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For the General Diffusion of Knowledge: Social, Juvenile and Mercantile/Mechanic Libraries in Colonial America and the Early Republic

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"For the General Diffusion of Knowledge": Social, Juvenile and Mercantile/Mechanic
Libraries in Colonial America and the Early Republic

by

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Introduction: "It's Bigger on the Inside"

> "The student has his Rome, his Florence, his whole glowing Italy,
> within the four walls of his library. He has in his books the
> ruins of an antique world and the glories of a modern one."
> -Henry Wadsworth Longfellow

> "Outside of a dog, a book is man's best friend. Inside
> of a dog it's too dark to read."
> -Groucho Marx

On sixteen pages of brittle paper, Arthur Bostwick, an eminent early twentieth century American librarian, educator and author, recorded the history of his hometown library in Litchfield, Connecticut. In commencing his brief essay, Bostwick remarked upon the "meager details" that adorned the history of libraries in the United States, especially in regards to their earliest years. "It is therefore a duty," he wrote, "... for anyone who has something interesting to relate of these early struggles or of any smallest part of them, not to let the story go untold."[1] This thesis responds to Bostwick's charge. By contributing my own small voice to the work of other library historians, I hope to add another layer to the unfolding history of libraries in the United States.

Throughout American history, people viewed libraries as gateways to a better life. Long before the advent of the modern public library system in the mid-nineteenth century, the colonists of British North America established social libraries with the hope of improving themselves and their communities through education. In colonial America, education embodied many different forms and was channeled through multiple avenues. Schools in New England taught reading, basic math skills and religious tenants to young

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1 Arthur Bostwick, "A Chapter of Library History," in William Dawson Johnston Papers, 1842-1927. MSS28019. Manuscript Division. Library of Congress-Washington D.C.

children, apprenticed boys learned the secrets of a craft and often received a little schooling and, at the center of all of this, the family transmitted practical skill sets and religious training.[2] The founders and early members of social libraries, however, defined education as a genteel expression of scholastic achievement, manners, and practical education related to a profession. To them, this type of education represented the means of social up-lift and books the best way to achieve it. As historian Edwin Wolf observed, "Education became the mark of the gentleman, and in its train came books to create the educated gentleman, or, sometimes, to create an illusion of him."[3] In other words, books represented the potent key to the learning associated with society's elite.

Books supplied an easy pathway for people in colonial America who wanted to advance socially and economically through "self-education." Historians Wayne Urban and Jennings Wagoner define "self-education" as self-taught instruction for people who did not have the time, money or inclination for formal schooling.[4] To their criteria, however, I add that self-education also applied to people who pursued life-long learning, not just individuals who tried to compensate for lost time. However, the path to self-education in this period was difficult as books were expensive commodities and only the wealthy could afford a large collection.[5] This reason pushed colonists to find ways to forgo the costliness of individual book owning while still obtaining their benefits. Enter the social library.[6]

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2 John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling* 3rd ed (New York: Routledge, 2009), 32, 41-43.

3 Edwin Wolf II, *The Book Culture of a Colonial American City: Philadelphia Books, Bookmen, and Booksellers* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 2.

4 Wayne J. Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., *American Education: A History*, 4th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 58-63.

5 Wolf, *The Book Culture of a Colonial American City*, 2.

6 Social libraries were not the only type of "public" libraries being formed at this time. Circulating

Organized like a modern day club, social libraries provided access to books through membership fees. Typically, social libraries organized themselves in two ways: as a joint-stock association or by subscription. In the first, members of a library would buy a share in the institution, granting them a right not only to use its materials, but also to own part of the property. In the second system, members purchased user rights only and had no share in the library's property.[7] Using a fee system allowed both forms to pay for the institution's upkeep and increase its resources.

The joint-stock library, or proprietary library, and the subscription library provided the basic forms for social libraries from their inception throughout the mid-nineteenth century, though over time they evolved to address more specific subjects and communities. For instance, libraries focusing on the law sprung up around the country as did military libraries and libraries for children and for industrial workers. As these forms developed, the structural organization of social libraries branched out as well. Instead of potential library users establishing an institution for themselves, philanthropic donors provided resources for a library for a specific group, like children.

Yet from their inception, exclusivity shaped the accessibility of early social libraries. In the colonial period and early republic, many social libraries charged exorbitant membership fees that only increased as an institution grew in popularity. Moreover, social snobbery plagued early libraries, creating restrictive by-laws in many establishments' constitutions. Though these fees and social requirements would die down for some

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libraries also came into existence towards the middle of the eighteenth century. However, because these libraries were typically constructed for commercial gain rather than educational, I have not included them in this study.

7 Jesse H. Shera, *Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England 1629-1855* (1949; reprint, North Have, CT.: The Shoe String Press, INC., 1965), 58.

libraries towards the middle of the nineteenth century, through the early part of their history these requirements severely limited who had access to social libraries.

While eighteenth and nineteenth century social libraries varied in their organization, user-ship and accessibility, they shared a common ideal of education. Overall, social libraries used education in a way that included scholarly learning with practical vocational and social learning. Yet each library never interpreted education in exactly the same way. What factors, then, determined how these educational purposes were constructed and who constructed them? I argue that social libraries' educational purposes evolved in response to society's changing views on education. I identified four factors that largely created these aims: location, Republicanism, social views on children and childhood, and educational reform. Furthermore, I claim that social libraries' accessibility intertwined with its educational purpose, defining a class of patrons that sometimes contradicted the library's intended user-ship.

In order to prove this, I examine the social context and organization of three different types of social libraries: the general, juvenile and mercantile/mechanic, from the mid-eighteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Concentrating on this time period permits me to trace the social library as the main form of a "public" library from its inception to before its competition with modern public libraries. Moreover, the vast time period allows me to track the correlation between changes in society and changes in social libraries more easily. Pushing the date range well into the nineteenth century also permits me to include libraries designed specifically for youth and children, which did not begin to appear until the 1810s. Youth and children were critical to the Republican

education that appeared after the Revolutionary War so to adequately judge how Republicanism factored into social libraries, I include them in my study. Geographically, I focus my research on the former British North American colonies, which allows me to situate my analysis in the social library's American birthplace while including a diversified range of locations.

There are two historiographical debates regarding social libraries that I examine while engaging in this research. The first deals with the nature of the relationship between society and social libraries and the second relates to the methods behind book selection.[8] Two lines of thinking have emerged regarding social libraries and society, one that classifies social libraries as barometers of social change and the other that sees them as independent of society. Jesse Shera exemplifies this first way of thinking in his research on early public libraries in New England. He concluded that social libraries were, "followers of social change," not creators.[9] More recently, however, James Raven contested this point-of-view in his work about the Charleston Library Society. Raven determined that the Society was a "community" separate from its larger locale yet still influencing it both intellectually and socially.[10] Both arguments polarize social libraries to the extreme ends of either passive reflections of social change or disengaged creators of society.

Instead, my thesis demonstrates that social libraries inhabited a middle ground

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8   Though social libraries often included lectures and exhibits as modes of education, my work focuses on libraries' book collections because of their primacy in libraries' construction and their emphasis on self-education.

9   Jesse H. Shera, *Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England 1629-1855* (1949; reprint, North Have, CT.: The Shoe String Press, INC., 1965), 248.

10   James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 228.

between being active agents of social change and mere reflectors of society. The strong correlation between social trends and the practices of social libraries demonstrates that society did wield a significant influence on the organization and purpose of social libraries. However, it is incorrect to view this relationship as only a one-way street; social libraries returned ideas and practices into their society even if it was only by reaffirming preexisting social constructs. Libraries reacted to their political and social climates, absorbing new ideas into their educational missions and structure, but they also popularized and stabilized these ideas with the public.

Historians also have contested the methods social libraries used to select books. As mentioned earlier, books were expensive so members needed to select them carefully and deliberately. As a result, the patterns in their choices reflect a great deal about their aims and motivations. Shera again spoke the loudest on this issue, claiming that user interest and availability dictated book selection.[11] Likewise, Raven implied that book selection at the Charleston Library Society also followed member preference.[12] Adding to the conversation, George Boudreau addressed the issue as it existed at the Library Company of Philadelphia. He claimed that the founders sought books that were both useful and fashionable.[13] While both of these opinions have merit, my research demonstrates that the educational standards relative to each library's time, place and patronage also influenced the books they acquired. Education constituted the driving purpose behind many social libraries and, as these purposes evolved throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth

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11 Shera, *Foundation of the Public Library*, 100.
12 Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers*, 150-152.
13 George Boudreau, "'Highly Valuable & Extensively Useful': Community and Readership Among the Eighteenth Century Philadelphia Middling Sort," *Pennsylvania History* 63, no. 3 (Summer, 1996): 312, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed September 19, 2012).

centuries, the book catalogs of social libraries changed to match new educational ideals. Throughout my thesis, I engage these historiographical debates as they relate to social libraries in the colonial, Revolutionary, and antebellum periods.

In my first chapter, I compare the social context, organization and educational traditions of two social libraries, the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Society, from 1731 to 1776. I selected these two institutions because of their popularity and early founding dates (1731 and 1748, respectively). Moreover, their geographical isolation from one another allows me to adequately analyze the effect of location on social libraries. Specifically, I explore how each Libraries' unique social and educational environment affected how the Library Company and the Library Society organized their institutions and selected their books. I also compare this to how the Libraries defined their own patronage and educational purpose through their self-produced materials.

Moving into chapter two, I examine the Library Company of Philadelphia, the Charleston Library Society and several other social libraries from 1776-1810. There are two major events that I focus on in this chapter: the Revolutionary War and the development of Republicanism. In the chapter's first half, I analyze the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Society's activity levels during the Revolutionary War. Since both of these libraries were well established by the time of the Revolution, they provide a better record of material in regards to the effect that the War had on social libraries. In the second half, I explore the theme of continuity and change in antebellum social libraries using the Library Company of Philadelphia as my main

example. In particular, I analyze how new educational ideals, sparked by the Revolution, created contradictions in social libraries that still maintained their colonial membership requirements.

Finally, in my last chapter, I branch out from general social libraries to explore juvenile and mercantile/mechanic libraries from 1810-1840. Here, I focus specifically on the role that age had in creating the educational missions of these establishments. I selected age as my target criteria because of the emphasis it had in the new educational theories of republicanism. Republican educators obsessed over the future of the nation and considered educating children and youth in republican values as the best way to preserve the country. While this forms the overarching theme for the chapter, I also explore the role of educational reform as it relates to class in my analysis of mercantile/mechanic libraries. I connect larger social ideals on education to the structure and book selections of juvenile, mercantile/mechanic libraries. However, besides exploring just individual institutions, I also include an analysis of what educators wrote about the link between social libraries and education as it related to children and apprentices.

Throughout each of these chapters, I rely on a variety of primary sources to build my argument. For information about the libraries' themselves, I pull from social libraries' book catalogs, which also often included their Constitution, a self-produced history, rules, laws, and membership list, as well as letters and newspaper articles concerning the libraries. I examine these sources mainly through a lens of class and age. I focus on these two perspectives because of their complicated relationship with education in society and

with the libraries themselves. Early social libraries tended to be exclusive in their accessibility by organizing themselves to favor the elite. At the same time, however, their rhetoric claimed an egalitarian user-ship that contradicted this reality. Using a class lens, I sort through this mismatched patronage to examine the effect this had on how the libraries' tailored their educational purposes. Similarly, I focus on youth because of the importance they played in republican education. As social libraries began to adopt republican ideals after the Revolution, it altered their educational purposes to include a new emphasis on services to children. Using an age lens, I examine how libraries for children and youth constructed their educational purposes to suit this new trend. Besides analyzing my sources through a class and age lens, I also use statistical analysis of membership fees to determine how accessible social libraries would have been economically.

Social libraries unfortunately receive very little attention by library historians today. The trend is either to treat social libraries as a footnote in the history of the modern public library system or to look at them as individual cases. However, in my research, I focus on the overlap and contradictions between social libraries in time and space. In doing so, I reveal so much more than the history of a fascinating institution; I also provide a new window for looking at society and culture in eighteenth and nineteenth century British North America. Through this frame of reference, I address how social libraries reflected larger issues of class, education, and childhood. Each of these threads intertwine to form a narrative about social and economic advancement in America from the mid 1700s through the turn of the century.

Location Matters: The Impact of Local Society
on Two Colonial Social Libraries

“The more you read, the more things you'll know.
The more that you learn, the more places you'll go!”
-Dr. Seuss

The mid-eighteenth century marked the advent of social libraries in British North America. Starting in 1731 with the creation of the Library Company of Philadelphia, social libraries continued to expand until the Revolution. This period witnessed the birth of institutions such as the Redwood Library in Rhode Island, the Charleston Library Society in South Carolina and the New York Society Library. Although many of these organizations were similar in their general purpose and structure, the location of each establishment influenced the creation of subtle distinctions in the organization of its respective library that ultimately altered each library's educational objective. No institutions reflected this principle better that the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Society. A comparison of these two libraries reveals that the unique social and cultural environments of both organizations impacted who had access, which, in turn, affected the type of books both libraries offered. However, user-ship was not the only influence on library materials; the educational traditions of both cities also affected what books were available. By examining each library's location, the structure of each institution and the type of materials it offered, one can see that cultural and social traditions interlocked with the educational backgrounds of the Libraries' membership to create unique educational purposes for the Charleston Library Society and the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Historical Context of Philadelphia

Colonial Philadelphia's Quaker roots, social mobility and gender permeable public life shaped its intellectual atmosphere by creating an egalitarian mentality among many of its citizens. Pennsylvania's establishment as a Quaker colony in 1681 initiated the foundation for this mindset, giving it a base in the group's religious principles. The Colony's earliest laws set a precedent for tolerance that continued and expanded throughout its development. Pennsylvania's original body of laws protected minority Christian denominations from harassment and promised practitioners free worship under a civil government.[1] Historian Gary Nash further confirmed the open-minded perspective of William Penn and the other colonists and the relative success of their vision. He noted that the settlers' aimed for the Colony to be a place of tolerance and pacifism. Nash then went on to write that throughout all the European colonies in the Americas, no other place had the same level of religious and ethnic tolerance and peaceful interactions with Native Americans as Pennsylvania did.[2] The Colony's laws highlighted the influence that Quaker beliefs had in shaping the mentality of Pennsylvania not only in its initial phase, but for decades down the line. Since Penn and his fellow settlers placed a high emphasis on inclusiveness in the founding principles of Pennsylvania, those ideals came and continued to be reflected in the social relations of the Colony. In the eighteenth century, this created an egalitarian atmosphere among white male society in Philadelphia, the

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1   George Staughton, Benjamin N. Nead, and Thomas McCamant, ed., *Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania Passed Between the Years 1682 and 1700, Preceded by Duke of York's Laws in Force From the Year 1676 to the Year 1682, With an Appendix Containing Laws Relating to the Organization of the Provincial Courts and Historical Matter* (Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, 1879; OpenLibrary, 2008), 107-108, http://openlibrary.org/books/OL6604977M/Charter_to_William_Penn_and_laws_of_the_province_of_P ennsylvania (accessed October 30, 2012).
2   Gary B. Nash, *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory* (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 2002), 22.

target audience of the Library Company.[3]

Also key to Philadelphia's egalitarian mindset was the city's fairly fluid social mobility. According to Nash, because the British Colonies constantly needed labor and land was easier to obtain, the social structure in British North America was not as rigid as in Europe. Consequently, he goes on, industriousness came to be regarded as the pathway to success.[4] Of course, no one demonstrated this principle better than Philadelphia's foremost citizen, Benjamin Franklin.

Franklin's ascent from a runaway apprentice in Philadelphia to one of the most prominent statesmen in the Colonies has been told and retold countless times. However, its poignant narrative drives home the fact that social status in Philadelphia was not a fixed hierarchy; there existed some opportunity for advancement within the existing structure if a person worked for it. This opportunity for social advancement encouraged a more egalitarian mentality in the city. Since there was not a closed social structure in Philadelphia, the idea persisted that anyone, well white males, at least, could climb up the social ladder. By eliminating certain prerequisites such as birth, wealth and background to this opportunity, Philadelphians fed an unbiased mindset as to who could succeed in their city.

Finally, the presence of women in the public sphere also demonstrated the egalitarian mentality of colonial Philadelphia. Though not as prominent as men within the city, women, nonetheless, were not totally absent from Philadelphia's public life. Nash highlighted the pervasiveness of women in the City's public life by emphasizing the

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3   Opportunities for non-whites and women were more limited in colonial Philadelphia. Throughout the colonial period, slavery still existed in Philadelphia
4   Ibid., 54.

regularity of female entrepreneurship in colonial Philadelphia, especially among

widowed and single women.[5] Even women from well-established families frequently

involved themselves in the City's commerce. Susanna Fothergill, for instance, used her

contacts in the merchant community to sell off some goods without her husband's

involvement, demonstrating her familiarity with Philadelphia's business world.[6] In

addition, public institutions did not dismiss female intellectuals in this period either.

Benjamin Franklin himself illustrated this by leaving his share in the Library Company to

his daughter, Sally, in his will.[7] Franklin's actions were not a singular incident either. By

the 1750s, the Library permitted Elizabeth North to take over her uncle's share in the

Company and allowed Margaret Paschall full borrowing and membership rights.[8] These

examples highlighted the limited flexibility with which women were able to operate in

City life. Moreover, their presence also attested to Philadelphia's larger egalitarian

mentality through its inclusion of both sexes in the city's public sphere.

    Juxtaposed against Philadelphia's egalitarian mindset, however, were the economic

realities of the city, which resulted in a pronounced gap between the City's elite and lower

classes. Though Pennsylvania distributed its wealth fairly evenly during the early

eighteenth century, the gap in income, and consequently in social standing, became more

pronounced in Philadelphia as the City gained status as a commercial center.[9] From the

end of the seventeenth century to the eve of the Revolution, the population of colonial

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5   Ibid., 50.
6   Sarah Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2008), 57.
7   American Philosophical Society, Franklin MSS, XLVI, Part 2, no. 33 (B. Franklin to Deborah Franklin, February 14, 1765), quoted in Margaret Barton Korty, "Franklin's World of Books," *The Journal of Library History* 2, no. 4 (Oct., 1967): 315, http://www.jstor.org// (accessed September 26, 2012).
8   Fatherly, *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies*, 105.
9   Joseph E. Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), 111.

Philadelphia grew from roughly 2,200 to 31,000.[10] As the century progressed, the rift in

wealth distribution paralleled the growth of the City. This disparity reached new heights

after the Seven Years War through the cessation of the war's economic opportunities and a

sudden influx of Irish immigrants into Philadelphia. The war lasted from 1756 to 1763

and worked as a wellspring of profit for many merchants, providing a constant source of

employment through war contracts. When the fighting ended, it caused an economic

depression among the very people it had helped to make rich. Moreover, the later years of

the war saw an increase in the number of immigrants coming to Philadelphia. Between

the Seven Years War and the Revolution, roughly 30,000 Irish immigrants alone migrated

to American through the port of Philadelphia.[11] Though many of these people often

settled as farmers in the Colony's frontier, frequent Native Americans attacks on the

settlers forced many to seek sanctuary and work in the city.[12]

    As a result, a growing number of people in colonial Philadelphia were severely

limited in the amount of superfluous funds they possessed. In fact, many lower class

families often had just enough money to survive.[13] Though that fact might not in and of

itself be surprising, the increase in the number of people who lived at that level definitely

is remarkable. Nash described the situation best by comparing the number of people

assisted by charity organizations before the Seven Years War to the post-war rate: 50 per

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10 Sharon W. Salinger and Charles Wetherell, "A Note on the Population of Pre-Revolutionary
     Philadelphia," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 109 (1985), 369-86, quoted in Edwin
     Wolf II, *The Book Culture of a Colonial American City: Philadelphia Books, Bookmen, and Booksellers*
     (Oxford: Claredon Press, 1988), 35.

11 Marianne S. Wokeck, *Trade in Strangers: The Beginnings of Mass Migration to North America*
     (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 179-183.

12 Gary B. Nash, "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia," *The William and Mary*
     Quarterly 33, no. 1 (Jan., 1976): 11-12, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed October 8, 2012).

13 Billy G. Smith, "Inequality in Late Colonial Philadelphia: A Note on its Nature and Growth," *The*
     William and Mary Quarterly 41, no. 4 (Oct., 1984): 636, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed October 7,
     2012).

1,000 people, nearly five times what it had been.[14] This number illustrated that as Philadelphia grew as a city, so did its population living in poverty. Consequently, although Philadelphia's egalitarian mentality helped to define the city, it created a paradox when compared to its economic realities. In other words, though Philadelphia was open to equality, the increasing level of poverty that permeated the city stratified its citizens. With this growing gap, opportunities for advancement became equated with economic means, restricting the number of people who could take advantage of the city's spirit of egalitarianism.

Rhetoric and Reality of the Library Company

The Library Company of Philadelphia mirrored the contradictory attitudes of its city. In rhetoric and intention, the Company was egalitarian in regards to its accessibility. From its founding, the Library clearly had a broad user-ship in mind. In its Charter, the founders not only acknowledged the personal benefit they would derive from establishing the Company, but also realized that the Library would bring the same advantages to the people of Philadelphia.[15] By recognizing a larger user-ship than themselves, the founders demonstrated their intention for the Library Company to be an inclusive institution.

Furthermore, the founders' socioeconomic roots implied an intended egalitarian base for the Library. The original members of the Company came mostly from the Junto, a social club created by Benjamin Franklin for other young, ambitious workingmen in the City. Austin Gray, a former Librarian of the Library Company, wrote that critics of the Junto often referred to it as, "'the Leather Apron Club', because its members worked at

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14 Nash, "Poverty and Poor Relief," 13.
15 *Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1757), 4. Early American Imprints, no. 8006.

their lowly jobs by day clad in such vulgar and unmanly garb."[16] Members who went on

to earn a membership in the Library Company included William Parsons, a shoe-maker,

William Coleman, a merchant's clerk and Stephen Potts, an apprentice.[17] These men's

occupations plus Gray's description highlighted that the Junto members identified as

middle class, which also gave the Library a middle class flavor in the beginning.

A statement Franklin made in his *Autobiography* further supported the initial middle

class leanings of the Company. While discussing the difficulties in establishing the

Library, Franklin wrote that, "So few were the Readers at that time in Philadelphia, and

the Majority of us so poor, that I was not able with great Industry to find more than Fifty

Persons, mostly young Tradesmen, willing to pay down for this purpose..."[18] There are

several indicators in this passage that point to a middle class orientation for the Library

Company. First of all, Franklin linked his target audience, "Readers," to a specific

economic class by establishing that most of that audience was too poor to afford the fees.

In doing so, Franklin also inadvertently indicated that the wealthy in Philadelphia were,

for the most part, outside the audience he hoped to attract. Though this seems

contradictory to the egalitarian spirit of the City, Franklin viewed the Library as a means

of social up-lift for young tradesmen. As such, the patronage he desired would have been

from the middling ranks of Philadelphia. Moreover, not all of the Library's founding

members came strictly from the middle class. Robert Grace, a former member of the

Junto and one of the first to join the Library, was a gentleman of some fortune.[19] His

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16 Austin K. Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), 3.
17 Franklin, *Autobiography*, 117.; *Library Company of Philadelphia Articles of Association,* 10.
18 Benjamin Franklin, *The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin*, 2nd ed., ed. Leonard W. Labaree, Ralph L.
   Ketcham, Helen C. Boatfield, and Helene H. Fineman (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 142.
19 Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library*, 3,7.

inclusion in the Library Company highlights that the institution did welcome the wealthy and elite, even if Franklin hoped to situate it mostly among the middle class.

Franklin's statement also gave a short description of these original members, calling them, "mostly young Tradesmen." The connotations of this classification implied a middle class orientation due to the social and economic implications of the occupation and the fact that the members were young. Because the original members of the Library Company were of a middling background, the institution was geared towards a broader user-ship that encouraged wealthy and middling participation. The limited economic resources of many of the founders illustrated that the establishment was not for the elite alone, which intimated that the founders encouraged a more economically diverse public to make use of the Library.

In addition, the spirit of public service intended by Franklin through the Library Company demonstrated that the institution was supposed to be a cross-class endeavor. Franklin felt a strong desire, almost a responsibility, to take on projects that would be beneficial to the public, like his establishing Philadelphia's Fire Company.[20] This mentality was evident especially when juxtaposed with another comment that Franklin made in his *Autobiography*: "These libraries have improv'd the general conversation of the Americans, made the common Tradesman and Farmers as intelligent as most Gentlemen from other Countries..."[21] Regardless of whether the Library actually achieved this claim, Franklin saw his institution as reaching across class boundaries and affecting people of all ranks.

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20 Martin H. Sable, "The Library Company of Philadelphia: Historical Survey, Bibliography, Chronology," *Int. Lib. Rev.* 18 (1987): 29-30. http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed September 20, 2012).
21 Franklin, *Autobiography*, 130-131.

Although the Library Company of Philadelphia proclaimed to be an egalitarian establishment, like the city itself, it contained several restrictions that limited its accessibility. Foremost among these were the economic requirements needed to become member. The accessibility of early social libraries largely depended on a user's ability to pay for its services.[22] The Library Company was no different. Though the founders were mostly men of the middling sort, the monetary qualifications necessary for using the library completely shut out the lower class, canceling out its egalitarian intentions. For example, as Franklin stated, a person had to pay forty shillings (or about two pounds) to become a member of the Library Company. The Company's Charter also records an annual fee of ten shillings.[23] In today's terms, forty shillings would roughly equate to $390 and ten shillings, $98.[24] For the lower class, which as demonstrated earlier usually only had enough money to survive, these rates virtually excluded them from becoming members of the Company.

Social elitism also provided another qualification as to the type of users the Library Company wanted to attract. According to the Library's Laws, entrance into the Company was dependent upon the approval of the Board of Directors.[25] As explained in the 1789 account of the Library, the Company adopted this rule, "...to prevent improper persons from access to a collection of a nature so liable to injury."[26] Based on the expensiveness

22 Jesse H. Shera, *Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England 1629-1855* (1949; reprint, North Haven, CT.: The Shoe String Press, INC., 1965), 75.
23 *Charter, Laws*, and *Catalogue*, 8.
24 These estimates were calculated using a currency converter found at www.measuringworth.com. After converting the amount into its equivalent in 2010 British currency, I then translated that amount in U.S. Dollars using the converter found at www.x-rates.com. Next, I averaged the monthly conversions it provided, took that number and translated it into its 2012 amount using the site, www.usinflationrates.com. The rest of currency translations in this chapter were calculated in the same way.
25 *Charter, Laws, and Catalogue*, 21.
26 *A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to The Library Company of Philadelphia; to which is Prefixed, a*

of books in this period and the monetary qualifications of the Library, this rule implied

that the Library's members largely defined, "improper persons," as those who, limited by

their economic circumstances, would be unable to pay for any materials that might be lost

or damaged, a description that members of the lower class fit to a tee. Furthermore, by

casting the lower class in this way, the Library Company's members implied that it was

inevitable that "improper persons" would damage their valuable collection, giving

justification to their argument and perhaps implying that all members of the lower class

were inherently untrustworthy.[27]

A proposal put forth by the Library Company's members further demonstrated the

Library's restrictive nature. Though the Company never implemented it, at a meeting on

August 27th, 1764, members put forth a motion that would close the Library's services to

the general public.[28] What the members meant by "general public" is unclear: however, it

is likely that they intended for the Library to stop offering its services to non-members

and operate strictly for the use of its members. Regardless, the motion's presence

indicated the growth of an underlying elitism that members' held regarding the

Company's accessibility.

Lastly, as the Library matured, its patronage's middle class leaning gradually came to

be replaced by an elite user-ship. Near the advent of its foundation, the Company

attracted mainly professional members, typically doctors and lawyers.[29] Throughout the

next fifty years, the social orientation of the Library shifted until it became an

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Short Account of the Institution, with the Charter, Laws and Regulations, (Philadelphia: Zachary Poulson, Junior., 1789), v. Early American Imprints no. 22066.

27 The 1757 catalog estimated the net worth of the Library to be upwards of 1500 pounds, or approximately $270,125 in 2013.

28 Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library*, 22.

29 Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library*, 7.

organization for the city's elites, who were mainly merchants.[30] Money defined this class

of users and set it apart from the rest of the population, especially closer towards the

Revolution. By the 1760s, the top tenth of society averaged £3,404 in wealth while the

bottom third of society held a medium of £21 in the mid-eighteenth century. Even the

middling society averaged a wealth far less than that of the elites at £208.[31] The extreme

differences in medium wealth between these three groups represented their social

disparity as well. Consequently, by transitioning to a more elite patronage, the Library

Company undermined its egalitarian foundations for a more exclusive reality.

Ultimately, the paradoxical context of Philadelphia's egalitarian atmosphere and

economic disparity became absorbed and reflected in the intentions and implementations

of the Library Company. Although the Library initially intended to be an organization,

"for the people," the reality of its economic requirements and social snobbery limited

who truly had access to its materials. As a result, the Library Company came to be an

institution for the affluent. This restricted audience went on to shape the educational

objectives of the Company, though not single-handedly. Placing this definition of its

patronage in conjunction with colonial Philadelphia's traditions and contemporary

philosophies regarding education, reveals the Library Company's educational aims, which

were influenced not only by its users' desires, but also by the expectations of society.

Traditions and Philosophies on Education in Philadelphia

From the beginning, the Library Company clearly established that educational

pursuits were at the heart of its motivation. In a letter from the Directors to Thomas Penn,

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30 George Boudreau, "'Highly Valuable & Extensively Useful': Community and Readership Among the
   Eighteenth Century Philadelphia Middling Sort," *Pennsylvania History* 63, no. 3 (Summer, 1996): 2,
   http//:www.jstor.org/ (accessed September 19, 2012).
31 Illick, *Colonial Pennsylvania*, 256-6.

son of William Penn, the leaders of the Library explained that the purpose of Library was to supply the need for "public" education in the Colony.[32] The Library's secretary, Joseph Breitnall also expressed this notion in an earlier letter to Peter Collinson, the Company's book agent in London. In it, Breitnall detailed the lack of books and provisions for education in Philadelphia, claiming that the founders intended the Library to fill-in this dearth.[33] Both of these sources make it clear that the pursuit of knowledge was foremost upon the founders' thoughts as they organized the Library.

Philadelphia's religious roots helped to spark and shape the Library's emphasis on education. At the core of this tradition was an overarching emphasis on "practical" education, instruction that stressed useful training for jobs and for life. Similar to the egalitarian mentality of the city, Philadelphia's Quaker foundations also advanced this philosophy. On the whole, Quaker schooling in England emphasized practical vocational learning over traditional classical education.[34] Vocational learning consisted of preparation geared towards a specific career. Classical learning, on the other hand, emphasized knowledge of the Greek and Latin literature, language and history. William Penn tried to incorporate practical educational principles into a system of schooling for his Colony, proposing successfully for a government sponsored network of schools that would teach reading and writing to children as well as guaranteeing them instruction in a

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32 Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia to Thomas Penn and Reply, May 16, 1733. Benjamin Franklin Papers. Yale University, www.franklinpapers.org. Austin Gray lists the first directors of the Library Company as Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Godfrey, William Parsons, Robert Grace, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, Thomas Hopkinson, Philip Syng, Anthony Nicholas, John Jones and Isaac Penington. Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library*, 7.
33 Joseph Breitnall to Peter Collinson, November 7, 1732. Benjamin Franklin Papers. Yale University, www.franklinpapers.org.
34 Sheldon S. Cohen, *A History of Colonial Education, 1607-1776*, 180.

trade.[35] However, Pennsylvania never adopted his measure.

In a letter to his wife and children, William Penn further detailed his belief in the importance of a practical education. He advised his wife to disregard cost when educating their children, but to focus on, "useful knowledge, such as is consistent with truth and godliness, not cherishing a vain conversation or idle mind..."[36] Penn then listed specific areas of study for his children, including such topics as agriculture, ship-building, surveying, building houses, measuring, navigation, and the "useful" aspects of mathematics.[37] The common theme through each of these subjects was its direct applicability to life. Put another way, according to Penn, each area of learning should be able to be used by a person in his or her everyday life.

Quaker ideas on practical education continued to impact Pennsylvania, especially Philadelphia, as the Colony developed. Historian Meyer Reinhold commented on Philadelphia's dedication to practical knowledge, writing that, "In Philadelphia, in particular, discontent with the exclusive nature of the classical curriculum... found sympathetic support in the Quaker advocacy of practical useful knowledge..."[38] Benjamin Franklin's own writing on education clearly expressed this sentiment. In his *Proposals*

35 George Staughton, Benjamin N. Nead, and Thomas McCamant, ed., *Charter to William Penn and Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania Passed Between the Years 1682 and 1700, Preceded by Duke of York's Laws in Force From the Year 1676 to the Year 1682, With an Appendix Containing Laws Relating to the Organization of the Provincial Courts and Historical Matter* (Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, 1879; OpenLibrary, 2008), 142, http://openlibrary.org/books/OL6604977M/Charter_to_William_Penn_and_laws_of_the_province_of_Pennsylvania (accessed October 30, 2012).
36 William Penn, *William Penn's Letter to His Wife and Children* (York U.C.: Jonathan Doan, 1826; OpenLibrary, 2011), 5-6, http://openlibrary.org/books/OL24970083M/William_Penn's_letter_to_his_wife_and_children (accessed November 18, 2012).
37 Penn, *Letter to His Wife and Children*, 6.
38 Meyer Reinhold, "The Quest for 'Useful Knowledge' in Eighteenth Century America," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, no. 2 (April 16, 1975): 114, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed November 19, 2012).

Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania, Franklin suggested that students should learn, "those things that are likely to be *most useful* and *most ornamental*, Regard being had to the several professions for which they are intended."[39] Here, Franklin drew a distinction between applicable knowledge and decorative knowledge. His treatise implied that applicable knowledge, much like practical knowledge, could be used in an everyday setting while ornamental or decorative knowledge was meant to increase a person's cultural capital.[40] However, Franklin's main advice in regards to a student's course of study was that it should be relevant to their potential occupation. In other words, for Franklin, future employment became the medium through which he judged the value of certain aspects of education.

Vocational education remained central to the development of the Library Company. While describing the character of its early members, historian George Bourdeau wrote that, "Members (of the Library Company) had achieved a certain level of income, and held expectations of being able to continue that income or make economic progress. The education that they intended to receive from their library would aid in that progress."[41] For these early members, the purpose of the Library was to help them advance their education and so progress in their line of work and elevate themselves socially and economically. In order to accomplish this, they needed access to books that would give them a vocational advantage. As a result, practical education came to dominate the bookshelves of the Library Company.

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39 Benjamin Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pennsylvania*, (Philadelphia: n.p., 1749), 11.
40 To define cultural capital, I use John Rury's definition: "a command of certain types of information and ability that are valued or respected by others with social status." John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling* 3rd ed (New York: Routledge, 2009), 10.
41 Bourdeau, "Highly Valuable & Extensively Useful", 307.

Education, Books and the Library Company

One of the most striking features of the Company's 1741 Book Catalogue was its diversity of materials. According to Bourdeau, the catalog listed 33 titles related to theology, 132 books on history, 63 related to the natural sciences and 48 on morality.[42] However, within this broad range of titles, a pattern persisted that closely mirrored Franklin's thoughts on practical education. For example, the catalog listed several titles focusing on the art of mechanics, such as *Ship-Building Unvailed*.[43] Franklin saw this study as incredibly important, asking in a footnote, "How many Mills are built and Machines constructed, at great and fruitless Expense, which a little Knowledge in the Principles of Mechanics would have prevented?"[44] Franklin drew a clear parallel between business success in mechanics and a solid knowledge of the topic, a philosophy that the Library Company advocated through its inclusion of books on the subject.

Likewise, the Library's possession of multiple modern language dictionaries also mirrored another of Franklin's educational principles. The Company kept a wide variety of modern language dictionaries, like *A New German Grammar*, *A Dictionary Italian and English, and English and Italian* and *A Dictionary Spanish and English, and English and Spanish*, all of which were languages Franklin recommended for prospective merchants to learn.[45] The Library also included *A Rational Grammar*, which was used to learn Latin, a language Franklin emphasized for future doctors, lawyers and theologians.[46] Though classical education commonly emphasized Latin at the time, its presence along with so

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42 Bourdeau, "'Highly Valuable & Extensively Useful'", 316-317.
43 *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, 1741), 13. Early American Imprints no. 4787.
44 Franklin, *Proposals*, 28.
45 *A Catalogue of Books*, 17 and 38.; Franklin, *Proposals*, 25.
46 *A Catalogue of Books*, 49.; Franklin, *Proposals*, 49.

many modern language dictionaries carried strong occupational implications.

Moreover, the majority of the Library's books vastly differed from what most middle class people read, reemphasizing the educational purposes of the institution. Overall, chapbooks were the most popular reading material among middle class people during this period.[47] Often these books, which went by a wide variety of names, consisted of adventure stories, fairy tales, jokes, songs and riddles. Even versions of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders* appeared in chapbooks during the eighteenth-century.[48] All in all, these books were about entertainment for their readers. The Library Company's founders purposely chose books that did not fall into this tradition.[49] In fact, of the 8,000 titles in the Library Company some years after the Revolution, only 81 could be classified as "Fiction, Wit, or Humor."[50] The lack of entertainment-centric works in the Library in proportion to the rest of the collection demonstrated that the Company's members concentrated on books that could be considered useful or instructive, which reinforced education as the central purpose of the Library.

Undoubtedly, practical education was the cornerstone of the Library Company's mission. As demonstrated, the Library bore a strong correlation to the educational philosophies of its society, especially its Quaker roots and the ideas of Benjamin Franklin. However, just as important in shaping the Company's educational mission was the character of its patrons. Its initial middle-class tendency reflected the group's desire

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47 Victor Neuburg, "Chapbooks in America: Reconstructing the Popular Reading of Early America," in *Reading in American: Literature and Social History*, ed. Cathy N. Davidson (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 81-113.
48 Neuburg, "Chapbooks in America: Reconstructing the Popular Reading of Early America," 82.
49 Bourdeau, "'Highly Valuable & Extensively Useful'", 310.
50 Haynes McMullen, "The Founding of Social Libraries in Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania History* 32, no. 2 (April, 1965), 136. http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed, September 19, 2012).

for education as a means of economic progress. The strong correlation between the book catalog and Franklin's ideas on education highlighted that the Library's members selected materials that would further this goal by providing them the knowledge necessary to advance in their careers. Consequently, both user-ship and cultural and social attitudes combined to influence the educational purpose of the Library Company. Examining the Charleston Library Society through the same lens reinforces this principle, however, the outcome resulted in an educational purpose very different from the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Class and Culture in Colonial Charleston

Like the Library Company of Philadelphia, the social environment of Charleston heavily influenced the Library Society's development. Two aspects of Charleston's society were instrumental in forming the character of its library's patrons: slavery and the distinction between the elite and middle-class. Slavery shaped the Charleston Library Society by altering the City's economic system and consequently creating a new avenue for social and economic advancement. With the rise of rice plantations in the early eighteenth century, the City's economy became highly dependent upon slavery. The economy took a market-based form with slaves as the central producers and agriculture as its main form of revenue.[51] In order for white planters to make a profit, this system necessitated the owning of large quantities of African slaves. For example, an advertisement in the *Gentlemen's Magazine* of London enticed readers to invest two thousand pounds sterling in a South Carolinian plantation with the promise of an annual

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51 Jeffrey Robert Young, *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670-1837* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 18.

return of 25% of the fee. This investment not only bought the land, livestock and equipment necessary to work the plantation, but also purchased thirty-two slaves.[52] Combining slaves with the other purchases necessary in running a plantation implied that they too were crucial to a productive plantation.

Furthermore, on a purely numerical basis, the presence of slavery in the city was everywhere. Population-wise, of the roughly 6,800 people in Charleston in 1742, no more than a third of them were white.[53] This imbalance combined with the importance of slavery to Charleston's economy shaped white society significantly by making slave-owning the common medium for economic and social advancement. Historian Emma Hart highlighted the importance of slave-owning to class advancement, writing, "... that poorer Charlestonians were willing to risk everything for the opportunity to improve their social and economic standing through purchasing a slave."[54] Because of the high economic rewards and symbolic social status of slave ownership, the link between owning slaves and advancing in life overcame education as the best pathway to a higher social and economic status.

Colonial Charleston's distribution of wealth also affected the Library Society by demarcating class levels and shaping social activities. At the top of Charleston's society was the landed gentry, who were mostly plantation owners.[55] A study conducted of 900 inventories collected from all of the colonies in 1774 indicated that only ten percent of

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52 *Gentlemen's Magazine* (London), May 1755, 25, 201-3, quoted in Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves, and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country 1740-1790* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 33.
53 Frederick P. Bowes, *The Culture of Early Charleston* (1942; reprint, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978), 8.
54 Emma Hart, *Building Charleston:Town and Society in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World* (Charlottesvile: University of Virginia Press, 2010), 127.
55 Robert Rosen, *A Short History of Charleston* 2nd ed (Charleston: Peninsula Press, 1992), 32.

the population, the top tier of Charleston, owned at least half of the wealth in the City and the surrounding area. [56] Charleston's aristocracy displayed their extravagant wealth through lavish entertainment and social elitism. The City's landed gentry loved to attend the theater, dance, watch horse races, cockfights and bearbaiting, and hunt and fish. As author Robert Rosen described it, "A more... pleasure-oriented society never lived on the North American continent."[57]

With the opulence of Charleston's aristocracy also came an emphasis on social refinement. Wealth, manners, and education qualified the City's elite and marriage and membership in select societies united them as a class.[58] For instance, acceptance into Charleston's upper class meant adhering to certain standards of behavior. Failure to do so risked the social disapproval of one's peers, who historian Frederich Bowes noted, "...did not tolerate any gross departure from the canons of good taste and propriety."[59] While a common code of behavior designated the elite, marriage became the main tool to bind the class together. Often these marriages emphasized relationships among the wealthiest members of society with planter's daughters marrying affluent merchants and visa versa.[60] The common theme within this trend was keeping the money among those who already possessed it, thus ensuring the continuity of the gentry's way of life.

Nestled below Charleston's elites, however, was the middle class. An entrepreneurial spirit largely defined this class, separating them from the lower whites in the city and the more wealthy elite. Because of this altruistic drive, the middling sort of the city followed

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56 Robert M. Weir, *Colonial South Carolina: A History* (Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1983), 214.
57 Rosen, *A Short History of Charleston*, 32.
58 Bowes, *The Culture of the Early Charleston*, 115.
59 Ibid., 11.
60 Hart, *Building Charleston*, 126.

a completely different path when it came to their leisurely activities. Unlike the more genteel of Charleston, the middle class pursued membership in charitable organizations over spending time at posh entertainment venues.[61] The distinction between their choices in social activities illustrated separate interests and social circles for both classes.

The exclusivity of some elite social circles additionally pushed the middle class to form their own identity. Hart demonstrated this principle by referencing the experiences of two "new money" professionals in Charleston. The one, a merchant named John Stevens, pushed for most of his life to be included in the town's elite circles with no success. Another, a doctor named John Murray, found Charleston's gentry to be more accommodating and easily gained a spot among the City's elite.[62] Both of these examples highlighted the semi-permeable nature of the upper class in Charleston. More specifically, they illustrated that not everyone could penetrate into the upper echelons of society, creating a very different atmosphere than the egalitarian mentality in Philadelphia.

Practice and Preach in the Library Society

Based on the trend in social activities for Charleston's middle-class, it would seem logical that, just like in Philadelphia, members of the Charleston Library Society would be predominately drawn from the middling sort. After all, social libraries certainly had altruistic intents, if not practices, and it would make sense to see the institution as a distinct product of middle class culture. However, a closer examination of the Society reveals that wealth defined the Library's membership and shaped it more like a semi-

61 Hart, *Building Charleston,* 100.; Emma Hart, "' The Middling Sort are Odious Characters': Social Structure and Urban Growth in Colonial Charleston, South Carolina," *Urban History* 34, no.2 (2007): 217, serialssolutions:info:sid/summon.serialssolutions.com (accessed October 2, 2010).
62 Hart, " 'The Middling Sort are Odious Characters'", 217.

closed organization for Charleston's gentry. For instance, a list of members from 1750

stated that of the then 129 members, seven were "honorable gentlemen" and another

thirty-one, "gentlemen", making them the second largest group behind the "messrs." of

the town, who were largely merchants.[63] Though planters typically made-up the City's

gentry, a merchant or "messr" did not always designate a lower economic status than the

gentry. The disparity between occupational implications and actual wealth in this period

was significant.[64] In other words, the wealth of professional men, like doctors lawyers

and merchants, could range from a modest income to the fabulously rich. This disparity

was represented in the Library Society. The early founders included established

merchants like Joseph Wragg and Samuel Wragg, Jr. (who were not gentry but

nonetheless were very well off) as well as the less affluent wig maker, Alexander

McCauley.[65]

    Although the founders of the Library included less wealthy members, their presence

does not provide an adequate representation of the Society's nature. In fact, it almost

seemed to be a contradiction to the Library's definition of a potential member when

compared to their qualifications. Similar to Philadelphia, monetary fees were a

qualification for membership in the Society. However, the difference in frequency and

scale between Philadelphia and Charleston was astronomical. For instance, the original

admission price for the Library Society was fifty pounds, almost $10,000 today and

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63 James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transaltantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2002), 40. These terms were used in the classification of the Society's members. Gentleman referred to the landed planters of the City and surrounding area and messrs to the Town's professional class.
64 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 215.
65 Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers*, 37.

nearly twenty-six times greater than the fee demanded by the Library Company.[66]

Moreover, the Society also charged its members an additional 200 pounds to be paid at

the rate of five shillings per week. After members satisfied this quota, the dues then

dropped to two shillings and sixpence.[67] Finally, the Society extrapolated another forty

shillings from its members four times a year for a dinner at each anniversary meeting.[68]

Though these fees would decrease significantly by the 1780s, the amount of money

necessary to be a member of the Library still dwarfed the fees required by Philadelphia.

The exorbitant amount of money demanded by Library Society gives the clearest

indication as to the type of people who would be able to use it. Clearly, the middling

proto-statesmen Benjamin Franklins of Charleston would not be able to afford the

continual financial commitment that the Library demanded. Consequently, it seems very

unusual that a poorer Charlestonian like Alexander McCauley would be able to afford his

membership at all.[69]

　　Also telling of Charleston Library Society's elitist nature was its lack of provisions

for non-member use. As mentioned earlier, there were multiple rules in the Library

Company of Philadelphia's legislature that allowed for non-members to make use of the

Library's services. In Charleston, however, the only correlating legislation applied to

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66 *The Rules and By-Laws of the Charleston Library Society. Together with the Act of the General
　Assembly of South-Carolina for Incorporating the Society, Confirmed by his Majesty: And a Brief
　Historical Introduction*, (Charlestown: Robert Wells, 1762), 7. Early American Imprints no. 9087.
67 Ibid., 8.
68 Ibid., 4.
69 McCauley's puzzling presence in the Library Society could be the result of two different possibilities.
　First of all, Raven writes that McCauley was one of the originating members of the Society so perhaps
　his fellow founders forwent his pecuniary obligations in favor of his long-time involvement. Secondly,
　Raven does not give any solid information about what McCauley's financial circumstances were
　actually like. Truly affluent planters and merchants, like other members of the Library, possessed
　exorbitant wealth so McCauley's relatively smaller fortune might have only been humble in comparison
　with theirs, not in broader society.

"honorary" members. This rule defined honorary members as, "persons not residing in Carolina, men of Distinction or Learning...". According to the by-laws, these people could attend the Society's meetings and, presumably, use the Library without having to pay any of the fees. However, honorary members had to be elected to their positions and were not afforded a vote at any of the meetings.[70] Two aspects of this rule revealed the restrictive nature of the Library Society: its description of potential honorary members and the process for becoming a said member. As mentioned earlier, honorary members were not residents of the area, which immediately excluded the possibility of lower class Charlestonians obtaining such a position. Furthermore, honorary members had to be educated or at least distinguished in some way, again eliminating anyone from a without previous education from being applicable. Finally, the current members had to elect them. While the exact process for this is unclear, if it was at all similar to the election of new members, current patrons would have had to approve the honorary membership before it could take effect. As a result, the Society could closely control who entered their institution and who was kept out.

Ironically, the Library Society actually used more explicitly inclusive rhetoric than the Library Company, though it fell short on its follow through. For example, the Society's founders made a point of recognizing each gender in their Rules, writing that, "... the heir or legatee of such a member, at the time of his or her application to be admitted..."[71] Although accounts of the Library Company of Philadelphia made it clear that the Company welcomed women, their legislation contained no formal recognition of

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70 Ibid., 9.
71 Ibid., 11.

them. The Library Society, on the other hand, formally recognized a woman's right to become a member, however, no females were listed as owning a share in the Library from its inception to 1779.[72] Based on this, perhaps the inclusion of women in the Society's rules was merely a rhetorical device that the Library did not act upon in practice.[73]

Similarly, the language used in the account of the Library Society appeared to be more definitively inclusive than the Library Company's. For instance, the account described the depravities the human condition would fall to without the maintenance of European civilization in Charleston. The history then expounded on the necessities of a Library in preventing this downfall and put forth a "call to arms" to the community to join the establishment. Specifically, the account, "invite(d) every lover of his country, every well-wisher to posterity, to join with them in promoting the good purposes intended by this society..."[74] Instead of merely recognizing the public in their rhetoric like the Library Company, in this passage the Society purposefully extended an invitation to the people in their community to join their institution. The founders not only intended that the Library should be available to everyone, but also appeared to want Charleston's rank-and-file to use the Library Society.

Despite its more inclusive rhetoric, however, membership requirements for the Charleston Library ultimately demonstrated that its words carried little substance,

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72 *Members of the Charleston Library Society before 1779*, in James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers*, appendix 1, 343-355. The only references made to women in these lists refer to a member's reception of a share in the Library from a woman, usually a widow who was named as the original member's heir.

73 Raven comments on the lack of female membership in the Library Society explaining that perhaps it was due to the convention of holding only one membership per household. For more information about women in the Charleston Library Society, see James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers*, 69.

74 Ibid., iv.

reinforcing its elitist character. Just like in Philadelphia, this gentrified user-ship

converged with Charleston's educational traditions and society to impact how the

institution regarded education. In the case of Charleston, these elements created an

educational mission that emphasized refinement over advancement. Comparing the

educational background of Charleston and the book-lists of the Library to Philadelphia

highlight several key differences between the two institutions that demonstrate how each

city's educational purpose was a result of its respective society and patronage.

Education in Colonial Charleston and the Library Society

Social status largely determined a person's education in colonial Charleston and the

South in general. As education historians Wayne Urban and Jennings Wagoner, Jr.

illustrated, in the southern colonies, "... the economically secure could provide much

better for their children than could colonists of more humble circumstances."[75] The fact

that, for the most part, education in the South was largely a private matter reinforced this

principle.[76] Even when the City made provisions for "public" education, it did not include

the lower classes. For example, the establishment of "free" schools in the early

eighteenth-century in Charleston focused almost solely on education for the city's elite.

Contrary to their name, these institutions necessitated a tuition fee for each pupil, with

students being backed by local missionary outreaches consistently in the minority.[77] This

contradiction was a prime example of the role of wealth and privilege in education in

Charleston. By requiring money in exchange for schooling, early Charlestonians implied

that education was only for those who could afford it.

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75 Wayne J. Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr., *American Education: A History*, 4th ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 25.
76 Cohen, *A History of Colonial Education*, 120.
77 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 248.

Colonial Charleston's inability to found an institution of higher learning also highlighted its residents' elitist approach to education. For the most part, the elite of the City did not express any interest and sometimes even outright opposed any attempts to institute a college in Charleston.[78] There were multiple reasons for this. Part of the opposition arose from simple frugality, but a significant portion of Charleston's upper class believed that a person's level of education should correlate to their station in life. As one Charlestonian described it, "The Rich may be indifferent about such an establishment which might deprive their sons of the only advantage of being distinguished among their Countrymen."[79] Many wealthy Charleston citizens believed that if a resident wanted to attend college, they should be able to pay for a proper education abroad.[80] This example highlighted that Charleston elites considered education, and especially education that would distinguish their socioeconomic advantages, as an exclusive right of the upper class.

The Charleston Library Society's mission clearly mirrored the City's mentality by de-emphasizing learning as a way to advance in society. For instance, in the account of the Library's founding, the author listed amusement as the original motivation for establishing the Society, with the "great advantages" it could provide to its users coming only as an after-thought.[81] The Library's original entertainment purpose serves to reinforce its gentrified roots. As stated earlier, Charleston's elites pursued entertainment in their social activities while the middle class tended to be a part of charitable

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78 Walter J. Fraser, Jr., *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City* (Columbia, University of South Carolina Press, 1989), 104.
79 Rosen, *A Short History of Charleston*, 38.
80 Weir, *Colonial South Carolina*, 251-252.
81 *The Rules and By-Laws of the Charleston Library Society*, iv.

organizations. By highlighting the entertaining aspect of the Library first, the founder's aligned their society with the elite's activities.

Moreover, pushing education to the proverbial "back-burner" implied that the Society's members simply did not seek education like they did in Philadelphia. Perhaps this can be explained by the social status of the Library's early members; if education was primarily a vehicle for the elite, why would it be necessary in an upper class institution? Furthermore, as mentioned earlier, southern colonists did not consider education to be the pathway to social and economic advancement. Slavery held that position instead. As a result, education would not have generated the same pull as the central mission of a southern institution, which arguably explains why the middle class was less involved in the Library's founding and why education was not pushed as strongly in the establishment. In contrast, the merit of education in social and economic advancement, especially practical education, was consistently recognized in Philadelphia. Consequently, the Library Company's members viewed the institution as a gateway to opportunities, which they could not have achieved through any other avenue.

If education did not hold the same appeal for Charlestonians, what then was the motivating factor behind the Library Society's establishment? Redefining the purpose of education in regards to the Society's patronage can answer this question. Instead of examining education as a means to advancement as it was in Philadelphia, education in Charleston's Library should be viewed as the key to refinement. As stated earlier, in the history of the institution, the founders expressed an almost paranoid fear of losing touch with European culture and learning. The Library, then, could have represented a link to

the world of culture of which the founders so desired to be a part. This explanation is further compounded by the fact that many of the Library's members were from the upper class and would not have needed the nuts and bolts education necessary for them to compete in Charleston's business world. Therefore, an appealing education to them had to emphasize ornamental learning that would well reflect their social status.

The Books of the Library Society

The Library's selection of books clearly mirrored an education of refinement especially in comparison to Philadelphia's collection of materials. Though both institutions demonstrated several areas of overlap, particularly in law, science, philosophy and history, the two diverged notably in four categories: works in Latin, modern language dictionaries, books on conduct, and vocational works. Compared to Philadelphia's list, Charleston's 1770 catalog contained significantly more titles in Latin.[82] Latin represented essential knowledge to any educated colonial man and, as John Rury commented, also illustrated a way of differentiating, "... the college-educated from the rest of the population."[83] By including a large amount of Latin works in their collection, the Library Society presumed that its members already had the knowledge to read them.

More difficult to explain, however, was the Library's lack of modern language dictionaries. At the Library Company, the emphasis on modern languages correlated with practical education for merchants. Being a similar hub for merchants, it seems odd that the same principle did not appear to apply to a library in colonial Charleston. However, learning modern languages was a way for up-and-coming merchants to get ahead in the

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82 *A Catalogue of Books, Belonging to the Incorporated Charlestown Library Society, with the Dates of the Editions*, (Charlestown: Robert Wells, 1770). Early American Imprints no. 11596.

83 John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 31.

occupation. Consequently, perhaps modern languages were less important in Charleston because its patrons were already well-established in their trade. The Society's members tended to come from the upper levels of society, implying that they were already economically advanced. As such, they would not have needed the same tools to help them maintain their businesses.

Similar to this, the absence of books on conduct in the Library Society related to its upper class user-ship. For example, books like, *Table Talk* and *The Gentleman's Library*, which emphasized the social and life skills needed to get ahead in society, appeared quite frequently in Philadelphia's Library.[84] However, there was no parallel to them in Charleston's collection. Again, this difference correlates to the Charleston Library's elite patronage. In a society that placed so much stock on breeding and manners, the knowledge that could be gained from these books would have been impressed upon the genteel born all of their lives. Bowes emphasized this standard, writing that, "... the ladies and gentlemen of early Charleston... adhered to a high standard of personal conduct and propriety. Lack of manners, taste and cultivation put one definitely outside the pale of Charleston society."[85] As a result, the Society's members most likely did not consider these types of books necessary, having been raised in a culture where their teaching was a common standard.

The practical works in Charleston's Library also mirrored its constricted patronage by focusing solely on the occupational interests of its users. From the Library Company's catalog, it is hard to garner a clear definition of its users vocational statuses. For instance,

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84 *A Catalogue of Books*, 46 and 55.
85 Bowes, *The Culture of Early Chareslton*, 10.

as mentioned earlier, the Library included a wide variety of practical books, from ship-building to farriery. But in the Library Society, the main thrust of its occupation-related material had to do with trade and commerce. The frequency of titles like, *Naval Trade and Commerce*, *Davenant's Discources on Trade and Revenues*, and *Cantillon's Analysis of Trade* demonstrated this principle.[86] This cluster can easily be attributed to the high number of merchants using the Library, which, more importantly, illustrated the Society's inability to branch out to other groups. By continuing to return to its user's desires, the Library again indicated that its purpose was for a specific group.

Just like in Philadelphia, the educational traditions of Charleston along with its established user-ship played an important role in shaping the Library's mission by reinforcing its elitist patronage. Since the City largely associated education with the upper class, the Library Society tailored its book selection to fit the needs of that class by emphasizing commonly held educational links. Like at the Library Company, Charleston's society and culture were also instrumental in influencing the character of its users. Thus, in both of these social libraries, patronage and culture converged to create the educational purpose of each institution.

On the whole, the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Society revealed several important aspects regarding colonial social libraries. First of all, they illustrated that location mattered. Though the rhetoric of social libraries often emphasized similar aims (so much so that historian Jesse Shera pointedly disregarded such language as "stereotyped" and therefore unimportant) comparing these two libraries

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86 *A Catalogue of Books, Belonging to*, 19, 21, and 28.

demonstrated that subtle distinctions reflected larger realities.[87] Moreover, the Library

Company and the Library Society highlighted that society influenced book selection as

much as individual preference did. Ideas about what constituted a fitting education for

each set of patrons, whether it be practical education for Philadelphia's middle class or

refined knowledge for Charleston's elite, underpinned each library's collection. Finally,

the Library Company and Library Society revealed that social libraries were more than

followers of society, they also reinforced it. By maintaining an elite user-ship and

encouraging an egalitarian mentality, Charleston and Philadelphia's libraries absorbed the

culture of their respective cities and pushed it back into society. As a result, through their

operations, the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Society not

only worked as mirrors for their society, but as stabilizers as well.

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87 Shera, *Foundations of the Public Library*, 104.

Revolution and Republicanism: Social Libraries and the New Nation

> "Information is the currency of democracy."
> -Thomas Jefferson

The American Revolution marked a critical point of development in the history of social libraries. It stood as a symbol for both continuity and change for these institutions. In spite of the obstacles created by the War, social libraries never lost their position as educational centers. However, the Revolution also reshaped educational philosophies, which slowly altered the purposes of many social libraries. During the Revolutionary War and the period following it, the former British Colonies faced the unique challenge of separating from England and redefining themselves as one nation. Though geographically in the same place, this process of unification between the newly formed states changed the relationship between education and location by refocusing education towards advancing the nation.

Throughout the latter half of the eighteenth century, social libraries began to absorb this newly defined purpose, creating a contradiction between it and the libraries' organization. Examining the operations of Charleston Library Society and the Library Company of Philadelphia during the Revolution reveals that social libraries continued to be active throughout the War, which preserved their validity as sites for education and gave continuity to both establishments. Yet the aftermath of the Revolution changed the environment of social libraries. Analyzing the emerging educational theories of Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Rush demonstrates that educational philosophies in the new republic were starting to emphasize mass education and republicanism, avenues that had not been part of colonial social libraries. However, both of them collided in the rhetoric

and membership qualifications of late eighteenth century social libraries, situating these institutions as bridges between the nation's colonial past and republican present.

The Revolution and the Library Company of Philadelphia

Despite the pressures put on social libraries during the Revolutionary War, these institutions persevered and evolved, attesting to early Americans' drive for books and learning. Unfortunately, library historians often gloss over this period and characterize it as an inactive and sometimes even retrogressive time for social libraries in British North America. Jesse Shera, for instance, described the Revolutionary War and the period immediately following it as, "... only pauses in the advance of the social library."[1] Though Shera's claim referred to the numerical spread of social libraries, labeling the Revolutionary War period as a pause in the history of social libraries gives it a false impression of stagnation.[2] For the Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Society in particular, the Revolutionary War witnessed these institutions gaining political influence and expanding their services to new members. Most importantly, however, the War period testified to an active membership in both Libraries, which continuously attempted to combat the difficulties that wartime brought to their establishments.

The American Revolutionary War began in 1775 with the Battle of Lexington and Concord and officially ended with the Treaty of Paris in 1783. For colonists, the War disrupted everyday life. British blockades interrupted trade and created shortages in

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1 Jesse Shera, *Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629-1855* (1949; reprint, North Haven, CT.: The Shoe String Press, 1965), 68.

2 In the sentence following the one quoted above, Shera goes on to say that between 1776 and 1777, only three or four social libraries were founded in New England States and none at all in the rest of the decade. Ibid., 68.

supplies normally brought in from Britain and abroad.[3] Moreover, in areas where British

and Continental troops were stationed, the armies would often seize public and private

buildings for military use.[4] The Revolution also turned civilians into soldiers, breaking

young men away from their homes and communities. Roughly 100,000 military aged

men served in the Continental Army during the Revolution.[5] In their absence, families

and communities had to find a way to fill the void left in their employment and

responsibilities. Each of these problems affected social libraries during the War and

necessitated the demand for creative solutions to keep these institutions afloat.

Operating in the thick of the battle, the Library Company of Philadelphia found ways

to expand its political and social importance even though the War disrupted its

organization and logistical operations. The fighting especially impacted the Library's

acquisition of new materials. As hostilities between Britain and the Colonies intensified,

the Library Company's usual import of books from London shrunk and eventually ceased

altogether when war officially broke-out. In a letter to Benjamin Franklin, members of

the Library's Committee complained of the disruption that the tension between Britain

and America brought to their attempts to order new books: "The Directors were preparing

an Order for Books; but from the present Unhappy Situation of publick (sic) Affairs, it

must be postponed. Wishing for Days more propitious to the Growth of Science in

America we remain... your most obedient servants."[6] The Library Company's letter

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3 Dorothy Denneen Volo and James M. Volo, *Daily Life During the American Revolution* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003), 262.
4 Ibid., 195.; Richard Archer, *As if an Enemy's Country: The British Occupation of Boston and the Origins of the Revolution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010; The College of Wooster Libraries, n.d.), 107, http://0-site.ebrary.com.dewey2.library.denison.edu/lib/wooster/docDetail.action?docID=10360201 (accessed March 1, 2013).
5 Ibid., 114.
6 Committee of the Library Company of Philadelphia to Benjamin Franklin, December 16, 1774.

reveals the strong reliance that intellectual colonists had on European-produced books. In fact, the tone of the letter suggests that intellectual life in the Library would remain stagnate without the influx of literature from Britain. However, rather than cease procuring new books at all, the members of the Library Company turned to American-produced materials to fill their intellectual void.[7] The switch highlighted the Company's active engagement to find ways around trading difficulties caused by the Revolution and it demonstrated that, despite these problems, the Library continued to expand their holdings.

Similarly, the Library Company's members also prevented the collapse of the institution through their efforts to combat declining membership during the War. Being comprised mostly of men, many members, the librarians in particular, left Philadelphia to join the army. Even after the institution found a permanent librarian in Joseph Fawcett, he too, "suffered from suppressed military desires and grew careless of the books." His neglect of the Library could have been disastrous if it was not for Isaac Brigs, his assistant, who cared for the Library throughout the fighting and eventually took over as head librarian after the War ended.[8] Though Brigs did not necessarily progress the Library Company in any way, his efforts to hold the institution together kept the Library active throughout the war period. In the context of the war environment, Brigs' actions demonstrate a desire to advance the Library Company and insure its future operation, highlighting that the social libraries continued to engage Americans' interest.

While the Library Company encountered obstacles in its membership and book trade

Benjamin Franklin Papers. Yale University, www.franklinpapers.org.
7   Austin K. Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library*, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), 29.
8   Ibid., 32.

brought about by the Revolution, the politically charged atmosphere helped to bolster the institution's influence and prestige. For instance, eleven members of the Library served as delegates to the First Continental Congress, highlighting the Company's significance in shaping important political players.[9] Even the Library itself intertwined with the revolutionary current. When the First Continental Congress was called in September 1774, the directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia offered the Library and its holdings for any of the Congress' members to use.[10] From then until the turn of the century, the Library Company acted as a temporary Library of Congress. Though it is uncertain how often delegates used Library and who did, the Company's integral presence in the formation of the country illustrates a growth in its influence rather than a stagnation or a decline. Furthermore, the Library's close ties to the political culture of Revolutionary and post-Revolutionary America demonstrate its importance as an agent of social change rather than simply a mirror of society. By being at the disposal of every important political figure in the Revolution, the Library Company of Philadelphia undoubtedly influenced their opinions and philosophies and quite possibly helped to shape the evolving world around it.

The Library Company continued to prosper even when faced with the British invasion of Philadelphia in September of 1777. During the British occupancy of the City, army officers used the Library frequently for pleasure reading and, for the most part, left most of its holdings intact.[11] In fact, a contemporary writer on the subject noted that the

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9   Ibid., 28. The eleven members were Andrew Allen, John Dickinson, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Mifflin, Robert Morris, John Morton, Samuel Rhoads, George Ross, James Wilson, Thomas McKean, and Francis Hopkinson.
10 First Continental Congress, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, Held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774* (New York: Hugh Gaine, 1774), 18. Early American Imprints no. 13739.
11 Gray, *Benjamin Franklin's Library*, 29-30. Though the British officers were fairly conscientious about

Library, "... sustained little or very partial injury by the war..."[12] The extreme switch in user-ship that the Library Company experienced helped to preserve the institution and keep it active even while many of its leading members were absent. This is particularly interesting considering the valuable role that the Library played in the construction of the Patriot movement. Rather than destroying the Library, the British used the facilities and reoriented its purpose to suit their social and leisure functions. Their take over of the Library Company illustrated that, even in potentially hostile hands, the appeal and utility of the social library did not disappear with the onset of war.

War and the Charleston Library Society

From the beginning of the Revolution, the Charleston Library Society met with a series of obstacles that created a significantly different environment than the Library Company faced during the War. However, like in Philadelphia, the Library Society's members worked to keep the institution active and growing, proving their continuing investment in the Library. Unlike the Library Company, the Charleston Library Society never gained a strong political importance during the Revolution. The Library Company had the advantage of being in the center of revolutionary activity early on, which gave it connections to and influence among important political figures. This prominence helped to grow and preserve the Library in ways to which the Charleston Library did not have access.

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preserving the Library Company's books, a Major Trent failed to return the volume, *History of Greenland* when the troops left Philadelphia. In 1876, approximately 99 years after Britain's occupation of Philadelphia, the volume was anonymously returned to the Company. Though, as far as is known, no overdue fees were included.

12 A Subscriber to the New York Society Library, "On the Utility of Public Libraries," *The New York Magazine or Literary Repository*, June 1791, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed February 3, 2013).

In addition, the Library Society suffered from a devastating fire on January 15, 1778 that almost completely destroyed the institution. At the time of the fire, the Library owned between 5,000 and 6,000 volumes, of which only 185 survived. Owing to the hostilities between Britain and the Colonies, the Library Society could not replenish their book supply, crippling their resources throughout the war period. These disadvantages should have spelled the end of the Library Society altogether. However, Fr. J. Fariau, a member of the Society, took it upon himself to move the remaining Library books from place to place, protecting it from further destruction and essentially holding the Library Society together.[13] Compared to the Library Company of Philadelphia's political growth, this effort seems insignificant, but it provides a striking representation of the constant activity surrounding the Charleston Library Society. In other words, in spite of the distraction and problems created by the Revolution, the Library Society continued to be a focus of attention for its patrons.

Though the Charleston Library Society struggled to remain afloat during the Revolution, the period witnessed growth for the institution as well. The hostilities did not slow down the membership rate; new members continued to join the Library throughout the War.[14] Between 1771 and 1778, sixty-nine new members joined the Library Society and eighteen men took over previously owned shares through inheritance and purchase.[15] The expanding membership further indicates that despite the setbacks the Library

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13 *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Charleston Library Society* (Charleston: Miller, 1826; Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2011), v. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044080249931;seq=17;view=1up;num=v (accessed February 6, 2013).

14 Francis Lander Spain, "Libraries of South Carolina: Their Origins and Early History, 1700-1830," *The Library Quarterly* 17, no.5 (Jan., 1947): 34, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed October 5, 2012).

15 James Raven, *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811* (Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 2002), 68.

experienced, the community of Charleston never ignored its development.

Though the Revolutionary War certainly created obstacles for the Charleston and Philadelphia Libraries, these institutions never stagnated. Based on this, it is inaccurate to label the entire War period as unproductive to the growth of social libraries in America. Given the environment and challenges many libraries faced, the fact that they continued to garner so much attention from old members and interest from potential users throughout the War demonstrates their involvement in their communities. While much of this activity might seem like retracing old steps, especially in the case of Charleston, for Philadelphia the period marked an increase in its prestige and the fostering of important new social connections. In both cases, the activity of the social libraries preserved their traditions into the new Republic.

Conceiving a Nation: Education for a New Republic

While social libraries fought against the challenges of the Revolution to maintain their role in society, the War and the Colonies' subsequent independence from Britain began to alter people's perceptions on education. Since social libraries carried strong connections to education, this change affected them as well. Before the Revolution, social libraries used education to facilitate individual social up-lift, like in Philadelphia, and to solidify social status, like in Charleston. After the War, however, a new set of education theories developed to help guide the development of the nation.

Republicanism emerged from this period as one defining philosophy. Education historian Carl Kaestle defined Republicanism as the, "united concepts of virtue, balanced government, and liberty."[16] In other words, it was the belief that a republican form of

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16 Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York:

government provided the best form of government in terms of structure and personal freedoms. However, in order for it to be properly preserved, a republican government needed the participation of a virtuous and informed public. But how would the nation adapt its citizens for their new political duties? The answer that many leaders turned to was education. As Kaestle observes, "A sound education would prepare men to vote intelligently and prepare women to train their sons properly."[17] Essentially, education could give men and women the moral and intellectual training they needed to be valuable and productive citizens. As a result of the people's understanding of their role in government and their duties towards it, they would make decisions in the best interest of the country, causing it to progress and remain free.

Among the late eighteenth century proponents of republicanism was Benjamin Rush, a Founding Father, doctor, and educator. Rush ardently believed in the equal dissemination of knowledge as the best protector of the new Republic. In his treatise on the role of schools in the nation, Rush stated that, "A free government can only exist in an equal diffusion of literature... where learning is confined to a few people, we always find monarchy, aristocracy and slavery."[18] Rush's statement highlights one of the major points of republicanism: its reliance on mass education. In order for America to truly be in the hands of the people, learning needed to permeate the lower echelons of society. Otherwise, as Rush pointed out, control of the country would rest with only a few or possibly in the hands of one. Thomas Jefferson shared Rush's belief in public education

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Hill and Wang, 1983), 5.

17 Ibid.

18 Benjamin Rush, *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and the Diffusion of Knowledge in Pennsylvania to which is added Thoughts upon the Mode of Education, Proper in a Republic. Addressed to the Legislature and Citizens of the State* (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1786), 3-4. Early American Imprints no. 19974.

and further cast ordinary citizens as the buffer against tyranny. In a letter to George Wyth,

Jefferson described the absolute necessity of a learned citizenry to, "... protect us from

these (kings, nobles and priests) evils."[19] Like Rush, Jefferson worried about the

concentration of power in the hands of the few and prescribed the "diffusion of

knowledge among the people" as the best protection against this possibility.

Clearly, many educators saw a learned public as essential to the survival of the

Republic. But who exactly constituted the public? Since the idea of mass education was

closely tied to citizenship, this qualification largely defined who composed the educators'

target public. White men made-up most of the group due to their responsibilities in the

public life of government but white women were also included for the same reason.

According to Rush, among the numerous reasons why women required educating was so

they might, "instruct their sons in the principles of liberty and government."[20] This

concept, which historians have termed "republican motherhood", recognized that a great

amount of learning still took place in the home. Consequently, women had to be educated

so that they might inculcate Republican values in their children when schools and other

sites of learning could not.

With this narrowly defined public in mind, mass education not only sought to ingrain

civic responsibilities into citizens' consciousness, but also to create a governing class

based on natural talent. Jefferson especially espoused this role of public education. To

him, education, "... would be the means by which the natural aristocracy of talent would

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19 Thomas Jefferson to George Wythe, August 13, 1786, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. 10, ed.
   Julian P. Boyd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954), 244-245.
20 Benjamin Rush, *Thoughts upon Female Education*, 1787 in *American Educational Thought: Essays
   from 1640-1940*, ed. Andrew J. Milson, Chara Haeussler Bohan, Perry L. Glanzer, and J. Wesley Null
   (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, INC., 2010), 54.

be recognized and developed... (and)... the means by which the people would recognize the aristocracy of talent..."[21] In other words, by educating the entire public, the best and brightest of Americans would naturally rise to form a meritocracy, which, because of their own level of education, the rest of the country would recognize as the optimum leadership.

Due to their previous connection with education, social libraries could easily have been chosen by republican educators to champion their new campaign on mass education and the development of a meritocracy. Yet, many educators in the early Republic placed a renewed emphasis on the importance of schools instead. As malleable points of contact between educators and the public, schools provided the perfect opportunity to transmit republican ideals across the country. One reason for schools' popularity was their connection and influence over the nation's youth. Republican educators viewed childhood as the seminal time in a person's development. For instance, Rush described youth as the most advantageous time for developing patriotic ties to the country and with other citizens.[22] For him, youth represented the best to time shape a citizen's patriotic identity in order to create the deepest and strongest ties to the country because children were more easily influenced than adults. Based on this idea, schools provided the perfect opportunity to fashion the rising generation of Americans into responsible patriotic citizens, after all schools were largely created for children.

Schools also had the advantage of being a popular educational site amongst the public, making them a natural agent for republican educators. For the most part, early

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21 Gordon E. Mercer, "Thomas Jefferson: A Bold Vision for American Education," *International Social Science Review* 68, no. 1 (1993): 20-21, 0-web.ebscohost.com (accessed February 2, 2013).
22 Rush, *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools*, 14.

Americans recognized and valued the importance of schools as educational institutions. Even as school reform efforts gained momentum throughout the early and mid-nineteenth century, the driving issue behind the movement, "...was not one of persuading more Americans to send their children to school, but rather improving the quality of educational arrangements that had long existed."[23] The relatively high attendance rates of schools and the willingness of Americans to send their children to them demonstrated their fluid accessibility and their far-reaching influence amongst the populace. Consequently, schools were the obvious choice for theorists like Jefferson and Rush who wanted to spread their ideas to as many as possible.

Though the greatest reform measures in schools would not take place until the Common School Movement in the 1830s, education proponents responded to the heightened emphasis on the importance of schools early in the country's history. In 1812, New York implemented legislation to support the construction of common schools throughout the state. As part of this plan, the state and communities shared the cost of creating local schools by having the state pay for the teacher and the community supply the building.[24] Much of this plan came about as a result of Governor George Clinton's prompting. A supporter of education, Clinton pushed for the organization of a common school system in his state on the basis that, "... the advantages to morals, religion, liberty and good government arising from the general diffusion of knowledge... were...

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23 John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling* 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 70.

24 Sherman Williams, "Jedidiah Peck: The Father of the Public School System of the State of New York," *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association* I (1920): 221, 222, in Richard D. Brown, "The Idea of an Informed Citizenry in the Early Republic," in *Devising Liberty: Preserving and Creating Freedom in the New American Republic*, ed. David Thomas King (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 167-168.

universally recognized."[25] This early example of state-sponsored schools not only suggests the growing recognition of their value to the individual, but to the community and larger locale as well. From Clinton's defense of his beliefs, the common school system in New York also illustrates that Republican ideals were central to motivating the system's creation, suggesting an early recognition of the role of schools as the agents of republicanism.

Social Libraries in Early America: Continuity and Change

Though ultimately schools received the most attention from republican educators, social libraries entered into a similar era of prosperity. Known as the "Golden Age" of social libraries, the years after the Revolution and into the nineteenth-century witnessed unprecedented growth among these institutions. Between 1786-1790, sixty-seven known social libraries were established and that number would leap in the next five years to 157.[26] This period also marked a transition stage in the evolution of the social library. Coming out of the Revolutionary War, social libraries still maintained their old system of organization, particularly in the way of fees and dues. However, like schools, republican ideas about education also began to expand the mission of many libraries. This created a contradiction between membership requirements, which continued to lean on elitist qualifications, and the new emphasis on mass education. Again, the Library Company of Philadelphia provides a prime example of this contradiction.[27] Examining the organization of the Library Company demonstrates that it continued and even increased its membership requirements while it began to adapt republican rhetoric on education.

25 Ibid., 167.
26 Haynes McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000), 35.
27 Due to the devastating fire it experienced and its slow recovery, I will not be focusing on the Charleston Library Society in this section.

Furthermore, comparing the Library Company of Philadelphia to other newly formed social libraries illustrates that this pattern was present in many social libraries at the time.

In 1757, the going-rate for a share in the Library Company was forty shillings as an initial fee and a ten shilling annual payment, coming to about $358.44 and $89.78 in today's dollars. By 1793 the first fee increased dramatically to forty dollars plus a two dollar yearly fee.[28] In 2013, this comes out to approximately $957.41 and $47.87. Though the new prices cut the annual payments nearly in half, the initiation fee almost tripled. To put it in perspective, it would take around fifteen years for the lower annual fees to make any difference in what a person would be paying in membership dues and that was after sinking nearly two thousand dollars in today's money into a share. Regardless, the persisting high prices of the Library Company continued to limit accessibility to the fortunate few who could afford it.

With the spike in the admission fee, the Library Company also implemented a series of rules regarding non-members who wanted to use the Library's collection. According to the 1786 Library catalog, in order for a non-member to rent a book from the Library, he or she first had to pay double the amount of the material in cash to the Librarian (triple if they desired a set of books) in addition to signing a promissory note for twice its value.[29] There were also fees for using the Library. These varied according to the type of material rented. A patron paid one shilling for folios, nine pence for quartos, and six pence for octavos and duodecimos, though a history of the Library Company produced by the

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28 *Third Supplement to the Catalogue of Books, Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia. To which is Prefixed, a Continuation of the Bye Laws and Regulations of the Company* (Philadelphia: Zachariah Poulson, 1795), iii-iv. Early American Imprints, no. 31001.

29 *A Catalogue of the Books Belonging to The Library Company of Philadelphia; to which is Prefixed, a Short Account of the Institution, with the Charter, Laws and Regulations*, (Philadelphia: Zachary Poulson, Junior., 1789), xxviii. Early American Imprints no. 22066

current establishment notes that these fees were not strictly enforced in the early period of the Library.[30] From the recorded rules of the Library Company, it is unclear if patrons could use texts on the premise without incurring charges. However, even if this were possible, the limited hours of the Library still restricted accessibility. According to the rules of the Company, the Library was open year-round on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday for five hours, usually mid afternoon through early evening, limiting patrons to a mere fifteen hours per week when they could access the books.[31]

Other social libraries after the Revolutionary War demonstrated similar restrictions in their accessibility, especially in the case of membership fees. As of 1793, the Worcester Library Company demanded twelve shillings as an admission fee with another four shillings paid every six months until a member had contributed one pound and sixteen shillings.[32] By today's terms, the whole sum would come out to be about $258.70. Likewise, in 1793 the New York Library Society asked eight pounds from their new recruits for entrance into the Society and then another yearly payment of ten shillings.[33] The admission fee alone would cost members an astronomical $1,256.56 in 2013 and the additional ten shillings would have put them out another $78.54 every year. And this price was greater than the original cost of a share, which in 1754 when the Library was

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30 *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia*, xxviii; *"At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin": A Brief History of the Library Company of Philadelphia* (York Graphic Services, Inc., 1995), 14; Folio, octavo, quarto and duodecimos refer to the manner in which the material was printed. For example, a folio would have had one sheet with writing of four pages on it. It would then be folded to create two leaves with writing on each side. Quartos were folded two times to create four leaves, ocatovos three times for eight leaves and so on.
31 *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia*, xxvii.
32 *Rules and Regulations of the Worcester Associate Library Company* (Worcester, MA: Leonard Worcester, 1793), 4. Early American Imprints, no. 26506.
33 *The Charter, Bye-Laws, and Names of the Members of the New-York Society Library: With a Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Said Library* (New York: T. & J. Swords, 1793), 19. Early American Imprints, no. 29515.

founded was five pounds.[34] Even towards the end of the century, social libraries

continued to have high membership fees. In 1797, the Hartford Library Company charged

its incoming members twenty dollars and an annual fee of four dollars, equaling about

$372.55 and $74.51 in today's terms.[35] Each of these examples illustrates that social

libraries continued to follow the exclusive patterns of colonial social libraries by denying

accessibility to the lower class.

Instead of becoming more easily accessible, as antebellum social libraries grew they

actually became more and more exclusive. The Library Company's increasingly

expensive admission fee directly correlated to its growth in popularity. As more and more

people wanted a share in the Company, prices of an individual share spiked to match the

increase in demand. Other social libraries fell into a similar pattern. For example, an

article in the *New York Magazine* urged the public to buy shares in social libraries right

away as, "every share will yearly become more valuable, and in case of a wish to dispose

of it, will shortly sell for more than originally cost."[36] Because of this, as individual social

libraries developed they increasingly put themselves out of reach for many members of

their community.

Though social libraries maintained the exclusive nature of their colonial days, the

new educational philosophies brought about by the Revolutionary War started to seep

into libraries' language and writings. In colonial Philadelphia, the Library Company's

34 "The New York Library Society," *The Pastime; a Literary Paper*, 21 May, 1808, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (Accessed February 16, 2013).
35 *The Constitution of the Hartford Library Company; with Extracts from the By-Laws and a Catalogue of the Books* (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1797), 3. Early American Imprints no. 32232.
36 A Subscriber to the New York Society Library, "On the Utility of Public Libraries," *The New York Magazine or Literary Repository*, June 1791, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed February 3, 2013).

primary purpose was practical education, an emphasis that still maintained a strong

presence in the antebellum Library. An article from *The Port-Folio* recognized the

Company's practical learning roots and suggested that the tradition carried over into the

post-Revolution establishment, indicating a sense of continuity between both time

periods.[37] However, in its postwar environment the Library also began to display a new

emphasis on the merits of American culture and the role of education in it. The 1789

Library catalog described the institution's development in comparison to European social

libraries, noting that in Philadelphia, "... the books were not, as in many of the public

libraries in Europe, confined to the apartments, but the subscribers were allowed to carry

them home..."[38] The description indicates a recognition of American libraries' uniqueness

from European libraries and also underhandedly implies a sense of superiority on behalf

of the former.

　　Republican ideals also became attached to writings about the Library Company of

Philadelphia after the Revolutionary War. While writing on the influence of the Library

Company in Philadelphia, Benjamin Franklin expressed his hope that social libraries

would, "... be still more widely extended, and that information (would) be everywhere

increased." He then went on to describe the power of knowledge to banish and hold

slavery and tyranny at bay. Finally, Franklin expressed his hopes that Americans would

support educational institutions among which, "... these PUBLIC LIBRARIES (were) not

the least important."[39] In this passage, Franklin drew a clear parallel between

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37 "The Philadelphia Library," *The Port-Folio*, 21 November 1807, American Periodicals,
　　http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (Accessed February 12, 2013).
38 *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia*, iii.
39 Benjamin Franklin, *The Continuance of the Life of Dr. Franklin* in John Melish, *Travels through the
　　United States of America, in the Years 1806 & 1807 and 1809, 1810 & 1811; Including an Account of
　　Passages Betwixt America and Britain, and Travels through Various Parts of Britain, Ireland & Canada*

republicanism and the changing role of education in the Library Company and other

social libraries by emphasizing the contribution that libraries could give towards the

distribution of knowledge. Moreover, he pulls from a similar storehouse of republican

vocabulary that other educators of his time did, using words such as "liberty", "tyranny",

"rights", and "slavery." In doing so, Franklin demonstrates that the purpose of his

beloved library was beginning to intertwine with the newly emerging republican values.

Similarly, writings connected to other post-Revolution social libraries began to

exhibit republican values in their perspectives on education. For example, the prefix to

the Worcester Associate Library Company's rules and regulations explained the founders'

decision to establish the Library because of its ability to diffuse knowledge throughout

the community. This, they went on to explain, "... forms the best security of equal liberty

to all the members of a free and independent community..."[40] Even libraries outside of the

former British Colonies began to adopt republican rhetoric. In 1805, the Legislative

Council of New Orleans (which had been purchased by the American government as part

of the Louisiana Purchase two years earlier) outlined a plan for creating "public" libraries

throughout the territory. They supported the establishment of public libraries for their

ability to diffuse learning among the territory's citizens, which the Council claimed was

the best, "...advocate of genuine liberty."[41] By connecting the spread of education to the

safety of their community, the founders of these institutions established their vision for

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Vol. 1 (Philadelphia: Palmer for Melish, 1815), 163-164. Early American Imprints, no. S35249.

40 *Rules and Regulations of the Worcester Associate Library Company*, 3.

41 "The Legislative Council of New-Orleans have passed a..." *The National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*, 16 August, 1805, 19th Century U.S. Newspapers (Accessed March 2, 2013). This article described a lottery system for raising money to support the public libraries, thus it is unclear whether users would have to pay membership fees or not. However, typically during this time "public libraries" were usually synonymous with social libraries so it is likely that this would have been the case.

their libraries as progenitors and guardians of liberty.

The article from *New York Magazine* quoted above also provides a detailed example of the relationship between republican education and the changing purposes of social libraries. In it, the author reiterated the importance of an educated populace in a republican government, often echoing the sentiments of Jefferson and Rush. Like the passage from the Worcester Library, he then explained how social libraries were the most capable institutions to fulfill this need as they could obtain the number of books necessary for proper research, a feat usually beyond the private citizen.[42] The article as a whole clearly demonstrates that early Americans visualized social libraries as tools for inculcating republican ideals in their fellow citizens through the use of education. More specifically, it also illustrates a sense of public responsibility on behalf of these institutions to do so, putting social libraries in a position to take up the mantle in spreading republican education throughout the country.

Social libraries facilitated republican education through their book selection by including texts that would expand a user's understanding of government and their role in it. Smaller libraries like the Hartford Library Company, the Warren Library Society of Rhode Island and the Fredericktown Library Company of Pennsylvania included copies of the United States Constitution.[43] Undoubtedly, these social libraries included this text in their book collections not only to inform their users of the history of the country, but

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42 "The New York Library Society," *The Pastime; a Literary Paper*, 21 May, 1808, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (Accessed February 16, 2013).

43 *The Constitution of the Hartford Library Company*, 16; *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Fredericktown Library Company to which is Prefixed, the Objects, Articles and Conditions on which the Said Company in Incorporated* (Washington, PA: John Colerick, 1797), 9. Early American Imprints no. 32155.; *The Charter and By-Laws for the Regulation of the Warren Library Society in the Town of Warren in the State of Rhode Island* (Warren, RI: Nathaniel Phillips, 1799),16. Early American Imprints no. 36668.

more importantly to educate them as to the structure of its government and their rights

and responsibilities in it. Besides this bedrock text of republicanism, social libraries also

possessed other politically oriented books. For instance, the 1789 catalog of the Library

Company of Philadelphia included several pages of books listed under general and local

politics. These texts covered a wide variety of topics from British politics to American

politics to political theory.[44] By emphasizing political texts, the Library Company of

Philadelphia encouraged its patrons to delve into the debates and philosophies behind

government, helping to shape them into informed citizens. Moreover, due to the exclusive

nature of the Library Company and its typically elite membership, the inclusion of so

many political books could also have acted as a tool to groom its members into the

country's next generation of local and national leaders, thereby assisting in Jefferson's

vision of a natural meritocracy.

Though many educators focused their attentions on schools during the antebellum

period, social libraries also played a role in their plans for reforming the educational

system. Jefferson, for instance, stated that he, "...often thought that nothing would do

more extensive good at small expense than the establishment of a small circulating

library in every county to consist of a few well chosen books..."[45] Similarly, Rush wrote

that libraries, "... will tend to diffuse knowledge more generally, if the farmers and

tradesmen in the neightbourhood (sic) of them, (upon paying a moderate sum yearly) are

permitted to have access to them."[46] Clearly republican educators integrated social

libraries into their plan for diffusing knowledge across the newly formed country. These

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44 *A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia,* 176-217.
45 Thomas Jefferson to John Wyche, May 19, 1809, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Retirement Series*,
    Vol. 1 ed. J. Jefferson Looney (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004), 205.
46 Rush, *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools*, 10-11.

two texts highlight that educators believed social libraries had the potential to reach a wide-range of the public, making them invaluable as agents of republicanism.

The Failure of Antebellum Social Libraries

Yet, for all the emphasis on the merits and potential of social libraries as educational institutions, these establishments failed to generate the same pull that schools did. The reason for their failure traces back to social libraries' inherent contradiction between organization and purpose. Coming out of the Revolutionary War, social libraries continued to operate as they always had with a membership system based on a series of qualifying fees and dues. As one article from the *Boston Weekly Magazine* pointed out, this put social libraries out of the reach for people who had a passion for learning but did not, "... possess those means (to purchase a share in the library)..."[47] The pecuniary standards attached to social libraries limited who could actually take advantage of the organizations, undermining the vision of an equal distribution of knowledge throughout the citizenry for which republican educators advocated.

In addition, social libraries adhered to a system of inheritance rights that created an undemocratic system of membership, again spoiling their potential as sites of mass education. In proprietary libraries, shares usually passed from a member to a selected heir, usually a family member. The *Boston Weekly Magazine* article criticized this feature of social libraries saying that, "These shares descend as a patrimony from the father to his children, who are under no more obligation to be person of taste or genius, than the heir apparent is to be fit for a crown."[48] The metaphor between the inheritance system of

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47 "The Passenger-No. XVIII," *Boston Weekly Magazine, Devoted to Morality, Literature, Biography, History, the Fine Arts* 28 January, 1804, American Periodicals http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (Accessed February 13, 2013).
48 Ibid.

shares in social libraries and a monarchical government would have provoked a powerful image of unjustified entitlement for many Americans in the post-Revolution period. Moreover, from a Jeffersonian view of republicanism, the system contradicts the principles of a meritocracy. After all, how could an educational institution bound to a monarchial-like pattern of membership ever produce a class of ruling elite based purely on natural talent?

Finally, social libraries also failed to satisfactorily appeal to one major group on republican educators' minds: children. As demonstrated through the works of Rush, many educators considered childhood as the prime time for indoctrination into republican ideals. However, because of their rigid membership requirements, many social libraries denied access to this seemingly vital group of people. For instance, *The Boston Weekly Magazine* article again complained that social libraries relied too heavily on money for admission and that this was particularly damaging to children who, "... have no opportunity of improving the(ir) natural talent, by use of the library, unless they happen to be born children of proprietors."[49] By ignoring services to children, antebellum social libraries failed to appeal to the vision of many republican educators, undercutting their ability to function as the primary sites for the newly developed wave of education.

Ultimately, the Revolutionary War marked a critical turning point in the relationship between social libraries and education by creating discord between the libraries' accessibility and their changing educational visions. Social libraries' continued activity throughout the War preserved and propelled their elitist colonial form into the antebellum period. However, this system clashed with emerging republican views on mass education,

49 Ibid.

meritocracy and a new emphasis on youth. Because of this, social libraries failed to

achieve the status of the primary agent of republican education in the new country;

instead, educators turned to schools as the progenitors of republican values. For all their

problems, though, social libraries continued to play a significant role as educational

institutions throughout the rest of the nineteenth-century by learning to adapt their

services to an important group of citizens: youth.

Guiding Light: Social Libraries for Children and Youth

> "The man who does not read good books is
> no better than the man who can't."
> -Mark Twain

In January 1803, Caleb Bingham, a textbook author and prominent educator, established the first known social library exclusively for children in Salisbury, Connecticut. Over the next quarter century, children and youth oriented libraries spread across the country in the form of children's libraries, like Bingham's, and apprentice libraries, institutions tailored for aspiring mechanics and merchants. The appearance of both of these types of libraries for youth and children marked social libraries' final absorption of republicanism. As mentioned in the last chapter, social libraries began to adopt republican rhetoric and ideas shortly into the antebellum period, but they ultimately failed to generate interest as republican institutions because of their monetary exclusivity and disregard of children as patrons. When social libraries finally turned their attention towards children and youth, however, they assumed a more egalitarian organizational structure that negated these critiques.

However, this easy accessibility came at a price. Though juvenile and mercantile/mechanic social libraries did not restrict their accessibility as much as general libraries, users of libraries for youth lacked the same amount of agency when it came to book selection. Nineteenth century views on childhood and the beginning of the educational reform movement in the 1830s were largely responsible for detracting young library users from their ability to choose their reading materials. By examining the relationship between society's view on children and the aims of educational reformers and

the organization and rhetoric of juvenile and mercantile/mechanic libraries, one can see how the carefully controlled environments of these institutions reflected society's ideas of youth and the lower class.

Children and Youth at the Turn of the Century

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, America's concept of childhood heavily shaped the form and aims of juvenile libraries. Nineteenth century Americans painted children as malleable beings, distinct from the world of adults, yet entrusted not only with their parents' legacy, but also with the future of the nation. Childhood represented a stage in life between infancy and youth, or what modern readers might think of as adolescence. Youth, on the other hand, represented a child's movement into adulthood. Writers from this period perceived a distinct difference between the two characterized by intellectual and physical development.[1] Yet, the idea that ultimately there was a distinct separation between adulthood and childhood constituted a relatively new concept and led to the emergence of a different set of expectations, needs, and behaviors for each group. For example, at the turn of the century, America's recreational activities began to be delineated more according to age appropriateness. Instead of children participating in adult games and vice versa, which had been the practice, adults and children became more isolated in their activities with children engaging in imaginative play while adults

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1   For more on the nineteenth century differences between childhood and youth, see Joseph F. Kett, "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth Century America," *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2, no. 2 (1971): 283-298, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed March 3, 2013); John Demos and Virginia Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective," in *Childhood in America*, ed. Paula S. Fass and Mary Ann Mason (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 132-138.; Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Boston: Cambrdige, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004; ACLS Humanities E-Book, n.d.), 23-24, http://0-hdl.handle.net.dewey2.library.denison.edu/2027/heb.06195.0001.001 (accessed November 29, 2012).

relaxed with activities like cards.[2] The disassociation of children's activities from adults'

implied that society was beginning to view childhood as a stage in life separate from

adulthood.

Family portraits further emphasized that children inhabited a different world from

that of their parents. Beginning with the late eighteenth century, family portraits started to

highlight the differences between children and adults by including things like toys and

different mannerisms, hairstyles and clothing for children.[3] Similar to children's

disengagement in adult activities, the appearance of child-specific elements in family

portraits demonstrated a mentality that subscribed particular appearances and objects

solely to children, indicating a lifestyle unique from the world of adults.

Although children and adults operated in separate spheres, their respective circles

were anything but equal. Age hierarchy largely defined early nineteenth century notions

of childhood by placing children in a subservient position to adults. An instructional text

published for the use of parents in teaching their children adjured children to, "Be

humble, submissive and obedient to those whose authority by nature of providence hath a

just claim to your subjection; such are parents, masters, or tutors, whose commands and

laws have no tendency than your truest good."[4] This passage not only stressed children's

compliance with adult actions, but also suggested that their submission was divinely

designed. Attributing children's deference to adults as part of God's plan reinforced the

legitimacy of adults' authority over children and cemented their superior position over

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2   Karin Calvert, *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992), 80-81.
3   Ibid., 87-88.
4   Eleazer Moody, *The School of Good Manners* (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1804), 26. Early American Imprints no. S7249. This text appears to have been incredibly popular during the nineteenth-century. Just from the Early American Imprints records, there are nine separate editions between 1801 and 1818.

children. The idea that an adult's decisions were infallible and made only with the child's best interests at heart further supported this claim. This logic reemphasized the innate authority of adults while implying the inferiority of children as well. Combined, the recognized authority of adults built an attitude that placed them as the legitimate decision-makers in the lives of children.

Concepts of childhood in the early nineteenth century not only isolated children from the world of adults, but also divided them on the basis on gender, a practice that juvenile libraries also imitated. Modes of play took on gendered meanings that largely related to either one sex or the other. For instance, adults encouraged girls to model domestic activities like childcare in their play while urging boys to engage in physical activities such as races. By promoting separate activities for each sex, adults attempted to inculcate certain social standards of womanhood and manhood in their children. These separate forms of play were based-on and reinforced the idea that true femininity constituted self-sacrifice and submissiveness and true masculinity consisted of aggressiveness and daring.[5] Similar to the perceived differences between children and adults, forms of play were largely assigned based-on commonly believed distinctions in physicality and temperament between girls and boys.[6] The fundamental principle that boys and girls were inherently different dictated that they naturally follow separate models of behavior. As a result, certain standards that society enforced and reinforced through qualifications of appropriateness imbued each sex, resulting in very few areas of overlap.

The idea that childhood constituted the most formative time in a person's life

5   Steven Mintz, *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood* (Boston: Cambrdige, Mass: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004; ACLS Humanities E-Book, n.d.),82-83 ,http://0-hdl.handle.net.dewey2.library.denison.edu/2027/heb.06195.0001.001 (accessed November 29, 2012).
6   Ibid., 82-83.

dovetailed with the notions that age and sex separated children from each other and from adults. This belief constituted what Mintz called the Romantic Vision of childhood. Essentially, adults believed that children represented an almost divine-like, unfettered innocence. Because of this, their contact with the world had to be carefully cultivated in order to shape them into hard-working and respectable adults.[7] In a sermon on child-rearing, Ralph Eddowes demonstrated this belief by likening children to plants: God mapped out their nature, but adults, parents in particular, ultimately determined their direction and "produce."[8] This example highlighted two common beliefs about childhood: first that children were highly impressionable and second that childhood largely shaped adulthood. The latter point meant that the habits and character a person formed during their childhood would directly impact what sort of person they would be as adults. Consequently, the behaviors and ideas that adults exposed children to needed to be carefully controlled in order to protect their innocence and nurture good values that would continue with them into adulthood.

While emphasizing childhood as the formative period for the individual, nineteenth century writers also recognized its importance to the future of the nation. This approach also linked childhood to the formation of adulthood, but applied it on a communal basis. In other words, instead of only the individual's fate being affected by his or her upbringing, writers attributed the prosperity of the entire nation to its leaders' characters, thus making the childhood of one responsible for the success or failure of many. However, this attitude was not limited to the children of the rich and elite, children highly

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7   Ibid., 76.
8   Ralph Eddowes, *On the Early Treatment of Children*, (Philadelphia: Palmers for Dobson, 1809), 10. Early American Imprints no. S17423.

poised to take on the mantle of leadership. Instead, because of the importance of the individual in the functioning of a democracy, writers viewed every child as the key to the future of the nation. As Eddowes stated, "... in a constitution such as ours, where every individual citizen is virtually an integral part of the government... if our youth are brought up in a love of enervating pleasures, trifling amusements, and self-indulgence, what can be expected but that every noble and independent principle will become extinct..."[9] Eddowes' statement revealed the fear that raising children incorrectly not only ruined their own potential, but threatened the future of the United States. As a result, the cultivation of childhood in nineteenth century America took on an overt patriotic tone.

Education became the main tool adults used to shape and control the development of children. Still integral to social libraries in the nineteenth century, education similarly played an important role in juvenile libraries, albeit towards a different end. Using this term in a broader sense, education represented more than just the scholarly learning that took place in formalized institutions; it also implied the important socialization and character-building lessons that trained and prepared children to function appropriately and effectively in the adult world. Thus, the term education really indicated the presence of a duel lens of learning. Adults used both of these avenues to influence children. For instance, in the preface to a fictional story regarding a brother's guidance of his sister's education, the author (who is unidentified) chastised his readers for providing their daughters with the mechanisms of an education (learning to read) without its appropriateness (learning what to read).[10] The notion of control underpinned this

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9   Ibid., 26-7.
10 *The Brother's Gift or The Naughty Girl Reformed to Which is Added, the Employments of Mankind*. (Hartford: Lincoln & Oleason, 1806), 6. Early American Imprints no. 10039. Like *The School of Good Manners*, this text appears to have been fairly popular. In the Early American Imprints collection alone,

example. It was not enough simply to teach a child to read; an educator also needed to guide children towards materials that they deemed advantageous to a child's moral and intellectual development. By inserting themselves as guides in the reading habits of children, educators and other adults used books to control the ideas to which children were exposed.

The ways teachers taught children further emphasized the importance of control when it came to exposing youth to knowledge. During the early republic, educators frequently used rote memorization to instruct children. Looking back on her experience in school, Elizabeth Buffrum commented that by, "...twelve years of age I had recited *Murray's Grammar* through perhaps a dozen times without a word of explanation or application from the book or teacher."[11] By encouraging an uncomplicated acceptance of the material, recitation discouraged children from asking questions about what they were learning, giving control over the material solely in the hands of the instructor. The Lancastrian method of teaching also famously illustrated this principle. This method emphasized efficiency in large often under-staffed schools through a monitorial system. Here, teachers put older pupils in charge of the lessons for younger students, thus saving the school from having to hire extra teachers. However, because monitors were usually not much more advanced than their students, dictation became the easiest method of teaching with teacher-students saying the lesson aloud and the rest of the class copying it down.[12] Like memorization and recitation, dictation did not give students any mastery

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there are nine editions from 1786-1806.
11 Chase, *Quaker Sisters*, 23, in Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 18.
12 John L. Rury, *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling*, 3rd ed. (New York: Routledge, 2009), 65.

over the material they learned, which allowed those in charge to highlight what information they liked while ignoring "unsuitable" materials.

Moreover, education represented a way to indoctrinate children into the ideology of republicanism. Historian Carl Kaestle defined republicanism as the belief that a republican government constituted the best form of government in way of personal freedom and structure. He also claimed that an educated and "virtuous" population was essential in republicanism as the up-holder of government and liberty.[13] As stated earlier, educators regarded children as the future of the nation. However, in order to continue the country's tradition of republican values, these ideas needed to be transferred to succeeding generations. For many early American leaders, education was the primary way to accomplish this. Theorists like Benjamin Rush advocated that this education could take place within the family, with mothers starting the indoctrination of their sons in a movement that historians labeled "republican motherhood."[14] Educators also called upon clergymen and teachers to instruct youth in republican virtues such as discipline, self-sacrifice, and simplicity.[15] Furthermore, schools and scholarly education helped to cultivate the intelligence of America's future leaders so that they could make informed decisions regarding the future of their country.[16] Formal or informal, advocates of republicanism perceived education to be crucial to the preservation of the Republic and as a result, provided further incentive for carefully controlling the ideas to which children were exposed.

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13 Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 5. For more on Republicanism and education, see chapter 2.
14 Rury, *Education and Social Change*, 52.
15 Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 5.
16 Ibid., 49.

Children and Books

As a common medium for dispersing ideas, the books that children read came under careful scrutiny by educators and adults alike. In a newspaper article describing a plan for the construction of a juvenile library, the patron of the project related his role in monitoring the dispersal of the library's books saying, "... I have... attended personally to the distribution of the books, thinking that I might by this means direct those who apply for them, and who cannot in general be supposed capable of judging for themselves, to the selection of such as are adapted to their several ages and capacities..."[17] This statement not only highlighted the assumption that children needed to be guided in their reading, but also that there were appropriate and inappropriate materials for different ages and capabilities. However, rather than trusting in children to distinguish their own capacities, this article assigned that distinction to adults. In doing so, it mirrored existing preconceptions of the fragility of childhood and the necessity of adults to shape a child's environment.

Educators and adults labeled books valuable based on their ability to be informative. According to William Biglow, author of an instructional text for reading, "Much (of reading) depends on the choice of books: improper ones do irreparable injury to the mind; but, in making a judicious choice, we acquire a stock of knowledge, a mine which we can occasionally recur to, independent of outward circumstances."[18] Biglow's description of a proper book clearly defined it as one that promoted the acquisition of knowledge. Moreover, the sample of texts he attached to his pamphlet demonstrates that he

17 "For the Christian Register," *Christian Register*, 28 May 1825, American Periodicals http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed November 26, 2012).
18 William Biglow, *The Youth's Library: A Selection of Lessons in Reading* (Salem: Joshua Cushing, 1803), 4. Early American Imprints no. 3822.

encouraged moral and religious learning as well as scholarly. Yet why did he place such a heavy emphasis on it? As mentioned earlier, new ideals regarding republicanism encouraged all citizens to be as informed as possible so that they might make good decisions as political participants. By encouraging children to read informative texts, adults aimed to cultivate a new generation of ideal citizens. Furthermore, as demonstrated previously, adults and educators believed childhood to be the most influential time in a person's life. Therefore, by encouraging children to read informative books adults ensured that useful and valuable material influenced their development.

In contrast, children's books that did not provide an obvious instructional agenda were deemed as unworthy of the time it took to read them and sometimes even as harmful to a child. Parents and educators particularly vehemently attacked novels. For instance, in an address to the Juvenile Library Company of Richmond, Virginia, a speaker (unknown) asked potential donors to refrain from donating novels, plays and romances to the Library because they, "divert(ed) the taste of youthful readers too much from books more worthy of their attention."[19] This statement first of all slyly implied that novels, plays and the like were actually more popular among children and youth than other texts. Moreover, it also indicated that a steady diet of said books ruined young people's appetites for more instructive material. As such, adults tended to distrust children's novels and tried to steer young people towards more informative texts.

The types of books children most enjoyed to read appears to have covered a wide range of materials, but children read most of them with the aim of entertainment.

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19 *An Address in Behalf of the Juvenile Library Company of the City of Richmond* (Richmond: Franklin Office, 1823), 4, Text, From the Library of Congress, Rare Book & Special Collection.

Historian Howard P. Chudacoff noted that the books of nineteenth century children, "...

served the purpose of inspiring the impromptu games and play items that occupied

children's time."[20] The fact that children used the stories they read to facilitate play rather

than to learn indicates that they read for entertainment above anything else. Moreover, the

books that children recorded reading similarly demonstrated a desire for entertainment

and escapism. For instance, one girl named Jenny Trumball listed books by Sir Walter

Scott and the Peter Parley series as books she had read.[21] Likewise, a boy named

Grenville Norcross recorded playing 'Swiss Family Robinson' with a friend named,

Willie.[22] Both examples highlighted that children not only read novels for fun, but also

used stories to construct their own forms of entertainment.

Foundations of Juvenile Libraries

Nineteenth century concepts of childhood and education motivated the founding of a

branch of social libraries specifically for youth and children. This subdivision grew out of

a recognition that adults and children possessed different needs as readers and therefore

needed facilities that could provide for each group individually. Though juvenile libraries

did not come into recorded existence until after the Revolution, many colonial social

library patrons recognized this need early on. For example, in the rules of the Charleston

Library Society, the founders set down that heirs to shares in their establishment would

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20 Howard P. Chudacoff, *Children at Play: An American History* (New York: New York University Press, 2007), 55.
21 Karen Sanchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 26. Sir Walter Scott popularized the Medieval Romance during the nineteenth century. The Peter Parley books combined instruction with narrative in the form of travel stories. Gillian Avery, *Behold the Child: American Children and Their Books 1621-1922* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 78.
22 Grenville H. Norcross, February 9 and March 1, 1861 quoted in Karen Sanchez-Eppler, *Dependent States: The Child's Part in Nineteenth-Century American Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 26.

be able to take over rights as members at sixteen when they could, "make use" of the books.[23] By designating sixteen as the minimum age for membership, the Library's founders implied that youth and younger children had little use for their collection of materials. While the reasoning behind this assumption is unclear, perhaps the age limit was a manifestation of an underlying trend in education. As described in chapter one, the Charleston Library Society did not make education a priority of the institution; instead it assumed that each member already had a certain level of formal education. Establishing sixteen as the age for membership could correspond to the transition period between childhood and adulthood, when a person had mastered the basics of formal education needed to succeed in life and was starting to specialize in specific interests.

The desire to shape and cultivate virtue in the lives of children also influenced the founding of juvenile libraries. In a response to an address given for the Juvenile Library Company of Richmond, William H. Hart wrote that libraries for children were, "... employed in the holy cause of truth and knowledge, by instilling into the minds of our youth correct principles, and training them up for future usefulness and respectability..."[24] Hart's language bears a remarkable resemblance to Eddowes' metaphor comparing children to plants by emphasizing that children needed to be directed in values and character so that they might become respectable adults. Tying this responsibility to libraries made the establishments not only reformative agents, but also preventative ones. In other words, by founding juvenile libraries with the purpose of training up children,

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23 *The Rules and By-Laws of the Charleston Library Society. Together with the Act of the General Assembly of South-Carolina for Incorporating the Society, Confirmed by his Majesty: And a Brief Historical Introduction* (Charlestown: Robert Wells, 1762), 11. Early American Imprints no. 9087.

24 WM. H. Hart, *An Address in Behalf of the Juvenile Library Company of the City of Richmond* (Richmond: Franklin Office, February 8, 1823), 16, Text, from the Library of Congress, Rare Book & Special Collection.

benefactors aimed to prevent corrupting habits, such as drinking and gambling, from taking hold of their young users by diverting their free time into a constructive activity.

Finally, adult benefactors and philanthropists also founded juvenile libraries to provide a supplementary source of education to children that would last throughout their lifetime. For instance, the address given to the Juvenile Library Company of Richmond claimed that the then current schooling system did not furnish an adequate amount of books to students, curtailing how much knowledge a child could gain.[25] School libraries, a common staple of schools today, were almost nonexistent in the first half of the nineteenth-century. In 1818, New York became the first state to equip schools with libraries and even then books had limited accessibility and the materials were often not appropriate for children.[26] With few books available outside of commonly used textbooks, schools could provide little additional information on topics of interest to their students. Juvenile libraries, on the other hand, possessed a wide variety of books that their users could use to dig deeper on certain subjects and thereby supplement their education. Moreover, juvenile libraries also sought to encourage a love of learning in children that would extend into adulthood. The author of the Library Company of Richmond address complained that relying on the school system for learning halted the process when formal education ended.[27] By moving education to an informal source, juvenile libraries fostered an individualized approach to learning that could be continued into adulthood.

Dr. Jesse Torrey, an early advocate for children's libraries, expounded and expanded many of these ideas about social libraries in his writings. A physician, Torrey was born in

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25 *An Address in Behalf of the Juvenile Library Company of the City of Richmond*, 6-8.
26 Gwendolen Rees, *Libraries for Children: A History and Bibliography* (London: Grafton & Co., 1924), 86.
27 *An Address in Behalf of the Juvenile Library Company of the City of Richmond*, 6-8.

1787 and acted as a proponent on many contemporary issues such as education, abolition and temperance.[28] Like others of his time, Torrey believed that juvenile libraries could act as a viable supplement to formal education and as a tool to prepare children to be responsible and respectable adults. With a reformist's zeal, Torrey did not stop at improving just the individual but also viewed the implementation of youth's libraries as a pathway to refashioning society. For Torrey, the pathway to a utopia demanded the equal diffusion of knowledge, which would be responsible for lower crime, vice and eventually annihilating, "national and personal slavery."[29] In order to fulfill this dream, Torrey proposed that governments (local, state, or national) or collections of individuals should organize, "... *free circulating libraries*, to be equally accessible to all classes and sexes without discrimination."[30] Torrey's language not only demonstrated an egalitarian accessibility to his proposed library system, but also a desire that that equality would be extended to society. Yet why focus his efforts on children? Torrey hinged his plans for reforming society on children because of the belief that adults could shape their character and ideals, making a child easier than an adult to mold into the ideal person.

For all of his proclamations of freedom and his trust in youth as the key to creating his reformed society, Torrey showed little confidence in their ability to make decisions on their own. Torrey placed the selection of books, the vessels of his all-important

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28 C.W. Bardeen, *A Dictionary of Educational Biography, Giving More than Four Hundred Portraits and Sketches of Persons Prominent in Educational Work* (Syracuse: C.W. Bardeen, 1901; Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2011), 129, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/t1qf9b87k (Accessed December 9, 2012).

29 Dr. Jesse Torrey, *The Intellectual Torch*, 2nd ed. (Ballston SPA: Published by Author, 1817), 5, in *Miscellaneous Pamphlets 414*, Text, from the Library of Congress, Rare Book & Special Collection.

30 Ibid., 8. It is interesting to note that Torrey did not mention that all races should have equal access to his public libraries. Given that Torrey was an avid abolitionist, the absence of race is unusual, but perhaps Torrey alludes to this purpose when he claims that a general diffusion of knowledge will eliminate, "national and personal slavery."With this accomplished, perhaps Torrey believed that race would no longer be an issue.

knowledge, for his libraries in the hands of a "competent committee."[31] Who exactly Torrey intended to be a part of these committees is unclear, though he likely did not mean to include children. After all, society considered adults responsible for shaping children as they grew. By stipulating adult involvement in running his juvenile libraries Torrey demonstrated a common trope regarding children and books: youth could not be trusted to judge for themselves what materials were good or bad for them.

Juvenile Libraries in Practice

In reality, juvenile libraries represented a mixed bag of the expectations their sponsors had for them. The biggest area where youth libraries fell short was simply in their numbers. From 1797 to 1876 there were only thirty-six recorded juvenile libraries with twenty-four of them in the New England area alone.[32] With schools playing the leading role in children's education, it is likely that most of the populace did not consider social libraries necessary for children. Moreover, the establishment of these social libraries was designed to benefit only certain areas. As historian Manuel Lopez highlighted, though children in towns like West Cambridge and Salisbury where youth libraries had been founded, "...were bibliographically wealthy, thousands of their peers were conversely deprived."[33] Clearly, the low numbers of juvenile libraries limited the amount of children they could actually reach.

Motivated by the desire to extend education to children, the existing juvenile libraries did, however, adopt a policy that encouraged an almost universal accessibility. The Youth Division of the Apprentice Library Association of Brooklyn demonstrated this practice

31 Ibid., 9.
32 Haynes McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876*, 69-70.
33 Manuel D. Lopez, "Childrens Libraries: Nineteenth Century American Origins," *The Journal of Library History (1974-1987)* 11, no. 4 (Oct. 1976), 318, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed September 25, 2012).

through its organization and operations. Established in August 1823, the Youth Library allowed for free access to minors twelve and up with the only catch being a necessary purchase of the Library's catalog, which cost twenty-five cents.[34] In today's terms, that would equal approximately $5.70, still expensive for the time but a much more manageable price than the fees for the Charleston Library Society or even the Library Company of Philadelphia. The Library also encouraged use from both boys and girls although it gave preferential treatment to its male users. For example, it held separate user hours for boys and girls that allowed boys an extra two hours a week to access the Library.[35] In spite of this inequality, however, the fact that the Library recognized the need for girls to have access to books and provided for this need accordingly demonstrated its inclusive and egalitarian nature. Moreover, the Library's practice mirrored republican ideas regarding education that emphasized its value for both sexes, which further cemented its inclusive image.

Another area where juvenile libraries reflected educational expectations was in their book selection. Though few catalogs from early nineteenth century youth libraries remain, one from the Salisbury Youth Library demonstrates a close correlation to society's opinion on appropriate texts for the young. Keeping with educators' emphasis on the moral development of children, the Salisbury Library's collection included multiple books that focused on Christianity and virtue. Among these were titles like, *Christian's Pocket Library* and *Emblems of Morality*, books clearly aimed at shaping the character

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34 William J. Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries, Institutions, and Societies, in the United States, and British Provinces of North America*, (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & CO., 1859; Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2011), 241, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433000913065;view=1up;seq=5;q1=Brooklyn;start=1;size=10;page=search;num=i (Accessed November 14, 2012).
35 Ibid., 241.

and piety of youth.[36]

In addition, the book catalog contained several instructional texts, particularly on the subject of history. For instance, the catalog lists four of *Goldsmith's Histories*: Rome, Greece, England and Natural History.[37] The *Goldsmith* series on history was highly popular during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In fact, an article in *The Independent* noted that they were among Harvard Librarian Thaddeus M. Harris' pick of, "...some of the most esteemed publications in the English Language..." in 1793.[38] Besides being popular books, the selection of those particular titles bore an interesting link to educational trends at the time. Focusing on Greece and Rome corresponded to an interest in the Classics that pervaded formal schooling throughout the eighteenth and part of the nineteenth centuries. From their ties to formal education, it is easy to see how these books would have represented valuable informational texts to students.

The Salisbury Catalog also included several biographies, or *Lives*, ranging from Christ to Franklin.[39] Without knowing more information about these texts, it is difficult to understand their structure, content and why they seemed to be a popular choice for the Salisbury patrons. However, their presence could be interpreted in two possible ways. On the one hand, like *Goldsmith's Histories* biographies were and are representations of the past and as such carry some intellectual merit as history books, making them desirable to the Salisbury Library as informative texts. In addition, biographies could possibly have

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36 *A Catalogue of Books at the Youth's Library at Salisbury, Connecticut* (Boston: David Carlisle, 1806), 5. Early American Imprints no. S11321.
37 Ibid., 6.
38 "Best-Sellers of a Century Ago," *The Independent... Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts (1848-1921)* 90 (1917): 128, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed December 10, 2012).
39 *A Catalogue of Books at the Youth's Library*, 8.

been used as moral texts. Considering the presence of Christ and Franklin as subjects, it is easy to imagine that reading about these men would have been considered a mode of learning how to lead an upright life by example.[40]

Furthermore, the Salisbury Library catalog also contained several books tailored to each gender. Among these were *Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women* and *Fordyce's Addresses to Young Men*.[41] Each of these texts provided advice to young men and women on a variety of subjects like having a, "manly spirit, as opposed to effeminacy" for boys and dressing modestly for girls.[42] By dividing the sexes in his advice books, James Fordyce, a Presbyterian minister, presupposed a different set of behaviors for each gender. The text's subsequent presence at the Salisbury Library, then, implies a recognition, acceptance and desire to continue encouraging different rules of conduct for men and women. In other words, by having these books at their library, the Salisbury Library patrons worked to reinforce the divide between boys and girls, men and women in their society.

Finally, though contrary to many philosophies regarding appropriate reading material for children, the Salisbury Library also included a healthy dose of novels. Titles like

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40 Though this theory makes sense in the case of these two examples, I am not entirely convinced of its applicability on the whole. For example, the book list records a *Life of Mahomet*, which given the lack of information about the book, I am at a loss to explain. It could possibly be a book about the life of Muhammad, but the periodization seems out of place for this. It could also refer to Mahomet Weyonomon, an eighteenth century Native American chief. This seems the more likely of the two, especially considering that he was friendly with the British, but without more information about the book I do not know for certain and thus can only speculate as to why it would have been included in the library at all.

41 *A Catalogue of Books at the Youth's Library*, 6. Some readers might recognize *Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women* as the reading choice of one Mr. Collins to his cousins in Jane Austen's, *Pride and Prejudice*.

42 James Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, 2nd ed. (Boston: Manning & Loring, 1795; Open Library, n.d.), 191, http://archive.org/stream/addressestoyoung00fordrich#page/n11/mode/2up (accessed December 11, 2012); James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia, New York: M. Carey and I. Riley, 1809; Internet Archive, 2007), 22, http://www.archive.org/details/sermonstoyoungw00fordgoog (accessed December 11, 2012).

Robinson Crusoe and *The Vicar of Wakefield* represented this genre in the catalog.[43] Both

of these titles were incredibly popular during the early nineteenth century. *Robinson*

Crusoe underwent 100 American editions between 1774 and 1830 and *The Vicar of*

Wakefield was published five times in its author's lifetime alone.[44] Based on this, perhaps

the books' commensurate popularity made them the exception to the rule in the case of

the Salisbury Library.

Ultimately, contemporary societal ideas of childhood deeply influenced juvenile

social libraries. Grounded in republicanism and the democratic ideal, they encouraged

equal participation from children of all walks of life. With easier accessibility, however,

also came the notion of the fragility and malleability of youth, which led to a strict

regulation of what materials children could read and what they could not. In this way,

perhaps children's libraries were not always constructed just for the benefit of the youth.

Rather, by allowing influence over minds and hearts of children, juvenile social libraries

acted as a way for adults to quell their fears regarding the future of their families,

communities and the nation.

Apprentices and the Middle Class at the Turn of the Century

While juvenile social libraries remained minimal in their popularity during the early

nineteenth century, similar institutions organized for apprentice artisans and mechanics

exploded across the country during the 1820s and 1830s. Like juvenile libraries,

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43 *A Catalogue of Books at the Youth's Library*, 10, 12.
44 Thomas Keymer, introduction to *Robinson Crusoe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007; The College of Wooster Libraries, n.d.), viii, http://0-site.ebrary.com.dewey2.library.denison.edu/lib/wooster/docDetail.action (accessed December 2, 2012); Robert L. Mack, introduction to *The Vicar of Wakefield* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006; The College of Wooster Libraries, n.d.), vii, http://0-site.ebrary.com.dewey2.library.denison.edu/lib/wooster/docDetail.action?docID=10177954 (accessed December 2, 2012).

benefactors and young users founded these establishments for the benefit of the local young people though their membership aimed towards youth in their late teens and twenties. Moreover, unlike the former institutions, mercantile and mechanic libraries geared themselves towards a more specific class of users: the up-and-coming mechanics in the city.[45] This slightly different patronage catered to a series of contradicting powers that sought to use the libraries' influence for different ends. One competing set of issues was youth and age. The pull between the needs of young mechanics and the wishes of their often more adult sponsors created a set of institutions that contained sophisticated reading materials while they simultaneously still sought to control the environment of youth. At the same time, mercantile and mechanic libraries also represented tensions between their lower class users and middle class benefactors that made the establishments places of entertainment and potential sites of social reform.

In order to understand the development of mercantile/mechanic libraries, it is first necessary to relate their contextual history. Like juvenile libraries, ideas about youth influenced the development of mercantile/mechanic libraries. Many of these philosophies paralleled ideas about children. For instance, adults viewed youth as a malleable time in life equal to childhood. Historians John and Virginia Demos noted that nineteenth century writers constantly used words like "pliant," "plastic," and "formative" to describe youth, which again delineated a youth's susceptibility to outside influences.[46] Moreover, nineteenth century writers also viewed youth as the forerunner of adult character. As one

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45 In this thesis, I am using Ronald Walters definition of a mechanic as a class of, "people who were knowledgeable in a craft requiring special training and equipment." Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers 1815-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), 181.

46 John Demos and Virginia Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective," in *Childhood in America*, ed. Paula S. Fass and Mary Ann Mason (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 134.

writer commented in 1839, "During the eventful and critical period of youth... the character usually becomes fixed for life, and for the most part for eternity."[47] Mercantile/mechanic libraries responded to these notions about youth by using education to influence their users' character.

Education also deeply influenced the growth of mercantile/mechanic social libraries through two major events: the changing relationship between masters and apprentices and the middle class driven educational reform movement. Based in its European predecessor, master/apprentice contracts in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries constituted a symbiotic relationship. Typically, an apprentice was bound to his master to learn a specific trade from him while the master provided for his upkeep and care. Masters forbade apprentices from certain acts such as gambling, marriage and betraying their master's secrets.[48] The master's provision of formal education for his apprentice also constituted part of the deal. Often, this meant that a child would either attend school for a brief period of time to learn the basics in reading, writing and math or he would learn those skills from his master's family. Either way, both parties took the arrangement very seriously- in some cases, a master's failure to fulfill his part of the deal ended up in the case being taken to court.[49] The master's recognized obligation to his apprentice in matters of education illustrated the individualized cultivation that young mechanics expected to receive from their masters. In other words, the foundation of

47 F.A. Packard, *The Teacher Taught* (Philadelphia: American Sunday School Union, 1839), 87, quoted in Anne M. Boylan, "Growing up Female in Young America, 1800-1860," in *American Childhood: A Research Guide and Historical Handbook*, ed. Joseph M. Hawes and N. Ray Hiner (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 164.
48 W.J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 7-8.
49 Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 31.

master/apprentice relationships emphasized personal instruction on behalf of the master that improved his apprentice as a tradesman and person.

As the nineteenth century progressed, the nature of this relationship rapidly deteriorated due to economic changes and new technology. The early 1800s witnessed a variety of economic events and crises that led to the upheaval of the traditional apprentice/master contract. For instance, the Embargo Act of 1808 put many merchants out of business and the depression in 1819 likewise helped to create an atmosphere of economic instability. These events, as W.J. Rorabaugh noted, "... meant that masters were reluctant to commit themselves to the fixed, long-term labor supply that traditional apprenticeship implied... the apprentice," he continued, "had a similar concern. He had no desire to be exploited to learn a trade that could not be practiced profitably after it was learned."[50] Similarly, the advent of new technology on the industrial scene contributed to making traditional master/apprentice relationships unattractive. It became increasingly easy and cost efficient for masters to switch skilled labors for the unskilled and trade human workers for machines.[51] While these events did not signal the immediate end of traditional apprenticeships, their presence did highlight the changes taking place between masters and apprentices. This altered state creating a critical gap in apprentices' education, which social libraries could fill.

While the dynamics between master and apprentice continued to shift, young mechanics became increasing aware of the need for a novel source of education. Advances in printing and the rapidly increasing dissemination of knowledge through

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50 Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice*, 30-31.
51 Walters, *American Reformers*, 181.

print made books an easy source of information. Books on crafts could easily supplement and sometimes totally replace a master as the wellspring of information for an apprentice. As this occurred, it lowered the apprentice's opinion of his master, serving to further sever the traditional ties between both parties.[52] Apprentices' movement away from their masters as the sole source of information on their craft prepared the way for mercantile/mechanic libraries by placing a new emphasis on the self-educated man.

Though important to the development of mercantile/mechanic libraries, the changing relationship between masters and apprentices was not the only influence behind these institutions. Educational reform movements, mostly spurred by members of the middle class, also advanced libraries for mechanics. The common school movement, which took place between 1830 and the Civil War and spearheaded by men like Horace Mann and Henry Barnard, represented the most popular of these movements. Essentially, the common school movement grew out of the ideas of republican educators like Benjamin Rush and Thomas Jefferson, who, "... earlier argued in vain that state free schooling systems were essential to produce intelligent, disciplined citizens and to unify a diverse population."[53] Men like Mann and Barnard attempted to put Jefferson and Rush's ideas into practice by creating a system of statewide free schools.

Though mercantile/mechanic libraries predate the common school movement, many of the concerns that motivated educational reformers and the same driving need for universal education influenced their development. For many reformers, education represented a way to integrate the masses into Protestant American society.[54] This became

52 Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice*, 35.
53 Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic*, 61.
54 For a breakdown of Native Protestant ideology, see chapter 5 of Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983).

especially important as the layers of America's political and social body continued to grow and become more complex. For instance, the expanding enfranchisement of the country's citizens left many middle and upper class Americans concerned about the political future of the nation as it seemed to become increasingly in the hands of the uneducated masses.[55] As stated earlier, republican educators deemed educated citizenry as absolutely critical to the survival of the nation, where supposedly every voting citizen could have a voice in government. To witness the delicate balance of democracy being threatened by the presumably ignorant and thus easily manipulated public provoked middle and upper class Americans to provide a counter to the possible loss of democracy in the form of education.

Reformers also viewed education as a preventative and curative measure against what they viewed as a degrading society. As stated earlier, education constituted more than just academic or scholarly learning, but also consisted of moral training and socialization skills meant to create a responsible and informed citizen. An article in *The Religious Miscellany* from 1823 attributed education as a cure against growing poverty and crime in the country: "What so likely to prove effectual as an early education... This would be laying the axe (sic) at the root of the evil, and be the means of preventing many of our youth from becoming habitual idlers and public burdens."[56] The author of this text saw the potential of education as a transformative agent in his society, imbued with the ability to uplift and shape the nation into a better place. And his opinion was not a

55 Tom Glynn, "Books for a Reformed Republic: The Apprentices' Library of New York City, 1820-1865," *Libraries & Culture* 34, no. 4 (Fall, 1999): 350, http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed September 20, 2012).
56 The Miscellany G, "Education.-- No. 4: On the Principle of Connecting Science with Useful Labor," *The Religious Miscellany, Containing Information Relative to the Church of Christ; Together with Interesting Literary, Scientific and Political Intelligence (1823-1824)* 2, 10 (September 26, 1823): 159, American Periodicals, http:/search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (Accessed, January 16, 2013).

singular one. Many other social reformers emphasized education as a means of "collective restraint" that would influence youth away from a life of crime and shape them into respectable adults.[57] Because reformers valued what they understood as the potential of education, they pushed to institutionalize it for members of the lower class whenever and wherever they could.

Similarly, the number of immigrants coming to America also motivated reformers to make changes to the public educational system. Between 1776 and 1820, 250,000 immigrants arrived on American soil. Within the next four decades, that number would skyrocket to over 5 million.[58] As these numbers continued to increase, reformers faced the challenge of integrating a plethora of multi-cultural immigrants into American society. To counter this problem, reformers pushed education, mostly through the common school movement, as a means to "Americanize" newcomers to the country.[59] Reformers again viewed the preservation of the nation as one of the key motivating factors behind this movement. Benjamin Labaree, a former president of Middlebury College, commented on the dangers connected to an ignorant immigrant class and the necessity of their education to be successful American citizens. In an address before the American Institute in 1849, he questioned the country's fate saying, "Shall these adopted citizens become a part of the body politic, and firm supporters of liberal institutions, or will they prove to our republic what the Goths and Huns were to the Roman empire? The answer to this question depends in a great degree upon the wisdom and fidelity of our

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57 Rury, *Education and Social Change*, 64.
58 *INS Yearbook* (1991), 13, 47, quoted in Brian N. Fry, *Nativism and Immigration: Regulating the American Dream* (New York: LFB Scholarly Publishing LLC, 2007), 39.
59 Joel Spring, *The American School: From the Puritans to No Child Left Behind*, 7th ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 2008), 106-107.

teachers..."[60] Labaree's concern articulated a trend that had begun decades earlier. For him

and many others, education remained the solution to keep the nation prosperous and

independent. Though reformers commonly chose the schoolhouse to act out their

mission, other institutions, like public lecture halls and libraries, similarly became

products of their influence.

Mechanic Libraries- The Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association of Boston

Mercantile and mechanic libraries arrived amidst the swiftly eroding

master/apprentice relationship and the social reformers' crusade for a more public

education system. Though geared towards similar users, mercantile and mechanic

libraries differed mainly in their organization. For the most part, older businessmen

usually founded mechanic libraries for younger patrons. On the other hand, merchant

clerks typically established mercantile libraries themselves.[61] In addition, each type of

library had different educational outlets at their inception. Unlike mechanic libraries,

which drew upon a number of different features, mercantile libraries focused first on the

library itself and later added museums, discussion groups and the like.[62] Due to their

different natures, I treat them as separate entities with special attention to the organization

of each establishment and the effects this generated on its user-ship and book collections.

Mechanic libraries began to spread across the United States during the third decade

of the nineteenth century. In 1820 alone, individual benefactors and sponsoring

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60 Benjamin Labaree, "The Education Demanded by the Peculiar Character of Our Civil Institutions," in
    The Lectures Delivered Before the American Institute of Instruction, at Montpelier, Vt., August, 1849;
    Including the Journal of Proceedings and a List of the Officers (Ticknor, Reed, & Fields, Boston: 1850),
    27-58, quoted in Lawrence A. Cremin, *The American Common School: An Histor Conception* (New
    York: Bureau of Publications Teachers College Columbia Univeristy, 1951), 45.
61 McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876*, 71.
62 Sidney Ditzion, "Mechanics' and Mercantile Libraries," in *Reader in American Library History*, ed.
    Michael H. Harris (Washington, D.C.: Microcard Editions, 1971), 76.

organizations established four mechanic libraries and, by 1825, at least seven more joined them.[63] One of the first founded was the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association of Boston. William Wood, a Boston merchant who was heavily involved in setting-up several mechanic libraries, along with the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association established the Library Association on February 22nd, 1820. Intended mainly for the young men of the city, the Library opened up membership, "...to all Mechanic and other Apprentices who shall produce to the Librarian certificates from their Masters that they are worthy of confidence."[64] Interestingly, in the first few years of its existence, it appears that the Library did not require any monetary requirements from its potential users, a vast divergence from other earlier social libraries. However, the fact that the Library Association did ask for vouchers from Masters on behalf of their Apprentices implied an age-authoritative organization; young users could not enter the Library on their own merit, but needed the approval of an older member of the business world. This trend continued throughout the Library's existence, even as it continued to evolve.

Established mechanics heavily involved themselves in the operations of the Library for about the first decade of its existence. Until 1832, the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, an organization created near the end of the eighteenth century for the promotion of fellowship between practitioners of the mechanic arts, governed the Library. From its founding, the Mechanic Association encouraged an older membership. According to its Constitution, those eligible for membership had to, "... be of twenty-one years of age; - if a mechanic, he shall be a master-workman; - if a manufacturer, he shall

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63 McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876*, 70.
64 C. Seymour Thompson, *Evolution of the American Public Library 1653-1876* (Washington D.C.: The Scarecrow Press, 1952), 82.

be a proprietor of a manufactory, or a superintendent thereof..."[65] In modern terms, this

meant that a proposed member had to either be a Master himself (the top of the artisan

hierarchy) or own/manage a manufactory. By the time the organization and Wood

established the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association, the cream of Boston's

business world helped to run the Charitable Association. For instance, the 1820 records

for the Association listed Benjamin Russell as a member of the Apprentice Library

committee. During his lifetime, Russell was a printer of a semiweekly newspaper, had

been elected to represent Boston in the state's House of Representatives and was a

member of the State Senate.[66] Likewise, John Cotton, another listed member of the

committee also appeared to have dabbled in politics with a failed run for the State

Senate.[67] Essentially, these were men who would have been known and well-respected in

their community. Placing them in charge of the Library Association reinforced its early

age-authoritative organization by emphasizing the authority of older more established

mechanics over newcomers to the occupation.

    Even after the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association transferred complete

management of the Library to the apprentice users, an age hierarchy still defined the

institution despite its altered organization. Under the new management, potential users no

longer needed a certificate of confidence from their Masters, but the new rules instead

asked to help offset the cost of upkeep for the Library by paying 1$ per annum as a

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65 Joseph T. Buckingham, *Annals of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1853), 6, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044004440756/ (Accessed January 18, 2012).
66 Boston Advertiser, "Hon. Benjamin Russell," *Maine Farmer*, 16 January 1845, 3, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 19, 2013).
67 "John Cotton, Esq.," *The New-England Galaxy and United States Literary Advertiser*, 16 April 1824, 2-3, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 19, 2013).

subscription rate.[68] In addition to this change, apprentice members took on positions of leadership within the Library's management. Members could apply for the positions of President, Vice President, Treasure and First Librarian at the age of eighteen and all other offices were available to apprentices age sixteen and up.[69] As before, official membership ended at the age of twenty-one, however, former members could apply for an Honorary Membership, which would last until the age of twenty-four, or invoke past membership rights, which would give them access to the Library without any voting power in the Association's affairs.[70] Though these rules gave the youth of the city almost unlimited control over their Library, the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association still maintained a watchful eye over the organization. Certain "Provisos" in the Library's rules gave the Mechanic Association the ability to inspect the Library whenever they saw fit and even resume control over it under the right circumstances.[71] Consequently, even though the new Library Association appeared to be independent of its age-based organization, the original benefactors of the institution continued to make sure that it operated within their expectations.

　　Throughout its early history, writings about the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association emphasized its value as an educational institution, often mirroring the ideas of early educational reformers. For instance, writers on the Library Association often

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68 *Report of the Committee on the Library in Relation to the Mechanic Apprentices Library Association: Made at a Meeting of the Mass. Charitable Mechanic Association, April, 1859, and Ordered to be Printed for the Information of the Members* (Boston: Office of the Bunker Hill Aurora, 1859; Hathi Trust, 2012), 4, http://babel.hathitrust.org/ (Accessed December 3, 2012). Converted to today's rates, 1$ would equal about 27.66$.

69 *Catalogue of Books of the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association, with the Constitution, By-Laws, &c.* (Boston: Damrell & Moore, Printers, 1851), art. 2, sec. 2.

70 Ibid., art. 1-2, sec. 2,5,6.

71 *Report of the Committee on the Library*, 4.

described its potential to create social reform in a community. One letter to the editor on the Library commended its positive influence over young mechanics, saying, "No one, I think, who is at all observant of the signs of the times, and of the respect involuntary paid to intelligence and moral worth, can hesitate for a moment, to enrol (sic) his name in the ranks of those who prefer the pleasures of an intellectual pastime, to the dangerous allurements and tendencies of useless and foolish indulgences."[72] The author of this text believed that the Library Association provided the youth of Boston with a productive way of spending their free time, thereby keeping them away from other pastimes that kept them idle or morally unclean. The basis of his argument linked to the social belief that youth and children were malleable beings who needed constant tending to keep them on the "right" path. The mechanic library provided a way to direct their attention towards education, a tool that would keep them out of trouble and shape them into useful citizens. Furthermore, by emphasizing education's respectability in society the author of the article made it a desirable goal for youth, again subtly pressuring Boston's apprentices towards spending their free time at the Library

The same article further praised the Library's education for apprentice mechanics by describing its ability to elevate the young men above their social class. The author emphasized that the Library will, "... cause the *mechanics*- the muscle and sinews of our country- to become as intelligent, and as much respected, as any other class of citizen."[73] In a way, this statement seems almost egalitarian in its motivation, however I believe that the author intended not to erase class barriers but rather to promote education for a

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72 A Member, "Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association," *Christian Watchman*, 1 January 1836, 17, no. 1, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 23, 2013).
73 Ibid.

predetermined end. For the reformers who advocated for accessible education, this end was upholding the democratic process. Citizens needed to be able to think for themselves to defend the nation against tyranny and keep it moving forward. As a result, education was necessary for even the lowest participant in citizenship.[74] Yet, the author complicated this notion by labeling mechanics as, "the muscle and sinews" of the nation. The muscles and sinews of a body do not think or determine a course of action; instead, they react to what the brain signals them to do. Equating mechanics with this image diminished the liberation their education could afford them and allocated it to a specific purpose.

Fascinatingly enough, the author of this text does not appear to have been a concerned member of the public or an older mechanic. Rather, he signed his article simply as "A Member", indicating that he probably was an apprentice user of the Library. This does not diminish the implications of his reformer rhetoric or even his condescending view towards his fellow mechanics. Instead it demonstrates how the ideas of a society could be internalized by anyone. Furthermore, the author's identity illustrates that a specific group of people did not always represent the divisions between ideas about youth, age and social classes, but rather the ideals themselves constituted the divide.

Books in the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association

Contradictions between youth and age and between classes defined the operations of and writings about the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association. The ideal of a controlled environment for youth and the reforming power of education gave the Association a condescending view towards its potential users. On the other hand, the

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74 As mentioned in chapter two, citizenship acted as the qualifier for republican education. As a result, many educators excluded most African Americans from their visions of public education. For more on the role of race in nineteenth century education, see Hilary J. Moss, *Schooling Citizens: The Struggle for African American Education in Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

Library was, in theory, under the control of the apprentices themselves, providing them with a fair amount of self-determination in their affairs. The actual books of the Library represented a conglomeration of both of these perspectives. When the Library first opened in 1820, it contained roughly 1,500 volumes.[75] Sixteen years later, that number had increased to 2,500.[76]

Much like juvenile social libraries, the initial books of the Library Association emphasized instructive texts, both scholastically and morally, over more entertaining books like novels. Included in the original collection of materials were, "... one hundred Murray's English Reader, (and) Twelve duodecimo Bibles..."[77] *Murray's English Reader*, a popular grammar guide and schoolbook during the first half of the nineteenth century, represented the Library's early educational objective through both its content and numbers (they accounted for nearly seven percent of the collection alone). As an instructional text, its status as a schoolbook provides an easy justification for its presence in the collection. Yet, the fact that *Murray's English Readers* were intended for an elementary audience, at least intellectually, also implies that the original government of the Library Association did not have high expectations for the level of education a potential apprentice user should have coming into the Library. In other words, by keeping the texts simple, the Library Association's board predicted that they would have to almost start from scratch with their apprentice patrons and build an education up from there. The twelve duodecimo Bibles similarly support a very basic intent for the apprentices'

75 "Apprentices' Library," *New-England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*, 25 February 1820, 3, 124, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 21, 2013).
76 A Member, "Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association"
77 "Apprentices' Library," *New-England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*, 25 February 1820, 3, 124, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 21, 2013).

education. As the bedrock of Christianity, *The Bible* provided the fundamentals of moral and religious education. This coupled with their frequency in the Library suggests a desire on behalf of the Library's directors to propagate Christian virtue and understanding in its purest form.

While the governors of the Library Association made provisions for basic instructional texts in matters of writing and morality, they simultaneously pushed for a wide collection of scientific works. As one newspaper article put it, "... they (the Library) intend to monopolize most of the standard works in the science of mechanics, and other branches of natural and experimental philosophy."[78] The wording of this statement indicates that scientific thinking, in all its forms but most strongly in relation to the mechanical arts, dominated the bulk of materials owned by the Library. For the apprentices, the emphasis on mechanical science tapped into the tradition of practical education. Like Franklin and his associates at the Library Company of Philadelphia, the directors of the Library Association meant it to be a way for young mechanics to learn their trade and so advance in their occupations through superior knowledge. As Solomon Southwick stated to the apprentices of Albany, New York on the opening of their own library not a year after the Boston had gained hers, "To excel and to shine in your respective callings, ought to be the ruling passion of you all..."[79] The early collection of Boston's books clearly channeled this mentality by setting-up the means for its users to gain a practical education. Combined with the moral and basic learning skills implied by the Library's other informative texts, these three facets of education represented the

78 Ibid.
79 Solomon Southwick, *Address Delivered by Appointment, In the Episcopal Church At the Opening of the Apprentices' Library. In the City of Albany, January 1, 1821* (Albany: John O Cole, 1821), 12, in *Miscellaneous Pamphlets 1070*, Text, from the Library of Congress, Rare Book & Special Collections.

training republican educators and early educational reformers advocated to create a well-rounded citizen.

Though the Library Association put a strong emphasis on non-fiction texts early on in its life, it was not without any literary materials. For instance, at the Library's opening, it contained, "... half a dozen copies in boards of 'Demetrius, the hero of the Don'..."[80] An epic poem by Alexis Eustaphieve, "Demetrius" represented a sharp contrast to the obviously practical texts of *Murray's English Reader* and scientific works. In spite of the book's genre, its presence was not necessarily incompatible with the educational mission of the Library. A review of the poem in the *Ladies Literary Museum* commended the work and its author for creating characters that, "... bear honorable testimony to the author's skill as a moral painter."[81] By describing Eustaphieve's work in this way, the critic implied that the poem had merit in its moral lesson, making it a potential instructional text for the Library's apprentice users.

By 1851, the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association expanded to encapsulate a more sophisticated collection of materials as well as a richer literary selection. As before, the Library included a wide variety of mechanic specific works, such as the *Domestic Manufacturer's Assistant*.[82] Yet, more elaborate, detailed books outside the manufacturing sciences also swelled the shelves of the Library. For instance, the Association contained a number of volumes on specific branches of science, like conchology, as well as higher-level language instruction, like dictionaries for learning

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80 "Apprentices' Library" *New-England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*
81 "Criticism: 'DEMETRIUS, THE HERO OF THE DON," *Ladies Literary Museum; or, Weekly Repository*, February 21, 1818, 2, 21, American Periodicals http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (January 21, 2013).
82 *Catalogue of Books of the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association*, 20.

Latin and Greek.[83] Overall, it bore a striking resemblance to the Library Company of

Philadelphia's selection by similarly encouraging studies in a variety of fields.

Literature, however, made the Library Association very different from juvenile

libraries and earlier social libraries by carving a popular niche for itself in the institution's

collection. The Library's 1851 catalog listed numerous volumes of literature, some of

which are still quite popular today. Among the more famous authors listed were Charles

Dickens, the Brontë Sisters, Jane Austen, Alexander Dumas, Washington Irving and, of

course, Sir Walter Scott.[84] Along with prose literature, poetry and drama also flourished in

the Library. Collections by Shakespeare, Homer, Ovid, Chaucer, Edgar Allen Poe, Lord

Byron and John Keats represented this genre.[85] Though it is difficult to tell how much of

this collection began after the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association transferred

management of the Library to the apprentices, the large collection of literature likely

reflected the tastes of its younger members. For many older mechanics and like-minded

reformers, novels, poetry and drama wasted valuable learning time and did little to

improve society. Solomon Southwicke, for example, cautioned his apprentice audience to

put instruction before entertainment in reading matters and likewise vehemently criticized

Lord Byron's poetry, warning his listeners not to take it seriously.[86] The apprentices, on

the other hand, often preferred literature to the other heavier works in the Library. Joseph

Harrison, a former apprentice library user, commented that he, "... longed for books that

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83 Ibid., 19, 21, 59. Conchology is the study of mollusk shells.
84 Ibid., 40-51. Sir Walter Scott and Miss Edgeworth, an Irish novelist, appear to have been so popular
   amongst the apprentice users that they were issued their own sections in the 1851 catalog just for their
   works.
85 Ibid., 52-55.
86 Southwicke, *Address Delivered by Appointment*, 34-35.

lightened the mind after hours of toil, rather than weighed it down..."[87] Consequently, the

Library Association's emphasis on literature was likely an interjection on behalf of its

users. This demonstrated that the apprentices did have some control over the content of

their Library although the older members of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic

Association still kept a close eye on the organization, keeping the amount of agency its

new directors had limited.

A clear reformist undertone, however, underpinned the literary desires of the

Association's youthful users. For each "light" reading that the Library owned, they

possessed several texts that reflected contemporary reformist issues. For instance, the

Library contained multiple works on topics such as abolition, temperance and gender

issues, each a hot-button topic of the day.[88] Though these subjects certainly had a viable

presence, the keynote topics for the Library dealt with education, morality and

republicanism. Books such as *Practical Education*, *Pursuit of Knowledge under*

Difficulties, *Constitutional Republicanism*, and *Moral Improvement of Mankind* seem

tailor-made to fit reformist ideals.[89] Furthermore, their frequency within the Library's

collection highlights that reformers still had a hand in influencing what the apprentices

read. Taken with the other genres detailed in the catalog, this reveals that the Library

absorbed input and opinions from users, older mechanics and reformers alike. Though

intended for youth, it nevertheless boasted a sophisticated collection similar to Franklin

and his friends'. Though initiated by middle class reformers, it also catered to the desires

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87 Joseph Harrison to J.B. Lippincott, Oct. 12, 1863, JH Letterbooks, HSP (transcription courtesy of
    Charles Royster), quoted in W.J. Rorabaugh, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age
    in America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 122.
88 *Catalogue of Books of the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association*, 56, 62, 69.
89 Ibid., 58, 66, 68, 69.

of its lower class patrons. As a result, no single idea or group held sway over the entirety of the Library, making it both a tool for social change and the product of it.

Mercantile Libraries- New York Mercantile Library Association

Mercantile social libraries met with a popularity similar to mechanic libraries, but on a smaller scale. In the cities where they did have a presence, such as New York, Boston and Philadelphia, they were very popular and not just with merchants but with the local community as well.[90] Yet, they never achieved a powerful numerical presence in the country. Overall, there were only thirty-five identifiable mercantile libraries in the United States before 1876.[91] And of these, only a few are still around today.

The New York Mercantile Library Association, one of the first of these institutions established, is still in operation. Founded in 1820 through the efforts of William Wood, the early members of the Mercantile Association, unlike the Boston Mechanics' Library, managed their Library from the start. In fact, although older merchants in the community could use the Library's resources, only merchant clerks were eligible to hold office in the association as president or vice president.[92] This gave the users themselves more leeway in conducting all of the Library's affairs, a very different set-up than the Mechanics' Library Association. Later on in the decade, the clerk officers would be entirely responsible for the logistical operations of the Library and the merchant board of directors would only be responsible for the financial aspects of the institution.[93]

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90 McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876*, 72.
91 Ibid.
92 "The Mercantile Library Association held their third...," *New-York Spectator*, December 25, 1823, 19th Century U.S. Newspapers http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/0/1/1/purl=rc6_NCNP?sw_aep=ohlnk162 (accessed December 2, 2012).
93 Noreen Tomassi, "A History of the Mercantile Library of New York," *The Center for Fiction*, http://centerforfiction.org/about/history/ (accessed, January 26, 2013).

Furthermore, like the Mechanics' Library in Boston, the Mercantile Library in New York was meant for the youth of the city. The Library's Constitution required that potential members be between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six, which, while slightly older than the members of the Mechanics' Library, still meant that not only were the users running the Library, but they were youths as well.[94]

Other membership requirements for the Mercantile Library resembled the Mechanics' Library. In both cases, up-and-coming mercantile clerks and apprentices had easier access in joining the ranks of the Library, especially when in comparison to its predecessors like the Charleston Library Society. For the Mercantile Library of New York, full membership depended upon four things. As mentioned earlier, a potential member had to be between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six. Along with this, they also had to be engaged in mercantile business, most likely as a clerk, and, upon their application, be approved by the board of directors for admittance.[95] This screening process guaranteed that the Library's interests would constantly be in-line with the mercantile clerks of the city, for whom the institution was intended. Moreover, it also assured that the clerks selected to be members would take their responsibilities seriously and preserve the materials of the Library for other users. Finally, membership to the Mercantile Library also necessitated a one dollar initiation fee and another subsequent semiannual fee of one dollar.[96] Since the Library did not have the luxury of a parent organization or a wealthy philanthropic backer, it needed its users' financial support to operate.

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94 "At a Meeting of the Subscribers...," *The National Advocate, for the Country*, December 5, 1820, 19th Century U.S. Newspapers http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/0/1/1/purl=rc6_NCNP? sw_aep=ohlnk162 (accessed December 1, 2012).
95 Ibid.
96 Ibid.

Despite its user-based leadership and fairly fluid entrance requirements, the New

York Mercantile Library Association still catered to reformist ideals and age-authoritative

language in its rhetoric about the Library's purpose. Like the Mechanics' Library,

education for its users was the Mercantile Library's main mission. The preamble to the

institution's constitution described the purpose of its early members, "... to extend...

(their)... information upon mercantile and other subjects of general utility; promote a

spirit of useful enquiry (sic)..."[97] By highlighting the desire for education and learning in

the preamble to their constitution, the clerks of the Mercantile Library placed it as the

driving force behind the establishment's existence. In addition, this text illustrates that the

Library's founders wanted it to be practical in the type of knowledge it provided. By

emphasizing applicable studies, the members of the Association demonstrated that they

wanted an education that could be used to shape them into better merchants and better

people, an ideal that is strikingly similar to that of the reformists.

Further texts concerning the Mercantile Library also highlighted the transformative

power of education, but coupled it with the need to guide the development of youth. How

the City's youth spent their free time concerned many citizens, who complained that, "In

a large and populace city... too many (young men) ha(d) become the votaries of vice and

depravity..."[98] New Yorkers saw the Mercantile Library as a counter to this problem,

literally a stand-in for other more degrading types of entertainment. As one early account

of the Library put it, "We are not to resign the desk for the theater or the gambling table...

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97 *Systematic Catalogue of Books in the Collection of the Mercantile Library Association of the City of New York: with a General Index, and One of Dramatic Pieces; Together with an Appendix; Containing the Constitution, and the Rules and Regulations of the Association* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1837; Google Books, 2006), 305, http://books.google.com/books?id=i23ArkD-zjYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s (accessed January 23, 2012).
98 "At the Meeting of the Subscribers..." *The National Advocate, for the country*, December 5, 1820.

but to direct our efforts to the accomplishment of the best and noblest of objects...”[99]

Here, the Library was depicted as so desirable that it could turn youth away from dangerous allurements and thereby put them on a higher more moral path. Moreover, the very fact that the citizens of New York believed they needed such an institution for their youth demonstrates that they felt responsible for guiding younger citizens in the first place. In a way, this removed any form of agency that youth had in regards to themselves. The Mercantile Library represented a need to provide youth with an alternative form of entertainment, signifying their presumed inability to do so for themselves and that the merchants and older citizens behind such establishments inherently knew what was best for them.

Writings about the Mercantile Library Association additionally mirrored educational reformists' ideals by linking the Library with the preservation of a healthy United States. At the end of his address to the Library's members, author Gabriel Disosway connected the pursuit of learning with the development of patriotism. He then urged his listeners to become active members in the Republic and to use their times and talents in service of the country.[100] In doing so, Disosway expanded the purpose of the education that the clerks were pursuing. Instead of merely studying to better themselves or even their communities, Disosway illustrated that the merchants-to-be owed part of their time to the nation. By instilling this sense of responsibility in his audience, Disosway attempted to cultivate a generation of conscientious citizens who would take the future of America seriously.

99 Ibid.
100 "Mercantile Library Association," *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald* 4, no. 22 (Jan. 29, 1830): 87, American Periodicals, http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 26, 2013).

Books in the New York Mercantile Library Association

Like the Mechanics' Library of Boston, both education and entertainment defined the New York Mercantile Library's book collection. For the most part, the sheer number of volumes that the Library owned can account for its wide variety and depth. In fact, though the institution started out with only 700 books, by 1837 that number had exploded to 14,500.[101] The collection's mere quantity lent itself to a greater probability of diversity. However, there was also an element of deliberation behind the Library's collection that reflected the reading interests of its users. The large and incredibly popular number of prose fiction, drama and poetry volumes that the Library possessed most obviously attests to this conclusion. Just like the Boston Mechanics' Library, the Mercantile Association's catalog listed page after page of fiction titles, many of which the members themselves wanted.[102] Some scholars have viewed this trend as evidence that education did not play any part in the Library's book collection. For example, library science professor Anthony Thomas Kruzas argued that, on the whole, mercantile libraries did not pursue an educational agenda in their collections.[103] This thesis not only completely disregards overtly educational rhetoric related to mercantile libraries, but it also ignores hundreds and even thousands of other titles in these institutions with educational intentions. Examining the New York Mercantile's collection as a whole illustrates that the Library did possess educational texts that were highly sophisticated, practical and sometimes even specialized.

The Library demonstrated a high level of refinement in its selections through the

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101 *Systematic Catalogue of Books*, iii-iv.
102 Ibid., 206-255.; Tomassi, "A History of the Mercantile Library of New York"
103 Anthony Thomas Kruzas, *Business and Industrial Libraries in the United States, 1820-1940* (New York: Special Libraries Association, 1965), 20-21.

number of books it had in foreign languages. In this area, it far outstripped juvenile

collections and the Boston Mechanics' Library. For instance, one page alone in the list

recorded five volumes with titles in another language whereas the Mechanics' catalog

only listed one foreign title in the whole collection.[104] The difference between the two

institutions highlights an assumption on behalf of the Mercantile Association that their

users would be able to read such texts and also have a desire to do so. Moreover, foreign

language books presented an intellectual challenge to the users to stretch themselves

beyond the comforts of their mother tongue, which certainly qualified as an educational

exercise.

Books on practical subjects also highlighted the Library's emphasis on education.

The word "useful" in the titles of books simply riddled its way through the section in the

catalog on Arts and Sciences.[105] Its constant presence intimates a desire on behalf of the

Library's members to provide books that contained applicable knowledge to incoming

readers. In this case, many of the books had to do with science and manufacturing, which

further made the information available explicitly useful to the Library's expected

audience. The catalog also listed an entire section of books that had to do with self-

education.[106] Dedicating a subsection of the Library's collection to this subject

emphasizes the value that the members placed on being able to learn how to learn. It also

shows a desire to spread the importance of being well taught to visitors to the Library.

As much as the Mercantile Library's collection stressed the practical in its

educational texts, it also encouraged research into specialized and sometimes even

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104 Ibid., 136.; *Catalogue of Books of the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association*, 22.
105 *Catalogue of Books of the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association*, 185-191.
106 Ibid., 134.

completely irrelevant subjects. For example, the book collection recorded several texts related to the study of phrenology and physiognomy.[107] Though serious branches of study during this time period, they certainly did not have anything to do with manufacturing or mercantile sciences. Yet, they provided a way for zealous students to broaden their depth of knowledge. Similarly, the Library Association's healthy selection of fine art texts had little relevancy to many Library users.[108] However, they did give readers a taste of culture. In both cases, the Library's inclusion of these types of texts (both practical and not) demonstrated an appeal for learning and not just entertainment.

Though it is difficult to determine the popularity of non-fiction texts, the fact that they constituted a significant portion of the Mercantile Library's total collection reveals that reading for education and learning was certainly an option at the institution. Thus, despite the differences in leadership between mechanic and mercantile libraries, the latter establishments did not completely cater to the stereotype of lower class reading desires. Also, though more independent from the involvement of older businessmen, mercantile libraries too suffered from prejudices regarding youth. In the speeches to the young clerks and in the works written about the Library, authors and speakers constantly referenced the guiding power of the institution as a way to keep young men from slipping into degrading habits and as a way to produce constructive contributing citizens.

Both juvenile and mercantile/mechanic social libraries displayed society's belief in the preventative and curative power of books and education. Targeted towards a youthful public, the rhetoric surrounding these types of institutions encouraged a lack of agency in

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107 Ibid., 128-129. Phrenology is the study of the skull to determine personality and characteristics.
   Physiognomy is the study of the face and facial features to determine personality and characteristics.
108 Ibid., 255-57

reading choices for its principle users while placing directional care in the hands of a supposedly wiser, more adult leadership. For juvenile libraries especially, the educational requirements deemed necessary to build moral, respectable and patriotic adults determined book selection, not user preference. As the Boston Mechanic Library grew more democratic in its organization, user opinion on books became more pertinent, which the inclusion of more works of fiction often reflected. However, the institution's catalog still carried educational undertones directed specifically at the types of patrons who frequented the library. Whereas much of this had to do with location in Philadelphia and Charleston during the colonial period, occupation, attitudes towards youth, and social class defined overarching patterns for the Mechanic Library. The New York Mercantile Library displayed similar sensibilities regarding its user-ship by absorbing reformist ideas regarding the value of institutional texts and youth and channeling it in its book selection. Overall, educational standards for each targeted public had just as much and sometimes even more influence in determining book selection then user preference did.

Juvenile and mercantile/mechanic libraries also demonstrated that social libraries were not merely reflectors of social change. Instead they acted as a medium of exchange. In each of these institutions, reformists used the library as a tool to forward their educational imperative. As a result, social libraries for children, clerks and apprentices influenced their society by transmitting ideas about education, citizenship and leading a moral life to the public. Similarly, mercantile and mechanics' libraries helped to popularize fiction as a source of entertainment by providing easy access to it. So as much as society shaped the organization and content of these institutions, juvenile, mercantile

and mechanic social libraries equally shaped the world around them through the people with which they came in contact.

Finally, social libraries for children and youth demonstrated another stage in the evolution of education and accessibility in social libraries' history. Building off of republican educators and reformers, juvenile and mercantile/mechanic libraries turned their educational purposes from nation-building to nation-keeping. Inspired by contemporary philosophies about youth and children, these social libraries sought to uphold America's future by preventing bad habits from growing in their users and encouraging responsibility and respectability. Moreover, the easy accessibility of juvenile and mercantile/mechanic libraries completed the vision of mass education for which republican educators advocated. But perhaps it was too late; the later momentum of the common school movement swept aside social libraries as the central sites of education for youth, all but dooming them to obscurity.

Lasting Impressions: Social Libraries, Public Libraries and Everyone's Fears

> "Books. People never really stop loving books. Fifty-first century. By now you've got holovids, direct-to-brain downloads, fiction mist. But you need the smell. The smell of books, Donna. Deep breath!"
> *-Doctor Who*

For over two hundred years, education defined the mission of social libraries. Through their rhetoric and book selection, members of social libraries held the pursuit of education aloft as the standard to which their institution ultimately appealed. However, the characteristics and implications of education constantly evolved in response to social and political factors such as class, age and nationhood. In the days of Benjamin Franklin, location played a major role in defining the educational purposes of social libraries by shaping a library around regional characteristics. The Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Society's relationships with education followed a pattern that directly corresponded to each Library's unique regional view on education and society in general. Furthermore, issues of accessibility and the Libraries' rhetoric about education often created contradictions between who Charleston and Philadelphia claimed their education was for and who they actually benefited.

During the Revolution and the antebellum period, the task of nation building disrupted the regional trend. While many libraries continued to serve a distinct geographical location, they also expanded to encompass a new common national identity. Although social libraries adopted republican views on education, their form, largely preserved through their activity during the War, continued to maintain its colonial exclusivity. As a result, social libraries did not appeal to educators as sites of mass

education, a position that schools held instead.

By the 1820s, social libraries started to change their orientation from providing service mainly to the adult middle/upper class towards serving children and the lower class. Channeling the ideals of republicanism, juvenile libraries and mercantile/mechanic libraries pandered specifically to the perceived needs of youth with the aim of shaping them into responsible and respectable citizens. Moreover, mercantile/mechanic libraries tapped into educational reformers' philosophy of cross-class public education by minimizing membership requirements and emphasizing the utility of libraries for the lower class, making them more accessible and appealing to the bottom half of society. Consequently, as social libraries developed throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, their patterns of organization increasingly reflected the democratization of education associated with republican ideals.

Social libraries' evolving educational aims also influenced the types of books directors and members sought for their collection. The holdings of colonial Philadelphia and Charleston's libraries correlated to the educational traditions of each area and to their members' background. After the Revolution and into the nineteenth century, book selection for juvenile and mercantile/mechanic libraries mirrored the ideals of childhood and republicanism by avoiding novels and encouraging books that promoted scholarly knowledge, moral development and an awareness of the duties of citizenship. The strong connection between education and book selection further refutes the belief that user preference and popularity predominately dictated how libraries selected their books. While user preference certainly had a hand in influencing book selection, education

heavily motivated why people wanted social libraries, creating a desire for reading material that would correspond to each library's unique educational environment.

Although social and political changes certainly influenced the educational purposes and, consequently, the book selections of social libraries, these institutions did not passively reflect their environments. Rather, social libraries helped to shape society by reinforcing preexisting social constructs and acting as tools for social change. In Philadelphia and Charleston, social libraries based their rules and books on the educational traditions and socioeconomic systems of their cities. In doing so, they added to the existing constructs of their town, thereby stabilizing the character and mentality of their respective cities. Similarly, educational reformers actively used the mercantile/mechanic libraries of the nineteenth century to foster their vision of social up-lift for the lower class. Thus, both cases demonstrate that social libraries acted as creators and followers of social change.

Moreover, the social libraries of colonial, Revolutionary and antebellum America provide insight into their societies by highlighting the concerns of the individual and society. In the Library Company of Philadelphia, the institution's emphasis on practical education and social up-lift displayed the individual concerns of economic and social advancement. Likewise, the writings of the Charleston Library Society illustrated social concerns through the founders' fear of the breakdown of European civilization in the Colony. Furthermore, in the post-Revolutionary period, social libraries began to mirror leaders' concerns about the future of the new-born nation and the role the public would play in its governing.

From their inception in Philadelphia through the mid-nineteenth century, social

libraries constituted one of the principle forms of the pre-modern public library system.

However, its dominance would not last. On April 9, 1833, the townspeople of

Peterborough, New Hampshire established the first tax-supported public library system in

the United States. Using part of the state bank tax it received from New Hampshire for

educational purposes, the town voted to fund books for a freely accessible library.[1]

Following in Peterborough's footsteps, twenty-one years later Boston became the first

major city to open a public library on May 2, 1854. Today, of the 121,169 libraries in the

United States, 8,951 of them are public libraries and many more encourage public

accessibility.[2]

    Although tax-supported public libraries began their ascent in the mid-nineteenth

century and dominate our concept of libraries today, social libraries did not simply

disappear over night. Between 1866-1875, ninety-five general social libraries were

established.[3] One of these was the Litchfield Circulating Library Association.[4] Though

founded well after the modern public library system took root, the Litchfield Circulating

Library Association continued to adhere to the same principles as its forerunners in form

and in purpose. The Litchfield Library supported itself through a unique system of

auctioning off newly arrived books to the highest bidder and charging a three dollar

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1 Robert Lee, "The People's University-The Educational Objective of the Public Library," in *Reader in American Library History*, ed. Michael H. Harris (Washington, D.C.: Microcard Editions, 1971), 117.
2 IMLS Public Library Survey, "Number of Libraries in the United States," *American Library Association*, http://www.ala.org/tools/libfactsheets/alalibraryfactsheet01 (accessed February 26, 2012).
3 Haynes McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000), 66.
4 Although the Litchfield Library used the circulating library label, it was more of a hybrid circulating/social library. Like circulating libraries, the Litchfield Library demanded a fee for every book a member rented from the Library. However, unlike other circulating libraries, Litchfield was not out for commercial profit and emphasized "good" literature over popular.

membership fee plus two cents for each book rented.[5] In a short history about the institution, Arthur Bostwick explained that the Library chose this form in order to have more freedom in its book selection. To illustrate this, Bostwick related a story he heard from a Connecticut librarian who told him that, "... the State Library Commission... rejected a list of books submitted by an interior town for purchase with state money, on the ground that it contained too many solid works."[6] Like the social libraries in the early part of the century, Bostwick explained that the people of Litchfield wanted books that were not "frivolous" or "trash".[7] His insistence in the quality of reading material belonging to the Library highlights a similar spirit of educational pursuit that shaped social libraries of earlier generations. Moreover, the Litchfield Library demonstrates that social libraries managed to survive the introduction of the modern public library system and continued to be a viable source of education in their communities.

Even today social libraries continue to thrive.[8] The Library Company of Philadelphia and the Charleston Library Society still exist as functional libraries and, ironically enough, still follow their earlier patterns of operation. Philadelphia's library finally achieved its egalitarian intentions and offers free access to all members of the public. Charleston, on the other hand, continues to charge membership fees to its users, fifty dollars for a student and one hundred dollars for the individual or family.[9] However both libraries still adhere to their mission of education. The Library Company of Philadelphia

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5 Arthur Bostwick, "A Chapter of Library History," in William Dawson Johnston Papers, 1842-1927. MSS28019. Manuscript Division. Library of Congress-Washington D.C.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 For a complete list of current membership libraries, see the Charleston Library Society's website- http://www.charlestonlibrarysociety.org/.
9 Charleston Library Society, "Become a Member," *Charleston Library Society*, http://www.charlestonlibrarysociety.org/ (accessed February 26, 2013).

operates as a specialized research library and the Charleston Library Society likewise contains an extensive archival collection as well as offering various educational programs.

The educational motivations of early social libraries clearly created a lasting impression on its predecessors that continues today. Moreover, libraries still continue to reflect the same fears regarding the future of the nation that concerned republican educators hundreds of years ago. In public libraries and social libraries alike, librarians and library sponsors continue to view libraries as the guardians of liberty and the proponents of progress. In an article in *Time* magazine from 2012, the president of the New York Public Library, Anthony Marx, emphasized the continuing necessity of public libraries as sites of public education. To justify his claim, Marx stated that, "You cannot have a functioning economy if you do not have innovation. You cannot have a functioning democracy if you cannot have the citizenry able to inform itself."[10] Even today, libraries continue to be seen as the key to cure economic stagnation and prevent the collapse of democracy. In the public imagination, libraries continue to demonstrate the same power over the future of the nation which republican educators and leaders imbued them with over two hundred years ago. More importantly, however, libraries today still reflect the belief in the power of education and their supports' assurance that a general diffusion of knowledge is the best remedy for all of these fears.

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10 Elizabeth Dias, "Why Libraries are a Smart Investment for the Country's Future," *Time*, June 27, 2012, http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,2118141,00.html (accessed March 18, 2013).

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

An Address in Behalf of the Juvenile Library Company of the City of Richmond.
  Richmond: Franklin Office, 1823. Text. From the Library of Congress, Rare Book
  & Special Collections.

  Taken from a collection of pamphlets in the Library of Congress, this address
  details the benefits of juvenile libraries as educational institutions in early
  America. In particular, it highlights the need for juvenile libraries by
  demonstrating the inefficiencies of schools and the merits of social libraries. The
  address also recommends reading material for children and describes how
  building social libraries for children will create better individuals and
  communities. Several responses to the address were attached to the pamphlet. I
  used this source as an example of the drive for juvenile libraries in the early
  nineteenth century as well as source of information about the types of books these
  libraries offered to their users.

A Catalogue of Books at the Youth's Library at Salisbury, Connecticut. Boston: David
  Carlisle, 1806. Early American Imprints no.S11321.

  The catalog for the Salisbury Youth Library lists the Library's acquisitions to date,
  alphabetically. In addition to listing the title of each book, the catalog also records
  the number of volumes for each title. Though poor in details, the Salisbury Youth
  Library catalog provided me with specific examples of what types of books were
  popular selections for children during this time period.

A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Charleston Library Society. Charleston: A. Miller,
  1826; Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2011. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?
  id=hvd.32044080249931;seq=17;view=1up;num=v (accessed February 6, 2013).

  The 1826 catalog for the Charleston Library Society begins with a short history
  detailing the major events in the Library's development up to that time. This is
  followed by a record of all the Library's books. The list is broken-down into six
  major divisions: logic, theology, ethics, government and politics, pursuits,
  improvements and discoveries of man, and the history of man in society. Each of
  these divisions are then subdivided into smaller more specific categories. The
  record for each book is listed alphabetically by author and includes the title, a
  short description, place and date of publishing and the number of volumes when
  relevant. The catalog is followed by an index, which lists the names and authors
  of the anonymous books in the collection. For my own research, the 1826
  Charleston Library Society catalog provided me with details about the Library
  during the Revolution.

A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Fredericktown Library Company to which is Prefixed, the Objects, Articles and Conditions on which the Said Company in Incorporated. Washington, PA: John Colerick, 1797. Early American Imprints <u>no. 32155</u>.

        The Catalog for the Fredericktown Library Company is prefixed by a copy of the conditions of the Company's incorporation and a copy of its act of incorporation granted by the state. Following these two documents, the Catalog lists the Library's current book collection, organized alphabetically by title and with the number of volumes. This source was useful in my own research because it provided information about the accessibility of post-Revolution social libraries.

A Catalogue of Books, Belonging to the Incorporated Charlestown Library Society, with the Dates of the Editions. Charlestown: Robert Wells, 1770. Early American Imprints <u>no. 11596</u>.

        The Charleston Library Society's 1770 catalog is one of the earliest known records of the Library's materials. In it the books are organized first by publishing style (folio, quarto and octavo) and then they are further broken down alphabetically. Information about the place and date of the edition is also given. For my own research, this source provided information about the book interests of the colonial Charleston Library Society.

A Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Benjamin Franklin, 1741. Early American Imprints <u>no. 4787</u>.

        This edition of the Library Company of Philadelphia's book catalog is organized solely by publishing style (folio, quarto, octavo and duodecimo). Also recorded is the author's name, place and date of publishing and edition number/number of volumes when relevant. Though not the earliest record of the Library's book collection, I chose to use this particular list in my research because it also provides a description of each book's content, allowing me a better understanding of why a book might have been included in the Library.

A Catalogue of the Books, Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia; to which is Prefixed, a Short Account of the Institution, with the Charter, Laws and Regulations. Philadelphia: Zachariah Poulson, Junior, 1789. Early American Imprints <u>no. 22066.</u>

        This source on the Library Company of Philadelphia starts out with a narrative describing the founding and history of the institution. In the passage, the purpose and necessity of the Library is expounded as well as major events in its short history. The next section contains a copy of the Library's Charter, which gives information about its early members and organization. From there, the source lists

the laws of the institution and then its rules. For the most part, the laws tend to deal with external issues regarding the Library such as the admittance of new members and organization of its elections while the rules focused on policies regarding the everyday functions of the library like book lending. After those sections, an alphabetical list of the current members is attached followed by the Library's catalog. The book list is broken down into three main sections, Memory, Reason and Imagination, each of which contain further subdivisions. The title of the book, its publishing date and place and any other relevant information is also listed. This particular edition of the source is missing a few pages from its account and charter, which I managed to find from a different copy. For my own research, the 1789 edition of the Library Company of Philadelphia's catalog provided me with information about the antebellum organization of the Library.

A Member. "Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association." *Christian Watchman*, 1 January 1836. 17, no. 1. American Periodicals. http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 23, 2013).

Written by a member of the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association of Boston, this article attempts to persuade other mechanic apprentices in the city to join the institution by describing the benefits of becoming a member of the society. In particular, it highlights the moral protection the Library provides by being a source of wholesome entertainment and it also references how past members of the society have been greatly benefited from the establishment. Along with this argument, the article also provides information about the logistical operations of the Library, its history, and an up-to-date description of its holdings. This source was useful in my own research because it provided an example of how contemporaries viewed the role of the Mechanics' Library in society.

A Subscriber to the New York Library Society, "On the Utility of Public Libraries." *The New York Magazine or Literary Repository*, June 1791. American Periodicals. http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed February 3, 2013).

This anonymous letter to *The New York Magazine* argues for the educational importance of social libraries. It focuses on the New York Library Society but also includes information about the Library Company of Philadelphia. The letter uses republican rhetoric in its description of the need for education, making it a valuable source in my own study about the connection between republicanism and social libraries.

"Apprentices' Library." *New-England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*, 25 February 1820. 3, 124. American Periodicals. http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 21, 2013).

This short article taken from the *New-England Galaxy and Masonic Magazine*

gives a description of the Boston Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association just a few days after its founding. In it, the author gives a detailed description of the building, books and advantages arising to new and would-be members of the Library. The piece is tinged with a hint of sarcasm toward the Fudge family, benefactors of the Library, for their role in supporting the institution. For my own research, this article provided insight into the first books of the Library, which allowed me to give some analysis as to the early educational mission of the establishment and gave me a point of comparison for later book catalogs.

"At a Meeting of the Subscribers..." *The National Advocate, for the Country*, December 5, 1820. 19th Century Newspapers. http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/0/1/1/purl=rc6_NCNPsw_aep=ohlnk1 62 (accessed December 1, 2012).

This newspaper article reprints the Preamble and Constitution of the New York Mercantile Library Association. Also attached to it, is a short explanation of the purpose of the Library, the benefits its subscribers hope to derive from it, and the benefits it will provide to the community. For my research, this article gave me insight into the original organization of the Library and some of the motivating factors behind its establishment.

Bardeen., C.W. *A Dictionary of Educational Biography, Giving More than Four Hundred Portraits and Sketches of Persons Prominent in Educational Work*. Syracuse: C.W. Bardeen, 1901; Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2011. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/loc.ark:/13960/tlqf9b87k (accessed December 9, 2012).

This source contains a collection of biographical sketches about important educators from classical times through to the twentieth century. Each entry presents basic facts about the educator's life and his or her contributions to education. In addition, each entry comes with a portrait of the educator. For my own research, this source provided information about Dr. Jesse Torrey, an important early nineteenth century advocate for public libraries.

Biglow, William. *The Youth's Library: A Selection of Lessons in Reading*. Salem: Joshua Cushing, 1803. Early American Imprints no. 3822.

William Biglow's pamphlet describes his theories regarding the importance of reading for children and what types of materials they should read. In addition, Biglow's pamphlet includes selections of poems, plays and short stories that he considers good reading material for young people. In my own research, Biglow's work provided me with information about the role of reading in children's education.

Bostwick, Arthur. "A Chapter of Library History." In William Dawson Johnston Papers,

1842-1927. MSS28019. Manuscript Division. Library of Congress-Washington D.C.

This source, from the Library of Congress' Manuscript Division, is a hand-written account about the Litchfield Circulating Library Association composed by librarian and author Arthur Bostwick. His account describes the role of the library in its community as well as its everyday operations in the late nineteenth century. Bostwick's account provided my own research with evidence about the continuing importance of social libraries after the advent of the modern public library system.

Breintnall, Joseph. Letter to Peter Collinson. Benjamin Franklin Papers. Yale University, franklinpapers.org.

Joseph Breintnall's letter to Peter Collinson was composed as a thank you for Collinson's help in obtaining books for the Library Company of Philadelphia and also for his gift of two volumes to the Library. Within the letter, Breintnall emphasizes the lack of public education in the Colonies and also reiterates the important role that the Company plays in fulfilling this need. The letter is dated November, 7th, 1732. This source was useful in my own research because it provided evidence regarding the Library Company of Philadelphia's early educational mission.

Buckingham, Joseph T. *Annals of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association*. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1853; Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2012. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044004440756/ (accessed January 18, 2013).

This source details the history of the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association from the end of eighteenth century to 1853. Using the official records, the annals record all the activities of the Association by year along with the current officers. For my own research, this source provided information about the early membership of the Association along with its role in the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association of Boston.

Catalogue of Books of the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association, with the Constitution, By-Laws, & c. Boston: Damrell & Moore, Printers, 1851.

The catalog of Boston's Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association contains information on the Library's organization, membership and book collection. First listed in the source is a copy of the institution's Constitution and by-laws. The Constitution is broken-down into a preamble and sections with relevant articles and the by-laws are similarly organized into sections and articles. From there the source also includes a to-date list of officers from 1828 and a list of all the current honorary members. The last section is the book catalog, which is broken-down into genres and further organized alphabetically. In addition, the catalog lists the

number of volumes for each title and sometimes includes author information as well. For my own research, the 1851 Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association catalog provided information about the institution's organization and the type of books in its collection.

Charleston Library Society. "Become a Member." *Charleston Library Society.* http://www.charlestonlibrarysociety.org/ (accessed February 26, 2013).

Taken from the Charleston Library Society's website, this article describes the process of becoming a member at the Library today and the benefits gained by doing so. I used this source in my own research to demonstrate the similarities between colonial Charleston Library Society's accessibility and its modern practices.

Charter, Laws, and Catalogue of Books, of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: B. Franklin and D. Hall, 1757. Early American Imprints no. 8006.

The Library Company of Philadelphia's 1757 catalog begins with a copy of the Company's charter. Following this, the catalog lists the Library's laws and provides a short historical account of the institution. Then the catalog presents a list of the Library's current book collection. The collection is divided according to print type and each entry includes the title of the book, its author, place and date of publishing, and donor (when relevant). A short description of the book is also sometimes included. For my own research, the 1757 Library Company catalog provided me with information regarding the accessibility of the Library and its educational purpose.

Committee of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Letter to Benjamin Franklin. Benjamin Franklin Papers. Yale University, franklinpapers.org.

This letter from a Committee of the Library Company of Philadelphia to Benjamin Franklin details the receipt of a collection of books ordered by Benjamin Franklin for the Library and asks him to send further information regarding prices for the collection. The letter also highlights the disruption the hostilities between the Colonies and Britain wrought upon the transatlantic book trade and the Library Company's dismay at not being able to procure new books from London. The letter is dated December 16, 1774. This source was useful in my own research because it provided information about the Library Company of Philadelphia during the Revolutionary War.

Dias, Elizabeth. "Why Libraries are a Smart Investment for the Country's Future." *Time*, June 27, 2012. http://www.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,2118141,00.html (accessed March 18, 2013).

Elizabeth Dias' article reports on the 2012 gathering at the Library of Congress to commemorate the land grant university, the National Academy of Sciences, and the Carnegie Libraries. The article focuses on the role that libraries have played in shaping America's history and intellectual progress. For my own research, Dias' article provided evidence regarding the continuing importance of libraries as vanguards of republicanism in the American imagination.

Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Letter to Thomas Penn and Reply. Benjamin Franklin Papers. Yale University, franklinpapers.org.

This letter to Thomas Penn, penned by the Library Company's secretary, Joseph Breintnall, was written as a request that Penn approve and promote the Library's existence in Philadelphia. Like the letter to Peter Collinson, this correspondence also stressed the need for an educational institution in Pennsylvania and described the role that the Library Company could play in improving life in the Colony. In addition, the letter also contains a reply from Penn assuring his approval of the establishment. The first letter is dated May 16, 1733 and the second is undated. For my own research, this source provided information about the educational motivations of the Library Company of Philadelphia's founders.

Eddowes, Ralph. *On the Early Treatment of Children*. Philadelphia: Palmers for Dobson, 1809. Early American Imprints no. S17423.

In this source, Ralph Eddowes delivers an address to the First Unitarian Society of Philadelphia about the responsibilities of parents in raising children and parenting tactics for bringing up moral and responsible children. Eddowes begins his address by emphasizing the malleability of children. He argues that while God decides their nature, parents are responsible for shaping their children's character. Eddowes then continues to give parenting tips, combining a religious and social perspective with his advice. For my own research, Eddowes' work provided firsthand evidence regarding nineteenth century views on children and childhood.

First Continental Congress. *Journal of the Proceedings of Congress, Held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774*. New York: Hugh Gaine, 1774. Early American Imprints no. 13739.

This source records the daily activities of the First Continental Congress. Broken-down by day, the source lists a play-by-play of the First Continental Congress' resolutions and orders regarding the governance of the Colonies and the Independence question. The *Journal of the Proceedings of Congress* was helpful in my own research because it provided evidence regarding the relationship between Congress and the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Franklin, Benjamin. *The Continuance of the Life of Dr. Franklin*. 163-164. Quoted in

John Melish, *Travels through the United States of America, in the Years 1806 & 1807 and 1809, 1810 & 1811; Including an Account of Passages Betwixt America and Britain, and Travels through Various Parts of Britain, Ireland & Canada*. Vol. 1. Philadelphia: Palmer for Melish, 1815. Early American Imprints <u>no. S35249</u>.

This source records John Melish's experiences and observations while traveling through the United States in the early nineteenth century. In the section on Philadelphia, Melish quotes a passage from Benjamin Franklin's, *The Continuance of the Life of Dr. Franklin*, which describes the history of the Library Company of Philadelphia and its state after the Revolution. For my own research, Melish's work provided information about the effect the Revolution had on how its primary supporter viewed its relationship to education.

Franklin, Benjamin. The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin, 2nd ed. Edited by Leonard W. Labaree, Ralph L. Ketcham, Helen C. Boatfield, and Helene H. Fineman. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

Benjamin Franklin's classic *Autobiography* narrates the author's life from 1706-1757. This particular edition of his *Autobiography* also includes a forward by historian Edmund S. Morgan, notes on the text compiled by the editors, additional letters by Franklin, a biographical index, a copy of Franklin's outline for his autobiography and a chronology of Franklin's life. For my own research, Franklin's *Autobiography* provided details about the founding of the Library Company of Philadelphia and how its principle member perceived it.

"For the Christian Register," *Christian Register*, 28 May 1825. American Periodicals. http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed November 26, 2012).

A brief article in the *Christian Register*, this source describes an unknown person's contribution to an unidentified juvenile library. Specifically, he or she details their motivation behind establishing the juvenile library, its subsequent growth, and the role that the author played in it. For my own research, this article provided a good example of the motivations behind benefactors' who established juvenile libraries and it also gave me an idea as to what types of books adults wanted children to read.

Gentlemen's Magazine. London: N.P., May 1755, 25, 201-03. Quoted in Robert Olwell, *Masters, Slaves and Subjects: The Culture of Power in the South Carolina Low Country 1740-1790*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998.

This advertisement, described in Robert Olwell's book, *Masters, Slaves and Subjects*, describes an investment plan to its readers in a South Carolina plantation. The ad promises, "25% on an outlay of two thousand pounds sterling" invested in the plantation which, Olwell notes, paid for the land, livestock, tools and thirty-two slaves. I used this advertisement in my study as an example of

slavery's importance to colonial Charleston's economy.

IMLS Public Library Survey. "Number of Libraries in the United States." *American Library Association* http://www.ala.org/tools/libfactsheets/alalibraryfactsheet01 (accessed February 26, 2012).

Based off of the research done by the National Center for Educational Statistics, the Institute of Museum and Library Services, and Information Today's *American Library Directory*, this source from the American Library Association website presents a statistical analysis of the libraries in the United States today. The research lists the number of libraries as of 2010 according to type (public, academic, school, special, armed forces and government). I used this source in my own research to demonstrate the growth of public libraries from their inception in the mid-eighteenth century to today.

Jefferson, Thomas. Thomas Jefferson to George Wythe, August 13, 1786. In *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Vol. 1, ed. Julian Boyd. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954.

Thomas Jefferson's letter to George Wythe begins with a brief discussion about a pamphlet Jefferson wrote about America and a copper plate Wythe wanted for a book. The second half of his letter, however, details Jefferson's response to Europe's discussion about America's Constitution. Here, Jefferson argues for the importance of education in the United States by comparing the new nation's situation to the supposed ignorance of European citizens. He claims that by diffusing education throughout the country, America will be able to withstand the tyrannical threat from monarchy, superstition, and the Church that plagues Europe. For my own research, Jefferson's letter provided information about his ideas on the role of education in the new Republic.

Jefferson, Thomas. Thomas Jefferson to John Wyche, May 19, 1809. In *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson Retirement Series*, Vol. 1, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

In this letter, Thomas Jefferson responds to John Wyche's request for advice regarding the operation of a newly founded social library. Jefferson praises the establishment and suggests some areas of study the library might want to emphasize in their book collection. For my own research, Jefferson's letter provided me with information regarding his opinions of social libraries and their role in public education.

"Mercantile Library Association." *Christian Advocate and Journal and Zion's Herald* 4, no. 22 (Jan. 29, 1830): 87. American Periodicals http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 26, 2013).

This article describes the development of the Mercantile Library Association of New York, providing figures relating to its increase in membership, books and funds. Also attached to the article are selected passages from a speech given by Gabriel P. Disosway to the clerks of the Library. In it, he praises the progress of the institution and encourages its members to continue to study for their own advancement and the advancement they might bring to their community and country. I used this source in my own research as evidence regarding the organization of the Mercantile Library and its role in the community.

Moody, Eleazer. *The School of Good Manners*. Boston: Manning & Loring, 1804. Early American Imprints no. S7249.

Written for children and parents, Eleazer Moody's, *The School of Good Manners*, is a nineteenth century instructional pamphlet on parenting and behavior for children. The pamphlet is subdivided into smaller sections such as manners and behavior while with company, dining, at school, etc. Moody's work provided me with evidence about the expectations of children and their relationship with adults in nineteenth century America.

Penn, William. *William Penn's Letter to his Wife and Children*. York, U.C.: Jonathan Doan, 1826; Open Library, 2011. http://openlibrary.org/books/OL24970083M/William_Penn's_letter_to_his_wife_and_children (accessed November 18, 2012).

This letter from William Penn to his wife and children is an instructional letter detailing how Penn wants his family to live their lives after his death. The letter starts with Penn explaining to his wife how she should manage her business and economic affairs. Penn then goes on to leave his wife instructions as to how to raise their children and ends with advice for his children on how to live upright lives. Penn's letter provided my study with examples of his philosophy on education, which I use in my study as evidence for the educational traditions of Philadelphia.

Report of the Committee on the Library in Relation to the Mechanic Apprentices Library Association: Made at a Meeting of the Mass. Charitable Mechanic Association, April, 1859, and Ordered to be Printed for the Information of the Members. Boston: Office of the Bunker Hill Aurora, 1859; Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2012. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044080323264;seq=5;view=1up;num=3 (accessed December 3, 2012).

This source records the affairs of the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association of Boston from its founding to 1859. The report was made for its parent organization, the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, and deals

mostly with the financial aspects of the Library, for which the Charitable
Mechanic Association was responsible. This source was useful in my own
research because it provided information about the founding of the Mechanic
Apprentices' Library.

Rhees, William J. *Manual of Public Libraries, Institutions, and Societies, in the United
States, and British Provinces of North America*. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott &
CO., 1859. Hathi Trust Digital Library, 2011. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?
id=nyp.33433000913065;view=1up;seq=5;q1=Brooklyn;start=1;size=10;page=se
arch;num=i (Accessed November 14, 2012).

William J. Rhees' *Manual of Public Libraries, Institutions, and Societies* lists and
describes library institutions in the United States in the year 1859. The manual is
divided by state and city and records the name of each institution along with a
short description of its history. This catalog is prefaced by information about the
construction of library buildings, classification systems, catalogs and book
collections of the surveyed libraries. For my own research, Rhees' work provided
information about mercantile/mechanic and juvenile libraries in the nineteenth
century.

Rules and Regulations of the Worcester Associate Library Company. Worcester, MA:
Leonard Worcester, 1793. Early American Imprints, no. 26506.

This source details the rules and regulations of the Worcester Associate Library
Company. The pamphlet begins with a short paragraph discussing the purpose
behind the Library and sets-up the preliminary rules for membership. After this,
the source lists the rules of the Library on issues such as membership
requirements, rights of members, and duties of officers. Finally, the pamphlet ends
with a list of the current members. For my own research, the rules of the
Worcester Associate Library Company provided me with information about the
educational purpose and accessibility of an antebellum social library.

Rush, Benjamin. *A Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools and the Diffusion of
Knowledge in Pennsylvania to which is added Thoughts upon the Mode of
Education, Proper in a Republic. Addressed to the Legislature and Citizens of the
State*. Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson, 1786. Early American Imprints no. 19974.

Benjamin Rush's *Plan for the Establishment of Public Schools* describes his
opinions on free education and its role in society. Rush begins his plan by
describing the benefits of learning to mankind. He then outlines his plan for a
system of schools in Pennsylvania including their location and how they are to be
supported. Attached to this pamphlet is Rush's *Thoughts upon the Mode of
Education, Proper in a Republic*. This source describes Rush's perspective on
education's relationship to republicanism and its role in the new nation. This

source provided an example in my own work of the new educational theories popular after the Revolution and their perspective on citizens, government, and education.

Rush, Benjamin. *Thoughts Upon Female Education*, 1787. In *American Educational Thought: Essays From 1640-1940*, edited by Andrew J. Milson, Chara Haeussler Bohan, Perry L. Glanzer and J. Wesley Null, 54-63. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, INC, 2010.

> Benjamin Rush's *Thoughts Upon Female Education* details his opinions about the role and practice of education for women in the new Republic. Rush begins his article by describing why education for women is necessary and then goes on to explain what areas of study he considers most important for women. Rush's work provided me with information regarding his opinions on the role of education for women and how it related to the development of republicanism.

Southwick, Solomon. *Address Delivered by Appointment, In the Episcopal Church, At the Opening of the Apprentices' Library, In the City of Albany, January 1, 1821*. Albany: John O Cole, 1821. In *Miscellaneous Pamphlets 1070*. Text. From the Library of Congress, Rare Book & Special Collections.

> Solomon Southwick's address to the mechanics of the Albany Apprentices' Library describes the educational advantages arising to its users, the importance of taking advantage of this educational opportunity, and recommends a course of study for young mechanics. The address also includes background information about the Library's founding. I used this source in my own research as an example of the educational mission of mechanic libraries.

Staughton, George, Benjamin N. Nead and Thomas McCamant, eds. *Charter to William Penn and the Laws of the Province of Pennsylvania Passed Between the Years 1682 and 1700, and Preceded by the Duke of York's Laws in Force From the Year 1676 to the Year 1682, With an Appendix Containing Laws Relating to the Organization of the Provincial Courts and Historical Matter*. Harrisburg: Lane S. Hart, 1879; OpenLibrary, 2008. http://openlibrary.org/books/OL6604977M/Charter_to_William_Penn_and_laws_ of_the_province_of_Pennsylvania (accessed October 30, 2012).

> This source describes the laws of Pennsylvania and the Duke of York's laws from 1676 to 1700. In addition to listing the laws, this source also provides historical notes on them and additional information in appendixes for each chapter. I used the early laws of Pennsylvania in my own research as evidence to prove the Colony's religious tolerance and egalitarian mentality.

Systematic Catalogue of Books in the Collection of the Mercantile Library Association of

the City of New York: with a General Index, and One of Dramatic Pieces; Together with an Appendix; Containing the Constitution, and the Rules and Regulations of the Association. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1837; Google Books, 2006. http://books.google.com/books?id=i23ArkD-zjYC&source=gbs_navlinks_s (accessed January 23, 2013).

The 1837 catalog of the New York Mercantile Library Association begins with a short preface detailing the organization, history and current state of the Library. Following this, the catalog lists the Library's current book collection. The record is broken-down into smaller subject headings labeled history, philosophy, poetry and polygraphs. Each of these divisions are then subdivided into more precise categories. Materials are listed by author, title, place of publishing, date of publication and volumes if relevant. For my own study, the 1837 New York Mercantile Library Association catalog provided me with specific examples regarding what kinds of books were most popular in the Library.

The Brother's Gift or The Naughty Girl Reformed to Which is Added, the Employments of Mankind. Hartford: Lincoln & Olson, 1806. Early American Imprints no. 10039.

The Brother's Gift presents a critique on the contemporary educational system for women through the fictional story of Miss Kitty Bland. The author describes Kitty's shortcomings in education and how it would have been her downfall academically, socially, and morally if her brother, Billy, had not stepped in to correct her scholarly learning and character. I used this source in my own research as evidence regarding nineteenth century philosophies on education and its relationship to character.

The Charter, Bye-Laws, and Names of the Members of the New-York Society Library: With a Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Said Library. New York: T. & J. Swords, 1793. Early American Imprints, no. 25915.

The 1793 catalog of the New York Society Library begins with a contemporary description of the Library. It then lists a copy of the Library's Charter, granted by King George III, and another piece of legislation confirming the authenticity of the original Charter. Next, the catalog lists the by-laws of the Society and an ordinance regarding the election of officers. Finally, the catalog lists the current book collection of the Library. The record is divided alphabetically and also by printing type (folio, quatro, etc.). The record also includes a call number for each book and its number of volumes when relevant. For my own research, the 1793 catalog provided me with information about the membership fees and accessibility of a post-Revolution social library.

The Charter and By-Laws for the Regulation of the Warren Library Society in the Town of Warren in the State of Rhode Island. Warren, RI: Nathaniel Phillips, 1799. Early American Imprints no. 36668.

The 1799 catalog for the Warren Library Society starts with a copy of the Society's Charter and is followed by a list of the Library's by-laws. The catalog then lists a current record of its book collection, broken-down alphabetically and with the name of the author and number of volumes when relevant. For my own research, the 1799 catalog of the Warren Library Society provided me with information about the membership fees and accessibility of a post-Revolution social library.

The Constitution of the Hartford Library Company; with Extracts from the By-Laws and a Catalogue of the Books. Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1797. Early American Imprints <u>no. 32232</u>.

The 1797 catalog for the Hartford Library Company begins with a copy of the Constitution of the Company. It is then followed by an extract from the Library's by-laws and a list of its current book collection. The book collection is listed alphabetically by author and includes the title of each book and the number of volumes. For my own research, the 1797 catalog of the Hartford Library Company provided me with information about the membership fees and accessibility of an antebellum social library.

"The Legislative Council of New-Orleans have passed a..." *The National Intelligencer and Washington Advertiser*. 16 August, 1805. 19th Century U.S. Newspapers. http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/0/1/1/purl=rc6_NCNP?sw_aep=ohlnk162 (Accessed March 2, 2013).

This newspaper article describes a motion passed by the Legislative Council of New Orleans for the establishment of a university and a system of public libraries in the territory. The plan details the need for these sites of education, how and where they are to be established, and, for the university, what the curriculum is to be. I used this source in my own research as evidence for the link between emerging republican ideals and the educational motivations of social libraries in the early Republic.

"The Mercantile Library Association held their third..." *New-York Spectator*, December 25, 1823. 19th Century U.S. Newspapers. http://infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/0/1/1/purl=rc6_NCNP?sw_aep=ohlnk162 (accessed December 2, 2012).

This short newspaper article recaps the minutes of the third annual meeting of the New York Mercantile Library Association. The source notes the passing of the Annual Report and lists the current officers and board of directors. More importantly, however, the article also tells of the rejected proposal to let merchants hold the presidency and vice presidency in the organization. I used this source in my own research as an example of the New York Mercantile Library

Association's user-controlled organization.

The Miscellany G. "Education.-- No. 4: On the Principle of Connecting Science with
Useful Labor," *The Religious Miscellany, Containing Information Relative to the Church of Christ; Together with Interesting Literary, Scientifi and Political Intelligence (1823-1824)* 2, 10 (September 26, 1823). American Periodicals.
http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (accessed January 16, 2013).

The anonymous author of this article presents a brief argument as to the benefits
of encouraging education among youth. He or she argues that providing
education, "useful" education especially, to youth will act as a preventive measure
in the issues of crime and poverty. Moreover, the author goes on to describe the
utility of education for young mechanics, who through their training will be better
prepared to step into any occupational position. For my own research, this article
provided evidence regarding how social reformers viewed the power of education
as a transformative agent.

"The New York Library Society." *The Pastime; a Literary Paper*, 21 May, 1808,
American Periodicals. http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (Accessed
February 16, 2013).

This newspaper article describes the history of the New York Library Society up
to 1808. The article includes information about the financial means of the Library,
its membership qualifications, current location, and the number of books it owns.
I used this source in my own research to track how the New York Library
Society's membership requirements changes after the Revolutionary War.

"The Passenger-No. XVIII." *Boston Weekly Magazine, Devoted to Morality, Literature,
Biography, History, the Fine Arts*, 28 January, 1804, American Periodicals.
http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (Accessed February 13, 2013).

This newspaper article details the shortcomings of social libraries as educational
institutions. In it, the author argues that the current organization of social libraries
restricts who has access to them through their expensive membership fees,
tradition of inheritance rights, and disregard of youth and children as users. This
article enhanced by own research by providing me with contemporary opinions
about the effectiveness of social libraries as educational institutions in antebellum
America.

"The Philadelphia Library." *The Port-Folio*, 21 November 1807, American Periodicals.
http://search.proquest.com/americanperiodicals/ (Accessed February 12, 2013).

This newspaper article details the history of the Library Company of Philadelphia
from its founding through the turn of the century. In particular, the article
discusses the educational motivations behind the Library and its evolving book

collection. For my own research, this article provided me with contemporary opinions about the role of the Library Company as an educational institution and how its book collection changed after the Revolution.

The Rules and By-Laws of the Charleston Library Society. Together with the Act of the General Assembly of South-Carolina for Incorporating the Society, confirmed by his Majesty: and a Brief Historical Introduction. Charlestown: Robert Wells, 1762. Early American Imprints no. 9087.

The earliest published edition of the Charleston Library Society's legislation, this source is divided into three parts. The first gives an account of the founding of the establishment with records of major events in its history and a description of its founders' motivations. From there, the source contains a complete reproduction of the Library's Act of Incorporation. This section provides information about early officers and directors of the Library as well as the framework of its organization. The last section lists the rules and by-laws of the institution, which cover everything from lending policies to member admittance. For my own research, this source provided me with information regarding the membership requirements of the Charleston Library Society.

Third Supplement to the Catalogue of Books, Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia. To Which is Prefixed a Continuation, a Continuation of the Bye Laws and Regulations of the Company. Philadelphia: Zachary Poulson, 1795. Early American Imprints no. 31001.

This catalog of the Library Company of the Philadelphia is the third supplement to the original catalog. It beings with a copy of all the new by-laws and regulations since the last catalog and then proceeds to present a complete list of the books added to the Library's collection since 1794. The books are grouped according to printing size and are listed alphabetically by author. In addition, the book catalog gives a brief description of each book, its place and date of publishing, and its call number. For my own research, this source provided information about new membership requirements for the Library after the Revolution.

Torrey, Dr. Jesse. *The Intellectual Torch*, 2nd ed. Ballston SPA: Published by Author, 1817. In *Miscellaneous Pamphlets 414*. Text. From the Library of Congress, Rare Book & Special Collections.

Dr. Jesse Torrey's pamphlet, *The Intellectual Torch*, describes his plan for a free public library system in the United States. Torrey argues that public libraries are essential to the cultivation of each citizen's intellectual and moral development and are therefore indispensable as republican institutions. Attached to this pamphlet are written responses by other notable educators to Torrey's ideas and

more of Torrey's writings on temperance. I used this source in my own research as evidence regarding nineteenth century opinions on the role of social libraries in education, especially as it related to children and youth.

Secondary Sources

"At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin": A Brief History of the Library Company of Philadelphia. York Graphic Services, INC., 1995.

Published collectively by several different authors, this source is an updated version of Edwin Wolf's work, *At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin*. Drawing primarily upon the records of the Library Company of Philadelphia, pictures, and photographs, the text presents a chronological study of the developments in the Library's history. Its central argument hinges on proving the continuing importance of the institution. Though it sometimes reads too much like a textbook, this source provided my own study with rich details about the Library Company during the colonial and post-Revolution period.

Bowes, Frederick P. *The Culture of Early Charleston*. 1942. Reprint, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978.

Frederick P. Bowes traces the intellectual development of Charleston's elite during the colonial period in this source. He argues that, following the Revolution, Charleston's gentry lost the cosmopolitan outlook on life that marked their intellectual pursuits during the colonial period. Instead, their view on education, highly impacted by slavery, became highly rigid and almost feudal. To prove this, Bowes pulls from a variety of sources, including newspapers, letters, journals, institutional records and relative secondary sources. His research proved useful in my own study by providing me with insight as to the role of education in colonial Charleston's society.

Boudreau, George. " 'Highly Valuable & Extensively Useful': Community and Readership Among Eighteenth Century Philadelphia Middling Sort." *Pennsylvania History* 63, no. 3 (Summer, 1996): 302-329. http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed September 19, 2012).

In this article, historian George Boudreau examines the relationship between eighteenth century Philadelphia's middle class and the development of the Library Company of Philadelphia as an educational institution. Boudreau argues that although the elite of the City came to dominate the Library Company by the end of the century, its middle class origins shaped the Library as a bridge between the two classes. Moreover, Boudreau also examines the connection between Benjamin Franklin's educational ideas and the development of the Library, arguing that Franklin's principles were often reflected in the design of the Company. To prove

these points, Boudreau uses records from the Library Company, Franklin's writings, and secondary literature on the topic. For my own research, Boudreau's work provided valuable insight into the relationship between education and the Library Company.

Calvert, Karin. *Children in the House: The Material Culture of Early Childhood, 1600-1900*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1992.

In this source, Karin Calvert examines how the relationship between the material culture of children and society's perspective of them changed from the seventeenth century to the twentieth. She argues that the changing patterns in objects for children reflected changes in how their parents viewed them, which, in turn, gives a clue to how society perceived children as well. To prove her point, Calvert pulls from primary descriptions of children and their objects as well as related secondary sources. For my own research, Calvert's study provided background information about the role of children in early American society.

Chudacoff, Howard P. *Children at Play: An American History.* New York: New York University Press, 2007.

In this source, professor of American history Howard P. Chudacoff examines the history of children and play in America from 1600 to the present. Chudacoff argues that from a child's point-of-view, playing is a way of asserting autonomy. Moreover, he claims that this autonomy in play has decreased significantly over time. For my own research, Chudacoff's study provided information about the role of books and reading as they related to childhood in early nineteenth century America.

Cohen, Sheldon S. *A History of Colonial Education, 1607-1776*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1974.

Sheldon S. Cohen, an associate professor of history at Loyola University of Chicago, explores education in colonial British North America in this source. Framing his research within its broader historical context, Cohen argues that although the colonists attempted to transplant British educational traditions to the New World, the foreign environment forced them to slowly adapt their methods to better fit American's changing needs. To tackle this project, Cohen breaks-down his expansive research geographically into smaller chapters on the New England, Southern, and Middling Colonies along with a section on British/European education. Furthermore, he relies upon a board selection of sources, such as legislation, advertisements and letters, to support his argument. For my own research, Cohen's work provided valuable input regarding educational practices and mentalities specific to certain Colonies.

Demos, John, and Virginia Demos, "Adolescence in Historical Perspective." In

Childhood in America, edited by Paula S. Fass and Mary Ann Mason, 132-138. New York: New York University Press, 2000.

This article by childhood and adolescence scholars John and Virginia Demos examines the historical development of the idea of adolescence. The authors argue that adolescence as the public knows it today is a late nineteenth century construct but that it originates from earlier concepts of youth. For my own work, Demos and Demos' research provides background information about how adults viewed youth in early America.

Ditzion, Sidney. "Mechanics' and Mercantile Libraries." In *Reader in American Library History*, edited by Michael H. Harris, 72-82. Washington D.C.: Microcard Editions, 1971.

Historian Sidney Ditzion's article traces the development of mercantile and mechanic libraries in the United States. Ditzion argues that mercantile/mechanic libraries grew out of the weakening social library movement and the growth of the middle class. Furthermore, he claims that the workingman's lecture in Glasgow inspired the growth of mercantile/mechanic libraries in America. For my own research, Ditzion's work provided information about the purposes and development of mercantile/mechanic libraries.

Fatherly, Sarah. *Gentlewomen and Learned Ladies: Women and Elite Formation in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia*. Bethlehem: Lehigh University Press, 2008.

Professor of history at Otterbein College, Sarah Fatherly examines upper class women in colonial Philadelphia. Fatherly argues that elite women played a crucial role alongside men in creating an elite class in the City. Her research informed by own study by providing information about the role of women in colonial Philadelphia's public life.

Formisano, Ronald P. *For the People: American Populist Movements from the Revolution to the 1850s*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008.

Professor of history at the University of Kentucky Ronald P. Formisano examines the history of populist movements from the antebellum period to 1850. Formisano argues that populist movements consisted of a mass of contradictory tendencies. For my own research, Formisano's work provided information about the decline of apprenticeship in early America.

Fraser, Walter J. *Charleston! Charleston! The History of a Southern City*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1989.

Walter Fraser's book presents a comprehensive study of the city of Charleston

from its founding through to the present day. In it, Fraser attempts to bring together as many perspectives as possible in order to paint a complete narrative of the City's history. Though written for a non-academic audience by a non-historian, Fraser's book provides a three-dimensional projection of life in Charleston, which was very helpful for my own research on the City's development.

Glynn, Tom, "Books for a Reformed Republic: The Apprentices' Library of New York City, 1820-1865." *Libraries & Culture* 34, no. 4 (Fall, 1999): 347-372. http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed September 20, 2012).

In this article, historian Tom Glynn examines the history of the Apprentices' Library of New York City. He argues that between the institution's foundation and the Civil War, the Library shifted its focus from being a "benefit" organization for mechanics to operating as an agent of educational reform. Glynn also claims that the Library mirrored major trends in library development and librarianship. To prove this, Glynn pulls from records of the Apprentices' Library, secondary sources on library history and secondary sources on educational reform. For my own research, Glynn's study provided a succinct summary of the relationship between educational reform and libraries for craftsmen.

Gray, Austin K. *Benjamin Franklin's Library*. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1937.

Austin K. Gray, former Librarian for the Library Company of Philadelphia, provides a detailed sketch of the founding and history of the institution in this source. Broken up into seven periods with a short chapter on the Loganian Library, the bulk of information in this book is largely drawn from the Minute Records of the Company along with correspondence concerning the establishment. In addition, Gray pulls from Franklin's Autobiography for information regarding The Junto and early years of the Library. Gray's text is useful for identifying primary sources regarding the Library Company and understanding major events in its history; however, his analysis of the Library's influence should be approached with caution due to the author's bias. For my own research, Gray's work provided me with information regarding the Library Company's early membership and its operations during the Revolutionary War.

Hart, Emma. *Building Charleston: Town and Society in Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2010.

In this source, Emma Hart, a professor of modern history at the University of St. Andrews, examines the development of Charleston in colonial South Carolina. Hart challenges the preexisting focus on plantations as the dominant way of life for southern colonists and instead argues that southern cities, like Charleston, deserve more analysis due to their centrality in everyday life. For my own work,

Hart's book provided information about the social structure of colonial Charleston.

Hart, Emma. " 'The Middling Sort are Odious Characters': Social Structure and Urban Growth in Colonial Charleston, South Carolina." *Urban History* 34, no. 2 (2007): 209-226. serialsolutions:info:sid/summon.serialsolutions.com (accessed October 2, 2012).

Professor of modern history Emma Hart explores the development of the middle class in colonial Charleston in this source. Hart argues that the middle class' unique economic experience led to the forging of common values that expressed itself in a shared cultural and political identity. Hart's article was valuable in my own research because it provided information about the social structure of colonial Charleston.

Illick, Joseph E. *Colonial Pennsylvania: A History.* New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976.

Joseph Illick, a professor of history at San Francisco State University, traces the history of colonial Pennsylvania in this source. Illick argues that the first fifty years of Pennsylvania's history were dominated by William Penn's philosophies and that Benjamin Franklin acted as the main influence in the later half of the colonial period. For my own paper, Illick's research provided background information on the role of education in colonial Philadelphia and its social beliefs and construction.

Kaestle, Carl F. *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860.* New York: Hill and Wang, 1983.

In this book, Carl Kaestle examines the development of the common school from 1780-1860. He argues that capitalism, Protestantism and republicanism created an ideology that educational leaders used as a guide to encourage the development of the common school. For my own work, Kaestle's research provided background information about the motivations behind education in early America and the history of schools.

Korty, Margaret. "Franklin and the Library Company of Philadelphia." In *Reader in American Library History*, edited by Michael H. Harris, 33-40. Washington D.C.: Microcard Editions, 1971.

In this article, historian Margaret Korty describes Benjamin Franklin's role in the foundation of the Library Company of Philadelphia. Korty recounts how the Library grew out of the establishment of the Junto in 1727 and traces its development through the middle of the eighteenth century. To recreate the Library's history, Korty pulls details from Franklin's, *Autobiography*, the Library

Company of Philadelphia's Minute Book, published catalogs of the Company's materials and scholarly work about Benjamin Franklin. Though her text is rich in detail, Korty's article does little interpretive work and, consequently, reads more like a text book. In spite of this, I found her writing helpful for reconstructing and understanding the major events in the history of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Korty, Margaret Barton. "Franklin's World of Books." *The Journal of Library History* 2,4 (Oct., 1967): 271-328. Accessed September 26, 2012. http://www.jstor.org/.

Margaret Korty explores Benjamin Franklin's interactions with and opinions on books throughout his lifetime in this source. The article is broken-up into two sections: in the first, Korty analyzes the role of books in Franklin's society and in the second she explores Franklin's personal interactions with books. Overall, Korty argues that Franklin valued books of a practical and virtuous nature and that these books influenced him even while he played a significant role in their development through his actions as a printer and a library founder. Korty's research was valuable for my own because it provided insight into the development of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Kruzas, Anthony Thomas. *Business and Industrial Libraries in the United States, 1820-1940*. New York: Special Libraries Association, 1965.

Associate professor of library science Anthony Thomas Kruzas examines the development of business and industrial libraries in America from 1820 to 1940. He argues that specialty libraries have largely been ignored by library historians despite their significant contributions to the development modern librarianship. Kruzas further singles out business and industrial libraries as playing the leading role in the movement. In my own study, Kruzas work provided important background information about mercantile/mechanic libraries and their book collections.

Lee, Robert. "The People's University-The Educational Objective of the Public Library." In *Reader in American Library History*. ed. Michael H. Harris. Washington, D.C.: Microcard Editions, 1971.

Library historian Robert Lee explores the early development of the public library movement in America in this source. Lee argues that public libraries grew out of a small group of learned men's desire to spread public education. For my own research, Lee's study provided information about early public libraries.

Lopez, Manuel D. "Children's Libraries: Nineteenth Century American Origins." *The Journal of Library History (1974-1987)* 11, 4 (October, 1976): 316-342. http://www.jstor.org/stable/25540702 (Accessed September 25, 2012).

In this article, historian Manuel D. Lopez examines the beginning of the America children's library movement in the early nineteenth century. Lopez argues that children's libraries grew in response to social changes, such as industrialism and immigration, that society perceived as a threat to youth and children. For my own research, Lopez's work provided factual information about early children's libraries and information about the motivations behind their origins.

McMullen, Haynes. *American Libraries before 1876*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 2000.

In this source, Haynes McMullen explores the motivations behind the foundation and decline of social libraries. His thesis claims that social libraries were founded by a specific group of people for a specific benefit and that types of social libraries waxed and waned in popularity. Moreover, McMullen gives a detailed statistical analysis of the different types of libraries at a given times and relies heavily on this data for his analysis. For my own work, McMullen's study provided a picture of the pattern of development for certain types of social libraries.

McMullen, Haynes. "The Founding of Social Libraries in Pennsylvania, 1731-1876." *Pennsylvania History* 32, 2 (April, 1965): 130-152. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27770327 (Accessed September 19, 2012).

Professor of Library Science Haynes McMullen provides a comprehensive study of all the social libraries founded in Pennsylvania between 1731 and 1876 in this source. Broken-down into time periods, McMullen explores several different factors in the development of social libraries in Pennsylvania such as population and the presence of institutions of higher education. He argues that Pennsylvania was slower to establish social libraries then other northern states and that these institutions were not founded before a community had reached a population density of at least 18 people per square mile. To support his claims, McMullen relies upon national lists of libraries before 1876 and the acts of General Assembly of Pennsylvania for social library charters. For my own research, McMullen's article provided statistics about the number of early social libraries in Pennsylvania as well as information about the book collection of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Mintz, Steven. *Huck's Raft: A History of American Childhood*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004; ACLS Humanities E-Book, n.d. http://0-hdl.handle.net.dewey2.library.denison.edu/2027/heb.06195.0001.001 (accessed November 29, 2012).

Historian Steven Mintz explores changing perspectives on childhood in America from the colonial period to present day in this chronological study. Mintz believes

that childhood in America is often categorized by series of idealized myths and he attempts in this study to emphasize the diversity of experiences in childhood, both past and present. For evidence, he examines other studies conducted in the field, statistics, and contemporary beliefs about childhood. Mintz's book was helpful in my own research because it highlighted contemporary notions of childhood in the early nineteenth century.

"Monthly Average, GBP- British Pound to USD- US Dollar." *X-Rates*. http://www.x-rates.com/ (accessed October 15, 2012).

Sponsored by FXCM, this website provides up-to-date exchange rates between different currencies and historical exchange rates as well. The information is updated every minute and the rates are broken-down by monthly average for a whole year. This website helped me calculate what stock fees in colonial America would cost in today's U.S. dollar.

Nash, Gary B. *First City: Philadelphia and the Forging of Historical Memory*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2002.

Revolutionary War and colonial America expert Gary B. Nash examines the process of memory-making and historic preservation in the history of Philadelphia from William Penn to the twentieth century in this source. Nash focuses on the role that elites in the City had in organizing collective memory and how they used institutions to foster such ends. In doing so, Nash attempts to shatter the traditional "tunnel vision" look at the past and institute a more complex version of history. For my own work, Nash's research provided information about class and society in colonial Philadelphia and the egalitarian vision William Penn had for his new Colony.

Nash, Gary B. "Poverty and Poor Relief in Pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 33, no. 1 (January, 1976): 3-30. http:// www.jstor.org/ (accessed October 7, 2012).

Historian Gary B. Nash studies the role of poverty and services for the poor in colonial Philadelphia in this article. Nash argues that examining the frequency of poverty in the City as well as public officials' responses to poverty adds to our understanding of society in pre-Revolutionary Philadelphia. For my own research, Nash's article provided information about the role of poverty in colonial Philadelphia and the economic stratification of the City.

Neuburg, Victor. "Chapbooks in America: Reconstructing the Popular Reading of Early America." In *Reading in America: Literature and Social History*, edited by Cathy N. Davidson, 81-113. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989.

Book historian Victor Neuburg examines the role of the chapbook in early American society in this source. Neuburg argues that chapbooks constituted the main literary staple of middle and lower class Americans and, as such, provide valuable insight into the reading tastes of most early Americans. For my own research, Neuburg's work provided a point of comparison between typical middle class reading habits and those demonstrated by the middling sort of the Library Company of Philadelphia.

Officer, Lawrence H, and Samuel H. Williamson. "Five Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a UK Pound Amount, 1270 to Present." *Measuring Worth*. http://www.measuringworth.com/ (accessed October 15, 2012).

A professor of economics at the University of Illinois and a research professor of economics at the same institution, Lawrence Officer and Samuel Williamson are the co-founders of the website, *Measuring Worth*. The site was founded to provide its users with the most historically accurate conversions of currency for U.S. dollars, British pounds, Chinese Yuens and Japanese Yens. Officer and Williamson give their users several different standards of measurement depending upon what the user is trying to convert. For my own research, I used their commodity measurements to learn what membership fees for early social libraries would cost in dollars today. Though the site is very useful and accurate, I would caution that due to incomplete data, the conversions cannot be put into the current year.

Raven, James. *London Booksellers and American Customers: Transatlantic Literary Community and the Charleston Library Society, 1748-1811*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2002.

In this source, James Raven examines the colonial book trade between the Charleston Library Society and London booksellers. Focusing his research on the letter book of the Charleston Library Society, Raven argues that the letter book reveals information about the transatlantic literary exchange, the mechanics of early library societies and the shifting cultural identities of their users. In my own research, Raven's work provided information about the early members of the Charleston Library Society and the Library's early collections.

Rees, Gwendolen. *Libraries for Children: A History and Bibliography*. London: Grafton & Co., 1924.

Gwendolen Rees' book presents a chronological study of the development of children's libraries in Europe, the British Empire and the United States. Rees argues that the growth of children's libraries was largely connected to the desire to preserve civilization and progress mankind by creating a generation of "thinkers." Though the language and argument in Rees' book are quite dated, she provides a strong source of factual information in regards to dates and the environment

surrounding the establishment of early children's libraries. For my own study, Rees' work provided a sense of chronology for the development of children's libraries in early nineteenth century America.

Reinhold, Meyer. "The Quest for 'Useful Knowledge' in Eighteenth-Century America." *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, no.2 (April 16, 1975): 108-132. http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed November 19, 2012).

In this source, historian Meyer Reinhold examines the role of practical education in eighteenth century America. Reinhold argues that colonists developed a concern for practical education in the seventeenth century, particularly in Pennsylvania, in response to blossoming educational philosophies in Europe. For my own research, Reinhold's article provided information about colonial Philadelphia's perspective on practical education.

Rorabaugh, W.J. *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986.

W.J. Rorabaugh's book presents a study of American apprenticeship from the colonial period to the Civil War. Rorabaugh argues that apprenticeship steadily declined throughout this period, first losing its economic and social significance and then falling apart altogether. For my own research, Rorabaugh's study provided information about the decline of apprenticeship as an informal site of education, the rise of mercantile/mechanic social libraries and the reaction of youth to said libraries.

Rosen, Robert. *A Short History of Charleston*. 2nd ed. Charleston: Peninsula Press, 1992.

Author and resident of Charleston Robert Rosen describes the history of Charleston from 1670 to the present in this book. Rosen argues that Charleston's history is full of contradictions that set it apart from the historical narrative of the United States as a whole. For my own research, Rosen's work provided me with information about the social structure and educational policies of colonial Charleston.

Rury, John L. *Education and Social Change: Contours in the History of American Schooling*. 3rd ed. New York: Routledge, 2009.

In this source, history of education scholar John Rury examines the history of education in the United States and its relationship to social change. Rury argues that as much as society shaped schools and formal education, these institutions also impacted society. For my own research, Rury's study provided information about educational trends in the early Republic.

Sable, Martin H. "The Library Company of Philadelphia: Historical Survey, Bibliography, Chronology." *Int. Lib. Rev.* 18 (1987): 29-46.

    Martin Sable of the School of Library and Information Science presents a chronological study of the Library Company of Philadelphia's development from its inception to the present in this source. Though full of rich information regarding the major events in the Library's lifetime, Sable provides little analysis of his data other than to assert that the Library Company is an important institution. To build his study, Sable pulls from a wide variety of the Library Company's publications and secondary materials about the Library. His work provided important data about the early members of the Library Company for my own study.

Shera, Jesse H. *Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England 1629-1855*. 2nd ed. North Haven, CT: The Shoe String Press, 1965.

    Jesse Shera traces the development of social libraries in New England in this source. In addition to tracing the history of these institutions, his primary argument claims that social libraries acted as mirrors of social change rather than creators of it. For evidence, Shera pulls from a variety of different sources including minutes of meetings, letters, newspapers and histories. His work is one of the benchmark pieces on library history and consequently has been crucial in providing interpretations and chronology on the subject for my own research.

Smith, Billy G. "Inequality in Late Colonial Philadelphia: A Note on Its Nature and Growth." *The William and Mary Quarterly* 41, no. 4 (October, 1984): 629-645. http://www.jstor.org/ (accessed October 7, 2012).

    In this source, historian Billy G. Smith examines the distribution of wealth in colonial Philadelphia. He argues that the economic disparities throughout the City are best explained by the economic changes happening in Philadelphia rather than age or other demographic factors. Smith's research was valuable to my own because it provided information about the socioeconomic structure of colonial Philadelphia.

Spain, Francis Lander. "Libraries of South Carolina: Their Origins and Early History 1700-1830." *The Library Quarterly* 17, no.5 (January, 1947): 28-42. http://www.jstor.org/ (accesed October 5, 2012).

    This source by library historian Francis Lander Spain examines the history of libraries in South Carolina from 1700 to 1830. Spain argues that libraries in South Carolina reflected certain tendencies and relationships in their development such as reflecting an expression of the society in which they developed and having

close ties to churches and schools. For my own research, Spain's work provided information about the history of the Charleston Library Society during and after the Revolutionary War.

Spring, Joel. *The American School: From the Puritans to No Child Left Behind*, 7th ed. Boston: McGraw Hill, 2008.

Joel Spring, a professor of history at Queens College of the City University of New York, presents an overview of the historical perspectives on American education from the colonial period to the twenty-first century in this source. He argues that the history of education centers on five frameworks: racism, religion and culture, consumerism and environmental education, economics and ideological management. For my own research, Spring's study provided background information on the changing role of education in American society.

Thompson, C. Seymour. *Evolution of the American Public Library 1653-1876.* Washington D.C.: The Scarecrow Press, 1952.

C. Seymour Thompson traces the development of the modern public library system in this source. He argues that the Reformation and Renaissance paved the way for the beginning of the public library in the United States through its educational revolution, but he begins his story in colonial British North America. Moreover, Thompson argues that the public library movement in America originated from two sources: cultural pursuit of higher knowledge and a mass pursuit for general knowledge. Thompson's research provided my own with a chronological sense of events in the history of pre-modern public library development.

Tomassi, Noreen. "A History of the Mercantile Library of New York." *The Center for Fiction*. http://centerforfiction.org/about/history/ (accessed January 26, 2013).

As part of the website for the Mercantile Library of New York, Noreen Tomassi, the executive director of the Library, provides a short description of the history of the institution from its founding til today. In it, he recounts the major events in the Library's history along with giving some contextual information relevant to the changing times. Tomassi stresses the importance of fiction in his short account and argues that the Library's later trend towards fictional books was the result of the clerks' desire for it. For my own work, Tomassi's history provided a detailed chronology of the history of the Mercantile Library, helping me to better see changes in the structure and mission of the establishment.

Urban, Wayne J, and Jennings L. Wagoner, Jr. *America Education, A History.* 4th ed. New York: Routledge, 2009.

Professors Wayne Urban and Jennings Wagoner present the history of education in America from the colonial period to present day in this source. They argue that the history of education is build upon a plurality of perspectives and belief patterns. In their study they aim to include interpretive perspectives as well as the narrative of the history of education. In particular, Urban and Wagoner attempt to distinguish the social reality of education from how participants viewed it as education evolved. Their chronological study helped my own by providing information about the motivations behind education in colonial America and the early Republic.

"U.S. Inflation Calculator." *U.S. Inflation Calculator*. http://www.usinflationcalculator.com/ (accessed October 15, 2012).

This website, sponsored by CoinNews, provides information about inflation in the United States. Along with giving current news regarding inflation, the website also lists Consumer Price Index data and historic information about inflation. Most importantly, however, the website has an inflation calculator which translates the price of any dollar amount from 1913 to 2013 into current day prices as well as providing the rate of inflation. In my own work, this calculator helped me to bring my share estimates as close to a modern day price as possible.

Volo, Dorothy Denneen, and James M. Volo. *Daily Life During the American Revolution*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2003.

In this source, Dorothy Denneen and James M. Volo examine the lives of "ordinary" Americans during the Revolutionary War. The authors argue that the Revolutionary War tends to be romanticized and used as propaganda by historians so they aim to provide a close analysis of what contemporaries thought about and lived through during the War. For my own research, Volo and Volo's work provided background information about the role of trade, enlistment, and supply shortages during the Revolutionary War and their effect on social libraries.

Walters, Ronald G. *American Reformers 1815-1860*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1978.

In this source, historian Ronald G. Walters examines antebellum reform movements in America from 1815 to 1860. Walters argues that examining the social and cultural conditions surrounding reform movements provides a new way of analyzing them and a new way of understanding the factors that influenced reformers' attitudes. For my own research, Walters' work provided information about the objectives and motivations of educational reformers in early America.

Weir, Robert M. *Colonial South Carolina: A History*. Millwood, New York: KTO Press, 1983.

Historian Robert M. Weir examines the history of colonial South Carolina from its founding as a settlement to the Revolution. He argues that four factors particularly influenced the Colony's development and led to the growth of a stable polity: growth and contributions of a black majority, its effect on the white minority, the presence of an economy aimed towards making a select few very wealthy, and a transforming political system. Weir's study provided my own research with information about the social structure of colonial Charleston and its views on education.

Wolf, Edwin II. *The Book Culture of a Colonial American City*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988.

Former head of the Library Company of Philadelphia Edwin Wolf explores the trends behind book selection in colonial Philadelphia in this source. Wolf's study aims at creating a methodology for recording books specific to a certain type, time and location. Using book catalogs, advertisements, inventories and lists of private collections, Wolf documents the flow of books in colonial Philadelphia. He breaks his study down into five parts. In the first he examines book lists from the first six decades of the Colony, the second looks at Bibles, religious texts, dictionaries, schoolbooks and children's books, the third examines histories, the fourth law books, and the last belles-lettres. Wolf's study helped my own by providing me with information about the value of books in colonial Philadelphia.

Young, Jeffrey Robert. *Domesticating Slavery: The Master Class in Georgia and South Carolina, 1670-1837*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1999.

In this source, historian Jeffrey Robert Young examines slaveholders' ideology and identity in Georgia and South Carolina from 1670 to 1837. Young argues that slaveholders' intense ideology was the result of the development of the defense of slavery as a form of cultural capital in the South. For my own research, Young's study provided me with information about the economic structure of colonial Charleston and slavery's role in it.

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