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Before the Storm
Life at Princeton College 1806-1807

MARK A. NOLL*

After the Princeton riot of March 31-April 1, 1807, students and authorities both tried to explain what had happened in ideological terms. The younger generation justified its actions by evoking the Spirit of '76. A student committee wrote to its fellows on April 15, asking them to stand firm, "as you feel within you a spirit of freedom and independence capable to revolt from tyranny and resist oppression." Junior Joseph Cabell Breckinridge used similar expressions when he heaped scorn on the faculty's insistence that a student petition constituted an unlawful combination: "It is astounding to me that any set of men should be so weak as to make such an observation in a country, the fundamental principle of whose government is freedom of action." College authorities, on the other hand, saw the rebellion as the product of an entirely different set of beliefs. Trustee Elias Boudinot had no doubts about their character when he spoke to the reassembled student body on May 8: "The clumsy sophistry of Godwin; the pernicious subtilties of Hume, and the coarse vulgarities of Paine, have been

* Research for this essay was undertaken while the author was a fellow of the National Endowment for the Humanities program for college teachers in residence, 1978-1979. The first part of this study was published in The Princeton University Library Chronicle, xlv, No. 3 (Spring 1980), 208-230.
exposed at once in all their loathsome deformity. From these un-  
hingers of human happiness, these presumptuous undoers of the  
labours of Antiquity, I trust the youths, who now hear me, will  
turn away with abhorrence."

Even after giving due weight to the opinions of students and  
authorities, it is possible to wonder if both groups might have un-  
derestimated the influence which more mundane circumstances  
exerted on the college community during the winter semester  
1806-1807. Historically considered, several non-ideological factors  
loom large as sources for the student-faculty tensions which erupt-  
ed into disorder that spring. To examine these now, nearly 175  
years after the event itself, provides an opportunity to view possi-  
ble causes of the riot more dispassionately. It also throws light  
upon the general conditions of college life at Princeton during the  
years before the great academic revolution of the 1870s and 1880s  
drastically altered the nature of higher education in the United  
States.

Faculty

The winter semester, which was to last for a full five months,  
began at 12 noon on November 6, 1806. The faculty that greeted  
the nearly 200 returning and new students numbered seven indi-  
viduals, four professors, and three tutors. The president was 56-  
year-old Samuel Stanhope Smith, son-in-law of John Witherspoon  
(president 1768-1794), a faculty member at the college since 1779,  
and a respected man of letters throughout the country. By 1806  
he had already published a distinguished collection of sermons and  
a number of occasional discourses. His best known work, An Essay  
on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Hu-  
man Species, used anthropological evidence to defend the unity of  
humanity, and to allay the fears that modern science might subvert  
the truths of Scripture. Smith was his father-in-law's successor not

only as president but also in his confidence that, properly under-  
stood, the world of science and the domain of faith could coexist  
in harmony.

During the fall of 1807, however, Smith had little time for sci-  
etic pursuits. An account of faculty activities which he had pre-  
pared for the trustees in 1804 showed him to be a very busy man.  
By November 1806, he was even busier after assuming the duties  
of theology professor Henry Kollock who had resigned earlier that  
year. Smith taught the senior and junior classes in eleven different  
subjects ranging from Belles Lettres and composition to meta-  
physics and the Law of Nature and Nations. For his courses in  
Moral Philosophy and Revealed Religion, Smith himself had pro-  
vided written lectures. He spent from 10 to 14 hours each week  
hearing the upper classes recite. In addition, he superintended  
evening prayers and the student orations which followed, he chaired  
the numerous meetings of the faculty, he directed the Monday eve-  
nings meetings of the theological society, he ate in the refectory in  
rotation with the other professors, he was chief disciplinary officer,  
and he received and answered a minimum of 600 letters a year con-  
cerning college business. When it is noted that Smith suffered from  
a tubercular condition, which had nearly taken his life in the early  
1780s, and that his health was never robust, it is possible to see  
more clearly the awesome dimensions of the president's task.

John Maclean, professor of chemistry and natural philosophy,  
and Andrew Hunter, professor of mathematics and astronomy,  
were almost as busy as Smith. Maclean, a native of Scotland (b.  
1771), had come to Princeton at the urging of Dr. Benjamin Rush  
and was one of the most productive scholars on the faculty. Hunter  
(b. 1751 or 1752), brother-in-law of trustee Richard Stockton, had  
been a chaplain in the Revolution, a Presbyterian minister, and a  
farmer before exchanging a position on Princeton's board of trust-  

8 Boudinot, "Young Gentlemen Students in this College," fol. 5. folder on the  
rebellion, Princeton University Archives.

9 For Smith there is no full-length biography, but several good sketches exist:  
the best of these are Wesley Frank Craven, "Samuel Stanhope Smith," typescript in  
presentation for Vol. II of Princetonians: A Biographical Dictionary, used by per-  
mission; William H. Hudnut III, "Samuel Stanhope Smith: Enlightened Conserva-  
tive," Journal of the History of Ideas, 17 (October 1956), 549-552; and Winthrop D.  
Jordan, introduction to Smith's Essay on the Causes of Variety of Complexion and  
Figure in the Human Species (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard Uni-  
versity Press, 1965).

8 Published first in 1787, republished in an expanded edition in 1810. It is the  

6 "Trustee Minutes, Princeton University," II (1797-1824), April 5, 1804. Princeton  
University Archives; also contained in John Maclean, History of the College of New  
Jersey, From its Origin in 1746 to the Commencement of 1824, II (Philadelphia:  
J. B. Lippincott, 1877), 57-59.

7 Published as Lectures on the Evidences of the Christian religion, delivered to the  
seminar class, on Sundays, in the afternoon, in the College of New Jersey (Philad-  
elpia: Hopkins & Earle, 1809); The lectures corrected and improved, which have  
been delivered for a series of years in the College of New Jersey; on the subjects of  
8 On Maclean and Hunter, see John Frelinghuysen Hagaman, History of Prince-  
ton and Its Institutions, II (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1890), 265-271; and on  
Hunter, graduate of the class of 1772, the typescript biographical sketch to appear  
in Princetonians, Vol. II.
tees for one on the faculty. Together Maclean and Hunter taught the college's mathematics (including geometry, trigonometry, surveying, and conic sections) and science (“Natural and Experimental Philosophy,” chemistry, natural history, and astronomy). On their shoulders lay the major burden for instructing the juniors and seniors. Maclean, for example, met each of two classes of juniors six days a week in the winter semester 1803-1804. As professor of chemistry, Maclean saw his time further cut away by the lengthy preparations required in setting up experiments for his lectures.

The weak link among the faculty was William Thompson, professor of languages, who had come to Princeton from Dickinson College in 1802. He was an infirm and elderly person who did not have good rapport with the students. His duties were clear-cut—instruct the two lower classes in Latin and Greek, with the aid of the tutors, and preserve order in the college. In 1804 President Smith summarized Thompson’s activities by noting that, “The Professor spends six hours each day in the public rooms, and remains in the College five evenings every week till nine o’clock.” When the trustees in October 1807 sent a committee to talk with Thompson about the necessity of vacating his position because of a decline in enrollment, they found that he had been ill and reduced to part-time teaching for some time. According to John Hageman, Thompson had earlier suffered some kind of mental collapse, “his mind giving way under the pressure of his arduous duties.”9 Professor Thompson’s debility may have been crucial during the crisis of 1807, for he was strategically located to serve as a buffer between the interests of the faculty and the daily lives of the students. As the individual in charge of the younger students of the lower classes, and as the faculty member most directly responsible for maintaining order in Nassau Hall, he was in a sensitive position which his age and his infirmities could not have enhanced.

The tutors, like the professor of languages, were also crucial buffers between the students and the faculty. They were usually recent college graduates, often reading theology with Dr. Smith, to whom the trustees assigned resident oversight of the students. The two or three tutors resided in Nassau Hall, instructed the lower classes in the languages, quizzed them on Sunday afternoons

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9 Trustee Minutes, October 1, 1807.
10 Hageman, Princeton Institutions, II, 270. See also Wertenbaker, Princeton, p. 132, for the deficiencies of Thompson and the general pressures on the newer faculty.

The faculty of four professors and three tutors had the task of training about 200 students during the winter semester. The student-faculty ratio of nearly 29 to 1 was not a propitious one. By comparison, the 40 students of 1782 had enjoyed the services of three professors and one tutor; in 1800, a staff of four to five had tended approximately 100 students; and in 1804 a staff of seven to eight had instructed 158 students. The student-faculty ratio in 1806-1807 does not tell the whole story, for Professor Thompson was certainly ailing at least some of the time. And the three tutors, while not unworthy employees, have not left the record of unusual accomplishments which some of the other tutors of the period compiled. The weakness on the faculty's lower level—those who dealt most intimately with the students—more than likely played an important part in the breakdown of communications which occurred in late March.

Students

The student body in November 1806 was the largest ever to have assembled at the college. Extrapolating from the numbers of students from each class suspended in the spring, there were about 135 juniors and seniors and about 65 freshmen and sophomores. The curriculum which the students studied was a traditional one. Freshmen and sophomores read mostly Greek and Latin, with some composition, English grammar, and geography for the sophomores. Many students entered Princeton as juniors, or even seniors, the classes which studied science and math, and the omnibus Moral Philosophy course that embraced epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, psychology, political science, jurisprudence, Christian evidences, and theology. Recitations, which took several hours each day, placed a premium on mental agility and the ability to perform in public. Very few Americans in the early 19th century supported this kind of curriculum with enthusiasm, but Princeton enjoyed a better reputation than many other colleges because of its well-developed courses in chemistry and the other branches of Natural Philosophy.

As was generally the case in this period, many Princeton students could look forward to lives of distinguished public service. The senior class of 1807, for example, included a future United States representative from Pennsylvania, a chancellor of New York University, and a judge for the District of Columbia. The juniors achieved even greater distinction: a congressman from South Carolina, a justice of the United States Supreme Court, a chief justice of the Delaware Supreme Court, a judge on the New Jersey Supreme Court, a president of the Theological School of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, a vice-president of Princeton who became the first president of Cincinnati College, United States district attorneys in New Jersey and New York, a member of the North Carolina Senate, and a secretary of state for Kentucky.

As this listing indicates, a large share of the undergraduates at Princeton in 1806 came from the South. Under President Witherspoon, Princeton had come to appear so like a southern college that the visiting Moreau de St. Mery could write in 1794 that the students came "chiefly from Virginia and the two Carolinas." The settlement of Scottish and Scotch-Irish immigrants in Delaware, Maryland, and the back country of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina explains some of Princeton's appeal to the South. During Witherspoon's tenure Princeton had educated a stream of influential Southerners: one president of the United States (James Madison), four members of the Continental Congress, ten U.S. senators, seven congressmen, nine state governors, one justice of the Supreme Court, and one attorney general. If anything, the connection between Princeton and the South grew stronger after Witherspoon's death. In 1805 a majority of the student body, and of both student societies, was from the South. The American Whig Society had been founded by southern and western students in the early 1770s, and it continued to enjoy the patronage of Southerners through the time of the Civil War.

The presence of such a large southern contingent at Princeton

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12 The staff varied in size throughout the year as tutors were added or resigned. For the number of incoming students, see Collins, Princeton, p. 109.
13 These included two future Princeton presidents (Asheb Green and James copal bishop John Henry Hobart.
14 The curriculum is described in Laws of the College of New-Jersey (Philadelphia, 1802), pp. 35-36.
16 Collins, Princeton, p. 94.
challenging his classmates to duels. When in January 1800 the faculty cracked down on the students for "scraping" (disruptive shuffling of feet) during the dark, cold hours of morning prayer by suspending three seniors, the response, reported by one student, had a southern flavor: "two of the Gentlemen being Virginians and the greater part of the students being from that settlement, thought the determination of the faculty to be too severe they according together with a number of others determined to resent it by disturbances." Southern students initiated disruptive activities over Christmas, 1804, which included detonation of the privy. And six of the 16 students expelled or dismissed after the disorder in 1807 were from Virginia, while one was from South Carolina. Southern students came into sharpest conflict with the authorities not so much for misbehaving more than their northern peers but for resisting the means of enforcing collegiate order. The presence of a large number of southern students in the winter semester of 1806-1807 did not mean that revolt was inevitable. It did mean, however, that southern standards of personal honor were a tinder that could be ignited by sparks of confrontation.

A proper picture of the student body during the winter of 1806-1807 requires mention of the student societies. The American Whig and Cliosophic Societies offered the primary stimulus for intellectual and political life to most of the students. Within the walls of the societies, located on the top floor of the new library building west of Nassau Hall, students ruled their lives like adults. Most of the student body belonged to one or the other; those who did not were scorned as "neuters"; and those who were cast out of the societies despaired, left college, or both. Whigs and Clios elected their own officers, admitted their own members, main-

23 Beam, Whig Society, pp. 72-73.
24 Edwin Monk Norris, The Story of Princeton (Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1917), p. 117; on the disturbance of 1806, see also President Smith to Jedidiah Morse, March 10, 1802, Princeton University Archives.
25 "Resolves and Minutes of the Faculty A.D. 1789," December 25, 1804, Princeton University Archives (hereafter Faculty Minutes); Iredell to "My dear Friend," January 7, 1805, transcript in Princeton University Archives.
26 "The Great Rebellion at Princeton," William and Mary Quarterly, 1st ser., 16 (October 1907), 119-121.
tained their own extensive and well-used libraries, disciplined their own members, staged a never-ending series of debates, and conducted their business in secret.28 An incident in January 1806 dramatized the importance of the societies. One of the Whigs, William Hamilton, after being "very impertinent and disobedient to Professor Thompson," was arraigned before the faculty on a Monday.29 The faculty voted to suspend Hamilton but not to announce the sentence to the other students until Wednesday. In the interim the professors informed the "censor" of the Whig Society that his organization would fall into "disgrace" if it did not suspend Hamilton immediately. When the Whigs met to discuss this proposition, a great debate ensued which lasted three hours. Some argued that suspension "was only inflicted on persons guilty of the grossest faults, and not for such a comparatively trivial offense as mere impertinence to a professor." Finally it was decided that the society would merely "publicly admonish" Hamilton. James Iredell was more concerned with the politics of the case than with its merits: "it seemed to me that an agreement with [the faculty's] order would have appeared too much like a mean compliance or submission to the wishes of the faculty, and I thought it necessary that we should shew them that we had the independence to think and act for ourselves in cases that concerned society alone." The faculty did suspend Hamilton but took no action against the Whig Society for failing to follow its mandate.30 The student societies did not play a prominent role in the spring disturbances of 1807, but their very presence—as quasi-secret societies with autonomous powers and adult discretion over their own affairs—provided a reference point against which to place the actions of the students and the reactions of the authorities.

Finally, the student body that gathered in November contained a number of individuals whom even fellow students regarded as no-accounts. All things being equal, the number of troublemakers was bound to rise with the increase in student population. Isaac Marshall, a graduate of 1807 who was not involved in the rebellion, wrote of the 1805-1806 session that "the college is more sunk in dissipation than perhaps it ever has been since the edifice has been burnt [1802]." In January 1806, James Iredell bemoaned the fact that whenever he succeeded in getting "deeply engaged in any subject," he would be called to recitation or bothered by the idle visit of "some impertinent trifler." And Joseph Cabell Breckinridge wrote home in January 1806, after more than a semester in residence, that "there are more idle and dissipated men here than I expected to see." It is hard to assign a specific role to specially gifted hell-raisers in the troubles of 1807, but some were certainly at hand.

**Physical Conditions**

Overcrowding in Nassau Hall may also have been of great importance in encouraging unrest. The already venerable structure of four floors contained at most 50 rooms, of which up to 12 were in the dark and unappetizing basement. The rooms as rebuilt after the 1802 fire measured about 19' by 20' and had been intended to house two or three students, each with his own window and separate sleeping area. In November 1806 up to five students were now living in each room, a situation not eased by the trustees' unwillingness to let any students room in town.31 The nature of the New Jersey winter added climatic discomfort to the physical strain of overcrowding. The winter of 1806-1807 had not been an easy one. Although cold weather was late in arriving, temperatures hovered below average levels in January and February. The snow and rain which fell in Philadelphia on March 5, 14, and 29 probably also kept the undergraduates indoors at Nassau Hall. Then on the 31st itself, a storm, which dropped record amounts of spring snow on New York and New England, passed just to the north of Princeton, bringing damaging winds and some precipitation to central New Jersey. The coming of

29 This incident is described in James Iredell to R. S. Green, January 13, 1806, transcript in Princeton University Archives; see also Wertehacker, *Princeton*, pp. 204-205.
30 A similar incident where the societies defied the wishes of the faculty in 1809 is described in Beam, *Whig Societies*, p. 157.
32 Iredell to R. S. Green, January 13, 1806, transcript in Princeton University Archives.
33 Harrison, "Breckinridge," p. 296.
34 Savage, *Nassau Hall*, pp. 16-19; Trustee Minutes, September 25, 1806.
winter also reduced the diversion provided by visitors as the steady flow of travelers between New York and Philadelphia slowed to a trickle or ceased altogether.56

Student activity did not stop with the coming of winter, but took a turn that created conflict with the faculty. Forced indoors by the weather, students resorted to makeshift games like "batteredore" or "shuttle," variations of field hockey played in the long corridors of Nassau Hall.57 As might be expected, the faculty regarded these games as impediments to study, and attempted to suppress them. The result was to increase the sense of confinement, as a southern student testified in February 1813: "It has not ceased to snow almost every day for a month, and if it continues any longer I shall be forced to run away; for I cannot live without exercise, and Dr. Green has forbidden any noise or romping in the college."58 It need hardly be said that the cold and dark of winter mornings, combined with an absence of heat in the prayer hall, made morning devotions excruciating for all but the most sanguine or pious students.59

But winter gave even as it took away. If the season circumscribed some outdoor activities, particularly the long walks which constituted the major form of exercise for the students, it provided occasions for others like skating and sleigh riding.60 While the first of these sports caused little difficulty, the second led to problems. Sleigh rides often ended at the accommodating inns of neighboring villages, a situation which did not please the faculty. In January 1805, James Iredell reported that "almost every night during the continuance of the snow, there are numbers of sleighs out filled with students, going either to Trenton or some other of the neighboring towns." Although sleigh riding was prohibited without the express permission of a faculty member, Iredell commented that "this prohibition is seldom regarded."61 Sleighing was therefore a recreation which jeopardized college order in two ways, by violating college regulations and by aiding the flight to taverns whence students occasionally returned with inhibitions relaxed.

In the early 19th century the winter semester was a particularly difficult session at Princeton. Major student disturbances occurred either in the dead of winter (January 1800, January 1802, and "the big cracker" of January 1814) or immediately upon the coming of spring (April 1807). Ashbel Green, who became president in 1812, attempted to explain these difficulties to the trustees in 1816: "Our winter sessions are always considered as more exposed to difficulty in maintaining good order in the College than the summer session. The confinement occasioned by the winter, the length of the nights, and other circumstances of the season, seem to generate and favour mischievous designs beyond what takes place in other portions of the year." Green added that the presence of many new students for the winter semester contributed to the prevalence of disorder.62 All of the difficulties associated with winter sessions do not explain the unfolding of rebellion in the spring of 1807. Similarly, the fact that religious revivals in New Jersey during the early 19th century usually occurred in the winter season does not by itself account for their occurrence.63 Yet in both situations a neglect of climatic conditions can obscure an important aspect of the physical environment, and it can increase the likelihood that interpreters of events will lay too much stress on ideology, psychology, or political convictions at the expense of a simpler reference to the weather.

The Framework of Discipline

Life at Princeton during the winter session 1806-1807 progressed along well-established lines. New students arrived to be examined by the faculty and assigned to the proper classes. Returning students advanced to the next class. And at least two students who had earlier been suspended were admitted back into regular stand-

56 Hageman, *Princeton Institutions*, 1, 229. President Smith wrote of the "bad weather of the Winter" which "would render a meeting of the board too inconvenient" in a letter to Ashbel Green, December 5, 1803, Princeton University Archives.

57 Savage, *Nassau Hall*, p. 121.


60 On James Iredell's fondness for skating, see his letters to James C. Johnston, December 24, 1804, and "My dear Friend," January 7, 1805, transcripts in Princeton University Archives.

61 Iredell to "My dear Friend," January 7, 1805, transcript in Princeton University Archives; on sleighing, see also Govan, "Nicholas Biddle at Princeton," p. 54; and Hageman, *Princeton Institutions*, 1, 48.


ing, including William Hamilton, whose insults to Professor Thompson had precipitated the debate in Whig Hall over the authority of the faculty.44 The disciplinary cases that came before the faculty during the semester unfolded provide a gauge to the temper of the institution, but to put these in perspective it is first necessary to examine the legal framework under which students and faculty operated.

The laws of the College of New Jersey appear first in the board minutes of November 9, 1748, eight years before the college settled permanently in Princeton; they were first printed in the early 1760s.45 Trustees revised them in 1794 and made them more stringent after the fire of 1802. The 1802 version repeated previous injunctions against keeping liquor in student rooms without permission, keeping company “with persons of publicly bad character,” and going to “a tavern, beer-house, or any place of such kind” without permission. It added to the earlier requirement that students render “immediate and implicit obedience” to college authorities a prohibition against showing “in speech or action manifest disrespect towards any of them.” It repeated the determination to punish appropriately “lying, profaneness, drunkenness, theft, uncleanness, playing at unlawful games, or other gross immoralities.” But it also added a series of new regulations designed to keep the peace: the tutors were expressly required to check each room at least once a day, each officer was required “to use his utmost vigilance and exertions to carry into complete effect every law of the college without exception,” all the faculty members were given “the right to enter the rooms and studies of the students at their pleasure,” and the president was required to stop any student who in a public speech departed from his previously approved text to “pronounce any thing in public of a censurable nature.”46

The 1802 laws also carried forward the prohibition against unlawful combinations which the trustees would cite to suppress the student disturbances of the spring: “If any clubs or combinations of the students shall at any time take place, either for resisting the authority of the college, interfering in its government, or for concealing or exciting any evil or disorderly design, every student concerned in such combination shall be considered as guilty of the offense which was intended.” The faculty, further, could exact a stricter penalty for those involved in a combination “than if the offense intended had been committed in [the student's] individual capacity, whatever be the number concerned, or whatever be the consequence to the college.” The 1802 revision also added a requirement for students to “give information” about disorder in their immediate vicinity, and this too became a matter of contention in 1807.47

The laws also stated frankly the means by which the institution hoped to preserve order: “The punishments of the institution, being wholly of the moral kind,” were “addressed to the sense of duty and the principles of honor and shame.” At least since the early days of Witherspoon's tenure, Princeton discipline had relied upon the power of humiliation and the coercion of shame. A carefully calibrated set of punishments had evolved to accomplish the purposes of discipline: bringing erring students back to their senses and order back to the college. Punishments progressed in gravity from private admonishment by a single faculty member, to admonishments before the class and then before all the students, suspension with a public statement of the case, probationary dismissal, and finally expulsion (which required the approval of at least six trustees). The admonitions, moreover, were to be accompanied by “acknowledgments of the fault and engagements of amendment” (before the class) or “a public confession and profession of penitence” (before all the students).48 Virtually no student offense was beyond the pale of forgiveness, except the unwillingness to ask for forgiveness. While the overt purpose of disciplinary action was to restore order, its higher goal was the restoration of the student to an honorable place in the institution. Surprisingly from a modern point of view, this mode of discipline was accepted without demurr by most of the Princeton community. Only in unusual circumstances, as in the spring of 1807, did the system break down and the imposition of humiliating submission fail to achieve the desired results.

College officials made use of analogous practices of honor and shame to encourage the students in their studies. The laws warned negligent students that “the faculty may mention, before the class, the names of such persons, and administer a reproof to them, and an exhortation to greater diligence in the future; those, on the

Footnotes:
44 Faculty Minutes, September 29 and November 6, 1806.
45 Trustee Minutes, November 9, 1794.
47 Laws (1802), pp. 93-94.
48 Both quotations, ibid., p. 25.
contrary, who shall appear to excel, shall be mentioned with approbation." The emphasis on public performance which characterized the whole of Princeton only heightened the concern for honor and the fear of shame. Each night after prayers students in regular rotation gave speeches "on the stage in the publick hall" before the faculty and their fellows. The faculty distributed college honors at commencement through the assignment of speeches. The societies held debates and organized orations continually. College examinations were also oral, as classes were called in a body to recite before the assembled faculty, a delegation from the trustees, and "all gentlemen of liberal education who may choose to be present."

College officials underscored their convictions about duty, honor, and public performance by carefully structuring the ceremony at which students entered the college. After the fire of 1802, the customary rite became even more elaborate:

Every student shall be required to bind himself by promise, in the presence of his fellow students, to obey all the laws of the institution. This obligation shall be taken by the president or a professor in the following manner, viz: Question to the student—Have you read and understood these laws? Answer—I have. Quest., Do you solemnly pledge your truth and honour to obey them? Answer—I do. After this the student shall be required to subscribe his name to the following form, to be kept in a book for that purpose by the faculty of the college, viz:—"We whose names are underwritten do declare that we have acquiesced in, and solemnly promised to obey the laws of this college, as they are contained in the pamphlet under that title."

If the laws constituted a statement expressing the values of college authorities as well as an expedient to regulate conduct, it is clear that the trustees wanted to say something about order and honor. The laws that prevailed in 1806-1809 had been revised after a devastating fire during the first years following the political "Revolution of 1800." Leaders of the college feared that disorder was overwhelming the country. They feared that that same disorder was sweeping over the college. It is clear that within the sphere of their authority they meant to do something about it. When stu-

ents entered the college and when they received the college laws, they were put on their honor to preserve order. This stress on honor comported better with the college's Whig republicanism than with its evangelical Presbyterianism, a faith which stressed the humiliation of the Savior and the sovereignty of God as the source of all human worth. The largely Federalist authorities at Princeton had grown accustomed to thinking of national preservation in terms of national honor. That honor had been won in fields of bloody battle. It had been preserved at great cost—against the dishonor of those who wished to repudiate debts, against a dishonorable lust for influence (Democratic Clubs) or for anarchy (Whiskey Rebellion), and against the dishonorable grasp of foreign nations for the territory and trade of the United States. Living as they were in a period in which political honor was at a premium, it is not surprising that the trustees employed principles of honor to regulate the lives of students. With uncertainty about authority widespread in the early 19th century, college trustees could rely on little but internal commitments, however induced, to preserve authority in general and the good order of the college in particular.

Whatever final meanings the trustees intended for their laws, the students received only part of the message. They heard that honor held the key to truly adult behavior. They did not hear that honor should work to uphold order.

Before the Storm

The winter semester of 1806-1807 was disorderly, but not as bad as Princeton's worst years. A total of 17 students of the approximately 200 in residence violated the college rules flagrantly enough to provoke official faculty action. The ratio of students disciplined to total students is higher than the average but not unique for the period. The first case bringing faculty action occurred in late November. For "abusive language and threats to one of the inhabitants of the town in his own house," and for threatening his fellows

\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 27-28.}\]

\[\text{Ibid.}, \text{pp. 25-26.}\]
with a chair and a penknife, a senior was dismissed. The faculty also admonished privately three juniors and two sophomores for aiding this culprit.\textsuperscript{53}

During early December the faculty dealt with four cases in rapid succession: a junior, John Henry Hyde, who struck another student (admonished before his class), a junior who went from one hallway to another “in a savage like manner, to the great disturbance of those who were in their beds” and who had been imbidding “strong drink” (suspended), a sophomore who had exhibited “incompetency in his class and . . . noisy and irregular conduct” (dismissed), and a senior whose offenses were “drunkenness, profane swearing, and noisy and disorderly conduct in the college” (suspended).\textsuperscript{54}

January, which had witnessed its share of disorders in previous years, passed quietly. In February the residents were restless. Two juniors were convicted for “making use of strong liquor, and . . . disturbing the repose of the college late at night” (one was suspended, one admonished before his class); a senior who had earlier been suspended for drunkenness and restored was found drunk in the college and suspended again; two other juniors were suspended for neglecting their studies, leaving college without permission, and “repeated intoxication with strong drink.”\textsuperscript{55} Sometime in March the faculty—whether as a direct result of February’s disorders, the general behavior of the students, or even the discipline problems toward the end of the month—evidently promised the students that when the board assembled for its scheduled meeting April 1, the faculty would ask it to clean house.\textsuperscript{56} This may have been a mere artifice by exasperated professors to enable them to survive until the end of the semester, since it would have been unusual for the faculty to refer to the board students who had not already appeared before on specific charges. In any event, after the riot the faculty concluded that some students had begun to plot a revolt as soon as it had made its threat. Also during the semester, probably in February or March, two or three fires had

\textsuperscript{53} Faculty Minutes, November 29, 1866.
\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., December 2, 4, 12, 15, 1866.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid., February 12 and 16, 1867.

been set in the college. These were extinguished without harm, but an outhouse on the grounds burned down.\textsuperscript{57}

One of the incidents that led to the rebellion occurred on Tuesday night, March 24, and came before the faculty the next day. A senior, Francis D. Cummins, had been out of his room “at an unlawful time of the night,” and had been “cursing and insulting some of the peaceable and orderly inhabitants of the town.” The faculty also accused him “with being in a tavern and having intoxicated himself.” Cummins claimed that he had had only “a few glasses of wine.” When the faculty called Cummins’s friends, they said they had apologized to the insulted villagers by observing that Cummins had had a bit too much to drink. The faculty, “viewing the disorderly state of the College occasioned by the frequent use of strong liquors and going into taverns without permission—and also the petulant and impudent conduct of the said Cummins to, and in the presence of the Faculty,” suspended him and ordered him to leave the college at once.\textsuperscript{58}

Five days later, Monday, March 30, the faculty met to decide two other cases. Tutor Alexander Monteith, on Sunday night, had gone into the room of junior John Henry Hyde to quiet a disturbance. Monteith claimed that Hyde had cursed the tutors “for their vigilance.” Hyde admitted the noise but denied the curse, saying “he was not in the habit of using profane language.” When the faculty received “the most unequivocal testimony” that Hyde had indeed sworn most profanely on another occasion, and noted Hyde’s previous admonishment and “his petulance in the course of the present hearing,” it suspended him and ordered him to depart.\textsuperscript{59}

At the same meeting the faculty considered the case of sophomore Francis Matteaus who had treated Professor Maclean “with a great deal of insolence in the discharge of his duty in repriming him for noisy and disorderly conduct in the college.” Upon investigation the faculty determined that Matteaus had been visiting taverns and had brought “strong liquor into the college.” The professors suspended him and ordered him to leave the college.\textsuperscript{60}

The next day was Tuesday, March 31, one day before spring exams and a scheduled meeting of the board of trustees. The winter semester had not been calm. Student fondness for drink and

\textsuperscript{57} To the Public, col. a; Boudinot to Green, April 3, 1807, Princeton University Archives.
\textsuperscript{58} Faculty Minutes, March 25, 1807.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., March 30, 1807.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
resistance to the college authorities had marred the good order and discipline of the institution. Yet there had been no dining hall riot as in 1800, or no gunfire and explosion as in December 1804.61 Things could have been worse. Then on March 31, a number of students, "perhaps ten in number, calling themselves a committee of the college appointed to wait on the Faculty," handed in a petition.62

Presentation of the student petition triggered the confrontation which ultimately saw the faculty suspend over half the student body, the students take over Nassau Hall, the trustees close the institution, and both sides reach for ideological explanations of the conflict. The story of the riot itself is told in the third part of this study. Here it is enough to draw conclusions from an examination of the semester that transpired before the disturbance. Such a story suggests that as much blame for the riot can be assigned to the overworked conditions of the faculty, the overcrowding of Nassau Hall, the stresses of the winter, the presence of a hellion or two, and a confrontational mode of discipline as to a student embrace of impious philosophy or a faculty resort to tyranny.

61 Ibid., undated, winter session 1799-1800; ibid., December 25 and 26, 1804.
62 Ibid., March 31, 1807.

Thomas Stothard's Illustrations of Thomson's Seasons for the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas

BY NANCY FINLAY

Eighteenth-century English book illustration remains a somewhat neglected field, despite the recent study by Hanns Hammelmann and T.S.R. Boase, published by the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art in 1975. A survey conducted at Harvard in 1955 indicated that at least one-third of all 18th-century English books were illustrated. After a rather slow beginning in the early part of the 18th century, when most illustrators were either Dutch immigrants who had come to England with William of Orange, or Hugenots fleeing from France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, a flourishing native school gradually developed. By the end of the century, the ranks of English book illustrators included such notable figures as William Blake, John Flaxman, and Thomas Rowlandson. Less well known than Blake or Flaxman is Thomas Stothard, whose 18 sketches with captions from The Seasons by James Thomson are the earliest drawings for English book illustration in the Princeton Graphic Arts Collection.

Thomas Stothard (1755-1834) was an early friend of Blake, who sometimes engraved Stothard's designs. The friendship dated from about 1779, when both men were students at the Royal Academy School, and lasted until 1810, when they fell out over a commission for a painting of Chaucer's Canterbury Pilgrims. Stothard was a painter of repute and a Royal Academician. He exhibited at the Royal Academy from 1778, and contributed to Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery. His large paintings often treat literary subjects similar to those of his book illustrations, and his book illustrations, even the tiny drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection, often achieve a monumentality that belies their miniature scale.2


2 Little recent work seems to have been done on Thomas Stothard. The basic
The drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection are small ink and wash sketches on laid paper; and although they are neither signed nor dated, they are clearly the work of Thomas Stothard. Although one may assume at first that the drawings were for an illustrated edition of *The Seasons*, it is evident that they should instead be associated with the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas, a publication for which Stothard routinely provided designs between the years 1790 and 1826.

The Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas was what we today would call a datebook. It was issued annually by J. Baker & Son of Southampton and contained a calendar, pages for memoranda, and lists of the Royal Family and members of the Peerage. Aside from the illustrations which decorated the pages devoted to the calendar, it was entirely undistinguished. These illustrations, however, are of a quality quite unusual in a publication of this class. Each year a different work of literature was chosen for illustration, and as the titles selected range from Thomson and Cowper through Byron and Scott, they represent a virtual catalogue of Romantic taste. As is the case for most ephemeral publications, copies of the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas are extremely rare. I have been able to locate only two, one in the British Museum, with illustrations from *The Vicar of Wakefield* (1805), and one at the Humanities Research Center in Austin, Texas, with illustrations from Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1794). In addition, the British Museum possesses proofs of many of the illustrations for the Pocket Atlas in the Balmanno Collection of prints after Stothard, and a set of original drawings for *Sir Charles Grandison*, which from their format appear to belong to the series, though the year of their publication remains uncertain. The invariable format of the Pocket Atlas, which contrasts sharply with the usual illustrated editions of *The Seasons* with their four or five full-page engravings, consisted of 24 tiny rectangular illustrations, two per month, one at the top of each duodecimo page. A line from the work of literature, characteristically much abbreviated, was inscribed beneath each engraving. An engraved title and additional headings for the blank pages intended for memoranda completed the decorations.

It will immediately be seen that the drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection at Princeton conform to this format, and not to the format of illustrated editions of *The Seasons*. The 18 drawings represent nine of the 12 months. Each of the drawings measures 5 x 2.5 cm., corresponding closely to the size of the Pocket Atlas illustrations. Each has a line from *The Seasons* inscribed beneath it. These inscriptions appear to be in Stothard's handwriting, as far as may be determined by comparison with an autograph letter in the Manuscript Division of Princeton University Library. In addition, many drawings bear line references to *The Seasons*, and in each case the month that the drawing is intended to represent has been indicated. Thomson's *Seasons* was not subdivided into months, and in the drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection, Stothard proceeded rather mechanically in his selection of subjects. His first illustration for January is based on *Spring*, line 96, and he then proceeded, absolutely in verse order, through *Winter*, line 769, following the arrangement of the poem which is Spring-Summer-Autumn-Winter. An obvious lack of synchronization results, since the calendar begins naturally with January, and the first two winter months thus wind up accompanied by lines from the beginning of *Spring*, describing plowing and planting (see Appendix A).

Details of three drawings have been incorporated into the engraved frontispiece (Plate 2) of an edition of *The Seasons* published in Perth, Scotland in 1795. The Princeton drawings must therefore be dated before 1795. Since the subjects of the earliest Pocket Atlases are not known, it is possible that the Princeton

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1 The first edition of *The Seasons*, by James Thomson (1700-1748), appeared in 1730, although the individual parts had previously been published separately. This first edition was embellished with four emblematic figures representing each season, based on *Marble Statues in the Gardens of Versailles* [sic], and decorative headnotes. Most 18th-century editions followed this same general scheme of illustration, with one full-page picture for each of the four seasonal subdivisions of the poem, preceded frequently by an author portrait as frontispiece. The four principal illustrations were either emblematic figures as in the first edition, or subjects drawn from the text of the poem, frequently corresponding to the traditional iconographic sequences of the labors of the months, or more rarely, the ages of man.

2 Hammelmann and Boose seem to assume that Stothard's association with the search Center in Austin, Texas appears to be based on Stothard's designs, and A. E. Churchard lists editions as early as 1791. Hammelmann and Boose, *Book Illustrators in Eighteenth Century England*, p. 74.

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drawings may be associated with one of them, for example for the year 1791 or 1792. In the 1793 frontispiece, details of two of the drawings, “The sower stalks” and “On sounding skates” (Plate 2a and 2c) are incorporated into the side panels of the pedestal supporting the author portrait. The central panel uses the April illustration “Where sits the shepherd” (Plate 2b) in virtually unaltered form. This frontispiece is a clumsy piece of work, awkwardly assembled from a series of poorly integrated pieces: the pedestrian, two-dimensional portrait of Thomson, which tries to produce the appearance of an easel painting; the three-dimensional, sculptural base, with its incompetently handled perspective; the shallow recession of the background panel; and finally, the reused Stothard drawings, which alone convey a feeling of light and air, contributing to the spatial ambiguities of the whole composition. For certainly, if anything, must be supposed in this context to represent flat, decorative elements, rather than windows opening on actual landscapes. The artist’s name does not appear on the frontispiece, only the name of the engraver, D. B. Peet. It is unlikely that this frontispiece is by Stothard. None of the other illustrations in this 1793 edition are by him.

Among the proofs for the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas in the Print Room of the British Museum is a set of 24 engravings illustrating Thomson’s Seasons. Although the format of these engravings is similar to that of the drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection, the two sets of illustrations differ in many particulars, including the selection of scenes. Unlike the Graphic Arts drawings, where the selection of scenes strictly followed the verse order of The Seasons, the subjects for the British Museum proofs were chosen to correspond logically with the appropriate months. Thus lines from Winter were selected for January and February (see Appendix B), although they occur at the end of Thomson’s poem. This arrangement is certainly more logical than the one followed

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Plate 1a. Thomas Stothard, pen and wash drawing illustrating James Thomson, The Seasons, Spring, line 36
Graphic Arts Collection

Plate 1b. Thomas Stothard, pen and wash drawing illustrating Thomson, The Seasons, Spring, line 42
Graphic Arts Collection

Plate 1c. Unknown engraver after Thomas Stothard, illustration for the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas for 1797: October
Reproduced by permission of the British Museum
Plate 3a. Thomas Stothard, pen and wash drawing illustrating Thomson, *The Seasons*, Spring, line 44
Graphic Arts Collection
Plate 3b. Thomas Stothard, pen and wash drawing illustrating Thomson, *The Seasons*, Spring, line 835
Graphic Arts Collection
Plate 3c. Thomas Stothard, pen and wash drawing illustrating Thomson, *The Seasons*, Winter, line 709
Graphic Arts Collection
in the drawings, where January and February are represented by scenes from Spring, the first section of the poem. While it is by no means certain that the drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection are early studies for the same project as the British Museum proofs, it seems likely that this is the case.

Stylistically, however, the proofs in the British Museum are disappointing in comparison with the Graphic Arts drawings. This is partially due to the intervention of the engraver. Unlike Blake, Stothard never engraved his own designs. The name of the engraver for this particular issue of the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas is not known; some of the engravings in other issues are signed by W. & G. Cooke. Stothard's drawings for January "Removes th'obstructing clay" (Plate 1b) is obviously closely related to the engraving for October (Plate 1c), but while the drawing conveys a vivid sense of the physical effort involved in plowing, with oxen and plowman straining at their task, the engraving merely reproduces the general postures of the figures in a dry and mechanical manner. It is also apparent that the subjects for the British Museum proofs have been chosen to correspond more closely to the traditional "Labors of the Months," with harvesters for August, hunters for October, and revelers for December, eliminating scenes without direct seasonal reference, such as the dramatic "A blackened cor[p]se was struck the beauteous maid" (Plate 4a) from the episode of Celadon and Amelia, or "She with the silvan pen" (Plate 4b), depicting Musidora inscribing a message to her lover. The drawings devoted to these subjects are among the most beautiful in the Graphic Arts Stothard drawings. It was presumably not the tragic nature of the subject that led to the elimination of the Celadon and Amelia episode, for other equally gloomy subjects were included in other issues of the Pocket Atlas, for example, "'Twas life's last spark," and "The trembling spirit wings her flight," both from Rogers's Pleasures of Memory and included in the Royal Engagement Pocket Atlas for 1808. Although the practice of choosing texts to correspond directly to the months themselves from a logical point of view had much to recommend it, this obviously was not possible for many of the works of fiction and poetry which provided subjects for the Pocket Atlas, and where, moreover, it was often necessary to respect the narrative order of the original. The Pocket Atlas for 1794, preserved in the Humanities Research Center of the University of Texas at Austin, is virtually a picture book, which recounts the stories of Una and
the lion, and of the Red Cross Knight's battle with the dragon from Book I of Spenser's *Faerie Queene* in a sequence of tiny scenes. Although *The Seasons* contained no coherent narrative that Stothard was obliged to respect, his earlier project is much more "narrative" in the sense that it retains the order of the original poem and incorporates some of the well-known dramatic episodes. In the later version, it is the Atlas's function as a calendar that seems to dictate the choice of illustrations, which, if more appropriate, are often less interesting.

When one compares the refined and elegant style of Stothard's drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection with the conscious crudity sometimes found in William Blake, it is easy to see why publisher Robert Cromek preferred Stothard's design for *The Canterbury Pilgrims* to Blake's, but posterity has reversed Cromek's judgment and Stothard is often dismissed as no more than a hack illustrator. It is evident from the drawings at Princeton that he deserves greater consideration. Within the restricted format of these tiny illustrations, Stothard often succeeded in achieving an astonishing pitch of tragic emotion, in scenes of horror such as the October illustration showing a young woman struck by lightning, or in his powerful image of the sower (Plate 3a). Scenes of sheep and shepherds (Plates 9b and 4c) may be profitably compared to Blake's much later (1820) illustrations for Thornton's *Virgil*.

The drawings in the Graphic Arts Collection, while relatively minor works, may help the modern viewer to appreciate the enthusiasm Stothard's designs aroused in his contemporaries. Samuel Taylor Coleridge found that "If it were not for a certain tendency to affectation, scarcely any praise would be too high." and Charles Lamb extravagantly compared Stothard's illustrations to Raphael, Watteau, and Titian:

To T. Stothard, Esq.⁹

On His Illustrations of the Poems of Mr. Rogers

Consummate Artist, whose undying name
With classic Rogers shall go down to fame,
Be this thy crowning work! In my young days

How often have I with a child's fond gaze
Pored on the pictured wonders thou hadst done:
Clarissa mournful, and prim Grandison!
All Fielding's, Smollett's heroes, rose to view;
I saw, and I believed the phantoms true.
But above all that most romantic tale¹⁰
Did o'er my raw credulity prevail,
Where Glums and Gawries wear mysterious things,
That serve at once for jackets and for wings.
Age, that enfeebles other men's designs,
But heightens thine, and thy free draught refines.
In several ways distinct you make us feel—
Graceful as Raphael, as Watteau *gentiel*.
Your lights and shades as Titianesque we praise;
And warmly wish you Titian's length of days.

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APPENDIX A: Subjects from Thomson's *Seasons* Represented in Drawings by Thomas Stothard in the Graphic Arts Collection

January:  "Drives from their stalls." Spring, line 36.*
    "Removes th'obstructing clay." Spring, line 42.
February:  "The sower stalks." Spring, line 44.
    "The harrow follows harsh." Spring, line 47.
March:    "To tempt the trout." Spring, line 384.
    "—Task the fervent bees." Spring, line 508.
April:    "And idly-budding, feigns." Spring, line 801.
    "Where sits the shepherd." Spring, line 833.
May:      [lacks]
June:     "—The crowded fold, in order, drives." Summer, line 65.
    "The Zephyrs floating loose." Summer, line 123.
July:     [lacks]

₉ Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Table Talk* (July 5, 1834), quoted from *Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge* (London: John Murray, 1859), p. 331.
₊ The *Athenaeum*, No. 521 (Saturday, December 21, 1844), p. 871. Rogers's *Pleasures of Memory* (1810), with wood-engraved illustrations by Thomas Bewick after Stothard's designs, remains one of the classics of English book illustration.

August:  “The house-dog, with the uncouth greyhound lies.” Summer, line 232.
“Trail the long rake, or, with the fragrant load.” Summer, line 359.

September:  [lacks]

October:  “A blackened cor[p]se was struck the beauteous maid.” Summer, line 1216.
“She with the silvan pen.” Summer, line 1364.

November:  “Or dusty hews [hours].” Summer, line 1460.
“Stiff, by the tainted gale, with open nose.” Autumn, line 364.

December:  “Even as the matron, at her nightly task.” Winter, line 194.
“On sounding skates, a thousand different ways.” Winter, line 769.

APPENDIX B: Subjects from Thomson’s Seasons Represented in the Proofs in the British Museum

January:  “As they sweep on sounding skates.” Winter, line 769.
“—Flouncing thro’ the drifted heaps.” Winter, line 285.

February:  “And floods the country round.” Winter, line 992.
“—The winnowing store.” Winter, line 244.

March:  “Low waves the rooted forest vex’d.” Winter, line 181.
“Thither the household feathery people crowd.” Winter, line 87.

April:  “—Trace up the brook.” Spring, line 400.
“To tempt the trout.” Spring, line 384.

May:  “Flush’d by the spirit of the genial year.” Spring, line 969.
“Of mingled blossoms.” Spring, line 111.

June:  “Her brimming pail,” Summer, line 1666.
“With fragrant load.” Summer, line 359.

July:  “Speeds to the well-known pool.” Summer, line 1245.
“The tender swain’s well guided shears.” Summer, line 419.

August:  “Before the ripen’d field.” Autumn, line 153.
“From the deep loaded bough.” Autumn, line 650.

“The rural scandal and the rural talk.” Autumn, line 159.

October:  “The chase pursue.” Autumn, line 474.
“Removes th’obstructing clay.” Spring, line 42.

November:  “Recounts his simple frolics.” Winter, line 91.
“The sower stalks with measur’d steps.” Spring, lines 44-45.

December:  “Lodge them below the storm.” Winter, line 267.
“Frequent in the sounding hall.” Winter, line 621.
A Humanist Experiment
Princeton’s New Vergil Roll

BY JEANNE E. KROCHALIS

Of all the classical Latin authors, Vergil has consistently been the most popular. More early manuscripts of his works survive than of those of any other Latin author. Two of the earliest extant illustrated codices contain his poems. Manuscripts of the later Middle Ages and Renaissance are so abundant that no overall census has ever been attempted. Princeton’s massive Junius Spencer Morgan Vergil collection attests to the continuing interest in his writings among later generations of readers. Yet Princeton’s most recently acquired Aeneid manuscript, Princeton MS 125, is unique on several counts. It is the only extant Vergil manuscript written, not in book form, but on a roll. The surviving classical manuscripts are all codices. In fact, this is the only humanist text of any classical author to adopt the roll format. Clearly some hu-

1 They are the Vergilius Vaticanus of the early fifth century, and the Vergilius Romanus of the later fifth century. Both are discussed, with reproductions, in Kurt Weitzmann, Late Antique and Early Christian Book Illumination (New York: George Braziller, 1977).

2 The abundance and reliability of early manuscripts, supplemented by references in other classical authors, and especially by the manuscripts of the commentary of Servius (ca 400 AD), have largely deterred editors from looking beyond the ninth century. Conington, who looked at some of the later Oxford manuscripts for a few doubtful readings, remarked that “to collate the remaining copies satisfactorily would be an almost endless task” and “in the present state of classical studies we shall probably have to wait long before anyone will think it worthwhile to qualify himself for writing a detailed history of the text of Virgil.” That was in 1872, and we are still waiting. John Conington, “Preface to the Second and Third Editions,” F. Vergili Maronis Opera, 4th ed. rev. Henry Nettleship (London: Whitaker and Co., 1884), pp. ix, x. For a summary of recent editions and their manuscripts, see R. D. Williams, The Aeneid of Vergil Books 1-6 (London: St. Martin’s Press, 1972), pp. xxviii–xxx.

3 I am indebted to Professor Paul Oskar Kristeller for knowledge of Lucern Zentralbibliothek Ms. 51, a late 14th-century roll containing Petrarch’s Penitential Psalms in Latin. Both the author and the owner (one of the Visconti, probably Giangaleazzo) might entitle it to be considered a humanist manuscript, but the hand is gothica rotunda, with no humanist influence whatsoever, and the text belongs to a medieval tradition. For a description of this manuscript, see Ottavio Bosoni, Codici Petrarcheschi nelle Biblioteche Swizzere (Censimento dei Codici Petrarcheschi 3) (Padua: Edizitice Antenore, 1969), also published in Italia Medioevale e Umancita, VIII (1969). A more detailed study of the manuscript and its provenance can be found in F. Novati, “Un Esemplare Visconteo dei Psalmi Penitentialides del

4 This is all the more curious because, though Princeton MS 125 is a roll, it is not a roll after the antique pattern. In antiquity, rolls were written sideways, with the writing in columns parallel to the long side of the papyrus or vellum. Sometime between the fourth century and the Carolingian period, a shift occurred in the West, and rolls were commonly written parallel to the short side, lengthwise. This is the form which is common throughout the later Middle Ages, not only for document rolls, but for short verse or prose texts, prayers, saints’ lives, and even chronicles, such as Scheide MS 94 and Princeton Art Museum 3292. This is the form, for instance, of the prayer roll containing Petrarch’s Penitential Psalms, owned by one of the Visconti. It is not the form of the rolls that occurs on classical sculptures. But would an early humanist, whose classical texts were all in codices, realize that rolls had shifted since antiquity? Or might he think of reviving the original form in terms of the rolls with which he was familiar? His roll is small and unillustrated, his heading and capital letter for


6 The reasons for the shift are still not clear. Lloyd Daly argues for the influence of Byzantine documentary rolls, which is a very plausible suggestion. “Rotuli: Liturgy Rolls and Folded Documents,” Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies, 14 (1973), 383-388.

7 See footnote 5.

8 Theodor Birt, Die Buchrolle in der Kunst (Leipzig, 1907). A number of second- and third-century examples can be found in André Grabar, Early Christian Art from the Rise of Christianity to the Death of Theodosius, tr. Stuart Gilbert and James Emmons, The Arts of Mankind Series (New York: Odyssey Press, 1968), plates 41, 50, 128, 130, 139, 144, 151, 205-
Book II undecorated; it is the text which claims his attention. Such a scholar might well not think to compare the shape of his roll with sculptural examples.

But even in terms of medieval rolls, Princeton MS 123 is an extraordinary production. It is written on the flesh side only of very thin vellum, on eight membranes glued together before being written on. It is acephalous; the text is the Aeneid, and the damaged first membrane begins at I, 387. The last membrane finishes at II, 626. It measures only 58 to 59 mm (about 2 1/4 inches) across, but 2602 mm (8 1/4 feet) in length. The individual membranes vary a bit in length, but within a fairly narrow range: 64 + 365 + 360 + 376 + 364 + 360 + 349 + 364 millimeters. Apart from the damaged first membrane, the variation is only 26 mm at maximum, about an inch. Many late medieval rolls have membranes which vary widely, suggesting that the writer was using up scraps from the trimming of large bifolia, from damaged documents, margins, or whatever he could get hold of cheaply. This looks like a deliberate production, with the shape carefully chosen, and the vellum cut for it. Someone, writing in roughly the first quarter of the 15th century, wanted to read Vergil on eight and a half feet of supermarket adding machine tape—except that the tape is 2 1/4" wide, not 2 1/4".

But surely the original roll must have been considerably longer. The script size is extremely small. The distance between lines is about 2.6 mm (on adding machine tape, for the curious, it is about 4 mm). If the roll originally began with the opening lines of Book I, with a small heading but with no illustration, there must have been two more membranes of about 360 mm each, as well as the rest of the incomplete first membrane. The text alone would require another 1003.6 mm (386 lines x 2.6 mm/line), and there would be some sort of a heading. Even if the completed roll stopped where it does now, it would have originally measured more than 3605.6 mm (2602 mm plus 1003.6 mm), or at least 11 1/4 feet. And at this rate, it would have taken seven comparable rolls to provide a complete text of the Aeneid. One small roll could be conveniently carried around; it would slip easily into a pocket or purse. But seven?

The text stops at II, 626. The amount of blank space left is more than would be needed to glue this to the next membrane, so it looks as if the decision to stop were deliberate. But this, too, is
curious. Classical rolls usually do one book to a roll. If our scribe wanted to do two books to a roll, he had only another 178 lines to go, or 462.8 mm—another membrane and a half, or another foot and a half, bringing the roll to 13 feet. The middle of a clause in the midst of the description of the burning of Troy is a strange place to stop in a carefully planned text. But perhaps the scribe felt 11½ feet was enough. Perhaps he had made Wattenbach's discovery that it is only easy to read a large roll if it is written sideways, and then abandoned the entire project.

The manuscript has no marks of ownership. An unidentified hand wrote Virgil in Roman capitals on the outside front of the roll sometime in the 16th century, but no scribe or owner has left any other marks on it. As we might expect from someone experimenting with book design, the text is carefully laid out. The text space is about 49 mm wide, with narrow margins of five mm each on the left and right of the column. Those on the left are for the initial capital letters of each line. Those on the right mark an inner and outer margin, but the scribe is less careful about them. He sometimes goes outside even the outer margin. What is truly astonishing is the size of the script. The distance between lines is only 2.6 mm. Compare, for instance, a contemporary small book Vergil, Kane MS 96.

B. L. Ullman claims that "presbyopia started the reform of handwriting" which led to the development of humanist script around 1400. In 1366, for instance, we find Coluccio Salutati complaining that he needs an Augustine in larger script: "I beg and implore you to make me one whose wish is granted, that from your beneficence, I might be able to turn my dimming eyesight from reading the book which I have, the smallness of whose letters makes it very tedious for me, to the much more pleasing labor of reading one where the letters are larger." The book about which Coluccio

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9 "Eine grössere Rolle ist nur dann bequem zu lesen, wenn die Schrift in Columns vertheilt ist: doch findet sich diese sitte nur im Alterthum." W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen im Mittelalter*, 4. Auflage (Graz: Akademische Druck - u. Verlagsanstalt, 1958), a reprint of the 1896 edition. Any reader who has ever grappled with a long roll of any width will have discovered that they are almost impossible to handle.
complained (Vatican Library MS Ottoboniani 349) has a script rather larger than that of Princeton MS 123; the space between lines is 4 mm, with letter bodies about 1 mm high. What he would have made of this Vergil one wonders.13

In the first quarter of the 15th century in Italy not only book design but script was undergoing a profound reformation. The older crabbed “gothic” hands were replaced by clear, spacious, elegant humanist hands, modelled on late Caroline minuscule. Other older hands provided models for capitals and inscriptions, or occasionally for entire manuscripts. Princeton MS 37, for instance, is a fascinating imitation of a late antique manuscript, written in a mixture of uncial and square capitals in its text hand, with glosses in a humanist cursive. The basic text might be said to be at the opposite end of the scale from MS 123: the hand is as large as possible; clarity, rather than compactness, is the aim. A period in which Vergil can appear in both these layouts and scripts is clearly an experimental one for book production.

Our scribe is clearly Italian. He uses a q with a horizontal line through the shaft, q, rather than a q with a superscript i, i, for qui (inquit, I, 754); the per abbreviation has the horizontal at the very bottom of the descender of p (super, I, 759); the pro abbreviation is not quite closed (properent, I, 745). The mark of abbreviation usually used for er is used simply for r (Imber, I, 749). And, while in general he spells carefully, some of the forms of proper names look Italian, such as Aechilless (I, 752). For what the opinion is worth (and one hesitates to sound too positive about it), the vellum looks Italian. It is thin and supple, grainy in texture, and with a number of original holes. The pale brown ink also looks Italian, facias, ita quod beneficio tuo possim a lectione libri quem habeo parvitate litterarum mihi plurimum tendiao ad gratoremlegendobabero, quod prestantum amplioris littere, iam caligantes oculos applicare.”

13 Ibid.

12 Much useful information on national abbreviations of the later Middle Ages can be abstracted from the notes to the plates in S. Harrison Thomson, Latin Bookhands of the Later Middle Ages 1100–1500 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1969). See section on Italy, plates 68–82.


The script itself is a slightly irregular humanist production, with a few lingering gothic features. There are still some bitings, as for instance in bello (II, 13), though at other times (dolorem, II, 8) adjoining letters are carefully separated. In Book I, until near the end, words which in classical Latin have the e ligature are spelled with e, but by the end (asteas, I, 756) the ligature appears and is regular thereafter (aneas, II, 2). There is also ambivalence about the abbreviation of et. The Tironian nota 7 appears (II, 743: 7 pecudes unde imber 7 ignes), but also the humanist amperand (II, 753: immo age &). While the round s, which Ullman suggests that early Florentine humanists disliked, is usual in final position, with the long form reserved for initial and medial position, there is some variation here too (ignes, I, 743, but look at the two following lines). All this variation suggests a scribe not yet completely at home with humanist script. So does the bifurcated r.

Yet the main impression is certainly of a humanist hand. The proportions of the letter forms, with relatively tall ascenders and descenders, the restriction of ligatures to ct (ductores, II, 14) and st, the consistent use of upright d, and the two-compartment g with large lower compartment are all humanist features. So is the avoidance of “z”-shaped r after e and other bowed letters. One might usefully compare the humanist script, more fully developed, in Kane MS 36.

It is this somewhat tentative use of humanist script which prompts one to date the roll in about the first quarter of the 15th century. The one further point to be considered is the rubric for the beginning of Book II. If one looks at Kane MS 36, one can see that typical humanist manuscripts used a different script for the headings, usually rustic, and had elaborate initials. The initial might well have depended on the availability of an artist. Certainly the rather crude C, not nearly occupying the space left for it, suggests desperation. But, though the capitals which begin each line are for the most part rustic, with an occasional uncial H (Huc, II, 18), the rubric is, in the text hand, written larger. In a full-fledged humanist manuscript, this would be unusual.

What we have, then, in Princeton MS 123, is an early Italian humanist experimenting with a new script and an old format, once more to record in a fitting way the epic tale of the foundation of Rome. It is a fascinating addition to Princeton’s magnificent Vergil collections.
Howard C. Rice, Jr., Assistant Librarian for Rare Books and Special Collections from 1948 until his retirement in 1970, died in Brattleboro, Vermont on 15 November 1980.

It was Mr. Rice's encyclopedic knowledge of Thomas Jefferson's activities in France that brought him to the attention of Julian Boyd, at the time both Princeton's Librarian and the editor of The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Then director of the U.S. Information Service Library in Paris, Mr. Rice was brought to Princeton to take charge of the Department of Rare Books and Special Collections in its new quarters in Firestone Library.

Howard Rice was born in Brattleboro, Vermont in 1904. He received his A.B. degree from Dartmouth College "as of the Class of 1926" having interrupted his studies there for a year of independent study in France at the Universities of Grenoble and Paris. Following a semester of graduate study at Harvard, Mr. Rice was instructor of French at the Loomis School in Windsor, Connecticut from 1927-1929; teacher of English at the École du Montcel in Jouy-en-Josas, France (1929-1931); and lecturer in English at the Sorbonne (1933-1934). He spent the summer of 1931 as assistant in English at the Klosterschule Ilfeld in Germany, and he obtained a doctorate at the University of Paris in 1933.

The following year he married France Chalufour and they returned to the United States, where Mr. Rice was for two years an instructor in American history at Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts. From 1936 to 1942, he was faculty instructor in American History and Literature at Harvard University where he collaborated with André Morize in publishing a widely used textbook, An Introduction to France.

In 1940 he was associated with the French language programs of the Worldwide Broadcasting Foundation which eventually led to broadcasting work and related activities for the Office of War Information in New York, London, and France. From 1946 to 1948, he served as director of the U.S. Information Service Library in Paris as an attaché of the U.S. embassy.

During leaves of absence from Princeton he was Fulbright Research Scholar in Paris (1950) and Librarian at the Collège de l'Europe in Strasbourg (1954-1955).

The Friends remember him especially as the editor of and frequent contributor to the Princeton University Library Chronicle and as the master behind a most distinguished series of exhibitions in the library's exhibition gallery during his years in Princeton.

Mr. Rice was also the author of many articles and books, the most recent of which were The American Campaign of Rochambeau's Army, 1780-1783 and Thomas Jefferson's Paris.

—ALFRED L. BUSH

THE COLLECTION OF EDWARD NAUMBURG, JR. '24

The Library's main exhibition gallery was filled from February 6 to April 12 with "The Naumburg Collection of Joseph Conrad and Ford Madox Ford," a loan exhibition of first editions, inscribed copies, manuscripts, correspondence, journals, and photographs from the library of Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24 of New York City. Mr. Naumburg is a vice-chairman of the Council of the Friends, and for many decades he has been a generous donor to the Library.

He began this collection in the late 1920s when he purchased from Edgar Wells a few volumes from Jessie Conrad's library after her husband's death. Among them were presentation copies from Ford Madox Ford. The two authors had first met in 1898 at Stephen Crane's house in Sussex. By 1901 they had published the first of their three collaborations, and Conrad had rented Ford's farm near Aldington in Kent. It was only natural that Mr. Naumburg's interest in both men grew simultaneously, and when he finally met Ford in New York in the mid-1930s his collecting took a serious turn. He sought and found first editions of everything they had published; and he has not ceased adding manuscripts, rare pamphlets, and memorabilia, as they come on the market, to an already formidable array of printed books in superb condition.

The Conrad material ranges from his first novel, Aimey's Folly (1895), to four posthumous volumes (post-1924): Suspense, The Sisters, Tales of Hearsay, and Last Essays. Born Teodor Józef Konrad Korzeniowski, he learned Polish and French as a child and did not begin writing in English until he became a seaman in the
British merchant marine at the age of 21. The story of Almayer, an English trader in the Dutch East Indies, was begun in 1889 in a Pimlico boardinghouse, when Conrad was 32 years old. Edward Garnett, a literary consultant to the publishing house of T. Fisher Unwin, encouraged the young author, and by September 1895, Conrad had finished a second novel derived from the same corner of eastern Borneo, An Outcast of the Islands. Just after it was published in 1896, Conrad married Jessie George, settled in Essex, and gave up his career in the merchant marine. By 1898, when the Conrads moved into Pent Farm, Ford's house in Aldington, a third volume was in print and the years of apprenticeship as a novelist were over.

The Nigger of the "Narcissus," most critics agree, is Conrad's greatest achievement, combining all he had learned from reading Flaubert and Maupassant in his youth with still another reconstruction of incidents from his own life at sea. Conrad had sailed from Bombay in April 1884, as second mate aboard the "Narcissus." James Wait, "the astounding black man" of the novel, was an actual person he had met a few years earlier. Conrad called this book "the story by which, as a creative artist, I stand or fall, and which, at any rate, no one else could have written." The Naumburg Collection contains the first English and the first American edition, the latter published under the title The Children of the Sea "in deference to American prejudices," according to Conrad. Shown also was a German edition inscribed "To my dear son Borys/J. Conrad/1914." The preface to The Nigger, omitted from the first edition as too pretentious, was exhibited in a rare autographed copy of a pamphlet privately printed for the author. Three sentences from that preface might well have stood as the raison d'être of the whole of Conrad's fiction: "My task which I am trying to achieve is, by the power of the written word, to make you hear, to make you feel—it is, before all, to make you see. That—and no more, and it is everything. If I succeed, you shall find there according to your deserts: encouragement, consolation, fear, charm—all you demand; and, perhaps, also that glimpse of truth for which you have forgotten to ask."

His efforts to make us see continued until his death in 1924. The exhibition illustrated the wide range of his accomplishment. Tales of Unrest (1898), Youth (1902), and Typhoon (1902) are volumes of famous short stories, none more memorable perhaps than "Heart of Darkness," the haunting tale of the white trader

Signed preface deleted from the first edition of Conrad's Nigger of the "Narcissus" privately printed in 100 copies in 1898
The Collection of Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24
Kurtz in the Belgian Congo. *The Mirror of the Sea* (1906), one of Conrad’s most personal books, and *Some Reminiscences* (1912) recount his formative years. Two political novels—*The Secret Agent* (1907) and *Under Western Eyes* (1911)—are more widely read today than even Conrad could have anticipated. The novel called *Chance: A Tale in Two Parts* (1914) was, for some inexplicable reason, the turning point in Conrad’s financial fortunes as a writer. A few copies appeared in 1913, but they are of the utmost rarity. Forgeries of the first edition, first issue are common, of course, and one appeared in the exhibition along with a genuine first edition, second issue. The great novels were also here in pristine copies: *Lord Jim* (1900), which began as a short story about Conrad’s own experiences aboard the “Vidar”; *Nostromo* (1904), the only novel Conrad set in South America, dedicated to John Galsworthy who called it “his most sheer piece of creation”; and *Victory* (1915), which had nothing to do with warfare but everything to do with survival in Celebes and northern Java in the 19th century. Axel Heyst, its hero, joined Kurtz and Jim, Verloc and Razumov, Nostromo and Decoud as the prototypical Comradian character.

The years of collaboration between Conrad and Ford make a fascinating story, but the exhibition could only suggest how deeply it affected both men. Ford was born in Surrey in 1873 and christened Ford Hermann Hueffer. He was the grandson of Ford Madox Brown, mentor to the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood and prominent English painter; the nephew of William Michael Rossetti; and the son of Franz Carl Christoph Johannes Hüffer who left his Roman Catholic family in Münster to settle in England, changed his name to Francis Hueffer, and worked as music critic for *The Times* of London. Ford had published 50 books under the name of Hueffer before he changed his name in 1919 to Ford Madox Ford. Since he published another 29 after that date, and since the Naumburg Collection contains them all, in variant copies, the exhibition had perforce to be selective. It tried to show all the facets of Ford’s talent, if not all of the examples: the poet, the novelist, the biographer, the editor, the critic, the essayist, and, as a young man, the writer of juveniles. The rarest book in the whole collection is, in fact, *Christina’s Fairy Book* (1906), written for his first child and published in decorated boards. Mr. Naumburg recalls it took him 15 years to find a copy and, so far as he knows, the only other copy is in the British Library in London.
Ford's first book appeared in 1892 when he was 18 years old, his last in 1938, a year before he died in Deauville, in his beloved France. His reputation, unlike Conrad's, had not blossomed in his last decade, but there is no question that his final work, The March of Literature from Confucius to Modern Times, was the "book of an old man mad about writing—in the sense that Hokusai called himself an old man mad about painting. So it is an attempt," Ford argued, "to induce a larger and always larger number of my fellows to taste the pleasure that comes from always more and more reading." That contagious enthusiasm for literature was evident in every aspect of this exhibition. Ford the poet was in print by 1893. The Questions at the Well was dedicated to Elsie Martindale whom he married the next year. Five more volumes followed before he fell under the influence of Ezra Pound and the Imagists. On Heaven and Poems Written on Active Service (1918) reprinted "Antwerp," which T. S. Eliot called "the only good poem I have met with on the subject of war." Mister Bosphorus and the Muses (1923) is actually a verse play in rhymed couplets, but it is also a series of amusing parodies. New Poems (1927) was represented in the exhibition in holograph manuscript, a gift to Princeton University Library from Mr. Naumburg in 1957. Collected Poems (1936) contains a group of love poems called "Buckshoe," written for Janice Biala in 1931 and reprinted in a single volume as late as 1966, with an introduction by Robert Lowell.

Ford the essayist was equally prolific. His first attempt, The Soul of London: A Survey of a Modern City (1905), he described as "not a statement of facts but precisely a set of analyses of feelings" about a random selection of subjects. Its critical success was a great boon to the young writer who moved, with his wife Elsie, from the country to London; and he quickly set about recording his personal impressions of other aspects of England. The Heart of the Country (1906) and The Spirit of the People (1907) followed in quick succession. Two first editions of The Heart of the Country were shown, the dedication copy to Henry James and a copy inscribed to Joseph Conrad. For the next decade, Ford was busy with fiction and propaganda pamphlets, not to mention three years on active military service. When he returned to publishing essays, they were reminiscences, chiefly autobiographical, much like his first attempt at the genre in 1911, Ancient Lights and Certain New Reflections. In the dedicatory preface to that volume he told his daughters: "This book is full of inaccuracies as to facts, but its accuracy as to impressions is absolute.... My business in life, in short, is to attempt to discover, and to try to let you see, where we stand. I don't really deal in facts, I have for facts a most profound contempt. I try to give you what I see to be the spirit of an age, of a town, of a movement." In that last sentence alone one can hear the voices of Conrad and Ford in a Kentish farmhouse arguing over the meaning of impressionism and the place in fiction for what they called the progression d'effet. Ford's second volume of reminiscence, Thus to Revisit (1921), was a muddled book, but there is no doubt that he had regained top form and full control in his third, Return to Yesterday (1931). On exhibition was Elsie Hueffer's own copy, signed but not dated. By 1931, Ford had left two former mistresses, Violet Hunt and Stella Bowen, and was living with Janice Biala. His last volume of autobiography was published under the title It Was the Nightingale (1933), but the holograph manuscript, presented to Princeton University Library in 1960 by Mr. Naumburg, has a working title of Towards Tomorrow. Ford completed it at Villa Paul in Cap Brun, near Toulon, France. He followed it the next year with a paean to rural France called Provence: From Minstrels to the Machine, dedicated to Allen Tate and Caroline Gordon. The Naumburg presentation copy was signed for him both by the author and by the illustrator, Janice Biala. Having left France in 1934 for a winter in New York and a spring visit with the Tates in Tennessee, he began a loose sequel to Provence which appeared in 1937 as Great Trade Route. In a letter to E. C. Cumberlege he tried to define his purpose: "It is in short a book of advice from a man of wide experience and a remarkable memory who is without any illusions and no iron in any fire to men of reason, good will, and common sense who desire that the present tumults which overfill the world should be suppressed so that they can get on with their jobs in peace." In 1937, peace was an especially precarious word.

Ford the editor was on display through two journals he founded. The English Review he started in 1908 with the assistance of Arthur Marwood. He printed the first work of Norman Douglas, D. H. Lawrence, and Wyndham Lewis. Shown in the exhibition was Vol. I, No. 1 (December 1908), with the most remarkable first-issue table of contents in perhaps any century: Thomas Hardy's poem (which no other journal would print), "A Sunday Morning Tragedy"; Henry James's "The Jolly Corner"; John Galsworthy's "A Fisher of Men"; W. H. Hudson's "Stonehenge"; Count Tol-
sti’s “The Raid”; Part One of H. G. Wells’s Tono-Bungay; Part One of Joseph Conrad’s Some Reminiscences; and a review by Conrad of Anatole France’s Penguin Island. Sixteen years later, at the age of 51, he started in Paris the transatlantic review, often called the periodical of the Lost Generation. Here he printed, for the first time, Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein, Nathan Asch, and Jean Rhys. And once again he filled the first issue with contributions by the best talents he could find: E. E. Cummings, Ezra Pound, Joseph Conrad, A. E. Coppard, and Robert McAlmon as well as words of encouragement from H. G. Wells and T. S. Eliot.

But it was Ford the novelist who dominated the exhibition, and for good reason. He published his first novel in 1892 and his thirty-second in 1936. Three of them were early collaborations with Joseph Conrad, hardly what either author called memorable work, and several of Ford’s later books were ostensibly potboilers. But at least five of his novels will be read as long as any of their contemporaries. The Good Soldier (1915) many critics acknowledge as his masterpiece. The first installment appeared as The Saddest Story in Wyndham Lewis’s Vorticist journal Blast in June 1914. It would have been continued in the second issue, but by then John Lane had changed the title, fortunately, and had published the novel in hard covers. This story of marital disaster was shown in Joseph Conrad’s copy, in a copy containing Ford’s poignant letter of August 1915 to his publisher, in a limited American edition (1927), and in the French translation inscribed “To Edward Naumburg in memory of Ford Janice Biala.” The Tietjens tetralogy opened with Some Do Not (1924). Ford was quoting himself in the title. In “Mister Bosphorus” appears the couplet: “The Gods to each ascribe a different lot/Some rest on snowy bosoms/Some do not!” Any reader of the saga knows Christopher Tietjens longed for a snowy bosom after many years of marriage to his vindictive wife Sylvia and many months in France as a British officer in World War I. Ford followed the success of Some Do Not with three more novels involving Tietjens and his wife, his mistress Valentine, his old friend Macmaster, and their attempt not only to resolve a hopeless marital muddle but also to cope with the realization that Edwardian society no longer embodied the principles it professed. No More Parades (1925) takes place entirely in the minds of Christopher and Sylvia. A Man Could Stand Up (1926) reveals the complexities of Christopher and Valentine’s affair. The Last Post (1928) carries the narrative through the mid-
Dear Lane;

I should be obliged if you could pay me the fifty pounds that became due to me on the delivery of the ms. of the "Saddest Story". These are, I know, hard up times but I guess I am harder up than you as I have had to give up literature and offer myself for service to George Five; so shortly you may expect to see me pantingly peppering cartridges into garrison guns directed against my uncles, cousins and aunts advancing in pickelhaubes. And presumably if the said uncles, cousins and aunts penetrate behind said garrison guns they will suspend me on high. Whereas, though I daresay you deserve it quite as much, I do not believe they would hang you. So you will perceive the equity of my request.

Yours.

[Signature]

1920s and Sylvia's decision to free Christopher to marry Valentine. In 1950, Alfred Knopf republished the four books in one volume called Parade's End, and it is still in print. No one has given higher praise to these novels than Graham Greene when he wrote: "[Ford] taught the technique that Conrad became famous in practising, and readers of The Good Soldier will be aware of how much better he managed this technique than his pupil. The Good Soldier and the Tietjens series seem to me almost the only adult novels dealing with the sexual life that have been written in English. They are almost our reply to Flaubert."

Enhancing the inscribed copies of these four novels were manuscripts of major importance: the holograph manuscript of Some Do Not presented by Mr. Naumburg to Princeton University Library in 1962; four holograph letters from Ford to Joseph Conrad written in 1916 from the trenches in France; a typed letter from Violet Hunt, Ford's mistress, to her friend Ethel Mayne in which she identifies herself quite proudly with Sylvia Tietjens; and a barely legible note, dated 1917, from Ford on active service to Edgar Jepson in London. That this letter, considering the flimsy paper, survived at all is remarkable in itself. But equally remarkable are the references to exactly the kind of troubles which beset Christopher Tietjens. His service with the British Expeditionary Forces, his hospitalization, his financial worries all left wounds which Ford reopened when he began his tetralogy. Reading the letter in juxtaposition to Violet Hunt's diatribe is more than even the patient Tietjens should have had to endure. But Ford did endure—and made literary capital of the virtue.

—RICHARD M. LUDWIG
the growth of geographical knowledge following the initial voyages of Columbus and continuing through the explorations of Drake, Hudson, La Salle, Bering, and others. In some cases, the cartographic information displayed on the maps is amazingly accurate. In others, such as one showing California as an island, the data are obviously incorrect. The prevalence of this latter concept up until the end of the 18th century emphasizes not only the paucity of knowledge of the region but also the predilection of contemporary map publishers to pirate one another’s work.

Representative maps will be displayed in an exhibition entitled “Windows to the Past” to be mounted in the main lobby of Firestone Library during July and August 1981.

—LAWRENCE SPELLMAN, CURATOR OF MAPS

An Alice First for the Parrish Collection

There is a legend that Morris L. Parrish never acquired a copy of the suppressed first edition of Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland (1865) because he could not find a copy in fine enough condition to suit him. Be that as it may, while the bibliophilic beneficiaries of the bequest have looked on the collection with admiration, there always remained the realization that, with the decreasing supply of fine, rare books, Princeton might never be able to have a first Alice at all. Or so we thought until last September when William H. Scheide ’36 acquired for the Library a very fine copy indeed.

The publishing history of Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland is almost legendary. In 1865, 1,000 copies were printed, with illustrations by John Tenniel. But Tenniel did not like the quality of the printing of his work and wanted the book reprinted. Lewis Carroll agreed, so all copies were withdrawn by Macmillan and Company and in turn replaced by the 1866 edition. The “spoiled” sheets, however, were deemed good enough for the American market, so they were sent to New York and issued with a new title page in 1866 by D. Appleton and Company. Surviving Macmillan’s recall of the true first edition are 19 or 20 copies of the 1865 Alice known today. Carroll’s diary for 7 July 1865 reads: “Went to Macmillan and wrote in 20 or more copies of Alice to go as presents to various friends,” but most of these copies Carroll had returned to him and for them he substituted the 1866 printing. Only three of
the 1865 presentation copies survive and Mr. Scheide's gift may well be the best among them. It is the copy given by Carroll to Dinah Mulock Craik with the inscription on the half-title, "Mrs. G. Lillie Craik with the Author's kind regards."

How long it belonged to Mrs. Craik, who died in 1887, is not known. On April 3, 1928 it was sold at Sotheby's (item 137) to Dr. A.S.W. Rosenbach for £5,000, "being recorded as coming from the library of Clement Shorter, Esq. Apparently it was earlier owned by T. G. Arthur of Ayr." In a magnificent transaction, sometime later, Rosenbach sold to Eldridge R. Johnson this and another copy of the first edition as well as the manuscript of Alice for $150,000.

On April 3, 1946, the Lillie Craik copy was resold "at the Parke-Bernet sale of the... Johnson collection, item 58, for $7,500 to [Dr. A.S.W. Rosenbach, agent for] Francis A. Kettaneh." Also at the same sale, Mr. Kettaneh obtained Johnson's other copy of the first Alice, splendidly extra-illustrated with ten original Tenniel drawings in pencil. Francis Kettaneh died in 1976 and, after various transactions, his books were sold in Paris at the Hôtel Drouot on May 20, 1980 in a sale conducted by Ader Picard Tajan, Commissaires-Priseurs Associés. The 195 lots of the auction included a Shakespeare first folio, a Boccaccio manuscript, a very fine copy of Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, a Fugger Roman de la Rose manuscript, as well as the two first editions of Alice. Listed in the Paris catalogue and described as two copies together in a slip case, they were sold to John Fleming of New York. The copies were divided between two private collections. The presentation copy to Mrs. Craik went to Raymond M. Wapner, the treasurer of the Lewis Carroll Society of North America. While in the hands of Mr. Wapner, the Craik-Kettaneh copy was repaired by Deborah Evets, who mended several leaves, rewove the gatherings, and restored the casing. (Her work changed only slightly the physical description of the copy given in the Weaver census). With the assistance of Justin G. Schiller, Ltd., a New York bookdealer, and the generosity of Mr. Scheide, it now resides happily on the Parish shelves in company with quite a few other editions of Alice.

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2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., p. 19.

Neglected Edwardians

During the years between 1896, when the College of New Jersey became Princeton University, and the beginning of World War I, the Library was busy collecting books of direct relevance to the curriculum of ancient and modern languages, history, mathematics, and the sciences. For example, it was during this period (1915) that it purchased the Goertz collection of Latin and German books printed in the 17th and 18th centuries. The collection had come from a noble library in Germany. The Royal Library in Berlin bought one section of it, while Princeton, under the guidance of E. C. Richardson, bought the remaining 3,500 volumes. When purchased they were characterized by Richardson as "solid, of a character suited to many lines of research, and not common in this country." In spending the $1,000 on the collection, Richardson was, of course, not spending money on purchasing other kinds of books, such as the 750 novels of lesser known Edwardian authors recently purchased from a British bookseller.

The Library's neglect of the Edwardians was due not only to their irrelevance to the teaching and research needs of the University during Richardson's time but also because these minor writers were not well-known enough on this side of the Atlantic to warrant purchase of their novels as "recreational" reading. In the years since World War I, the collections have grown steadily, following the trend of the times and adding works of such major writers as: John Galsworthy, Thomas Hardy (Parrish Collection), Rudyard Kipling (Frank Doubleday Collection), John Masefield, Arthur Machen (Vodrey Collection), Rider Haggard, Ford Madox Ford, and Joseph Conrad. Concurrently, however, the minor Edwardian writers were virtually ignored and purchases of their books were made in a dilatory way. By no means can the Library counteract this trend by acquiring one large collection, but it has made a start.

The collection covers many of the popular genres of the Edwardian novel: historical, regional, romantic, sensational, religious, political (women's suffrage), working class. A number of works of the better known minor writers are included: Maurice Hewlett, William de Morgan (who wrote about the working class and began to publish when he was over 60), Eden Phillpotts (who wrote more than 250 books), Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins (who
published under the name Anthony Hope), William Maxwell (son of Mrs. Braddon, author of *Lady Audley's Secret*; the collection includes a copy of the first edition of Maxwell's controversial *The Devil's Garden* published in 1913), William Le Queux, Sir Gilbert Parker, and Stanley Weyman. Among the women are: Marjorie Bowen, Mary Johnston, and the Baroness Orczy, all writers of historical novels; Flora Annie Steel, a competitor of Kipling; and Beatrice Harraden, active in the women's suffrage movement. Not so well known among these writers is H. Devere Stacpoole, although his novel, *The Blue Lagoon*, has had recent attention after being made into a Hollywood film which, according to the *New York Times*, grossed just over $28 million last year.

Glancing over the titles arrayed in the collection, one cannot avoid the impression that these books offered their readers something still desired today—escape. As an example, consider these opening lines of *The Unofficial Honeymoon* by Dolf Wyllarde first published in 1911.

I dedicate this tale of pure imagination to those people who are so tired of conventional existence that they welcome an escape though only for a few hours, and through the pages of a book. It has no parallel in real life, and is, I believe, utterly impossible in all its details. Nevertheless it is an interesting problem to consider how men and women would act if entirely deprived of that wholesome fear of the policeman round the corner in which we all live. It is manifestly unfair to judge character even in a book by such a standard, because the Reader is moderately sure that the end of the story will be rescue, or at least the reappearance of law and order in lives swept bare of them for a space. But consider what a topsy-turvy outlook it would be to the characters, who did not know, who were gradually convinced that there was no rescue to be hoped, and for whom there was no such thing as Public Opinion. The rules of the game are all changed; for such as them the old standards are helpless inapplicable, and the moral code is reduced to the simplicity of dealing fairly with each other as regards the bare necessities of existence.

*Purchases in Memory of Alan Valentine*

A historian of colonial America, Alan Valentine retired to Princeton after 15 years in the presidency of the University of Rochester and then government service in postwar Europe. Together with his wife, he was a loyal Friend of the Library, and in his memory several of his friends—Mr. and Mrs. Robert Montgomery, Mrs. Millard Meiss, Mr. Joseph Volker, as well as the Friends of the Library—contributed to the purchase of appropriate acquisitions in American colonial history. The monies were used to acquire three British political cartoons and one German print dealing with events of the American Revolution and published contemporaneously. Not only are the prints interesting in themselves but they also fill an important gap in the Library’s sizable collection of contemporary political pamphlets, memoirs, and manuscripts, such as Berthier’s journal and his maps prepared for the use of Rochambeau’s army and published in 1792 by Howard C. Rice and Anne S. K. Brown in their *American Campaigns of Rochambeau’s Army*. With these prints, the Library has added pictorial records previously lacking in its early American collections.

Listed in chronological order of publication, the following were purchased.

*The Repeal, or the Funeral Procession, of Miss Americ-Stamp.* [London, 1766]. 25 x 35 cm. Carrying the child’s coffin (“Miss Americ Stamp . . . born in 1765 and died hard in 1766”) is George Grenville, chief minister and First Lord of the Treasury, and sometimes called the “Stamper” (see illustration).

*La Destruction de la statue royale a Newelle Yorck.* Gravé par François Xav. Habermann. Augsburg [c.1776]. 29 x 41 cm. Colored. After the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, a statue of the king was erected on Bowling Green. On July 9, 1776, in the excitement following the Declaration of Independence a mob pulled the statue down. The statue was then transported to Litchfield, Connecticut where it was melted down into cannon balls.


Cahn Gift

In the Spring 1980 issue of the Chronicle we announced that Mr. William M. Cahn, Jr. ’33 and Mrs. Cahn gave to the Library a portion of the De Witt Millhauser collection of English books and Americana. This past December, Mr. and Mrs. Cahn gave a second portion consisting of 146 titles in more than 160 volumes, eight manuscripts, and two sets of etching proofs. The variety, qualities, and characteristics of the second group continue those of the first. In December came some spectacular Americana, interesting illustrated books, and remarkable autograph letters. As a group, the gift represents one of the major accessions of rare books made by the Library in the last five years.

Among the Americana, perhaps the most important is the copy of Lewis Evans’s “General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America” issued by Benjamin Franklin in 1755. Prepared with considerable care and accuracy, the Evans map was regarded as the best for the region and was used as the standard authority in settling boundary disputes (see illustration). Also outstanding among the Americana are a Washington letter (to Edward Pemberton, London, 20 June 1788) and a Jefferson letter to James Madison (Princeton Class of 1771) dated at Monticello, September 11, 1801.

Like the earlier section of the gift, there are a number of illustrated books in the group, including a handsome gathering of the work of Kate Greenaway. A prize is a run of her almanacs from 1883 to 1897, 16 volumes in all counting the variant issues for 1893 and 1895. (Unfortunately, the almanac for 1896 is missing.) Another fine book is a special copy of the London, 1900 edition of Don Quixote issued by Blackie & Son, Ltd. Translated (or “retold,” as stated on the title page) by Judge Parry, the edition was illustrated by Walter Crane, and bound into this copy are 22 original drawings reproduced in the book, and a letter from Judge Parry to Walter Crane.

In January 1981 Mr. and Mrs. Cahn sent two more books, completing their gift in memory of Mrs. Cahn’s father, Mr. Millhauser. The two are very fine copies of the Nuremberg Chronicle (Latin version published at Nuremberg in 1493) and the Jerome Kern copy of the first edition of Samuel Johnson’s celebrated Dictionary (London, 1755).
Gift of Francis C. Brown '58

For the Library, December is always the month of many gifts, and that fact proved itself to be true yet again this year. In the cornucopia of Christmastide, 1980 came the gifts of Francis C. Brown '58. An attorney, Mr. Brown has extended his professional interests to his collecting activities and gathered material relating to aspects of the law.

It is hard to decide which of the three sections of the gift is the best. In reading the manuscript of Charles Sumner's abolitionist speech before the U.S. Senate on June 4, 1860 entitled "The Barbarism of Slavery," one marvels at the importance of the speech—it was widely welcomed by Republicans in the North and West who, just a few months later, elected Lincoln president—and its length, over 130 pages on foolscap paper. Sumner was a brilliant Boston lawyer who championed prison reform, pacifism, and abolition of slavery. Meticulous in manner, fiercely tenacious to his own ideas, Sumner first shocked Americans of his day with his anti-war July 4th oration at Tremont Temple in 1845. In his speech, "The Grandeur of Nations," he declared that war was dishonorable, immoral, and un-Christian. In the front rows sat the Washington Light Guards, as well as officers of the Massachusetts militia and the United States Army and Navy, who were, no doubt, greatly distressed for the entire two hours. From this start in Boston, Sumner rose as a popular speaker on liberal topics such as the promotion of the "Philadelphia" system of "prison discipline," and was elected Senator from Massachusetts on the Free-Soil ticket in 1851. In Congress his oratory was continually provocative and on one occasion he was physically assaulted in the Senate by a cane-wielding South Carolina representative, Preston S. Brooks. It took three and one-half years for Sumner to recover from the beating. Reelected in 1857 as a Republican, Sumner verbally assailed the defense of slavery made by the Southern senators. During the debate over the admission of Kansas as a free state, he delivered his four-hour oration "The Barbarism of Slavery."

Along with the Sumner manuscript, Mr. Brown has given 175 documents relating to American slavery. They cover a variety of locales—New Orleans, New York State, Iberville Parish in Louisiana, Trinidad, and Martinique, for example—and range in date from the 18th century to just after the Civil War. Virtually every kind of document relating to slavery is represented: bills of sale
for slaves sold at auction, an affidavit of ownership, a ship's manifest listing its cargo of slaves, letters of manumission, plantation ledgers, plats and other business records, anti- and pro-slavery letters and pamphlets. All in all, the collection is a stark reminder of the harshly businesslike details of that peculiar institution.

The third gift from Mr. Brown is an array of 31 albums, each containing a marriage contract for a member of French nobility from the early 17th century onwards. Each album is an exhibit piece unto itself containing not only a contract but also engraved portraits of the personages involved. The albums bear a bookplate with the arms and name of Greenough. It is the plate of Charles Pelham Greenough (1844-1924) of Boston, an attorney (Harvard LL.B., 1869), and officer of the Boston Gas Light Company from 1852 to 1889. Traveler and autograph collector, Greenough sometimes went so far as to rescue manuscripts from refuse paper collected for pulping by paper mills.

—STEPHEN FERGUSON, Curator of Rare Books

THE CHARLES K. WARNER COLLECTION
OF JARRYANA AND 'PATAPHYSICS

For the poet Guillaume Apollinaire, Alfred Jarry (1873-1907) was "the last of the sublime débauchés." To a remarkable extent, Jarry submerged his own identity in the identity of his creation, Père Ubu. Systematically destroying himself through the overuse of alcohol and ether, Jarry inhabited bizarre lodgings known as "The Dead Man's Calvary" and "Our Grande Chasublerie," lived on fish he caught in the Seine, and sported the costume of a bicycle racer: sweater, short coat, and trousers tucked into his socks. He would often sally forth on his bicycle with a carbine over his shoulder and two pistols stuck in his belt.

The first edition of Ubu Roi appeared in June 1896, several fragmentary Ubu texts having previously been published in periodicals. A theatrical version opened on December 11, 1896 at Lugné-Poe's Théâtre de l'Oeuvre. There had been nothing like it since the opening of Hugo's Hernani in 1830. As Hernani had inaugurated the Romantic theater of the 19th century, Ubu Roi announced the arrival of the 20th-century theater of the absurd. Among those present was W. B. Yeats, who, though he understood very little French, immediately grasped the significance of what he had seen. "After S. Mallarmé, after Verlaine, after G. Moreau, after Puvis de Chavannes, after our own verse, after the faint mixed tints of Condor, what more is possible?" he noted in his Autobiography. "After us the Savage God."

Princeton University Library has recently acquired a significant collection of Jarryana, the gift of Charles K. Warner, which includes the first edition of Ubu Roi, and essentially all of the publications of the Collège de 'Pataphysique. According to Jarry, 'Pataphysics was the science whose laws govern exceptions, and the science of imaginary solutions. Founded in 1948 to perpetuate the memory of Jarry through the pursuit of the kind of deliberate absurdity to which Jarry devoted his lifetime, the Collège de 'Pataphysique has included among its dignitaries such figures as Boris Vian, Jacques Prévert, Raymond Queneau, Eugène Ionesco, and Jean Dubuffet. Its publications include works by several of these authors, often produced in odd formats employing experimental typography and shapes other than the standard rectangle for the book itself. For example, the pamphlets in the Collection "Q" offer a series of variations on the parallelogram. Queneau's Cent Mille Milliards de Poèmes (Paris: Gallimard, 1961) consists of ten sonnets with interchangeable lines; the pages are cut into strips that can be flipped back and forth to produce something less than the hundred thousand million variations promised by the title. These productions often resemble the "bookworks" which have recently received great attention in the United States. Earlier and more traditional in format are the Ubu books illustrated by Pierre Bonnard and Georges Rouault, and Ubu Roi itself, crudely illustrated by the author. Other material documents the history of the Collège de 'Pataphysique, including a vast quantity of printed ephemera, invitations, postcards (commemorating, for example, the 'Pataphysical New Year, celebrated on the anniversary of the birth of Alfred Jarry), stamps and flyers of various kinds. A diagram of the hierarchy of the Collège identifies chairs of General 'Pataphysics and Dialectics of the Useless Sciences, Applied 'Pataphysics, Blablabla and Mateology, Mythography of the Exact Sciences and the Absurd Sciences, Erotics and Pornosophy, Crocidiology, Applied Alcoholism, and Applied Experimental Necrobiosis.

A small exhibition of selected items from the Warner Collection was held in the Graphic Arts Rooms in April 1980. The complete collection is now housed in the Department of Rare Books.

—NANCY FINLAY
THE BASKERVILLE COLLECTION OF ARCHIBALD S. ALEXANDER '28

A highly significant collection of books printed by and relating to one of the most important of all English printers, John Baskerville, has been a recent bequest to the Graphic Arts Collection of the Library. The Baskerville Collection, five shelves of consummately printed and elegantly bound 18th-century volumes, was formed over many years by the late Archibald S. Alexander '28. Baskerville must be recognized not only for the extraordinary quality of printing in his books, but for his historic innovations in both the technical and stylistic developments of the printing arts. Following his early career first as writing master and then highly successful manufacturer of varnished metal wares (18th-century "japanning"), the 50-year-old Baskerville embarked on a new endeavor as printer-publisher. In the remaining 25 years of his extraordinarily energetic life he designed one of the most beautiful of typefaces (this very page is set in Baskerville type), developed wove paper (handmade, without screen chain lines) and calendered paper (hot-pressed, high-gloss) for printing, invented a superior printing ink, improved the design of the printing press, and created 54 of the most beautifully printed books in the English language.

Stylistically, the work of Baskerville had an enormous influence. For centuries before the development of Baskerville's typography, English printers had doggedly imitated Dutch and continental models. Seventeenth-century English books, containing many of the greatest classics of English literature, are bad examples of typography. The Shakespeare folios, while rare and precious indeed, are full of the poorest presswork, broken and mismatched type, bad inking, and manneristic Dutch ornaments. Baskerville turned his back on this slovenly presswork, and created an entirely new look for English printing. He persisted over many years in the perfecting of a typeface that combines a delicate but strong weight and an even color. He abandoned all extraneous decoration and illustrations. The result of fine type, carefully inked and perfectly impressed on a shiny vellumlike paper, startled a reading public accustomed to indifferent presswork. While much disliked at first by many critics, the Baskerville style gradually won over such influential men as Benjamin Franklin and Giambattista Bodoni, who would give the new "Baskerville look" to American and Italian books of their day. The taste for simplicity, high quality materials, and a generous use of white paper in margins and spacing created the book style now firmly associated with fine Georgian architecture, literature, and art.

The Archibald S. Alexander collection of Baskervilles includes excellent copies of 43 of the 54 different titles issued by Baskerville. The Vergil of 1757, Baskerville's first and possibly finest book, is represented in both the first and second editions (Gaskell 1, 2). The 1763 imperial folio Baskerville Bible (Gaskell 26), often called the most beautiful printing of the Bible in the English language, is here in clean, almost mint condition and bound in contemporary full red morocco, elaborately decorated with broad gold borders and an inlay of blue morocco. The bindings of the Alexander Baskervilles are all fine, and several are representative of the English 18th-century binder's art at its best. Two small octavo bindings of The Book of Common Prayer (Gaskell 19, 20) are particularly beautiful, and the Horace of 1762 (Gaskell 23) is a fine example of the painted bindings by Edwards of Halifax. An important association copy is also in the collection. The Catullus of 1772 (Gaskell 45) was the personal copy of William Wordsworth and has his signature and marginal corrections. Wordsworth's many corrections remind us that Baskerville editions are noted for their textual inaccuracies. An ardent preoccupation with beauty often neglects the simple catching of typographic errors.

The collection of Archibald S. Alexander fills out an extremely important part of the Princeton Library's collections of English graphic arts. Shelved in the glass vitrines adjacent to the extensive holdings of English private presses in the Graphic Arts Collection, these books demonstrate the importance of Baskerville's contribution to the arts of printing and to the establishment of a purely English style in the arts of the book.

—DALE ROYLANE, Curator of Graphic Arts

FIVE DOCUMENTS CONCERNING ALFRED DE MUSSET
FROM THE EDWARD BAILEY MEYER '21 COLLECTION*

After graduation, Edward Bailey Meyer '21 lived in Paris until 1933, working first for the Chicago Tribune as a reporter, then for the French subsidiary of the American Radiator Company. While abroad, he began collecting 19th-century French books and manuscripts and, by the end of his life in 1970, had gathered a truly outstanding collection. The holdings of French 19th-century letters in Firestone Library were significantly enhanced by the gift of this collection by his widow.

Among the documents in the Meyer collection, five concern Alfred de Musset. Born in Paris in 1810, Musset became the enfant terrible of French romanticism with the publication in 1830 of a collection of poems entitled Contes d'Espagne et d'Italie. Musset's poetry is full not only of the exuberant—and often ironic—exoticism implicit in the title of his first collection, but of the disillusion and tedium vitae characteristic of the romantic movement. His Confession d'un enfant du siècle (1836), a perceptive analysis of his generation's feelings of discouragement and frustration, is still indispensable reading for a better understanding of romantic sensibility.

The vicissitudes of Musset's tempestuous love affair with George Sand, which ended disastrously in Venice in 1833, were followed with breathless interest by Parisian literati, so much so that Sand felt compelled to publish her side of the story. This she did in a barely veiled autobiographical novel entitled Elle et lui (1859). Musset couldn't very well reply, having died two years previously of acute alcoholism and assorted debaucheries. But his brother Paul, also a writer, did compose a rebuttal entitled, as could have been expected, Lui et elle, which appeared soon after Sand's self-justification. While these works have provided the biographers of both writers with abundant material, it is more amusing to remember that—in happier times—"elle" and "lui" wrote in collaboration one of the classics of world erotica: Gamiani appeared anonymously, of course, but in our enlightened times, it can be found in paperback English translation in any adult bookstore.

The five documents concerning Musset are:

1) The original of the contract by which Musset, for the sum of 1,000 francs, assigns to the publisher Gervais Charpentier the rights to a play entitled Une montre written in collaboration with Emile Augier, a prolific playwright of the time, now known only to advanced students of literature. The contract, signed in Paris on January 27, 1849, stipulates that "M. Alfred de Musset reserves the right to change the title of the play." He in fact did: it was produced for the first time at the Théâtre des Variétés on February 24, 1849, as L'Habit vert. We now know that Musset decided to change the title three or four weeks before the premiere. As it happened, Charpentier did not publish the work. Michel Lévy Frères did, as the 187th issue of the "Bibliothèque dramatique" series, in April 1849. I have no idea why and for how much Charpentier sold the rights to his colleague.

2) The second document shows that it wasn't the only time Musset changed the title of one of his plays at the last minute: On January 27, 1849, he wrote Charpentier:

My Dear Charpentier,

As you know, according to our December 1848 contract, I have the right to change the title of the play it concerns. I am therefore advising you that, at present, the title is Louison instead of Louisette.

In friendship
Alfè de Musset

Saturday, 27 January 1848

Louison opened at the Théâtre-Français (today's Comédie française) on 22 February 1849, less than a month after the letter to Charpentier, who published Louison in March, then included it in the 1855 edition of Comédies et Proverbes.

3) A receipt signed by Musset on 15 November 1848 informs us that Musset authorized Charpentier to print and sell Il faut qu'une

* This is an expanded translation of a note published in *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, 80, No. 3 (May-June 1980), 411-415.

† For a biographical note on Edward Bailey Meyer and a brief description of his collection, see *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, xxxvi, No. 2 (Winter 1975), 149-156.

2 This is an understandable lapsus at the beginning of the year: Musset meant 1849. The letter is postmarked 31 January 1849. All translations are mine.
porte soit ouverte ou fermée in exchange for a 15-centime royalty per copy. Since Charpentier printed 1,000 copies, Musset received 150 francs. The premiere had been at the Théâtre-Français on 7 April 1848, and the play was published in August of the same year. The receipt concerns the original edition: Charpentier did not include it in Comédies et Proverbes until 1859.

4) Another receipt, also dated 15 November 1848, concerns the right to print and sell Il ne faut jurer de rien. It is couched in the same terms as the preceding one and stipulates the same conditions. But, since Charpentier only printed 500 copies, Musset received no more than 75 francs. This edition, which came out in August, is the first "separately published," but the original edition of Il ne faut jurer de rien had already been included in the Comédies et Proverbes of 1840.

5) The last document is a letter which reads:

My dear colleague,

I hoped to see you today at the Académie—but my poor health still forbids it.

In the event that Les Caprices de Marianne were to survive Madeleine, I would like to ask you to give the part to Mlle Fay, in preference to any other actress. There was some talk of this in the past. Above all I beg you, entre nous, not Mlle Favart; she is not suitable for the part. Good bye until soon, I hope.

Your devoted

Alfred de Musset.

Thursday 6 November

When dating the letter, Musset omitted the year, but fortunately he included the day of the week, thus enabling us to deduce that it was written in 1851. The Madeleine in question is Madeleine Brohan, who had created the part of Marianne in Les Caprices at the Théâtre-Français on June 14, 1851. She received rave reviews, which explains why she played Marianne in the two revivals during Musset’s lifetime: in January 1853 (four performances) and in July 1855 (11 performances). In 1851, the last of 22 performances took place on 5 October, one month before Musset’s letter, with Madeleine Brohan still in the role of Marianne.

The possibility must have been raised of keeping Les Caprices on the bill even without her, which explains the sentence: “In the event that Les Caprices de Marianne were to survive Madeleine...” On 27 February 1878, 27 years after the premiere, Madeleine Brohan was again cast in Les Caprices, this time not as the young heroine but as Hermia, the hero’s mother.

As for Maria Favart, Musset need not have worried. A few days after Musset’s letter, she quarrelled with her fellow actors of the Théâtre-Français and left the company to join the cast of Gaston de Montcaux’s Mignon (a totally forgotten play by a totally forgotten playwright) at the Théâtre des Variétés. Whether or not Mlle Favart ever learned of Musset’s poor opinion of her talents, she later created the female lead of his On ne badine pas avec l’amour in 1861.

The letter could only have been addressed to Arsène Houssaye, who directed the Théâtre-Français from 1849 to 1856. Houssaye was a rather prolific man of letters, best remembered for his books on Parisian cultural—and especially theatrical—life in the 18th and 19th centuries, several of which have been translated into English. Baudelaire dedicated Le Spleen de Paris to Houssaye.

Did Musset intend to meet his friend at the Académie française, under the gilded dome on the Quai de Conti? The poet was not yet a member of the Académie (he was to be elected to membership in February 1852, succeeding his fellow playwright Emmanuel Dupaty). Houssaye never was elected: “I have too many friends among the Academicians to be elected,” he is reported to have said, “friends always think it is too soon to announce one’s candidacy, until they think it is now too late.”9 But it is most probably not to the Académie française that Musset was referring. Houssaye’s Confessions gives us another lead:

... some of my friends having found that the easiest way to see Roqueplan and myself was to look for us at the café Foy towards noon, Roqueplan once said that we had founded the Académie de l’Hirondelle.

The members of this Academy were: Roqueplan, Albéric Second, Edouard Houssaye, Xavier Aubryet, Banville, Dumas, Théophile Gautier; once in a while Clésinger, Beauvallet, Musset, Augier, About, Bressant, Cormenin, Claudin, Beauvoir, Léon Gozlan, Méry, Ernest Hamel, Brindeau. The

sessions lasted an hour and cost only about one franc, but we
dispensed much more wit and cheerfulness than we did
money.  

Some of these habitués were of course well-known men of let-
ters; others were second- or third-rate literary figures. Beauvallet,
Bressant, and Brindeau were famous actors. The sculptor Clé-
singer is best remembered for a statue now in the Musée Calvet in
Avignon, *La Femme au serpent*, which was thought very daring
at the time. The model for this statue was Madame Sabatier, Bau-
delaire’s great love, who inspired some of his most famous poems.

While Houssaye gives no dates, it is almost certain that it is this
other, and jollier, Académie which Musset meant. The café Foy
remained in the Montpensier Gallery of the Palais Royal until
1863. As for the name “The Swallow’s Academy,” it comes from
a swallow which Horace Vernet painted on the ceiling of the café
Foy in 1806.  

Where the swallow has gone is unknown, but those
who wish to have a taste of Horace Vernet will find, in the Art
Museum of Princeton University, two of his lithographs, as well
as a chalk drawing showing a romantically exotic *Mounted Arab
Charging*.

—LÉON-FRANÇOIS HOFFMANN

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Les Confessions were translated and edited by Henry Knepler under the title *Man

de Minuit, 1969), 222.
Princeton University Library Publications

FATHER BOMBO'S PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA
ed. Michael Davitt Bell
The first American novel, written in Nassau Hall in 1770 by Philip Freneau '71 and Hugh Henry Brackenridge '71
130 pp. 4 plates. 1975. $10.00

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