

EDWARD G. HOLLEY

Academic Libraries in 1876

*A librarian should be much more than a keeper of books; he should be an educator. . . . The relation . . . ought especially to be established between a college librarian and the student readers. No such librarian is fit for his place unless he holds himself to some degree responsible for the library education of his students. . . . Somehow I reproach myself if a student gets to the end of his course without learning how to use the library. All that is taught in college amounts to very little; but if we can send students out self-reliant in their investigations, we have accomplished very much.*¹

Otis H. Robinson, 1876

*In the leading colleges we believe there should be a chair of "books and reading" specially endowed; but in the smaller colleges its duties might be discharged by the professor of English literature, or by an accomplished librarian.*²

William Mathews, 1876

*A collection of good books, with a soul to it in the shape of a good librarian, becomes a vitalized power among the impulses by which the world goes on to improvement. . . . the object of books is to be read—read much and often. . . . At the average college it is thought that if anybody gets any good from the library, perhaps it is a few professors; and if anybody gets any amusement, perhaps it is a few students, from the smooth worn volumes of Sterne and Fielding. What it is to investigate, a student rarely knows; what are the allurements of research, a student is rarely taught.*³

Justin Winsor, 1878

ALL ACADEMIC LIBRARIANS have heard, to the point of tedium, the story of the venerable John Langdon Sibley, librarian of Harvard from 1856 to 1877, who reportedly was met by President Charles W. Eliot one day and asked where he was going. Sibley replied with some enthusiasm that all the books were in the library but two and he was on the way to fetch those.⁴ When yet another academic administrator tells this story before any group of librarians, we laugh politely as if we had never heard the

anecdote previously, look askance at such antediluvian behavior, and devoutly wish that no one had ever heard of Sibley and his custodial ways.

The moral of the story is easy enough. Librarians are supposed to be educators, fellow sufferers in chasing the elusive footnote back home, to use Catherine Drinker Bowen's felicitous phrase. Yet there is more than a hint in the relish with which our faculty colleagues tell the story that suggests librarians would still rather conserve

their wares than service them. Nonetheless, the point is made that, contrary to the bad old days of the nineteenth century, higher education has now reached the point of enlightenment where the library is the very heart of the university and essential to its fundamental purposes. After all, we trot these views out at the dedication of new library buildings and tell each other it is so. Our collective memory of 1876 says that it marked the beginning of a new era in which the academic librarian moved away from the earlier conservatorial fashion, unlocked the doors, opened the alcoves, crossed over the iron railings separating the books and readers, and led students into the promised land of multiple use of books, periodicals, and other good standard library materials.

How accurate was that picture and how much was happening to academic libraries in 1876? Was the general picture true? Or do we, as Dee Brown has noted in his book, *The Year of the Century: 1876*, share the nostalgia and sentimentality of that age in our understanding?⁵ That is the author's assignment for this initial article celebrating our centennial year. What kind of education, what kind of library collections, what kind of buildings, and what kind of librarians operated them as America's first century came to a close?

As the quotations at the beginning of the article indicate, the struggle to make books used and to make the library an important part of the educational process had already begun to emerge in 1876. The fact that the quotations sound as fresh today as they did in 1876 may say something about the state of library service or at least about the persistence of major issues. That there were librarians around who even believed in such statements will come as a shock to many who view the older American college library as a place of stuffiness, rarely disturbed by students or faculty, and conserved for future generations by librarians like the oft-quoted

Sibley who wanted every book in its place on the shelf. Our centennial provides an opportunity to examine more closely some well-known myths as well as to sort out the origin of the concepts upon which we still base many of our actions. The intent of this article is to set the stage for those articles which will follow in the course of the year and to try to provide the background upon which subsequent efforts can be built.

HIGHER EDUCATION IN 1876

Higher education in 1876 was in a major transitional phase. Basically the change involved a movement, first gradual and after 1876 more rapid, from a classically oriented and culturally elitist posture, to a more vocational, scientific, and democratic stance. If, unlike society generally, with the corruption of the closing years of the Grant administration, and the emerging warfare between capital and labor, or science and religion, the colleges and universities were not quite centers of turmoil, they were definitely beginning to examine their mission in society and evaluate the place of the newer disciplines in the curriculum. The backbone of the older curriculum, despite Thomas Jefferson's earlier attempts at change at the University of Virginia, and Francis Wayland's mid-nineteenth century attempts at Brown, had been the classical languages and mathematics, natural philosophy, chemistry, and moral philosophy.⁶ Courses in the modern languages and history were tolerated, but science made its way grudgingly in college classrooms. In the two decades after the Civil War all this would change dramatically. American higher education, as Sir Eric Ashby has noted recently, could be typified by the famous comment of Ezra Cornell, who in 1865, founded high above Cayuga's waters "an institution where any person can find instruction in any study."⁷ In many ways Cornell was a pacesetter for the emerging universities with its voca-

tionalism and courses in applied science added to the scholarship of the older college. Other universities might adopt somewhat grudgingly, but most would ultimately incorporate some changes from the newer approach.

Whether it had been Cornell, or President Eliot's elective system at Harvard, or Johns Hopkins' adoption of the Germanic model under Gilman, changes were inevitable as the country approached its centennial.⁸ No social institution could remain untouched by the fundamental changes caused by the Civil War. As Americans poised on the verge of their second century, they were experiencing such changes as seemed likely to many citizens to threaten the republic itself. While there was the irrational optimism that these "sentimental, reverent, earthy, skeptical, generous, rowdy, audacious people"⁹ were equal to any task they might face, many citizens also wondered if the moral decay, increasing corruption of business and government, and unemployment with its consequent poverty might not threaten a crisis more significant than that occasioned by the war itself.

Changes were occurring with such rapidity that older institutions seemed unable to cope with them. No wonder that the classical curriculum, and even the concept of Mark Hopkins and his log, gave way under the change from an agrarian society to a complex industrial era. Ironically, in the heartland of agrariansim would arise new institutions, the land-grant colleges, which would revolutionize agriculture and provide farmers better able to cope with the world of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The nation's centennial provided the opportunity to look back with pride in the achievement of a country whose boundaries now stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific and whose institutions would be severely tested later in the year in a presidential contest where the candidate with

the most votes failed to be elected. Even colleges where the students and faculty were protected from the evils of the world would have to face the consequences of the movements outside their ivy-covered walls. Their curricula, their students, their faculties, and their libraries would have to adjust to these new changes. And, as often happens to even the most perceptive individuals, they often found themselves unprepared for the changes and were ambivalent in their approach to them.

Arthur Bestor has named this period "the transformation of scholarship"¹⁰ and Samuel Rothstein has traced the emergence of the concept of reference service in research libraries to this period.¹¹ Whenever the changes actually occurred, there is little doubt that the post-Civil War period represented a fundamental shift in higher education. Two strands appeared to be working together to change the rigid pattern and leadership-oriented curriculum of the older American college: the land-grant idea, with its emphasis upon educating the farm boy or girl in the Midwest, and the research-oriented university on the German model with American variations, exemplified chiefly by the new Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore. Both developments would owe much to the scientific spirit then abroad in the land as well as the expansion of wealth resulting from the industrial base created in the North during the Civil War. Scholarship, as Bestor has pointed out, would move from an individual to an institutionalized base,¹² with the American university becoming the home for professional scholars and providing the necessary libraries, laboratories, university presses, and, incidentally, the indirect subsidies needed by the new professional associations and societies which made possible the dissemination of the results of the new scholarship.

To keep these changes and their impact upon libraries in perspective, one

needs to look at the broad picture of American higher education in 1876. The problem when one repeats the hoary story of Sibley and casts stones at what seems the incredibly short hours of opening, is that we tend to think in terms of modern colleges and universities trying to cope with more than ten million students, complex curricula, advanced graduate and professional work, and degree production which approaches 35,000 doctorates annually.¹³ This phenomenal growth in higher education has caused great stresses and strains in the 1960s and 1970s, just as the expansion of the 1870s did for colleges a hundred years ago.

In 1876 there were 356 colleges and universities in the United States. They had 25,647 collegiate and 597 graduate students taught by 3,352 instructors. These colleges also enrolled an additional 28,128 students and employed 568 instructors in their preparatory schools.¹⁴ Students and faculty members had some kind of access to 1,879,103 volumes in their college libraries plus an additional 425,458 volumes in various society libraries.

These academic institutions, plus certain other schools to be mentioned presently, conferred a total of 9,179 degrees in 1876, of which letters and science degrees (undergraduate mostly) accounted for a little over half, medicine for about one-third, and law for one-ninth.¹⁵ Just sixteen Ph.D. degrees were awarded in 1876, five at Harvard, three at Syracuse, seven at the University of Pennsylvania, and one at Illinois Wesleyan, while Yale, which had conferred the first Ph.D. in America in 1861, awarded none that year.¹⁶

Higher education was, in some ways, more heterogeneous in 1876. The Commissioner of Education's annual reports differentiated among the various types of institutions. Separate tables were given for colleges and universities, includ-

ing their preparatory, classical, and scientific departments; "superior instruction for women," including women's colleges as well as female institutes, not all of which were of college level; schools of science, by which he meant not only such institutions as the Lawrence and Sheffield Scientific Schools but also the polytechnics and land-grant colleges (agriculture and mechanic arts); and the traditional professional schools of theology, law, and medicine (including dentistry and pharmacy). Table 1 provides overall figures for students, faculty, and collections in "higher education in 1876." Not listed are the normal schools, which were essentially high schools for training elementary teachers and would, for the most part, become teachers colleges later in the century. Medicine, whose enrollment seems so large, had not yet responded to President Eliot's reforms at Harvard and was thirty-five years removed from Abraham Flexner's famous report.

From the statistical portrait one is struck by the relatively small numbers of students involved in higher education in 1876. That such extensive data are available is due chiefly to the dedicated work of the second commissioner of education, General John Eaton, a former assistant commissioner of the Freedman's Bureau, and a strong proponent of education at all levels, including that made possible by the public library.¹⁷ With considerable skill Eaton made his reports do double duty: they gave the facts, and he interpreted what those facts meant in a democratic society. He had noted earlier that the need for education was never greater, since the 1870 census revealed that 5,658,155 citizens over ten years of age were illiterate out of a total population above the age of ten of 28,238,945. In the spirit of Jeffersonian democracy, he did not believe that a democratic society could continue without an educated

TABLE 1
STATISTICS OF STUDENTS, FACULTY, LIBRARIES, DEGREES, 1876

Type of Institution	Number Reported	Total Students	Students			Instructors			Total Degrees or Diplomas Awarded			
			Prep	Collegiate	Graduate Students	Professional Students with Letters and Sciences Degrees	Total Instructors	Prep		Collegiate	Volumes in Libraries	Additions During Year
Women's Colleges*	225	23,856	5,373	18,291	192	NA	2,404	209	2,195	218,826	8,827	690
Universities and Colleges	356	56,481†	28,128	25,647	597	NA	3,920	568	3,352	1,879,103	47,613	5,946
Schools of Science‡	44	5,430	887	4,543	104	NA	545	17	528	90,096	3,641	NA
Schools of Theology	124	4,202	NA	NA	66	1,070	580	NA	NA	646,176	16,053	648
Schools of Law	42	2,664	NA	NA	NA	675	218	NA	NA	55,186	724	742
Schools of Medicine, Dentistry and Pharmacy	102	10,143	NA	NA	NA	712	1,201	NA	NA	64,858	950	3,066

NA = Not available or not applicable.

* "Superior Instruction of Women."

† Includes West Point and Annapolis; excludes those reported with colleges and universities.

‡ 2,109 students unclassified; graduate students included in collegiate students.

§ Excludes honorary degrees.

|| Of which almost half, 44,171, were in U.S. Military (26,000 vols.) and U.S. Naval Academy (18,171 vols.).

Source: U.S. Commissioner of Education, *Annual Report, 1876*, Tables VIII, IX, X, XI, XII, XIII, and XV.

populace, including those trained at the highest level.¹⁸ The zeal and enthusiasm with which he promoted the education cause found expression in the massive report on libraries which remains a fundamental document in library history.

Size, then, is one of the factors which must be considered when one discusses the customary triad of collections, buildings, and staff in academic libraries in 1876. If the libraries were small by today's standards, so were the numbers of students and instructors. The total collections would not be greater than those of one of the largest state universities today, e.g., Minnesota, Ohio State, or Wisconsin. The fact of small enrollments can be seen even more clearly in the data on Harvard and Yale, the largest collegiate institutions in 1876, with 821 and 571 students respectively. The total number of freshmen at Harvard was only 232 and at Yale 154. They were taught by 42 and 26 faculty members respectively.¹⁹

Much the same point can be made about the number of graduates. In 1876 the University of Michigan was first. Michigan awarded 409 degrees of which 30 were A.M., 8 Sc.M., 2 Ph.D., 93 M.D., and 159 LL.B. The College of New Jersey (Princeton) awarded 190 degrees, of which 73 were A.M. However, one needs to be careful in assessing the A.M. degree, which often required no course work and was often not an "earned degree."²⁰ Two southern schools reflected their general poverty in the post-Civil War period: The University of Virginia awarded only 50 degrees, and 22 of those were M.D. and 20 LL.B., while the University of South Carolina gave 12, of which 9 were LL.B.

Table 2 provides a list of all ten colleges with more than 300 students in 1876 and Table 3 a list of the principal college and university libraries as listed in the 1876 *Report*. Despite the disparaging tone of the editor of the sec-

tion on "College Libraries" in the 1876 *Report*, that the "tendency among librarians is to increase the number of volumes which are placed upon the library shelves"²¹ because they got the highest ratings that way, the "Sketches of Certain Noteworthy Collections"

which followed his introduction includes the major academic libraries, which rank one could attain in 1876 with as few as 5,000 volumes. There were many historical societies and governmental and public libraries with larger collections.

TABLE 2
COLLEGES WITH MORE THAN 300 COLLEGIATE STUDENTS, 1876

Name	Location	Date Founded	Faculty	Students	Lib. Vol.
Yale	New Haven, Conn.	1701	26	571	95,200
Indiana Asbury (De Pauw)	Greencastle, Ind.	1837	13	361	10,000
Amherst College	Amherst, Mass.	1821	20	320	30,406
Harvard	Cambridge, Mass.	1636	42	821	212,050
University of Michigan	Ann Arbor, Mich.	1841	34	355	27,500
College of New Jersey	Princeton, N.J.	1746	25	461	29,500
Cornell University	Ithaca, N.Y.	1868	40	304	39,000
College of City of New York	New York, N.Y.	1847	15	388	20,000
Mt. Union College	Mt. Union, Ohio	1846	21	363	3,768
Oberlin College	Oberlin, Ohio	1833	12	332	10,000

Sources: U.S. Commissioner of Education, *Annual Report*, 1876, Table IX; U.S. Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States*, 1876, Table III (p.125-26).

TABLE 3
STATISTICS OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL COLLEGE LIBRARIES, 1876

Place	Name	Date of Origin	Number of Volumes	Number of Volumes in Society Libraries*	
California	Oakland	University of California	1869	13,600	None
	Santa Clara	Santa Clara College	1851	10,000	
Connecticut	Hartford	Trinity College	1824	15,000	None
	Middletown	Wesleyan University	1833	26,000	
	New Haven	Yale College	1701	95,200	
District of Columbia	Georgetown	Georgetown College	1791	28,000	4,268
Georgia	Athens	University of the State of Georgia	1831	21,600	6,000
		Chicago University	1857	18,000	None
Illinois	Chicago	St. Ignatius College	1870	9,000	
	Evanston	Northwestern University	1856	33,000	
	Indiana	Crawfordsville	Wabash College	1833	10,482
Greencastle		Indiana Asbury University	1837	10,000	
Notre Dame		University of Notre Dame du Lac	1843	10,000	
Iowa City		Iowa State University	1860	8,823	
Kentucky	Lexington	Kentucky University	1858	10,845	2,089
Louisiana	Baton Rouge	Louisiana State University	1860	15,000	13,100
Maine	Brunswick	Bowdoin College	1802	22,760	
	Lewiston	Bates College	1859	6,800	
	Waterville	Colby University	1813	11,100	3,000
Maryland	Emmitsburgh	Mt. St. Mary's College	1808	7,000	1,625
Massachusetts	Amherst	Amherst College	1821	30,406	8,127
	Cambridge	Harvard College	1638	212,050	15,600

Place	Name	Date of Origin	Number of Volumes	Number of Society Libraries*	
	Medford	Tufts College	1854	16,000	
	Wellesley	Wellesley College	1875	10,000	
	Williamstown	Williams College	1793	17,500	10,000
	Worcester	College of the Holy Cross	1843	11,000	1,000
Michigan	Ann Arbor	University of Michigan	1841	27,500	900
Minnesota	Minneapolis	University of Minnesota	1869	10,000	None
Mississippi	Oxford	University of Mississippi	1848	6,129	2,100
Missouri	Columbia	University of Missouri	1840	11,000	2,400
	St. Louis	College of the Christian Brothers	1860	22,000	
	St. Louis	St. Louis University	1829	17,000	8,000
New Hampshire	Hanover	Dartmouth College	1770	25,550	27,000
New Jersey	New Brunswick	Rutgers College	1770	6,814	3,800
	Princeton	College of New Jersey	1746	29,500	12,000
New York	Clinton	Hamilton College	1812	22,000	
	Geneva	Hobart College	1824	13,000	
	Hamilton	Madison University	1820	10,000	3,000
	Ithaca	Cornell University	1868	39,000	None
	New York	College of St. Francis Xavier	1847	21,000	
	New York	College of the City of New York	1847	20,000	600
	New York	Columbia College	1757	31,390	2,200
	New York	Manhattan College	1863	13,000 [†]	None
	Poughkeepsie	Vassar College	1865	9,881	None
	Rochester	University of Rochester	1850	12,000	None
	Schenectady	Union College	1795	19,800	6,000
	Syracuse	Syracuse University	1871	10,000	None
North Carolina	Chapel Hill	University of North Carolina	1795	8,394	13,813
	Trinity	Trinity College	1849	2,400	8,500
Ohio	Cincinnati	St. Xavier College	1840	14,000	3,000
	Delaware	Ohio Wesleyan University	1856	10,400	3,500
	Gambier	Kenyon College	1865	10,659	10,046
	Marietta	Marietta College	1835	15,130	11,570
Pennsylvania	Carlisle	Dickinson College	1783	7,765	19,738
	Easton	Lafayette College	1832	16,400	4,700
	Gettysburg	Pennsylvania College	1832	7,200	12,350
	Haverford	Haverford College	1833	7,000	4,450
	Near Latrobe	St. Vincent's College	1846	13,000	
	Philadelphia	University of Pennsylvania	1755	23,250	2,323
Rhode Island	Providence	Brown University	1768	45,000	None
South Carolina	Charleston	College of Charleston	1825	8,000	
	Columbia	University of South Carolina	1805	27,000	1,250
Vermont	Burlington	University of Vermont	1800	13,521	2,500
	Middlebury	Middlebury College	1800	12,000	3,500
Virginia	Ashland	Randolph-Macon College	1834	10,000 [‡]	
	Charlottesville	University of Virginia	1825	40,000	
	Lexington	Washington and Lee University	1796	11,000	5,000
	Salem	Roanoke College	1853	14,000	3,000
	Williamsburg	College of William and Mary	1700	5,000	§
Wisconsin	Beloit	Beloit College	1848	8,300	1,000
	Madison	University of Wisconsin	1849	6,670	1,893

* Blanks indicate that question was not answered; the word "none" indicates that no society libraries exist.

[†] Includes Manhattan Academy Library.

[‡] Includes society libraries.

[§] Society libraries destroyed during the war; at present small, but increasing.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States*, 1876, Table III (p.125-26)

FINANCES

In 1876 the total income of all colleges and universities was approximately \$4.5 million. With such relatively small sums available for the total programs of the colleges, it is not surprising that college libraries were poorly supported. Most of the academic library collections had been accumulated through gifts. Few college libraries had endowments, yet most had been given either books or funds for books over the years, and some institutions even charged students a special fee for library support. At Lafayette the fee for 1876 was \$2 per term while undergraduates at Brown were charged \$3 per year.²² For nearly seventy years the sole revenue of the Princeton library was derived from a tax of one dollar a term on each student. For many college libraries before 1876, \$200 per year was a substantial sum for books. Librarians other than the energetic Sibley exercised their talents in fund-raising. Though they may have been part-time, W. N. C. Carlton cites the fund-raising capabilities of librarians at Colgate who appear to have been especially successful:

During thirty-six years there have been four librarians, who, in the absence of funds, have served gratuitously and made their personal efforts in the collection of money and books a good substitute for an income fund, and mainly through their efforts the library has been enlarged.²³

One of the few libraries to be supported generously by state funds was the University of South Carolina, which received \$2,000 per year from the legislature in antebellum days.²⁴ However U.S.C. received no appropriation from 1860-1869 when \$2,500 was appropriated, enabling the librarian to buy 632 volumes in 1870.²⁵ This brief respite did not stop the general poverty of the library which continued for the remainder of the century.

Another university library which early enjoyed regular appropriations was the University of Michigan. As early as 1847 the regents made provision for annual support. In 1865 \$1,000 was set aside for the General Library, \$500 for the Law Library, and \$400 for the Medical Library.²⁶ By 1877 this amount was increased to \$5,000, and the librarian reported that the average annual increase in books was about 800 volumes. Such regular support for an academic library was definitely unusual in 1876.

Endowment funds, for those libraries fortunate enough to have them, ranged from \$20,000 at Madison University (Colgate) to \$169,000 at Harvard, with Yale reporting \$65,500.²⁷ The editors of "College Libraries" in the 1876 *Report* noted that there had been numerous gifts of valuable and special private collections during the past decade. A number of collections of American as well as German private libraries moved into institutional hands. Funds for buildings, as indicated in another section of this paper, had also been substantial, and would be even more notable before the end of the century.

Still the expenditures for library purposes on an annual basis were not extensive. Harvard reported spending \$9,158 for books, periodicals, and binding, and \$15,640 for salaries and other expenses.²⁸ Only Harvard and Cornell reported substantial expenditures for 1876, with the latter reporting its expenditures for books, periodicals, and binding at \$5,000 with no report on other expenses. For comparative purposes one might note that the budget of the Library of Congress for that year was \$30,000, about half for salaries and half for materials. This wasn't the largest amount spent by a library that year, the Boston Public Library holding pride of place with \$141,300. By contrast, in the Midwest the three-year-old Indianapolis Public Library reported \$12,000. Although most of the other colleges and

universities did not report expenditures, several did report on their total yearly income from all sources. The largest sums were reported by Yale, \$6,600 for the college library alone; the College of New Jersey, \$4,000; Columbia, \$2,000; Rochester and Brown, \$1,750 each; Amherst, \$1,553; and Vassar, \$1,500. Clearly, even when the cost of books and salaries were low, academic library finances were uncertain and gifts played the largest role.

In the Midwest at places like the University of Wisconsin, President Bascom and his librarian pleaded constantly for larger appropriations for books.²⁹ Their pleas were to be echoed in other emerging institutions as the libraries expanded their roles and found it necessary to employ full-time librarians as well as to purchase books for an expanding curriculum. The editor of the report on theological libraries noted that those libraries especially needed librarians and assistants to organize and service their collections.³⁰ The same point could have been made about academic libraries. Even in 1893 Lodilla Ambrose discovered that only one-third of the 456 college libraries reported by the U.S. Office of Education had full-time librarians.³¹ She also noted that it was a good thing to study libraries with an eye to greater efficiency, but the greatest problem of the small college library was its poverty. Without money one could not buy books, and without books there was no library. Since 43 percent of the students attended colleges with libraries containing fewer than 5,000 volumes each, she wondered what kind of education they were receiving. The increasing wealth of the country would eventually supply academic libraries beyond her fondest dreams, but the inadequate resources of the small college library would remain a problem after 100 years.

College libraries, of course, shared the wealth or poverty of their institutions as a whole. State appropriations,

eventually to be a major source of income, were only \$667,521 in 1876. In calling attention to the uniqueness of the American college, Commissioner Eaton argued for more funds for strengthening all aspects of their program including libraries. Writing in his 1876 report, he noted:

The church, the state, and private individuals have made them the object of their large benefactions to education. On them has been concentrated from the earliest times the labors of our ablest educators. They have imparted eminence to our scholarship, literature, science, and statesmanship. They have been centres of learning, honesty, patriotism, and piety. . . . They should have more funds with less trammel; more students, larger and better libraries, more and better apparatus, especially should they be held responsible to revise and improve their methods of instruction. . . . Friends and managers of these institutions would do well to see to it that a public sentiment is created which will not permit a millionaire to die without making some suitable gift to some institution of this grade.³²

COLLECTIONS

What can one say about college book collections in 1876? First of all, like the colleges they served, they were small. As the "Statistics of Some of the Principal College Libraries" from the 1876 *Report* shows (Table 3), no college library had more than 227,650 volumes (predictably, Harvard); and the total number for 312 colleges, including their society libraries, was only 2,423,747. Most of the collections were in Northeastern colleges; and of the thirty-seven collections listed as "noteworthy" by the editors, all except seven were located east of the Allegheny Mountains.

No one has yet made a subject analysis of the collections of college libraries in 1876 as Joe Kraus has done for the colonial colleges,³³ but the bulk of the

materials had been acquired by gifts, with all the miscellany which results from such a hand-to-mouth existence. Still, several institutions had been quite fortunate in their gifts, and none more so than Harvard, where the redoubtable John Langdon Sibley had increased the bulk of the collections fourfold during his two decades as librarian.³⁴ His famous circular to the 1856 graduating class urging them to send one copy of anything published in or about the U.S. paid off handsomely, as also did his 1857 letter to the alumni.³⁵ From Sanskrit literature to American history the donations arrived in increasing numbers. Typical of the long series of benefactions was that of Charles Sumner, who gave more than 250 maps, 1,300 volumes, and from fifteen to twenty thousand pamphlets during his lifetime, and added a bequest of 4,000 volumes at his death in 1874.³⁶

Addison Van Name, like his colleague at Harvard, was successful in securing both books and funds for Yale,³⁷ while President McCosh, horrified at the pitiful collections at Princeton, secured many generous gifts.³⁸ In 1868 John C. Green gave \$100,000 for endowment under the name of the Elizabeth Fund, which made possible the college's purchases of the 10,000 volumes from the Trendelenburg Library in Berlin. Income from the Elizabeth Fund would be a source of funding for Frederic Vinton's book collecting efforts during the next decade.³⁹ That such gifts made a significant difference can be seen from Daniel Coit Gilman's similar efforts at Berkeley. Gilman, two years before leaving California for the presidency of Johns Hopkins, raised \$2,000 for the purchase of the Francis Lieber Collection and secured a special appropriation of \$4,800 from the California legislature for the library.⁴⁰ Despite his disappointments in trying to create a university at Berkeley, Gilman's efforts resulted in doubling the collections between

1872-1876, although the library still numbered only 12,000 volumes. Meanwhile, across the country, Trinity College (Conn.) could claim 15,000 volumes with special strength in Greek, lexicography, chemistry, French literature, ecclesiastical law, and liturgy.⁴¹

Not surprisingly, the Catholic colleges were strong in the areas of patristics, church history, and, occasionally, foreign literature. For instance, Georgetown University (D.C.) with its 28,000 volumes reported a number of thirteenth-century manuscripts, 37 incunabula, and 268 volumes of the sixteenth century, plus a host of Bibles, commentaries, complete sets of many learned society proceedings, and the best editions of many classical authors.⁴² St. Xavier in Cincinnati reported a largely theological collection, including a number of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century works, collected sets of St. Thomas, the Migne, etc., while a little farther west, at St. Louis University, the library reported not only distinguished sets in theology but also 100 folio volumes from the British Public Records Office.⁴³

Those "twin seats of learning," Harvard and Yale, held a position of leadership among academic libraries in 1876 that they would maintain for the next century, except for that upstart University of Chicago's brief usurpation of second place in the early 1890s through purchase of the 150,000-volume Berlin Library.⁴⁴ They had been built chiefly through gifts and would continue to be the beneficiaries both of substantial funds and collections.

Perhaps more typical of the older colleges was the University of Pennsylvania. Established as a college in 1755 and as a university in 1778, Pennsylvania's library had an early start through the generosity of its trustees and a gift of Louis XVI at the request of General Lafayette.⁴⁵ After the revolution the li-

brary entered the doldrums where, according to Professor R. E. Thompson, "from the War of Independence down to our own days but few additions were made to the library, and those mostly by presents from authors and publishers."⁴⁶ The reawakening at Pennsylvania apparently occurred soon after the Civil War when the university moved to a new campus in West Philadelphia. There quickly followed substantial gifts and one-time major purchases by the trustees. The Stephen Colwell Collection of 8,000 volumes in social science and political economy, including a fairly complete collection of pamphlets on money and banking, was given in 1869. At about the same time the trustees and alumni purchased a collection of a Professor Allen, rich in classics, bibliographical, and reference works; a Shakespeare Library; and works on military subjects. Other purchases included native and foreign historical works, as well as standard editions of English poets. The Rogers engineering collection was highly prized as were several smaller donations. Nonetheless, Pennsylvania reported its holdings as only 23,250 volumes in 1876 and would still not be included among the nine universities with more than 50,000 volumes a decade later.⁴⁷

If the eastern schools scarcely impress one as good college libraries, the mid-western ones were weak indeed. Because of their recent beginnings and lack of interest, they made their way but slowly. Michigan, an exceptional and early leader, reported 27,500 volumes, including law and medicine, while Illinois, not yet ten years old, seems comparatively well off with its 10,600 volumes in contrast to the 2,448 volumes at Kansas, the 6,370 volumes at Wisconsin, and the combined total of 10,540 volumes at Iowa and Iowa State.

On the eve of the Civil War, Professor James Butler wrote from Madison, Wisconsin, that he had known many

poor colleges but none which didn't have a history of the U.S. and none as poor as Wisconsin in books.⁴⁸ Some progress was made in the next fifteen years but a member of the Board of Visitors said in 1874, "I think the library of the University is a disgrace to the state."⁴⁹ In spite of library inadequacy, the university's catalog called attention to the neighboring libraries open to its students: The Wisconsin Historical Society and the State Library, "unsurpassed in the West and equalled in very few institutions in the country."⁵⁰ The University of Wisconsin had reason to be pleased. In 1876 the Wisconsin Historical Society boasted 33,347 volumes and 31,653 pamphlets, plus a substantial state appropriation of \$3,500 for books and considerably more than that for staff.⁵¹ The State Library claimed an additional 25,000 volumes,⁵² and the students also found the much smaller Madison Free City Library receptive to their needs. With such resources available locally, the Wisconsin student was fortunate despite an average annual addition of only 600 volumes to the college library.⁵³ In more isolated circumstances, like Urbana, Illinois; Bloomington, Indiana; Lawrence, Kansas; and Iowa City, Iowa, there were few additional resources. One institution, Washington University in St. Louis, saw no need to build up its collections except for law, since it owned several memberships in the St. Louis Mercantile Library, and a large number of its students were connected with the St. Louis Public School Library.⁵⁴

Another more famous university would be similarly parasitic regarding its neighbor's libraries. Since graduate work along Germanic lines began immediately when Johns Hopkins opened in 1876, there was an obvious need for library resources. Hopkins was fortunate in the presence of the excellent 60,000-volume Peabody Institute Library, which Gilman made arrangements for his fac-

ulty and students to use.⁵⁵ As he related to his former colleagues at the ALA Conference in 1881, the Peabody Institute Library and other Baltimore libraries to a certain extent supplied the books required by the Johns Hopkins faculty and students, though the university by this point did have a 10,000-volume working collection dispersed chiefly to seminar rooms and departmental collections.⁵⁶ Thanks to the clearly perceived need for library cooperation, Johns Hopkins published a union list of serials, probably the first regional list in the country, as one of its 1876 circulars.⁵⁷ However, Gilman didn't really neglect the library; by the turn of the century it ranked among the ten largest academic libraries in the country.⁵⁸

The collections in southern colleges were not impressive except at the University of Virginia, with 40,000 volumes, and the University of South Carolina, with 27,000 volumes. The troubles of many southern colleges might be aptly summed up by the unknown student at the University of North Carolina who wrote on the blackboard in one of the classrooms, "February 1, 1871, this old University has busted and gone to hell to-day."⁵⁹ It didn't stay there, and upon re-opening in 1875 the collections were reported to have contained 8,394 volumes in the college library and 13,813 volumes in the society libraries. Nonetheless, those collections had been built largely by gifts, and there had been a notable lack of support for the library before the Civil War.⁶⁰

As Benjamin Powell has noted, if the southern college libraries weren't as bad for as long as they claimed, they were certainly poor enough.⁶¹ In 1860 the libraries in eight state-supported universities contained only 88,000 volumes, and about two-thirds of those were at Virginia and South Carolina.⁶² There was little or no progress during the Civil War and not much for thirty years afterwards.

Typical of the poverty of the southern college libraries is the pathetic joy reported concerning librarian William Wertenbaker at the receipt of a \$500 gift at the University of Virginia in 1868.⁶³ There had been no books purchased for some time, and Wertenbaker knew where to put this money to good use. As earlier mentioned, the South Carolina legislature, then under the control of the Radicals, appropriated \$2,500 for the U.S.C. Library in 1869, its first appropriation since 1860, but the U.S.C. Law School had opened in 1867 without any money for enlarging the college library and no provision for establishing a law collection.⁶⁴

Two other southern universities fared somewhat better in 1876. Commodore Vanderbilt had just started the princely gifts of his family to the school which was to bear his name. One year after its opening Vanderbilt reported 6,000 volumes. Over in the Shenandoah Valley, Washington and Lee University, only recently presided over by the South's most famous general, received in 1872 the 4,000-volume collection of N. P. Howard, reportedly one of the best collections of classical works south of the Potomac, a gift of W. W. Corcoran of Washington, D.C. Two years later various donors contributed 1,705 volumes including works in science and law.⁶⁵

The next quarter century would see increasing amounts of private and public funds used to strengthen college libraries but would also see a proliferation of such institutions, some of which Melvil Dewey doubted could be called more than glorified high schools.⁶⁶ It would be some time, however, before most of them could rival the large public, governmental, and historical society collections. Meanwhile, the merger of the society libraries into the college collections helped some institutions.

SOCIETY LIBRARIES

According to Thomas C. Harding, the

major, and frequently the only, extra-curricular activity of American college students prior to the Civil War was the literary society.⁶⁷ These societies arose in the eighteenth century, first as student associations for religious purposes and subsequently as outlets for student energies in orations, debates, and dramatic productions. To provide resources for debates and orations, the literary societies collected libraries, especially those current monographs and periodicals dealing with the leading issues of the day. Usually there were two or more societies vying with each other for the talents of various individuals who comprised the student population. Since the society libraries provided popular literature, which the college libraries did not, they were frequently the first source for students. A historian of the literary societies had divided their growth period into the colonial period, 1790-1840; the transition period, 1840-1870; and the modern period, or period of decline, 1870-1900.⁶⁸ Society libraries seem to have achieved their peak about the mid-nineteenth century and, except for the colleges in the West, to have declined steadily after the Civil War.

The society libraries not only provided a place for the various formal activities in the rhetorical area but also a comfortable place for reading somewhat like the private gentleman's library. W. N. C. Carlton says that their collections were usually composed of sets of the standard authors, the leading literary reviews (English and American), together with contemporary essays, fiction, travel, biography, and history.⁶⁹ They grew to substantial proportions by 1860. One of the Yale historians said of them, "In the cultivation of a just taste for composition, in aiding the students in investigations relating to subjects of academic disputation and in supplying their hours of leisure with the best means of gratification, these societies and libraries have proved highly

important, and have uniformly received the encouragement of the faculty."⁷⁰ William Frederick Poole's index to periodical literature emerged from a need to supply the students in his society library at Yale with materials for their debates. A number of prominent librarians were members of literary societies during their student days, and Harding believes the societies provided the training ground for such future professional leaders as Jewett, Sibley, Winsor, Edmands, Poole, Cutter, and Hosmer.⁷¹

Some library historians have reported that the literary society libraries frequently excelled or exceeded in size the college library. Carlton says this was true at Amherst, Dartmouth, Hobart, Hamilton, and Union in 1850.⁷² However, a cursory review of the statistics in the 1876 *Report* indicates that out of sixty-six colleges with society libraries containing more than 2,000 volumes, only twenty had more volumes in their combined society libraries than in their college libraries, and only in another three were the collections equal. Thus only about one-third of those with large society libraries could claim library collection dominance. By 1876, of course, there were many colleges which had no society libraries. Of the really large society library collections only five had more than 10,000 volumes in their combined society libraries: Dartmouth, the University of North Carolina, Kenyon, Dickinson, and Pennsylvania College (Gettysburg).

As the curricular patterns changed in American colleges and as other extra-curricular activities such as athletics, social fraternities, music and drama clubs, literary magazines, and college newspapers emerged, the fortunes of the literary societies declined. I. C. Seeley made a survey in 1871 which showed thirty societies still active in the North, thirty-one in the South, and 115 in ten western states, of which thirty-five were in Ohio.⁷³ With the decline in student

interest the maintenance of the libraries became a burden for the societies, especially in the impoverished South. Thus soon after the Civil War the transfer of the society libraries to the administration of the college libraries began. The Linonian Society and Brothers in Unity began negotiations with the faculty at Yale in 1867 and in 1871 placed their libraries under the direction of the college library committee.⁷⁴ The following year the society libraries were merged and their collections rearranged, though kept separate from the college library. At Dartmouth the three societies which held 27,000 volumes (vs. 20,000 for the college library) transferred the administration of their merged collections to the college in 1874.⁷⁵ Similar actions took place elsewhere so that by 1893 George Little could write that the union of the society and college libraries had generally been carried out in the previous two decades.⁷⁶ Some colleges, like Dartmouth, gained substantial collections from the mergers. However, by insisting upon some input to the administration of their collections, the societies also contributed to the liberalization of rules for access to the college libraries and thus helped assure their continued development after 1876.

ACCESS FOR STUDENTS

Restriction on use has often been noted as one of the characteristics of the older American college library. Many writers have quoted the rules and regulations and cited the hours of opening as cases in point for the lack of access to the collections. The rise of society libraries has been noted as an example of how poorly the college library before 1876 served the students. Although there is considerable evidence that this picture is true, at least in the broad strokes, there is also something to be said on the other side.

John Boll, after studying seven college library buildings in New England

and noting the difference between the *administration* of library services in those buildings and the *theory* of library building in the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century, has written that "even many early nineteenth century librarians were not as meticulous in denying public access as the theoreticians and builders desired."⁷⁷ He goes on to say that the railings, either of iron or wood, erected to separate the reading area from the stack area, were never completely effective. In other words, the practice, as opposed to the theory or the rules, shows an increasing degree of public access. Moreover, Boll states that the barriers fell rapidly in the 1870s and 1880s in academic libraries while the public library, seemingly more open and accessible, maintained the principle of closed stacks for a much longer period of time.⁷⁸

Certainly by 1876 there were many college libraries expanding hours, discussing library instruction for students, and changing in other ways to make their collections more useful to students. Not that this occurred suddenly, but the activity did accelerate after the Civil War. As is usual in any social change, paradoxes remained. For instance, a number of colleges still were open to students for reference purposes only, and even Cornell, despite its advanced educational views, noted that the university library was "one of circulation only as far as members of the faculty were concerned."⁷⁹ However, the library room was open from eight to five every day for "consultation" by the students. The increasing growth of the collections and the new curricular stirrings, plus the addition of the society libraries to the college library administration, required a new approach to the total college library system, although the word "system" is probably too sophisticated a term to use for such disparate collections scattered around on the larger college campuses.

Arguments for and against centralization and decentralization emerged shortly after this period. Johns Hopkins, with its emphasis upon the seminar and seminary libraries, was emulated elsewhere. A United States Office of Education (USOE) Circular on *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities*, edited by Herbert Baxter Adams, contains descriptions of a number of the departmental history collections which arose in an attempt to get the students and historical source books together.⁸⁰ Not everyone approved of this dispersal of collections. John Franklin Jameson, student of Adams at Johns Hopkins, was critical of the specialized libraries, as was biblical scholar Rendel Harris.⁸¹ Ten years later W. I. Fletcher took note of this tendency to create "a collection of department libraries than one library having a systematic and unifying principle of growth and administration."⁸² George T. Little in 1893 would add that "the wave of combination is fast followed by that of division"⁸³ and questioned whether or not the cost in duplicates was warranted by the presumed convenience.

The more important question in 1876 was whether or not students should be allowed direct access to the shelves. In his paper on college library administration in the 1876 *Report*, Otis H. Robinson stated that, although most colleges did not allow students immediate access to the shelves, he doubted that it was practical not to permit such activity.⁸⁴ Moreover, if one adopted Robinson's view that the college librarian was more educator than custodian, then his logic of opening the small college library for two or three hours after chapel on Saturday and helping everyone discover the right volumes to use for his investigations would be both practical and necessary. Robinson's ten years of experience at Rochester convinced him that the "two hours" work done regularly every Saturday in this library by an average



University of Rochester Library

Otis Hall Robinson

of 40 or 50 students (Rochester had only 163 and a faculty of eight) does them more good than any two hours' instruction they receive through the week.⁸⁵ Since Robinson believed in independent study, he thought students needed face-to-face access with the books required. To reinforce his point he called attention to the uselessness of a major collection without such access:

Notwithstanding the great advantages of the use of a library in the manner pointed out, if I mistake not, it is not usually contemplated by college library regulations. How to use books is not so much studied as how to get and preserve them. It is seldom or never made itself an end to be obtained by study. I have seen a college library of 25,000 volumes or more, all in most beautiful order, everything looking as if just fitted up for a critical examination, where the reading room was entirely apart, and the books could be seen by students only through an opening like that of a ticket office at a railroad station. The reading room contained dictionaries, cyclopedias, newspapers, and magazines, and, it was said, a well kept

manuscript catalogue of the library. The result one can easily conjecture; the students read the newspapers, and the librarian preserved the books.⁸⁶

Robinson's paper is a landmark piece in the history of academic librarianship and its arguments for faculty and librarian working together for the education of the student sound as refreshing today as they did 100 years ago. Although he had developed notable techniques for improving service, his paper was heavily oriented toward the importance of student access and making the library a vital part of the educational process.

In another article in the 1876 *Report* Robinson stated his views on the matter of access succinctly: "It is clearly the duty of a librarian so to conduct his library that everything it contains shall be accessible to every reader and that with as little inconvenience as possible."⁸⁷ He advanced this argument as his reason for his creating at Rochester good catalogs and a supplement to Poole's index, as well as an index to portions of books somewhat along the lines of today's *Essay and General Literature Index*.

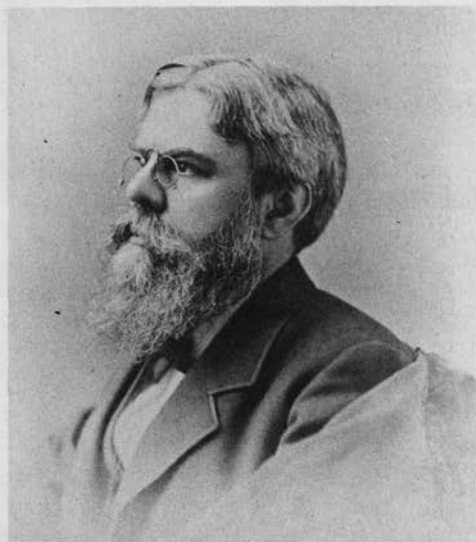
The editors of the section on "College Libraries" in the 1876 *Report* were also positive about their perception of college collections: they were for use, not to be stored up.⁸⁸ There is some evidence among the "noteworthy" college libraries described for the report that this concept was taking hold. Amherst had been open five hours daily since 1870. Williams had been open four hours per day for consultation and reading, with free access to the shelves and the presence of a librarian to render assistance since 1868. Mount Holyoke's "cozy nooks" should have been an encouragement to reading and so should Wellesley's although the handsome bookcases at the latter had glass doors, whether for protection of the books

from students or for students is not indicated.⁸⁹

In January 1880 some three years after the 1876 *Report* appeared, Commissioner Eaton published a small pamphlet in the USOE Circular series called *College Libraries as Aids to Instruction*.⁹⁰ Justin Winsor and Otis Robinson authored the two articles in the pamphlet and repeated here many of their earlier published views on college libraries, though Winsor's "The College Library" was largely a bibliographic essay on what basic reference books should be in a college library. Winsor's emphasis was upon how much good reference works could accomplish. Since he regarded bibliography as the foundation stone of the librarian's art, his essay represents an interesting overview of the basic tools existing at the time. Prominence was given to national and trade bibliography, encyclopedias, periodical indexes, and library catalogs. Winsor, of course, had gone to Harvard as a full professor, in 1877, where his emphasis upon liberalizing the rules and promoting use would have a profound impact on college libraries generally.⁹¹ Nonetheless, for all his advanced views, he would not open the stacks to everybody, and his article on library buildings for the 1876 *Report* assured closed stacks as important for public libraries.⁹²

Professor Robinson's essay was a variation on his earlier theme: the importance of the library as a part of the educational process. He expanded his description of what happened on Saturday mornings in Rochester where he had succeeded in getting at least half his faculty, a large part of the students, and sometimes even the president, into the library to help students use the collections effectively. According to Robinson:

Scarcely a Saturday passes but every department in the library is ransacked for its best material on many subjects.



Harvard University Archives

Justin Winsor

It is not claimed that such investigation leads to the discovery of new truth; but, properly directed, it cannot fail to give the student much valuable knowledge of books, and, what is better, to develop a method without which no one can acquire broad scholarship. . . . In this age of libraries no course of education can be called complete which does not provide in some way for an exercise of the kind we have described.⁹³

Some have claimed that Winsor and Robinson were much in advance of their time. They probably were, but there were others who had caught the vision of books being for use, including the much-maligned Sibley at Harvard. As Shipton has pointed out, it was during Sibley's administration at Harvard that there occurred the revolution in library hours and student use which Justin Winsor would do so much to promote.⁹⁴ As early as 1860 the delivery hours were increased to nine to one and two to five, Monday through Friday, except when the sun set earlier (there was no artificial light in the library). In

1876 Harvard's library was open forty-eight hours per week (perhaps the longest in the country) and Sibley had earlier provided a small highly selected collection of new books as well as 200 periodicals on open shelves in Gore Hall's main reading room. Before his retirement over 50 percent of the student body used the library regularly.⁹⁵ Sibley's problem was the same one which has always plagued librarians: the faculty pleaded for constantly increasing access which Sibley could not provide with his limited staff and increasing collections. Moreover, Sibley's donors took a dim view of the freedom of use he already permitted.⁹⁶

Reuben A. Guild at Brown had opened up the shelves at least as early as 1858 and had planned the new library building for maximum access.⁹⁷ He was a favorite of Brown students and alumni, and it is probable that he permitted access to the shelves during most of his forty-six-year career at Brown. Guild himself said at the Lon-



Brown University Archives

Reuben A. Guild

don Conference in 1877 that the faculty and students, both undergraduates and graduates, were allowed free access to the library and to the shelves. Moreover, he added "for the past thirty years, during which I have been in charge, the public have not only been allowed free access to the library, which is open daily from 10 to 3, but also consult the librarian, instead of the catalogue, inquiries being mostly for information rather than for certain works."⁹⁸

President McCosh at Princeton, finding the library open only one day a week when he arrived in 1868, commented, "This seems strange to one coming from a country where college libraries are open each lawful day of the week for five or six hours."⁹⁹ McCosh, a Scotsman, didn't think the faculty could achieve distinction nor did he see how the students could have an exciting intellectual life under such conditions. Therefore, he employed a tutor to keep the library open six days a week, and the circulation doubled, and then tripled. Even more important was his employment of Frederic Vinton as a full-time librarian in 1873. Vinton, a dedicated bookman who was user oriented, would make the new library more used and useful. In his article on "Hints for Improved Library Economy, Drawn from Usages at Princeton," Vinton noted that "At Princeton, the students are allowed free access to the shelves, and no privilege is so highly valued. The inquirer does not then depend on the title in deciding the fitness of a book to his purpose, but is able to reject one and take another, if examination shows it to be more suitable."¹⁰⁰ The new octagonal Chancellor Green Library at Princeton permitted the librarian to be seated in the middle of the reading room where he could not only watch the alcoves but also could help the students use the card catalog and find the books.

The October 1877 issue of *Library Journal* was devoted to college libraries



Princeton University Library

Frederic Vinton

with the above noted article by Frederic Vinton on the new library at the College of New Jersey, Robinson on "College Libraries as Semi-Public Libraries," and Richard R. Bowker on "Learning to Read in College." In an introductory note the editor stated that "doubtless the day is not far off when a college will be ranked and will attract students quite as much for its library advantages—practical advantages, and not the numerical size of its libraries—as for the fame of its individual professors."¹⁰¹ The editor of the issue was also a strong proponent of open shelves. To provide information on the status of reading he had sent a circular to about thirty leading college librarians asking them to make a brief statement about the circulation of books among faculty and students, along with comments on what their users were reading and how they used libraries.¹⁰² Eighteen responded, and their responses were revealing. Some had a fairly stand-pat attitude, and others exhibited the more open attitudes of Robinson and his associates. Trinity

College (Conn.) was still open only once a week, Wesleyan every other day, while Bowdoin and Kenyon apparently were not heavily used. At Yale the students were using heavily the Linonian and Brothers' Library, but apparently weren't using the college library, which aimed "chiefly to supply the wants of the professors and the advanced students."¹⁰³ Colby, on the other hand, had noted a significant increase in student use, from 6.7 books per student in 1868-69 to 27.5 in 1875-76. The number of hours had increased from two and one-half weekly to one hour daily.¹⁰⁴

Although Brough has castigated the "incompetent and lazy" Beverley Robinson Betts, librarian at Columbia from 1865 to 1883, for not being a more aggressive librarian,¹⁰⁵ Betts did keep extensive records of circulation and reported that the circulation of books had risen from 360 in 1863 to 1,209 in 1877.¹⁰⁶ At the same time the number of persons who took out books rose from 57 to 148, with undergraduates providing about three-fourths of the use. Nonetheless, Brough quotes from John William Burgess, a new professor of history in 1876, who noted his great disappointment with the resources, the building, its inadequate catalog, and Betts, who "crept up to the building about eleven o'clock in the morning and kept the library open for the drawing of books about one hour and a half daily. He generally seemed displeased when anyone asked for a book and positively forbidding when asked to buy one."¹⁰⁷ To his ever-lasting ignominy, Betts also boasted that he turned back half the trustees' \$1,500 appropriation each year.

By 1877 there was a rising concern that at least the reference collections should be kept open longer hours, Hamilton noting in its report "it is peculiarly necessary that every college library should have a complete reference library distinct from a general library, al-

ways open and accessible to students."¹⁰⁸ Not that Hamilton's was, and the librarian deplored the incompleteness of his resources.

The University of Virginia didn't reflect much liberality in its policies. Like North Carolina, the Virginia library served also for ballroom dancing, much to the annoyance of the librarian, who had been approved by Jefferson himself to protect the books.¹⁰⁹ A student was limited to three volumes at any one time for a period of two weeks. In 1876-77 there were 351 students, and the total number of books in circulation at any one time did not exceed 300 volumes.¹¹⁰

The midwestern universities were beginning to stir. Writing in 1885, Mrs. Ada North at the State University of Iowa (Iowa City) called attention to the fact that it was "about eight years since this library awoke from its semi-dormant condition of being open but two or three hours a day to an all-day session."¹¹¹ Her predecessor must have worked miracles that first year, for he reported in *Library Journal* a circulation of 10,500 volumes to the students and 1,000 to the professors out of a total collection of 7,000 volumes.¹¹² Four categories accounted for 25 percent each of the total circulation: (1) history, biography, and travel; (2) fiction; (3) general literature, including poetry; and (4) miscellaneous, including scientific works. Unlike his colleagues at Virginia, who took pride that there were no English novels in the library, the Iowa librarian did not discourage fiction reading, though he virtuously excluded the mass of "light, sensational, and ephemeral novels."¹¹³

The University of Wisconsin, despite meager resources, was not only open two hours every afternoon but every day for borrowing books.¹¹⁴ The students were reported to be using American and English belles-lettres extensively, as well as the State Historical Society Library. Such optimism should be tempered by

a report of the university's historians that "the rules of the University library made many prefer to use the Madison Free Library,"¹¹⁵ and library hours were not extended from nine to five-thirty until 1884.

Minnesota reported that its library and reading room were open seven to nine hours daily, except Sundays and legal holidays.¹¹⁶ The average daily attendance was about 225 students and 16 teachers. With 304 students enrolled in the preparatory and collegiate courses, plus a total faculty of only 18, these hours of opening seem generous for the period. The dedication of Minnesota to library instruction can be noted in the revised course of study, adopted by the regents, which required the president to deliver a course of lectures to each incoming class in which "the use of the library is to be particularly explained and encouraged."¹¹⁷ Whatever impact the presidential encouragement had on the students, they borrowed 2,356 volumes and used another 3,200 in the reading room, while the faculty borrowed 669 in 1876-77. The librarian could still account for his books accurately, for the students, despite all this encouragement, were not allowed direct access to the shelves. With the faculty, as always, the story was different. "It is more difficult to secure ready returns from the faculty, who, of course, have free access to the shelves, and are constantly tempted to carry books to their class-rooms, for temporary use, without having them charged."¹¹⁸

Such sampling does not, of course, tell the whole story, though it may be as close to the truth as one can get from the data available. What does seem clear from the various reports is that academic libraries after the Civil War were moving slowly from their custodial role to a more important role in the educational process. About a decade after the

1876 Report William I. Fletcher, by then librarian at Amherst, would report that there was a great change taking place in teaching methods which placed more emphasis upon primary sources, with the faculty directing the students to authorities found in library books.¹¹⁹ "If I am not mistaken," he wrote, "it is this new spirit and method in the classroom which is bringing students in our colleges into the libraries for study and genuine work with first authorities, rather than any new departure in libraries themselves."¹²⁰ Fletcher recognized the emergence of the idea of the college library as a separate educational force apart from the curriculum, but he thought it was an open question whether students would take that route. George T. Little, in his paper prepared for the World's Library Congress in 1893, reported that nearly all college libraries had extended the privileges granted undergraduates.¹²¹ In 1877 the proportion of college libraries not open daily was one out of seven. By 1893 this proportion had changed to one out of forty, while more than one-half were open as much as thirty hours per week. Nonetheless, he felt compelled to add that many libraries still failed to allow undergraduates to borrow all the books which might be needed on a topic. He found it "not entirely clear" as to why such a privilege, "granted as a matter of course to teachers, should be refused to learners."¹²² Although improvement had been made on a number of fronts, such as hours of opening, access to shelves, etc., when Lodilla Ambrose studied college libraries the same year as Little, she commented, "the machine is in place, but the college student, with rare exception, knows almost nothing about its use."¹²³ The promotion of library instruction, despite the pioneering work of Robinson, Vinton, Winsor, and their disciples, would still be a problem for the profession a century later, and pro-

fessorships of books and reading no more plentiful in 1876 than they were in 1876.

LIBRARY STAFF

If students were to have access to libraries and if they were to find their way amid the growing complexities of college libraries, then some sort of assistance would become necessary. The views of Winsor, Robinson, and Vinton pointed the way, but practical matters, such as the numbers of personnel to provide that personal assistance to readers, prevented immediate fulfillment of their dreams. The 1870 census, though doubtless as unreliable as its director thought, reported only 209 librarians of all kinds in the country.¹²⁴

Few academic libraries had full-time librarians in 1876.¹²⁵ Mostly the individual holding the title "librarian" was a full-time faculty member who was assigned the task as an added duty. Among the notable librarians devoting full time to librarianship were John Langdon Sibley at Harvard, who had served as assistant librarian from 1841 to 1856, and then as librarian from 1856 until his retirement in 1877; Reuben A. Guild at Brown, whose career extended from 1847 to his retirement in 1893 and who had the distinction of having been present at both the 1853 and 1876 library conferences; Addison Van Name, who became Yale's librarian in 1865 and served until 1905; and Frederic Vinton at the College of New Jersey, who went to Princeton in 1873 after serving as Ainsworth Rand Spofford's assistant at the Library of Congress. Larger libraries sometimes had full or part-time assistants, but staffs of most college libraries were one-man or one-woman operations.

Under the circumstances, where professors had to teach several subjects and manage the library as well, they were unlikely to have extra time available for keeping libraries open for more

than a limited number of hours, nor were they likely to give considerable time and thought to advancing the library's interests. Even the remarkable Otis Hall Robinson, who served first as assistant librarian, 1866-68, and subsequently as librarian, 1868-89, at the University of Rochester, still taught mathematics. That he found time as well to construct a supplement to Poole's index, discover the way to keep cards in a catalog through punching a hole in the center and providing an iron rod for the trays, and hold classes in bibliographic instruction on Saturday mornings after chapel can only be a tribute to his energy and enthusiasm for the place of the library in the college curriculum.¹²⁶ The press of his instructional duties and the expansion of his subject interests to include astronomy led him to resign as librarian in 1889 because of the strain of trying to do both jobs well. In a letter to the trustees he wrote, "For nearly twenty years I was an every day worker in the library, most of the time doing the work with little or no assistance. I often found myself devoting more care and strength to it than to my instruction. . . . I think that the man who does the work in the library should be the Librarian, and be charged with the management—under the President and Library Committee."¹²⁷

Robinson's ideas on assistance to readers, expressed fully in several articles as well as in the 1876 *Report*, and in his comments at the 1876 Conference on S. S. Green's paper on personal assistance to readers,¹²⁸ could scarcely be accomplished on a part-time basis with expanding college enrollments and expanding library resources. Yet he and Vinton, and Justin Winsor after he left the Boston Public Library for Harvard in 1877, pounded away at the idea that a college librarian ought to be in fact, as well as in name, Ralph Waldo Emerson's "Professor of Books and Read-

ing."¹²⁹ Other librarians picked up this same theme and advanced it in numerous locations. Even as far west as Iowa State University (Iowa City), founded only in 1860, Amos N. Currier reported that his meager collection had been heavily used by students and reported his happiness at the "rapid growth among intelligent men of the conviction that a thoroughly qualified librarian and proper facilities for the best use of books are scarcely less important than resources."¹³⁰ Moreover, he declared it to be his judgment "that a competent librarian, i.e., a professor of books and reading—is just as essential to a college as a professor of history or geology."¹³¹ He didn't think the college could afford *not* to assign a full-time librarian to manage its library rather than a hard-worked professor.

Others echoed such sentiments, including Richard R. Bowker, whose article on "Learning to Read in College," cited the good work of Professors Gilmore and Robinson at Rochester and Tyler at Michigan to illustrate the need for a librarian as a separate officer, and a "Professor of Books and Reading," as a highly desirable officer, though if a college couldn't quite manage that then a professor of English literature might be the next best thing.¹³² Bowker was on the side of the librarian as guide, philosopher, and friend, who would point out to students what they should know and seek to improve their taste and knowledge. At an earlier time President Woolsey at Yale told the discouraged librarian, Daniel Coit Gilman, that the place "does not possess that importance which a man of active mind would naturally seek; and the college cannot, now or hereafter, while its circumstances remain as they are, give it greater prominence."¹³³ Bowker saw little merit in such arguments. He stated: "Librarianship really gives an opportunity for an order of executive talent second only to that which should be found in

the president himself," and he rejected the view that it should be "looked upon as a mere janitorship of books and subordinated to the keeping of the college accounts or the work of the least busy professor."¹³⁴

Such advanced ideas did not make their way quickly in the academic marketplace. More typical than Bowker's or Robinson's exalted view was the actual experience of William Wertenbaker, Jefferson's guardian of the books at Virginia, 1826–31, 1835–57, 1865–81, who also served as secretary to the faculty and secretary to the trustees, and in the course of his career held several additional posts as well.¹³⁵ As previously noted, less than two decades later, when Lodilla Ambrose of Northwestern made her survey of college libraries, she discovered that only about one-third of the colleges had librarians who held no other office or whose chief duty was the library.¹³⁶ Miss Ambrose thought that no college library could be very efficient unless there was at least one qualified person giving his or her full time and energies to it.¹³⁶

Other than Harvard and Yale, there were few libraries with more than one employee. By 1876 Harvard not only had a librarian and assistant librarian but had appointed in 1873 a "head of female assistants," Annie E. Hutchins, at a salary of \$700 per year.¹³⁷ Sibley had brought in several young ladies in 1858 to clean small books. He had expanded their number for other clerical duties in connection with the catalog at a compensation which reached twenty cents an hour for skilled help by 1873.¹³⁸

Addison Van Name, who had succeeded Gilman as librarian in 1865, had a full-time assistant librarian, Franklin B. Dexter, appointed in 1869. However, Van Name also held the title of librarian of several specialized libraries at Yale, e.g., the American Oriental Society and the Connecticut Academy of Arts

and Sciences, so the presence of two full-time staff plus student assistants does not appear noteworthy.

Melvil Dewey himself was an assistant librarian at Amherst in 1876, a position to which he was appointed upon his graduation in 1874, primarily to make a catalog.¹³⁹ He did have some student assistants. Cornell reported that it had a principal librarian who was a member of the faculty and two assistant librarians, but only one of those was full time.¹⁴⁰

Despite Harvard's employment of women for the clerical staff, and both Winsor and Poole's defense of women as librarians at the 1877 conference in London,¹⁴¹ the academic world in 1876 was predominantly male. Although women would assume directorships of medium-sized public libraries before the end of the century, their position in academic libraries would not be a strong one for many years. When Salo-

me Cutler Fairchild surveyed women in library work for the St. Louis Conference in 1904, she reported only four representative university libraries headed by women: Chicago, where Zella Allen Dixon held the ambivalent position of associate librarian till 1910 (there was no librarian); Northwestern, with Lodilla Ambrose; Illinois, whose prize was the indomitable Katherine Lucinda Sharp, and Vermont.¹⁴² Not surprisingly, there were women heading all the women's college libraries, but none heading any governmental libraries.

BUILDINGS

If reports are to be believed, the handsomest libraries in 1876 must have been at two women's colleges. Mount Holyoke occupied a new fire-proof building in 1870, thanks to an appropriation from the state to meet the conditions of a \$10,000 grant from Mrs. H. F. Durnat. Access to the collections



College History Collection, Mount Holyoke College Archives

Mount Holyoke College Library
South Hadley, Massachusetts

was obviously intended, for the description in the 1876 *Report* notes that "the interior is furnished in chestnut; the bookcases and other furniture are of black walnut. The alcoves are arranged so as to form cozy nooks for the readers."¹⁴³ The same could be said for the interior of the new library apartment which formed a wing of the college building at Wellesley. The photograph in the 1876 *Report* shows the Wellesley reading room which looks much like the one described at Mount Holyoke—a well-lighted and convenient place for young women to read and study, although the bookcases reportedly had glass doors. The Wellesley trustees were ambitious; space was provided for 120,000 volumes for a college which had opened only the year before.¹⁴⁴

Most libraries were not housed in separate buildings but in large rooms in other buildings. For instance, the Colby Library was in the eastern wing of Memorial Hall in a room the shape of a Roman cross, while Lafayette occupied the double story of the east wing of

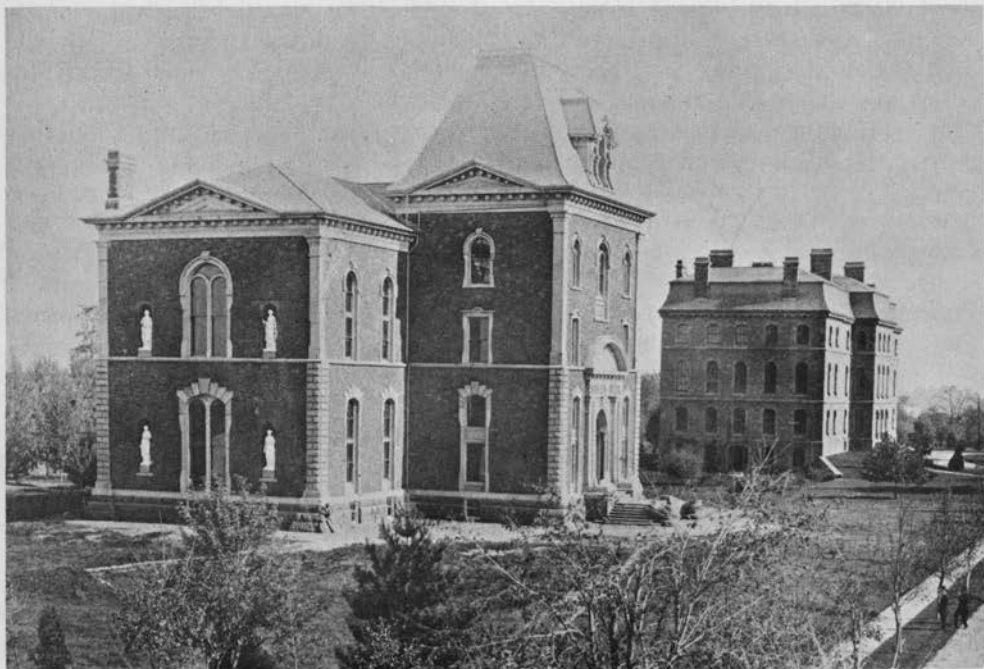
South College. Many of these rooms would overflow with books before legislators and donors could be persuaded to provide the funds for additional housing. Space was not extensive in any case, with library rooms containing 1,988 square feet at Columbia, 4,500 at Cornell, 3,750 at Hamilton, and 2,688 at the University of North Carolina.

Although separate buildings were not the norm, quite a number had been built by 1876 and, next to collections, they were favorite objects of donor interest. Harvard used the bequest of Christopher Gore to complete Gore Hall in 1841, which was modelled on King's College Chapel, Cambridge. The Williams College building was completed in 1845 as a gift of Col. Amos Lawrence, while the Yale building, completed the following year, was the result of a fund drive which raised \$18,000. Three large buildings had been or were about to be completed in 1876, the Chancellor Green Library at the College of New Jersey at a cost of \$120,000, the gift of John C. Green of New York;



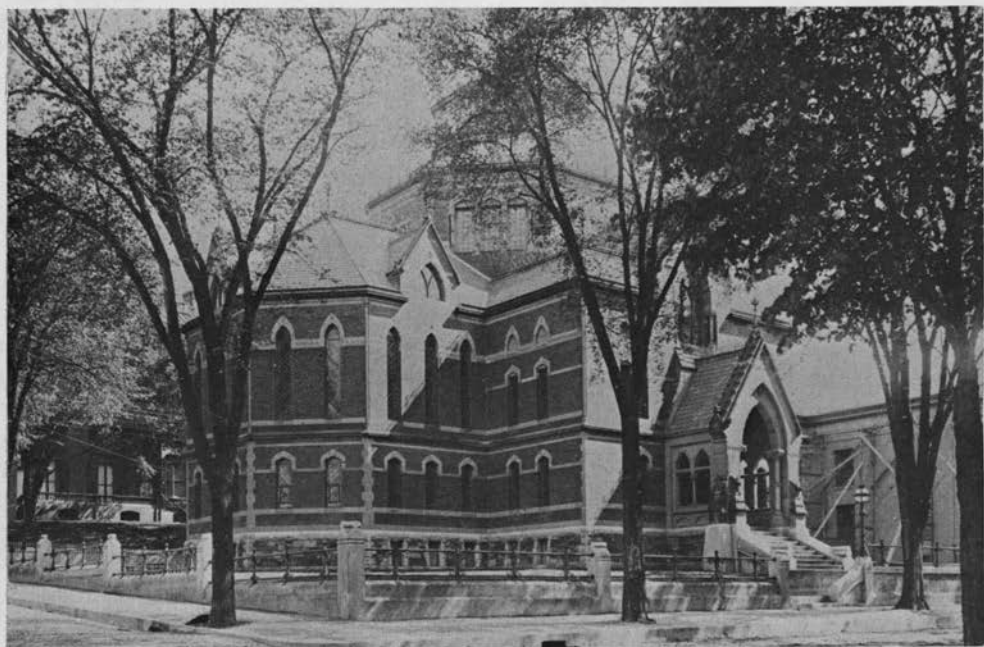
Princeton University Library

*Chancellor Green Library
College of New Jersey, Princeton*



University of Rochester Library

*Sibley Library
University of Rochester, Rochester, New York*



Brown University Archives

*Library, Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island*

the \$100,000 Sibley Library at the University of Rochester, the gift of Hiram Sibley; and the Brown University Library in Providence, the gift of John Carter Brown and members of his family.¹⁴⁵ As the historian of Princeton has noted, it was unfortunate that all this building at various places took place at a time when architectural taste in America reached a new low.¹⁴⁶ Both the Princeton and Brown buildings reflected the general trend of the times.¹⁴⁷ They were in the shape of crosses, with a large reading area in the middle; the librarian sat at a circular desk at Princeton in the middle of the room, a concept to be embodied later in the new building for the Library of Congress. Sibley Library at Rochester would be only slightly better, but one of the stipulations of Sibley's gift was that the library would be open to Rochester citizens as well as the university community.¹⁴⁸

Not many libraries were built with state funds. Even the University of Vermont building was erected through subscriptions of \$6,000 raised mostly in Burlington. The significant exception to the rule of private funds for buildings was the University of South Carolina. The legislature appropriated \$15,000 in 1836 for a building which was completed in the same year as Gore Hall at Harvard at a cost of \$23,000.¹⁴⁹

Even buildings erected in the 1870s would soon prove too small for expanding collections. To accommodate the results of Sibley's vigorous collecting efforts, Harvard was just completing America's first book-stack and catalog room addition to Gore Hall, despite Sibley's protest that what Harvard really needed to do was build a new library to house a million volumes.¹⁵⁰ Harvard administrators, whose predecessors had expected the original Gore Hall to last well into the next century, discovered by 1893 that Sibley's warning had come true. Harvard was already storing some

of its library materials elsewhere on the campus,¹⁵¹ and would have to provide another stack unit in 1895. Justin Winsor, who would succeed Sibley the following year, wrote in the 1876 *Report* that "to have a good library building, a sufficient area should be secured to have it detached on all sides, and to provide for future additions."¹⁵² Most of the nineteenth century libraries made no such provision, and Princeton, whose dedication of the Chancellor Green Library provided the excuse for a separate *Library Journal* issue on college libraries in 1877, would find it necessary to build an essentially separate and larger building before twenty years had passed.¹⁵³

In some ways institutions like Northwestern, waiting for Orrington Lunt's gift to accumulate sufficient funds to start construction, would be fortunate in the delay. For the debate on what a library building should be, begun with Winsor's paper in the 1876 *Report*, was continued vigorously by William Frederick Poole's paper read at the ALA Conference in Washington, D.C., and later published as a USOE circular in 1881.¹⁵⁴ Poole's war against waste space in libraries as exemplified in the Peabody Institute's sixty-one foot high gallery in Baltimore would never be completely won, and the battle between librarians and architects would rage through the next century. Not that many librarians had much of an opportunity to influence library design. Only Brown, of the seven library buildings studied by Boll, reflected the ideas of its librarian.¹⁵⁵ The results were not only unfortunate architecturally but functionally as well. However, the college librarian in 1876, contemplating the provision for books and readers in the new Princeton and Brown libraries, could only be envious of such luxury.

THE PROFESSIONAL SCHOOLS¹⁵⁶

Of the traditional professional schools,

law, theology, and medicine, the first two had the strongest library collections on college campuses in 1876, but even these were not the strongest of their disciplines existing in the country. Law collections were strongest in state libraries and law associations in large cities, while the largest theology collections were found in the independent denominational seminaries. Medicine was almost a disaster area, with the only library comparable to good European libraries being that of the Surgeon-General's Office in Washington. Science, except for the Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard and the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale, had to be sought among the general libraries of academies and societies, such as the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. Although already a part of the curriculum and soon to be very important in the land-grant colleges of the Midwest, science collections were not yet major units in most academic libraries.

Considering the long connection of American colleges with various denominations and the tradition of clergy donations to academic libraries, one would expect to find important theological collections in most colleges in 1876. While this is generally true, the largest theological libraries *per se* were to be found in seminaries. Only about one-third of the theological schools were related to universities. Of the ten libraries with more than 10,000 volumes, only that of the Harvard Divinity School was connected with a university. Yale's 2,000 volumes are deceptive though, and one should remember that the Yale librarian served as the chief of the American Oriental Society collection with its 3,500 volumes. Still neither college could compare with Union Theological Seminary (New York) with its 34,000 volumes and Van Ess Collection or the Andover (Massachusetts) Seminary with the same number. Despite the lack of numbers though, the acquisition of such

rarities as ancient manuscripts, incunabula, early printing, and biblical records had begun, and the transfer of private libraries of great German scholars such as the Friedrich Lücke to Harvard would increase. Both Georgetown University and St. Xavier's (Cincinnati) had strong theological collections though the collections were part of the general library. Yet the period when university-related divinity schools would be "centres of theological science for the whole community,"¹⁵⁷ as the editor devoutly hoped, was still some time in the future.

Since law schools have traditionally leaned heavily on the printed word, plus a fair amount of rhetoric, one might expect flourishing collections in university law libraries by 1876. The post-Civil War decade did see significant developments in at least two places: Yale and Hamilton College.

The Yale Law School in 1874 celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its connection with Yale, though it had had a separate library only since 1845. Nonetheless its achievements during the three years prior to 1876 were notable. Some \$16,000 had been raised for the Law Library which grew from 1,600 to 8,000 volumes in that same period. Stephen B. Griswold, librarian of the Law Department of the New York State Library, estimated that a fairly complete law library in 1876 would contain about 7,000 volumes and could not be secured for less than \$50,000.¹⁵⁸ If one were to add the non-English and non-American law, the figure for completeness would rise to 10,000 volumes. Few law libraries had attained that figure in 1876, and only Harvard's 15,000 exceeded the magic number among law school collections.

Hamilton College in 1865 received a splendid law library from the estate of William Curtis Noyes. Containing all the American reports, including complete reports of every state in the un-

ion, as well as English law, the Noyes Collection amounted to about 5,000 volumes. The reporter noted that there was "hardly any law book which a lawyer in large practice may have occasion to consult that may not be found in this collection."¹⁵⁹ The Noyes bequest did more than enrich the training of law students. The trustees began a campaign for a "library hall" in which to house it, and laid the cornerstone the following year, though it was not until 1872 that the building was dedicated.

As the largest of the university-related law schools, Harvard's Law Library received several large collections early. It was built upon the foundation of gifts supplied by Thomas Hollis in the eighteenth century and expanded by donations of Christopher Gore in 1817 and Judge Joseph Story in 1829, as well as a bequest of Roman, Spanish, and French law in 1833 by Samuel Livermore. With the largest law school collection and with the addition of 1,000 volumes the year before, the Harvard Law Library in 1876 was in an enviable position although housed in the law school building and noncirculating in character. It was reported that the Law Library was "free for consultation to all persons" and that the "students of the school do much of their reading in the library."¹⁶⁰

Among the principal law school collections listed, other than the three above, were Illinois Wesleyan, Columbia, Ohio State, and the Universities of Kentucky and Michigan. Their collections ranged from 2,000 to 4,500. Other law schools connected with emerging universities shared the general library poverty of their parent institutions, e.g., Iowa, 1,823; Indiana, 700; Missouri, 1,000; and Wisconsin, 300.

If one were to consider solely the numbers of students involved, medical education would appear to have been in a healthy state. In 1876 there were 102 medical schools (including pharmacy and dentistry) with 10,143 pupils and

1,201 teachers. Nonetheless, only 712 of the medical students had received degrees in letters or science. That same year 3,066 degrees were awarded in medicine, pharmacy and dentistry. However, all was not well in medical education, or in medical libraries, as can be seen in Commissioner Eaton's *Annual Report* for 1876 where he noted that efforts for elevating medical education standards were receiving increasing favor and those institutions which were making the medical course more rigorous were not losing patronage and fees as had been so confidently predicted.¹⁶¹ The Johns Hopkins Medical School, to be a leader in this area, had not yet opened, and President Eliot's campaign to improve Harvard's Medical School was creating the unrest which may have prompted Eaton's remarks.

Neither Harvard nor Yale, leaders in other areas, could boast of much in the way of medical libraries. Indeed, the total number of volumes in 102 medical schools was reported as 64,858. Eaton noted the following year that "The friends of medical education would be surprised to learn the small number of volumes reported in medical libraries. Special attention to their organization, increase, and use would not fail to add to the competency and efficiency of the profession."¹⁶² There wasn't much in the way of medical library resources outside Washington, D.C., and Philadelphia. Washington had the Surgeon-General's Office Library of 40,000 volumes plus 40,000 pamphlets while Philadelphia had the library of the College of Physicians, which John Shaw Billings reported was "the most valuable working collection in the country,"¹⁶³ except for that of the Surgeon-General. Philadelphia also had the oldest medical collection, the 12,500 volumes of the Pennsylvania Hospital. Billings was then working on his mammoth *Index Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon-General's Office* whose first volume

would not appear for four more years. Of the principal medical libraries in the U.S. listed at the end of his essay in the 1876 *Report*, Billings included five connected with universities: Kentucky, Louisville, Louisiana, Harvard, and Pennsylvania. Their collections ranged from 2,000 to 5,383 volumes. Perhaps it is indicative of the low estate of medical education that the section on the Harvard College Libraries included these two sentences:

No regular fund is provided for the support and increase of the collection, and the lack of suitable accommodations has prevented the library from holding a prominent place in the college. It has been largely built up by gifts from the professors, and at one time the money resulting from matriculation fees were expended upon it, but for some years there has been no increase.¹⁶⁴

Yale could match Harvard, indifference for indifference: "The Medical School . . . has been less fortunate in respect to its library. . . . The library was formerly kept at the medical college, but for the past ten years has been deposited in the college library."¹⁶⁵

In addition to the traditional professional schools, the previous fifteen years had seen the emergence of scientific and polytechnic institutions with their degrees in agriculture, engineering, and architecture. Other disciplines would join them, and graduate instruction would develop in many fields during the remainder of the nineteenth century. For 1876, though, there were still those admitted to practice in various professions without any formal training at all. In a section on "Degrees in Course," Commissioner Eaton ended his "Statement Respecting American Colleges," prepared to enlighten foreign educators, with these prophetic words:

It will be seen from the above facts that the ranks of the profession in this country are not filled exclusively

by graduates from institutions for superior or professional instruction. The community, however, is beginning to look with disfavor on those who enter the profession without previous thorough preparation, and it may be said with confidence that in the course of time few will be found in the professions who are not graduates.¹⁶⁶

Whatever one's own concern about the current state of the job market, Eaton's prophecy came true. Few professions in the U.S. today admit apprentices to their number without thorough preparation, which usually means graduation from college and often professional degrees as well.

SUMMARY

What were academic libraries like in 1876? They were small, but expanding. They were not yet a significant part of the educational process but were striving toward that goal. Housed often in inadequate quarters, their library reading rooms and stacks would grow increasingly crowded before relief came in the form of massive, if not quite handsome, buildings.

Within these buildings a faculty member served as part-time librarian, frequently with some student assistance and occasionally with a full-time assistant librarian. Since their primary duties did not involve librarianship but classwork in several disciplines, the libraries probably received less attention than they needed, but the evidence clearly indicates that students and faculty also often received better service than they deserved. The advance guard of the full-time librarians shared the general optimism of the age, and they expected libraries to become a vital part of college experience. If they were often confused about the place of the library in the curriculum, their confusion was no more unnatural than that of their parent institutions which often were confused about their role and mission. The country was moving from an agricul-

tural to an industrial society, and higher education did not escape the stresses and strains of the changes accompanying this development. Professional education and graduate study were about to become a major concern at many universities, and extensive libraries and laboratories would be established to serve their needs.

To provide for open access to the world's knowledge and to encourage the rigorous use of the best sources, librarians would organize themselves into a profession. The fledgling American Library Association, founded on October 6, 1876, enabled them to meet, confer, publish, and encourage others to promote their cause. An academic librarian would provide leadership for ALA's

first decade in the person of Justin Winsor, librarian at Harvard, and would organize the College Section in 1889 to consider topics of special interest to librarians in higher education. Academic librarians would spend much time and effort organizing their collections, strengthening their staffs, and planning buildings in which to house their books and services. In their first century as an organized profession various themes would emerge, but few seem likely to improve on Winsor's statement that "a collection of good books, with a soul to it in the shape of a good librarian, becomes a vitalized power among the impulses by which the world goes on to improvement."

REFERENCES

- Otis H. Robinson, "Proceedings," *American Library Journal*, 1:123-24 (Nov. 30, 1876).
- William Mathews, "Professorships of Books and Reading," in U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States of America: Their History, Condition, and Management*, Special Report, Part I (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Print. Off., 1876), p.251. Hereafter cited as 1876 Report in notes and in the text.
- Justin Winsor, "The College Library and the Classes," *Library Journal* 3:5 (March 1878).
- Clifford K. Shipton places this story in context in his article, "John Langdon Sibley, Librarian," in John David Marshall, ed. *An American Library History Reader: Contributions to Library Literature* (Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String, 1961). See esp. p.161, 175, 178-79, 183.
- Dee Brown, *The Year of the Century: 1876*. (New York: Scribner, 1966), p.41.
- Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Knopf, 1962), p.126.
- Eric Ashby, *Any Person, Any Study, An Essay on Higher Education in the United States* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971).
- A good general account of these developments can be found in an older textbook, John D. Hicks, *The American Nation: A History of the United States from 1865 to the Present* (2d ed.; Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1949), p.95-105. Also Dee Brown, *The Year of the Century*.
- Brown, *The Year of the Century*. Brown's introduction, p.1-4, gives a good overview of the times.
- Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., "The Transformation of American Scholarship, 1875-1917," *Library Quarterly* 23:164-79 (July 1953).
- Samuel Rothstein, *The Development of Reference Services through Academic Traditions, Public Library Practice and Special Librarianship* (ACRL Monographs no.14 [Chicago: Association of College and Reference Libraries, 1955]).
- Bestor, "The Transformation," p.166.
- "20-Year Trends in Higher Education," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 10:15 (Sept. 2, 1975).
- Statistical data are taken from U.S. Department of the Interior, Commissioner of Education, *Annual Report, 1876* (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Print. Off., 1878), p.lxxxvi-lxxxvii. Cited hereafter as USOE Report, 1876.
- USOE Report, 1876, p.cxviii-cxxii.
- Ibid.
- Glenn Smith, "John Eaton, Educator (1829-1906)," *School and Society* 97: 108-12 (Feb. 1969). Francis Miksa, "The Making of the 1876 Special Report on Public Libraries," *Journal of Library History* 8:30-40 (Jan. 1973).
- USOE Report, 1872, p.vii; USOE Report, 1874, p.v-vi; this theme appears a number of times in Eaton's reports.

19. USOE Report, 1876, p.708, 711.
20. The A.M. degree was not necessarily an earned degree. Eaton noted that it was usually conferred after graduation on bachelors of arts who were engaged in literary pursuits and who paid a prescribed fee. Some colleges were beginning to offer it as an earned degree. USOE Report, 1877, p.cvii.
21. 1876 Report, p.60.
22. 1876 Report, p.115, 121.
23. W. N. Chattin Carlton, "College Libraries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Library Journal* 32:481-82 (Nov. 1907).
24. Daniel Walker Hollis, *University of South Carolina, Vol. II: College to University* (Columbia, S.C.: Univ. of South Carolina Pr., 1956), p.179.
25. *Ibid.*, p.58.
26. "The University Library," in Walter A. Donnelly, ed., *The University of Michigan: An Encyclopedic Survey* (Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Pr., 1956), Part VIII, p.1370.
27. 1876 Report, p.62.
28. *Ibid.*, from statistical tables, p.1012-142.
29. Merle Curti and Vernon Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin, 1848-1925: A History*, Vol. I (Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Pr., 1949), p.349.
30. 1876 Report, p.137.
31. Lodilla Ambrose, "A Study of College Libraries," *Library Journal* 18:115 (April 1893).
32. USOE Report, 1875, p.lxxxiii.
33. Joe W. Kraus, "Book Collections of Early American Colleges," *Library Quarterly* 43:42-59 (April 1973).
34. Shipton, "John Langdon Sibley," p.169.
35. *Ibid.*, p.166; Kenneth J. Brough, *Scholar's Workshop: Evolving Conceptions of Library Service* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Pr., 1953), p.79-80.
36. 1876 Report, p.83.
37. Brough, "Scholar's Workshop," p.20-21.
38. Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Pr., 1946), p.310.
39. *Ibid.*, p.310-11; 1876 Report, p.100-103.
40. Arthur P. Young, "Daniel Coit Gilman in the Formative Period of American Librarianship," *Library Quarterly* 45:128 (April 1975).
41. 1876 Report, p.64.
42. *Ibid.*, p.71-72.
43. *Ibid.*, p.114, 96.
44. William I. Fletcher, *Public Libraries in America* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1894), p.107.
45. 1876 Report, p.965-67.
46. *Ibid.*, p.966.
47. "Libraries in U.S. of 50,000 v. and Over," *Library Journal* 12:63 (Jan.-Feb. 1887).
48. Curti and Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin* 1:348.
49. *Ibid.*
50. *Ibid.*
51. 1876 Report, p.373-77.
52. 1876 Report, p.311.
53. Curti and Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin* 1:349.
54. 1876 Report, p.990-91.
55. Young, "Daniel Coit Gilman," p.128-30.
56. "Baltimore Conference Proceedings," *Library Journal* 6:138-39 (1881).
57. Young, "Daniel Coit Gilman," p.130.
58. *Ibid.*, p.131.
59. William S. Powell, *The First State University: A Pictorial History* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Pr., 1972), p.92.
60. Louis Round Wilson, *The Library of the First State University* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Library, 1960).
61. Benjamin Edward Powell, "Southern Universities during the Civil War," in Marshall, ed., *An American Library History Reader*, p.73-82.
62. *Ibid.*, p.75.
63. Harry Clemons, *The University of Virginia Library, 1825-1950; The Story of a Jeffersonian Foundation* (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Library, 1954), p.98.
64. Hollis, *University of South Carolina* 2:36.
65. 1876 Report, p.124.
66. George T. Little, "School and College Libraries," in Melvil Dewey, ed., *Papers Prepared for the World's Library Congress Read at the Columbian Exposition* (Washington, D.C.: Govt. Print. Off., 1896), "Reprint of Chapter IX of Part II of the Report of the Commissioner of Education for 1892-93," p.917, fn. 1.
67. Thomas G. Harding, "College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to the Development of Academic Libraries, 1815-76. II. The Golden Age of College Society Libraries, 1815-40," *Library Quarterly* 39:1-4 (Jan. 1959).
68. H. D. Sheldon, *Student Life and Customs*, as quoted in Harding, "College Literary Societies, I," p.3-4.
69. Carlton, "College Libraries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," p.485.
70. *Ibid.*, p.486.
71. Thomas G. Harding, "College Literary Societies: Their Contribution to the Development of Academic Libraries, 1815-76. II. The Decline of College Society Libraries," *Library Quarterly* 39:111-12 (April 1959).
72. Carlton, "College Libraries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," p.486.

73. Harding, "College Literary Societies, II," p.105.
74. *Ibid.*, p.106.
75. *Ibid.*, p.106-7.
76. Little, "School and College Libraries," p.925.
77. John J. Boll, "Library Architecture 1800-1875: A Comparison of Theory and Buildings, with Emphasis on New England College Libraries," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Illinois, 1961), p.404.
78. *Ibid.*, p.405-6.
79. "College Letters," *Library Journal* 2:71 (Oct. 1877).
80. Herbert Baxter Adams, ed., *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities* (U.S. Bureau of Education Circulars of Information, no.2 [Washington, D.C.: Govt. Print. Off., 1887]).
81. Young, "Daniel Coit Gilman," p.131.
82. William I. Fletcher, "Yearly Report on College Libraries," *Library Journal* 10:268 (Sept.-Oct. 1885).
83. Little, "Schools and College Libraries," p.925.
84. Otis H. Robinson, "College Library Administration," 1876 *Report*, p.515-20.
85. *Ibid.*, p.520.
86. *Ibid.*, p.518-19.
87. Otis H. Robinson, "On Indexing Periodical and Miscellaneous Literature," 1876 *Report*, p.663.
88. Francis Miksa states that chapter 3 "College Libraries," listed as "By the Editors," was largely the responsibility of Frederic Vinton, which seems reasonable from the point of view expressed. Francis Miksa, "The Making of the 1876 Special Report," p.39, fn. 24.
89. 1876 *Report*, p.76, 90, 91, 93, 95.
90. Justin Winsor and Otis H. Robinson, *College Libraries as Aids to Instruction* (U.S. Bureau of Education Circulars of Information, no.1-1880 [Washington, D.C.: Govt. Print. Off., 1880]).
91. Robert E. Brundin, "Justin Winsor and the Liberalizing of the College Library," *Journal of Library History* 10:57-70 (Jan. 1975).
92. Justin Winsor, "Library Buildings," 1876 *Report*, p.466.
93. Winsor and Robinson, "College Libraries as Aids to Instruction," p.20-21.
94. Shipton, "John Langdon Sibley," p.175.
95. Brundin, "Justin Winsor," p.63.
96. Shipton, "John Langdon Sibley," p.175-79.
97. Boll, "Library Architecture," p.340.
98. "Access to Librarians," *Library Journal* 2:278 (Jan.-Feb. 1878).
99. Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896*, p.310.
100. Frederic Vinton, "Hints for Improved Library Economy, Drawn from Usages at Princeton," *Library Journal* 2:55 (Oct. 1877).
101. *Library Journal* 2:63 (Oct. 1877).
102. "College Letters," 2:67 (Oct. 1877).
103. *Ibid.*, p.69.
104. *Ibid.*, p.68. Commissioner Eaton was impressed enough by Edward W. Hall's data on the rate of increase in library use that he included the material in his *Report*, 1877, p.cxxxi-cxxxii.
105. Brough, *Scholar's Workshop*, p.21.
106. "College Letters," p.70.
107. Brough, *Scholar's Workshop*, p.21.
108. "College Letters," p.71.
109. Clemons, *The University of Virginia Library*, p.97, 100-101.
110. "College Letters," p.72.
111. Ada North, "A Western University Library," *Library Journal* 10:124 (June 1885).
112. "College Letters," p.72-73.
113. *Ibid.*, p.73.
114. *Ibid.*
115. Curti and Carstensen, *The University of Wisconsin* 1:350.
116. "College Letters," p.73.
117. *Ibid.*, p.74.
118. *Ibid.*
119. Fletcher, "Yearly Report," p.267.
120. *Ibid.*
121. Little, "School and College Libraries," p.928.
122. *Ibid.*
123. Ambrose, "A Study of College Libraries," p.116.
124. USOE *Report*, 1872, p.995; 1876 *Report*, p.xvii.
125. See Carlton, "College Libraries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," p.484-85.
126. Catherine D. Hayes, "The History of the University of Rochester Libraries—120 Years," *The University of Rochester Library Bulletin* 25:68-70 (Spring 1970).
127. Otis H. Robinson to Trustees of the University of Rochester, ALS, September 24, 1889. Archives of University of Rochester Library. Used by permission.
128. For ten years Professor Robinson expounded his ideas through all available means. See his articles in the 1876 *Report* (he wrote three), his comments on Green's paper at the 1876 Conference, his paper for the USOE Circular with Winsor in 1880 as well as two articles not cited earlier, "The Relation of Libraries to College Work," *Library Journal* 6:97-104 (Feb. 1881), and "College Libraries as Semi-Public Libraries: The Rochester University Library," *Library Journal* 2:57-60 (Oct. 1877).

129. For a full discussion of this concept see Haynes McMullen, "Ralph Waldo Emerson and Libraries," *Library Quarterly* 25: 52-62 (April 1955); F. B. Perkins, "On Professorships of Books and Reading," 1876 *Report*, p.230-39; and William Mathews, "Professorships of Books and Reading," 1876 *Report*, p.240-51.
130. "College Letters," p.73.
131. *Ibid.*
132. Richard R. Bowker, "Learning to Read in College," *Library Journal* 2:60-62 (Oct. 1877).
133. As quoted in Young, "Daniel Coit Gilman," p.125.
134. Bowker, "Learning to Read in College," p.62.
135. Clemons, *The University of Virginia Library*, p.93-101.
136. Ambrose, "A Study of College Libraries," p.115.
137. Shipton, "John Langdon Sibley," p.173.
138. *Ibid.*, p.172-73, 175.
139. 1876 *Report*, p.77.
140. 1876 *Report*, p.108.
141. "The Executive of a Library . . .," *Library Journal* 2:280-81 (Jan.-Feb. 1878).
142. Salome Cutler Fairchild, "Women in American Libraries," *Library Journal* 29: 158-59 (Dec. 1904).
143. 1876 *Report*, p.90.
144. *Ibid.*, p.91-94.
145. Various sources including 1876 *Report*.
146. Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896*, p.297.
147. For a photograph and sketch of Princeton see Vinton's article, and 1876 *Report*, p.101. Brown's can be found in William H. Tolman, *History of Higher Education in Rhode Island* (USOE Circulars of Information, no.18 [Washington, D.C.: Govt. Print. Off., 1894]), p.191.
148. See Robinson, "College Libraries as Semi-Public Libraries," p.57-60, for a description of the Rochester building.
149. 1876 *Report*, p.121-122.
150. Shipton, "John Langdon Sibley," p.188.
151. Brundin, "Justin Winsor," p.65-66.
152. Justin Winsor, "Library Buildings," 1876 *Report*, p.465.
153. Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746-1896*, p.350-52.
154. William F. Poole, *The Construction of Library Buildings* (USOE Circulars of Information, no.1-1881 [Washington, D.C.: Govt. Print. Off., 1881]).
155. Boll, "Library Architecture," p.399.
156. Almost all of the material in this section is taken from various sections of the 1876 *Report*. Separate notes are given only when this is not true.
157. USOE *Report*, 1876, p.136.
158. Stephen B. Griswold, "Law Libraries," 1876 *Report*, p.161-62.
159. 1876 *Report*, p.110.
160. *Ibid.*, p.86.
161. USOE *Report*, 1876, p.cxvi-cxvii.
162. USOE *Report*, 1877, p.cxxvi.
163. John Shaw Billings, "Medical Libraries in the United States," 1876 *Report*, p.174.
164. 1876 *Report*, p.87.
165. *Ibid.*, p.70.
166. "Statement Respecting American Colleges," USOE *Report*, 1877, p.cvii.

Edward G. Holley is dean, School of Library Science, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill