemed by us essential to mention it, and to subjoin the following particulars. . . ."

163. Robert Buchanan. *The Life and Adventures of John James Audubon, the Naturalist*. Edited from materials supplied by his widow. London, Sampson Low, Son, & Marston, 1868. [Third edition, 1869, lent by H. C. Rice, Jr.]

"In the autumn of 1867, the present publishers placed in my hands a large manuscript called the 'Life of Audubon,' prepared by a friend of Mrs. Audubon's, in New York, chiefly consisting of extracts from the diary of the great American naturalist. It needed careful revision, and was, moreover, inordinately long. While I cannot fail expressing my admiration for the affectionate spirit and intelligent sympathy with which the friendly editor discharged his task, I am bound to say that his literary experience was limited. My business, therefore, has been sub-editorial rather than editorial. I have had to cut down what was prolix and unnecessary, and to connect the whole in some sort of a running narrative,—and the result is a volume equal in bulk to about one-fifth of the original manuscript. I believe I have omitted nothing of real interest, but I am of course not responsible in any way for the fidelity of what is given. . . .

"In a letter recently received from Mrs. Audubon, and written after looking over a few of the first sheets, I am called to account for some remarks of my own. . . . I have called Audubon vain, and perhaps a little selfish, and I can perfectly understand how hard these words may seem to the gentle heart of a loving wife. Yet they are nevertheless true, and are quite consistent with the fact that I admire Audubon hugely, think him a grand and large-hearted man, and have the greatest possible desire to see him understood by the public. But in order to get him understood one must put aside all domestic partiality. . . ."—Preface by Robert Buchanan, 1 October 1868

The appearance of this biography in England prompted its publication in America, in slightly altered form and under Mrs. Audubon's supervision (next item). Buchanan's *Audubon* was much later reissued as a volume in "Everyman's Library [8604.134.01].

See also No. 48.

164. Lucy B. Audubon. *The Life of John James Audubon, the Naturalist*. Edited by his Widow. With an Introduction by Jas. Grant Wilson. New York, G. P. Putnam & Son, 1869.  
[Ex 8604.134.01]

On the title-page is the vignette of "Minnie's Land" that had appeared earlier in *Homes of American Authors* (No. 148). The frontispiece is a portrait of Audubon engraved by H. B. Hall after the painting done in 1833 by Henry Inman; cf. Herrick, II, 394-395, "Authentic Likenesses," No. 8. This *Life* was reissued several times.

"In the summer of 1867, the widow of John James Audubon, completed with the aid of a friend [the Rev. Charles Coffin Adams], a memoir of the great naturalist, and soon after received overtures from a London publishing house for her work. Accepting their proposition for its publication in England, Mrs. Audubon forwarded the MSS., consisting in good part of extracts from her husband's journals and episodes. . . . The London publishers placed these MSS. in the hands of Mr. Robert Buchanan, who prepared from them a single volume containing about one fifth of the original manuscript.

"The following pages are substantially the recently published work, reproduced with some additions, and the omission of several objectionable passages inserted by the London editor. . . ."—Introduction by James Grant Wilson, New York, April 1869

Although superseded in many respects, this biography nevertheless preserves certain fragments of Audubon's journals not included in the following item, and available therefore only in this form.

See also No. 56.

165. Maria R. Audubon. *Audubon and His Journals*. With zoölogical and other notes by Elliott Coues. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897. 2 vols. [Rollins; another copy, lent by R. Gwynne Stout]

These volumes edited by Audubon's granddaughter include: a brief biography of Audubon compiled by Maria R. Audubon and including the autobiographical sketch "Myself," I, 1-77; "The European Journals, 1826-1829," I, 79-342; "The Labrador Journal, 1833," I, 343-445; "The Missouri River Journals, 1843," I, 447-

532, II, 1-195; a reprint of the "Episodes" from the *Ornithological Biography*, II, 197-522; and "My Style of Drawing Birds," II, 522-527.

For further comments on the *Journals*, see Nos. 12, 46, 114, 139.

Reproduced as a cover design on both volumes of the *Journals* is Audubon's personal seal (impressions of which in sealing-wax are on several of the original letters in the Princeton Library). Concerning this seal Audubon relates in his journal that when he was in Liverpool in 1826, his hostess, Mrs. Rathbone, asked him to draw for her a thumbnail sketch of his Wild Turkey. He sat opposite his "twenty-three hour" picture, and made the diminutive sketch in less than twenty-three minutes. . . . Several weeks later he received from Mrs. Rathbone "a beautiful seal of the Wild Turkey and the motto 'America My Country.'"

166. Francis Hobart Herrick. *Audubon the Naturalist. A History of his Life and Time*. New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1917. 2 vols. [8604.134.45]. Second edition, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938, 2 vols. in 1. [8604.134.45.11]

A noble monument to Audubon and the indispensable compendium for any study of his life and works. Includes a detailed bibliography of writings by and about Audubon (through 1937), a check list of "Authentic Likenesses," and other useful appendices. The second edition contains, as "Foreword and Postscript," pp. lv-xc, "Audubon and the Dauphin," reprinted from *The Auk* (Oct., 1937), in which Herrick recapitulates the known facts about Audubon's origins and refutes some of the romantic fantasies about "royal birth" which were revived in several books published in the 1930's.

167. Howard Corning, ed. *Journal of John James Audubon made during his trip to New Orleans in 1820-1821* [Vol. 1]; *Journal of John James Audubon made while obtaining subscriptions to his "Birds of America," 1840-1843* [Vol. 2]. Boston, The Club of Odd Volumes, 1929. [Ex 8604.134.13]. *Letters of John James Audubon, 1826-1840*. Boston, The Club of Odd Volumes, 1930. 2 vols. [Ex 8604.134.13.2]

An important supplement to the previously published *Journals* (Nos. 164, 165); printed without benefit of pietistic "editing."

168. Stanley Clisby Arthur. *Audubon. An Intimate Life of the American Woodsman*. New Orleans, Harmanson, 1937. [8604.134.13]

Arthur's biography provides a useful supplement to Herrick, and presents considerable new material concerning Audubon's "Louisiana period." Among the appendices are a check list of "Authentic Likenesses" (correcting Herrick in several particulars) and a "List of Plates comprising the Original Issue of Audubon's 'The Birds of America,' with notes showing where and when the original drawings were made." A limited edition of the book was also issued (see No. 34).

169. Auduboniana. A selection from the many books about Audubon published in the twentieth century. Chiefly interpretative studies, rather than documentary biographies.

- a. John Burroughs. *John James Audubon*. Boston, Small, Maynard & Co., 1902. "The Beacon Biographies of Eminent Americans," edited by M. A. De Wolfe Howe. [8604.134.22]
- b. Donald Culross Peattie. *Singing in the Wilderness, A Salute to John James Audubon*. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1935. [3887.06.385]
- c. Constance Rourke. *Audubon*. With 12 colored plates from original Audubon prints. Black and white illustrations by James MacDonald. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company [1936]. [8604.134.79]. The same, French translation, New York, Overseas Editions, Inc. [1944]. [Manuscripts Division]
- d. Jessamyn West. *A Mirror for the Sky*. An Opera based on an original conception of Raoul Pène duBois for portraying the life of Audubon in a musical drama. Costume sketches by Raoul Pène duBois. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company [1948]. [3983.623.364]
- e. Maurice Constantine-Weyer. *Dans les pas du Naturaliste*. Paris, Librairie Stock, Delamain et Boutelleau, 1950. [8604.134.26]
- f. Robert Cushman Murphy. *John James Audubon (1785-1851), An Evaluation of the Man and his Work*. Reprinted from *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly* (Oct., 1956). Distributed by National Audubon Society.
- g. Lucy Kennedy. *Mr. Audubon's Lucy*. New York, Crown Publishers, Inc. [1957]. "A novel about the wife of America's famous bird painter." [Lent by H. C. Rice, Jr.]
170. Audubon's story retold for young people. A selection of recent juveniles. [Lent by H. C. Rice, Jr.]
- a. Maie Lounsbury Wells and Dorothy Fox. *Boy of the Woods. The Story of John James Audubon*. Illustrated by Elinore Blaisdell. New York, E. P. Dutton and Company [1942].
- b. Miriam E. Mason. *Young Audubon, Boy Naturalist*. Illustrated by Will Forrest. Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Company [1943]. "The Childhood of Famous Americans Series," No. 73.
- c. Clyde Fisher. *The Life of Audubon*. Foreword by John Kieran. Illustrated with paintings and drawings by John James Audubon from the permanent collection of the American Museum of Natural History. New York, Harper and Brothers [1949]. [Library copy, Ex 8604.134.34]
- d. Catherine Owens Peare. *John James Audubon, His Life*. Illustrated by Margaret Ayer. New York, Henry Holt and Company [1953].
- e. Joan Howard. *The Story of John J. Audubon*. Illustrated by Federico Castellon. New York, Grosset & Dunlap [1954]. "Life Stories of Famous Men and Women Who Shaped History," No. 27. [Library copy, 8604.134.41]
- f. Margaret and John Kieran. *John James Audubon*. Illustrated by Christine Price. New York, Random House [1954]. "Landmark Books," No. 48. [Library copy, 8604.134.52]
- g. Amy Hogeboom. *Audubon and His Sons*. Illustrated with prints by John James Audubon, John Woodhouse Audubon, and others. Supplemented with drawings by Paul Galdone. New York, Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co. [1956].

## 171. Reprints of Audubon's writings.

- a. *Scènes de la Nature dans les Etats-Unis et le Nord de l'Amérique*. Ouvrage traduit d'Audubon par Eugène Bazin. Paris, P. Bertrand, 1857. 2 vols. [Ex 1053.134.2]. Selected bird descriptions and episodes from *Ornith. Biog.* Cf. Nos. 78, 81.
- b. *Delineations of American Scenery and Character*. By John James Audubon. With an introduction by Francis Hobart Herrick. New York, G. A. Baker & Company, 1926. [Ex 1053.134]. Episodes from *Ornith. Biog.* Cf. No. 81.
- c. *Audubon's America, The Narratives and Experiences of John James Audubon*. Edited by Donald Culross Peattie. Illustrated with facsimiles of Audubon's prints and paintings. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1940. [S604.134.02q]. Selections from Audubon's journals, episodes and bird descriptions from *Ornith. Biog.*, and animal descriptions from *The Quadrupeds*. With "Biographical Note" and introductions by the editor.
- d. J. J. Audubon. *Les Oiseaux d'Amérique*. Préface et notice par Edmond Bruet. Paris, Payot, 1945. 2 vols. [8880.134.15]. Bird descriptions from *Ornith. Biog.*, some of them reprints of Bazin's translations (above, a) and others by the present editor.
- e. *The Bird Biographies of John James Audubon*. Selected and edited by Alice Ford. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1957. [8880.134.11]. Selections from *Ornith. Biog.* The twelve illustrations are reproductions in color of early Audubon bird drawings from the originals in the Harvard University collections.
- f. See No. 172-c.

## 172. Reproductions of Audubon plates.

- a. Chromolithographic reproductions of *The Birds of America* plates, by Julius Bien, New York, 1859-60. [Graphic Arts Collection, E9101-E9104]. These reproductions were issued under John Woodhouse Audubon's supervision; it was originally planned to reproduce in this way all of the elephant folio plates, but the project was never completed. The Bien chromolithographs are clearly identified as such in the legends. The plate numbers do not correspond to those of the elephant folio. The Library has a sampling of four such reproductions: "Song Sparrow," 1859, Plate 189 (after Plate 25, elephant folio); "House Wren," 1860, Plate 120 (after Plate 83); "Blue-grey Flycatcher," 1860, Plate 70 (after Plate 84); "Field Sparrow," 1860, Plate 164 (after Plate 139).
- b. John James Audubon. *The Birds of America*. With an introduction and descriptive text by William Vogt. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1937. [Ex 8880.134.12q]. Reproductions in color of Plates 1-435 of the elephant folio, and of sixty-five additional plates from the octavo edition. With a "Transcript of the legends on the original plates with a note concerning them." A convenient guide to Audubon's bird engravings. Later reprints of this work, 1941 and following, described on the publisher's jacket as "a new low-priced edition for a proven market," omit the reproductions of the additional octavo edition plates. [8880.134q]
- c. *Audubon's Animals, The Quadrupeds of North America*. Compiled & edited by Alice Ford. New York, The Studio Publications, Inc. and Thomas Y. Crowell Company [1951]. [88861.134.12q]. Reproductions (black and white, with some in color) of the folio plates of *The Viviparous Quadrupeds of North America*, of six additional plates which appeared only in the octavo edition, and of other animal drawings and paintings. Selections from the Audubon-Bachman descriptive text. Biographical introduction by the editor. See Nos. 121, 122, 123.

d. *Audubon's American Birds*. From Plates by J. J. Audubon. With an introduction and notes on the plates by Sacheverell Sitwell. London, B. T. Batsford [1949]. "Batsford Colour Books," No. 4. [8880.134.14]. Reproductions in color of sixteen of the elephant folio plates. "*The Birds of America*, all in all, is one of the American achievements in the world of art. . . . Audubon, nevertheless, beautiful as may be his original watercolour paintings, would never have succeeded without the help of the London aquatint engravers. The engraving was undertaken by one of the leading firms, the Havells, during the golden decade of aquatint, the years of the finest sporting and hunting prints. . . . There were no engravers at that time in New York, in Boston, or in Washington, who could have carried out the engraving to this standard. It could only be done in London or, less well, in Paris, where, already, lithography had ousted aquatint. . . . In the aggregate, weighed in the balance of things imponderable, because they cannot be compared, Audubon is of the importance of Herman Melville, and *The Birds of America* is upon the scale of *Moby Dick*."—p. 7

e. *Audubon's Birds of America*. Introduction and descriptive captions by Ludlow Griscom. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1950. [8880.134.13]. Reproductions of 288 of the elephant folio plates, arranged by species. The quality of the color reproductions is deplorably poor.

f. As a mere sampling of the many other reproductions of Audubon plates, the following are shown: *Eight Bird Prints by John J. Audubon* (with introduction, "Audubon's Glory," by Alan Devoe), Woman's Day, the A & P Magazine [195-]; *Audubon Calendar for 1959* (with text and bird descriptions by George Dock, Jr.), Northwestern Mutual Insurance Company.

For reproductions of Audubon's original drawings, as distinguished from the engraved plates, see notes under Nos. 61, 171-e.

173. Birds named for Audubon. Two skins from the collection in the Princeton Museum of Zoology, Guyot Hall. [Courtesy of Charles E. Rogers, curator]

*Audubon's Warbler*, *Dendroica auduboni*. This western North American species was discovered by John Kirk Townsend and named by him in honor of Audubon. Townsend first recorded it in a communication entitled "Description of Twelve New Species of Birds, chiefly from the vicinity of the Columbia river," published in the *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, VII (1837), 187-193 [8001.113.2]. Audubon himself drew the species for his *Birds of America*, Plate 395, from specimens sent to Philadelphia by Townsend, as mentioned in his text (*Ornith. Biog.*, V, 52-54). The skin exhibited was collected by William E. D. Scott, at Twin Lakes, Colorado, 9 July 1878.

*Audubon's Shearwater*, *Puffinus lherminieri*. Audubon illustrated this species in his *Birds of America*, Plate 299, calling it "Dusky Petrel, *Puffinus obscurus*." In 1872 it was named by Finsch in Audubon's honor, "*Puffinus auduboni*," but later it was renamed, on the basis of an earlier established priority, "*Puffinus lherminieri*." The English common name has nevertheless been generally retained, and "*Audubon's Shearwater*" appears in the A.O.U. Checklist. The skin exhibited is a specimen found dead on the beach at Mantoloking, Ocean County, New Jersey, after the storm of 19 August 1939.

## RECAPITULATION

ORIGINAL DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS. By John James Audubon: Nos. 5, 6, 11, 18, 24, 61, 62, 63, 125. By John Woodhouse Audubon: Nos. 128, 130, 145. By Victor G. Audubon: No. 151. By Maria Martin: No. 90. By Thomas Birch: No. 9. *Note:* Four water-color drawings of birds by John Woodhouse Audubon, 1834, not exhibited, are also in the Princeton Library (deposit of John S. Williams).

MANUSCRIPTS. John James Audubon, *Ornith. Biog.*: Nos. 79, 81, 82, 106, 110, 116. *The Quadrupeds*: Nos. 14, 21, 120, 131, 142, 154. *Journals*: Nos. 46, 57. *Letters*: Nos. 8, 22, 42, 47, 49, 52, 53, 55, 58, 71, 72, 73, 74, 83, 84, 86, 93, 94, 101, 112, 119, 132, 133, 136, 137, 138, 153, 157. *Letter* (Washington Irving): No. 102. *Letter* (John Bachman): No. 134. *Note:* Other Audubon letters, not exhibited, are in the Princeton Library; a check list is available upon request.

BOOKS WITH AUDUBON MARGINALIA. Nos. 60, 100, 155. Inscribed by Audubon: No. 78. Inscribed by Lucy B. Audubon: No. 160.

"BIRDS OF AMERICA" ELEPHANT FOLIO PLATES. Nos. 20, 27, 30, 38, 39, 40, 69, 70, 89, 95, 99, 104, 108, 113, 117, 118. *Copper-plates*: Nos. 64, 65, 98, 107. *Uncolored prints*: Nos. 16, 66, 67, 97. *Pattern prints*: Nos. 37, 68, 91, 115.

"QUADRUPEDS" FOLIO PLATES. Nos. 121, 124, 126, 127, 129, 141, 143, 156.

LIKENESSES OF JOHN JAMES AUDUBON. Nos. 35, 48, 76, 77, 145, 147, 158, 162, 164.



# Citizen Audubon

## A Documentary Discovery

BY FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT

A FRENCH antiques dealer in New Orleans once taunted Audubon biographer Donald Culross Peattie with the lack of proof that John James Audubon was ever a citizen of the United States. "Why, Audubon was French," he insisted, as if that alone was an explanation of the naturalist's genius.<sup>1</sup> Of course, Audubon called himself an American and carried a gold seal inscribed with his favorite motto, "America My Country,"<sup>2</sup> but this nationality has sometimes been considered (and certainly by the gentleman of New Orleans) self-ascribed, owing to Audubon's birth in a French colony in the New World.

Three documents, which I have been pleased to discover while engaged in research entirely unrelated to John James Audubon, are here published for the first time. They prove that the great delineator of American natural history was a naturalized citizen of the United States, that he applied for this status within a few months of his second arrival in the country in 1806 and received it six years later, in 1812, and that an American passport was issued to him at least in 1830, if not on other occasions.

The first of the three documents states unequivocally that he was born in Les Cayes in Santo Domingo, as the documents indeed prove that he was, despite all the confusion caused by the "Lost Dauphin" legend. This is a "Landing Report" of an alien, actually a declaration of intention to become naturalized, which was sworn and subscribed in the United States District Court for the District of Pennsylvania (in whose records it remains<sup>3</sup>) on September 5, 1806, in the following words:

<sup>1</sup> Letter of Donald Culross Peattie, Santa Barbara, Calif., to Francis James Dallett, November 22, 1955.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Hobart Herrick, *Audubon the Naturalist, A History of His Life and Time*, New York, 1917, I, 355.

<sup>3</sup> "Book A. For Landing Reports of Aliens 1798 to 1807" (spine title of manuscript ledger in records of United States District Court, Philadelphia, Penna.). The page is 102 but it is not numbered nor does the name of Audubon appear in the partial index in the front of the ledger.

District of Pennsylvania Sch.

Be it remembered That on this fifth Day of September in the Year One thousand Eight Hundred and Six John Audubon a free white person of the Age of Twenty three Years being an Alien who has arrived in the United States after the passing of the Act of Congress entitled "an act to establish an Uniform Rule of Naturalization and to repeal the Acts heretofore passed on that Subject" passed on the fourteenth Day of April in the Year one thousand Eight Hundred and two and who is desirous to be naturalized did report himself to David Caldwell Clerk of the District Court of the United States in and for the District of Pennsylvania in manner following that is to say—that he the said John Audubon was born at Aux Cayes in the Island of St Domingo sometime in the Year one thousand Seven Hundred and Eighty three and is now about the Age of twenty three Years —That he was born a member of the French Nation and owed Allegiance to the Emperor of the French—that he migrated from France to the United States and arrived at the Port of New York on or about the twenty Seventh Day of August one thousand Eight hundred and two that on or about the twenty first Day of March one thousand Eight hundred and five he returned to France from whence he again migrated to the United States on or about the twelfth Day of April last and arrived at the Port of New York on or about the twenty Seventh Day of May and that it is his intention to settle in the State of Pennsylvania.

Recorded the Day and  
Year above written by me  
D. Caldwell Clk. Dist. Ct.

J. Audubon

In this Philadelphia document, written on the same day that Audubon signed an agreement preliminary to the sale of the Mill Grove property in Montgomery County,<sup>4</sup> the artist antedated his own birth by two years (he moved it casually from year to year in the writings of his later life as well) for he was born in 1785 and not 1783, as Herrick has long since proved. It would seem also that his stated date of arrival in the country should be 1809 rather than 1802, on the basis of documentary evidence assembled

<sup>4</sup> Herrick, I, 148.

by Herrick.<sup>5</sup> Audubon had the world's faultiest memory and has confused his biographers ever since.

The second document is the actual record of naturalization in the same court.<sup>6</sup> It would make Audubon, by his unreliable calculation that he was then twenty-six, three years younger than he had stated six years before! Its chief interest is in the fact that it did officially make John James Audubon a citizen and that he was enabled to accomplish this end with the backing of two well established Philadelphians, one of whom, Dr. Peter Stephen Du Ponceau, the French-born philologist-lawyer, was President of the American Philosophical Society when Audubon was subsequently elected to its membership on July 15, 1831. The text is as follows:

To the Honorable Richard Peters, Esquire, Judge of the District Court of the United States in and for the Pennsylvania District—

The Petition of John Audubon of the District of Pennsylvania a native of the Island of St Domingo aged about Twenty Six years

Most respectfully Seweth [sic]

That your Petitioner has resided upwards of Eight years now last past within the limits and under the jurisdiction of the United States, to wit, in the State of Pennsylvania.

That on the fifth day of September of the year One thousand eight hundred and Six, your Petitioner reported himself in the Office of the Clerk of this District, as an alien, intending to become a Citizen of the United States, and on the Twelfth of September in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Six, your Petitioner did before this Honorable Court declare his intention to become a Citizen of the United States, as by the records of the said Court fully appears.<sup>7</sup>

Your Petitioner therefore prays: That on his making the proofs and taking the Oaths and otherwise complying with

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>6</sup> File No. 23 of July 3, 1812 (manuscript document in records of the United States District Court, Philadelphia, Penna.).

<sup>7</sup> The Court dockets have been moved into storage elsewhere in Philadelphia but can be inspected. The form of declaration, I am told, contains no data not given in the Landing Report.

the requisites prescribed by Law, he may be admitted to become a citizen of the said United States

And he shall ever pray &c.

Philadelphia 3<sup>d</sup>. July 1812

J. Audubon

William Taylor, junior, of the City of Philadelphia, merchant, being duly affirmed according to Law, on his affirmation doth Say: That he is well acquainted with John Audubon the within Petitioner, that the said John has to this Deponent's knowledge, resided within the Limits and under the Jurisdiction of the United States, for upwards of Six years now last past and has behaved as a man of good Moral Character, attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same.

W<sup>m</sup> Taylor Jr.

Affirm<sup>d</sup> in open Court

July 3.<sup>d</sup> 1812

D. Caldwell Clk. Dist. C.<sup>t</sup>

I, John Audubon, the within Petitioner, do Solemnly Swear, That I will Support the Constitution of the United States, and that I do absolutely and entirely renounce and abjure all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign Prince, Potentate, State or Sovereignty whatever and particularly Napoleon the first Emperor of the French of whom I was heretofore a Subject.

J. Audubon

Sworn and Subscribed

in open Court

July 3.<sup>d</sup> 1812

D. Caldwell Clk. Dist. C.<sup>t</sup>

Peter Stephen DuPonceau, of Philadelphia, Esquire, being duly sworn doth say: That John Audubon, the within Petitioner, has within eight or nine Years now last past resided upwards of one Year within the District of Pennsylvania.

Peter S. DuPonceau

Sworn in open Court

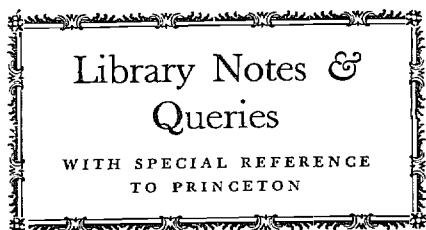
July 3.<sup>d</sup> 1812

D. Caldwell Clk. Dist. C.<sup>t</sup>

Du Ponceau's statement that Audubon *had* lived in Pennsylvania at least a year was probably requested by the Clerk of the Court, who was well aware that Audubon was at the time actually a resident of Henderson, Kentucky, who had returned to Philadelphia only on business, perhaps, indeed, for the express purpose of naturalization.

The passport issued on March 19, 1830 to the ornithologist to enable him to make his second visit to England, survives in the copy retained by the Department of State<sup>8</sup> and describes John James Audubon as: "46 years, 5 feet 8½ inches, common forehead, hazel eyes, prominent nose, common mouth, pointed chin, greyish hair, brown complexion, oval face."

<sup>8</sup> "Passports No. 12" (spine title of manuscript ledger in records of Department of State, National Archives, Washington, D.C.).



#### PRINCETON UNIVERSITY ARCHIVES

At their meeting on October 23, 1959, the Trustees of the University established the Princeton University Archives as an authorized agency of the corporation, and appointed M. Halsey Thomas, a resident of Princeton and formerly Curator of Columbiana, the university archives at Columbia University, to the post of University Archivist. Quarters have been provided in the Firestone Library (A-14-B), and Mr. Thomas has taken up his duties here. The Trustees at the same time adopted a set of regulations defining archives as to nature and scope, and listed details regarding the transfer of files, records, and documents to the newly-established agency, and the care and conditions of access to them. In setting up the new office, it is the purpose of the University to bring together in one place and to house in safe, fireproof, and convenient quarters, classified and arranged in uniform modern filing equipment, such non-current manuscript and printed materials, produced by the operations of the University, as have survived from the founding of the College of New Jersey in 1746 to the present time, and to maintain currently an orderly program of records retirement and control.

#### LECTURE ILLUSTRATIONS USED BY ARNOLD GUYOT

Forty-six wall hangings used by Arnold Guyot in his classroom and public lectures have been recently discovered in Guyot Hall, home of the Department of Geology at Princeton University. With the exception of a few which have been retained by the Department of Geology, the hangings have been transferred to the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections in the Library.

Arnold Guyot (1807-1884), like his colleague Louis Agassiz,

came to America from Neuchâtel, Switzerland. He received an appointment in the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University) to a newly-founded chair of Geology and Physical Geography in 1854. He arrived on the campus the following year and remained until his death. Material on Guyot is not abundant and what is available is widely scattered. This collection of lecture illustrations, therefore, sheds some additional light on Guyot's range of interests and his understanding of the Earth Sciences.

All the hangings are painted on cotton cloth and vary in size from about 0.6 meters square up to 2.3 by 3.4 meters. Their condition ranges from excellent to poor. All are legible. One of the hangings bears the name "E. Sandoz." Sandoz was Guyot's nephew and it seems probable that the others were also executed by Sandoz. A number of the hangings carry small descriptive tags, some in English and some in French. A comparison with examples of Guyot's handwriting suggests that the tags were written by him.

The range of Guyot's interests is represented by the varied subjects pictured on the hangings. Three are devoted to archaeology and three to botany and zoology. Six deal with modern geologic processes such as earthquakes and volcanoes and ten with the general geographic features of the earth. Climate is the subject of two hangings. Pleistocene (glacial) geology is treated in four hangings and pre-Pleistocene geology in eleven others. Five hangings depict astronomical subjects and two are concerned with religious subjects.

One of the most interesting of the hangings is a large (2.4 by 3.4 meters) map showing the distribution of glacially transported erratic boulders in Switzerland. The paths of transport of different rock types are shown in different colors but no key is given. This map seems to be based on Guyot's own field work in the 1840's and reminds us of the little-recognized role played by Guyot in the formulation of the "glacial theory," a milestone in nineteenth-century natural history for which Louis Agassiz receives almost universal credit.

Guyot received his appointment at Princeton as a "Christian scholar." The two hangings dealing with religious subjects reflect his concern for the relation between science and religion. One of the hangings is an analysis of the first chapter of Genesis as follows:

Analysis of the First Chapter of Genesis.

Matter Inorganic Period.	Introduction.		Life Organic Period.
	v. 1	v. 2	
v. 3-5			v. 14-19
v. 6-8			v. 20-23
v. 9-10			v. 24-25
v. 11-13			v. 26-31
Ch. II, v. 1-3			

These are the generations of the heavens and of the earth.

Ch. II, v. 4

The second, entitled the "Spiritual History of Mankind," is arranged in a "bull's-eye" pattern with Christ at the center of the diagram.—SHELDON JUDSON '40

"LIBER DESIDERATUS"

The Princeton University Library contains the *editio princeps* of the *Margarita Philosophica* by Gregorius Reisch, printed in Freiburg im Breisgau by Johannes Schott of Strasbourg in 1503. A happy addition to this item would be any one of the following editions of this fascinating little encyclopedia in an order of preference *ad disputandum*: Strasbourg, Grüninger editions, 1508, 1512, 1515; Basel, Petri editions, 1535, 1583.

The scholar will ask, "Why not the subsequent Schott editions of 1504, 1508, and 1517, or the first Grüninger edition of 1504?" Welcome additions, to be sure, but there appeared for the first time in the Grüninger edition of 1508 and in the aforementioned *libris desideratis* a short exposé entitled "*Graecarum Litterarum Institutio. per I. A. collecta*," presenting the Greek alphabet and followed by a detailed discussion of its consonants, vowels, and diphthongs. In his conclusion the author "I. A." recommends to the reader for further study the Constantini Lascaris *Erotemata* or the Fratris Urbani *Institutiones Graecae Grammatices*, "where the reader will find copious material concerning this matter."

The Princeton Library contains both of these books recommended by "I. A." The Lascaris *Erotemata*, with the positive date of 1495, could be the first book printed by Aldus Manutius in

Venice (if not the *Musaeus* with the supposed date of 1494<sup>1</sup>). The Urbano Bolzanio *Institutiones* was likewise printed by Aldus, in 1497.

Not only are these incunabula to be found at Princeton, but also a book entitled *Sequentiarum luculenta interpretatio . . . per Joan. adelphum physicum Argentinum collecta*, Strasbourg, Knobloch, 1513. Johannes Adelphus (Müling<sup>2</sup>), a doctor of medicine with an interest in literature and religion, was also a corrector at the printing establishment of Grüninger in Strasbourg. He is the "I. A." who prepared the Greek exposé for the 1508 Grüninger edition of the *Margarita Philosophica*, in which he also inserted a dedicatory poem, likewise repeated in the *libris desideratis*, but accompanied by his initials in only the 1508 edition. The poem, entitled "*Ex arte fieri omnia meliora*," reveals more than an ordinary interest in medicine and cites famous personages whose work was always accomplished with "*arte*." In his last line Adelphus enjoins his poem to go bid farewell to Democritus, implying that the erudite Greek, renowned for his interest in many phases of learning, has now been superseded by Gregorius Reisch. It is interesting to note that Oswald Schreckenfuchs, in his eulogy delivered in Freiburg im Breisgau in 1552 on the death of his teacher Sebastian Münster, speaks of Reisch, using the name Democritus, an appellation which he undoubtedly borrowed from Adelphus' poem.

With such rarities as the Lascaris, Urban, and Adelphus, it seems most fitting that the Princeton Library should also contain at least one of the editions of the *Margarita Philosophica* in which these three authors are mentioned. Perhaps one day the *liber desideratus* will be answered.—HAROLD L. RULAND

#### "ON PLAYS, PLAYWRIGHTS, AND PLAYGOERS"

The Princeton University Library has published this autumn, as the eighth in the series of occasional publications sponsored by the Friends of the Library, *On Plays, Playwrights, and Playgoers*, selections from the letters of Booth Tarkington '93 to George C. Tyler and John Peter Toohey, 1918-1925, edited by Alan S.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas F. Dibdin, *The Bibliographical Decameron*, London, 1817, II, 207-208.

<sup>2</sup> François Ritter, *Histoire de l'Imprimerie Alsacienne aux XVe et XVIe Siècles*, Strasbourg, 1955, p. 502, appendice No. 93.

Downer, Professor of English at Princeton. Every member of the Friends has been invited to accept a complimentary copy of the book. The publication price is \$3.00.

A young author who aims at a career of commercial success in fiction will consider himself blessed if he can be assured of friendly advice from an older, experienced hand. John Peter Toohey was such a young author. Just after the first World War, he was supporting himself by working in the office of George C. Tyler, the theatrical producer, and he found his friendly adviser in Booth Tarkington, who had supplied Tyler with many of his most successful scripts. Tarkington is remembered today as a novelist, as the muse of adolescence and of Midwestern urban life, but from the beginning of his writing career he had been devoted to the theatre. During his Princeton years he had taken an active part in the productions of the Triangle Club and much of his early professional reputation grew out of a series of melodramatic comedies (like *The Man from Home*, 1908, which ran for five and a half years).

After the war, the changing critical reaction to his and other plays written according to prewar formulas set Tarkington to seeking fresh subject matter and new techniques. His eye was caught by the beginnings of a new school of American acting in such promising tyros as Alfred Lunt, Helen Hayes, and Leslie Howard, and he set about writing plays shaped to their talents and personalities. It was at this point that he encountered Toohey, who was handling publicity for Tyler's plays, and who was emboldened to seek counsel about his own writing. Tarkington thus found himself in the interesting position of dispensing advice to an eager pupil while he was himself trying to discover the "laws" of the new theatre.

The selection of letters from Tarkington to Toohey and Tyler included in *On Plays, Playwrights, and Playgoers* shows Tarkington's determination in abandoning the way of success in the older theatre in his search for a path into the new. Here is recorded the discovery of Lunt and the creation of *Clarence*; of Helen Hayes and the careful tailoring of *The Wren* to assist her career. Here is the story of *Poldekin*, an anticommunist tract designed as a vehicle for George Arliss, an unrepented failure. Here is the attempt to restore Maude Adams to the stage in *The Intimate*

*Strangers* after years of frightened retirement. Here is Tarkington on the theatre: on actors, and critics, and audiences, and other playwrights. For these are only in part "workshop" letters. They are full of the wholehearted commitment to the theatre of a professional man of letters who reveled in his vocation.

The letters to Toohey were given to the Princeton University Library in 1957 by Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06 and supplement the large number of Tarkington letters in the papers of George C. Tyler purchased by the Library in 1941. The publication of the selection edited by Professor Downer has been made possible by the kind permission of Mrs. Booth Tarkington, who several years ago presented Tarkington's papers to the Library.

#### TWENTY YEARS OF THE "CHRONICLE," 1939-1959

*The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, published under the sponsorship of the Friends of the Princeton Library, was founded in the autumn of 1939, incorporating an earlier publication of the Friends entitled *Biblia*. At the time of its establishment the objectives of the *Chronicle* were stated as being threefold: to record the acquisition by the Library of noteworthy books, manuscripts, and other material; to survey the Library's special collections, as well as to describe in detail unusually important items in the possession of the Library; and to publish articles of general bibliographical, literary, and historical interest.

To celebrate the completion of the first twenty years of the *Chronicle*, the Library held during the autumn an exhibition designed to suggest the manner in which the *Chronicle* has reflected the specializations and interests of the Library. Limitations of space made it impossible to illustrate all the articles—there have been more than 280—and it was not feasible to include any of the hundreds of notes. This was a cause for regret to the Editors, who naturally hold all their contributors in high regard and who would not willingly have left out any of them.

#### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

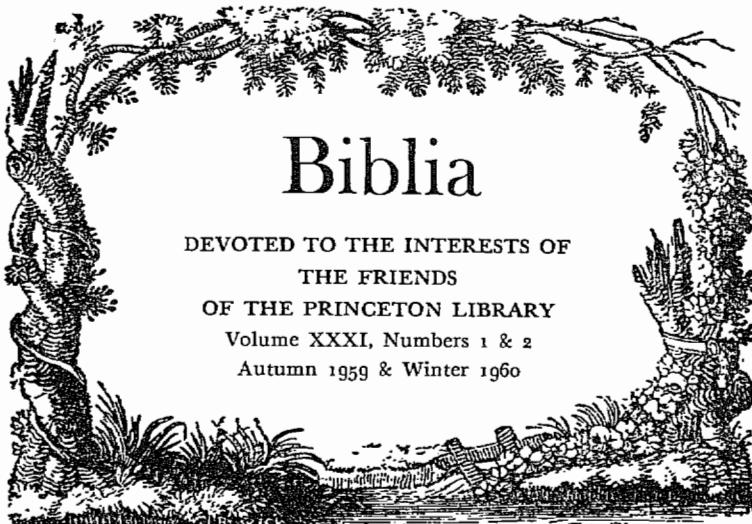
WALDEMAR H. FRIES, of Providence, Rhode Island, is making a census of the existing copies of the double-elephant folio edition of Audubon's *The Birds of America*.

**HOWARD C. RICE, JR.** is Chief of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

**FRANCIS JAMES DALLETT** is Secretary and Librarian of the Athenæum of Philadelphia.

**SHELDON JUDSON '40** is an Associate Professor of Geology at Princeton University.

**HAROLD L. RULAND**, Chairman of the Foreign Language Department of the High School in Union, New Jersey, has done extensive research in the field of sixteenth-century cartography and related subjects.



DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF  
THE FRIENDS  
OF THE PRINCETON LIBRARY  
Volume XXXI, Numbers 1 & 2  
Autumn 1959 & Winter 1960

#### FINANCIAL REPORT

The summary of financial transactions on the Operating Account for the year 1958-59:

##### RECEIPTS

Balance July 1, 1958	\$ 1,384.53
Dues for 1958-59	8,734.00
Dues for 1959-60	8,887.50
Dues for 1960-61	15.00
Back dues	15.00
Subscriptions to <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XX	497.20
Subscriptions to <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XXI	36.00
Miscellaneous numbers of <i>Chronicle</i>	228.14
Reserved for printing of <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XIX, Nos. 3 and 4	2,066.37
Council dinner, December 10, 1958	72.00
Friends dinner, May 15, 1959	699.00
Contributions from Jac Weller '36, Mrs. Catherine Davis, James B. Laughlin, II '52, General Public Utilities, and Hans A. Widenmann '18	142.50
	<hr/>
	\$22,277.24

EXPENDITURES

Printing of <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XIX, Nos. 3 and 4	\$ 1,740.89
Printing of <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XX, Nos. 1 and 2	2,462.74
Postage and printing	863.69
Needs Committee	360.85
Clerical help	102.20
Membership drive expenses	666.42
Council dinner, December 10, 1958	99.85
Friends dinner, May 15, 1959	1,048.10
Undergraduate book collecting contest prizes	50.00
Transfers to Book Fund	3,500.00
Advance subscriptions to <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XXI	36.00
Advance dues for 1959-60 to be expended that year	8,387.50
Advance dues for 1960-61	15.00
Reserved for printing of <i>Chronicle</i> , Vol. XX, Nos. 3 and 4	2,537.26
	—————
	\$21,870.50
Balance June 30, 1959	\$ 406.74

Contributions to the Friends Book Fund during the year 1958-59 totaled \$9,836.48 and to "Needs" \$5,828.50.

PUBLICATION FUND SUMMARY

RECEIPTS

Contributions received	\$ 8,175.57
Received for reproduction proofs of <i>Afternoon of an Author</i>	996.53
Received from sales	13,394.68
Royalties from <i>The Arte of Angling</i>	360.18
	—————
	\$22,926.96

EXPENDITURES

Printing and binding	\$14,795.59
Mailing expenses	2,221.46
	—————
Balance	\$17,017.05
	—————
	\$ 5,909.91

The above figures include the transactions in connection with *Charles Kingsley's American Notes*, the volume published in 1958 under the sponsorship of the Friends.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

Since the report in the preceding issue of the *Chronicle* contributions totaling \$651.25 have been received from Friends. A memorial to the late Archibald A. Gulick '97 was established by a contribution from John G. Buchanan '09. Contributions from Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06 enabled the Library to secure a fine letter of John Jay to John Witherspoon, April 6, 1784, as well as to acquire a group of books to be added to the Kretzschmar v. Kienbusch Germanic Collection.

#### GIFTS

Mrs. Harold Fowler has presented two books from the collection of Robert Hoe: a Book of Hours published in Paris by Guillaume Godard about 1514; and *L'Office de la Semaine Saincte*, Paris, 1627, in a red morocco binding decorated with the device and arms of Anne of Austria. Dorsey Richardson has given a copy of the first edition of one of the titles on the Princeton list of "One Hundred Notable American Books": Nathaniel Bowditch, *The New American Practical Navigator*, Newburyport, Mass., 1802.

Gifts have been received also from the following Friends: Elmer Adler, Frederick L. Arnold, Carlos Baker, Alfred T. Carton '05, Charles E. Feinberg, Sinclair Hamilton '06, James Holly Hanford, Bernard Kilgore, Miss Elisabeth G. Kimball, Rensselaer W. Lee '20, David M. Ludlum '33, Howard S. McMorris, Irving W. Mershon, Sterling Morton '06, Thomas M. Parrott '88, Fred B. Rogers '47, Charles A. Ryskamp, Henry L. Savage '15, Jacob Schwartz, Seven Gables Bookshop, A. G. Shenstone '14, R. Stanley Thomson, Willard Thorp, and Mrs. Roy Dickinson Welch.

## 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 secured 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 subscribing annually five dollars or more. Checks payable to Princeton University should be addressed to the Treasurer.

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