



# Horatio Greenough's borrowings from the Harvard College Library

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effectiveness and validity of the case method of instruction as it is interpreted and practiced by the faculty of

the School of Business Administration.

GEORGE W. GIBSON

## Horatio Greenough's Borrowings from the Harvard College Library

LIKE many another Harvard graduate, Horatio Greenough stoutly maintained that college failed to educate him. 'Fain would I also lay claim to the title of self-made man,' he wrote over twenty-five years later, not altogether jocosely; 'indeed, I graduated at Harvard, in 1825, which they who knew the school will allow was near enough self-making to satisfy any reasonable ambition.'<sup>1</sup>

At the time he wrote these words, a year or so before his death in 1852 at the age of forty-seven, Greenough stood at the summit of his career as the first professional American sculptor. His semi-nude, seated statue of Washington ordered by Congress for the rotunda of the Capitol and set up in 1842,<sup>2</sup> though 'the butt of wise-

acres,' had brought him wide fame and considerable appreciation. His group called 'The Rescue,' depicting a pioneer restraining an Indian from attacking his wife and child, which had been commissioned for one of the buttresses projecting from the portico of the Capitol's eastern façade, was completed though not yet transported from Italy. He himself had just returned from Florence, where he had spent most of his life, and had published his essay *Æsthetics at Washington* containing a statement of his theory (a theory then something of a novelty, at least in America) that architectural forms should be adapted to their functions, together with his fullest criticism of contemporary buildings in the light of that theory. Altogether, he could afford to pose as a self-made man.

Like such of his fellow alumni as

<sup>1</sup> *Æsthetics at Washington* (Washington, 1851), p. 4. The essay was reprinted in Horatio Greenough, *The Travels, Observations, and Experience of a Yankee Stonecutter*, by Horace Rander (New York, 1852), pp. 1-33; in Henry T. Tuckerman, *A Memorial of Horatio Greenough, Consisting of a Memoir, Selections from His Writings, and Tributes to His Genius* (New York, 1853), pp. 61-94; and in *Form and Function: Remarks on Art by Horatio Greenough*, ed. Harold A. Small (Berkeley, 1947), pp. 1-38. For a recent discussion of the essay, as well as of Greenough's other essays, see Charles R. Metzger, *Emerson and Greenough: Transcendental Pioneers of an American Aesthetic* (Berkeley, 1954), pp. 80-133.

<sup>2</sup> The ineffective lighting of the statue

in the rotunda led Greenough to petition Congress (11 January 1843) for its removal to the Capitol grounds, where it was eventually placed, though without the shelter he had recommended and with plantings that obstructed proper viewing. In 1908 it was again removed, this time to the Smithsonian Institution. See *Memorial of Horatio Greenough, Praying the Removal of the Statue of Washington from Its Present Position* (Washington, 1843); Albert T. Gardner, *Yankee Stonecutters: The First American School of Sculpture, 1800-1850* (New York, 1945), p. 40.

Henry Thoreau and Henry Adams, however, Greenough overstated the case. Evidence is not hard to adduce that he was influenced, in varying degrees, by half a dozen Harvard professors and even the policies of President Kirkland himself. And that he was instructed as a student by that best of all instructors, the college library, there can be no doubt.

For the period of Greenough's college career—from 1821/22 to 1824/25—only one Harvard library charging record is extant, but the page of entries in it for him is a full and revealing one. During the ten months from October 1822 to August 1823, in his sophomore year, he borrowed twenty-five works, a total of thirty-two volumes. The list that follows gives first the transcribed entry, then the identification:<sup>3</sup>

1822

Oct. 3 Evelyn's Sculptura

John Evelyn. *Sculptura: or, The History and Art of Chalcography, and Engraving in Copper*. 2nd ed. London, 1755.

Oct. 10 Cellini's Life. v. 1. trd.

Benevenuto Cellini. *The Life of Benvenuto Cellini, a Florentine Artist*. Tr. by Thomas Nugent. London, 1771. 2 v.

Oct. 10 Cellini's Life. 1. Ital.

Benvenuto Cellini. *Vita di Benvenuto Cellini orfice e scultore fiorentino da lui medesimo scritta*. Milan, 1806. 2 v.

Oct. 10 Cellini Due Trattati

Benvenuto Cellini. *Due Trattati di Benvenuto Cellini scultore fiorentino uno dell' orficeria l'altro della scul-*

<sup>3</sup> Charging Record, 1762—, p. 380, in the University Archives. Identification of titles has been made from *A Catalogue of the Library of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Cambridge, 1830).

*tura coll' aggiunta di alcune operette del medesimo*. Milan, 1811.

Oct. 10 Chesselden's Anat.<sup>7</sup>

William Cheselden. *The Anatomy of the Human Body*. 9th ed. London, 1768. Or 13th ed. London, 1792. Or 2nd American ed. Boston, 1806.

Oct. 30. Cowper's Anatomy, folio.

William Cowper. *The Anatomy of Humane Bodies*. Oxford, 1698.

Oct. 30. Gemmae Antiquae Depictae

Leonardo Agostini. *Gemmae et sculpturae antiquae depictae*. Francker, 1694.

Nov. 13. Plinii Hist. Nat. 4to vol. 7th

Caius Plinius Secundus. *Histoire naturelle de Pline traduite en françois, avec le texte latin rétabli d'après les meilleures leçons manuscrites*. Paris, 1771-82. 12 v.

Feb. 19 Winckelman Oeuvres 3

Johann Joachim Winckelmann. *Histoire de l'art chez les anciens*. Paris, 1802-03. 2 v. in 3.

Feb. 19 Voyage of Italy

Richard Lassels. *The Voyage of Italy; or, A Compleat Journey through Italy. In Two Parts*. Paris, 1670.

Feb. 19 Journey to Italy

*A Short Account of a Late Journey to Tuscany, Rome, and Other Parts of Italy*. London, 1741.

Feb. 19 Alberti della Pitt. &c

Leon Battista Alberti. *Della pittura e della statua*. Milan, 1804.

[n. d.] Fielding Works 2

Henry Fielding. *The Works of Henry Fielding*. London, 1771. 8 v. Or New York, 1813-16. 14 v.

[n. d.] Goldoni Comediae 1

Carlo Goldoni. *Collezione completa delle commedie*. Lucca, 1809-12. 26 v.

[n. d.] Da Vinci Della Pittura

Leonardo da Vinci. *Trattato della pittura*. Milan, 1804.

- March 26 Chesselden on the Bones  
William Cheselden. *Osteographia; or, The Anatomy of the Bones*. London, 1733.
- April 2 Caracci  
Annibale Carracci. *Scuola perfetta per imparare a disegnare tutto il corpo humano cavato dallo studio, e disegni de Caracci*. Rome, n. d. Folio.
- April 9 Fresnoy's Art of Painting  
Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy. *The Art of Painting: by C. A. Du Fresnoy: with Remarks: Translated into English, with an Original Preface, Containing a Parallel between Painting and Poetry: by Mr. Dryden. As Also a Short Account of the Most Eminent Painters, Both Ancient and Modern: by R. G.* 2nd ed. London, 1716. Or London, 1750.
- April 16 Gregory's Dic.<sup>2</sup>  
George Gregory. *A Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*. London, 1806-07. 2 v.
- April 16. Vassari Vita de Pittori vol. 1.  
Giorgio Vasari. *Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori, e architetti*. Milan, 1807-11. 16 v.
- April 30 Wheelers Journey into Greece  
Sir George Wheeler. *A Journey into Greece . . . with Variety of Sculptures*. London, 1682.
- [n. d.] Gregory's Dic.<sup>2</sup> 1  
[See April 16]
- June 25 Cuvier Anat. Comp. 5.  
Georges Cuvier. *Leçons d'anatomie comparée*. Paris, [1800]-05. 5 v.
- June 25 Tyson's Anatomy of a Pigmy  
Edward Tyson. *Orang-Outang, sive Homo Sylvestris: or, The Anatomy of a Pigmy, Compared with That of a Monkey, an Ape, and a Man*. London, 1699. Or 2nd ed. London, 1751.
- July 16 Encyclopedie Fran. 8  
*Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers,* par une société de gens de lettres. Mis en ordre & publié par M. Diderot. Paris, 1751-72. 28 v.
- July 16 Bell on the Bones  
John Bell. *The Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*. N. p., n. d. Or John and Charles Bell. *The Anatomy of the Human Body*. Edinburgh, 1797-1804. 4 v. Vol. 1: *Containing the Anatomy of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints*.
- July 16 Goldoni Com.<sup>a</sup> 2  
[See above, following Feb. 19]
- July 30 Vita Ben. Cellini tom. 1.  
[See Oct. 10]
- July 30 Nugents Life of Cellini 1  
[See Oct. 10]
- Aug. 6 Rees' Cyclop.<sup>2</sup> 2 & 42  
Abraham Rees. *The Cyclopaedia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature*. Philadelphia, 1810-24. 41 v., 6 v. plates.

This list, roughly divisible into art histories and treatises, descriptions of Italy, and anatomies, is not a surprising one for a young man who had chosen the career of sculpture and who planned to go to Italy in pursuit of this career at the first possible opportunity. Together with his reading of poetry and classical literature in connection with the college curriculum it represents, in fact, the chief of Greenough's lifelong intellectual interests.

The very number of items testifies to the intensity of the young sculptor's purpose. During the same period his brother John, who was a painter, borrowed nine volumes, more than half of them anatomies.<sup>4</sup> Two other brothers, Henry and Alfred, were reading two years later, from the li-

<sup>4</sup> Charging Record, 1762-, p. 300, in the University Archives.

brary of the Akribologoumenoi literary society, British essayists, Irving, and Scott — twelve volumes between them.<sup>6</sup>

Horatio, too, liked literature, as the presence of Fielding and Goldoni among his borrowings suggests. Probably he was also improving his Italian, which he learned in anticipation of going abroad, by reading Goldoni and the Italian version of Cellini. The flamboyant Florentine was a great favorite with him and with his brothers as well; in Horatio's first studio (a well-curb turned sideways) he and Henry used to read aloud from the autobiography.<sup>7</sup>

In the treatises of Alberti, Leonardo, and Du Fresnoy, and in the works of Winckelmann, the student Greenough had before him statements of the major aesthetic tenets of the Renaissance and the Neo-classical Revival — that is to say, the essentially idealistic tenets in the main stream of Western aesthetic thought. Compared to it, the realistic fiction of Fielding represented a tributary that shortly welled to the proportions of a flood. But it was the broader tradition in which Greenough as an artist worked. Though in the essays he later wrote on art and aesthetics he objected to Winckelmann's 'dogma' and charged that the German had 'rather imposed his own feeling and taste than struck and laid bare the foundations of truth,'<sup>8</sup> he too regarded the principles of Greek art as superior to all others.

<sup>6</sup> 'Accounts of the Library of the Akribologoumenoi,' 1 October 1824, in the University Archives.

<sup>7</sup> *Letters of Horatio Greenough to His Brother Henry Greenough*, ed. Frances B. Greenough (Boston, 1887), p. 16.

<sup>8</sup> 'The Stonecutter's Creed,' *Travels of a Yankee Stonecutter*, p. 184.

He also bowed in these essays to two other artists whose acquaintance he made in college — Alberti and Leonardo. They were, he said, true students of 'organization,' in contrast to contemporary English and French aestheticians who defined beauty as the 'art of pleasing.'<sup>8</sup>

Above all, the list of library books charged to Greenough when he was in college is interesting because of the group of six anatomies. Tyson was regarded as the father of the science of comparative anatomy in England and his *Orang-Outang*, first published in 1699, a landmark in the history of the theory of evolution. Cheselden was a collaborator of his and an instructor of Cowper. Cuvier and Bell represented two current schools — the materialistic French and the deistic English. John Bell's brother Charles later composed annotations for Paley's *Natural Theology*, a book that, incidentally, was one of the Harvard texts at this time. This was the year, in fact, when Greenough said he began his study of anatomy with the aid of Dr George Parkman, from whom during the remainder of his college career he borrowed preparations and those books he could not obtain from the College Library.

It is thus apparent that at least from his seventeenth year Greenough studied the science of anatomy with a seriousness equaled only by his study of art, and that his awareness of universal physical laws — an awareness that characterized his mature thought despite his commitments to history and mythology — originated very

<sup>8</sup> Tuckerman, *Memorial of Horatio Greenough*, p. 165.

early. It was, moreover, the deistic rather than the materialistic interpretation of natural science that he adopted.

It is also apparent that Greenough, who was one of the first enunciators of the theory of functionalism in architecture in the nineteenth century, was at an early age widely read in a literature in which the concept of structure as the adaptation of forms to functions was common. This concept of the human form was expressed or implied by all the anatomists whose writings he borrowed as a sophomore, and doubtless by others as well. It

underlay the whole development of evolutionary thought.

To suppose that Greenough read all the books he borrowed would be to assume more than even the most optimistic librarians regarding their patrons. Nevertheless, from his later work and writing it is evident that he became acquainted with the contents of most of them. It would seem, in fact, that from these very books some of the ideas to which he was most dedicated and for which he is most distinguished first took root in his thinking.

NATHALIA WRIGHT

## Manuscripts of Dostoevsky and Turgenev at Harvard

HARVARD'S holdings of original Russian manuscripts have recently been notably strengthened by the acquisition of autographs of a portion of Dostoevsky's *Zapiski iz mertvogo doma* and of thirty-six letters of Turgenev. The present brief account of these manuscripts will be amplified in the forthcoming volume of studies to be published by the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, where the texts will be edited in full.

*Zapiski iz mertvogo doma*,<sup>1</sup> the work for which Dostoevsky was best known during his lifetime, began publication in the periodical of F. T. Stelovsky, *Russkij mir*, in 1860, and was

<sup>1</sup>Literally, 'Memoirs from the Dead House'; now generally known in English as *The House of the Dead*, though first translated as *Buried Alive: or Ten Years of Penal Servitude* (London, 1881).

continued in *Vremja*, the periodical of Dostoevsky's brother Mikhail, during 1861-62, with first book publication in 1862. The present manuscript, bequeathed to Harvard in 1950 by the late Thomas Whittemore, represents the beginning of the second chapter of Part II, closely written on a folder (four pages) measuring about 45 by 29 centimeters. As may be seen in Plate I, the manuscript begins with the title of the work and the heading 'Chast' 2<sup>ja</sup> / Glava 2<sup>ja</sup> / Goshpital' [spelled thus]; it includes the first three paragraphs of the chapter, ending with the word 'eto?' A slight tear in the inner margin of the first leaf and a small burn in its center do not impair the legibility of the text.

Although representing only about 8 of the approximately 350 pages to be found in a modern edition of the work, this manuscript is important in

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