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A Landmark in American Intellectual History
Samuel Miller’s *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*

BY GILBERT CHINARD

The Princeton University Library has arranged in the Princetoniana Room an exhibition to honor the memory of Samuel Miller and to commemorate the sesquicentennial of the publication of his major work, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*. The thanks of the Library are due to the Honorable Breckinridge Long ’03 for the loan of portraits of Miller and his wife to the exhibition, and to Professor Chinard for his appraisal of a book which is becoming recognized as a landmark in American intellectual history.

One hundred and fifty years ago a young minister of the Presbyterian Church, the Reverend Samuel Miller, published in New York, under the title of *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, a little-known work which might well be considered one of the earliest and most important contributions of America to cultural history. The date should not pass unnoticed at Princeton since its author was a trustee of the College of New Jersey from 1807 until his death in 1859. He was also the second professor to be appointed in the Princeton Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church, where he occupied the chair of Ecclesiastical History and Church Government from 1819 to 1849. The major part of his papers and many of his books are now preserved in the
the next two years, until the death of his father, and then attended Dickinson College for a little more than a semester. In 1795 he moved to New York, where he was ordained, and where he was joined in 1796 by his brother, Dr. Edward Miller, who up to that date had practiced medicine in Dover. An omnivorous reader and an indefatigable worker, despite his poor health and frail constitution, the young preacher soon made a name for himself as “the boy minister.” He took most seriously his pastoral duties, but his early inclinations, according to his biographer, were for “literary work and authorship.” As early as 1797 he wrote to the Reverend Jedidiah Morse, of Charlestown, Mass., then famous as a geographer and an historian, to inform him of his intention of collecting materials for a history of the state of New York, adding that even trifling facts and anecdotes would be a valuable acquisition, for “nothing scantly can be too small for a collector of materials for history.” On January 19, 1798, he succeeded in having an act passed by the Legislature of New York authorizing him to search the records of the public offices of the state without paying the ordinary fees. At that same time he started a correspondence with the eminent geographer and historian of Hamburg, Christoph Daniel Ebeling, whose letters to Miller are in the Princeton Library and have been studied by Professor Jantz. He also joined the Friendly Club, a literary society whose members met informally at different places. There, among others, he met William Dunlap, manager of the New York Theatre, Anthony Bleecker, Charles Brockden Brown, then in search of a publisher, and Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell, who probably was responsible for the election of the young minister to membership in the American Philosophical Society. It is more than likely that occasionally the Friendly Club met in the back room of the circulating library managed by Hoquet Caritat, who became Brockden Brown’s publisher. The part played by Caritat in the literary life of New York can hardly be over-emphasized. His bookshop was really an international library; he received from England all the new publications and he had an extraordinarily good collection of French books, including not only the classics but also most of the works of the French “philosophes,” such as Diderot’s Encyclopédie, the complete works of Voltaire, not to mention Grérimon the younger’s very unedifying

tales. All the while, however, Samuel Miller was keeping in mind his great project of writing a history of the state of New York. In 1801, he addressed a memorial to the Legislature, setting forth that he had been making progress in the collection of material for the proposed history and "praying that the Dutch records in the Secretary's office might be translated, at the expense of the State, for historical use." His pastoral duties eventually forced him to abandon his ambitious project, but did not lessen his interest in the history of the state. He was one of the small group of New Yorkers who met "on the 30th of November, 1804, at the old City Hall, in Wall street, and in that room where Washington had been inaugurated the first President of the United States," to organize the New-York Historical Society. The address to the public listing "those points on which the Society request particular information" reflects the main preoccupation and original intention of Samuel Miller; there is no doubt that he had a hand in writing it. The Society was finally incorporated in February, 1809. As a tribute to the part he had played in its formation, Miller was invited to deliver the main address at the meeting held on September 4, 1809, "to Comemorate the Discovery of New-York by Henry Hudson."

During these years the activity displayed by Samuel Miller was truly amazing; without neglecting his pastoral duties, he preached not only in New York but also in Philadelphia, attended church conferences as well as meetings of literary clubs, managed to get married in Philadelphia in the midst of an epidemic of yellow fever, engaged in politics, espousing the "cause, not alone of the Democracy, but of Mr. Jefferson, with earnest warmth," an "error" which he bitterly regretted in his later years. No doubt a large portion of his time was also taken by the preparation of the work which should now receive our attention.

On January 1, 1801, at the request of some friends, Miller delivered a sermon containing an attempt, on entering a new century, to review the preceding "and to deduce from the prominent features of that period such moral and religious reflections as might be suited to the occasion." Being requested to publish it, he soon formed the very ambitious plan of writing a complete compendium of the eighteenth century, including theology, morals, politics, natural philosophy, and literature, and discussing the great events in the Christian church, in the moral world, and in political principles and establishments during that century. Three full years were spent in the preparation of the work, which was published in January, 1804 (although dated 1803), under the title of: *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century... Containing a Sketch of the Revolutions and Improvements in Science, Arts, and Literature, during That Period.*

This descriptive title fails to give even an approximate idea of the wealth of the documentation and information contained in these two fat volumes of 560 and 517 pages respectively, with copious footnotes and additions. The Table of Contents may give at least some notion of the range covered in this supposedly "brief retrospect."

If we remember that Dr. Miller had intended to discuss in additional volumes (which were never written) the "exciting subject of Politics, as well as the Subjects of Theology and Morals," it will easily be seen that this summary is far more extensive than the "encyclopedic tree" of Diderot and D'Alembert, or Jefferson's tabulation of knowledge for establishing a library. Truly encyclopedic in its compass, the *Brief Retrospect* is not a dictionary or a dry repertory. In some respects it is a compilation, and modestly the author admitted that in many instances he had to be content with...
second-hand information: “It will not be supposed that the author has attentively read all the works concerning which he delivers opinions. Some of them he never saw, and has ventured to give their character entirely on the authority of those whom he considers better judges than himself. Many he has seen and consulted, with more or less attention, as his avocations allowed.” There is no mystery about the sources of his information: he made use of all the treatises, dictionaries, and encyclopedias he could lay his hands upon; he consulted the best critics and authorities, and undoubt-edly he was assisted by his associates in the Friendly Club. Some of the chapters dealing with scientific subjects are highly technical and we are aware that the young churchman had pushed very far his investigations in this field. We know for certain that the chapter on medicine was contributed by his brother Dr. Edward Miller, who may have also advised him on other chapters dealing with natural philosophy. But Samuel Miller was possessed with such an insatiable curiosity that, on his own admission, he managed to obtain at least some “acquaintance” with the works he discussed. In every page and in practically every paragraph he injected comments and reflections of his own; his personality was too vivacious and his mind too irrepressible to permit him simply to report accepted opinions. A staunch Presbyterian of unwavering faith and unimpeachable conduct, he never hesitated to give the Devil his due. While gathering material for the Retrospect he actively engaged in the fierce battle between Federalists and Republicans, declaring himself unequivocally for Jefferson in terms which he later bitterly regretted:

I profess to be a Christian. I wish all men were Christians. We should have more private, social and political happiness. But what then? Because Mr. Jefferson is suspected of Deism, are we to raise a hue and cry against him, as if he ought to be instantly deprived of his rights of citizenship? If he be an infidel, I lament it for two reasons: from a concern for his own personal salvation, and that a religion, which is so much spoken against, does not receive his countenance and aid. But notwithstanding this, I think myself perfectly consistent in saying that I had much rather have Mr. Jefferson President of the United States, than an aristocratic Christian. (Life, I, 181)

His attitude toward authors and scientists suspected of infidelity or known to be infidels is defined in a similar vein in the Preface to the Brief Retrospect:

Should any reader be offended by the language of panegyric which is frequently bestowed on the intellectual and scientific endowments of some distinguished abettors of heresy or of infidelity, he is entreated to remember that justice is due to all men. A man who is a bad Christian may be a very excellent mathematician, astronomer, or chemist; and one who denies and blasphemes the Saviour may write profoundly and instruc-tively on some branches of science highly interesting to mankind. It is proper to commend the mistakes of such persons, to abhor their blasphemy, and to warn men against their fatal delusions; but it is surely difficult to see either the justice or utility of withholding from them that praise of genius or of learning to which they are fairly entitled. (I, xii-xiii)

And so it happened that, when discussing the progress of the English language during the eighteenth century, he referred unexpectedly to a rank infidel:

There are some good remarks on English style in the In-quirtier, a Series of Essays, by William Godwin. Though no friend to human happiness can recommend the moral or religious principles of this writer, which are pre-eminently fitted to delude, corrupt and destroy; yet he is himself master of a vigorous style, and his judgment on a question of literary taste is entitled to respect. (II, 101)

No less remarkable is his judgment of Buffon’s theory of the earth, which had aroused the ire of the Paris theologians:

Such are the outlines of a theory bold and plausible, as might have been expected from the mind of its author, but unsubstantial and deceptive. Its manifest object is to exclude the agency of a Divine Architect, and to represent a world begun and perfected merely by the operation of natural, undesigning causes. That it cannot be reconciled with the sacred history, will appear evident on the slightest inspection; and that it involves the grossest philosophical absurdities has been clearly shown by succeeding geologists. It was embraced, however, by M. Bailly, of France, by the celebrated Hollman, of Goet-
tingen, and others; and continues to be respected and adopted by many to the present time. (I, 167)

At a time when the names of Voltaire and Rousseau had become anathema in political and religious circles, Samuel Miller was one of the very few churchmen who had enough courage and objectivity to refuse to pronounce a wholesale condemnation of their works. As a budding historian, he had looked for models among his predecessors and he was aware of the real revolution undergone by historiography during the last half of the eighteenth century: "...the best historians have interwoven their narratives of political and military events, much amusing and valuable information, concerning the religion, learning, laws, customs, trade, and every other object tending to throw light on the progress, genius, and condition of different communities." Speeches and other extraneous matter have been excluded by the best historians from the body of their works and the modern reader can now appreciate "how intimately revolutions, and other national events are often connected with the current of literary, moral, and religious opinions; and how much a knowledge of one is frequently fitted to elucidate the other." This remarkable improvement was due to a man who was "endowed with an uncommon share of wit, humour, fancy, and taste," and who "enjoyed a high reputation, not only as an epic poet, but also as a dramatist, an historian, a novelist, an essayist, and a miscellaneous writer." It was to be lamented that Voltaire's talents "were so much devoted to the cause of impiety and licentiousness," but it had to be recognized that "the author to whom we are probably more indebted than to any other individual, for introducing and recommending this improvement in civil history, is M. Voltaire. His Age of Louis XIV. was one of the first specimens of a work upon this plan."

These few quotations, which could be multiplied, may serve to illustrate Samuel Miller's historical and critical method. Obviously he thought that as an historian he had to record a consensus of opinion on a given author, while preserving his right to express, often in his footnotes, a severe denunciation on moral grounds of productions otherwise highly regarded. On one question, however, which pertained to a fundamental matter of dogma, he was absolutely uncompromising. The Brief Retrospect was written and published while the battle between the partisans of the French "philosophes" and the defenders of orthodoxy was still raging. It had just been revived in France in the great debate between Madame de Staël and Chateaubriand. Miller considered it his duty to present a formal and well-motivated condemnation of the impious doctrine of "perfectibility," which had been expressed particularly in Condorcet's Outlines of an Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind. No historian intent on tracing the development of the theory of progress in the United States can afford to ignore the views of Samuel Miller on this crucial problem and the clear-cut distinction he established between scientific and material progress, which could not be denied and could not be stopped, and moral perfection, his great merit in the controversy was to raise the discussion to a higher plane and to define more clearly than any of his contemporaries the fundamental issues of the debate.

The Brief Retrospect offers another even more uncommon merit. While European writers such as Madame de Staël were striving to divest themselves of all national prejudices and to judge of European culture as a whole, not even the woman often regarded as the founder of comparative literature was able to forget or to do away with traditional attitudes and prejudices. To say that Samuel Miller was a better "European" than the author of the book just published under the title of De la Littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les institutions sociales, may seem paradoxical and yet the paradox is only apparent. For reasons which need no elaboration, Miller knew more about England than about any other country. He admitted that his knowledge of the languages of continental Europe was very rudimentary. He probably read French easily; it is very doubtful that he had any German; and his acquaintance with Italian and Spanish was exceedingly slight. But it is remarkable that when he brought together the results of his inquiry on what may be called the intellectual state of Europe, he refused to recognize any territorial division. The chapters of the Brief Retrospect cut across all frontiers and are treated as subdivisions of the great "republic of letters" which transcends national distinctions. Thus it happened that the very remoteness of his situation and his keen interest in all matters of knowledge combined to make of Miller not only a "good European," but also a true cosmopolitan in the broadest sense of the term.
In addition he was a very good American. While the achievements of distinguished Americans are listed in the Brief Retrospect as part of the contribution of his fellow-countrymen to the general progress of knowledge, Miller took care to sum up these achievements at the ends of several chapters. In studying the Brief Retrospect, and in order to do justice to the author and to the work, one must consequently resist the temptation to which Professor Jantz has yielded in his article on "Samuel Miller's Survey of German Literature, 1803" and be careful not to split into national units a work whose chief characteristic is to treat the realm of the intellect as constituting "one world."

Greater even is the temptation to single out some chapters for separate studies. Here, however, we shall be content with a few remarks on a chapter and on a subject which is particularly revealing of Samuel Miller's character and attitude toward "literature." Chapter XIX, entitled "Romances and Novels," is an attempt to sketch rapidly the history of a "genre" which is "calculated to meet that fondness for the marvellous, which so strongly characterizes the human mind." Originally used as a medium of instruction or entertainment, "like every thing else in the hands of depraved man, it has been unhappily perverted and abused." Granting that many novels are possessed of high literary merits, Miller capped this survey, which deserves a separate study, with an eight-page diatribe against the genre itself, and concluded by stating, "The author has no hesitation in saying, that, if it were possible, he would wholly prohibit the reading of novels." The last footnote to the chapter ends with the pronouncement, printed in capital letters, that: "No one was ever an extensive and especially an habitual reader of novels, even supposing them all to be well selected, without suffering both intellectual and moral injury, and of course incurring a diminution of happiness."

Nor was this a passing mood in Samuel Miller, for in his letters to his sons and in his correspondence with former students he tirelessly insisted upon the danger of fictional literature. As late as 1844 he wrote a long letter to a professor in the College of New Jersey who had recommended to his class the reading of Bulwer's novels, despite the fact that "the greater part, if not all, of Bulwer's novels are corrupt in their moral character and influence; that is, calculated to recommend opinions and practices subversive of the best interests of youth for this world as well as that which is to come." Such virulent denunciations would easily lead to a misunderstanding of Samuel Miller's character if we did not remember that, without yielding an inch on the matter of principle, he had added in conclusion:

Do not imagine that I wish to interfere with the right of private judgment. Far from it. I am very far from insisting that you should adopt my opinions on the subject of novel reading. But would you not consider me as recreant to my oath and my obligations as a trustee of the College, if, with such opinions as I hold, and strongly hold, on this subject, I should be silent, when counsels so directly opposite to them are given from the instructor's chair to the pupils of an institution committed, though remotely, to my guardianship and care? (Life, II, 466-468)

These recurrent vitriolic attacks against novels, against the theater and all fictional literature, may well represent more than the traditional and puritanical attitude of an orthodox eighteenth-century churchman. The personal animus which may be perceived here is probably explained by the fact that in his own family Miller had been able to observe the deleterious effect of fictional literature in the person of his own wife. The Life of Samuel Miller contains extracts taken from the diary and "confession" of Sarah Miller which should be regarded as one of the most revealing analyses of the mal du siècle ever written in this country. The following quotation will give at least some idea of this striking case of early American "Bovaryisme."

I was not only without instruction in the sober truths of the gospel, but some of my earliest years were devoted to the unlimited perusal of novels, to which, in the second place, I ascribe the violence of my mental malady. Their highly wrought pictures of human character and manners gave me a distaste for real life; and their dark and mysterious wonders filled me with superstition; thus laying a foundation for an utter separation of feeling from the world which I inhabited, and forming an almost insuperable barrier against entrance into a better—the sad fruit which I reaped when the infatuation had subsided. I said, like many others who know not their own hearts, I have received no injury from these condemned
publications. But even when the pleasure which arose from reading them was diminished in some measure, they had left their baneful poison in my mind. All that sentimental feeling which they exhibit, and which is so blended with fashionable folly, had formed to my fruitful imagination a terrestrial paradise, which was to be found in connexion with such a character as every novel depicts, aided by riches, and splendor, and fashion, and family, and all that assemblage which accompanies such a character. ... I came forward into the world, with the hope of finding that perfect happiness here, which, in some form or other, is the end of all our natural expectations, and with no alternative for the hour of disappointment. (Life, I, 166-167)

In his last chapter Samuel Miller abandoned his general or international method of exposition to treat separately of three nations which during the eighteenth century had risen "from obscurity in the republic of letters, to considerable literary and scientific eminence"; namely, Russia, Germany, and the United States of America. As a point of fact, the three nations which had "lately become literary" had not been overlooked in the topical chapters; but Miller, in studying such a striking phenomenon was eager to test his theory of history, and to "correlate" historical and social events with the progress of intellectual activities and the diffusion of knowledge.

Without attempting to give a résumé of these ninety pages full of facts, which constitute a complete intellectual history of the United States from the origins to the end of the eighteenth century, we shall simply recall that the section dealing with the United States should be considered as part and parcel of the campaign started around 1780 by Benjamin Franklin in France and by Thomas Jefferson in his Notes on Virginia to define the character of the society and culture which had arisen in the New World. Miller made no extravagant claims for the achievements already attained. He was especially anxious to call his fellow-countrymen's attention to what remained to be done and to the measures to be taken to bring American culture to a fuller development. He conceded that "what is called a liberal education in the United States" was "in common, less accurate and complete" than in Great Britain and in "some of the more enlightened nations on the Eastern continent." These facts were not to be attributed to any deficiency of native talent, nor, contrary to Buffon's theory, to "any inaptitude in its soil or atmosphere to promote the growth of genius," but to well-defined causes which in part at least could be remedied: Defective plans and means of instruction in our Seminaries of learning: Want of Leisure; Want of encouragement to learning; Want of Books. Another fact was the unfavorable comparison established between the productions of England and the literary efforts of the United States, which tended to discourage many authors. Moreover, "Americans are too apt to join with ignorant or fastidious foreigners, in undervaluing and decrying our domestic literature; and this circumstance is one of the numerous obstacles which have operated to discourage literary exertions on this side of the Atlantic, and to impede our literary progress."

The conclusion, however, is optimistic, for Miller firmly believed that the influences of these causes would gradually diminish. His prophecy is worth recording:

The number of learned men is becoming rapidly greater. ... A larger proportion of the growing wealth of our country will hereafter be devoted to the improvements of knowledge, and especially to the furtherance of all the means by which scientific discoveries are brought within popular reach, and rendered subservient to practical utility. ... [The time is coming near when] we shall be able to make some return to our transatlantic brethren, for the rich stores of useful knowledge which they have been pouring upon us for nearly two centuries. (II, 409-410)

This bright prospect brings to a close Miller's general survey of the eighteenth century. We may be permitted here to enumerate after Samuel Miller the distinctive characteristics of a century which, in his estimation, stood without parallel in the history of the human mind. He found no less than fifteen such characteristics, some good, some bad, and every one of them susceptible of qualifications and reservations. The eighteenth century was:
(1) An age of free inquiry; (2) the age of physical science; (3) the age of economical subjects, marked by a real revolution in medicine and in all subjects pertaining to the welfare of man; (4) the age of experiment, under the influence of Bacon; (5) the age of revolutions in science, brought about by the rapid succession of discoveries, hypotheses, and systems; (6) the age of printing, with a prodigious increase of new works and new editions of old works; (7) the age of books, the spirit of writing preceding all former precedents, and resulting in a hasty production of books and periodicals; (8) the age of an unprecedented diffusion of knowledge, for common people read and inquire at a degree that would have been thought incredible in an earlier century, and seminaries of learning were multiplied; (9) the age of superficial learning ("... the unprecedented circulation of Magazines, literary Journals, Abridgments, Epitomes, &c. with which the republic of letters has been deluged, particularly within the last forty years. These have distracted the attention of the student, have seduced him from sources of more systematic and comprehensive instruction, and have puffed up multitudes with false ideas of their own acquirements."); (10) the age of taste and refinement; (11) the age of infidelity, which has poisoned the principles and completed the ruin of millions; (12) and yet the age of Christian Science, for a better knowledge of the universe and of the history of man should lead us to a greater admiration for the work of the Creator; (13) the age of translations, which have established closer contacts between different peoples; (14) the age of literary honours, and of international memberships in learned societies; and (15) the age of literary and scientific intercourse, for while in all preceding ages literary men were in great measure "insulated," increased facilities in transportation have enabled them to travel and to communicate freely. But great as are the achievements of the age which had just come to a close, they only heralded the opening of a still greater era and "that substantial advancement in knowledge which the enlightened and benevolent mind anticipates with a glow of delight."

This summing up, in which the very words of Samuel Miller have been preserved, is as good as any we could devise today to define the many facets of the spirit of the eighteenth century. It is a perfect example of the judicial attitude attained and maintained all through the Brief Retrospect; it gives an insight into the minds of many men who, unlike the "philosophers," combined the strictest orthodoxy with belief and even pride in scientific and social progress. In that sense the Brief Retrospect is a representative work written by a representative man.

To Princetonians this panorama of the intellectual world of the eighteenth century offers another distinctive feature. Samuel Miller was a born teacher and all his life kept up a constant interest in matters pertaining to education and seminaries of learning. In his "Additional Notes" he listed, with a completeness without parallel in any publication of the time, the American colleges. For "Nassau-Hall, or the College of New-Jersey," from which he had received in 1739 the degree of Master of Arts, he exhibited a marked preference. This preference may perhaps be attributed in part to sentimental reasons: he had just married Sarah Sergeant, daughter of Jonathan Dickinson Sergeant, at one time a resident of Princeton, who had been graduated from the College of New Jersey in 1762, and who was through his mother the grandson of the Reverend Jonathan Dickinson, first President of the College. In any case, Samuel Miller was unusually well acquainted with the history of the College and with the lives of many of the men connected with it. For the institution itself he expressed the greatest admiration, as may be seen in the following quotations:

This building, together with the Library, much of the Philosophical Apparatus, &c. was destroyed by fire in the beginning of the year 1805. Since that time, however, by the aid of liberal benefactions from every part of the United States, it has been rebuilt, and the whole institution placed under new advantages and regulations, which promise a degree of respectability and usefulness greater than it had ever before attained. The Library is now small; but measures have been lately taken, which will probably soon render it one of the largest and best College Libraries in the United States. The Philosophical Apparatus is a respectable one, and also likely to be improved.

The course of instruction in this Seminary is not accurately known to the writer. It is believed, however, that this is one of the institutions in the United States in which Classical
learning receives more than usual attention; and in which, besides an advantageous mode of pursuing most of the objects of study, polite literature is cultivated with great success. (II, 500-501)

The circumstances attending the establishment of this College; the zeal for the promotion of literature, which was indicated by its erection, and which it served afterwards greatly to increase; and the many distinguished characters which it has contributed to form, render it, beyond all doubt, one of the most conspicuous institutions in our country, and one of those whose history and influence are most worthy of being traced. (II, 346)

Samuel Miller's Princeton career from 1819 to his death fully deserves a special study. It would be seen that, despite his constant denunciations of secular and frivolous literature, he was a true humanist at heart. Judged by our standards, he may seem a strict and narrow disciplinarian. It may not be out of place to recall, therefore, that on at least one signal occasion Samuel Miller tempered justice with mercy. It should be counted to his credit that, on June 26, 1819, he wrote a letter to President Ashbel Green stating that, as a trustee of the College, he would not blame the Faculty if they reinstated without any formal action a young man who had been expelled "for cutting out portions from consecutive leaves in the large Bible lying upon the desk, in the College Hall, for use in public worship, so as to form a cavity, in which he had deposited a pack of cards." A truly heinous offense that not many of Miller's contemporaries would have easily forgiven!

The exhibition held in the Library illustrates the many activities and connections of a man whose intellectual horizon was extraordinarily broad—perhaps too broad, if we are to believe Dr. John De Witt, in an article on "The Intellectual Life of Samuel Miller," published in *The Princeton Theological Review* (IV, No. 2 [Apr., 1906], [168]-[190]):

Dr. Miller, so far as I have been able to learn, never discovered any deep interest in metaphysics, or in the kindred science of systematic theology. Whatever was the natural bent of his mind, he lived intellectually in the sphere of the concrete... His taste was historical... Hence his large literary product is mainly historical and biographical.
For such a happy fault, if it was a fault, the modern historian must be thankful. Because of his interest in "the concrete" and facts, Samuel Miller has left us an unexcelled document on the state of the "republic of letters" at the end of the eighteenth century and a precious store of information on the diffusion of knowledge in his own country. He was not left without recognition in America and abroad. The young writer received in 1804 high honors from Union College and the degree of Doctor of Divinity from the University of Pennsylvania, the latter an honor "uncommon, if not unprecedented, for a person so young." Fifty years later the historian George Bancroft delivered, at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the New-York Historical Society, an oration on "The Necessity, the Reality, and the Promise of the Progress of the Human Race," in which he reproduced and defended the main points of Samuel Miller's thesis on progress and perfectibility. On the occasion Dr. John W. Francis, who had known Miller personally and had listened to the address he delivered in 1809, drew of his old friend a portrait which supplements the traditional characterization.

He was a scholar of fair pretensions. His Americanism was indubitable. His leading trait was benignity, and it was no figure of speech which distinguished him from his brother, as the divine Miller; for such he was in character not less than in profession. Intellectually his mind was historical in tendency; his eloquence was singularly persuasive, and his literary acquisitions extensive.

We should remember, finally, that at a time when the literary productions of America enjoyed little favor in England, the Brief Retrospect was republished in London in 1805, and was praised by the critic of Aikin's Annual Review (IV, 721-728) in terms so eulogious that they may serve as a conclusion:

... it is flattering to Europe that the celebrity of her authors should so speedily cross the Atlantic; it is honourable to America that her curiosity should be so alert and so comprehensive. Mr. Miller has deserved well of both worlds.
The Journal of Gilbert Tennent Snowden
EDITED BY J. ALBERT ROBBINS

It fell to the lot of a sensitive and conscientious young man from Philadelphia—Gilbert Tennent Snowden—to reach college age during the troublous years of the Revolution. He came to Princeton at a time when the College was getting back to normal after the chaotic events of 1776, when Dr. Witherspoon assembled the College to announce the approach of British troops, and students and faculty departed in considerable haste. There had been no commencement at all in 1777 and no attempt to resume classes until the following year. It took time to recover normalcy. In 1780 there were only seventeen or eighteen students altogether. It was hard for the few students to keep their minds on scholarly matters, for even in 1783, when Snowden began to keep his journal, deserters were passing through Princeton, leaving contradictory stories and rumors behind.

One regrets that Snowden did not begin his journal when he first came to Princeton. It would be illuminating to have another firsthand account of those times as seen through the eyes of a teenage undergraduate. Even so, beginning late as he did, the opening scene had an historic backdrop. Snowden's was the most historic commencement the College was ever likely to see. General Washington and the Congress of the Confederation were in attendance, inasmuch as the village of Princeton was the temporary seat of government. But does the young man thrill to the honor and historic importance of that event? Does he describe Washington and the other dignitaries? Not quite. His interest is chiefly in his fellow classmates and the exciting drama of academic ceremony and honor.

Nevertheless his journal does have the color of a truly personal record. He shows himself as a serious and conscientious boy, but by no means sober and priggish. We see him enjoying the pleasures of dancing, food and drink, companionship, and collegiate accomplishment, until his Calvinist upbringing stirs him to spiritual introspection and doubt. Like any college boy, he enjoys receiving letters and fresh funds from home. He gets his hair dressed for a social engagement, sharpened his penknives, cleans his own shoes (having no servant at college), remarks on a boisterous nose-bled, is concerned about his table and parlor manners, fulfills his duty to the dead at the wake of "a young gentleman from S. Carolina," enjoys oysters and eggnog, takes singing lessons, and, like any socially minded Philadelphian, calls on friends for tea and attends the theater and an exhibition of paintings. We see him upset by the torments of love and feel the strong bond among these early Princetonians and their deep attachment to "Nassau-hall." Along with the lighter side of life he shows an active desire to improve his thinking and speaking and writing, and reveals his private hopes and ambitions, worries and inner conflicts.

And, above all else, we have a detailed record of the spiritual crisis of the young college graduate who abandons the worldly perquisites of a career in law for his soul's sake. The journal has the impact of suspended tragedy, for it breaks off at a moment of spiritual suffering and indecision; but the end of the story is known. Snowden returned again to Princeton; achieved his A.M. in 1786 at the age of twenty; served as librarian and overseer of college repairs for two years; studied for the ministry, and was granted his license by the Philadelphia Presbytery in 1790 at twenty-four; took a church at Cranbury, New Jersey, later the same year, and devoted himself to "persuading souls to turn to the Lord & live" in the short time until his death there in 1797 at the age of thirty. It is dramatically right that, given such a short lifetime, Snowden devoted the years of his brief career to his God's

work and not to the struggles of the beginning lawyer. There is a fitness, too, in his being Princeton trained and a Presbyterian minister. After all, he was a namesake of Gilbert Tennant, the fiery Presbyterian clergyman and trustee of the College of New Jersey at its establishment.

The small number who were graduated with Snowden distinguished themselves in many ways. Of the class of fourteen students, two are listed in the Dictionary of American Biography. One is Ashbel Green, later awarded the D.D. and LL.D. degrees, who served Princeton in many ways (as tutor, professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, trustee, and president), was an ordained minister of the Presbyterian Church, Chaplain of the United States House of Representatives and President of the Board of Directors of Princeton Theological Seminary from its founding in 1812 until his death in 1848. The other is Jacob Radcliffe, lawyer in Poughkeepsie and New York, New York State Assemblyman, Assistant Attorney General for the state, Justice of the New York Supreme Court, Mayor of New York City, and one of three who founded Jersey City. Timothy Ford served as a member of the South Carolina Assembly and was a trustee of Charleston College. Nathaniel Lawrence, who had served in the Continental Army, became Attorney General for New York and a member of the New York Assembly. George W. Woodruff served as United States District Attorney for Georgia. Edward Taylor became a medical doctor. It was a small class, but distinguished for service. In his short life, Snowden showed devotion to that ideal of service.

The Journal

COMMENCEMENT WEEK

1789 September 21st. . . . I was at Princeton, a small inland town in the State of New Jersey where the college of Nassau-hall stands, with present under the presidency of Dr. Witherspoon. I am a member of the class which is about to commence the ensuing Wednesday. We are 13 in number, when all present but I fear that several will not be present. The members are Ashbel Green, Timothy Ford, Samuel Beach, George Woodruff, Joseph Venable, Joseph Riddle, William Clements, James G. Hunt, Obidiah Ho[l]mes, Jacob Le Roi, Edward Taylor, Jacob Radcliffe & myself Gilbert Tennant [sic] Snowden. . .

. . . the members of the seniors Class in college are examined for their degrees the 3 wednesday in August. Commencement is always the last wednesday in September. After examination the seniors are permitted to go home, or any where, & prepare for commencement . . . [Here three leaves (six pages) of the manuscript are missing]

* * *

A FULL DAY: SENIOR ORATIONS, CONFERRING OF DEGREES, A CLASS DINNER, AND A BALL

44th. This day in which we are to exhibit specimens of our oratory happened to be very fair & beautiful so that no observation was to be feared from rain. Anxious for my appearance & behaviour on the stage, I rose by the sun & made preparations by first cleaning my buckles & shoes & for such is the custom of college that every man must depend upon himself.

About 11 o'clock the trustees faculty & graduates met in the hall & proceeded to the Meeting-house, where a very polite numerous Audience was assembled & among them the house of congresses & [sic] Congress. His Excellency Genl. Washington honored us with his presence. He came in the parade among the trustees & sat with them on the stage. There was with him an Italian Count.

In punctuation and some punctuation has been supplied. Three periods indicate an omission within an entry; three asterisks, omission of one or more entries.

The General Catalogue of Princeton University, 1746-1756 lists fourteen members of the class, the fourteenth being Nathaniel Lawrence, whom Snowden mentions later in his journal.

Ford, Holmes, Le Roi (or, Le Roy), Radcliffe, Snowden, Taylor, and Woodruff were members of the Clioicophs Society. Beach, Clements, Green, Hunt, Lawrence, and Riddle were members of the Amicitia Society. Membership in the two debating societies was an important part of undergraduate life, as the journal shows.

Snowden may mistake both nationality and title. The "Italian Count" was probably the Chevalier de La Laurencé, French Minister.
The President opened the business of the day with a prayer. Then the salutatory oration was pronounced by Mr. Holmes in Latin. An oration by Mr. Beach. A Dispute Mr. Radcliffe. An oration by myself on the propriety of giving a more extensive education to the ladies. A dispute Mr. Venable vs. myself, myself vs. Mr. Taylor. An oration on taste by Mr. Ford. A Dispute Mr. Venable vs. Mr. Radcliffe. An oration by Mr. Clemens. The oration was abolished. Wise were James G. Hunt & Joseph Riddle. Hunt's oration was spoken by Radcliffe in the first dispute. Mr. Le Rois by my self in the second & Mr. Riddle's by Venable in the third. After the last dispute Mr. Woodruff spoke an oration on sensibility of affection then the degrees were conferred.

Mr. Nathaniel Lawrence, who was formerly a member of the College & had been as far as the junior class, being driven by the times into the army was admitted to a degree of B. A. with us. Several others were made M. A. Among others Andrew Bayard, Richard Stenton, John Blair Smith, president of Hambden Sidney college in Virginia—[George] Merchant, Aaron D. Woodruff. James Riddle brother to my classmate & tutor in college since he took his first degree. Messrs. Beach & Green are to be tutors after vacation which is always 6 weeks in the fall & 4 in the spring. The grammar boys have at each time 2 weeks less than the students. Several others whose names I forget took Master's degrees. A propos Capt. Ogden & Dayton. The Doctor after conferring the degrees & mentioning who had the different premiums, gave a charge to the class, which was most excellent. The valedictory oration was pronounced by Mr. Asbell Green. After which a prayer by Dr. Witherspoon concluded the whole. The audience behaved extremely well & appeared to be pleased.

The class dined together & in drinking toasts the first was "May all college animosities be forgotten." by Mr. Ford. The next & last, for we drank freely during dinner & were determined to be moderate, was "May the Dr. farewell advice ever be remembered." by Mr. Green. Two very excellent toasts indeed could they but be realized. I drank several glasses by way of preparation before we went on stage.

In the evening there was, according to custom, a ball, at which were about 25 ladies & between 50 and 60 gentlemen. After speaking my oration I felt a very severe head-ache, which continued the remainder of the day & until in the morning. This rendered me more fit for a bed than a ball room; but necessity obliged me to go to the latter. After 1 I began to feel much better & danced until 5 with great satisfaction. When I came to Philadelphia after examination I engaged Miss Nancy Ewing as a partner, but she did not come up to Princeton so that I had to look out for one as the ladies came in. I happened to get Miss Van Tine, but would rather been excused had I known what sort of girl she was. I do not mean that her character was exceptional, but her disposition did not suit me & besides she was a bad dancer & blundered all the way down the first dance. I made shift to put her on some gentleman who had no partners excusing myself as being unwell. The room was so crowded that there was scarce room to sit, but towards morning about 8 it was thinned considerably & consequently the dancing was then much more agreeable. I observed but one lady of the strangers that I liked, Miss Harris from Newtown. Except Miss Randolph & Miss Gwaltney. The next day was so near, when we dispersed that some proposed staying & drinking till morning, but it was rejected. I went to college & slept until 8 next morning.

THE PANGS OF LEAVE-TAKING

September 25th. This morning we received [sic] our degrees of B. A., tho' yesterday might be termed a day of rejoicing on account of our being freed from college & having received the honours of college; yet this was as much the contrary to me. I now found by experience that I have been attached to the students, some however, very considerably; for when I found that we must separate the thought filled my mind with anguish & rendered me this day one of the unhappiest of beings. To part when there was no probability of ever meeting again, was enough to make a deep impression on those, between whom any degree of friendship existed. Thus it was, the chief of us parted to day, & when I took my final leave of some of them, my heart was indeed full. This may appear ridiculous in the eyes of some, but so it was.

On the following day, September 26, Snowden returned to stage.
to his home in Philadelphia. His opening sentence for the twenty-seventh is "Nothing material happened to day"—a strong contrast to the excitement and emotion of graduation. For several days the Princeton boys in Philadelphia enjoyed each other’s company and kept the old memories fresh. Samuel Beach, a fellow classmate, was a guest for a few days in Snowden’s home and Snowden entertained him on Sunday the twenty-eighth with a good Presbyterian sermon ("He as well as myself is a Calvinist") and that afternoon with a visit "to chapel as Mr. Beach had never seen the manner of worshipping among the professors."

Late in the following month, a fellow classmate, James G. Hunt, appeared to pay Snowden a visit. Hunt was not a welcome guest, for wrote Snowden, he “had been my enemy in college”—that is, “I had suffered by him and the Whigs, in one of our wars.” Snowden made no mention of any urgency in deciding upon his career but he had the problem in mind. In November he returned to Princeton for further study.

BACK TO PRINCETON FOR POSTGRADUATE READING—
AND SOCIAL LIFE

Nov. 19th. Came to Princeton to spend the winter in studying such authors as will always be of use to me in any profession. I was prompted to this because not being able to study in Philada. & being determined as to a profession for life I thought it my duty as there was little probability of that determination soon taking place to render the foundation upon which I am hereafter to build more stable & permanent. From a natural disposition of putting off or in other words laziness I have often fallen into many mistakes & disagreeable situations; thinking the present not so proper as the future for doing any business which lay on my hands. I have too often postponed it; but always found in the end that I had acted wrong. And though it may appear strange yet true it is that when I have been afterwards in the same situation & having the experience of former actions before me with my folly painted in its true colours I have nevertheless committed the same improprieties with a full sense of what the consequences would be. Now from whence can this behaviour take its rise? To answer this question in a few words. From the slow operations of reason. It has not arrived at maturity sufficient to counterbalance the influence of indolence.

This evening met with the C. [Clissophic] Society & was very happy in seeing my friends of college but more especially in that hall, where we had mutually assisted each other in the acquisition of knowledge & whereby we had formed a friendship productive of so much pleasure & happiness.

I brought several valuable sets of books with me. the number of which would have been greater had I not known that several of the students had different authors the perusal of which I had at my option.

The manner in which I regulated my studies was the following. To study a regular course of history, beginning with Rollins’ Ancient history & so on until the present age. I proposed rising early in the morning so as to allow myself 6 hours sleep each night—

to study my stated subject until breakfast or until 10 o’clock, from that time until one to study the French language, read again until 5, then write composition, letters or notes in my journal until seven—the remainder of the evening read.

Saw Mr. A. D. Woodruff in the society. His brother George who commenced with me was there likewise & who is to remain at Princeton this winter. I found my brothers all well & took lodgings at Doctor Smith’s. [December] 7th. This morning Dr. Witherspoon went to Philada to embark for Europe in order to raise contributions for Nassau-hall.

9th. Reading in Mr. Rollin. I found that “a taste for eloquence & philosophy began to take place in Rome about the year of the world 374.” Three Athenian ambassadors Carneades an academic, Diogenes the Stoic & Critolaus a peripatetic contributed very much to their being promoted. [Snowden continues with three pages of notes from Volume VIII of Rollin’s Ancient History.]

15th. The notes above were from Mr. Rollin A. His. I begin this day on Gibbons Decline & Fall of the R. Empire. Latter came into Europe from Phoenix 1500 A. C. into America 1500 A. D. Received considerable alterations in those 5000 years.

17th. I have determined this morning not to write extracts into my journal but sentiments & if I think proper say something on

11 Aaron D. Woodruff, Class of 1779, was elected to the Clissophic Society in 1777.
12 Dr. Samuel Stanhope Smith, Class of 1759, then Professor of Moral Philosophy and Theology and in 1779 successor to Witherspoon as president.
them. I intend putting minutes of the authors I read into a book on purpose.  

This morning rose at 5 o clock & began the 2d Vol. of Gibbon's. I have rose between 4 & 5 these ten or 12 days. In general have gotten up early since my coming to this place.  

1784, February 2nd. I now sit down to continue my journal which I have for some time neglected. I shall not mention many things that have occurred since my having neglected it but shall hereafter insert them as I remember them.  

About 4 weeks or perhaps not so much I set apart a portion of each day for writing copies one after breakfast—the other after dinner. Yesterday I concluded it best, as I have been very lazy for some time, to write down in my journal every evening the minute transactions of each day—how much I have done,—& what may have prevented, when I have done little Day's work.  

I have written 2 copies. Translated 10 pages in G. [Gil] Blas. 

Read 30 pages twice over in Logic, Duncan's—8 O Clock in the evening. I may do more this evening—I propose writing in this book at this hour always.  

3rd. Wrote 2 copies. This day a large company dined at our house & was the cause of my losing it from about 10 O Clock in the morning. Read some pages in Logic about 9o.  

4th. Wrote a copy. Read 30 pas. in G. B. Read a few in Logic—Lost in one sense from 3 O Clock of this day on account of the Chiosophic Society. I lose this much of each Wednesday.  

5. Wrote a copy. Read 12 pages in G. B. Wrote a letter to Mr. A. Woodruff. Rose at 6 in the morning, went to bed at 10—very lazy I have been for about a month yesterday especially.  

6th. Rose at 5 after 7—Wrote 1 copy—Read 20 pages in G. B. 

Read 48 twice in Logic—Went to bed about ten—very lazy.  

7th. Rose still at 8—Translated 10 pages in G B.—Did nothing else Unless I do better soon I am for ever lost as to improvement—W. t. b. at 1 3/4.  

On Sunday, the eighth, he shamefully admitted rising at eight. His day included two sermons. They must have had some effect, for on Monday he did better in rising:  

9th. Rose at 4—WB at 11—T—d 33 pages of G. B.—the eleven first included the 1st. Vol. Wrote 2 copies. Read 116 pages of Logic once—This day 2 weeks I left Mrs Manning my washerwoman & employed Mr Smith's negro wench.  

From 5 O Clock until 8 this afternoon I employed in preparing for a debate which 7 persons of us discuss every Monday evening—immediately as the Supper bell of College rings & they have done we meet—We were an hour & a half debating this evening.  

10th. Arose at 5 WB at 11—T—d 40 pages of G. B.—Read 106 pages of Logic which finished it. Yesterday 2 weeks I began it—Wrote 2 Copies From 7 until 8 in the evening. I dilly dallied in College—Read a letter from Isaac—the rest of the evening I spent in thinking & composing on a subject—the advantages of truth & sincerity.  

N. B. At night there being 3 in the room—we generally chat & lose much time—indeed it loses us time all the day.  

The tedious work on Gil Blas and Rollin continued, relieved somewhat by Aesop's Fables and religious pamphlets.  

On Sunday, February 15, Snowden attended two sermons and recorded the first faint concerns about his soul:  

15. Arose at 5—Read 50 pages in Beatty's essay on truth—Heard Mr. Clerk preach in the morning Mr. Boyd in the afternoon—Attended the Senr. Class of College's recitation—at which they answer in writing religious questions previously proposed to them by Dr. Smith.—He says something on each question when read & after all are finished he address [sic] the class—this evening he did it in a beautiful affecting manner—He brought some truths with energy on my soul & made me thoughtful & praying the rest of the evening. May God of his infinite mercy grant a continuance of my present feeling.  

The routine of reading he supplemented by attending the senior class recitations in natural philosophy. There is increasing evidence of interruptions—talking in his room with roommates and visitors, having friends to supper in the room, and lingering at the College to talk.  

[March] 6th. Arose at 8—Wrote a copy—Mr Clay & myself had a dispute in a point of Philosophy which lost me 3 hours.  

12 Joseph Clay, Class of 1784, a member of the Chiosophic Society.
Read 2 pages in G—r F. [French Grammar]—16 in the above mentioned pamphlet [an unnamed pamphlet received the previous day] which finished it—60 in Rollins—The C—y [Chicopee Society] had an occasional meeting which took upwards of an hour. Stayed nearly 2 more in College. We always are talking & thus prevent studying in our room. Went to Bed at 10.

6th... I have for several days past had my thoughts very much engaged about going back to Philadelphia to study. Several reasons have introduced these thoughts. 1st. 8 persons of us living in the same room have often engaged ourselves in conversation at the expense of study—particularly in the evening—this has been a cause why I have composed so little this winter—it keeps us always studying without any considerable advancements. One of us Mr. Ja——r d [possibly John Read, Class of 1787] is studying Latin & being a beginner, is continually applying to us for assistance.... 2d. If I were to go to Phila I might be of some advantage to my brother Isaac, whose interest & happiness I have much at heart, by studying with him & lending him my assistance whenever I can. He likewise might have an influence on me & thus both would be benefitted. 3rd. Twice I have had serious thoughts lately—the first time they lasted some days & had I been alone in all probability I should at this moment be numbered among the penitent—but Company prevented my employing of my thoughts on religion & at length my former insensible state returned. At home I could have a room to myself & I could there freely indulge my pious thoughts & could likewise have the help of my parents. 4th. I should not then be of so much expence to my father—who though able & willing to bear it, might employ it otherwise... .

28th.... Those things which I feared might interrupt my studying were I to return to the City—were the company of the ladies—that of my companions—lying a bed in the morning—in the 11th. Current, I wrote to my brother upon the subject & desired his & my father's advice. My brother was warm for my returning immediately—my parents left the decision to myself—I put off my coming untill this week & as Isaac wanted to come up in the chair for me I appointed next Tuesday or Wednesday for his coming & we to return as soon as we might judge proper... .

* * *

PHILADELPHIA—AND NEW DIVERGENs

With his brother Isaac, he left Princeton on April 5, stopped overnight on the way, and reached Philadelphia at six the following evening.

3d. Saturday. Arose at 5—Read 10 pages in Blair's Lectures Quarto—44 in Telemachus—Got my head dressed before dinner went out at 5 in the afternoon—drank tea at Uncle's—returned at 9:45—Went to Bed at 10:15.

The Course of Study which I shall now follow has been directed to me by Dr. Smith & is as follows—Two stated regular studies—Criticism & belles-lettres for one & History the other—at present I am at Rollin—& odd hours at subordinate studies—I study french & write copies. I have not exactly determined how to regulate these—Every Saturday my stated study is English Grammar & Sheridan &c.

During my residence at Princeton the last winter I have read the 6 last Volumes of Rollin's Antient History, chief part of the 4th. Duo. Gibbon's Decline & fall of the Roman Empire—6 Volls Octavo—Rollins Arts & Sciences 3 Volls. Octavo Duncan's Logic—Duo. The 6 first Volumes of Rollin's Antient History the second time—& several pamphlets. Read in French Gill Blas 4 Volls—Duo—Chambaud's fables 100 pages—20 pages folio in Boyle's Dictionary—500 pages in Telemachus Duo. large—6 thirds of it twice—& several tittle scraps in Books.—Wrote a set of Copies 4 times—Wrote 4 pieces of Composition regular & several pieces in a loose irregular manner 4 or 5 of them—Wrote a great number of letters.

18 The complete titles and dates of first publication of the works which Snowden read during the winter of 1783-1784 are: Charles Rollin (1661-1741), The Ancient History of the Egyptians, Canaanites, Assyrians, Babylonians, Medes and Persians, Macedonians and Grecians (translated into English, 1745-50); Edward Gibbon (1737-1794), A History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-88); Charles Rollin, The History of the Arts and Sciences of the Ancients (1777); William Duncan (1717-1760), The Elements of Logic (1748); Akin René Le Sage (1668-1747), Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillane (1724-38), in French; Louis Chambaud (c. 1705), Fables Choixes (1751) ("Boyle's Dictionary" is probably an error for "Boyer's Dictionary," mentioned earlier in the journal as containing a "dissertation on French proverbs"); Abel Boyer (1667-1739), The Royal Dictionary (1699); François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), Les Aventures de Télémacus (1699). Other works, not mentioned in this summary of his reading, are: John Fenoric (Jean Baptiste Perrin) (1754-1813), Entertaining and Instructive Exercises, with the Rules of the French Syntax (1795) and A New Essay on the
4th. Sunday. Arose at 5.50. — Heard Dr Sprout preach 2 Sermons on this verse "And in him shall the Gentiles trust". Matthew 11 & 21. — Read 20 pages of a sermon of Mr. Davies. — When the J. Class at Princeton began N. Philosophy I attended recitations for a few days but Mr. Clay borrowing my book I left it off.

6th. Tuesday. Arose at 6. ... My thoughts wholly employed about a certain young lady of this town, which prevents my studying. I read but do not understand for want of attention. — Oh how I love how you torment me. I have read today but 5 pages in Blair — 3 in Telemachus. ...

7th. Wednesday. Arose at 7½. — About 5 I awoke but my thoughts being employed as above on my angelic Miss — I lay still & contemplated her beauteous charms. My thoughts full of her all day & of course little study. Read 5 pages in Telemachus — 4 in Blair. ...

8th. Thursday. Arose at 7½. — Caused by my mind being filled with love. Affected me today something less than yesterday. I have resolved to endeavour to suppress it if possible. — Oh she is most amiable she is divine. The badness of my ink has prevented my writing copies. Read 8 pages of Blair — I had read them before.

He could not suppress women from his thoughts, for on the fourteenth, after twenty pages in Millot’s Mémoires, he “Called on Miss M. P. not at home — then on Miss E. — not at home.” He supplemented his study with a French tutor and joined his brother in taking singing lessons.

On May 8 Snowden joined several young gentlemen at Francis Lee’s famous Indian Queen Hotel in celebrating St. Tammany’s Day, and it proved to be the most riotous day of his life. The story takes up six pages in his journal and tells in considerable detail how at three o’clock “we paraded at the tavern with our Buck’s tails in our hats — after four we sat down to dinner. About 5 the cloth was gone, when the toasts & songs went joyously round the table.” One of their number became drunk (a mistake to have included him, Snowden admitted), and the young men found a hotel bed for him. Four of the group began to wander the streets. They picked up a fifth friend to join them, two “seized a woman” on the streets, but she resisted and broke away; Snowden “went into a 9th Street near the New-Market” — came immediately out. and then wandered into the dockside area, found two of their number involved in a street brawl. It all started when the two came upon sailors “asked them to shake hands for the honour of St Tammany” — asking them if they were not Americans — they with a curse or 2 refused & said that they were not Americans. The brawling commenced when Snowden’s two friends replied, “Oh yet you are.” Snowden concluded his account with a moral resolution to “avoid such accidents ... by prudently withdrawing from persons who are determined to frolick.”

By July he had decided that the heat in Philadelphia had “increased my natural laziness” and he made a quick trip to Princeton to find lodgings, leaving on the seventeenth and returning to Philadelphia on the twenty-third.

PRINCETON. DECISIONS ON A CAREER.

[July] 27th. Tuesday. I returned to Princeton & took up my abode at Mr. Woodruff’s. As I came on horseback I could bring but a few cloths & no books with me, so that I could not immediately apply to study. — During my residence in Philadelphia I have studied very little. ... but the chief advantage was that of seeing the world — of entering into Company & of acquiring some degree of confidence. — My disposition has been too unsettleady for my good. I often regret to do what I know is absolutely necessary to be done & put off until too late.

August 3d. ... From [the time when] I rise untill breakfast I shall study the principals of the French language, Grammar & Exercises — then take an hour for breakfast & exercise & reading any bye book then read french authors untill noon — spend 2 hours in reading any bye-book & get my dinner — read English Authors in the afternoon & spend the evenings in company.

84
With no advance warning in the journal, Snowden arrived at a
decision about his career:

27th. . . . Since I have determined to study the law it is my
particular duty & ought to be my particular care to cherish a worthy
 emulation. . . . Many are of equally good capacities, many of bet-
ter & some of worse. Those who are naturally above me can be
brought on an equal footing only by my superior advantages in
 education & my improving them with assiduity & perseverance.
 Otherwise the balance will always be for them & I must sink into
obscurity, be a petty-fogging Solicitor. . . .

Several entries show his continuing concern for his lack of ap-
 plication, for his deficiencies in writing skill, for his faulty pen-
manship, and for his want of social grace. He recorded an evening's
 incident when he dined with a friend in the tavern and forgot to
pick up his check. In the margin he labeled it "Inattention in me
an Instance." In another entry he recorded several social blunders:

[September] 11th. Saturday. This evening I spent at Mr. Robert
Stocton's where I was guilty of many mistakes. When I entered
the room after having bowed to the company, I observed Miss
McPherson & spoke to her by the appellation of Miss Polly, this
was wrong in two views. As she is the only daughter she ought to
be called by her surname. In the next place Miss Polly Stocton sat
next to her who, as she has an elder sister unmarried, ought to be
addressed by her christen name. Now it was somewhat dark & I
spoke across the room & therefore neither of the persons knew to
whom I spoke so that I received no answer to my great confusion
had there been a light in the room.

During the evening I was sitting on the other side of Miss Betty
Stocton & observed her keeping herself as much from me as pos-
sible. I could not divine the cause, but on recollection it must have
been my stinking breath, which was occasioned by my having neg-
lected to cleanse my teeth lately or mouth.

I kept continually twisting from one position to another, lolling
my feet out & other awkward habits. . . .

PHILADELPHIA. THE READING OF LAW
On October 1 Snowden returned to his home in Philadelphia

and on the thirteenth went to "Mr. Bradford's office, who ad-
vised me to read Blackstone's Commentaries—Accordingly I began
the study of that author immediately. . . . Since I have been with
Mr. Bradford I have received much instruction which if rightly
followed will prove of much use to me. He advised first to read
Blackstone carefully, then to read it again with all its references
to other authorities, to consider this as the foundation of all my Law
knowledge. . . . He advises me to read Hume's History of England,
Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws & such other books in my leisure
hours."

Snowden began to feel the absence of like minds, once he was
away from Princeton, and attempted to form a literary society.
With no success in that direction, he concluded that "The Law
Society is then my only resource" and on February 7, 1783, he and
his fellow law student, Samuel Bayard, were admitted. On the fol-
lowing day, February 8, occurred the turning point of his life:

TROUBLE OF SOUL

Feb'y 8th Tuesday. This afternoon after studying sometime I
grew a little lazy & remiss for an hour or two, when my indolence
encrassing I thought that I would take a short nap. I threw myself
on the bed but instead of sleeping I began to think how improper
it was for me to indulge any degree of laziness—that if I hoped to
raise myself to eminence I must smother or resist my passions. . . .
Reason encouraged by my train of thinking added more reflec-
tion to the preceding ones—What, said I, will be the end of this—
It may lead me to honour & riches—but it will ruin me for ever—
Altho' I may procure for myself the self the enjoyments of this life,
I must risk my eternal happiness. This thought made some impres-
sion on my mind & I pursued it—Perhaps said I, the Lord may
have decreed that this shall be the moment of my conversion—I
jumped out of bed fell on my knees & began to pray—. . . the Lord
graciously heard me & shewed me in a lively manner the vanity of
earthly things—the folly of my ways & the perdition to which it
led—I was determined to leave off reading law & attended [sic]
to nothing but religion & strive to enter in the straight wood of
piety. . . .

* * * * * * * *

William Bradford (1725-1793), a graduate of Princeton, Class of 1749,
served for eleven years as Attorney General of Pennsylvania (1780-1791) and became in
1794 the second Attorney General of the United States, succeeding Edmund Ran-
dolph. Beyond doubt, Snowden's father had chosen one of the most prominent law-
yers and jurists in Philadelphia to supervise his son's training.
Snowden did leave off his reading of law and spent most of his waking moments in meditation and prayer, one week leaving the house only once. He talked successively with his mother, his father, and his good friend Samuel Bayard. It was the practical father who suggested sending for "Mr. Duffield to talk with me, as being more skilled than he was in such matters." Mr. Duffield called to talk about the eternal existence of my soul chiefly—as I told him that this troubled me. ... He told me that ... God had various ways of dealing with those to whom he intended mercy.

By February 24, Snowden had applied his new awareness of a personal religion to his career—and had rejected the legal profession.

14th ... May I never read Blackstone again as a Lawyer!—Yesterday & today I read the remainder of Turretini, i.e., 130 pages. Read this evening the life of Caleb Smith minister at Newark Mountain who was a remarkably pious man—May I, by divine assistance, follow his example! It contained 60 pages. ...

Feeling that he could perhaps find good help for his religious problem at Princeton, he decided to return for talks with President Witherspoon and others.

22d. Tuesday. This morning left P—a in the Stage with a noisy set of passengers, among whom were two bad women, one of whom, stopped at Trenton. They kept continually singing talking in low—dirty language—so that it was a perpetual warfare between my reason & my passions—At length we arrived at Princeton—when I went to Dr. Smith's, ... [I told him] that I could not see that mankind was naturally liable to a curse. To this he said, that unless man was guilty, God was unjust in punishing him as we daily see is done by diseases, distresses & death—something must have been done by man or God would not punish him as we see—we talked about other things, which I forget now.

Snowden was rooming with three others, and he began to worry about his indolence. He was still concerned over his lack of spiritual progress:

[March] 19th. Sunday. ... [After evening service] I returned home & when the family was at supper retired to my chamber & prayed with much engagement—& tears—over my sins—& the fallen, yet stupid depravity of man—I prayed that God would not only give me grace for my own salvation, but call me to the great work of the ministry, that I might be instrumental in his hands of persuading souls to turn to the Lord & live.

Since I have been here I have been less religious than when in Philadelphia—Sometimes doubting of the Providence of God concerning which I have yet very imperfect ideas—Sometimes thinking that religion is only a delusion—or rather that regeneration is only the consequence of custom—doubting of the influence of God's Spirit. [His rational mind searches for evidence. From observation of actual "Godless" but successful men, he is forced to deduce that] ... what was called the influence of God's Holy Spirit was only the habitual exercise of prayer & meditation making impression by the force of habit—I imagined that persons persuading themselves that the Spirit of God would assist them were convinced not from the real acting of the Spirit, but by the force of self-persuasion. ...

15th. ... Last Sunday after dinner I prayed & being about to go to College, begged of God to meet me more particularly in the evening—this he most graciously did. ...

19th. ... I have little or no sense of the utter dependance, which I have on him—the great wileness of my nature—& majesty of my heavenly father—... Come, O thou Sun of righteousness, come shine on my Soul—implant within me a strong principle of grace, which may daily increase. ...

[April] 14th. ... For many days past I have disbelieved the existence of a God. ...

18th. ... This evening had a pain in my breast, which felt as if there were something gathering there. It was a hard, dry ache. And as Dr. Smith was once taken that way before he had a blood vessel broken & as Miss Smith was taken so last night & had a blood vessel broken, I felt uneasy little & the thoughts of death engaged me a little about my last prayer & when in bed I felt uneasy on the thoughts of going into the presence of a just Judge. ...

24th Sunday. Arose at 6½. Last night & this day I have been
very uneasy about my wild behaviour having no religion about me. But being full of hypocrisy, I have suffered by attending too much to company—Went to bed at 10.

On this note of indecision and self-criticism the journal came to an abrupt end, on the day before Snowden’s nineteenth birthday.

James Thayer Gerould
Some Recollections of an Associate
BY LAWRENCE HEYL

I MET MR. GEROULD for the first time in January, 1915. He was then Librarian of the University of Minnesota, and I was taking over as Head of the Order Department. Thus began a professional and personal relationship of twenty-three years which was to me pleasing, stimulating, and intensely valuable.

Mr. Gerould’s interests were broad and deep; he was what is called a civilized person. In addition to varied activities in his professional world, he was a voracious reader in many fields, loved music and the theater, had a deep social sense, and took part in many community activities. His convictions were firmly held, but he was always ready with an open mind for discussion: his attitude toward life was thoroughly practical. In conversation his direct manner sometimes misled those who did not know him well, but his reactions to one’s own opposing points of view were always sympathetic and understanding. Mr. Gerould was not strong for small talk and gossip; he dealt rather with principles and events—the two upper classes in Herbert Spencer’s grouping of types of people.

Talking with him was a stimulating experience.

My appointment at Minnesota was an example of Mr. Gerould’s faith in young people—I was in my twenties and had had no library school training. That of Earl R. Carlson (in charge of the Guyot Hall Library at Princeton from 1923 to 1926) was another. Carlson, a victim of spastic paralysis, received encouragement and a greater degree of self-confidence through Mr. Gerould’s faith in him. He went on from Princeton to secure his M. D. at Yale in 1931, and has since established the Lago Del Mare Schools of Corrective Motor Education at East Hampton, Long Island, New York, and at Pompano, Florida, which he directs. Another young man who started his library career under Mr. Gerould was Donald B. Gilchrist. He was made Head of the Circulation Department at the University of Minnesota Library when he was just out of library school, and later became Librarian at the University of Rochester.

Mr. Gerould had a way of disposing of a point, once and for all, with a brief, pithy remark that stayed with the listener. I remember a staff meeting one morning many years ago when he was reading
his annual report to us for comment; someone remarked that an addition might have been made covering a project which was to be carried through. Mr. Gerould then described a parallel case in which he had been involved: he had years before made a similar suggestion to a superior officer concerning another report and had been told of Bismarck's remark to the effect that only old women and fools spoke about things still to be done. That took care of the incident at our meeting, and I have had it sharply in mind over twenty years whenever reports have been written or discussed.

Mr. Gerould was an avid reader; in the old building you saw him stop frequently at the Dixon shelves, where stood the current books of general interest. He read all sorts of books dealing with contemporary problems, liked a good novel, and read many things in their original German. He had special liking for Robert Browning, Stevenson, and Trollope. One of his great pleasures was to read poetry aloud to a responsive group.

At Minneapolis Mr. Gerould was a steady subscriber to the symphony orchestra, which was a sort of focal point in the culture of the city, and he worked effectively for its success. I remember that shortly after my arrival the orchestra, in addition to the regular series of Friday concerts, gave a matinee series of Beethoven's nine symphonies, and, at Mr. Gerould's invitation, it was my good fortune to attend with him a superb performance of the Ninth.

Also, during the Minneapolis days, there was the period of The Bellman, a Midwestern journal of which Mr. Gerould was the Literary Editor for three years. He did a good part of the book reviewing himself, but would ask others to contribute whenever he received for review books by their favorite authors. I remember a few volumes dealing with Conrad, Hardy, and James which I was pleased to review for him.

One time Mr. Gerould took part in a public spectacle in Princeton—something which was very different from what most of us had associated with him. On January 4, 1927, a series of tableaux was presented at the Garden Theatre in connection with the sesquicentennial celebration of the Battle of Princeton. Mr. Gerould represented President Witherspoon in two of the tableaux: "John Witherspoon and the Faculty of the College of New Jersey at the Time of the Revolution," and "Burning Tea on the Campus." Other members of the Library staff who participated were Dr. Henry B. Van Hoesen, then Assistant Librarian, Mr. Linn R. Blan-
chard, then Head of the Cataloguing Department, and Mr. G.
Vinton Duffield, then Head of the Circulation Department.

He often joked at his own expense concerning the prospects of
the erection during his time of office of a new library building at
Princeton. At both Missouri and Minnesota he had planned new
library structures only to move on before they were completed.
That experience clearly pointed out what was to be expected at
Princeton. Various plans and sites were considered during his ten-
ure, but after he had left the situation reached the point where
delay became more and more detrimental to the whole idea of
adequate library service at Princeton. The new building was opened
ten years after Mr. Gerould's retirement in 1958. From Wil-
liamstown, where he made his home until his death in June, 1951,
he made annual trips to his beloved New England, and always
stopped in Princeton to visit old friends and to examine the pro-
gress of the Firestone Library. His last appearance in cap and gown
was at the dedication of the new building on April 90, 1949. Presi-
dent Dodds delighted us all with the tribute he paid Mr. Gerould
in his address at the dedication exercises. "First, we extend thanks
to James Gerould, who served as University Librarian from 1920
to 1958, for his professional expertness as a library administrator
which brought the college library to university standards and set
the stage for greater things."

Other remembrances come to mind, such as Mr. Gerould's great
pleasure in going on canoe trips. When he lived in Minneapolis
the Canadian wilds were not too far away, and in that region he
spent many happy months. There were visits he and I made to the
bookshop of Edmund D. Brooks, in south Minneapolis, where
fine and rare books were handled. Mr. Gerould and Mr. Brooks
were old friends and I enjoyed listening to them discuss books and
bookish matters. Other incidents press for recognition, but they
were related to professional duties, and that side of Mr. Gerould's
career has been well covered by the several memorials which have
appeared elsewhere in print.
VICTOR HUGO

The one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the birth of Victor Hugo was celebrated last year by a variety of ceremonies and exhibitions, which included an extensive display of books, manuscripts, and prints at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and a smaller exhibition at the Cultural Services of the French Embassy in New York. To this latter exhibition, held from February 16 to April 15, the Princeton Library lent several items from its collections. The most notable of these is an autograph manuscript of Victor Hugo’s John Brown, which came to the Library in 1947 from the collection of the late Cyrus Hall McCormick ’79 as the gift of Mrs. Marshall L. Brown.

Hugo bequeathed his own manuscripts and papers “to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris,” which, he said, “will one day be the Bibliothèque of the United States of Europe.” There are, consequently, relatively few Hugo manuscripts outside of this repository. The six pages of the Princeton manuscript, entirely in Hugo’s hand, are written on sheets of thin paper measuring 9 3/4 x 14 1/2 inches. These sheets have been folded lengthwise, with the text on the right-hand side and Hugo’s corrections on the left. The manuscript is signed by Hugo and dated “Hauteville house—2 décembre 1859.” On this day John Brown was hanged at Charlestown, [West] Virginia, although Hugo then believed that a reprieve had been granted and composed his appeal accordingly. The date had a double significance for him, as it was also the anniversary of the coup d’État of “Napoléon le petit,” which had sent Hugo into exile on the Island of Guernsey. The “crime” of the Second of December, 1830, committed against the French Republic was now to be followed by another crime against the American Republic! The Princeton manuscript shows that Hugo first entitled his protest
“appel à la conscience,” which he crossed out and replaced by “un mot sur Georges Brown.” The error in the name, maintained consistently throughout the text, is revealing and characteristic of the author, to whom John Brown was less an individual than a cause and a symbol.

On the Princeton manuscript there is an address to “Monsieur Talbot rédacteur de Star,” with the added instruction, “à porter à g. du matin. V.H.” Hugo’s appeal was addressed to the United States of America “through the intermediary of all the free newspapers of Europe”; the London Star was one of the first to publish it. It was published in French in La Presse, December 8, 1859. Although arriving too late to affect the fate of John Brown, it was widely reprinted in newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic. An interesting twenty-four-page pamphlet published by Irwin P. Beadle & Co. in New York early in 1860 under the title Victor Hugo’s Letter on John Brown, with Mrs. Ann S. Stephens’ Reply reprints an English translation of Hugo’s appeal and the protest of an American novelist against it. This pamphlet, a copy of which was also lent to the Victor Hugo exhibition in New York by the Princeton Library, is worth mentioning inasmuch as French bibliographers have in general stated that the first separate printing of Hugo’s John Brown is the eight-page pamphlet published by Dutacq et Cie in Paris in 1861 (cf. Talvar and Place, IX, 39. Hugo, No. 58). John Brown was later included by Hugo in his Actes et Paroles (Vol. II, “Pendant l’exil, 1852-1870”), where the text can be most conveniently found.

In the exhibition at New York the significance of the manuscript of John Brown was enhanced by the display beside it of an original drawing by Hugo lent by the Hugo Museum at Hauteville House. Inscribed Pro Christo sicut Christus, this drawing of John Brown shows a man hanging from a gallows raised against a somber sky. Hugo later encouraged his brother-in-law Paul Chenay to publish an engraving of the drawing, for, as he said, “When in December, 1859, with deep sorrow, I predicted to America the rupture of the Union as a consequence of the assassination of John Brown, I did not then think that the event would follow so closely upon my words. Now, all the implications in John Brown’s gallows are evident; the fatalities, latent a year ago, are now visible. The rupture of the American Union, a great misfortune, and the abolition of slavery, an immense progress.
Let us therefore place before all eyes as a lesson the Charlestown galloways, the starting-point of these great events.” (See Paul Che- 
ney, Victor Hugo à Guernsey, Paris [1902], pp. [69]-76.)

Hugo’s John Brown is but one small chapter in the story of Hugo’s relations with the United States. It was recalled, and even 
quoted, in the year 1932 by those who have reason to disparage 
America, Hugo, like the Scriptures, can be quoted to suit any 
man’s purpose. It requires considerable perversity of mind, how-
ever, to interpret Hugo’s John Brown as a diatribe against Amer-
ica. Basically, this impassioned appeal—with its ringing perora-
tion: “Oui, que l’Amérique le sache et y songe, il y a quelque 
chose de plus effrayant que Cain tuant Abel, c’est Washington 
tuant Spartacus.”—is the characteristic expression of the emo-
tional disappointment of a European liberal who has idealized 
America beyond measure only to discover that America, too, is 
human. Qui aime bien, châtie bien, as the French proverb has it.
An entirely different aspect of Hugo’s relations with the United 
States is shown in another group of items lent by the Princeton 
Library to the Hugo exhibition in New York. These are playbills, 
programs, and promptbooks from the Theatre Collection, bearing 
witness to the popularity of Hugo’s plays on the American stage. 
Among the most curious of these is a playbill for a performance 
of Jean Valjean at the New Theatre in Alexandria, Virginia, on 
September 17, 1864. Finally, the Library lent to the exhibition, as 
personal mementos of Hugo, two teacups and saucers which were 
one part of the furnishings of Hauteville House on the Island of 
Guernsey. These were given to the Library in 1949 by Mrs. Lily 
Dexter of Princeton, whose family came from the Channel Islands.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COLLECTION

The International Relations Collection (located on A Floor of 
the Firestone Library) was established in July, 1951 for the primary 
purpose of making available for research the documents and 
publications of the United Nations and certain of its specialized 
agencies. Because Princeton University is a recognized center 
of research on international affairs, the Library was designated as 
one in a world-wide network of United Nations depositories. In 
exchange for receiving free all unrestricted documents and 
publications distributed by the United Nations, the Library assumed 
the obligation of making the material readily available to the uni-
versity community and to users in the general area.
The United Nations and its agencies have undertaken, at the 
request of their members, an increasingly varied program of ac-
tivities and these activities have resulted in many useful studies, 
reports, and periodicals on such subjects as technical assistance 
and economic development, finance, statistics, education, social 
wellfare, human rights, demography, and international law, as well 
as area studies of Latin America, Europe, Asia and the Far East, 
the Middle East, and Africa.
An evaluation of the collection at the end of the first year indi-
cated the need for expanding its scope. For this purpose, the 
following material is now being added: publications of the Depar-
tment of State, documents from regional organizations such as the 
Council of Europe and the Organization of American States, and 
publications from information offices of foreign embassies and 
various organizations working in the international field. To en-
courage integrated use of the collection with material located else-
where in the Library, the Pitney Collection of International Law 
and Diplomacy has been moved from its original location on A 
Floor adjacent to the east stairway to an area adjoining the Inter-
national Relations Collection. The value of this expansion pro-
gram has already been demonstrated by a substantial increase in 
the number of users.—EVELYN R. BARR

COLLECTOR’S CHOICE

The first “Collector’s Choice” of the academic year 1952-1953, 
on view in the Exhibition Gallery during the month of November, 
was the manuscript of Anthony Trollope’s North America (1869), 
written by Garrett L. Reilly ’99. Trollope had long wished to write 
a book on the United States that would be more just than his 
mother’s Domestic Manners of the Americans (1854), but he had 
determined before the outbreak of the Civil War to visit this 
country. Although the war made a survey of the entire country 
impossible, it assured Trollope of a ready audience for his book. 
He arrived in the United States early in September, 1861, and re-
turned to England in March of the following year. A conscientious 
observer, he visited all the states (except California) which formed 
the Union, but did not enter the Confederacy.

“The book I wrote,” declared Trollope in his autobiography,
“was very much longer than that on the West Indies, but was also written almost without a note. It contained much information, and, with many inaccuracies, was a true book. But it was not well done. It is tedious and confused, and will hardly, I think, be of future value to those who wish to make themselves acquainted with the United States. It was published about the middle of the war—just at the time in which the hopes of those who loved the South were most buoyant, and the fears of those who stood by the North were the strongest. But it expressed an assured confidence—which never quavered in a page or in a line—that the North would win. . . .

“But my book, though it was right in its views on this subject [the controversy over Mason and Slidell], and wrong on none other as far as I know, was not a good book. I can recommend no one to read it now in order that he may be either instructed or amused,—as I can do that on the West Indies. It served its purpose at the time, and was well received by the public and by the critics.”

That Trollope’s criticism of his book was too severe, and that the book is still considered of value, is indicated by the fact that a new edition of North America, edited by Donald Smalley and Bradford Allen Booth, was published (by Alfred A. Knopf) in 1951. During December 1947, the “Collector’s Choice” case contained a selection of manuscripts and books from the Robert Frost collection of Frederick B. Adams, Jr. The poem “Carpe Diem” was present both in manuscript and as it first appeared in printed form as Frost’s Christmas card; and the original working draft of the poem “A Drumlin Woodchuck” was exhibited with a copy of A Further Range, New York [1956], in which the final version of the poem was published. The exhibit included also first editions of Frost’s first three books: A Boy’s Will, London, 1913, first issue; North of Boston, New York, 1914, American issue, made up of the sheets of the first English edition, also published in 1914, with a new title-page (bearing the Holt imprint) tipped in; and Mountain Interval, New York [1916], first state, with a presentation inscription from Frost to Edwin Arlington Robinson. In a letter of thanks for this copy of Mountain Interval Robinson wrote to Frost, on February 2, 1917: “In ‘Snow,’ ‘In the HomeStretch,’ ‘Birches,’ ‘The Hill Wife,’ and ‘The Road Not Taken’ you seem undoubtedly to have added something permanent to the world, and I must congratulate you. I like everything else in the book, but these poems seem to me to stand out from the rest; and I fancy somehow that you will not wholly disagree with me.”

C. Waller Barrett selected for the January “Collector’s Choice” a group of items illustrating what he looks for in acquiring additions for his collection of American literature: original condition; association interest; “points”; material relating to the origins of books and manuscripts. As an example of a book in original condition, Mr. Barrett chose from his collection an immaculate copy of James Russell Lowell’s Harvard “Commemoration Ode,” Cambridge, 1865, which was privately printed in an edition of fifty copies. In addition to being in exceptionally fine condition, this copy is remarkable for containing a presentation inscription from the author to his wife. The place of association items in Mr. Barrett’s collection was suggested by a copy of the first edition of Thoreau’s first book, A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers, Boston, 1849, with a presentation inscription from the author to Tennyson. The ticklish matter of “points”—“bibliographical peculiarities”—was illustrated by two presentation copies of the first edition of Longfellow’s Evangeline, Boston, 1847, one (inscribed to Longfellow’s brother, Alexander W. Longfellow) with the letters “ng” present in the word “Long” in line 1, page 69, the other (inscribed to Mrs. Andrews Norton) with the letters “ng” missing. At some time early in the printing of the edition the “ng” dropped out of “Long” and most of the copies appeared with the word incomplete. The error was not corrected until the fifth edition. For material relating to the origins of a book, Mr. Barrett exhibited a first edition of McTeague, New York, 1889, with a long presentation inscription from Frank Norris to Professor L. E. Gates of Harvard, to whom the book is dedicated. Dear Mr. Gates: You may possibly remember McTeague in its embryonic form as a fortnightly theme I wrote for English 22 in the winter of 95-96. But though you may have forgotten the theme I have not forgotten Eng. 22, and your very good encouragement & criticism during the short time I was with you. I doubt very much if McTeague would ever have been expanded to its present—rather formidable dimensions—if it had not been for your approval of the story in its first form. In a way you might share with me in the responsibility of its production now . . . . And, finally, the importance of significant manuscript material to
Mr. Barrett was indicated by the inclusion in the exhibit of a map of the Merrimack River drawn by Thoreau.

EXHIBITIONS

Exhibitions in recent months have emphasized some of the notable—but not necessarily new—acquisitions of the Library. From mid-July, 1958, until October Indian manuscripts and miniatures from the Robert Garrett Collection were shown together with illustrated European books on India. During October and November a display entitled "From Newport to Yorktown: Handdrawn Maps by Berthier of the French Army's Marches in America in 1781 and 1782" was based upon the Berthier Papers given to the Library in 1959 by Harry C. Black '09. During December and January an exhibition of eighteenth-century stage design featured theater and architectural drawings by Juvara, the Bibienas, Josef Platzer, and others, lent by Professor Albert M. Friend, Jr. '15.

Exhibitions in the Princetoniana Room have included "Some Books once Owned by Eminent Princetonians"; "Football at Princeton"; "Coins of the Centuries," a display lent by the Museum of the American Numismatic Society; and books, manuscripts, and drawings from the Gertrude Claytor Collection of Edgar Lee Masters. Display cases in the main lobby have shown United Nations documents and publications from the Library's International Relations Collection; books and manuscripts concerning George Santayana; books of the Chilean historian and bibliographer José Toribio Medina, the centennial of whose birth was celebrated in 1952. The Theatre Collection has shown examples of modern stage design, while the Graphic Arts Collection has exhibited prints from the lending collection of the Print Club, specimens of early block printing, material concerning Gutenberg and the Gutenberg Bible, and examples of the work of Joseph Low, contemporary printmaker and designer.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE

GILBERT CHINARD is Meredith Howland Pyne Professor of French Literature, Emeritus, at Princeton University.

J. ALBERT ROBBINS is an Assistant Professor in the Department of English at Indiana University.
New & Notable

ILLUSTRATED BOOKS

From Sinclair Hamilton ’66, whose pioneer excursions in the American graphic arts resulted in the important assemblage of American illustrated books which forms so valuable and useful a segment of the Library’s Graphic Art Collection, the Library has received sixty-six books, most of which were originally acquired by Mr. Hamilton for their illustrations.

Following the invention of printing, Boethius’ *De Consolatione Philosophiae* appeared in numerous editions, translations, and imitations. A copy of the Roman philosopher’s popular work, printed at Strassburg in 1501 by Johann Grüninger, the earliest book included in Mr. Hamilton’s gift, contains over seventy woodcut illustrations. The volume is in a contemporary sixteenth-century binding of oak boards and pigskin.

Two Parisian *Horae*, or lay prayer books—one printed in 1510 by Thielman Kerver, in a Grolièresque binding by Christine Hamilton (Mrs. Sinclair Hamilton); the other printed about 1533 by Germain Hardouyn—are present in the group. These two Books of Hours, both of Roman usage, are printed on vellum; the first has woodcut illustrations and评为 borders which have been illuminated in gold and colors in imitation of a more individualized manuscript volume; the second has woodcut illustrations upon which completely different illuminated designs have been superimposed.

Another religious book which should be mentioned is a Latin Psalter printed at Lyons in 1514. This volume, an interesting example of the transitional period in printing and book decoration, contains a flyleaf the contemporary ownership notation of Sir John Stockton, priest. Its binding, by the English stationer and binder Andrew Ruwe, who died in 1517, has incorporated into one of its panels the arms of the city of London.

*Hypteronomachie, ou Discours du songe de Poliphile,* published at Paris by Jacques Kerver in 1546, is the first edition in French of the famous allegorical romance by Francesco Colonna. The illustrations in this French edition show a tendency toward over-refinement not found in those of the original Italian version. The decorative initials of the Paris edition, however, are exceedingly distinguished and have often been reproduced.

Matthias Dögen’s treatise on modern military architecture, first issued in Latin, in 1647, by the celebrated publishing house of Elzevier, appeared again the following year, also from the same publisher, in French and German translations. The Library is now able to place a copy of the elaborately illustrated *L’Architecture Militaire Moderne*, Amsterdam, 1648, beside a copy of the German translation which had been previously acquired by the Library.

La Fontaine’s *Fables Choisies*, Paris, 1755-59, one of the most celebrated French illustrated books of the eighteenth century, is a valuable addition to the Library’s fable collection. This magnificent folio edition in four volumes is illustrated by some 750 plates engraved after designs by the famous animal painter Jean Baptiste Oudry.

Among the several French illustrated books of the nineteenth century which came to the Library as a part of Mr. Hamilton’s gift is a copy of *Les Français Peints par Ils-mêmes*, Paris, 1840-42, a nine-volume series of sketches of French types, profusely illustrated by Daumier, Gavarni, Meissonier, Paquet, and others. The original purpose of the work, as stated by Jules Janin in the introduction, was to provide information for the day when “nous ferons les portraits de nos contemporains.” The artist’s intention was to show “le grand et le petit, le riche et le pauvre, le beau et le laid, le fier et le humble, le tranquille et le tumultueux, le sage et l’imbécul, le maître et l’esclave, le seigneur et le serviteur.”

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK

To Gordon A. Block, Jr. ’36 the Library is indebted for an exceptionally interesting group of additions to its Cruikshank
Collection. Mr. Block’s gift includes over thirty books illustrated by George Cruikshank, twenty-three letters written by Cruikshank and others, twelve drawings and one painting, five sets of proofs of etchings, and other items.

A number of the books call for individual mention. The copy of Richard H. Barham’s *The Ingoldsby Legends*, Second Series, London, 1842, has an inscription on the half-title in Cruikshank’s handwriting stating that the book was presented to him by the author and that “although four of the plates are ascribed to him, there are not any of the illustrations in this vol by G.C.” Giovanni B. Basile’s *The Pentamerone*, London, 1828, is accompanied by Cruikshank’s drawing for one of the illustrations. With the four volumes comprising the *Fairly Library*, London [1853-64], from the collection of Sir David Salomons, are sets of proofs of the etchings for the first three volumes. The first plate of each of the sets has a presentation inscription from Cruikshank to the Reverend Thomas Hugo, who preserved with these proofs two letters he had received from the artist. Other volumes of interest are: Robert B. Brough’s *The Life of Sir John Falstaff*, London, 1857-58, in the ten parts; *The Bachelor’s Own Book*, London, 1844, with colored plates; Sir William Fraser’s *Poems by the Knight of Moror*, London, 1867, thin-paper copy, into which have been inserted Cruikshank’s pencil design for Fraser’s bookplate and the privately printed poem “Shadows, not substantial things,” by Fraser, with an etching by Cruikshank; and William Home’s own copy of his *Facetiae and Miscellanies*, London, 1827, containing numerous insertions.

Among the letters are ten written by Cruikshank and six by William Harrison Ainsworth, many of whose novels were illustrated by Cruikshank. Five of the Cruikshank letters are addressed to Ainsworth, while two of the latter’s are written to Cruikshank. The twelve drawings in Mr. Block’s gift include five for Ainsworth’s *The Tower of London* (1840) and two for *The Comic Almanack*. Other unique items presented by Mr. Block to the Library are a small painting by Cruikshank entitled “Disturbing the Congregation”; the etched steel plate of “Passing Events, or The Tail of the Comet of 1853,” for the first number of *George Cruikshank’s Magazine* (Jan., 1854); and a woodblock of a scene by Cruikshank.

ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON

In an earlier issue of the *Chronicle* [XIII, No. 3 [Spring, 1856], 167-168] a brief description was given of a group of Stevenson manuscripts presented to the Library by Henry E. Gerstley ’so. From Mr. Gerstley has come another gift of Stevenson material, consisting of a number of manuscripts and some seventy first editions. The major item in this second gift is the manuscript of the unfinished *St. Ives* (a romance which was, after the author’s death, completed by Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch). The manuscript is in the hand of Stevenson’s stepdaughter and amanuensis, Isobel Strong, who, at intervals between January, 1895, and October, 1894, took down the story at his dictation. It contains additions, deletions, and changes in Stevenson’s hand. The other manuscript items in Mr. Gerstley’s gift are: two important Stevenson letters, one to John Addington Symonds, Bournemouth, February 30 [sic], 1885; the other to a Mr. Dick, who was, according to Sidney Colvin, “for many years head clerk and confidential assistant in the family firm at Edinburgh,” Hyéres, March 12, 1884; the manuscript of “The Plague-Cellar,” “a very weird tale of the time of the plague in Edinburgh,” written when Stevenson was about fourteen; an undated musical manuscript in Stevenson’s hand; and a framed motto ("If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.") from the Library at Vailima, on which has been mounted a draft in Stevenson’s autograph of his poem “My Wife and I.”

A fine association item presented by Mr. Gerstley is a copy of the first English edition of *The Ebb-Tide*, London, 1894, written by Stevenson in collaboration with his stepson, Lloyd Osbourne, containing an inscription from Osbourne to Stevenson’s mother and the following inscription on her hand on the front flyleaf: “This is my presentation copy of the Ebb Tide, but my dear Lou always forgot to put his name on it till it was too late.” Other notable volumes in Mr. Gerstley’s gift are: a copy of Stevenson’s first book, *The Pentland Rising*, Edinburgh, 1866, published when the author was only sixteen; *Ticonderoga*, Edinburgh, 1887; one of apparently only three copies printed on vellum; and a copy of the first edition of *Father Damien*, privately printed for the author in Sydney in 1890.
AUTOGRAHS OF MUSICIANS

Mrs. Raymond B. Mixell has presented to the Library some seventy autographs of nineteenth-century musicians. This collection, which had belonged to her husband, an enthusiastic music lover, the late Dr. Raymond B. Mixell '09, includes material ranging from slips of paper bearing composers' signatures or a few bars of musical notation to musical compositions and letters. Among the many interesting items in Mrs. Mixell's gift are a joint protest written on August 5, 1869 by the composers Cherubini and Meyerbeer against the proposed merger of the "Italian opera" with the "French opera" in Paris; a letter written by Felix Mendelssohn to the singer Charlotte Helen Sainton-Dolby, Leipzig, October 20, 1845; the score for Franz Lizst's "Squeletta" from the introduction to the festival play "One Hundred Years Ago" produced at Weimar in 1859 in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Friedrich von Schiller; a canon composed by Gounod for "le figaro qui m'avait demande un autographe"; an entertaining postal card from Puccini, dated October 5, 1888, to an employee of his publishing house in Milan; and a letter written by Richard Strauss, May 29, 1907, concerning a concert tour.

CONSULAR PAPERS

A portion of the papers of Henry Hill, of the United States consular service in South America, has been presented to the Library by Wilder L. Stratton '09. Mr. Stratton's gift contains forty-four individual items, consisting of letters and documents addressed to Hill and Hill's own copies of certain letters written by him. These items cover the years 1808 to 1889. Included among Hill's correspondents were James Lawrence, William Bainbridge, and David Porter.

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CONTRIBUTIONS

A total of $1,450.00 has been received from Friends. Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06 has enabled Princeton to acquire a portrait of Governor Belcher. Sterling Morton '06 contributed to the fund created by the Class of 1906 for the purchase of Rex Brasher's Birds and Trees of North America. Louis C. West continued his support of the fund used for the purchase of coins and books relating to coins.

GIFTS

The Cruikshank items received from Gordon A. Block, Jr. '36 are briefly described in "New and Notable," as are the sixty-six books presented by Sinclair Hamilton '06. Mr. Hamilton gave also twenty-three additional books to the Hamilton Collection. From Alfred A. Knopf came twenty-six books, mostly novels, many of which are presentation copies. Edward Naumburg, Jr. '24 presented a collection of theatrical photographs, a group of early American playbills, and several autograph letters of actors. Gifts from J. Harlin O'Connell '14 included two manuscripts of the Irish patriot Daniel O'Connell (1775-1847), given in memory of Mr. O'Connell's father, Daniel O'Connell, and a copy of Pope's

Princetoniana items were received from: Robert Garrett '77, Howard L. Hughes '10, Carl Otto v. Kienbusch '06, Mrs. William B. Linn, Mrs. Harriet Hyatt Mayor, George F. Phillips '14, and Ralph S. Thompson '01.

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