THE PEITHESSOPHIAN SOCIETY LIBRARY CATALOGUE OF 1834

BY FRANCIS A. JOHNS

T was natural enough that, with the reinstitution of undergraduate instruction at Rutgers College in 1825, literary and debating societies should reappear, for they had been a part of college life at Rutgers, as elsewhere, from very early times. The Athenian Society, founded before November 1773, had a library, and each member contributed a dollar a year for the use of it. The minutes of 1786 record the creation, on its demise, of a Federal Society concerning which we have no information.² Similarly no records seem extant of a Polemical Society which must have been more or less contemporaneous with the Athenian.³ The Calleopean was another early society which had a library consisting of over 200 volumes about 1814. Its books were dispersed in 1816 upon the suspension of the college.4

The role of the literary societies in the development of the social and intellectual life of students in the American college was an important one, and they have been called "colleges within colleges."5 The libraries and debating activities of the societies contributed to developing the free nurturing of the intellect and the questioning of received ideas among students which the emphasis on piety and the religious orientation of the colleges did little to encourage.

The first meeting of the Peithessophian Society of Rutgers College, to give it its official name, took place on November 12, 1825, four days after college opened. A second literary society, Philoclean, followed six days later. The names were soon abbreviated to Philo

Harding, Thomas S. College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education

in the United States 1815-1876, N.Y., 1971.

² Woodward, M.R. "The Athenian Society of Queen's College," JRUL, Dec. 1939, pp.

Bogart, John. The John Bogart Letters, N.B., 1914, p. 15.

⁴ Blauvelt, William W. "Queen's College in the Early 19th Century," Rutgers Alumni

Monthly, Dec. 1933, pp. 18-19.

McLachlan, James. "The Choice of Hercules: American Student Societies in the Early 19th Century," in Stone, L. (ed.), The University in Society, Vol. 2, Princeton, 1974, pp. 449-94, p. 472.

and Peitho. Peitho's object as stated in its first constitution was typical: "The exercises of the Society shall consist of Debate, Declamation, Composition, Reading and Criticism."

The establishing of a library to support the aims of the Society soon followed. Peitho members resolved in May 1826 "that each member be requested to bring as many books to present to the Society as he can." A librarian was appointed in June and a Bible and dictionary (Walker) were early purchases. In 1827 a subscription was entered for *The Museum of Foreign Literature and Science*, Peitho's first journal. It was soon followed by *The Casket: Flowers of Literature*, Wit and Sentiment, and the Atheneum, or Spirit of the English Magazines.

Other subscriptions entered during the first ten years—though there were some cancellations from time to time—included The American Quarterly Review, The Republic of Letters: A Republication of Standard Literature, Blackwood's, The London Quarterly Review, The North American Review, The American Journal of Science (Silliman) and The Edinburgh Review, the last three titles being also in the College library. There was much competition for the journals on the arrival of each number, and detailed rules were worked out for their orderly circulation. The Society subscribed to the Encyclopaedia Americana on its publication in 1830. It also owned two sets of the Edinburgh Encyclopedia, but which editions they were is unknown.

By 1828 each member was being assessed 25¢ per session for increasing the library, and the honorary members were solicited for contributions in cash and kind. With some income assured, the next year the Society felt able to authorize its librarian to spend money for books. In 1831 the practice of opening the library during vacations was started and in 1832 it was found necessary to appoint an assistant librarian.

The following year the Society rejected Dr. Milledoler's request "to ascertain the number of volumes in our library with a view to publication" as being inconsistent with their pledge of secrecy. Perhaps with the printing in 1832 of the *Catalogue* of the College library, heavily weighted as it was towards theology, the President wished to amplify the statement which had appeared since 1830 in

⁶ Demarest, W.H.S. A History of Rutgers College 1766-1924, N.B., 1924, pp. 297-301. The earliest records of the Societies only became available in 1931.

the College announcements concerning the two literary societies, each of which was stated to have a "respectable library."

Thus, as the emphasis of the College authorities was on preparing students to be primarily men of God or at least of piety rather than men of letters, or the "well-rounded" individual of a later era, it fell to the students in Peitho and Philo to fill in their collections as best they could the *lacunae* in the College collection, and to give representation to some extent to those subjects which interested them and which would prepare them better for public life—the extracurriculum as it has been called—and which were neglected in the laid-down course of study.⁸

That faculty members themselves realized that more extensive reading was necessary in the formation of the literate man—as well perhaps as to direct student energies into useful channels—is demonstrated by the fact that both Peitho and Philo were initiated by their efforts. Once the societies were functioning, a wise policy of laissez faire seems to have been followed by the faculty, though many donations to both libraries bear the names of professors and tutors elected to honorary membership in the first days of the new societies. The College from the beginning provided a meeting place for the societies, first in Queen's and later in the Grammar School building (now Alexander Johnston Hall), and they were accorded a prominent part in commencement ceremonies.

The Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Peithessophian Society is a manuscript listing by brief title of 1374 volumes (771 titles) in the same order as the books were arranged on the shelves. It takes up the first fifty pages of a small notebook and is dated 1834 on its back cover. The table gives the distribution by subjects (including duplicates) in the Peitho library as compared with the College library.

⁹ Demarest gives James Spencer Cannon as the founder of Peitho and William Craig Brownlee of Philo.

⁷ Rutgers lacks a prosopography of its students. Of the 183 graduates between 1774 and 1830 at least 54 or 29.5% are known to have become clergymen (*Catalogue of the Officers and Alumni of Rutgers College* . . . 1916). The professions of another 39 are not recorded.

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8 Rudolph, F. The American College and University: A History, N.Y., 1965, p. 136. For Rutgers see McCormick, R.P. Rutgers: A Bicentennial History, N.B., 1966, p. 42.

¹⁰ The date is corroborated by the fact that a number of the titles listed on the remaining pages are referred to in the minutes as being added after 1834. The librarian's report of May 8, 1834 also confirms the number of volumes in the collection.

I am indebted to the University Librarian for a grant which made it possible to identify books brief-listed in the Peitho Catalogue and to arrange them into categories, thus permitting its comparison with the College Catalogue.

SUBJECT DISTRIBUTION IN TWO COLLECTIONS

	Rutgers College, 1832			Peithessophian, 1834		
		Titles	%	•	Titles	%
Theology		830	64.3		38	4.9
Literature		192	14.9		384	49.8
(Classics	97			30)		
(Rhetoric	41			35)		
(French	13			<u>—</u>)		
History		96	7.4		101	13.1
Science		42	3.3		46	5.9
Philosophy		29	2.2		12	1.6
Law and Government		31	2.4		20	2.6
Geography		25	1.9		61	7.9
Biography		24	1.9		59	7.7
Arts		3	*		4	*
Commerce					1	*
Miscellaneous		13	1.0		27	3.5
Unclassified		5	*		18	2.3
Total (2377 vols.)		1290	99.3	(1374 vols.)	771	99.3

Note. The classification by subjects follows in general that adopted by Joe W. Kraus in his article "Book Collections of Early American College Libraries," *Library Quarterly*, April 1973, pp. 142-59, derived from his dissertation (Illinois 1960). The books in the two miscellaneous sections in the College *Catalogue* have been assigned to the appropriate subject wherever possible. After the *Catalogue* was printed and before June 1834, the College added 38 volumes, of which 16 were government documents.

Classics includes grammars.

Miscellaneous includes periodicals, general works, encyclopedias and education.

Theology includes Bibles, commentaries, sermons, religion and devotional books.

The quantitative difference between the two collections is apparent. Theology, with 4.9% of the Peitho collection, was obviously not an interest of the members, nor were the Greek and Latin classics. History, biography and geography (mostly travel literature) have a better proportional representation in Peitho than in the College. Law and government run about even, philosophy is weaker and science somewhat stronger in Peitho, while literature accounts for almost half of the collection.

Any attempt in the light of hindsight at a detailed qualitative evaluation, for example the extent to which either library reflected at a particular moment the trends and currents of contemporary thought as we see it today, would be misleading, 12 for the college

^{*} less than 1%

¹² For example, Lundberg and May's useful article on reading habits, "The Enlightened

library of those times cannot be thought of in the same terms as that of the present. That books subsequently considered important often took several years before finding their way into a library is amply confirmed from examining inscribed copies. Furthermore both libraries were heavy with gifts which were then, as now, often those which could most easily be spared by donors and which could not tactfully be declined, but which were not necessarily those most useful or the most read.

But, even with these reservations, noting some of the characteristics within the various categories of the books in Peitho, as well as some of the individual titles available, does serve to illustrate the differences between the two practically contemporaneous collections: one acquired to support College and Seminary needs as seen by the College authorities, and the other built by the students in accordance with their interests and needs which the College did not satisfy, either in the curriculum or in its library. For example, over half of the historical titles in the College library are ecclesiastical history, a category barely represented in Peitho, and books on the United States are more numerous (24 titles) in Peitho than in the College. The much used works by Goldsmith and Gillies¹³ as well as Gibbon, Robertson, Hume and Rollin were in both collections. Peitho readers also had Clarendon's Rebellion, Raynal's Indies and Adam Ferguson's Essay on the History of Civil Society; only his History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic was in the College library.

Peitho invested heavily in Harper's stereotyped editions (*The Family Library*, launched in 1830) of popular historical works mostly by British authors, as well as travel, biography and literature, to such an extent that in January 1834 it was resolved to purchase the remaining numbers in the series. The more than fifty titles occupied two shelves.¹⁴

Peitho's collection in the sciences was not much better than the College's (Catalogue, pp. 15-16 and 34), which largely consisted of texts, many of which were also in Peitho (11 titles). Davy's Elements

Reader in America, 1700-1813," American Qly., 1976, pp. 262-93, deals with a selected list of titles.

¹³ Circulation records for the College library are extant from 1825.

¹⁴ See plate for the earlier titles. A full list is given in Exman, E. The Brothers Harper, N.Y., 1965, Appx. 1.

HARPER'S FAMILY LIBRARY.

VOLUMES ALREADY PUBLISHED.

I. II. III. MILMAN'S HISTORY OF THE JEWS		
IV. V. LOCKHART'S LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE	2	vols
VI. SOUTHEY'S LIFE OF LORD NELSON	1	vol
VII. WILLIAMS'S LIFE OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT		
VIII. NATURAL HISTORY OF INSECTS		
VIII. NATURAL HISTORY OF INSECTS	:	YU1.
IX. GALT'S LIFE OF LORD BYRON		
X. BUSH'S LIFE OF MOHAMMED	I	vol
XL SCOTT ON DEMONOLOGY AND WITCHCRAFT		
XII. XIII. GLEIG'S HISTORY OF THE BIBLE	2	vols.
XIV. DISCOVERY, &c. IN THE POLAR SEAS AND REGIONS	1	vol.
XV. CROLY'S LIFE OF GEORGE IV	1	vol
XVI. DISCOVERY AND ADVENTURE IN AFRICA		
XVIL XVII. XIX. CUNNINGHAM'S LIVES OF PAINTERS, &c.		
XX. JAMES'S HISTORY OF CHIVALRY AND THE CRUSADES		
XXL XXII. BELL'S LIFE OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS		
XXIII. RUSSELL'S ANCIENT AND MODERN EGYPT		
XXIV. FLETCHER'S HISTORY OF POLAND		
XXV. SMITH'S FESTIVALS, GAMES, AND AMUSEMENTS		
XXVI. BREWSTER'S LIFE OF SIR ISAAC NEWTON	1	vol.
XXVII. RUSSELL'S PALESTINE, OR THE HOLY LAND		
XXVIII. MEME'S MEMOIRS OF THE EMPRESS JOSEPHINE		
XXIX. THE COURT AND CAMP OF BONAPARTE		
XXX. LIVES OF EARLY NAVIGATORS, &c.		
XXXI. DESCRIPTION OF PITCAIRN'S ISLAND, &c		
	•	
Classical Series.		
I. II. XENOPHON. (Anabasis and Cyropædia.)	2	vo s.
III. IV. LELAND'S DEMOSTHENES	2	vol s.
V. ROSE'S SALLUST	1	vol.
Dramatic Series.		
I. II. III. MASSINGER'S PLAYS	•	
IV. V. FORD'S PLAYS	٥	A O 1 20
IV. V. FORD'S PLAYS	z	vols.
LIBRARY OF SELECT NOVELS.		
I. H. CYRIL THORNTON By Hamilton	2	vols
HI. IV. THE DUTCHMAN'S FIRESIDE Paulding		
V. VI. THE YOUNG DUKE		
VII. VIII. ANASTASIUS		
IX. X. PHILIP AUGUSTUSJames		
XI. XII. CALEB WILLIAMSGodwin		
XIII. XIV. THE CLUB-BOOK		
XV. XVI. DE VEREWard		
XVII. XVIII. THE SMUGGLERBanim		
XIX. XX. EUGENE ARAMBulwer	2	vols.
XXI. XXII. EVELINABurney	2 .	vols.
YYUL YYIV. THE SPVCooper		

of Agricultural Chemistry, London, 1813 (presented in 1828) in Peitho complemented his influential Elements of Chemical Philosophy, Philadelphia, 1812, in the College collection, which had Thornton's British Flora, while Peitho had his Elements of Botany. Technology is represented by the 14-volume Repertory of Arts, London, 1794-1801, still today in splendid condition, so little used was it (provenance unknown). David Hosack, that indefatigable promoter of himself and of medicine at Rutgers, presented his works to Peitho in 1828.15 But Goldsmith's History of the Earth and Animated Nature (first published 1774), popular works such as Jane Marcet's Conversations on Chemistry, Richard Phillips's Grammar of Chemistry, together with practical manuals on subjects such as farming, health, artillery and silk culture, are more typical of the collection as a whole.

The works of the Scottish common-sense philosophers so much used in the early American colleges¹⁶ are not—with the exception of Thomas Reid-in the Peitho collection. Locke is present and Burke On the Sublime as well as the more contemporary Inquiries Concerning the Intellectual Powers . . . (f.p. 1830) and Philosophy of the Moral Feelings, (f.p. 1833), by John Abercrombie (both in Harper's Family Library).

One of the American followers of the Scottish school was Samuel Stanhope Smith, President of the College of New Jersey (Princeton), whose Essay on the Causes of the Variety of Complexion and Figure in the Human Species . . . also, Strictures on Lord Kaims' Discourse on the Original Diversity of Mankind, (f.p. Philadelphia 1787), Peitho had in two copies, one of which was the second edition (New Brunswick, 1810), donated in 1828.17 Oddly, neither the Essay, his Sermons nor his Lectures are recorded in the 1832 Catalogue of the College library. They all had to wait before eventually being added. 18 One can only speculate on the reasons, for

They were in the College collection too, and also in the library of the College of New Jersey (Princeton). For Hosack's activities see Cowen, D. L. Medical Education: The Queen's-Rutgers Experience, N.B., 1966.

¹⁶ See the Catalogue of Books . . . , pp. 14-15.
17 See the introduction to Winthrop D. Jordan's edition of the Essay, Cambridge, 1965,

for a full discussion of the place of the book in the thought of its time.

¹⁸ Peitho also had Smith's Comprehensive View . . . of the Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion, N.B., 1815. The College had a volume catalogued as "Smith's View" which is probably John Smith's Summary View and Explanation of the Prophets, Edin. 1787, and another, unidentified, book which could be the Comprehensive View...

Smith was, after all, an orthodox Presbyterian who defended the literal authenticity of *Genesis*, and it is hard to imagine that his religious views were radically different from those of the Reformed Church.

If moral philosophy did not seem to excite the interest of Peitho members, politics and government did not fare much better. The collection had two sets of *The Wealth of Nations* as well as Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and three sets of Burke's *Works*, in addition to his *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Peitho also had Vattel's *Law of Nations*, Destutt de Tracy's commentary of Montesquieu, but no Paine; and Jefferson's *Works* had to wait until 1835 before being purchased. The presence of the Abbé Grégoire's *Enquiry Concerning the Intellectual and Moral Faculties, and Literature of Negroes* . . . , Brooklyn, 1810 (presented in 1838), and a report of 1825 on slavery in Mauritius would not indicate that the Afro-American question was of great interest to Peitho readers at this time.

But half of Peitho's collection consisted of literature (in the modern intensive sense of the word), and it was double that of the College, the poverty of which can be seen from the *Catalogue* (pp. 16-17). However haphazard the Society's acquisitions may have been in other fields a number of novels were bought almost on publication, a good indication of where the members' interests lay.

They had access, for example, to Jane Austen, Lord Byron, James Fenimore Cooper (6 titles), Maria Edgeworth, *Tom Jones*, Ford's *Plays*, John Galt, Godwin's *Caleb Williams*, Mrs. Hemans, Washington Irving, Samuel Johnson and Charles Lamb. The early works of Bulwer Lytton include *The Last Days of Pompeii*, first published in 1834, and Marryat's *Jacob Faithful* of the same year was also present. Milton (not in the College *Catalogue!*), Massinger, ¹⁹ James Montgomery, John Neal, James Kirke Paulding are represented: Timothy Dwight only by *Greenfield Hill*, while Barlow, Brackenridge, Brockden Brown and Freneau are all lacking. The Porter sisters, Jane and Anna Maria, are there in strength with ten titles between them; Susanna Rowson's forgotten bestseller of 1791, *Charlotte Temple*, was on Peitho's shelves, together with many other novelists in vogue later (The Banim brothers, Disraeli and G.P.R.

¹⁹ Ford and Massinger were in The Family Library edition.

James being well represented), mostly in the two-volume American editions. But pride of place was inevitably held by the prodigiously popular Sir Walter Scott.

Twenty-nine titles by Scott (including duplicates), together with a 45-volume set of *The Waverley Novels* (in all, 92 volumes), are recorded in Peitho's catalogue, while the lonely single volume labelled *Works* in the College collection, is actually *Marmion* (Baltimore, 1812). Presumably the College authorities shared the opinions of William Craig Brownlee, Professor of Languages 1825-6, about the irreligion and dangerous political tendencies expressed in the Waverley novels, but Peitho's members were not deterred.²⁰ The collection also had Smollett, Southey, Sterne and Swift (but no Coleridge or Wordsworth), three copies of Frances Trollope's *Refugee in America* (f.p. 1832), as well as the ubiquitous Goldsmith and, of course, the inevitable Thomson's *Seasons*.

However, Peitho's lacks in the other branches of knowledge (literature in the extensive, early nineteenth-century sense of the term), did not pass unnoticed. George Brinckerhoff in his report of September 1834, while making the perennial plea of librarians for more room for the library, expressed the hope that it will "increase with many of the most approved works in the different departments of literature." He comments on the large collection of novels "among them a goodly assortment of 'trash' which we find to be an increasing evil," and hopes that donors will contribute in such a way that the library will increase "in size and worth."²¹

The Philoclean Society's library developed in parallel with Peitho's. By May 1832 the collection was recorded as having about 410 titles in some 820 volumes. Though it was not possible to classify the collection in the same way as the Peitho books an examination of the available listings does permit some general comparisons.²² For

The Society had trouble in raising money to pay for its purchase of the Circulating Library of Terhune and Letson in New Brunswick, contracted for in Oct. 1834 under

circumstances which remain unclear from the minutes.

²⁰ WCB, memorialized as "fourth son of the Laird of Torfoot"—for, as Scott observed, every Scotsman has a pedigree—edited *The Magazine of the Reformed Dutch Church*, an official publication of the Church, between 1826 and 1828. The condemnation appeared in the *Magazine* of Oct. 1826, pp. 215-17.

²² Philo's collection—the May 1832 list has some errors of addition—grew from some 196 titles in 266 volumes held in 1828. Its classed catalogue is more sophisticated than Peitho's and includes information on the provenance of the books, making it possible to separate gifts from purchases. Owing to the practice of adding on to a list once made, a certain care is needed in analyzing the collection for its contents at a particular time.

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Books in the Philoclean Library, May 1832. Poetry

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23 Sr Syntax I'm Semerest	1
24 Morie Hyckofs.	6
95 Thatefur	2
26 Mongomering Porms "	.3
27 Young A B. Patterson	2
28 Stewart Poems L. Gosman.	1
29. Ohan A. H Harner	2
30 Cecapionae liers	1
31. Towes Frems	2.
32 Beaties minstere	1
33 Beauties of Thakspear	1
34 Juaims Declemption . Elihu Doly	/
35 Sandede Losto & Loty	/
36 mariner 6.6. Tunaredace	/
oy Shepwicks J. H. Amermans.	9
38 Popes works & Tatterson	4
39 Common Place Book porty e. y Demercest	٠٠,
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Books in the Philoclean Library, May 1832. Poetry

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14 American Brown	Lyon. McConnigation of
& Satisas Quedations	I. De Stryker
66 Esgant Extract Frame	Adrian Lott. 6
17 More From	W. Gasman 1
in wreath	Sas Saston 1
19 Chrise	A B. Pattuson 2
Il Temple of Nature	J. J. Romey n . 1.
\$1 Columnias	Il G. Ghman _ 2
32 Josephers Frand -	" " " - 1.
53 Belshagger	It H Buyn
54 Dhu Lights	
\$5. Son Juan	E. Yan aken
16 Herry -	A B Patterson 1
57 Sacreper of Syche -	Mr Deferer " 1.
28 avenia	
59. Night thought - 2 cop.	Gosman. J Luck 2
60 Might thoughty.	
12 Lagen Books -	R H Fruga 1
12 Lagen Elookh -	and and are the supplied
13 Stringer	d Pure 2
Brys to Crems	I Puker -

Books in the Philoclean Library, May 1832. Poetry

example, history (ancient and modern) including biography, accounts for some 21.5% of the titles, and literature for at least a further 47.9%. There are some 106 novels, and 65 titles are listed in the poetry category. A dozen titles by Fenimore Cooper were purchased, as were ten by Bulwer Lytton and six by Washington Irving. Another dozen Scott titles came by purchase and gift. But the representation comes nowhere near that in Peitho even though that resolute opponent of his romances, Dr. Brownlee, left the College in 1826. Of eleven French titles all were gifts, eight of them coming from S. Van Rensselaer (Class of 1829). In Latin there were a scant five titles in twenty-seven volumes, twenty of which were a donated Cicero. Goldsmith's Animated Nature was bought and other staple titles included Beck's Chemistry, Rush's On the Mind, Hedge's Logic, Paley's Works, and in philosophy Smellie and Stewart. The percentages agree well—not unexpectedly—with the contents of Peitho, as do the actual titles.²³

The combined collections of Peitho and Philo almost equalled the College library in numbers even after the addition of the De Witt books, and they had a wider scope than the College library, which continued to be focused on piety and the formal curriculum. It might be argued that their existence inhibited to some degree the development of the College collection, permitting the College authorities to delay improving it until such time as the new subjects of the extracurriculum became the new curriculum, and they were obliged to do so. In this respect then the society libraries anticipated the changes which were to come in the instructional program and library collection of the College. A period of further growth lay ahead before these and other changes, such as the rise of the fraternities, eventually made their continuing existence supererogatory. The libraries were finally given to the College and were incorporated into the collection in 1895.

²³ Later catalogues of both libraries (Peitho, 1864 and Philo 1850 and 1867) were made. Analysis of them awaits investigation, as do the other activities of the societies.

Note on Sources

What seems to be the first essay towards a history of the library at Rutgers was the short "History of the Library" by William H.S. Demarest, which he contributed to the first number of this journal in 1937. Demarest's History of Rutgers College, 1924, and Richard P. McCormick's Rutgers: A Bicentennial History, 1966, are both informative on the library and the student literary societies. Peitho and Philo had an article devoted to them (mostly concerning the scramble to secure distinguished honorary members), also in JRUL, in December 1958, By G. Stuart Demarest, augmenting Rudolf Kirk's brief piece of June 1938. John B. Drury (1858) read a paper on Peitho and Philo to the New Brunswick Historical Club in January 1895, and John T. Demarest (1834) contributed reminiscences of 1830-34 to the club in March 1889.

The basic primary sources for the first hundred years of library history at Rutgers are the *Minutes* of the Trustees of Rutgers College and *The Acts and Proceedings of the General Synod of the Reformed Dutch Church in North America*, as there is little surviving archival material before the mid-nineteenth century, though the College library circulation records from 1825-1912 are still extant.

Records of Peitho 1825-91 occupy some fifteen boxes in the University Archives, but its earliest library circulation register starts only in 1865. Philo's records 1825-1915 are in fourteen boxes with circulation registers starting in 1827. Thus there is some information awaiting analysis on student day-to-day reading at Rutgers. James McLachlan in his categorical and stimulating article (see note 5), mainly based on the Princeton societies' archives, stresses the importance of this kind of information, and proposes a study of the history of the American college student using the records of the student societies.