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In Praise of Old Nassau
BY AUDREY READ JACKSON

The tune of "Old Nassau," written eighty-one years ago by a Princeton instructor to accompany the price-revealing words of an undergraduate, remains an endearing memorial to Karl Langlotz. Recently the Princeton Archives have been enriched by an important group of letters, printed matter, and music manuscripts by or about Langlotz. The donor is Wilford S. Conrow '01.

On that Commencement Saturday in June, 1906, University Field re-echoed again and again to a stirring applause. Not the orange and black reunion costumes, not Princeton's decisive victory over a Yale baseball nine roused this thunderous ovation. From his seat directly behind the home plate, an elderly gentleman bowed in acknowledgment of the plaudits of reunion classes. A few days later, as guest of honor at the Alumni Luncheon held in the Gymnasium, he once more received the acclaim of alumni gathered there. At the close of the luncheon, seven hundred voices rang out in the strains of their Alma Mater, "In praise of Old Nassau, my boys, Hurrah! Hurrah! Hurrah!" Again the old gentleman bowed in acknowledgment. To Karl Langlotz, composer of their Alma Mater, Princeton men were again paying homage.

In the turbulent, pre-Civil war days of 1859, Princeton College, as it was then known, numbered Karl Langlotz among its faculty members as a tutor in German. He had come to the college two years earlier by way of the Freehold (N.J.) Institute, where he had taught German and music and where one of his piano pupils had been William J. Henderson, who followed him as a student to Princeton and who, later,
was to become the W. J. Henderson known to thousands as the music critic of The New York Sun.

Born in Germany, the son of the music teacher to the Crown Prince of the Court of Saxe-Meiningen, Langlotz' early musical training must needs have been rigorous for he was an accomplished pianist, violinist and cellist. It is said that at the age of sixteen he played at Weimar in the orchestra under Liszt and Joachim and under Wagner when that renowned composer conducted the first performance of "Lohengrin." In 1859, he appears to have been a placid, pipe-smoking young man, content to carry on his German lessons, to play the chapel organ and to organize informal singing groups among the undergraduate body. Later he wrote that he was probably "among the first to introduce athletics into Princeton College life" for in his early years there he had been a fencing master.

Included in the Conrow gift is a copy of the Nassau Literary Magazine for March, 1859, in which was published as a prize poem, the words of "Old Nassau," which had been written by a freshman, Harlan Page Peck '62, also remembered as the author of "The Cannon Song." A note appended to the prize poem added "Air, 'Auld Lang Syne.'"

That this tune was not satisfactory we learn from the composer himself, for in his autobiography he records the story of how the melody came to be written. "During the winter and spring of the year 1859," he wrote, "some of the seniors and tutors met with me in a little old house on William street, just east of the college grounds where we used to smoke and sing college songs over our glass of beer. When 'Old Nassau' was written, we tried to sing it to the air of 'Auld Lang Syne,' but found this utterly unsuitable. Mr. W. G. Stitt, '61, one of the company . . . suggested that I should write original music to the words. I agreed, thinking the proposal and my agreement would vanish like the smoke from our pipes. I took the words, however, promising to compose the music somehow—and then thought no more about it. But my memory was strengthened from day to day by Stitt, who requested it for 'tomorrow!' That day was long dreaming. At last, his determination brought me up to the mark . . . I was sitting on my front porch smoking my peaceful pipe, when the energetic Stitt arrived on the scene, and asked me in an off-hand way if

I had anything particular to do that afternoon. I answered 'No.' Immediately, he produced pencil and music-paper, saying, 'Here is the 'Tomorrow' so long promised. Here is 'Old Nassau.' Now do you promise, and put the music to it.' I did write the music then and there, with Stitt standing guard over me. When it was at last finished, I handed it to him thinking I would never hear of it again.'

The tune, however, was not to be so easily forgotten, for in a collection of Princeton songs entitled "Songs of Old Nassau," published soon afterwards by Andrew Jackson Heitrick '59, the music is accredited to Mr. 'Carl' Langlotz. The initial printing of "Old Nassau" in sheet music form, also made its appearance in 1859. The first public rendering of the song took place at the close of evening prayers a day or two after the book's publication. The scene was the famous "Bulletin" elm which stood at the northeast end of Nassau Hall and which apparently served as a primitive post office for campus mail since messages were delivered and received there. The musicians were members of an informal glee club, perhaps the "Nassau Maennerchor" which Langlotz had organized. The leader of the singing was David R. Frazer '61, later a Presbyterian minister in Newark, N.J., and a member of the Princeton board of trustees, who in 1906, forty-seven years later, attended the alumni luncheon at which Langlotz was guest of honor. An eye-witness of the song's début reports that the author and publisher were there, but that the composer was not.

Karl Langlotz remained at Princeton until 1868. Although he probably was not present at Princeton Junction late one night in April, 1861, when the students travelled there en masse to greet the members of the Seventh Regiment, it is quite probable that he heard on campus the repercussions of that meeting, for it was from the members of that regiment (who had adopted the cheer while escorting the body of President Monroe to Richmond) that the undergraduates acquired the peculiar "Sis, Boom, Ah!" cheer, or skyrocket, which is even today, a favorite on athletic fields. Certainly Langlotz had not been idle, for a picture taken the same year, 1861, shows the college band, which he had organized, standing with instruments in hand at the entrance to the old Chapel.
After leaving Princeton, at the age of forty-five, Langlotz entered the Princeton Theological Seminary from which he was graduated but he returned to his earlier calling, undertaking the conductorship of a Trenton orchestra and, in 1900, teaching German in Philadelphia. It was during these years that Langlotz became the music teacher in the family of James P. Stephens, of Trenton. Mr. Stephens' daughter, Mrs. Charles Sloan VanSytckel, of Princeton, has recently presented to the Library a 150-year-old violin belonging to the musician which she inherited from her father. A letter in Langlotz' own handwriting, dated February 10, 1898, and presented with the violin, records its history. It was given to Langlotz by his father who purchased it while a member of the court orchestra at Saxe-Meiningen. It was constructed by a maker named Knop between 1790 and 1795 and is of the Stradivarius pattern.

Some years later, alumni called on the infirm old gentleman living in Trenton. Among those who then made his acquaintance was an outstanding student in the Princeton Art Department, Wilford Conrow, who made a special trip to Trenton to sketch the composer. As a result of the sympathetic interest aroused by this trip, Mr. Conrow published, a few months before the 1906 Commencement, Old Nassau, a book containing an autobiography of the composer, various arrangements of the music, including a facsimile of the composer's manuscript, data concerning Harlan Peck, who was no longer living, and a frontispiece of Langlotz, sketched from life by the artist. The royalties paid Langlotz for his share in this book, together with financial aid contributed by Princeton alumni through a committee headed by M. Taylor Pyne '77 "for the relief of Karl A. Langlotz," maintained Langlotz in comfort during the last years of his life.

Not only in a monetary fashion did the sons of Old Nassau show their devotion. On his birthdays, June 20, he was showered with greetings and again on Christmas, when Trenton alumni came to pay their respects in person. On his eightieth birthday, pipes of every size and description were sent him by friends who remembered him as the pipe-smoking young man of some fifty years before. On another occasion, he was presented with a victrola and records, including a new arrangement of his own composition. Upon hearing this record, he is said to have exclaimed, "Yes, yes... The music! I've met that fellow before."

The last surviving member of President Maclean's faculty, Langlotz died on Thanksgiving Day, 1915. His body lies buried in Princeton Cemetery where he has joined other men whose names add lustre to the University. At the close of the service, on that bleak November day, the throng about his grave sang the last two verses of "Old Nassau:"

And when these seals in dust are laid,
With reverence and awe,
Another throng shall breathe our song,
In praise of "Old Nassau."

As a final mark of honor to the composer, in 1917 Princeton alumni proposed that an oil painting of Langlotz be hung in Madison Hall, the dining hall then under construction. Interrupted by the World War, the plan was completed in 1923. On February 28 of that year, the portrait was unveiled by Ernest T. Carter '88, author of "The Steps Song" and other Princeton music, while the Glee Club sang "Old Nassau." Appropriately, the artist who executed the commission was Wilford Conrow.

One other portrait by Conrow hangs on the Princeton campus. In 1935, on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the Princeton University Press, the portrait of Charles Scribner '75, through whose interest and benefactions the Press was made possible, was unveiled.

Mr. Conrow's gift to the University eighty years after "Old Nassau's" composition comes as a timely reminder of the man whose memory, in the words of the late President John Grier Hibben, "will be cherished with deep gratitude through generations to come for his unique service in enabling the sons of Princeton to express through the stirring melody of his song their profound feeling of loyal devotion to their Alma Mater."
“Dear Old Johnny” Maclean

Eight new metal filing cases, containing more than thirty thousand pages of letters and papers gathered by John Maclean, Class of 1879, and tenth President of the College of New Jersey, have recently been made available to the public. This addition to the Princeton Archives, from the Maclean estate, has been thoroughly sorted and systematically arranged by Jacob N. Beam ’96, who has also prepared a catalogue and an analytical index. Much of the information here used has been drawn from his valuable introduction in the index.

HISTORY likes to emphasize successes rather than defeats or half-realized dreams. The continuous life of an institution, however, is understood in retrospect only when we recall the dark days of near-defeat, saved by the unflinching courage of a few stout-hearted worthies who paved the way for later advances. Such quiet and soul testing battles deserve to be honored as peaks of accomplishment no less important than the more spectacular heroics of success.

President McCosh, who breathed such an invigorating spirit of new ideals and new enterprise when he took over his duties as President in 1868, led the College on into a new era. Behind him were the dark days which had so nearly spelled doom to Princeton. But in those dark days there lived and moved a brave and resourceful figure who met every challenge with courage and cunning. That man was John Maclean. Without him there might have been no Princeton worthy of the demands placed upon it by Maclean’s successor, President McCosh.

John Maclean had been graduated from the College of New Jersey only two years when he took on responsibilities as a mere tutor and clerk of the faculty. He began as a tutor in 1818—fifty years before McCosh’s arrival—at a time when College affairs were making steady progress downhill. During the next ten years, from 1818 to 1828, the situation became alarming. President Carnahan had inherited from Abiel Green, his predecessor, a set of problems too serious for him to solve. For many reasons, the number of students in College continued to shrink until, in 1829, there were only seventy in residence; funds were so low that underpaid professors resigned. Finally, when there was but one full professor left, President Carnahan
considered recommending that Nassau Hall be closed at least temporarily.

Maclean was young. He proposed to turn defeat into a bold forward movement, instead of permitting further retreatment. Such courage was comforting to the bewildered Carnahan, and the young man was given more and more power. When Maclean had finished, the day had been saved. From that time on, he unintentionally found himself assuming more and more details of executive duty. In 1829 he was elected Vice-president of the College and held that office until he was made President in 1854, following Dr. Carnahan’s retirement. Ahead of him were black times: the destruction of Nassau Hall by fire; the near-dissolution of the College when Civil War loyalties called students to the blue or to the grey. Never completely dismayed, President Maclean held the College together, always managed to bring it through to a level somehow higher than before the crisis, and grew old in the faithful round of executive and teaching duties, large or small. When the war crisis had been weathered, he asked to be retired, remained to welcome President McCosh as his successor, then settled down to write his valuable, detailed two-volume History of the College of New Jersey. With the profits from this book, Dr. Maclean founded scholarships for worthy Princeton students.

Nobody could have been better prepared than Dr. Maclean to write the History. In his adult life of seventy years, he probably never intentionally destroyed a letter sent to him. A negro wrote to ask for five dollars to help bury a dead baby; Abraham Lincoln acknowledged the receipt of an honorary degree—and both letters were preserved with equal care. Through fifty years of handling executive duties, Dr. Maclean continued to preserve every scrap of paper, every report, every first-draft of his minutes of meetings of trustees, every receipted bill; it would seem. For example, he held a tight rein on the small money transactions of many students from 1825 to 1868. When a boy entered College, the parent or guardian deposited with Dr. Maclean a sum of money for the boy’s incidental expenses. If the boy wanted a new pair of shoes, he had to convince Dr. Maclean, probably by an exhibition of the old ones, that the desire proceeded from necessity. He was then authorized by
the Doctor, sometimes in writing, to go to the shoemaker or to the village store and order a new pair. When the shoes were received, the shopkeeper made out a bill to the boy for them, the boy took the bill to the Doctor, the Doctor gave him enough money for the bill, secured a receipt, and carefully filed it. Eighteen bulky folders are now needed to contain such of these receipts as were kept. They offer valuable first-hand information as to costs of student necessities during this period.

Another idea of Dr. Maclean's antiquarian zeal may be revealed if one examines the papers in their chronological arrangement. Here is an itemized history of the College, with many unsuspected side-light thrown in for extra measure. Because Dr. Maclean was interested in family history, he carefully preserved and elaborated genealogical notes. He kept all family letters. His father, it will be remembered, had been induced to leave his native Scotland and settle in Princeton at the recommendation of Dr. Benjamin Rush; had delivered a course of lectures on chemistry in the College in 1795 and had subsequently relinquished his medical and surgical practice to give full time to teaching. Thus it happened that Dr. John Maclean, Senior, became the first Professor of Chemistry in any American college other than a medical institution. For a time he was the only man with the rank of professor on the Princeton faculty, except for the President. His reputation attracted many students to the College of New Jersey during his years of service. In 1802 he encouraged Benjamin Silliman along a course of reading which so stimulated the young man that he later wrote, after he had become revered as Professor Silliman of Yale,

"Dr. Maclean was a man of brilliant mind, with all the acumen of his native Scotland; and a sprinkling of wit gave variety to his conversation. I regard him as my earliest master in chemistry, and Princeton as my first starting point in that pursuit; although I had not an opportunity to attend any lectures there."

Old Dr. Maclean's son was born in Princeton in 1800 and grew up under the watchful tutelage of his learned father. So well prepared was the boy that he entered College at the age of 13 and was graduated at the age of 16. Strong in body and mind, he explored a variety of literary, philosophic and scientific studies. Shortly before his graduation, his father had died and had been laid to rest with affectionate ceremony near the graves of Princeton Presidents in the local cemetery. The son, after teaching a year at Lawrenceville, entered the Theological Seminary. But before he had finished his course there he had begun his duties as tutor at his Alma Mater. For a time he taught mathematics and natural philosophy; then in 1829 he was made Professor of Ancient Language and Literature, later, Professor of Greek.

A STUDENT'S CARICATURE OF MACLEAN

The student's caption is probably intended as a criticism of the Greek Professor for reading an indecent passage in Euripides' Medea.

Through all his varied contacts with the students, Doctor Maclean won their admiration and love, although the boys were amused at his eccentricities and delighted in teasing him. No small cause for mischief was Maclean's intent desire to fulfill his duties as proctor. His nocturnal wanderings about the campus became so famous and so fixed, in his search for trouble-makers, that some claimed he had worn his own paths. The students invented endless pretenses, such as small bonfires, for calling out "Johnny," as they affectionately tagged him. His voluminous green camel-toe cloak made a splendid spectacle in the faint evening light as it streamed back from his neck (where it was held only by its great brass clasps and rings) as he ran briskly, lantern in hand, and steel-rimmed glasses gleaming,
intent on capturing the culprit that streaked along before him. There were even stories about his agility in climbing trees at night, lantern still in hand, close on the nervous heels of some desperate fugitives. Laugh as the students might, the evidences show that "Johnny" had no small degree of success in his disciplinary measures. He brought to the campus so much respect for faculty rules that there were no serious riots and no notorious "cracker" episodes during his long and watchful reign; whereas one of the main causes for the gradual loss of prestige suffered by the College in the years from 1800 to 1817 had been the open and uncontrolled hostility between the students and their tutors.

In spite of such picturesque details of duty, Professor Maclean found time for an endless round of projects and enterprises, as his collected manuscripts show so clearly. He was the first to organize an "Alumni Association of Nassau Hall," in 1826, and the first president of the association was James Madison. Out of this group of alumni came much of the increased support for financing a new building program. Within ten years after Maclean took up his duties as tutor he had assisted in raising considerable sums of money for necessary additions. Several new faculty members (including Joseph Henry) were brought to the campus because of Maclean's enterprise and insistence. Within the same ten years, the student body had increased threefold. Maclean had urged upon President Carnahan the building program which resulted in the construction of East College in 1832, of West College in 1836. He also suggested the advantages of changing the college calendar so that the Princeton commencements came in June instead of September. He helped to establish the Nassau Hall Education Society, the purpose of which was to collect money for the education of indigent students in the College. He served as College Librarian from 1824 to 1849 and found time to make a complete catalogue, still preserved, of all the books in the library, then housed in Nassau Hall.

The year after he had taken office as President, Maclean was obliged to face one of the most trying experiences of his career. On an evening in March, 1855, a fire of unknown origin broke out in Nassau Hall. In spite of the frantic work of two college pumps, so little water was supplied that the flames burned on until midnight, when only the walls were left standing. The cost of rebuilding was about $50,000—and the insurance covered less than one fourth of this amount. Immediately, President Maclean set about with his usual courage to circulate subscription lists which would enable the College to rebuild Nassau Hall. And while the work of rebuilding was carried out, the students were given rooms in private dwelling houses about the town. So the classes continued without serious interruption.

A more serious obstacle lay ahead. Ever since the days of President Witherspoon, the growth of Princeton as a favorite among Southern students had been steady. At times, half the student body was Southern. When the first news of the Civil War came, many of the Southerners began to make plans for returning home. By March, 1861, students had started to leave; by the end of April, fifty-six Southern students had been granted permission to go. Many of them lacked money for the journey, but President Maclean found the necessary funds. There are even stories that he supplied some with food for the journey. The effect of these departures was a serious one. In the fall of 1860, 314 students had registered and this enrollment was the largest the College had known. In the fall of 1861, there were only 221 students—a loss never made up in numbers during the remainder of President Maclean's administration.

By the end of the War, President Maclean plainly showed the strain and agedness brought on by his long and persistent labors. His stooped shoulders and grey hair indicated the measure of burdens which he had so faithfully carried for fifty years and he was happy to retire, in 1868. Ahead of him were twenty years of less active but none the less devoted service to Princeton. He lived on as a symbol of the old order during the successful and completely new administration of President McCosh. He lived on as a symbol and a reminder that all the new successes of the College rested securely on a firm foundation achieved at no little cost, and with painstaking self-sacrifice.
The U.S.S. Princeton

BY J. HIRAM O'Connell '14

Two splendid Currier lithographs (issued in 1844) have recently been added to the Archives: the first is a view of the Steam Frigate Princeton under way at sea; the second is a reconstruction of "The Terrible Explosion of the 'Peace-Maker'" reproduced herewith. The letter from President Tyler to General Roger Jones has been presented by two members of the Council of the Friends.

No living alumnus ever saw her. Few know that when commissioned in 1844 she was the pride of our Navy and the first screw steam war-ship ever built. She was constructed at Philadelphia under the direction of Captain Robert P. Stockton, U.S. Navy, who first conceived the idea of building a steam war-ship and secured the approval of the Navy Department in spite of the protests of the older officers that sailing vessels would never be replaced by steam vessels.

Captain Stockton was born in Princeton in the year 1795, and entered the freshman class in 1808 at the tender age of thirteen years. He remained at Princeton for about two and one-half years and then left the intellectual quiet of the Campus for the more exciting and venturesome life of the Navy, influenced, no doubt, by the impending war with Great Britain which "excited his patriotic sensibilities and inspired him with the desire to seek glory in the path of danger." He was commissioned a midshipman in September 1811, served with great distinction, and rose rapidly in rank.

The Princeton's armament was impressive for the times—2 long 225-pounder wrought iron guns and 12 42-pounder caronades, all of which could be used on both sides of the vessel. One of the 225-pounders was a heavily re-enforced 12-inch gun weighing about 27,534 lbs. It was made of the best American wrought iron under the direction of Captain Stockton who had developed the idea of using wrought iron as a substitute for cast iron in Navy guns as a result of studies which he had made while in England in 1839. The gun was called singularly enough, the "Peace-maker." In a letter, February 5, 1844, to the Secretary of the Navy Captain Stockton described the Princeton's guns as follows: "The big guns of the..."
Princeton can be fired with an effect terrific and almost incredible and with a certainty heretofore unknown.

The "Peace-maker" was taken on board the Princeton and installed in New York and the ship then proceeded to Washington where she arrived on February 13, 1844. The ship and the gun were objects of great interest. Samuel J. Bayard in his sketch of the life of Commodore Robert F. Stockton, New York, 1856, describes her as follows: "Her speed and sailing qualities, her admirable model, the impregnable security of her motive power, (being placed below the water line,) and her powerful armament, made her an object of universal admiration. Wherever she appeared immense crowds gathered to witness her evolutions and inspect her machinery."

After her arrival in Washington she made a number of trips up and down the Potomac, with passengers aboard, during which the "Peace-maker" was fired several times. Interest in the ship and gun spread to official Washington and a gala trip was arranged for February 28, 1844. President Tyler, to quote from the Army and Navy Journal, June 26, 1880, "arrived on board accompanied by his Cabinet, foreign ministers, other prominent public officials and about 150-200 ladies and gentlemen—guests of Captain Stockton—the party being as distinguished and joyous a one as ever made an excursion on a vessel of war." The "Peace-maker" was fired several times during the trip with great success and the Secretary of the Navy became so interested in the gun that he asked that it be fired again. Little did he realize that by this simple request he had signed his own death warrant. The gun was loaded with a charge of 25 lbs. of powder and 212 lb. shot. Captain Stockton took his position at the gun with his men, gave the order to "stand clear," and fired. The result was disastrous. For some unknown reason, the walls of the gun broke under the stress. When the smoke had cleared away, Abel P. Upshur, Secretary of State; Thomas W. Gilmer, Secretary of the Navy; Captain Beverly Kennon, Chief of the Bureau of Construction; Col. David Gardner of New York, President Tyler's father-in-law; and a distinguished gentleman from Maryland, lay dead or dying on the deck. Sixteen or twenty others were wounded including Captain Stockton and one of the President's servants. Captain Stockton recovered.
sufficiently to give the necessary orders and then fell into the arms of his men and was carried to his bed insensible. Happily, however, he recovered and the Court of Inquiry which followed completely exonerated Captain Stockton, his officers and men, of all blame.

The dead lay in state at the Executive Mansion and an imposing funeral followed. On March 7, 1844, President Tyler addressed a letter to General Roger Jones, U.S.A., as follows:

"The Adjutant-General is requested to arrange, and cause to be neatly printed, the official arrangements for the funeral solemnities and interment of the late Secretary of State, the late Secretary of the Navy, the late Captain Kennon, and the two gentlemen who lost their lives on board the *Princeton* on the 28th. ulto.

I desire that a copy, neatly bound, may be sent to each of the families of the deceased."

Stockton attained the rank of Commodore; resigned his commission in 1849 and returned to Princeton. During his thirty-eight years of distinguished service in the Navy he had never asked for a furlough or leave of absence. The war with Mexico was over and he felt that he well deserved a rest. The people of the State of New Jersey felt otherwise, and in 1851 he was elected to the Senate and took his seat in December of that year.

The U.S.S. *Princeton* was attached to the Gulf Squadron during the Mexican war and performed more service than all of the rest of the Squadron put together. But the successful construction of the *Princeton* had provoked the jealousy of some of the petty spirits in the Navy, and after the end of the Mexican war the *Princeton* was broken up upon the pretext that her timbers had rotted and that she was unserviceable. Several years later the *Princeton* was reconditioned along somewhat different lines and this event brought the following remarks from Senator Stockton in a speech which he made in the Senate in 1852 on a bill to increase the efficiency of the Army and Navy:

"I ask, who is responsible for the failure of the *Princeton*? They took the name of the most effective and useful

ship-of-war that ever floated in our waters, the most formidable man-of-war that was ever put in commission in this country, a ship that could have defied the whole American Navy, and gave it to this abortion of which we have heard so much of late."

To Robert F. Stockton there could be but one *Princeton!*
Charles Godfrey Leland—Rabelaisian
by Maurice Conderau

The Leland Papers in the Princeton Archives make a valuable supplement to the remarkably complete group of books written by Leland in the Princeton Authors Collection. Many of the books were presented to the University from the estate of George H. Boker, and are generally inscribed by Leland.

CERTAIN events in the life of institutions, as in that of individuals, tend to make us believe in the existence of currents the origin of which may be explained only by some mysterious plan of Providence. Princeton, for instance, in spite of its Presbyterian beginnings, seems predestined to be a center of rabelaisian investigations. In 1925, when Pierre LeBrun bequeathed his important collection of sixteenth-century French authors, many rare editions of Gargantua and Pantagruel took their places on the shelves of our Library. If the austere founders of Princeton turned over in their graves to censure this particular irreverence, it was not for the first time. The names of Princeton and Rabelais were closely connected in 1841, when the College admitted a freshman from Philadelphia, Charles Godfrey Leland, who was already a fervent rabelaisian and who, in later years, became known to scholars as the leader of the famous Rabelais Club of London. So Mrs. Pierre LeBrun, when she entrusted to the librarian the handsome volumes which had been so carefully collected by her late husband, only gave a new impulse to a movement which had found a vigorous prophet in Leland.

It seems safe to say that the College had never before seen such a curious prodigy as Leland in any freshman class. Thin, carelessly dressed, always somewhat sick in appearance, the seventeen-year-old boy had already put behind him a greater stint of reading than most students would have wished through if they had survived twice four years of College. From his earliest years of schooling he had been an omnivorous reader, beginning with the usual children’s stories and moving rapidly on into Cooper’s novels, Irving’s Sketch Book, the poems of Campbell, More, Byron, tales from the Arabian Nights, back and forth through a wide range of literature. As a boy he had studied under Amos Bronson Alcott, who had recently opened his famous school in Philadelphia. Precocious enough to be attracted by Alcott’s romantic and wild speculations, Leland absorbed strong doses of Alcott’s incipient transcendentalism along with liberal samplings from Spenser’s Faerie Quean, Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress, Quarles’ Emblems, much of Shakespeare, Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Milton. Of his own accord he also discovered Sterne and Swift. At church with his parents, Leland listened to the stimulating sermons of Rev. W. H. Furness, the famous Unitarian minister who often invited William Ellery Channing to preach in his Chapel. His father’s social position brought him into contact with a number of prominent literary and political notables—Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, N. P. Willis, and many others. Later he was sent to a school outside Boston for a year of study, but was brought back to continue his preparations for college under various tutors in Philadelphia.

One day, not long before he was ready for Princeton, he saw his schoolmaster chuckling over a book which was soon concealed. Bookish curiosity was too strong in young Leland. When the first chance occurred, he approached the schoolmaster’s desk like a pirate, raised the lid, and smuggled the book away for brief perusal. Years later, in his spirited and delightful Memoirs, Leland gave us an account of his reaction: "Merciful angels and benevolent fairies! it was Urquhart’s translation of Rabelais! One short spell I read, no more; but it raised a devil which has never since been laid. Ear hath not heard, it hath not entered into the heart of man to conceive, what I felt as I realized, like a young giant just awakened, that there was in me a stupendous mental strength to grasp and understand this magnificent mixture of ribaldry and learning, fun and wisdom, devilry and divinity. In a few pages’ time I knew what it all meant, and that I was gifted to understand it. I replaced the book... but from that hour I was never quite the same person... It was to me as the light which flashed upon Saul journeying to Damascus. It seems to me now as if it were the great event of my life."

Such a background is necessary to understand why Leland and Princeton proved so mutually shocking. At the time he entered, Leland later claimed, the College "was in the hands of the strictest of Old School Presbyterian theologians. Piety
and mathematics rated extravagantly high in the course. Although the boy had already studied French and Spanish, no modern languages were being taught at Princeton; "as for German, one would as soon have proposed to raise the devil there as a class of it." Nevertheless, there were a few men of great ability in the faculty. Joseph Henry had recently begun his lectures on science and natural philosophy. James Alexander, who taught Latin, rhetoric, and mental philosophy, was a stern old Roman in the classroom, but his readings in the classics had taken him on into liberal points of view far beyond the bounds of Old School theology. Professor Albert Dod made the strongest appeal to Leland, although Dody lectures in mathematics were the bugbear and bane of college life for the Philadelphia boy.

As for President Carnahan and his right-hand man, Professor John Maclean, they made little appeal to Leland. The President's gloomy manner of preaching and of conducting morning and evening prayers was a striking contrast to the benign Unitarianism of Furness and Channing. Professor Maclean, in his capacity as Librarian, soon found himself in hot water with the ever-reading student, who one day brought down Maclean's wrath when he asked for the works of Condorcet. "Vile book! vile book!" snapped the Librarian. "Can't have it." There was always the alternative of searching the shelves for new books in the Whig Hall library—and there Leland found, to his great delight, his old favorites, Urquhart's translation of Rabelais, to which he returned again and again. Some of his friends could not understand such eccentric literary tastes. But an upperclassman, George H. Boker '42, had the greatest admiration for Leland, and defended him at all times. Boker and Leland had known each other in Philadelphia; at Princeton they became more and more devoted and continued their close friendship throughout life. Boker took Leland to call on Professor Dod, much as a collector might take to an admirer an exceptionally curious and valuable acquisition. During the first call Leland quite casually made some comments on Rosicrucian sources to which he supposed Carlyle must have been indebted for his idea of the Clothes Philosophy in Santé Resurseræ; went on to discuss with candid naïveté some point which interested him particularly
in Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, and left without knowing that
the amazed Professor had almost doubted his eyes and ears. In a
later visit, he explained to Professor Dod that he was
abandoning his Unitarian beliefs for the Trinitarian doctrine
of the Episcopal Church; that his change of attitude "was due
to reflection on the perfectly obvious and usual road of the
Platonic hypostases died out with Gnosticism." This time, the
Professor could not contain himself and expressed his amuse-
ment in a long whistle which was repeated several times during
the visit, with growing shades of respect, and without any
corrective comments. Recalling Dod's tolerance later, Leland
wrote, "He would have been the last man on earth to throw
down such a marvellous fairy castle, goblin-built and elf-
tented, by John Boyle, Italian Novellists, Professor
Achillies had been hired, and
which was lit by night with undying Rosicrucian lamps,
to erect on its ruin a plain brick, Old School, Presbyterian slate
chapel. I was far more amusing as I was, and so I was let
alone."

The students were equally unable to cope with this phe-
nomenon who smuggled into dull lectures strange Latin
authors to divert him during the hour. One group, deciding
to best the learned freshman at least in their favorite sin,
smoking, found him one night in George Boker's Nassau Hall
room, and plied him with cigars and tobacco. Nothing could
have pleased Leland more, for he had already become an
addict before his arrival at Princeton. The evening wore on,
the smoke grew thick and heavy, young Leland puffed away
at Boker's borrowed meerschaum—and gradually, one by one,
the visitors turned various shades of yellow or green before
vanishing hastily through the door.

Once during the freshman year Leland's participation in
a student rebellion resulted in his rustication. He made a last
call on Professor Dod before taking his enforced vacation, and
asked where he was to be sent. The Professor gave the sentence
"in a grave voice, in which was a faint ring as of irony, and
with the lurking devil which always played in his great
magnificent mysterious black eyes." The unhealthy attractions
of the city might be dangerous to some students, Dod said, but
since Leland would probably bury himself in the Philadelphia
Library as soon as he reached the city, there could be no safer
place for rustication. When the boy returned, he proudly
showed the Professor a glorious treasure which he had ac-
quired in a Philadelphia book auction: an English edition of
Jacob Behmen's *Aurora or Morning Rosiness*, printed about
1636. "For a copy of *Anthroposophos Thomassiacus* or the works
of Robert Fludd," Leland later wrote, "I would have got up
another rebellion."

Among the unpublished Leland manuscripts now in the
Princeton Archives are two notebooks which the student kept
while at Princeton; the first a small leather-bound notebook
which is half-diary, half-record of readings, intermixed with
scraps of original poetry. A list of "Books Unread, April,
1841," is balanced with notes on subjects as diverse as Fletcher's
*Purple Island*, Roger Penrose, from whom Leland had
Longfellow's new translation from Uhland, and the French
romances of Madame Scuderi. The second notebook, entitled
"Essays and Extracts From Old Books and Writers," contains
Grand on the Troubadours," Latin, French, German and
Greek poems, and notes on Biblical interpretation.

Another unpublished manuscript contains a long ballad
poem, *Educatio Diaboli*, in which Leland tells how the Devil
came to Princeton for his education, passed his examinations,
and was admitted to the freshman class, became involved in student
escapades, was called before the faculty, and suspended in-
definitely. This may well have been one of the poems submitted
with others to the early numbers of the *Nassau Monthly*, the
literary publication which George Boker had helped to es-

tablish. The editors wisely avoided publication of such a
scandalous creation, filled as it was with extremely uncom-
plimentary allusions to the august faculty. But many other
contributions by Leland found their place in print there during
his four years in Princeton. Other unpublished manuscripts
and letters by Leland are numerous enough to warrant con-
siderable study.

Leland's four years were more nearly all work than all play,
but there were occasional exceptions. He himself admitted
that at times the austerity of the powers was relaxed by extra-
ordinary events such as the arrival in Princeton of President
Tyler, who made a speech on the campus and attended a levee given in his honor at the Stockton mansion. "There was a great blowout at Capt. Stockton's that evening," he wrote in a letter to his father. "Many people (including students) went up and were introduced to Tyler. I might have been if I had gone. A great many people got quite drunk while there, and Stockton himself was not quite sober, so they say... I will send up to-morrow a copy of the *Princeton Whig* containing God's speech and Tyler's reply."

So much for the Rabelaisian's early training. At the end of his senior year he obtained his diploma, but his graduation was without glory. His horror of mathematics had not been counterbalanced by his love of literature, in the eyes of the faculty. Nevertheless he was entrusted with the Valedictory Poem, although his standing in the class was at the very bottom because he had not completed the mathematics requirements. The Poem he wrote, but he refused to read it because his pride had been hurt. Thus he left Nassau Hall with the same thoughts about his College which Rabelais had about the Sorbonne.

One can imagine his reaction when, the next year, he found himself a graduate student in Heidelberg, where German youths smoked big pipes such as he had borrowed from Boker, poured down beer by the quart, and for their favorite sport fought duels. One who had adapted himself somehow to the restrictions of Nassau Hall managed to make the necessary adjustment towards freedom in Heidelberg. He later wrote: "Having discovered that, if I had no gift for mathematics, I had a great talent for Rheinwein and lager, I did not bury that talent in a napkin, but like the rest of my friends, made the most of it during two semesters... the result of which 'dire dobbing' was that, having come to Europe with a soul literally attenuated and starved for want of the ordinary gaiety and amusement which all youth requires, my life in Princeton having been one continued strain of sobriety with continualy sank into subdued melancholy, and a body just ready to yield to consumption, I grew vigorous and healthy, or, as the saying is, 'hearty as a buck.'" Such exuberance of life, reminding him of the "joie de vivre" which bursts forth everywhere in Rabelais' works, certainly failed to harm him physically. He matured steadily from the overgrown delicate boy into the burly genial giant of a man with a beard like Charlemagne's and a gargantuan appetite for food, drink, and tobacco.

Through his changes he liked to recall his guiding literary light. "If you can, read Rabelais," he wrote to his brother from Münich in April, 1847. "It did me more good than almost any book I ever read." So the most typically French of all writers, the purest representative of "esprit gaulois," the first and best virtuoso of French prose, helped Charles Godfrey Leland to become a convinced germanophile. He remained so all his life. When he was living in Paris, in 1848, he continually pined for the charms of old Germany. In spite of the fact that he was wearing a monocle and was working on the barricades which the revolutionaries were building in the streets of Paris, life seemed dull to him compared with German gaiety. For him Rabelais' country was not the Ile de France; he yearned for the *rathskeller* of Münich with their orgies of sausages and beer.

After his return to Philadelphia in 1851, to undertake the study of law, Leland rapidly began the literary career which was to give him international reputation as a humorist, poet, and essayist. Almost by accident his most famous character, the German-American Hans Breitmann and his cynical pleasure-philosophy expressed in broken English, flashed into being like Rabelais' Panurge, with whom he had not a little in common. While editing *Graham's Magazine* in 1856, Leland one day needed copy to fill a page, and carelessly wrote the verses entitled "Hans Breitmann's Party." Immediately it was picked up and reprinted by paper after paper throughout the country. Other Breitmann ballads which were written at first merely in letters to Charles A. Brinted, a fellow journalist living in New York, were finally gathered together in pamphlet form—and the beginning of fame had started with a vengeance for Leland. When new ballads appeared, particularly those which told of Breitmann's experiences as a soldier, they rivalled Lowell's creation of Birdsfredom Sawin in the *Biglow Papers*. Leland had found his own form of social satire through his delineation of a character picturesque and American in every detail.
Leland’s prolific literary output in the next forty years was surprising not only in extent but in variety. His first serious book of verse was entitled *The Poetry and Mystery of Dreams*, 1856. Then began excursions which included the strangest medley of subjects: travel books, essays on literary subjects, children’s books (with Leland’s own illustrations), books on education, textbooks for novice craftsmen in woodcarving, metalwork, and leatherwork, books on education, a dictionary of slang, translations from Heine, two volumes of “Florentine Legends,” a book on sexual psychology — and continually revised editions of the ever-growing *Hans Breitmann Ballads*. The Princeton Authors’ Collection contains over one hundred copies of Leland’s separate publications, many of them originally inscribed and presented to his college friend George Henry Boker, a few presented directly to the University Library by Leland himself.

From 1869 to his death in Florence on November 30, 1903, Leland travelled widely. He visited Central Europe, Russia, Egypt, in search of gypsies for whom he had conceived a great enthusiasm. The letters he sent to his family revealed an indefatigable exuberance. He had not lost his taste for puns which, in his youth, had led him to call Princeton his *Mala Mater*. At forty-five he tells his friends about the “rest-your-arms” where he takes meals in Paris. His mind always alert seemed unable to settle. Highly considered and admired, he numbered among his associates in England (between visits to gypsies) several outstanding writers.

In 1878 he conceived the idea of the Rabelais Club. With Sir Walter Besant he began dreaming of a club into which only “the strong men of European or world fame” would be admitted. No one but François Rabelais could be worthy of presiding over so distinguished a gathering. Leland felt also that calling attention to Rabelais in such fashion might be a good antidote against a younger generation of writers who, however clever, seemed to him “very rotten with sentiment, pessimism, and a sort of putrid Byronicism; who see in Rabelais howling, rowdy, blackguard trash, just as Voltaire did.”

Rules for the Club were prepared. To become a member, it was necessary to have a glorious name in the republic of letters and to be an admirer of the master. For, as Leland wrote, “to understand and feel Rabelais is per se proof of belonging to the higher order — the very aristocracy of intellect. As etching is an art for artists only, as a love of etching reveals the true art-sense, so Rabelais is a writer for writers only.”

With such preparation, the greatest minds of England, America, and France were invited to belong. Although a few, including Browning, aroused Leland’s indignation by refusing the invitation, the acceptances were many. The Rabelais Club soon included in its numbers a remarkable group — Victor Hugo, Henry James, Robert Louis Stevenson, Renan, Longfellow, Turgenev, Thomas Hardy, Bret Harte, Henry Irving, and many others. The Club met about six times a year. No speeches were made but the members were required to read papers of their own composition — poems, essays, stories in Rabelaisian style. It lived for ten years, from 1879 to 1889. In his *Autobiography*, Sir Walter Besant tries to explain briefly the cause of its death. “Perhaps we had gone on long enough; perhaps we spoiled the club by admitting visitors.”

In order to perpetuate the memory of the entertaining meetings the literary contributions were privately printed in three volumes entitled *Recreations of the Rabelais Club*, and distributed only to the members. The first volume covers the years 1880 and 1881. We find in it a list of forty-one members, twenty-three of them founders. Among the papers which compose this volume, two deserve special attention: “Penguin Island,” by Frederick Pollock, “a pantagruielic adventure” which Anatole France, a great scholar and an ardent rabelaisian, may very well have known; and “The Tempest and The Storm,” a study by Leland himself on possible borrowings made by Shakespeare from Rabelais.

The second volume covers the years from 1882 to 1885. At that time there were sixty-eight members. On the first page is an address to the Club by Oliver Wendell Holmes, dated Boston, January 11th, 1882. The last pages contain poems to the memory of Professor E. H. Palmer, author of “Arabesques from the Bazaars,” published in the first volume. The appearance of Holmes’ name may be explained by Leland’s visit with him when the latter returned to America from England in 1879. One of the chief reasons for the voyage was to enlist new
and powerful names in the United States. To Besant he wrote, after his safe voyage from England, "I want the Rabelais Club to coruscate—whizz, blaze, and sparkle, fulminate and bang. It must be great and wise and good, ripstavering, bland, dynamic, gentle, awful, tender, and tremulous."

The third volume (1885-1888) lists sixty-nine members and begins with a humorous menu, worded in French, in imitation of the banquet of the Dames Lanternes (Chapter xxxiii of Rabelais' Cinquième Livre). Among the contributions are "The Gypsy Lover," written by Leland in the style of the Hans Breitmann Ballads, and a translation into Latin of Morn's epigram D'Anne qui lay jecta de la neige, by one of the best translators of Rabelais, W. F. Smith.

The Princeton copies of these three precious volumes, limited to one hundred copies each and signed by the Honorable Secretaries, are in the original white bindings, with gilded titles and gilded border rules. Their rarity makes them extremely valuable, and worthy of a place in the Rabelais Collection. But there is added sentiment for us in having these particular copies, for they came from the library of Leland's Princeton companion and lifelong friend, George Henry Boker '42. If these two friends could return again to explore the Library together as they once did, almost one hundred years ago, with what pleasure they would handle the ancient volumes in the Rabelais Collection—books such as the 1553 editions of Gargantua and Pantagruel as found in the variant first edition of the Oeuvres Complètes, or the early forgery of the 1547 edition, adorned with charming woodcut illustrations. Leland's book-loving eyes would have a feast here indeed. Perhaps Princeton would be redeemed so much for him that he would no longer think of calling her his Mala Mater.

The "Princeton Archives Number" of the Chronicle may serve to remind our Friends of neglected materials which alumni have now in their possession—collected for sentiment's sake during undergraduate days and now buried in an attic or basement. The Library welcomes all gifts of this nature, and occasionally goes into book-auction rooms to acquire such materials at considerable cost. The Paterson Papers, purchased last year with the assistance of the Friends, may be recalled as a case in point. Student diaries, letters, scrapbooks, photographs, early textbooks, programs, and other memorabilia find safe keeping in our rapidly expanding Archives.

Our list of novels with Princeton as a setting has increased since we last wrote. Soon after the Chronicle appeared, three letters arrived, adding new titles: first, Booth Tarkington's Cherry, which has a dedication "To the diligent and industrious members of the class of 1893 at Nassau Hall. . . ." Then, of course, Paul Tomlinson's A Princeton Boy under the King, and A Princeton Boy in the Revolution. (These were later published with the word "College" substituted for "Princeton"). The hero of Augustus Baldwin Longstreet's Master William Mitten (1889) attended Nassau Hall, as did the narrator in John Pendleton Kennedy's Swallow Barn (1866). Nassau Hall is the Alma Mater of the hero of Cooper's Satanœus, but little is said of his collegiate sojourn. David Burnham in This Our Exile, uses Princeton as the basis of numerous trips by his characters—to New York, Chicago and elsewhere.

Because of its geographical location, Princeton has been on the itinerary of travelers from colonial days onward. The Swedish traveler, Peter Kalm, in October 1748, wrote, "About ten o'clock in the morning we came to Prince-town,
which is situated in a plain. Most of the houses are built of wood, and are not contiguous, so that there are gardens and pastures between them. As these parts were sooner inhabited by Europeans than Pennsylvania [sic], the woods were likewise more cut away, and the country more cultivated, so that one might have imagined himself to be in Europe." Some sixty years later, Washington Irving in his *Salmagundi*, under date of February 24, 1807, gives us a pleasant burlesque of foreign travelers and their nervous jottings. We sample a section from his "Memorandums For a Tour, To Be Entitled, 'The Stranger in New-Jersey; or, Cockney Travelling':"

"Princeton—college—professors wear boots!—students famous for their love of a jest—set the college on fire, and burnt out the professors; an excellent joke, but not worth repeating—mem. American students very much addicted to burning down colleges—reminds me of a good story, nothing at all to the purpose—two societies in the college—good notion—encourages emulation, and makes little boys fight;—students famous for their eating and eridation—saw two at the tavern, who had just got their allowance of spending-money—laid it all out in a supper—got fuddled, and d—d the professors for nincomps. N.B. Southern gentlemen."

Irving's friend James Kirke Paulding also visited a local tavern, and, in his *Lay of the Scottish Fiddle*, tells of inn-keeper Joline and "goings-on" at this hostelry. Paulding, in his burlesque *John Bull in America*, gives this picture of a departure from Princeton: "... he cracked his whip, put his horses to their speed, routed a flock of sheep, ran over a litter of pigs, two blind men, and a professor of mineralogy, with his pockets full of specimens, and finished by upsetting the stage against the pump, to the great delight of a mob of ragged little republicans, at the inn-door, who, I afterwards learned, were students of the college."

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Volume XI, Number 4
June, 1940

This issue completes Volume I of the Chronicle. Several expressions of commendation have been received, and we believe that the publication has clearly justified itself. Other libraries and art museums are finding it useful. The scholars and research workers whose help we have had lend a really solid quality.

Support for the continuation of the Chronicle is most necessary and desirable and we have been assured that the Friends will endeavor to help us keep the publication alive. It would be a great pity to have to stop now. The most generous help from André de Cappel '15 and David H. McAlpin '20 carried us through Volume I, and we are greatly indebted to these two Friends.

It was our hope and belief that we would build up a sizable list of paid subscriptions from people outside the organization, but so far we have only 43 such subscriptions. When we get into Volume II more subscribers will probably be added. The longer periodicals run the more subscribers they are likely to receive.

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Our collection of material related to Princeton University, and writings by Princeton men, is constantly increasing.
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