

**“UNDER THESE CLASSIC SHADES  
TOGETHER”: INTIMATE MALE FRIENDSHIPS  
AT THE ANTEBELLUM COLLEGE OF  
NEW JERSEY**

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*A*cross American colleges and universities during the late antebellum period, young men associated outside the classroom in literary, social, and fraternal clubs, all-male spaces highly conducive to the formation of strong friendships. Strong male relationships developed in which such terms as “intimacy,” “fraternal love,” and the “after life” were fundamental tenets of a shared experience. Unlike the collective world found in the public sphere of adult men, the antebellum college setting differed precisely because the young men quite frequently lived and dined together in dormitories, boarding and rooming houses, and fraternities, often secretly organized, in the towns and cities in which their colleges were located. Their lives were marked by dynamic uncertainty: not yet fully independent adults, but no longer completely dependent for support on their families.<sup>1</sup>

Since at least the 1970s, historians have debated the possibilities of same-sex intimacy among women, the terms of which have often centered on their timing and their prevalence in early American society.<sup>2</sup> Only recently, however, have men as gendered subjects

become an area for scholarly inquiry, with the so-called New Men's History.<sup>3</sup> Historians have demonstrated numerous instances of same-sex intimacy among males, including among college students, though the challenge of finding concrete sources for such intimacy has made definitive assessment difficult in all cases.<sup>4</sup> Some historians have concluded that college friendships were mostly platonic products of early manhood and highly dependent on the environment in which they were formed.<sup>5</sup> Other scholars have argued persuasively that same-sex attractions and intimacies, and not simply intimate friendships, were also distinct possibilities for college men.<sup>6</sup> This article argues that the students themselves defined the boundaries of intimate friendships in an uncertain period prior to full adulthood. In the antebellum college, for the first and perhaps only time in their lives, young men formed strong friendships in an individual, intimate, and perhaps homoerotic world, one unregulated by parents, kinsmen, or neighbors. Inherently a fragile and temporary world—rife with the tensions created by sectional conflict, the responsibilities of impending adulthood, and societal expectations to marry—young men grappled to make meaning of the fleeting nature of their intimate friendships formed with fellow classmates, even as they hoped to maintain them beyond college.

Of all the institutions of higher learning in late antebellum America, the College of New Jersey (officially renamed Princeton University in 1896) was unique in its near equal mix of young white men, from North and South and from middling and elite backgrounds.<sup>7</sup> While most young men initially sought friendships with those from similar cultural backgrounds, over time friendships formed that integrated competing ideas about manhood, northern and southern, into a new collegiate form. For southerners, a new kind of emotional language was made available to them, one not easily accessed at southern colleges. For northerners, further contact with others from their region, as well as those from farther afield, served to widen the scope and increase the variety of possibility in the construction of their young manhood. Much as in other contexts where the bonds of party trumped those of section, at the College of New Jersey the bonds formed by young northern and southern men seem to have overcome the anxieties and dichotomies of a fraught nation, forming what one historian has called "a distinctive social regime."<sup>8</sup> For these young men, their friendships reflected their conceptions of manhood, coalesced around the shared experiences of living and studying together, and aimed toward an elite national education and, by extension, future in the citizenry.<sup>9</sup>

To understand male friendship, the possibilities of same-sex intimacy, and the composite nature of student culture at the College of New Jersey, this

article proceeds along two different paths. The first section will consider how students constructed friendships with each other in fraternities, literary societies (notably the American Whig Society and the Cliosophic Society), and on campus more broadly, through an examination of their college autograph books. If the particularities of section and class had animated their lives before college, in the crucible of the college environment the intimate friendships formed with their classmates prevailed and often superseded their previously held predilections. The second section will explore the students' relationships to parents, surrogates, and siblings through family letters, arguing that intimate friendships, along with the vicissitudes of college life itself, helped to reshape the nature of their relationship to family members at home. No longer were these young men fully dependent on their parents for the emotional and affectionate bonds that had previously sustained them. New friendships and experiences also meant changing conceptions of family and, by extension, a growing awareness of the lives expected and required of them in the future.

### **"A Period of Greater Interest than Any Other in Our Lives"**

Students' hopes for the future were never clearer than in their words to one another, and the records of those words are most numerous in the period immediately preceding graduation. In the spring of 1852, students at the College of New Jersey prepared to graduate with the usual mixture of heady elation and heartfelt despondence that characterize seniors on the eve of commencement. They also carefully prepared to write farewell words to one another that would reflect the significance of the past four years of college life.

One such student, Pennsylvanian Benjamin Chase Dorrance, anxiously wrote to Charles Colcock Jones Jr., a Georgian and a fellow member of the Cliosophic Society (Clio) in the class of 1852:

When once we have left these "Classic Shades," circumstances must determine whether we shall ever meet again. Should these be adverse . . . may this page serve to remind you of one whose heart will ever cherish with emotions of delight the remembrance of the many pleasant hours we have spent together here.

Most likely, the two men did not meet again after graduation. Charles Colcock Jones Jr., son of one Princeton graduate and brother to another, became the mayor of Savannah in 1860, a Confederate officer, and a noted

historian of the South. His publications numbered more than one hundred, but at this moment in 1852 all that was in the future, one made uncertain by the impending change brought by graduation. Indeed, no one knew what the future held. As it turned out, circumstances for Benjamin Dorrance were less kind: he died in 1859, not having yet reached age thirty.<sup>10</sup>

Two years earlier and under similar circumstances, another Pennsylvanian, Edward Payson Heberton, also used the occasion of graduation to write to his classmates. Heberton, a member of Clio, reflected on the meaning of his college experience and the special friendship he had formed with one such young man, Robert Bolling, a Whig and a fellow member of the class of 1850:

Here we have been companions together for two years—lying side by side under these classic shades together, dipping from these sparkling fountains, the brimming cup of science. In lazy ease, we have leaned back [in] good easy chairs and puffed away in contentedness—in a perfect cloud of smoke, which always appeared to make one's head a little softer—the tongue a little more glib—and us a good deal happier. Yes, Bob, we have realized the joys of college life—but now it's all over for us.

The joys of college life may have ended, but both Heberton and Bolling sought postgraduate degrees from Princeton, the former in the seminary. For his part, Heberton completed his degree, married, and served as an assistant paymaster in the U.S. Navy during the Civil War; about Bolling less is known.<sup>11</sup>

Significantly, Heberton, Dorrance, and dozens more like them wrote in their classmates' autograph books, bound volumes that allowed each member of the class to sign his name and to write a short departing note. From the 1850s onward, autograph books were typically "gold-stamped or blind-stamped brown, dark blue, or red imitation leather over hard covers with approximately 125 gilt-edged leaves of white or light paper."<sup>12</sup> The imitation leather of the book's cover reflected students' pecuniary limitations, while the gilt-edged leaves and gold stamping on the book's cover conveyed the importance of the contents, both to those who inscribed inside the book and to those who might read the entries later in life. Although better constructed than the unbound scrapbooks, autograph books lacked the elegant construction of society guest books or family registers. The students' intense efforts in filling autograph books belied their poor construction. Some of the title pages, for instance, are beautifully lettered with illustrations and poetry.<sup>13</sup>

In the 1850s autograph books were "all the rage," and the students of Nassau Hall used their autograph books to "collect not only the autographs of classmates, but also good wishes, bits of favorite verse, letters of farewell, or reminiscences of shared events during undergraduate years."<sup>14</sup> By the middle 1850s, some autograph writers included ambrotypes or tintypes with their entries. Compared to diaries, autograph books were by no means private, as they circulated widely among classmates. Yet, autograph writing was itself an intimate experience, in which the writer possessed in his hands the compiled memories of a shared friendship. In their messages to each other, young men transformed their "college days" into "the happiest days" of their lives. They are at once an admixture of shared personal reminiscences and a public statement about the meaning of friendships at a particular moment in their lives.<sup>15</sup>

For many students, the words written in autograph books marked the deepest intimate emotional experience in their lives to date. Another student in

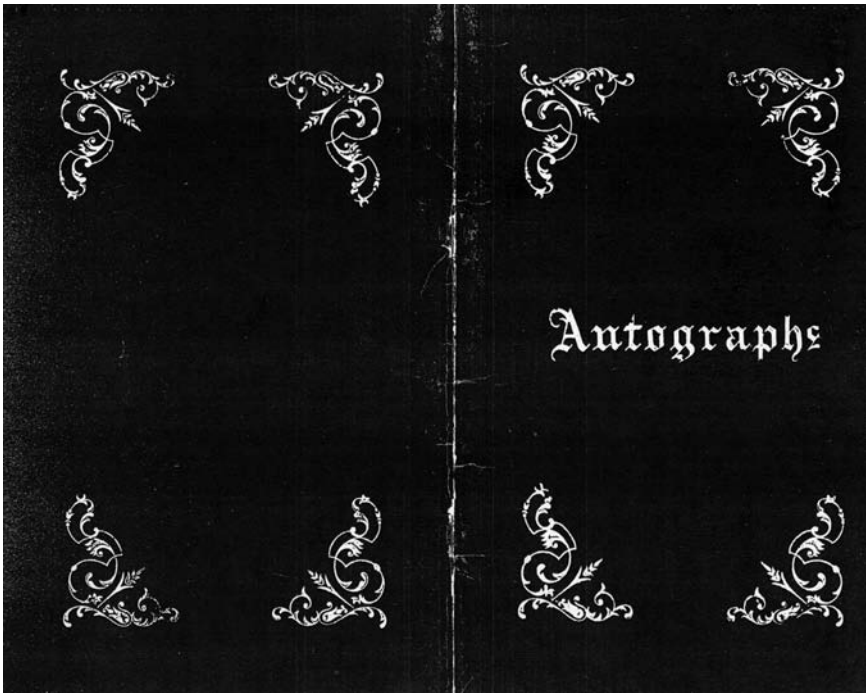


FIGURE 1: Reproduction cover of autograph book of Ewing Graham McClure, 1861. Courtesy Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

the class of 1850 and a member of Clio, the New Jersey native William Henry Canfield, composed an entry in Robert Bolling's autograph book in the days before graduation, describing his feelings for their shared friendship:

Never, no never shall the recollection of the spring of 1850 depart from my memory—its glorious opportunities—its happy hours and blessed reunions—its inestimable results—these distinguish the close of our collegiate career as a period of greater interest than any other in our lives.

Canfield, who would later become a seminarian and tutor at Princeton, continued his recollection of his friendship with Bolling, resorting to emotional and florid language. "The scenes in which we have been permitted to engage," he wrote, "the events which we have witnessed in all their stages—are not only of a character infinitely beyond human estimate, but of such a nature that they surely cannot be recalled to mind without exciting emotions which language would fail to express."<sup>16</sup>

The Canfield autograph, even more so than those of Heberton and Dorrance, reveals how college students found emotional intimacy with other men and formed different conceptions of manhood in the process. Canfield's autograph underscored the notion that the young men themselves understood the transitory nature of their experience together and nevertheless found it the most formative part of their lives. In recalling the scenes of past intimacy, Canfield failed to find the words to capture the "exciting emotions" of those shared moments. This failure of language perhaps reflected the unspeakable nature of homoerotic intimacy itself, and, at the very least, such a failure complicates the meanings and possibilities of close relationships between two men.

The construction of intimacy through shared experiences and emotions was a treasured aspect of these young men's lives. In the autograph books, despite limitations on privacy, students found ways to reveal the memory of the intimacy that they shared with each other. "I believe it is a much harder task to write in the autograph book of a very intimate friend," James Addison Henry of New Jersey declared to fellow Whig and member of the class of 1857, the Pennsylvania native Wallace DeWitt, "than in the book of one to whom you are not so warmly attached. In the case of the former you are anxious to refer to some little scene or incident which you may suppose will give him much pleasure to remember in after years. In the case of the latter however we are apt to write the first-thing that comes into our heads."<sup>17</sup> As Henry suggested,

the autographs composed with a "little scene or incident" in mind were tied to long walks, social occasions, and the details of conversation—the intimacy of shared encounters together. Both men hoped to remember such "incidents" for many years to come, and indeed both men maintained strong connections to Princeton in the years after graduation.<sup>18</sup>

Autograph books were not only records of intimate experiences; they were also meant to be reminders, almost memorials, of the past. For New Jerseyan John Thurman Gilchrist Jr. of the class of 1855, the impending departure of his friend and fellow Clio Frederick Cox Roberts, a North Carolinian who later became a notable lawyer and served as a Confederate cavalry captain in the Civil War, was most lamentable because of the intimacy the two had shared as friends while boarding at the "room of Mrs. Moore." "The friendship formed at first has gradually ripened into intimacy," Gilchrist wrote, "[a]nd now when we are in its full enjoyment, we are called upon to part." But Gilchrist also hoped to be remembered by his friend. Employing the trope of advice-giving common to autograph books, Gilchrist composed a bit of original verse by which to be remembered:

Far away 'neath a warmer sky  
Has fortune cast your lot—  
Still as of'n as your thoughts may fly,  
Or memory turn a moistened eye,  
To dwell on scenes long since gone by,  
Or think of friends that Northward lie,  
May I not be forgot—

Like many of the other autograph writers, Gilchrist understood intimacy to be possible between two men. He hoped to memorialize the intimacy of their friendship, if only in the autograph book of his departing southern friend.<sup>19</sup>

Intimacy and another concept, fraternal bonds, were often closely associated and enabled through newly formed social fraternities.<sup>20</sup> By recasting each other as brothers in an extended family, students formed friendships that gained a sense of permanency, perhaps even more so than the relationship of biological brothers. The bonds of fraternity also corresponded, in large part, to sectional identities, a fact worrisome to faculty observers. Class of 1850 graduates William Canfield and Robert Bolling joined with other northerners in Sigma Chi Fraternity, while southerners were more likely to solidify fraternal bonds at Delta Kappa Epsilon. The sectional alignment was

also the case with literary society membership. Whig Club members had a higher prevalence of southerners than its rival, the Cliosophic Society, though friendships were possible both across section and literary society.<sup>21</sup> While debate and rhetoric claimed nominal significance at literary societies and fraternities, as one historian has written, “the real concern of each fraternity was to create within the larger college a small group of compatible fellows for friendship, mutual protection, and good times.”<sup>22</sup> The compatibility of such groups often depended, not surprisingly, on shared cultural backgrounds.

Departing students often wrote of the “after life,” referring to the future after Princeton as if it were equivalent to the Christian afterlife. Virginian George William Ford wrote his fellow Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity brother, Frederick Cox Roberts: “In after-life when looking over these small mementos of your college friends, if your eye should ever rest on this page let it recall to your memory one of your best friends and one who will ever remember you with affection.”<sup>23</sup> Georgia native George Mercer likewise revealed his feelings of sadness parting with fellow fraternity brother and southerner George Ford. “I cannot tell you how sad my heart is at the thought of our separation,” Mercer averred, adding, “I have known you long and well—have shared with you my feelings—have told you of my hopes and prospects—have always made you my intimate friend.” In 1851 Charles Phillips, who never graduated, hoped that Frederick Henry Quitman, a Mississippian from a prominent family, would be able to enjoy a happy married life. Neither Phillips nor Quitman wished for a continuation of the college living arrangement. Instead, Phillips’s autograph and those like it acknowledged the perceived inevitability of future marriage and wished their fellow classmates the best.<sup>24</sup>

For some young men, the friendships formed at college included intensely passionate emotions and experiences. George Mercer recalled for George Ford many such moments spent together:

I can never forget our pleasant rambles in the woods—our sittings round the stove, and the many tales of the woods and streams that used to take us back to the loved solitudes of our Southern homes. If I live till my head is white and my frame feeble, the recollection of those stirring talks will send the blood coursing through my veins.<sup>25</sup>

The visceral image of blood coursing through veins evokes the erotic passion of sexual life. One may question if those “pleasant rambles in the woods” with his fellow fraternity brother Ford included a homoerotic element as

well. At the very least, George Mercer was sharing the intimacy of past events and, in so doing, also invoked a connection to their shared southern heritage. Likewise, Mercer, along with John Gilchrist and many others, hoped the memories—if not the physicality of the friendship itself—with George Ford would continue long past graduation.

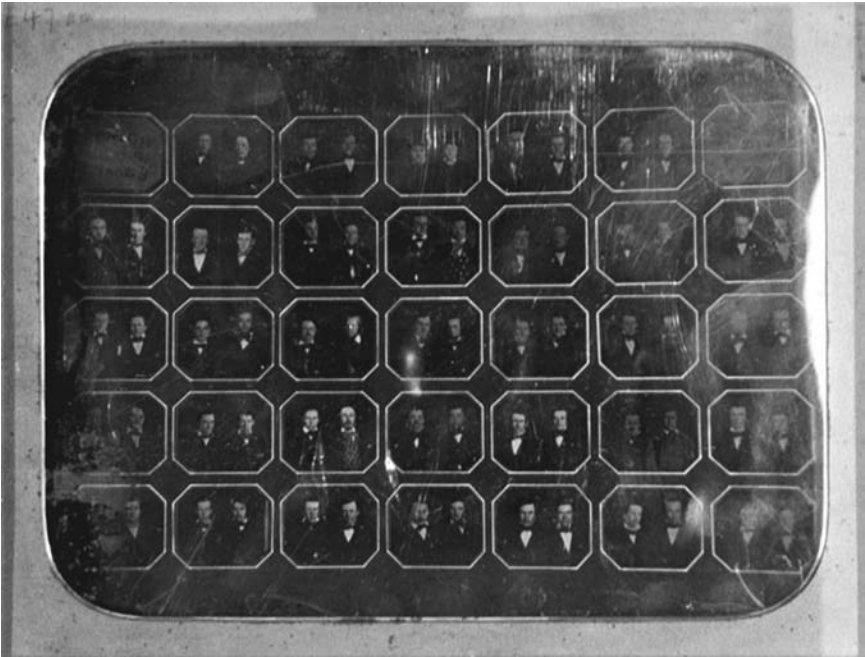
Women were undoubtedly a regular topic of discussion among college students, yet the autograph books were largely devoid of any mention of them. In his autograph to William Krebs Falls, the irascible William Alexander Henry, son of a Princeton professor, joked, "Now my dear boy, all that I have to say is take care of yourself, and Mrs. Falls (i.e., of course when she is about)."<sup>26</sup> Henry's acknowledgment that a "Mrs." was an inevitable and desirable part of young men's futures hinted at the importance of marriage, but most autograph books have little else to say about women. Experiences with women, romantic or platonic, were not relevant to saying farewell to those students with whom had been created the greatest intimacy of their lives.

While most students likely expected to marry women, they participated in a marriage of a different sort at college. In their unpublished book, *College as It Is: Or, the Collegian's Manual in 1853*, James Buchanan Henry and Christian Henry Scharff noted the students' custom "to have their Daguerreotypes taken for the College Picture Gallery," which featured portraits of classmates, one seated next to the other, and hung in framed composites inside Nassau Hall. "We think this a very pretty and interesting custom for an alumnus returning on a visit to Princeton years after graduation," the authors opined, "[and] has the satisfaction of once more seeing the familiar faces of all his classmates, and of perhaps showing to his pretty wife how he himself used to look when a collegian."

Henry and Scharff's *Manual* transformed the student daguerreotype composites from a memento of an all-male past into a quaint relic to show the "pretty wife" of the future. In doing so, the authors diminished the significance of the college friendships themselves, viewing them as a mere idle curiosity along the path toward traditional marriage. Yet, this "very pretty and interesting custom" can also be seen as a kind of fraternal, college marriage, and one that unsettles traditional marriage more generally. In seating one man next to the other, rather than picturing each student individually as was done with faculty portraits, the student daguerreotype replaced the union of man and woman with that of man and man. The daguerreotypes of dozens of young men paired next to their

classmates, when combined and framed into a composite, becomes a visual representation of life without women and an ambiguous remnant of past same-sex relationships for future viewers.<sup>27</sup>

As even Henry and Scharff's reading of the daguerreotype composites suggest, womanly companionship was mainly a matter for the future. Without women as an everyday part of their lives, young men struggled to delineate the limits of fraternal affection within the all-male college environment. The process was further complicated by the necessity of southern students to leave the College of New Jersey to serve in the Civil War, and the growing sectional tensions were reflected in the autograph book entries. Florida native Andrew Anderson focused his autograph to New Jerseyean John Runkel Emery on the lack of intimacy in their friendship. "Although I have never been intimate with you," Anderson admitted, "yet had circumstances thrown us together I've no doubt we would have been very good friends."<sup>28</sup> John Peter Jackson Jr., another New Jerseyan, confessed to Frederick Cox Roberts, "I have always regretted



**FIGURE 2:** Composite portrait of the Class of 1852 (1852). Whole plate daguerreotype. Photographer, Henry E. Insley and Frederick DeBourg Richards. Courtesy Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

[we] could not have been more intimate," which was perhaps unsurprising given that the two men did not share similar fraternity or literary society connections. While entries such as Jackson's were more likely to come from northerners than southerners, young men from both sections still shared a great deal of camaraderie over cards, drinking, or both, through the start of the war.<sup>29</sup>

The approach of the war also brought southern students closer together. Hugh Martin Coffin, a Tennessean with roots in New England, wrote a touching note to his friend Ewing Graham McClure, another Tennessean in the class of 1862. Both Coffin and McClure were leaving college to fight in the Civil War, and even though McClure was not graduating in the spring of 1861, he still chose to circulate an autograph book to his classmates. In his autograph to McClure, Coffin hinted that the nature of their friendship had been quite intimate: "Let me assure you, my dear fellow," he wrote, "that my friendship for you has almost ripened into affection; if such a thing is possible between male and male, it has quite done so." Five months later,



FIGURE 3: Northerners and southerners at Princeton from the class of 1859 playing cards and drinking port. Courtesy Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

while on campaign near Centreville, Virginia, Coffin wrote his mother a poignant letter. In it he described meeting a “classmate of mine,” who was “a N. Carolinian and belongs [to] the Regt. of cavalry from that sight. Of course it does me good to meet up with those who were my friends and classmates.” The bonds of affection formed at college between Hugh Martin Coffin and his classmates proved to be most intimate of his short life—he died on December 5, 1861, in service of the Confederate army.<sup>30</sup>

Like so many of the autographers, Coffin was testing his feelings with McClure and revealing unusual emotions for another man. Richard S. Van Dyke, a Tennessean who served as a Confederate cavalry officer, also wrote to McClure about his deep affection for him: “Mac, there is no use trying to get around it, I ‘like’ (I won’t say love for that belongs to the tender sex) you.” Perhaps in recognition of the peculiarity of his confession, Van Dyke felt compelled to add, “To lay all joking aside and no flattery either, I can assure you, Dear Mac, that no one occupies a nearer place in my heart than yourself.” Van Dyke was killed near Darksville, Virginia, in 1863, not yet past twenty-five. Much like his fellow southerner Hugh Coffin, the most intimate relationship of Van Dyke’s life may very well have been the friendship he formed in college with Ewing Graham McClure.<sup>31</sup>

The possibility of continuing friendships beyond college was a very real one for many students. In 1862, Samuel Stanhope Stryker, who would later serve as a medical aide during the Civil War and become a noted physician, lamented the impending parting from his friend John Tyler Haight, even as he hoped for future intimacy. Stryker and Haight had prepared together at the Lawrenceville Classical and Commercial High School in New Jersey before entering Princeton, where their friendship grew even stronger. “We came to Princeton,” Stryker recalled, “and here again our old friendship revived until it culminated in those bonds of fraternal love which under no consideration should be severed.”<sup>32</sup> Stryker, a member of Whig, acknowledged the time for parting had come from Haight, a Clio, but he offered his hope that their friendship would continue past college: “There always is a time when the best of friends must part, when the strong ties of friendships must be broken, but John I feel far differently in parting with you situated as we are than I would under ordinary circumstances, there are stronger bonds between us than those of mere friendship and on these I put my reliance that you will ever remember your old friend.”<sup>33</sup> Stryker’s invocation of fraternal love lent credibility to his desire for a continued relationship, one “beyond mere friendship,” and offered the possibility that instead of mere play-acting, he hoped to solidify their friendship further than it had developed at college.

Even in the midst of the Civil War, the possibilities for intimate friendships did not diminish. Both New Jerseyans, both Clios, and both of the class of 1862, John Cochran and John Tyler Haight had a relationship that evinced one such example: "For three years we have been classmates and firm, strong friends. We have lived and loved together during this time. We entertain similar opinions on a great many things." In his autograph to Cochran, Samuel Stryker likewise recalled the intimate connections shared with his fellow classmate. "Those Jack were halcyon days," Stryker reminisced, "the only time when mortal man can truly enjoy himself is just between the years of fifteen and twenty, and as that period of my life has been in a great measure associated with you (and you being a jolly good fellow as we all know), of course I must have in a great degree received my highest enjoyment at your hand."<sup>34</sup> The friendships of young men like Cochran, Haight, and Stryker relied to a great deal on being jolly fellows, which implied a good deal of drinking, carousing, and practical joking. Perhaps, as some autographs suggest, they include a measure of superficiality that the young men could not recognize for themselves.<sup>35</sup>

Most students espoused fond memories of Princeton and recognized that their friendships would not have been possible without their "alma mater." Yet in his autograph to Wallace DeWitt, the Tennessean Calvin Morgan Christy revealed ambivalence about his college experience. Christy, who was a member of Delta Phi Fraternity and the Cliosophic Society, nevertheless did not find the strong connections that so many of his classmates had enjoyed. While "very anxious to leave this place . . . [to] be with my relations and entirely free from restraint," Christy admitted, "yet there are cords which bind me to our common 'alma mater' and at times make me loath to go."

Even Christy, eager to part ways with Princeton, could not resist, in retrospect, the value of his experience there. He cited his friendships with much fondness: "Among her children are my much intimate—and devoted friends. . . . To leave these—for whom I have the highest regard, is a painful but unavoidable duty. Though I cannot always be with them, still, I can think of them as the companions of my early days." For his part, Christy acknowledged the end of his daily contact with Wallace DeWitt, but not the end of their emotional relationship. "And Wallace," he continued with a final effusive outpouring, "if we separate for aye, never, for one moment, believe that I can forget you—Oh no! We have been too much together and know one another too well to fear such a result. Often shall I call you to mind in reviving college pleasures and college friends."<sup>36</sup> In later life, Christy achieved success as a business executive in the Christy Fire Clay Company of St. Louis, and

perhaps because of this distance from the middle Atlantic states, he does not seem to have stayed connected to the college that restrained him. Whether he ever saw Wallace DeWitt again is not known.<sup>37</sup>

What did the intimate language used in autograph books by young men such as Payson Heberton, Richard Van Dyke, Samuel Stryker, and Calvin Christy mean in the context of nineteenth-century America? In one sense, their autograph book entries were not particularly unusual. The description of their friendships, with their many shared experiences together, and the lamentation at parting can be read as a fairly typical, if nostalgic, evocation of an idyllic past, common to autograph books of the period (and of later such entries in high school and college yearbooks). Yet, the entries were unusual for young men in the antebellum period in three distinct ways. First, young men reflected on the common set of shared experiences, formed through their several years together, which had come to inform their notions of the nature of close male friendship, a relationship that they had never before known. As their futures remained uncertain, the fluidity of domestic arrangements in the college environment represented a fleeting moment, destined for the most part to be replaced by more traditional family settings, often undergirded by the bonds of marriage. The autograph book entries helped to quell those future anxieties through the backward glances taken together in friendship.

Second, the language of autograph books formed part of a discourse of intimate and perhaps homoerotic friendships, one that has been widely observed among women but was unusual for men. While the importance of close male friendships has only been recently acknowledged, historians of the college experience have long understood its critical role in the lives of young men. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, an early Princeton historian, noted the importance of friendships: "Before the first session was over [the freshman male] had made friendships which remained firm not only during his stay at Princeton but throughout life. With his chums he talked over his ambitions, his ideas of life; during vacation he often visited those who lived near Princeton; with them he corresponded after leaving college."<sup>38</sup> While Wertenbaker perhaps overly romanticized the college experience, he accurately captured the nature of friendships formed and the hopes of many young men for their continuation beyond college.

Related to this notion, the romantic style of autograph-book writing may be understood as part of the concomitant and widespread growth of sentimental literary culture. The possibility that male college students engaged in the discourse of sentiment supports the claim of scholars that

nineteenth-century "men did in fact participate in sentimental discourse." The language used by students like Heberton marked the shared intimacy of independence found for the first time in their lives. Graduation had become a time for students to reflect on their experiences with one another and look forward to the future. Autograph books likewise had become synonymous with graduation and such future-looking activity. The arrival of the first autograph book reminded the anxious student that graduation was not far away, and with it separation from those who had been his closest friends. In their construction and in their words, autograph books were symbolic representations of the student phase of their lives, one in which intimate friendships and scholarly pursuits were inexorably tied.<sup>39</sup>

Finally, the autograph books are among the most important sources historians possess to understand the nature of the college experience from the student perspective. Because Princeton students kept the albums long after graduation, they can even say quite a lot about their lives after graduation. The New Jerseyan Charles Preston Stratton, Princeton class of 1848, periodically updated his autograph book as the years passed by. News that classmate Arthur Whitely had died produced a caustic response: "Dead! Dead! 'He should have died' before," whereas another entry, this one about John Ebenezer Nottingham, revealed fond if whimsical memories: "A hard drinker at college, but sowed his full crop of wild oats there and has become, I am told, a steady-going useful Virginia country gentleman: enjoyed his diem though let it alone 1877." Stratton left Princeton and pursued a degree in law, ultimately becoming involved in various business concerns in Camden, New Jersey, but his decision to annotate his autograph book suggests that his college classmates remained significant all his life.<sup>40</sup>

Another Princeton student, Frederick Henry Quitman, also returned to his autograph book in later life, in 1865 at the conclusion of the Civil War. At the front of his book, an eager classmate had written: "Remember that you are a Mississippian {and} always act as becomes one who is a citizen of such a state." Now, Quitman authored a new entry, on the last page of his own autograph book. "Memorandum of articles taken by F.H.Q. from Residence on Live Oaks, Nov. 1, 1865," it began, followed by a list of various home furnishings, tools, and clothing. Quitman was in the process of abandoning his family's Mississippi plantation after the war, and so he turned to his autograph book, the one book he knew that he would always carry with him, to record his inventory. In so doing, this son of a former congressman unwittingly participated in a double process of reunification, not only of his

autograph book with his real property, but also in the realm of emotional feeling. The best wishes of his classmates, as recorded in the autograph book of his college years, would aid Quitman in the process of rebuilding his life after the Civil War.<sup>41</sup>

Ultimately, the autograph book may be read as an attempt to capture the memories of shared intimacy and even to continue them past the college years. For many students, when they signed their classmates' autograph books, they did so with deeply felt sentiment, intense longing, and a passionate desire for sustained future relationships. For some of them, the special intimacy of close male friendships had ended, and the need to accept the reality of future occupations, responsibility, and, eventually, family had arrived. When they signed their names, they left behind more than words in a gilt-edged book. A reflection of the semi-permanent nature of college life and their aspirations for the future, the autograph book was a memorial to the shared, if fleeting, lives spent "under these classic shades together."

### Correspondence with My Son

The antebellum college in its role as alma mater, Latin for "nourishing mother," also modified the traditional family structure in distinctly gendered ways. Biological mothers and fathers played relatively minor roles in the supervision and care of their sons; instead, male professors and administrators became surrogate fathers—supervising the intellectual and spiritual growth of students—and female boarding and lodging operators functioned as surrogate mothers—feeding, sheltering, and providing for basic necessities and comforts. Instead of biological brothers and sisters, the students had each other, which for the antebellum college meant a surplus of brothers and few, if any, sisters. In this temporary, alternate brotherhood, the bonds of fraternal affection formed, flourished, and sustained the young men, much to their surprise, in ways they had never known before.

The students themselves understood how the college environment, with its many surrogates, had replaced aspects of their former lives. Letters written by students to family members at home often deemed this new family structure to be an imperfect replacement for their biological kin. Others students expressed excitement at the prospects of friendships formed at college, hinting at a level of intimacy with their classmates that transcended those provided by family. Intimate friendships did not necessitate a complete

rejection of the intimacy of the family; in fact, college friendships combined one kind of familial intimacy, that of the home, for another world of familial intimacy, that of college life.<sup>42</sup>

For a variety of reasons, family relations at home could not be ignored. Most students relied upon fathers and mothers to provide the necessary funds to support them through college. Also, the proximity of many students to home, especially those from the middle Atlantic, meant that visits from parents were a regular part of their lives. Another, less practical reason compelled students to keep connections with their families. Through family letters, students were reminded that their new college families did not, and could not, replace the family at home. Mothers and fathers, brothers and sisters, wrote to one another, sometimes regularly, sometimes irregularly, but always with physical separation as a continued reality. The way in which students handled the physical separation reveals aspects of how the fraternal love of college friendships both sustained them and left them unsatisfied. For the family members back home the family unit was often in a weakened state.

The relationship between father and son was often the primary one affected by college. In some cases, fathers continued to enjoy full control of their sons' affairs at college. The future Mississippi congressman John A. Quitman, father of Frederick Henry Quitman, went so far as to visit the College of New Jersey for himself in 1848 to ensure its acceptability for his son. He was suitably impressed by the school, and the elder Mississippian arranged a boarding house for his son's initial term. Eight years earlier, Quitman had been offered honorary membership into the Cliosophic Society, an encomium that he accepted only when his son was about to enroll at Princeton. Frederick Henry naturally joined Clio as a student. Later, when his son's peers willfully appropriated his room for a religious meeting, the elder Quitman considered, but never enacted, a transfer to the University of Mississippi.<sup>43</sup>

Other parents were less particular about their sons' lodging, though equally keen to offer advice on comportment. The Georgia merchant and planter Charles Colcock Jones Sr. and his wife, Mary, advised their two Princeton sons, Charles Colcock Jones Jr. and Joseph Jones, in detailed letters. For the "first time in your lives," the Joneses started a long letter of June 1850, "you are about to leave your home and the society of your parents to be absent for a length of time, and at great distance, among strangers." They then outlined fifteen "rules upon which you may frame your character and regulate your lives," which included, notably, "Frequent no eating or

drinking houses.”<sup>44</sup> The junior Charles Colcock Jones wrote dutifully to his parents upon arrival at Nassau Hall. He reviewed in great detail the particulars of his entrance exams and the “very good room” in which he was lodged. Jones was likewise observant of the racial dynamics at work at the college, observing that the many Irish “servants” were “respectful and attentive in the general, and are treated just as we do ours at home; and the only difference between them apparently is that in the one case they are white and in the other black.”<sup>45</sup>

In other letters, Jones shared news and insights about his college experience, with an emphasis on his classes, faculty, and books read. At the end of his first year at Princeton, the younger Jones asked his father for more money, outlining his expenses in great detail. In letters sent separately by his mother, Mary Jones admonished Charles to seek forgiveness from the Lord. As he grew older, the tone of the letters shifted somewhat. In a May 1852 letter, the younger Charles Colcock Jones advised his unwell parent: “Father, your system requires rest.”<sup>46</sup>

Charles Colcock Jones attempted to distinguish himself from the antics of other college students and to show how he avoided the pitfalls of others, but he aligned himself with his classmates in other ways. Jones did not participate in the effort to overturn the “holy car of Juggernaut” of P. T. Barnum’s Museum, or a “horn spree,” noting, “In neither of these were your boys engaged.”<sup>47</sup> While in a letter of September 1850 Jones recited “an established fact that Southerners are more remarkable for their oratorical powers than Northerners, though the latter may be more ‘plodding’ than the former,” all the students agreed that a greater common enemy was the “snobs,” those “town boys” of Princeton who were enemies to the “courageous sons of Nassau Hall.”<sup>48</sup> In another letter during a period of robbery, Jones reported, “Several students have been requested by families of ladies to serve as bodyguards . . . during the night until these unwelcome guests shall have left these peaceful domains.”<sup>49</sup> Perhaps to spare his mother the pain of the story, Jones wrote only to his father about his encounter with a besotted classmate. “Have been for some time attending to a sick young man from Georgia (Oscar Lewis), formerly of my class,” he wrote. “His indisposition was caused solely by excess. For the last eight days he has been drunk, having during that time taken about four hundred drinks, or about fifty quarts.”<sup>50</sup>

In the dozens of letters exchanged between Charles Colcock Jones Jr. and his parents, the younger scion rarely mentioned his classmates, either by name or indirect reference. “We have formed but few acquaintances,” he admitted,

but believed that "[o]ne in particular—Mr. Lee, of Georgia—is a noble fellow, and is a man who will, I hope, be a true friend."<sup>51</sup> Theirs was one of the few friendships which Jones mentioned in later letters.<sup>52</sup> The young men with whom Charles Colcock Jones Jr. formed friendships at Princeton were hardly "strangers" for long, though the process toward intimacy was slow-paced. Jones complained of the other students at the college, comparing them unfavorably to students at his former institution: "As a general thing the boys here are not so free in conduct as they are at Columbia [South Carolina College], but are rather reserved and stiff." Jones did not approve of juvenile pranks or childish behavior from some students, such as younger classmate James Hunter Berrien, whom he thought deserved a "good paddling." Nevertheless, Berrien was one of the five Georgians with whom Jones boarded regularly. "We have established a Georgia table in the refectory," he reported, "and enjoy a sociable meal among ourselves . . . spiced with Georgia interchange of feeling."<sup>53</sup>

When the time for commencement approached, the younger Jones became more reflective of his place in the world. "The period of graduation forms an important and solemn era in the life of a young man," he said. New responsibilities greeted Jones, which "savor of manhood." In the same letter, Jones reflected on the nature of his friendships: "College attachments are very strong, and the recollections of them often prove in after life sources of much enjoyment."<sup>54</sup> Not long after this letter, Jones signed the autograph books of his classmates and, in return, received autographs from them. The words that Jones shared with his fellow classmates were of a character entirely different from the letters he had been exchanging with his parents during his two years at Nassau Hall.

The experience of Charles Colcock Jones Jr. was hardly an exclusive product of his southern upbringing. One notable Princeton student, the Pennsylvanian James Buchanan Henry, was the orphaned ward of James Buchanan, the former secretary of state and future president. In his last year at Princeton, Henry was still receiving his fair share of paternal advice from Buchanan. "I hope that hereafter," the elder Buchanan wrote from his country estate at Wheatland, "we shall often receive equally agreeable information of your progress towards future usefulness & distinction." The young Henry had much to learn yet in the elder statesman's eyes. "You have mis-spelled three words in your letter," Buchanan chastised, "& I must note every thing which may be for your advantage." A primer in spelling followed, a sure sign of Henry's inferior status in society (not one to be discouraged, he coauthored, though never published, the *Collegian's Manual* with Christian Henry Scharff

in the following year). The tense relationship continued through graduation, when Buchanan plainly warned, "I shall certainly attend your commencement, should your position in the Class be such as I fondly hope & expect."<sup>55</sup>

Another Pennsylvania native, John Beatty Kyle, a member of Clio and the class of 1852, also wrote letters to his family, and the extant correspondence shows that Charles Colcock Jones Jr. and Kyle had somewhat similar experiences. Both young men struggled to cope with the challenges of college life, while still maintaining connections to their families at home. Kyle's experience differed from Jones, in that the Pennsylvanian roomed and boarded off campus rather than in a college dormitory. The proximity to the town offered Kyle different contacts with men and women in a variety of professional and domestic settings. The daughters and wives of the faculty and townspeople operated boarding houses, such as the one run by Mrs. Moore where many Princeton students dined, and rooming houses, such as the one operated by Mrs. Van Dyke, where Kyle lodged for his years at Princeton. To his younger sister, Clementine, Kyle complained, "Though I get very good boarding yet I have not a very pleasant place to board, there being no person in the family but an old man and woman without any children, the man doting and the woman so inquisitive as to be disagreeable." Kyle's resistance to an imposed surrogate family structure suggests that he would rather be boarding with his peers.<sup>56</sup>

In another letter to his sister Clementine, Kyle related his experience of taking ill. His self-diagnosed "bilious fever" and the unpleasant thought of confinement to a "room 10 feet long and 4 feet wide for 3 or 4 weeks" were not his only concerns. After noting that his "roommate was very attentive to me as also were my other acquaintances," Kyle equivocated about the usefulness of his landlady, Mrs. Van Dyke. "[She] was very kind," he reported, "but she don't know how to do things as well as mother; I sent to her for some chicken soup, which the Doctor told me would be good for me, but she sent me rice soup. However I have got well again, thanks Providence, and can eat almost anything."<sup>57</sup> Kyle relied on his "very attentive" roommate and "other acquaintances," presumably all of whom were male, for succor, while he distrusted the care of women. While Kyle's male friends provided some support, the network of male friends created at college could not completely fill the roles of his mother, necessitating the unwelcome presence, however "kind," of Mrs. Van Dyke.

For his part, Kyle disliked all the townspeople universally: "I don't like the people in Princeton much. They don't appear to care for any person

but themselves, and even among themselves there doesn't appear to be any sociability." Since Kyle could not find "any sociability" in the town environment, he turned to male friendship to find the companionship necessary for his emotional survival. In another letter to his sister, Kyle wrote:

I suppose I may without presumption say that I know what college life is by this time. I am very well pleased so far and expect to continue so. . . . I don't require more than 2 or 3 hours per day to get our lessons and the rest of the time we spend talking to our neighbors (students). This suits my disposition very well but not so well my interests.<sup>58</sup>

With only a few hours devoted each to study, Kyle spent a good portion of his day talking with other young men, at the expense of further time spent in study.

The letters exchanged between Kyle and his mother, Mary Beatty Kyle, show a young man struggling to find independence outside of the family structure in which he been raised. With his father deceased, money was tight for the Kyle family, and John Beatty often wrote home of the need for money. Yet, he also resisted the temptation for the fineries of life, even relishing in his hardships. Kyle strived for the independence brought by impecunious conditions, but he recognized that he was better off than most: "If I were at home I would like to have some new clothes, but I feel independent here. A fellow never feels so independent as when his elbows are out. Mine are not out yet, though."<sup>59</sup>

In other areas, notably his attitudes toward African Americans, Kyle proved himself to be a product of his south-central Pennsylvania upbringing, though hardly unique in his point of view. James W. Alexander, member of the Princeton class of 1860, notably remembered, "The famous negroes of Princeton cannot be forgotten by Princeton men."<sup>60</sup> Kyle was less sanguine in his recollections of African Americans in town. When a smallpox epidemic struck the town, Kyle reported to his mother: "There were 6 deaths, principally colored folks. There are more niggers here than ever I saw in one town before. They have more impudence, too, than Size Gales used to have. The lower class of white folks make equals of them." Kyle disdained the respect afforded African Americans by lower-class whites—most likely the same Irish servants observed by Charles Colcock Jones Jr.—but he nevertheless relied on them in other ways. When he was sick, Kyle admitted that despite his very attentive roommate, "I had a Black man to do the particular jobs," namely those needs related to sanitation and hygiene.<sup>61</sup>

Almost certainly, John Beatty Kyle prepared an autograph book and signed entries in those of his classmates, but if he did, the book has not been preserved. Whether or not he kept an autograph book, his connections to Princeton continued in unexpected ways, even as he did not live to see them. In 1865, John Beatty Kyle died at age thirty-nine, most likely from illness. Two years later, his sister Margaret was married to a widower, Jeremiah Smith Gordon, who was himself a Pennsylvania native and a class of 1853 graduate from Princeton. Together Jeremiah and Margaret Gordon had six children, including one born in 1877 whom they named John Kyle. In 1899, John Kyle Gordon graduated from Princeton, the son of one Princetonian and the namesake of another.<sup>62</sup>

In other cases, sons enabled by the relationships they had formed at school asserted a modicum of independence from their fathers. The short life of Henry Kirke White Muse, affectionately known as Kirke, provides a compelling example of the contested exchange of intimacy found in family letters. In the fall of 1855, the seventeen-year-old Kirke Muse left his father's prosperous cotton plantation in East Feliciana, Louisiana, to attend Princeton. Three years later, Kirke was suddenly killed during an engine explosion on board a steamboat. His father, James Henry Muse, collected their letters and published them under the didactic title, *Correspondence with my Son, Henry Kirke White Muse: Embracing Some Brief Memorials of his Character, and Essays from his Pen, While a Student at Princeton College, New Jersey*. While James Muse compiled the letters with his son as a memorial, the father also wished to "preserve a faithful record of the means which have been employed, in connection with the excellent educational and other advantages which he enjoyed at the institution of his choice."<sup>63</sup> Muse hoped his son's life would stand as an example to others.

James Muse composed letters to his son primarily to offer advice on topics of national and moral import. In his introduction, the elder Muse declared his intention to promote an "affectionate, familiar, and miscellaneous correspondence, to keep his heart and mind, as much as possible, under the salutary influence of the endearments of 'home.'" The elder Muse also made clear his effort to make a "moral improvement of my son," to prepare him for his future life as a planter. For example, Muse the father summarized one of his earliest letters as a means to "encourage him to the performance of the task before him by pointing out the advantages of a thorough education."<sup>64</sup>

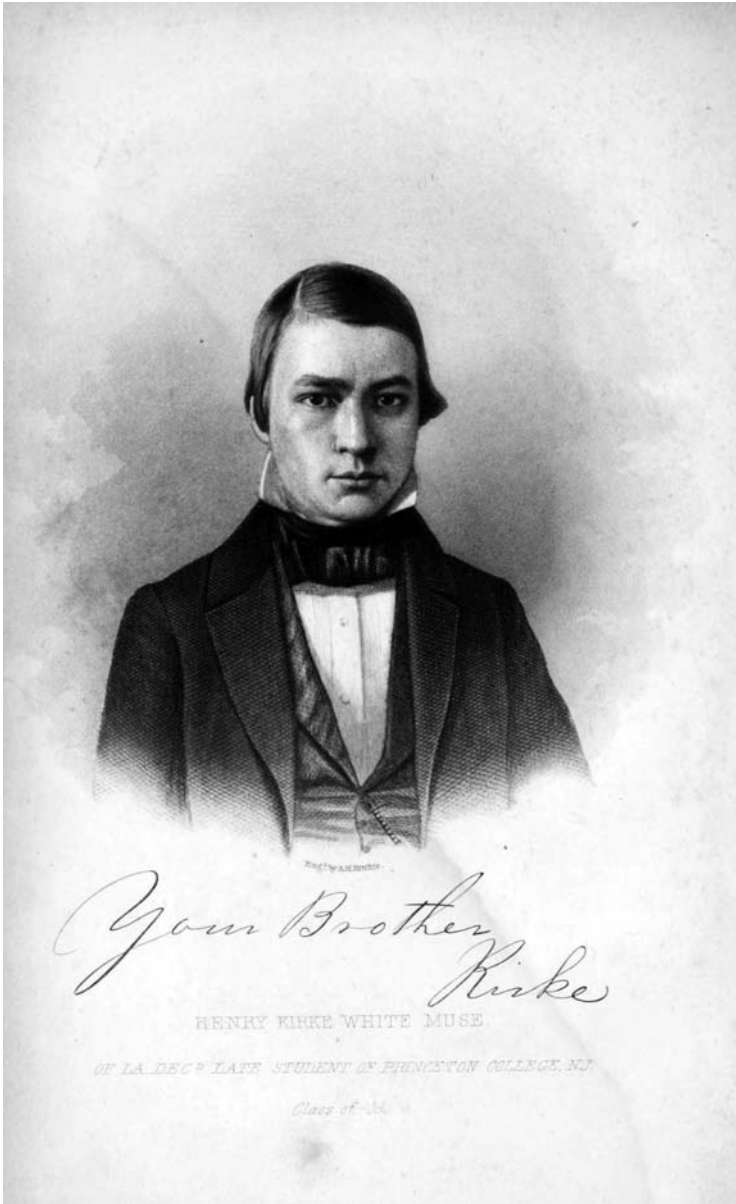


FIGURE 4: "Your Brother Kirke," from James Henry Muse, *Correspondence with My Son, Henry Kirke White Muse: Embracing Some Brief Memorials of his Character, and Essays from his Pen, While a Student at Princeton College, New Jersey* (New York: J. A. Gray, 1858). Courtesy Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.

Typical of young men away from home, Kirke Muse found himself wishing to explore the freedoms of college, while longing for the family he left at home. At Princeton he joined the Delta Kappa Epsilon Fraternity and the American Whig Society, both organizations primarily composed of southerners. At first, Kirke made sure to assuage his father that he would not enjoy college too much: "I greatly miss the conveniences of home, and the pleasure of kindred and friends, and though I hope to make friends here, be assured that they will in no wise weaken my love of home." As the semester went on, the younger Muse began to branch out and make friends. In addition to chess playing, fraternity meetings, and debate, Kirke often would "play at ball about an hour and a half each day when the weather is good." At one point, Kirke chose to spend time with his roommate rather than write his family: "But I must close," Kirke ended one letter, "as A\_\_\_\_\_ has come in." At another point, Kirke ignored his father's advice and flatly announced his own intentions. Previously, James Muse had advised his son to avoid card games and chess, but Kirke reported without hesitation, "I play nothing but chess." While James hoped that the letters from home would "strengthen rather than weaken" his son's "collegiate exile," Kirke's many activities and close friendships suggest his life was marked by anything but exile.<sup>65</sup>

The line between giving and receiving advice was often blurred in these letters. James Muse, who was a widower, at times seemed to rely on his son for emotional support. Kirke consoled his father with the thought that his letter might comfort his family. "Bless the children," he declared, "I would give something for a kiss around. However, I deputize you to do so for me, and tell them that not a day passes that I do not think of them and hope they are well."<sup>66</sup> Rather than filling the "emotional space" left by being away from home, Kirke acknowledged the hardship his absence caused his family. In another letter, Kirke consoled his father and expressed his sense of empathy: "I suppose as you all are sitting around the fire these cold nights—you with O\_\_\_\_\_ on your knee and G\_\_\_\_\_ by your side, you look at my vacant seat and feel rather sad; yet you must console yourself with the thought that I am well and am getting on finely." Perhaps Kirke was homesick and projected his feelings onto his family, or perhaps he understood his absence to be a true burden to his family.

In compiling the book of letters, James Muse included several essays found among his son's "private papers." The topics ranged from Socrates to Napoleon and were generally related to the younger Muse's

school assignments. The final essay, however, underscored the unsettled dynamic between James Muse and his son. This last essay, titled "American Literature," was an elegiac musing about the importance of literature to the endurance of civilizations. Starting with the Greeks and continuing to the Romans, the younger Muse concluded his essay with a critique of the state of American literature. "Young Americans!" he exclaimed, "cherish this literature; it alone can perpetuate the existence of your country." While his prose was ordinary, if melancholy, the father-turned-editor could not help but add the rather extreme editorial note to the preface of the essay:

The following essay, which was found among the papers of the deceased Henry Kirke White Muse, was probably written by him during a period of ill-health, at Princeton, and in anticipation of approaching death.<sup>67</sup>

Even after his son's death, the elder Muse spoke on behalf of his son, editing and annotating the details of his life for the candid world to read. While no other letters suggested that the younger Muse was near death at Princeton—indeed he seemed to practice a rigorous exercise regimen—James assumed with ultimate finality his role as father and patriarch.

With little surprise, then, the correspondence concluded on a somber note. Titled the "author's farewell to his son," James Muse, suffering from grief, assumed an ecclesiastical tone:

Farewell, farewell, my son, my son, my beloved son! I neither sought nor desired greater bliss on earth than I found in thee! It will increase the joys of heaven to meet thee there, and spend an eternity with thee in the holy society of "the spirits of just men made perfect," in the abodes of the blest above. Farewell! Farewell "for a season!"<sup>68</sup>

The farewell to his son, and the book as a whole, became more than an example to others. It also served to strengthen posthumously the connection between father and son, one that had measurably diminished during Kirke's absence at school. As editor and eulogist to Kirke, James Muse rewrote the father-son relationship as the primary one of his son's life.

The letters exchanged between students and their families generally show patriarchs and matriarchs anxious to impress strong moral values upon their

absent sons. They have also revealed young men immersed in the intimate friendships and new freedoms offered by the college environment, increasingly aware of the new roles expected of them in their families and society at large. For the students writing back home, the letters tended to “discuss a wide range of phenomena, events, and experiences in the same text,” a sign that students were taking in many new faces, places, and things in a short period of time.<sup>69</sup>

Whether from loneliness, financial need, or a sense of familial obligation, family letters were a necessary and constant part of college life. Letters also reveal young men growing apart from their families, trying on, as it were, new and different social roles. Formed in the crucible of academic trials, the students’ friendships helped to promote these new roles. A second family, one of the young men’s choosing, helped to loosen the connections, however briefly, during their college years. Some students, like the pious Charles Colcock Jones Jr., would hardly acknowledge the effects of his classmates upon him until the very end of his time at Princeton, while others, such as Henry Kirke White Muse, did not live long enough to reflect fully upon them. The letters offer a record of families in crisis, of sons absent from worried fathers and mothers, and of young American men becoming, for the first time, versions of their future selves.

## Conclusion

The Civil War brought an end to the pleasant sociality that had marked the lives of students at the College of New Jersey. For the most part, the students who departed to fight in the war left on good terms. “Prior to the exodus the best of feelings prevailed,” Henry A. Boardman, class of 1864, recalled.<sup>70</sup> Others witnessed less-pleasant encounters. William E. Potter, class of 1861, recorded in his diary: “Tonight there came near being severe fights between Secessionists and loyal men . . . [a] knife was drawn by [a] fellow from Baltimore but [the] approach of [the] President prevented serious consequences. Thus only, I believe, was bloodshed averted.” What struck Theodore W. Hunt of the class of 1865 most was “the fine, generous spirit that existed among the northern and southern students in their college friendships and intercourse.” Edwin Norris, in his history of Princeton, largely concurred, noting that “the friendships formed beneath

the elms became even more closely cemented, and it was with genuine sadness that these intimate ties were severed."<sup>71</sup>

For most students at the College of New Jersey, intimate male friendships had characterized antebellum college life, but even before the war their four years of college life were not always blissful. For some, the annoyance of a life without access to the pleasures of home resounded as a constant complaint. For most, however, the college years, as remembered in autograph books, photographs, and journals, and as recorded in letters exchanged among family members, marked the high-water moment of their lives. Through these recorded reminiscences of the past, one may glimpse a bit of the private lives of students and explore more broadly the meaning of friendship and intimacy, the socialization of the future leaders in business, religion, and law, and, in so doing, learn something of a different kind of nineteenth-century manhood.

The language of intimacy promised to add permanence and meaning to the friendships formed during college, the independence desired by students from family and future obligations, and the expression of sadness at the departure of close friends. By writing in the language of intimacy, students such as Charles Colcock Jones Jr., Samuel Stanhope Stryker, and Henry Kirke White Muse, projected the comfort they felt from their close friendships into uncertain futures. In so doing, young men struggled to define the meaning of the social bonds they had formed with each other. They longed for intimacy with classmates; they wrote passionately and with great emotional effusion about the longing they felt for one another; and they sometimes shared close physical connections as well.

The antebellum college fostered such friendships soaked in the language of fraternal love, often through shared living arrangements, in students from all parts of a nation growing apart. The college also promoted the development of dependent children into independent adults, a process recorded in the changing nature of intimacy, first exclusively found in the family at home and then in strong same-sex friendships. For those who did not remain bachelors, the bonds of marriage provided the next step in developing intimacy with others, now with women. But for others, those who chose not to marry, or perhaps those who died young, or even those men who never felt great intimacy with their wives, the college friendship served as a reminder of a moment in their lives in which fraternal love had been paramount for the first time.

## NOTES

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1. On nineteenth-century college life, especially the role of fraternities and student societies, see Thomas S. Harding, *College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to Higher Education in the United States, 1815–1876* (New York: Pageant Press, 1971); James McLachlan, “The Choice of Hercules: American Student Societies in the Early 19th Century,” in *The University in Society*, vol. 2, *Europe, Scotland, and the United States from the 16th to the 20th Century*, ed. Lawrence Stone (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972), 449–94; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987); Roger L. Geiger, ed., *The American College in the Nineteenth Century* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000); Nicholas Syrett, *The Company He Keeps: A History of White College Fraternities* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890–1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).
2. The earliest scholarship on same-sex intimacy emerged from women’s history; see especially Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, “The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relationships between Women in Nineteenth-Century America,” *Signs* 1 (1975): 1–29; Lillian Faderman, *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (New York: William Morrow, 1981); Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women Who Loved Women, 1778–1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); and Sharon Marcus, *Between Women: Friendship, Desire and Marriage in Victorian England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).
3. On the new men’s history, see especially Toby Ditz, “What’s Love Got to Do with It?: The History of Men, The History of Gender in the 1990s,” *Reviews in American History* 28 (2000): 167–80; Ditz, “The New Men’s History and the Peculiar Absence of Gendered Power: Some Remedies from Early American Gender History,” *Gender and History* 16 (2004): 1–35; and Bryan C. Rindfleisch, “‘What It Means to Be a Man’: Contested Masculinity in the Early Republic and Antebellum America,” *History Compass* 10/11 (2012): 852–65. Important general studies of nineteenth-century manhood include Elliott J. Gorn, *Manly Art: Bare-knuckle Prize Fighting in America* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1986); E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Amy Greenberg, *Cause for Alarm: The Volunteer Fire Department in the Nineteenth-Century City* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998); Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Brian P. Luskey, *On the Make: Clerks and the Quest for Capital in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2010); and Tom Foster, ed., *New Men: Manliness in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2011).

4. Research in the areas of same-sex attractions and relationships in America has been the work of historians of sexuality and homosexuality, who have been variously categorized as “essentialist” or “social constructionist.” Important works in this area include, among many others, Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay American History: Lesbians and Gay Men in the U.S.A.: A Documentary* (New York: Crowell, 1976); Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1, *An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1980); Leonard Ellis, “Men among Men: An Exploration of All-Male Relationships in Victorian America” (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1982); Jonathan Ned Katz, *Gay/Lesbian Almanac* (New York: Harper and Row, 1983); Eve Kosofsky Sedwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); John D’Emilio and Estelle B. Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus, and George Chauncey, eds., *Hidden from the History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (New York: Penguin, 1989); Martin Duberman, *About Time: Exploring the Gay Past*, rev. and expanded ed. (New York: Penguin, 1991); John D’Emilio, *Making Trouble: Essays on Gay History, Politics, and the University* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Leila J. Rupp, *A Desired Past: A Short History of Same-Sex Love in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); Jonathan Ned Katz, *Love Stories: Sex between Men before Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001); Graham Robb, *Strangers: Homosexual Love in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Norton, 2003); Douglass Shand-Tucci, *The Crimson Letter: Harvard, Homosexuality, and the Shaping of American Culture* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2003); William Benemann, *Male-Male Intimacy in Early America: Beyond Romantic Friendships* (New York: Harrington Park Press, 2006); Tom Foster, *Sex and the Eighteenth-Century Man: Massachusetts and the History of Sexuality in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2006); and Tom Foster, ed., *Long Before Stonewall: Histories of Same-Sex Sexuality in Early America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007).
5. In a pioneering study of northern manhood, one that still informs much of the present scholarship, historian E. Anthony Rotundo found a “special culture” among young New Englanders, who formed strong bonds in “homosocial environments.” Rotundo, *American Manhood*, esp. 62, 75–77, 78, and 86. See also E. Anthony Rotundo, “Boy Culture,” in *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America*, ed. Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15–36. Although primarily about manhood in the eighteenth century, Anne Lombard concludes with an epilogue that echoes Rotundo’s findings for the nineteenth century, Anne S. Lombard’s *Making Manhood: Growing Up Male in Colonial New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003), 170–79. In her study of southern college students, Lorri Glover also noted the “romantic prose style fashionable in the era,” but dismissed the possibility of “homeroetic and even homosexual” friendships, arguing that young southerners “relied on friendships for emotional and social needs, while keeping an eye on the long-term political and reputational benefits of boyhood attachments.” Lorri Glover, *Southern Sons: Becoming Men in the New Nation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 72–73. See also Lorri Glover, “Let Us Manufacture Men’: Educating Elite Boys in the Early National South,” in *Southern Manhood: Perspectives on Masculinity in the Old South*, ed. Craig Thomas Friend and Lorri Glover (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2004), 22–48; Robert F. Pace, *Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); and E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1928).

6. Donald Yacovone has argued for the importance of “the language of fraternal love,” which was “no mere passing phase of youth,” but rather “represented a pervasive cultural ideal.” Richard Godbeer has likewise suggested a “range of possibilities for relating to other men that included intensely physical yet non-sexual relationships,” taking as one of his examples the late eighteenth-century triangular romance among three men who adopted the names Leander, Lorenzo, and Castalio, one of whom was a student at the College of New Jersey. Donald Yacovone, “Abolitionists and the ‘Language of Fraternal Love,’” in *Meanings for Manhood*, ed. Carnes and Griffen, 86; Donald Yacovone, “‘Surpassing the Love of Women’: Victorian Manhood and the Language of Fraternal Love,” in *A Shared Experience: Men, Women, and the History of Gender*, ed. Laura McCall and Donald Yacovone (New York: New York University Press, 1998), 197; and Richard Godbeer, *The Overflowing of Friendship: Love Between Men and the Creation of the American Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 5. Other works that argue for lifelong male intimacy among men include Drew Gilpin Faust, *A Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the Old South, 1840–1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), esp. 1–6, 15–17, 42–44; Karen Hansen, “‘Our Eyes Beheld Each Other’: Masculinity and Intimate Friendships in Antebellum New England,” in *Men’s Friendships*, ed. Peter Nardi (London: Sage, 1992), 35–58; Caleb Crain, *American Sympathy: Men, Friendship, and Literature in the New Nation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), esp. 16–52; and Anya Jabour, “Male Friendship and Masculinity in the Early National South: William Wirt and His Friends,” *Journal of the Early Republic* 20 (2000): 83–111.
7. Through the late antebellum period, the graduating classes were roughly two-thirds men from the northeastern and mid-Atlantic states and one-third from the southern and western states, though the numbers could be nearly equal at times. Jacob N. Beam, *The American Whig Society of Princeton University* (Princeton, NJ: American Whig Society, 1933), 163; and Lance Varnum Collins, *Princeton* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1914), 408. A multitude of scholarly treatments of Princeton have aided my research; general treatments include Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746–1896* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946), and Donald Oberdorfer, *Princeton University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995). A specific study of nineteenth-century Princeton was also useful; see Ronald Kerridge, “Answering ‘The Trumpet of Discord’: Southerners at the College of New Jersey, 1820–1860, and Their Careers” (Senior honors thesis, Princeton University, 1984); Roy D. Oppenheim, “The House Divided: Princeton University during the Civil War” (Senior honors thesis, Princeton University, 1980). The College of New Jersey was quite often referred to as Princeton College or Nassau Hall as early as the middle-eighteenth century. “College of New Jersey,” in *A Princeton Companion*, ed. Alexander Leitch (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978).
8. Roger L. Geiger, “College as It Was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Geiger, 82. For an argument for the primacy of political party loyalties over sectional ones in the election of 1848, see Joel Silbey, *Party Over Section: The Rough and Ready Presidential Election of 1848* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2009).
9. Originally founded as a school to train ministers of the New Light Presbyterian persuasion, the College of New Jersey continued to promote and largely produced a particular form of manhood, similar to what Amy Greenberg has identified as “restrained manhood.” Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood*, 11.

10. “Autograph Book,” Charles Colcock Jones Papers, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Duke University. On Jones, see also “Charles C. Jones Jr.,” *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org> (accessed November 26, 2012); about Jones’s college years, Robert Manson Myers, ed., *A Georgian at Princeton* (New York: Harcourt, 1976); and about the Jones’s life from 1854 to his death, *The Children of Pride: A True Story of Georgia and the Civil War*, ed. Robert Manson Myers (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972). On the death of Bittance, see *General Catalogue, Princeton University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University, 1875), 75. For a list of members in the American Whig and Cliosophic societies, see Paul Biery Parham, ed., *General Catalogue of the American Whig-Cliosophic Society of Princeton University* (Princeton, NJ: American Whig-Cliosophic Society, 1954).
11. Robert Bolling Autograph Book, 1850, Autograph Book Collection, Box 2, Princeton University Archives, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library. Hereafter, autograph books from this collection are cited by name, graduating year, PUL. The Princeton University Library holds 196 such autograph books from 170 members of the classes that graduated between 1825 and 1884; for a complete list, see “Autograph Book Collection, 1825–1884 (bulk 1848–1882): Finding Aid,” PUL (hereafter “Finding Aid”), for specifics on individual items. On Heberton, see the *General Catalogue of Princeton University, 1746–1906* (hereafter *General Catalogue, 1746–1906*) (Princeton, NJ, 1908), 179; and Douglas H. Lusher, “Western Pennsylvania Genealogy: Family Group Record: Rev. Edward Payson Heberton and Caroline Vogdes,” <http://west-penn-families.com/Venango/f59313.htm> (accessed November 26, 2012).
12. “Finding Aid.” Most of the books in the collection were donated by the original owners’ descendants.
13. On the various forms of mass-market books and opportunities for authorship available to antebellum college students, see Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, *Literary Dollars and Social Sense: A People’s History of the Mass Market Book* (New York: Routledge, 2005).
14. As the Princeton historian J. Jefferson Looney described it: “Another feature of our College life was the rage for Autograph books.” James Buchanan Henry and Christian Henry Scharff, *College as It Is. Or, the Collegian’s Manual in 1853*, ed. Looney (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 248. See also “Finding Aid.” Other exclusively male schools, notably Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Harvard, Brown, and Yale, followed similar patterns, as did the all-female Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts. On autograph books at Princeton, see especially Alexander P. Clark, “‘Princeton Memories with a Golden Sheen’: Student Autograph Albums of the Nineteenth Century,” *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 47 (1986): 301–16; and for a different interpretation of autograph books, see Looney, ed., *College as It Is*, 248–49 n. 15.
15. What little scholarship exists on autograph books has emphasized its roots in European folklore. William K. McNeil traced the history of the autograph book to fifteenth-century Europe, when students felt the need to “procure not only the signatures and sentiments of intimate friends, but also those of their patrons, protectors, companions, and comrades.” William K. McNeil, “The Autograph Book Custom: A Tradition and Its Scholarly Treatment,” *Keystone Folklore Quarterly* 13 (1968): 29–44. On albums featuring only signatures, see Alice L. Bates, “Autograph Albums of the 1860s,” *Manuscripts* 50 (1998): 269–79. Recent scholarship about friendship albums provides

- useful insights on the importance of the textual medium; for a gendered analysis of a friendship album of a Chinese youth at the Cornwall School in the early 1820s, see Karen Sánchez-Eppler, "Copying and Conversion: An 1824 Friendship Album 'from a Chinese Youth,'" *American Quarterly* 59 (2007): 301–39. The autograph book tradition on the college campus likewise began in the 1820s, though it did not gain widespread popularity until the late 1840s.
16. Robert Bolling Autograph Book, 1850, PUL; *General Catalogue*, 1746–1906, 179.
  17. DeWitt Wallace Autograph Book, 1857, PUL.
  18. Wallace obtained a master's degree from Princeton in 1860, while Henry attended the seminary, later directed it, and served as trustee of the college for over twenty years. *General Catalogue*, 1746–1906, 196.
  19. Frederick Cox Roberts Autograph Book, 1855, PUL; *General Catalogue*, 1746–1906, 191; Samuel A'Court Ashe, *Cyclopedia of Eminent and Representative Men of the Carolinas of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (Madison, WI: Brant and Fuller, 1892), 2:127–28.
  20. The first social fraternities arrived at Princeton in 1843, and twelve chapters organized by the end of the decade. Their presence was not long established, however; the faculty voted to ban all fraternities in 1853. Wertenbaker, *Princeton*, 281–82.
  21. Beam, *American Whig Society*, 163.
  22. Horowitz, *Campus Life*, 29.
  23. Frederick Cox Roberts Autograph Book, 1855, PUL.
  24. Frederick Henry Quitman Autograph Book, 1851, PUL.
  25. George William Ford Autograph Book, 1856, PUL.
  26. William Krebs Falls Autograph Book, 1853, PUL.
  27. Henry and Scharff, *College as It Is*, 247. Charles Colcock Jones Jr. also reported on the photographic tradition in a letter to his parents: "The senior class are sitting for their daguerreotypes, to be placed in the picture gallery. We sit two by two. As yet mine has not been taken." Charles Colcock Jones Jr. to Charles Colcock Jones and Mary Jones (hereafter CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ), August 13, 1850, in *A Georgian at Princeton*, ed. Myers, 72. On photography and male intimacy, see David Deitcher, *Dear Friends: American Photographs of Men Together, 1840–1918* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2001); and John Ibson, *Picturing Men: A Century of Male Relationships in Everyday American Photography* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002).
  28. John Emery Autograph Book, 1861, PUL.
  29. Frederick Roberts Autograph Book, 1855, PUL; on the late antebellum classes at Princeton, see Edith James Blendon, "Patriotism and Friendship: The Princeton Men of 1859," *Princeton University Library Chronicle* 35, no. 3 (Spring 1974): 309–13.
  30. Ewing Graham McClure Autograph Book, 1861, PUL; Ewing Graham McClure, Undergraduate Alumni Records, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Hugh Martin Coffin to Margaret Martin Coffin, November 16, 1861, BMS Am 2046 (24), Houghton Library, Harvard University. See also "Re: Hugh Coffin, Princeton University Class of 1861," August 9, 2003, <http://genforum.genealogy.com/coffin/messages/2086.html> (accessed November 26, 2012); Virginia Sanders Mylius, "McClure Family," <http://oursoutherncousins.com/mcclure3.html> (accessed November 26, 2012). The McClure autograph book has been reproduced in Jeanne Barkley, ed., *Autographs: A Selection of*

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- Writings from Friends to Ewing Graham McClure, Captain in the Confederate Army, Student at Princeton University, Teacher and Trustee of Washington College* (Washington College, TN: Pioneer Printers, 1980).
31. Ewing Graham McClure Autograph Book, 1861, PUL; on Richard S. Van Dyke, see Joe Guy, “The Van Dyke Legacy of McMinn County,” <http://www.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~tnmcm2/GuyVanDyke.htm> (accessed November 26, 2012); and National Parks Service, “Order of Battle—Confederate,” <http://www.nps.gov/vick/historyculture/order-of-battle-confederate.htm> (accessed November 26, 2012).
  32. Samuel Stanhope Stryker Autograph Book, 1863, PUL.
  33. John Tyler Haight Autograph Book, 1862, PUL.
  34. The “halcyon days” included a good deal of tomfoolery and gallivanting about town, often involving alcohol; see especially, Michael Hevel, “‘Betwixt Brewings’: A History of College Students and Alcohol, 1820–1933” (PhD diss., University of Iowa, 2011): 14–65; Richard Stott, *Jolly Fellows: Male Milieus in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003); William A. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic, an American Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979).
  35. Certainly, both young men were highly intelligent and performed well as students. At the Honorary Orations of the Junior Class, Samuel Stryker delivered an address titled, “The Precariousness of Popular Favor,” while at the commencement exercises the next day John Cochran delivered an address titled, “Fanaticism, an Evil.” John Tyler Haight Scrapbook, 1862, Scrapbook Collection, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
  36. Wallace DeWitt Autograph Book, 1857, PUL.
  37. On Christy, see *General Catalogue*, 1746–1906, 195; “Descendants of Julius Christy,” <http://familytree maker.genealogy.com/users/n/o/r/Julie-Morris-North/ODT1-0001.html> (accessed November 26, 2012); Arthur G. Freeland, ed., *Delta Phi Catalogue, 1827–1907* (New York, 1908), 344.
  38. Wertenbaker, *Princeton*, 211.
  39. Mary Chapman and Glenn Hendler, “Introduction,” in *Sentimental Men: Masculinity and the Politics of Affect in American Culture*, ed. Chapman and Hendler (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 8.
  40. Charles P. Stratton Autograph Book, 1848, PUL; Harriet Russell Stratton, *A Book of Strattons*, 2 vols. (New York: Grafton Press, 1918), 2:246.
  41. Frederick Henry Quitman Autograph Book, 1851, PUL.
  42. On early American letter writing, see Konstantin Dierks, *In My Power: Letter Writing and Communications in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009); and William Merrill Decker, *Epistolary Practices: Letter Writing in America before Telecommunications* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).
  43. Robert E. May, *John A. Quitman: Old South Crusader* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), 211, 235.
  44. CCJ and MJ to CCJ Jr. and Joseph Jones, July 26, 1850, in *A Georgian at Princeton*, ed. Myers, 55–57.

45. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, August 13, 1850, in *ibid.*, 73.
46. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, May 22, 1852, in *ibid.*, 351.
47. CCJ Jr. to MJ, May 26, 1851, in *ibid.*, 154–55. P.T. Barnum touted that the “car of Juggernaut,” a moving contraption part of his traveling museum, housed a mystical object worthy of veneration inside it. According to the history of Princeton by Edwin Norris, “The old-time ‘horn spree’ originated in the spirit of fun-making and had no more serious object than the worrying of the faculty. Groups of fancifully dressed revelers would sally forth at night, armed with tin horns, whose raucous blasts awoke the faculty and the citizens. This was the signal for the issuing forth of the chief disciplinarian ‘Johnny’ Maclean, who, to the delight of the students would pursue them until by circuitous routes they scampered to their rooms.” See Edwin M. Norris, *The Story of Princeton* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1917), 182.
48. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, September 9, 1850, and August 26, 1850, in *ibid.*, 83–84, and 79 respectively.
49. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, August 13, 1850, in *ibid.*, 262.
50. CCJ Jr. to CCJ, September 17, 1851, in *ibid.*, 227.
51. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, August 9, 1850, in *ibid.*, 67–69. The “Lee” referred to was most likely Joel Winfrey Lee, a member of the class of 1852 who did not graduate.
52. See, for example, CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, December 6, 1851, and August 28, 1851, in *ibid.*, 218–21 and 222–24 respectively.
53. All in *ibid.*: CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, December 6, 1851, 337; November 27, 1851, 258; August 9, 1851, 214–15.
54. CCJ Jr. to CCJ and MJ, May 18, 1852, in *ibid.*, 347–48.
55. James Buchanan Henry to James Henry Buchanan, September 17 and November 16, 1852, James Buchanan Papers, Archives and Special Collection, Dickinson College.
56. James Beatty Kyle to Clementine Kyle (hereafter JBK to CK), March 8, 1851, James Beatty Kyle Letters, Bulk Manuscripts Collection, Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
57. JBK to CK, March 8, 1851, in *ibid.*
58. JBK to CK, November 26, 1850, in *ibid.*
59. JBK to Mary Beatty Kyle, January 22, 1851, in *ibid.*
60. James W. Alexander, *Princeton—Old and New: Recognitions of Undergraduate Life* (New York: Scribner’s, 1898), 85.
61. JBK to Mary Beatty Kyle, February 12 and March 8, 1851, in Kyle Letters, PUL.
62. On the Gordon and Kyle families, see also the Gordon-Kyle family papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan. John Beatty Kyle is not on the list of those Princeton men who died in the Civil War; see the “Civil War List in Memorial Hall,” University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library.
63. There is some inconsistency in the spelling of Muse’s second given name (it is variously spelled Kirk and Kirke). I have chosen to follow the spelling of Muse’s father, James Muse, and use Kirke. James Henry Muse, *Correspondence with My Son, Henry Kirkee White Muse: Embracing Some Brief Memorials of his Character, and Essays from his Pen, While a Student at Princeton College, New Jersey* (New York: J. A. Gray, 1858), 7.

64. Ibid., vii.
65. Ibid., 7; James Muse to Henry Kirke White Muse, October 14, 1855 (hereafter JM and KM); KM to JM, October 27, November 7, and November 24, 1855; in *ibid.*, 37, 41, 45, and 54.
66. KM to JM, November 7 and 24, 1844, in *ibid.*, 47 and 55.
67. Ibid., 330 and 332.
68. Ibid., 333.
69. Although very different from college students, in their shared quality of being far from home, immigrants' letters provide a useful comparison; see David A. Gerber, *Authors of Their Lives: The Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: New York University Press, 2006), 6.
70. Cited in Kerridge, “Answering ‘The Trumpet of Discord,’” 82–83.
71. Entry of September 16, 1860, William E. Potter Diary, 1859–1862, Princeton University Archives, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Theodore W. Hunt, “College and Civil War Reminiscences,” *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 17 (May 23, 1917): 760–61; Norris, *The Story of Princeton*, 186.