Keeping the Code: The College Library in the United States at the Middle of the Nineteenth Century

Paper presented at 'History of Libraries in the United States,' a conference organized by Kenneth Carpenter and Thomas Augst in Philadelphia, PA, April 11-13, 2002

As many of you know, the mid-nineteenth century American college was likely to have several libraries on campus. There were libraries associated with the student-run literary and debating societies. Specially organized student religious groups would have theirs. Professors had a personal library. Occasionally there would be a very specialized technical library on campus, such as that for the observatory. Then, in the midst of all this would be the college's own library, usually described in the section of the college catalogue where was covered other affordances of the college such as the mineralogical cabinet or the collection of philosophical apparatus.

My focus today is on that last type just mentioned, the college library, in particular the library at mid-century.

When you examine the published literature surveying these --- namely the work of Arthur Hamlin (1981), Howard Clayton (1963), W. Carlton and N. Chattin (1907) as well as others --- you often encounter a number of words with negative prefixes --- words such as 'inadequate', 'ineffectual', even 'impotent.' (Sic.) As far as these writers are concerned the college library of the mid nineteenth century was abysmal.

What is puzzling about this assessment is that you're not exactly told by what standards the library was 'inadequate.' Now granted when Hamlin and others wrote such judgments, readers of their own times – readers one, two, even three generations ago -- probably they would have immediately understood what was meant. For today's reader, it still remains a mystery. So where does that leave us?

If we are to understand these mid-nineteenth century libraries, we need to understand them on their own terms – not on the terms of others. We need to understand how the people contemporaneously associated with them constructed and construed their libraries in their own setting and for their own purposes. This is my task for today.

The academic libraries of mid-19th century America were artifacts crafted by men -- chiefly the professors and the college president --- who in turn had made and were making a larger and more encompassing construct --- the college curriculum, the physical character of the college, and that intangible sense of place. These larger artifacts were in turn governed by larger codes -- in the case of the curriculum there were codes tracing Day_1_4_2_Ferguson.doc

back to the Middle Ages. By mid-century there had developed codes, both evident and implicit, for the construction, operation and expectations for academic libraries. Understanding the codes surrounding learning, education, reading, books and bookownership at this time will go a long way toward helping us answer our basic questions: What were these libraries? And how were they regarded?

Let me begin by telling you a story. It is the story of a mother – a minister's wife – steeped in the ways of the early part of nineteenth century advising her son who has just started college as the last quarter of the century begins.

On December 1, 1876 Janet Woodrow Wilson, the mother of Thomas Woodrow Wilson, wrote to her son about how he should go about forming his own personal Library. By this time her son had already completed some college – First, he was at Davidson starting in 1873 – then, on Sept. 7, 1875 he entered Princeton with the Class of 1879. His letters home during his first Princeton year reveal many hours of reading --- Addison, Pepys, Samuel Johnson, Gibbon, Goldsmith, but in particular he was much taken by Macaulay. His mother's advice about his library was cautious --

'I believe,' she wrote, 'Most young men make the mistake of getting a number of books all at once, before they know well what they will need or enjoy, just that they may have a Library. And if they prove sure enough students, they regret having thrown away money that they could have spent to so much better advantage after a little while.' Her point, she said, in summary is, 'I am anxious that you should collect a very choice Library.' Woodrow never made a formal reply, so we do not know his immediate reaction. But, Janet Woodrow Wilson's words tell us today something very important about how a woman of her learning regarded libraries. Like the process of learning itself, forming a library was not to be taken lightly -- it was a process governed by custom, convention, and procedure.

Now when we turn to consider the people who shaped college libraries at mid-century, we find those people holding attitudes similar to those expressed by Janet Wilson to her son. Themes we see in this story --- carefulness, purposefulness, circumspection, and understanding learning to be a process of discernment --- these and similar themes emerge.

We also encounter another overlap. Here was one generation speaking to another --- but mother's words were not casual words --- they reflect her sense of duty toward her son. She believed with certainty that she had a role to play in the workings of a higher moral order. Her authority to instruct her son came from her observance of that order. Her voice made personal an authority that in another respect was abstract and intangible.

Now when we read the evidence about libraries on campus at this time --- the literary societies, the debating societies, the libraries belonging to special groups or individuals --- we learn that it is primarily the college library that links most closely to the intergenerational aspect of this story. Duty, authority, observance of a higher order,

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regard for the higher place of one generation over another --- these are all themes that come into play in the making, collecting, furnishing, and operation of the college library at this time.

At mid century, professors and clergy supplied college students with a number of advice books on reading. Here are typical titles: The Reverend Alzono Potter's *Handbook for Readers and Students, Intended as a Help to Individuals, Associations, School-Districts, and Seminaries of Learning, in the Selection of Works for Reading, Investigation, or Professional Study* (Fourth Edition, NY:1863), Princeton Theological Seminary Professor Samuel Miller's *Letters from a Father to his Sons in College* (Philadelphia, 1852), and President of Yale Noah Porter's *Books and Reading* (1871). The student's first duty, of course, was to the reading assigned by the instructors. (Miller p 146). But if general reading is to be indulged in, then, says Professor Miller, for instance, "Let [it] be such as is adapted to be useful. Think of the great ends of education. They are to form proper intellectual and moral habits, and to fill the mind with solid, laudable knowledge." (Miller, p 146). [End of quote]

In practice, such advice meant both avoidance and embracing. One should embrace the systematic and classic texts, "with which every educated man is expected to have some acquaintance" (Miller, 148). These were works that lasted; to be avoided was the ephemeral. Novels belonged to this transient category, and these were to be avoided not only because of that fact but also because they leaned toward impiety and immorality. How to read was also covered. Potter recommend "Do not attempt to read much or fast" (Potter, p 16), citing as his authorities for such advice: Lord Shaftesbury, Seneca, John Locke, and Dugdale Stewart. Potter emphasizes with italics Locke's statement "We are of the ruminating kind."

Did such advice matter? Perhaps. For we do have the word of a Williams student (Sketches of Williams, p 73) who tells us in 1847 'Looked over, this evening, a book of advice to students. An article on 'general reading' struck me forcibly. Immediately resolved inward to read a great deal while here. The libraries are large. My opportunities will never be better. I have adopted the following scheme for my college course. HISTORY: Rollin, Josephus, Gibbon, Hallam's Middle Ages, Hume's England, Bancroft's United States, and Alison's Modern Europe; also, some minor histories to fill up the intervals. BIOGRAPHY: Lives of all the great men in whom I become interested by other reading. ENGLISH LITERATURE: Shakespeare, Milton, Addison, Pope, Young, Swift, Goldsmith, Burke, and Cowper. I think this course, well pursued, will employ me through college, and make me at graduation a man of great general information. Begin Rollin tonight. (Mem[orandum]: To draw the 1st Vol. of Shakespeare from the Library, and the lives of both Shakespeare and Rollin.')

¶ Now these rules about reading in turn governed what should be in a college's own collection at mid century.

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- no newspapers -- students went to reading rooms for these
- no novels, no romances students used literary society libraries for these
- no cheap books
- few if any periodicals --- Reviews were preferred
- certain books were indisputably proper such as 'well established authors'
- systematic works
- dictionaries
- encyclopedias
- association items
- manuscripts maybe
- another maybe were state, local, or federal government documents -- generally these were excluded -- although there were exceptions to this rule, such as the publications of England's Public Record Office given by the British government to select college libraries in the 1830s.
- in sum, included was whatever it took to make a 'library of reference'
- And, only certain ready-made collections were allowed in, such as the library of a professor.

So why did Americans purchase professorial libraries for their colleges during the 19th century?

Yale's purchase of a German professor's ecclesiastical history library in 1854 (the Philo library) made perfect sense given the ground rules for an academic library at the time. In this era when the college library was dominated by the authority of the professor, it was reasonable to assume that you could put your trust in others of that ilk. Because these libraries had been formed by one of their own, or by one whom they emulated, the professors at Yale, Rochester, Northwestern, and such like institutions could proceed with confidence to spend carefully scrutinized dollars on goods well known to be particularly expensive. (One Princeton professor's personal library was so valuable that he used it to obtain a mortgage. [Wertenbaker, p 300].) ii

Indeed, for Americans at this time, what were the alternatives? How could you convince your trustees that you had purchased the right books for the college library? If professors or clergy could not fill the role of book expert, who could?

On the one hand, specialist book experts were few and far between. Were members of the book trade to be trusted? Their interest in sales could be regarded as perhaps in conflict with what was considered right for the learned. Indeed, some in the trade were more learned than others. What would you do about such a hybrid agent such as Obadiah Rich, self described in 1834 after his service in the diplomatic corps as 'Agent to the Principal Libraries in the United States'? That he had brokered the donation to your library of a full set of the Public Record Commission books might put him in a good light. But, would you continue custom with him?

Or, consider the case of Professor Asa Gray commissioning George Palmer Putnam of London to purchase books for the foundation collection of the University of Michigan in 1839. (See Bidlack 49-51). Putnam was a young, ambitious bookman in London at the time and Gray similarly young and ambitious. But, perhaps, taking risks when gathering resources is what start-up colleges did. Or, perhaps entrusting book selection to a lay man and a man of commerce to boot was deemed appropriate for a so-called 'secular' or 'non denominationally sponsored' school.

So much for individuals. What about knowledge about books, independent of personal expertise of individuals? The century began as an era when there was a lack of English language bibliographical tools by which to measure the worth of a collection. But, as the century progressed, that too changed with the widening circle of published catalogues of private and public collections as well as critical lists such as the Reverend Thomas Dibdin's guide to the Greek and Latin classics. I know this latter book was used in appraising a college library for I have discovered evidence of the Princeton librarian during the 1850s and 60s, Professor Henry Cameron, annotating Princeton's copies of editions particularly praised by Dibdin. For example, in Princeton's copy of Valckenaer's edition of Ammonius's De adfinium vocabulorum differentia [25702.1739] Cameron wrote "'An excellent work, & now rare' / 'Dibdin' says this is a most valuable and rare edition.' Cameron marked in the Princeton copy of the Venice 1507 editions of the works of Vergil, 'This edition not noticed by Dibdin' [Ex 2945.1507].

Colleges did indeed send professors out to shop.

"In 1834 the University of Vermont sent Professor Joseph Torrey abroad to purchase books, and as a result of his visit 7000 volumes were acquired at \$1.25 a piece ..." iii

Just the year before, in 1833, Princeton received word from Louis Mark, American consul to Bavaria, of the Munich Duplicates. The opportunity was described in these ".... the Royal Library here has two hundred thousand doublets to sell! The most part of them consist in Latin works and the whole would very much fit for the foundation of a library!.... The whole would be given for 40000 -- Bavarian florins! or about 12,600 Dollars! The King has already given his permission for selling these doublets! The Director of the R. Library Mr. Lichtenhaler is a very honest man!" Sensing a bargain, Princeton instructed its brightest, young polymath professor, Joseph Addison Alexander, to detour to Munich while in Europe. Addison, the son of the learned and forceful Professor Archibald Alexander of the Princeton Theological Seminary, was a pious man in his own right. He inspected the books in the summer of 1833. The sight of Munich library was too disturbing for him to bear – the sight of all the books, the thought of being called to examine each of them, the need to form an opinion about them each in turn, in short, all that variety is not want he wants, nor does he think it proper for a Christian intellectual of his day. He wrote in his diary "The mind cannot be steady amidst half a

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million magnets." In turn he so told his father, who relayed the opinion to the Trustees, who noted that it was "not expedient" to purchase the books.

As the years progress, the examples multiply. In 1845, Yale sent Professor W.L. Kingsley, its first professor of languages, to Europe and the many particulars of his purchases from May to October are recorded in 12 letters to the Yale librarian, Edward C. Herrick. And, University Quarterly magazine records in January 1860 that at Middlebury "The college library has recently received a valuable addition of about four thousand volumes, carefully selected by the President in Paris and London during a recent tour of Europe."

¶ The idea was to have what would be regarded as a 'well selected' or a 'choice and valuable' library. In fact this norm seems to govern descriptions of libraries published during the 19th century. The phrase 'well selected' or 'choice and valuable' turns up repeatedly, making one think that this seems impossible. How could all these libraries be 'well selected'? It seems to me that saying those words is comparable to keeping a rule of etiquette when talking about libraries at this time. Those terms were part of the rhetoric that was considered valuable and persuasive. But more on that rhetoric -- which included the publicizing of statistics -- later. [∨]

¶ But the rules did not stop at just the contents of the library. As I mentioned at the outset, the rules were all intertwined with other codes and standards, such as those that governed practices of stewardship, or the physical appearance of the library, particulars of operation. I now turn to these others.

¶ Now, in many ways in this era, rules defined the college. vi And these college laws were situated in a larger set of rules of regard. The norm at this time was for the institution's reputation to be based on:

- the reputation and character of the men connected with it, be they officers of the college or be they alumni
- 'the modes and means of instruction' (see History of Williams College page 158)
- even the physical locale was considered relevant some people thought that being in the city was a negative. This was the argument for Columbia to move uptown in the 1870s. (See Editorial in 1876 *Nebulae* re: Columbia moving uptown to then more rural Harlem.) The same argument appeared in the 1820 episode during which Williams considered moving out of Williamstown to Northampton. According to 'Sketches of Williams' (1847), a college in the country is better than one in the city because it meets certain rules that 'literary men' have about the correct literary life. [Quote] (p 55 to 56) -- "The country student sees less of the world during his college course. He learns less of Fashion's forms, but not necessarily less of true politeness. And does he not acquire physical, moral, and mental habits which shall enable him, when he enters the world, the stronger to bear up against its rude blasts, and better to withstand its temptations, and to lead as honorable and useful a life as if he had spent four years in vibrating between the halls of fashion and learning?"

¶ But there weres more than just – *vibrations* --- why did such distinct, specific rules governing the library of the college, or the college, matter, at all? Because maintaining the mission and holding the possessions of the college – such as books -- was regarded as a moral obligation -- to society, and to a higher order, such as 'God's work on earth.' Orderliness insured right completion of obligation. Rational order and intuition of the good were two sides of the same coin.

From a manual of conduct for those incumbent in a parish -- Christian Fellowship, or the Church Member's Guide (Boston, 1829) — we learn:

"VI. [Regarding] Rich members

... Let them consider it their incumbent duty, to consecrate no small portion of their affluence, not merely in propagating the principles of Christianity abroad, but upholding *the cause of truth* at home. The erection of chapels, the support of seminaries, the maintenance of poor ministers, the establishment of churches, should with them be an object of deep anxiety.

... The virtues they are called to exercise are, gratitude to God, humility and condescension to men, economy, temperance and liberality, together with tender sympathy for their poorer brethren, and a generous regard to the support of the cause of pure religion, and general benevolence." (p. 161 and 164)

In the religious framework of 19th century America, the wealthy man functioned as part of a larger order. That order dictated certain understandings – that one's wealth was meant to be shared.

I think that the same sense of belonging to a higher order came into play with respect to knowledge. Like a wealthy man within the community, the learned man was regarded as one who had received riches, and like wealth, knowledge was to be shared. Much had been given to him and much was expected in return. To share then was the philanthropic thing to do. For this reason then -- to show observance of the higher order as well as to participate in the ritual that embodied that order – learned authors gave their books to libraries, especially college libraries. Since colleges had been set apart as places were youth would be trained in the special ways of 'the cause of truth' or 'the cause of pure religion,' their libraries functioned then as a place set apart for the retention and preservation of these special gifts. By receiving these gifts, these libraries too became part of the system acknowledging the higher order. In a sense then, the college library was a 'bibliotheca sacra.'

¶ And these norms as well governed how the library should physically look. There was a debate over Octagonal vs. Rectilinear. Equally controversial was architectural style: Classical vs. 'Pointed' or Gothic. The former came to be regarded as pagan and the later as Christian. Permanence mattered – preferred were real marble columns not painted plywood. And if there was to be any decorative imagery at all – it was to be statuary, not paintings. Certain dark woods were preferred. In a tribute to permanence, Princeton

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'marbleized' the shelves when it built it's new library room in Nassau Hall immediately after the 1855 fire.

¶ And within the building, norms governed the arrangement of the books on the shelves. The point of these rules (sometimes conflicting) was many times:

to honor donors

to make storage affordable

Consider this episode at Georgetown in the 1830s. At the time the 12,000 volumes in the collection made it one of the largest academic libraries in the country. It moved to new quarters in February 1831. "James Curley, then a young Jesuit and later librarian in his turn, reminisced towards the end of his long life about the beautiful appearance of the Library, books arranged by size, folios, quartos, octavos, &c. [and then noted that] ... a young man, named Van de Velde, took charge, and with new ideas, arranged the books by subjects—[thus] spoiling its beauty!"

¶ And of course, specific operational rules governed what went on within the physical space of the library. Now, given the larger context for these rules we can see how these begin to make sense on their own terms. Consider Virginia's 1847 rule number eight.

"[The librarian] shall see that every book belonging to the library be in its place on the shelves, upon the fifth day before the end of every session; and not removed during the sitting of the Visitors, unless by their permission; in order that the whole library may be subject to their inspection" viii

As we have noted above, the larger concern is that stewardly possession is evidence of the fulfillment of duty. Now this rule number 8 is only one such instance. Local college library rules could be quite extensive. For example, it has been noted that in 1854, 25% of the laws of Harvard College concerned the library. This was a proportion larger than any other single category of rule. ix The challenge ahead then, for us, is to look at all these specific rules – even though we might regard them as quaint and quirky -- and determine the framework that gave rise to them.

¶ Before leaving this discussion about rules and finishing up with some points about the challenges that made the rules change, I want to return to a point alluded to earlier – the rhetoric of persuasion. It almost seems to be a sine qua non of these contemporary descriptions that the library be 'choice' or 'well selected.' You get the feeling that not saying so would have been like telling a mother that her baby was not beautiful. Conformance to social order mattered more than observance to an 'objective' standard. But concurrent with these standard epithets, especially starting in the 1820s and 30s, data comes into descriptions of libraries that answers to the following questions: What is the 'whole number' of books in the collection? What the is rank order of the library? What is the cost of the building that houses it? How much in dollars have been past cash donations, legacies, and gifts toward a permanent fund? Now seeing this data, of course, prompts the next natural question for us: 'Why did these numbers come in at all? And why then?' Why at this time did the norms regarding convincing argument shift about this time so as to include numbers and statistics?^x Evidence shows that it was a

permanent shift, for, we are all familiar with statistical tabulations about libraries that first took systematic form with Jewett's report of 1850 and have continued on down to the present. Then at about two or three decades later, there also appear other 'numeric' notabilia such as the identifying, displaying, celebrating and publicizing the oldest book in a particular library. This happened at Yale and at Amherst in the years just before 1860. (See Yale article in University Quarterly and notes on Amherst.) Again, why did numeric data emerge as important?

The numbers point to a new valence of order --- this is one apart from the realm of 'choice' and being 'well selected'. It is a valuing of the tangible not the representative --- a valuing of the scientific not the doxological. It is a revaluation linked to an intellectual trend noticed to progress through the century -- that of the rise of 'methodological naturalism' or the notion that 'explanations required a more rigorously controlled linkage between effects and their putative causes.' ^{xi} This was an age when there developed a more specialized understanding of how knowledge was obtained and what it was formally. By mid-century, units of measurement firmly counted for libraries. Dates and volumes were those basic units.

¶ I think the above speculation about statistics can serve as a bridge to the final points of this paper. The linking theme is that of specialization. In the end, change came to these libraries and the norms that governed them when new special agents of construction appeared on the scene, especially after the Civil War. These new agents were a variety of characters, both familiar on the one hand but novel on the other.

- There was Henry Vassar whose money fueled new ideas about how to educate women and challenged the received doctrines of the day. Similarly, there was Ezra Cornell. The descriptions of the libraries at Vassar or Wellesley or Oberlin are different from the standard model at male colleges
- Student demands caused changes, especially as demands on them changed. At Princeton, in the 1860s and 70s, newly introduced cash prizes for superior scholarship caused the students to value the college library in a new way. They complained in the student literary magazine that the library was ill equipped to provide the books needed for them to compete effectively for the newly established prizes.
- Scientific faculty required scientific texts --- and these were usually published as periodicals -- a form of publication reluctantly considered in an earlier day.
- Publishers and book importers sought to make inroads by new means. In October, 1867, Scribners first published the trade periodical *The Book Buyer: A Summary of American and Foreign Literature*. It was a mixture of advertisements, lists of publications, and 'book chat' all aimed at a learned reading public. 'Librarians who may send us their names shall receive it postpaid' (p 8, issue 3 Dec 16, 1867). Noah Porter's *Human Intellect* is touted in the 15 September 1869 issue (p 14) "The attention of the large number of instructors in our higher institutions of learning to whom this number of *The Book Buyer* is sent is invited to the peculiar excellencies of Prof. Porter's *Human Intellect*, as a Text-Book for Colleges and Universities. Its

- merits as a manual for the Library and for general reference have been very generally acknowledged. It has been pronounced by competent critics to be 'the most complete and exhaustive exhibition of the cognitive faculty of the soul to be found in our language."
- Alumni organized and invented alumnalism, partly realized in the discovery that the
 college had a history. Portrait collections were started. Libraries were filled with
 collections of alumni publications. This later collecting trend came to a head at the
 1893 Chicago Exposition, where colleges vied to carry off the prize for the best
 collection of alumni publications. Princeton was one of the winners. After Chicago,
 these collections got no national attention.
- And if college history was to be included, what other sorts of history? US only? Do
 ephemeral materials count toward the collecting of history? We are now moving a
 long way from dignified formality of the professorial hegemony.

The era of the institutional academic library has begun. And such is the precursor of the research library.

¹ Cf. James Green's account of Dr James Rush's will and codicils affecting the Library Company of Philadelphia. James Rush was the son of Benjamin Rush. James was a member of the Class of 1805 at Princeton and his father was Class of 1760. James Rush died in 1869. "Rush's will included other codicils that were further intended to prevent the Library Company from becoming more like the public libraries in other cities. He decreed that the library would collect only books of permanent value that would benefit rather than amuse the public. He banned "every-day novels, mind-tainting reviews, controversial politics," even daily newspapers." (p. 405 in Green's article on the Library Company of Philadelphia in David Stam (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of Library History* (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn, 2001).

ⁱⁱ Professor Stephen Alexander expected Princeton College to purchase his astronomy library at the time of his retirement from teaching and was greatly disappointed when the college authorities failed to do so. [See ALS May 4, 1877 to Charles Ewing Green in General MSS Misc filed under Green's name together with 11 other letters addressed to Green / Could also be 1875 letter by Alexander in Gen MSS Misc filed under Alexander

iii at an average price of \$1.25 per volume. This acquisition made the library one which 'for he uses of a collegiate institution, was excelled by no library in the United States except perhaps, that of Harvard' "Carlton, W. N. C. and N. Chattin. "College Libraries in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Library Journal* 32 (1907) p 480

^{iv} See Jeffery Garrett "Books and Things" for particulars about Munich librarians who lost their minds trying to deal with and catalogue the slew of Munich books at this time.

Very Canne Goldgar, according to Tony Grafton, has identified the elaborate system of compliments and etiquette worked out by the 'Republic of Letters' in order to keep peace. See ATG's Bring Out Your Dead article titled 'Those Humanists!' -- Perhaps peace-keeping is a work here too?]

vi [recall picture in the Princeton Rake of 185x – it shows Carnahan surrounded by the professors – all in dress coats – C's first is raised over his head clutch rolled up papers labeled 'College Laws'.]

vii (See http://gulib.lausun.georgetown.edu/dept/speccoll/libhist.htm "Sometime between 1826 and 1831 Van de Velde wrote out the first catalog of the library; his computations on the final leaf show a grand total Day_1_4_2_Ferguson.doc

of 11,150 volumes, and when the library was moved to commodious new quarters in the north building on February 16, 1831, it was reckoned to contain 12,000 volumes. He took his library work seriously, but it was not universally appreciated. James Curley, then a young Jesuit and later librarian in his turn, reminisced towards the end of his long life about the beautiful appearance of the Library, books arranged by size, folios, quartos, octavos, &c. [but] a young man, named Van de Velde, took charge, and with new ideas, arranged the books by subjects--spoiling its beauty!)

viii (Enactments Relating to the Constitution and Government of the University of Virginia, p 57 and 58 [Philadelphia: C. Sherman, 1847]

ix (See Carlton and Chattin in LJ 1907 page 483 -- "In the 'Statutes and Laws of Harvard College' edition of 1854, 73 of 208 numbered paragraphs relate to the library; and an examination of the statutes of some other institutions shows that this proportion was not uncommon.")

^x Note: the annual report of the Library Company of Philadelphia contained no statistics for many years. They burst upon the scene in 1835 in a full page table.

xi See Roberts and Turner, The Sacred and the Secular University, pp 11, 28-30