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Small Select Library or Miserable Excuse: Antebellum College Libraries in the American Southeast

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What role did antebellum college libraries play in the development of the South? National studies rarely mention southern institutions, while institutional histories neglect the role of the library. Yet the history of southern antebellum college libraries should be of special interest because this was often their initial formative period. There were few college libraries in the South prior to 1800 but many were founded in the following decades. It was in the last decades before the Civil War that the South first became really aware of the need for widespread education. At the same time, southern colleges were in many ways different from their northern counterparts and therefore deserving of separate study.¹ This history of college libraries in the South will set a context for institutional histories while supplementing national studies by illustrating “many of the conditions ... peculiar to that region.”² This paper is not meant to be exhaustive or encyclopedic but merely suggestive.

Most white southerners were rural, cash poor and little interested in books while it was impossible for blacks to attend college. Educational and public institutions remained feeble after the Revolution. Private manufacture of alcohol flourished more than local production of science or literature. But improved transportation and communications, especially a growing if inconsistent network of roads, steamboats, and railroads lowered the cost of books and expanded the opportunity for education. Communities and denominations established numerous common (i.e., public) schools and private academies by 1860.³ Nonetheless, low population density, civic boosterism and the diversity of religions encouraged a thin scattering of often small and short-lived colleges.⁴ During this same period, states also established a few larger but still elitist universities.

Library historian Haynes McMullen has counted

¹Robert F. Pace, *Halls of Honor: College Men in the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004) supersedes most earlier work but hardly mentions libraries. Cf., Joe W. Kraus, “the Book Collections of Early American College Libraries,” *Library Quarterly* 43 (April 1973): 142-59; *University Library History: An International Review*, ed. James Thompson (New York: K. G. Saur, 1980), 33-55 and 77-91; and Plummer Alston Jones, Jr., “The History and Development of Libraries in American Higher Education,” *College & Research Libraries News* (July/August 1989): 561-64. ²Quotation, Benjamin Edward Powell, “The Development of Libraries in Southern State Universities to 1920,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1946), 1. See also Fletcher M. Green, *The Role of the Yankee in the Old South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972); and E. Merton Coulter, *College Life in the Old South* (New York: Macmillan, 1928).

³Gavin Wright, *The Political Economy of the Cotton South: Households, Markets, and Wealth in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 55-88; Ira Berlin, *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Opening of American Society: From the Adoption of the Constitution to the Eve of Disunion* (New York: Vintage, 1984); D. W. Meinig, *The Shaping of America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986-1998), v. 2; and Clement Eaton, *The Growth of Southern*

Civilization (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1961). See also Michael O'Brien, *Re-Thinking the South: Essays in Intellectual History* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1993), 1-56; William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780-1835* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1989); Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1835* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990); and Patricia Cline Cohen, *A Calculating People: The Spread of Numeracy in Early America* (New York: Routledge, 1999 ed.). ⁴Thomas G. Dyer, “Science in the Antebellum College: The University of Georgia, 1801-1860,” *Science and Medicine in the Old South*, ed. Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989), 36-39; Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans* (Vintage, 1973), v. 2, 152-61; William S. Powell, *Higher Education in North Carolina* (Raleigh: State Dept. of Archives and History, 1970). For further bibliography, see Patrick M. Valentine, “Libraries and Print Culture in Early North Carolina,” *North Carolina Historical Review* (July 2005); idem, “The Place of Useful Books, Community Libraries in North Carolina from 1800 to the Civil War” (mss.); and idem, “Books in Tolerable Supply: Culture and Academics in North Carolina from 1800 to the Civil War,” (mss.). Recent work is easiest referenced in bibliographies in *Libraries & Culture* and *Journal of Southern History*.

about 183 college libraries in the South by 1876, of which only a few existed before 1800.⁵ The South's earliest college library was that of William and Mary, founded in 1693. It was from the beginning considered "a common Library," that is, open to the public.⁶ Also in Virginia, Hampden-Sydney and Washington (later named Washington and Lee) have early roots but "rose to college stature" only after 1800.⁷ Even fifty years later professor Charles Martin admitted that Hampden-Sydney had "a miserable excuse for the library of a literary institution." The library at Washington College only began improving after 1837 when a small library fee was instituted; then, during the Civil War, its "books were, to a great extent, destroyed or carried off."⁸ Another early school was the College of Charleston, founded in the early 1790s, but James Warley Miles, its librarian and an eminent Southern theologian, acknowledged in 1857 that the library "was for many years totally neglected, there having been no Librarian.... The existing portion, indeed, of the old Library is little more than a wreck from the original collection."⁹ Even at its oldest colleges, therefore, the South had little tradition of creating or maintaining great libraries.

Maryland had a number of small, early colleges, perhaps most notably St. John's College in

⁵Haynes McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876* (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 2000), 104, table 7.1 includes theological, medical and other professional schools excluded here. See also *ibid.*, 27-28 and 106-09. Definitions of "the South" vary greatly. For statistical purposes McMullen sensibly adopts the United States Census practice of including sixteen states plus the District of Columbia. For our purposes here I focus on Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

⁶ Quotation from a 1723 letter of the college president, cited in *Public Libraries in the United States of America ...* (1876; reprint, Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1971), I, 26, note 1. See also "Library of the College of William and Mary," *William and Mary College Quarterly* 19 (1910): 48-51; and Francis Gilman Collier, "A History of the American Public Library Movement Through 1880" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1951), 16, n. 4.

⁷ Quotation, Richard Beale Davis, *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790-1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 54. For Washington College, see esp. Betty Ruth Kondayan, "The Library of Liberty Hall Academy," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* 86 (October 1978): 432-46.

⁸William J. Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries, Institutions, and Societies, in the United States ...* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1859), 482-84, Hampden-Sydney quotation 482. Washington College quotation, *Public Libraries in the United States*, 124. Professor Charles Martin taught practically all the classes at one time or another from 1847 to 1871 although his specialty was Greek. Strict but popular before the Civil War, personal and family difficulties led to his forced resignation. Later, "his desperate selling of his soul to the Republican-Readjusters cost him many old friendships." John Luster Brinkley, *On This Hill: A Narrative History of Hampden-Sydney College 1704-1994* (Hampden-Sydney: Hampden-Sydney College, 1994): 239-41, quotation 141; I owe this citation and other information about Martin to Shaunna E. Hunter, Eggleston Library, Hampden-Sydney College.

⁹Miles estimated the library contained seven thousand volumes. He gave his

Annapolis and Washington College on the Eastern Shore, but they "led a precarious existence."¹⁰ Franklin College (which later became the University of Georgia) bragged in 1818 that "The Library now contains more volumes of the approved Historians, Poets, etc., than will be read by any student whilst in college" although the noted historian E. Merton Coulter points out that the library was never important enough to have its own building or librarian.¹¹

The South's first state university was the University of North Carolina, which opened in 1795. Its library began with a couple bookshelves and two hundred dollars. Like most colleges, north and south, it relied more upon the generosity of donors for books than upon a collection plan. One professor admitted, "We find much difficulty in procuring books."¹² On the other hand, the University of South Carolina's library started with a \$5,000 appropriation for books, while the University of Virginia enjoyed a relatively generous selection of books for some years.¹³ Alabama would vote \$20,000 for library books in 1830 – a year before the university actually opened – and Mississippi appropriated \$1,700 for its fledgling flagship university in 1848. These were notable efforts but the University of Nashville's library, begun in 1809, more characteristically was "a beggar from the beginning." Mercer University in Penfield, Georgia, allowed that "available funds ... have hitherto been devoted mainly to the purchase of [scientific] apparatus and the erection of buildings, whilst the library has remained nearly sta-

own books to the library in 1857. [J. W. Miles] *First Annual Report of the Librarian of the College of Charleston* (Charleston: Steam Power Press of Walker, Evans and Co., 1857), 3-4, 11, 21. See also J. H. Easterby, *A History of the College of Charleston ...* (Charleston: College of Charleston, 1935), 41, 81, 91, 116-17. Miles, an Episcopal priest and holder of the chair of the history of intellectual philosophy and Greek literature at the College of Charleston, had written widely but upon becoming the librarian "sank into relative inactivity, contented to be among the library's books pursuing without interruption his favorite studies of literature and languages." He was said to have a reading knowledge of over thirty ancient languages. *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), v. 15, 443-44. Miles was even more dismissive of the college library in his private correspondence: Ralph E. Luker, *A Southern Tradition in Theology and Social Criticism, 1830-1930* (New York: E. Mellen, 1984), 103-04.

¹⁰ Robert J. Brugger, Maryland, *A Middle Temperament* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988), 172-75. Quotation, Robert B. Downs, Henry Barnard (Boston: Twayne, 1977), 40.

¹¹ Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, 52-53, quotation 52.

¹² Quotation, R. D. W. Connor, *A Documentary History of the University of North Carolina, 1776-1799* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953), I, 388.

¹³ Daniel Walker Hollis, *South Carolina College* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), 133, 136

tionary.” Urania College in Glasgow, Kentucky, for a time relied upon “the forfeitures and fines” of county government.¹⁴ For another example, the board of Randolph-Macon College “almost prided itself on parsimony” with regard to the library.¹⁵

When colleges did have money, they often had to select books based on very inadequate announcements in estate catalogs or newspaper advertisements. But this was not surprising since, according to one historian, American college libraries as a whole, “were even less stimulating of intellectual vigor than were their parent institutions.”¹⁶ Of the state universities, only South Carolina enjoyed relatively steady if modest appropriations after opening. Even the University of Virginia went through a “torpid interval” after the death of Thomas Jefferson. Roanoke College in Salem, Virginia, was unusual in setting aside as much as \$5.00 per student for library books in the 1850s.¹⁷

Library fires were devastating. The South’s first college library suffered the first fire. William and Mary lost its initial collection in 1705 and waited over two decades before starting a new one. Nonetheless, in the 1780s the Marquis de Chastellux extravagantly praised the library. By 1797, according to historian Louis Shores, “With the exception of Harvard, it is unlikely that a better college library could be found anywhere in the new world.”¹⁸ Fire also destroyed the University of Georgia library in 1830 or 1831. Transylvania University in Kentucky, originally a Presbyterian seminary, which opened in 1798 as

the first western college, lost most of its books to fire in 1829. A fire in 1827 left Washington College with only 170 undamaged books and three decades later fires ruined libraries at Bethany College and, again, William and Mary.¹⁹

The anemic state of affairs is illustrated by the University of North Carolina’s moving its library to a new building in 1854: the library was mainly used for dances and receptions and hardly at all as a depository for books and knowledge. Likewise, the University of Georgia library “was kept in some spare room ... and migrated around as necessity required.”²⁰ The University of Tennessee did not allocate much room for a library until 1892 and only constructed a free-standing library with Carnegie funds in 1911. In similar fashion, not until 1892 did the University of Maryland build a two-story building “to serve as a library and gymnasium.” This was all in sharp contrast with South Carolina, which in 1840 built the first American university building to be used exclusively as a library. The University of Alabama’s library has been described “as one of the greatest architectural achievements of early-nineteenth-century America.” In terms of original distinction of design, however, its predecessor, Jefferson’s rotunda at the University of Virginia, must stand in first place. Even so, the purpose of library buildings was not to serve as centers of study, research or reference but at best to house “books in tolerable supply.”²¹ Reference as a service provided for students or teachers awaited developments in the 1870s and 1880s.²²

¹⁴Quotations, Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries*, 469, 30, 59. See also Dyer, “Science in the Antebellum College,” 42-44, 53-54.

¹⁵James Edward Scalon, *Randolph-Macon College: A Southern History 1825-1967* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 158.

¹⁶David Kaser, “The American Academic Library Building, 1870-1890,” *Libraries, Books & Culture*, ed. Donald G. Davis, Jr. (Austin: University of Texas at Austin, 1986), 60. See also Howard Clayton, “The American College Library: 1800-1860,” *Journal of Library History* 3 (April 1968): 120-37; and Joseph Louis Ravelli, “An historical analysis of academic library development in the late nineteenth century: case studies of the libraries of New Jersey’s universities with colonial origins” (Ph.D. diss., New Brunswick: Graduate School, New Brunswick Rutgers, 1987), 37-38.

¹⁷Powell, “Development of Libraries,” 23-25, 148, 216-23. Harry Clemmons, *The University of Virginia Library 1825-1950* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Library, 1954), 22. Emory and Henry, for instance, charged \$1.00 for library fees: Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries*, 481-82, 491-92.

¹⁸Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, ed. Howard C. Rice, Jr. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), v. 2, 443-44. Louis Shores, *Origins of the American College Library, 1638-1800* (Nashville: George Peabody College, 1934), 18, quotation 74. See also La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, *Voyage dans les Etats-Unis d’Amerique...* (Paris: 1798/9), IV, 291; and “Library of the College of William and Mary,” 48-51.

¹⁹In the early 1800s Transylvania University was an avid market for scholarly and scientific books. Richard W. Clement, *Books on the Frontier: Print Culture in the American West 1763-1875* (Washington: Library of Congress, 2003), 47. On fires, see John D. Wright, *Transylvania: Tutor to the West* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1975), 124-25; *The History of the College of William and Mary from Its Foundation, 1660 to 1874* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph & English, 1874), 54-56; Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries*, Georgia 25, Transylvania 59, Washington 88, Bethany 480-81, William and Mary 498 note. See also Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, 53.

²⁰Quotation, Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, 53.

²¹Powell, “Development of Libraries,” 25, 99, 177-88; George H. Callcott, *A History of the University of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1966), 192; Hollis, *South Carolina College*, 296, n. 64; G. Ward Hubbs, “Dissipating the Clouds of Ignorance: The First University of Alabama Library, 1831-1865,” *Libraries & Culture* 27/1 (Winter 1992): 21. Tolerable supply: cited by Fisk P. Brewer, “The Library of the University of North Carolina,” in Louis Round Wilson, *Papers on the U. N. C. Library* (typescript, North Carolina Collection, Wilson Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1966), I, 233.

²²Inga H. Barnello, “The Changing Face of Reference: A History of the Future,” *The Changing Face of Reference*, eds. Lynne M. Stuart and Dena Holiman Hutto (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1996), 5-6.

College libraries generally had little furniture although many had a separate reading room, probably drafty and unheated like the one at Davidson College. When Wake Forest College opened its doors in 1835, "No book cases were provided" and books "probably were piled on tables or on the floor."²³ In 1856, however, when the College of Charleston built a library with assistance from the state legislature, careful attention was given not just to cataloging and indexing the collection but also to having "suitable tables for the convenience of students consulting the books."²⁴ Scientific apparatus overshadowed the library at some colleges, for instance at the universities of Georgia and Mississippi.²⁵ More often, as at Emory, colleges emphasized bricks and mortar rather than book collections.²⁶

Most colleges had literary or debating society libraries as well as, and sometimes instead of, the official library. These societies dominated much of campus life. Debating gave an intellectual stimulus that contemporary education, largely dependent on rote memorization, lacked while debaters needed books and the information and rhetoric in them to help prepare for matches. In the case of Virginia, where there were no debating libraries, the Y.M.C.A. began providing current books and periodicals in 1860.²⁷ A student at Hampden-Sydney wrote that the literary societies there "have bought splendid libraries and fitted their halls beautifully" and that members "get the use of all the most useful and interesting books in the world."²⁸ Donations often played a significant

role in building these libraries, as at the University of Georgia, somewhat less so at Washington College.²⁹

Most college libraries, like William and Mary's, doubled as community libraries. In some places, however, the colleges depended on community libraries to provide for their students. Transylvania College in Kentucky, for instance, enjoyed use of the public subscription Lexington Library, founded in 1795, without, apparently, paying for the books.³⁰ In New Orleans, the semi-public Fisk Library served the College of Louisiana until the 1880s.³¹

Students ran the debating society libraries but who manned the college library? Little is known about most of them.³² It appears that a professor might be appointed the library guardian, such as James C. Courtney and Jasper Adams at the College of Charleston, 1828-1830 and 1830-1833 respectively. Thomas Park, professor of languages at what became the University of South Carolina, served as librarian for years before the salary was raised from \$100 to \$400 a year. He complained that "The position gave him much responsibility and no authority, since each trustee had a key to the library."³³ Often the librarian would be a student. At the University of North Carolina, graduate-tutors usually served as librarian as part of their duties. Or, for what is admittedly an extreme example, the janitor at the University of Mississippi also served as librarian from 1877 to 1882.³⁴

Despite the fact that women had to attend separate but often unequal colleges, some of their libraries were surprisingly good. The Salem Female Academy in North Carolina amassed

²³ Mary D. Beaty, *A History of Davidson College* (Davidson: Briarpatch Press, 1988), 77; Washington Paschal, *History of Wake Forest College* (Wake Forest: Wake Forest College, 1935), 523-25.

²⁴ The librarian had to add, however, "the Library ... has been too little used to warrant here any analysis of the classes of books most frequently demanded, or of the relative proportion of the different classes of students consulting the books." [Miles] *First Annual Report*, 9, 13.

²⁵ Coulter, *College Life in the Old South*, 52; Stanley M. Guralnick, *Science and the Antebellum American College* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1975), x.

²⁶ Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries*, 30.

²⁷ Powell, "Development of Libraries," 87-93, 99-100. See also Clemmons, *University of Virginia Library*, 16-18, 28-32; Spright Dowell, *A History of Mercer University 1833-1953* (Macon: Mercer University, 1958), 140-49; Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962), 137-44; Edgar V. McKnight and Oscar Creech, *A History of Chowan College* (Murfreesboro: Chowan College, 1964), 141-45; and Jon L. Wakelyn, "Antebellum College Life and the Relations between Fathers and Sons," *The Web of Southern Social Relations: Women, Family & Education*, ed. Walter J. Fraser, Jr. (University of Georgia Press, 1985), 319-20.

²⁸ Robert Dabney, March 16, 1837, quoted in Pace, *Halls of Honor*, 68.

²⁹ Evangeline Burbank Murphy, "The Growth of the Library of the Philanthropic Society at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1797-1822" (Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1979), 38, 44.

³⁰ Only subscribers could check out books which, however, were housed in the college seminary building. Timothy M. Harris, "A Source of Useful Information: The Lexington Library, 1795-1810," *Kentucky Libraries* 61 (Summer 2001), 14-19.

³¹ Charles C. Jewett, *Appendix to the Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, a report on the public libraries...* (Washington, D.C.: Senate, 1850), v. 3; 36.

³² Powell, "Development of Libraries," 123. This was often true in the North too. See, for example, Ravelli, "An historical analysis ... New Jersey," 39-40.

³³ Hollis, *South Carolina College*, 45.

³⁴ Allen Cabaniss, *The University of Mississippi: Its First Hundred Years* (1949; Hattiesburg: University & College Press of Mississippi, 1971), 85.

1,800 volumes by 1857, a strong collection for such a small school. The Female Institute in Columbia, Tennessee, founded in 1839, reported an amazing 3,500 volumes less than twenty years later. In the same town Jackson College had 3,500 and Franklin College 10,000 volumes – quite a lot of books for a county with fewer than 18,000 white people in 1860.³⁵

Southern colleges well knew that their book collections were meager compared to their northern counterparts and so were reluctant to publish statistics. Centenary College of Louisiana admitted its library was small but insisted it was “continually receiving valuable accessions.” Chowan Female Collegiate Institute claimed it had “a small select library,” while Wofford in South Carolina opened in 1854 with 1,000 volumes.³⁶ Even as wealthy a college as Davidson bemoaned its collection while celebrating its selection of encyclopedias.³⁷ The lack of libraries helps illustrate the paucity of southern literate culture.

Little is known how libraries organized their books. Some of today’s colleges maintain an “Original Library” in which many of the original books or copies are shelved but not necessarily in the original manner. South Carolina College “arranged [its books] in three great classes – of Memory, of Judgment, and of Imagination; or History, Philosophy, and Poetry.” The Euzelian Society of Wake Forest sensibly arranged its books “according to appearance.” The University of North Carolina library responded to a questionnaire by noting how many of its books were bound as folios, quartos, octavos, or little duodecimos, which suggests that its books were arranged by size as in medieval libraries.³⁸

³⁵ Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries*, 310, 463-64. See also Steven M. Stowe, “The Not-So-Cloistered Academy: Elite Women’s Education and Family Feeling in the Old South,” *The Web of Southern Social Relations*, 90-106, esp. 95; and Anya Jabour, “Grown Girls, Highly Cultivated’: Female Education in an Antebellum Southern Family,” *Journal of Southern History* LXIV (1998): 23-64, esp. 24-26.

³⁶ Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries*, 462, quotations 63, 626-27.

³⁷ Valentine, “Books in Tolerable Supply.” See also George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957), 9. On the importance of encyclopedias, see Daniel R. Headrick, *When Information Came of Age: Technologies of Knowledge ... 1700-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 149-66.

³⁸ Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries*, quotations 460, 308-309. See also Hubbs, “Dissipating the Clouds of Ignorance,” 25 and 34, n.7; and Henry Petroski, *The Book on the Bookshelf* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999), 8-10, 60-73.

Nonetheless, over the decades some of these book collections gradually became organized libraries. The College of Charleston published a thirty-six page catalog in 1849 with the books arranged by author in alphabetical order, with no subject classification or index: “Ainsworth’s Dictionary, 4to” through “Zophiel, 18mo.” Its collection, although unorganized, was relatively large, with a reasonable mix of classical and modern works, history and science as well as theology, most in English but also a good number of Latin and French titles. In 1857, as interest in the library and the size of its collection increased, the books were re-arranged by subject in separate alcoves and cases. “The suitability and convenience of this arrangement,” said its librarian, “... is at once obvious.”³⁹

This survey has been brief but even so it is quite evident that not much attention was paid to college libraries in the South during the antebellum period. Most southern colleges were meant to produce a literate elite adorned with a smattering of classical and Biblical learning. Despite a few attempts to equip libraries and colleges with scientific learning, society as a whole, including legislatures and the churches and communities that sponsored colleges, invested little in libraries. Nor do we see much evidence of major innovations by librarians or, indeed, of any training of librarians. The developing national network of quicker communications should have made collection development easier but this scarcely seems to have happened.

College libraries in the South were symptomatic of the region’s cultural and institutional development. Although they grew in size and number, the South remained behind the North in wealth, urbanization and formal education. Much of the education impulse was drained instead into building multiple small colleges, based on religions and regional interests, rather than on developing larger institutions and libraries. The continuity of college libraries did, however, set an

³⁹ *Catalogue of Books in the Library of the Charleston College* (Charleston: Miller & Browne, 1849); [Miles] *First Annual Report*, 7. Ancient Greeks and Romans often arranged their libraries in a similar fashion. Lionel Casson, *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), esp. 39 and 82.

example that could be built upon in subsequent decades. As Edward Campbell wrote to his younger brother David, starting out as a teacher but later the governor of Virginia, “There is nothing so necessary to the attainment of a liberal education as a good library.... It is too expensive for every individual to purchase a library suitable for studying the different branches of learning.”⁴⁰ No one imagined a college without a library, and as colleges expanded and developed in the Southeast, so did their libraries.

⁴⁰ Edward [Campbell] to brother David, 20 July 1804, Campbell Family papers, Duke University, Perkins Library Special Collections.