

# School Libraries in 19th Century North Carolina, 1800-1876: “The Want of Books is Now an Immediate, Practical and Pressing One.”

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## Abstract

School libraries are ubiquitous in American education today yet historians have rarely studied their early development. Their roots lie in the nineteenth-century local and state history. This article uses a variety of archival and secondary sources to explore the history of school libraries in North Carolina during this formative period of the state's past. It also situates this history in terms of national library and school development and forms a model for the study of school libraries. The events and developments in North Carolina are illustrative but not identical with those in other states.

Historians have written little about school libraries. The first attested school library was in ancient Sumer where it functioned much as today, in support of the curriculum. In America the story of school libraries is intimately tied to education in general but has been largely ignored. Therefore an examination of school libraries in nineteenth-century North Carolina can help explain the past of libraries while also contributing to the story of the growth of literacy and education in the United States. Such a study need not be a static recitation of facts but should consider the school library in the context of American history. As the editors of a massive library report of 1876 said, each state or school district “will be found to contain one or more of the evils” of the then current school system.<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this paper is to examine the development of school libraries in North Carolina from 1800 to 1876. There were few libraries of any type in North Carolina after the American Revolution, so 1800 serves as a convenient beginning point while the emergence of the national library movement by 1876 gives sufficient reason to consider this period a proper one for study. The importance of school libraries was certainly recognized. It was in this interlude, says Tom Cole, that “the school library came to be looked upon as an aid in classroom instruction as well as a source for leisure-time reading.”<sup>2</sup> However, while illustrative of national and regional norms, the situation in North Carolina did not exactly mirror that of the rest of the nation and deserves separate examination.

The development of school libraries remains murky and largely ignored by historians and

librarians, not just for North Carolina but the United States in general. It was a time of great formal development of American education and the emergence of a truly literate society.<sup>3</sup> Advances in technology and paper production, allied with a transportation revolution, lowered print costs and facilitated the spread of print culture throughout America.<sup>4</sup> School libraries in North Carolina are representative of a broad middle tier of states not at the forefront of education but not unduly laggard either. Their development displays both continuities and discontinuities in the establishment of American libraries. Public and college libraries nationally became relatively widespread by 1900 but not in North Carolina.

North Carolina chartered over 170 private academies by 1835, so we know there were a number of schools and probably many collections of books in these schools.<sup>5</sup> We do not, however, know much about them. Schools faded away leaving few records. The existence and scale of their libraries, if any, varied greatly but this lack of consistency and quality was common throughout most of the young Republic.

Almost all formal and informal education was limited to whites. John Chavis, a freeman of color who “had a small but select library of theological works,” ran an integrated school for blacks in Raleigh until forced to close by the increasing siege mentality of southern whites in the 1830s.<sup>6</sup> While there are examples of literate blacks and even a sought-after poet in Moses Horton, there appears to have been no open public or private library access in the ante-bellum period for African Americans.

Much of the early teaching effort in and outside the home went towards white male education although there was some formal female education. Most education for girls was in the home or in small neighborhood schools. By 1860 there were thirteen known independent schools for girls, but a number of other schools probably admitted them on a limited basis. While most southern female institutions, other than Salem Academy and perhaps Warrenton Female Academy, were generally considered finishing schools rather than places of higher education, one contemporary asserted in 1821 that North Carolina female academies were “particularly celebrated, and are much resorted to from Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia.” Course work was often taken seriously. Thomas Ruffin in 1826 wrote to his daughter Catherine, “Reading furnishes food for reflection; and the habit is a valuable one and ought to be early formed of thinking and again going over in the mind the passages perused in the day.”<sup>7</sup>

Raleigh Academy, one of the larger private schools, can serve as an unusually well-documented example of the early academies. Raleigh, the state capital, was the third largest city in the state with 669 inhabitants in 1800, behind New Bern with 2,467 and Wilmington at 1,689 – population figures which themselves indicate the rural nature of most of North Carolina at the time. Opened in 1801, the Academy set ambitious courses for boys in Latin (thirteen authors), Greek (five titles), French (five titles), science (about nine titles plus “use of the Globes”), literature (four titles), and metaphysics (six titles plus the American and North Carolina constitutions), with a somewhat less ambitious curriculum for girls. The latter

were normally taught only in English – “The Latin and French Languages will be taught when required” – with pianoforte, painting, drawing, tambouring, embroidery and other needlework. The 1809 catalog of the Academy’s library, counting the textbooks, listed over 200 book titles plus a surprising number of novels. Local citizens could use the library although after 1815 the initiation fee was \$10 with yearly fees thereafter of \$5. No one was allowed to keep a book longer than two weeks on penalty of a fine of fifty cents or to take out more than one book on the same day. The Academy’s brochure declared that the library was “annually increasing.”<sup>8</sup>

Most school libraries were less endowed than Raleigh’s but Louisburg Academy, chartered in 1787, reported a slow but real growth in its collection over the next half century. Only half of the academies and schools, according to one observer, had libraries in 1839. The quality of books is suggested by the situation at the Quakers’ New Garden Boarding School near Greensboro, which would become Guilford College. Most of its “great collection of books, maps, and globes” had been donated. Rather than wade through such pious benefactions, students would go to their lodgings and kneel “before opened trunks and read the old newspapers used to line them.”<sup>9</sup> This behavior certainly indicated a great desire to read as well as a real paucity of suitable library materials.

The 1840 Census soon revealed what many had suspected, that with twenty-eight percent of its adult white males unable to read, North Carolina had the highest illiteracy rate in the nation. The state legislature had allowed counties to establish common or public schools only the year before. Although, as Lawrence Cremin points out, “significant numbers of Americans during the nineteenth century continued to pursue their education entirely within families and churches or through more informal means,” the rise of formal institutions like common schools marks an important stage in American education. In addition, small subscription schools – with probably even smaller libraries – had long catered to a few better-off families but have left few records. Such schools made “no pretense” of teaching more than “the rudiments” of education: reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic.<sup>10</sup> Nonetheless, a great number and variety of common and subscription schools gradually spread throughout the state during the 1840s and 1850s.

There was a somewhat curious attempt to place a public set of pedagogical and curriculum materials in each county in the early 1850s. The idea of school-district libraries, understood in North Carolina as central libraries for teachers, managed by a local committee under the county school superintendent and funded by the common school district, had originated in the North and spread with education reforms sweeping from New England. Horace Mann and others had meant these collections to be useful community libraries with a teacher’s library of educational texts attached. Some northern booksellers tried to market a standardized set of 100 suitable volumes for these libraries. Calvin H. Wiley, the state school superintendent who worked so hard and long to establish “common” – i.e., tax-supported public – schools, perhaps misunderstood Mann’s original intention and focused only on the pedagogical needs of teachers. In any case, Wiley thought a revolution in education would occur if one scattered “judiciously over the State good copies of any good work on education.” Little, however, came of Wiley’s version of teacher-libraries. In the North, some of these school-district libraries evolved into town libraries but that development did not occur in North Carolina.<sup>11</sup> North Carolina, like most rural states, was not sufficiently endowed to have serious and regularly-funded school libraries.

Evaluations of southern schools during this period varied greatly. Edenton Academy, a major school on the coast, claimed in 1841 that its graduates “will be prepared to enter the Junior Class of any college in the United States” although a teacher in Asheville on the other end of the state complained at about the same time that an aspirant he knew for West Point “reads as a good many of the young men grown in the South do – that is guesses *one* half & murders the rest.” A northern educator resident in Wilson, however, claimed the local schools were far better than in his native Vermont.<sup>12</sup>

On the eve of the Civil War the former university tutor-librarian William Hayes Owen pessimistically claimed that North Carolinians built better barns than they did schools.<sup>13</sup> Nonetheless, the state’s educational efforts were beginning to come into focus by mid-century; common schools were being established across the state; and women were increasingly becoming teachers of older students beyond just neighborhood schools.

Susan Webb, for example, considered it “the hand of Providence” that guided her to becoming an educator. Common schools, indeed, spread widely throughout North Carolina in the 1850s. The state’s economy was thriving along with cotton.<sup>14</sup>

The 1850 census counted only one school library with 1,500 books in North Carolina. Charles C. Jewett’s survey that same year for the Smithsonian cites a Fayette Academy in Salem with 1,500 books (Jewett meant the Salem Female Academy) and the (Episcopal) Mission School Library at Valle Crucis in mountainous Watauga County also with 1,500. A national survey published in 1859 lists a few institutions not cited elsewhere (e.g., “Reed’s Cross-Roads High School”) but gives almost no statistics, while that same year the state Superintendent of Common Schools reported 3,190 school districts with about sixty students each but gave no particulars about libraries. By 1860 the Census found five school libraries with a total of 9,600 books.<sup>15</sup> None of these surveys appear to be credible for North Carolina as in most schools each headmaster or principal probably supplied his own unofficial library. The adequacy of such libraries, however, cannot be ascertained because of the lack of further information about them.<sup>16</sup>

Archibald Murphey, the state’s leading educational reformer of the 1820s, in a moment of rhetorical hyperbole and sarcasm had declared that most students despaired of reading books because there were so many of them, but John Menan Patrick, a student at Raleigh Academy, writing in his diary in 1816, had asserted the need for a large library. “Of what advantage ... is it to have so many more books than you can read. I answer that if you cannot read them all they will always be ready for reference whenever information may be wanted.... Among the many things which would contribute to the refinement of man, perhaps there is none which would do so in a greater degree than the establishment of numerous & several libraries.”<sup>17</sup>

Despite Murphey’s mischievous and widely quoted words, contemporaries understood the potential importance an abundance of reading materials had for the education of the mind. The establishment of school libraries, however, would require thought and money at a time when even colleges did little to provide sustained libraries.<sup>18</sup> The lack of information

about antebellum libraries is itself negative evidence of either a lack of concern with organized libraries or a lack of resources to build and maintain such libraries, or both. Yet we know North Carolinians like other Americans were concerned with education, at least education for the white middle and upper classes. Therefore the lack of resources would seem to be the major culprit in the slow growth of libraries.

When war erupted between North and South, the state had few substantial libraries of any type and had made little attempt to keep those few current and vigorous. The Civil War itself took a terrible toll on students, teachers and education, although the possibility for education was not entirely lost. Anna Pritchard of Warren County, for instance, earned ninety-four acres of land for teaching school for Colonel Wharton G. Green “in time of war.”<sup>19</sup> Many schools and colleges remained open during the war and some southern publishers briefly did well in the textbook market. Nonetheless, a generation lost much of its chance for education. Soldiers worried more about their lives and limbs than reading.

Confederate textbooks for little children were illustrated with guns and claimed that “the Yankees thought to starve us out when they sent their ships to guard our seaport towns.”<sup>20</sup> Even members of the educated, professional classes such as doctors and teachers were mobilized. If some merchants and plantation owners initially did well, all fared poorly by the end of the war. Slaves and free blacks, whether literate or not, suffered immense privations even as flames of hope burst into fires of liberty. While black Southerners became free, almost everyone lost immeasurably in friends, relatives and wealth. And libraries sank from public view.

It has been postulated that three factors largely govern reading, the degree of literacy among a group, the amount of reading material available, and the time available for reading, to which a fourth factor should be added, an interest in reading. North Carolinians had certainly enjoyed books and reading before the war. Delha Mabrey, for one, had confided in her diary her pleasure in books, with the Bible being her favorite but not her only book. “Spent a delightful morning, read several pleasant little stories for her Cherry and Kate.” A soldier could repine for his copy

of Shakespeare but few schools were opened during the war and many closed down or consolidated. The founding of private schools, as recorded in legislative documents, did not pick up again until 1869-1870.<sup>21</sup>

Soldiers, deserters and others scavenged the land and damaged, destroyed or carted off many book collections. The governor had to authorize the removal of the state archives and records, “By reason of the frequent incursions of the enemy from his garrisons in the eastern part of the State.” Already, in 1861, as Calvin Wiley explained to a group of teachers, “The want of books is now an immediate, practical and pressing one.” Yet the situation in terms of library materials soon worsened.<sup>22</sup>



M. B. Moore, *The Dixie Primer*, for the Little Folks. Raleigh, N.C.: Branson & Farrar, 1863. Documenting the American South. University Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2004.

The end of the war brought additional confusion to education and everyday life. Typical of the situation, Davenport College, a female school founded by Methodists in Caldwell County, was disbanded “at the approach of the Federal Army ... not knowing what license might be allowed a reckless soldiery.” One contemporary expressed the common view that “the yoke of the conquerer [sic] was placed on the neck of a brave people. Desolation, political, commercial, financial, overwhelming ruin fell upon the subjected land.”<sup>23</sup> The contrast with the North which had borne little of the fighting on its soil was great.

As might be expected, considering not just the devastation of war and the loss of a generation of men – North Carolina proportionally lost more men than any other state – but also the great change in social relations and economic conditions attendant upon total war and emancipation, the state was slow to recover. Blacks were liberated but not given any material assistance – forty acres and a mule being a very short federal program never extended to North Carolina. Most were interested in building new lives and growing produce for their own families, not working commercial agriculture. Plantation owners, on the other hand, had land, but few workers. Small white farmers could contribute little more than their own labor and that of their families as they too had lost grain, livestock and tools. Merchants faced northern men hastening south with their own commercial goods and a new threat of competition from national markets. Transportation, especially railroads destroyed during the war, was soon, surprisingly, rebuilt but there were few crops or goods to exchange.<sup>24</sup>

Cultural institutions such as the press and education withered for years before rebounding and slowly rebuilding. Local book publishing had been attempted in the early years of the nineteenth century and renewed during the Civil War but afterwards produced little in North Carolina. Few people had the resources to send children to colleges. The public school system had taken a severe hit and, outside the Freedman schools which lasted only a short time, showed little initiative until the 1880s. Some of the pre-War free colored had learned to read but only a few slaves were literate. Typical of the situation were the two African-American church-run colleges started in Raleigh shortly after the War, Shaw and St. Augustine. Neither was little more than a technical school but both did provide elements of advanced education even as they struggled through “long years of opposition.”<sup>25</sup>

The desire for education was universal and very practical as everyone needed the ability to read contracts and vouchers, and to count and record money. At first, black southerners started poorly-documented schools which probably had few books. The Freedmen’s Bureau, an agency of the Army engaged in nation building, soon handled the bulk of the job with thirty-eight schools in North Carolina by the summer of 1865 and 114 by

the following summer. After the Freedmen's Bureau closed in 1868, black education was mainly handled by the American Missionary Association, as in Tarboro, or by Quakers, as in Goldsboro.<sup>26</sup> Little or no record is left of libraries in these schools which most likely indicates that they held very few books.

Census of North Carolina School Libraries <sup>27</sup>					
1850		1860		1870	
# of Libraries	# of Volumes	# of Libraries	# of Volumes	# of Libraries	# of Volumes
1	1,500	5	9,600	14	77,050

Even white academies struggled to reopen after the War. Among the most noted were Alexander Wilson's in Melville, near Burlington, and the Bingham School near Chapel Hill. North Carolina and the South had limited interest in and few resources for education and less for the development of libraries. Nevertheless, townships did begin providing public education on a limited basis. Educational institutions spread during the 1870s, but the provision of school libraries is not well documented. One private educator exclaimed, "I have expended nearly everything that I have made in improving the school, making additions to my library and apparatus and paying good salaries in order to secure good teachers."<sup>28</sup> The 1870 Census found fourteen school libraries with 77,050 books, double the number of libraries in 1860 and an eight-fold increase in volume count, but still very meager in overall terms. Moreover, there was little mention of school libraries in the press. The lack of evidence during this period is again itself evidence of a lack of substantial school libraries or interest in them although close inspection of local records might reveal more information, as of the New Garden Boarding School which had some 2000 books when it became Guilford College in 1887.<sup>29</sup> The centennial year 1876 marks a "critical junction" for American libraries – the organization of the world's first library association, the establishment of the first library journal, the first promulgation of Dewey's classification system; the publication of the first great study of American libraries – but represents only a resting point for North Carolina. No local librarian went to the historic library conference in Philadelphia that year, and there were few if any immediate North Carolina repercussions or reflections of the conference. The Civil War and

Reconstruction mark a drastic discontinuity in the growth and development of school libraries and did immense long-term damage to the South's fledgling public school system. The South, already behind the North in education and the provision of library services, fell farther behind during the immediate post-War years and, partly as a result, would remain behind in the twentieth century.

The years from 1800 to 1876 did represent a stage in the development

of North Carolina school libraries in that some citizens and educators recognized the need for greater efforts. Yet "after 1877," says a perspicuous Reconstruction historian, "Southerners had no choice but to create a new society, one without precedent or blueprint."<sup>30</sup> Much the same is true for libraries. Although seeds had been sown before 1860, real growth in the development of school libraries would wait for the following century.

## References

- <sup>1</sup> "School and Asylum Libraries," *Public Libraries in the United States of America; Their History, Condition, and Management*. Special report, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Part I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), 38.
- <sup>2</sup> Tom J. Cole, "The Origin and Development of School Libraries," *Peabody Journal of Education* 37 (September 1959): 87; Horace E. Scudder, "School Libraries," *Atlantic Monthly* (1893), reprinted in *Librarianship in Gilded Age America: An Anthology of Writings, 1868-1901*, ed. Leonard C. Schlup (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2009), 181-185. See also Patrick M. Valentine, "Libraries and Print Culture in Early North Carolina," *North Carolina Historical Review* LXXXII (2005): 295-325; and Wiley J. Williams, "History of North Carolina Libraries and Librarianship: A Bibliography," *North Carolina Libraries* 62 (2004): 50-58, 91-100, 140-160, 194-215.
- <sup>3</sup> Wayne A. Wiegand, "The Rich Potential of American Public School Library History: Research Needs and Opportunities for Historians of Education and Librarianship," *Libraries & the Cultural Record* 42 (2007): 57-74. It is indicative of the lack of attentive paid to school libraries that Haynes McMullen is able to give only two pages to them. *American Libraries before 1876* (Westport, Ct: Greenwood Press, 2000), 156-57.

<sup>4</sup> Not all contemporary librarians welcomed this mass production of books. See, for instance, S. S. Randall and Henry S. Randall, *Mental and Moral Culture, and Popular Education ... including a Special Report on Common School Libraries* (New York: C. S. Francis, 1844), 185.

<sup>5</sup> Charles L. Coon, *North Carolina Schools and Academies 1790-1840: A Documentary History* (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1915), e.g., xxv, xxx, xxxii.

<sup>6</sup> Charles Lee Smith, *The History of Education in North Carolina, Bureau of Education Circular of Information No. 2, 1888* (Government Printing Office, 1888), 139.

<sup>7</sup> *North American Review*, January 1821, as excerpted in Edgar W. Knight, ed., *A Documentary History of Education in the South Before 1860*, 5 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949-53), III, 202; Thomas Ruffin to Catherine Ruffin, 14 March 1826, in J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, ed., *The Papers of Thomas Ruffin*, 4 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards & Broughton, 1918-20), I, 343. See also Thomas Hall Wetmore, "The Literary and Cultural Development of Ante-Bellum Wilmington" (Master's thesis, Duke University, 1940), 170-175; and Smith, *History of Education in North Carolina*, 117, 127.

<sup>8</sup> *Laws of the Raleigh Academy ... as revised, in the year 1811* (Raleigh: Gales & Seaton, 1811). For more on Raleigh Academy, see Patrick M. Valentine, "Useful Books: Community Libraries in North Carolina from 1800 to the Civil War," *North Carolina Libraries* 64 3/4 (Fall-Winter 2006): 60-69.

<sup>9</sup> Patricia Allen Rogers, "A History of the Louisburg College Library, 1787-1965" (Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1982), 1-11; Dorothy Lloyd Gilbert, *Guilford: A Quaker College* (Greensboro: Guilford College and New Garden Boarding School, 1937), 53. Superintendent Joshua Stanley served as librarian.

<sup>10</sup> Lawrence A. Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience 1783-1876* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 163-164; Griffis Johnson, *Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1937), 314; Carl F. Kaestle, *Pillars of the Republic: Common Schools and American Society, 1780-1860* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1990), 116-120. For a sample teacher contract in a subscription school, see William Albright, April 24, 1843, in Albright-Dixon papers, North Carolina State Archives, Private Collections 58.1 [cited hereafter as NCSA, PC].

<sup>11</sup> "Teachers' Library Association," *North Carolina Common School Journal* 1 (September 1856): 25-29; Susan-Mary C. Grant, "Representative Mann: Horace Mann, the Republication Experiment and the South,"



*Journal of American Studies*, 32 (1998): 105-123; Patrick M. Valentine, "America's Antebellum Social Libraries: A Reappraisal in Institutional Development," *Library & Information History* 27, 1 (January 2011), forthcoming.

<sup>12</sup> Edenton Academy circular, August 1841, included in Pettigrew Papers, NCSA, PC, 13.10; J[ohn Augustus] Dickson to John A. Dickson, April 4, 1844, Dickson Family Papers, 1528, Southern Historical Collection, Wilson Library, UNC-Chapel Hill [cited hereafter as SHC]; D. S. Richardson to Calvin Wiley, 8 November 1857, SHC 781, Calvin H. Wiley papers.

<sup>13</sup> W. H. Owen, "Marks of a Good Neighborhood," *North Carolina Journal of Education* II (1859): 13-15. Owen, a professor at Wake Forest College, had been a tutor and librarian at the University of North Carolina.

<sup>14</sup> Susan Webb diary, 17 February 1859, SHC, 1900. Kim Tolley and Nancy Beadie, "Socioeconomic Incentives to Teach in New York and North Carolina: Toward a More Complex Model of Teacher Labor Markets, 1800-1850," *History of Education Quarterly* 46 (2006): 36-72. Good general histories are William S. Powell, *North Carolina Through Four Centuries* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989); and Milton Ready, *The Tar Heel State: A History of North Carolina* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2005).

<sup>15</sup> *The Seventh Census of the United States: 1850, an appendix* (Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1853), table XLVI; Jewett, *Appendix to the Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution*, 148-49; William J. Rhees, *Manual of Public Libraries, Institutions, and Societies, in the United States ...* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1859), xxvi-xxvii, 626-27; *Statistics of the United States, (including Mortality, Property, &c.,) in 1860 ...* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), 505-506. McMullen, *American Libraries before 1876*, analyzes national statistics. His notes and other materials are available at <http://www.princeton.edu/~davpro/databases/index.html>.

<sup>16</sup> An 1850 inventory from one such headmaster cites one or two grammars each of French, Latin, and English, a book of Latin lessons, a Bible, an algebra text and one of moral instruction. "A list for the sale of W. J. Little's property," Patrick H. Cain letters, Duke University Special Collections, 12-D.

<sup>17</sup> Oration at Chapel Hill, 27 June 1827, William Henry Holt, ed., *The Papers of Archibald D. Murphey*, 2 vols. (Raleigh: E. M. Uzzell, 1914), II:357; John Menan Patrick diary, vol. 1, 1816 [unpaginated], approximately pp. 31 and 48; see also v. 2, p. 14 (1817), John Menan Patrick papers, NCSA, PC 117.

<sup>18</sup> On college libraries, see Patrick M. Valentine, "Books in Tolerable Supply: Culture and

Academics in North Carolina from 1800 to the Civil War," *North Carolina Libraries* 63 3/4 (Winter 2007): 62-69; and idem, "Small Select Library or Miserable Excuse: Antebellum College Libraries in the American Southeast," *Southeastern Librarian* 54/1 (Spring 2006): 6-11.

<sup>19</sup> Last Will of Anna Pritchard, March 4, 1903, in NCSA, PC 1846.1.

<sup>20</sup> Marinda Branson Moore, *The Geographical Reader, for the Dixie Children* (Raleigh: Branson, Farrar & Co., 1863), 14. Branson & Farrar also published a number of other Confederate textbooks such as *The First Dixie Reader* and *The Dixie Spelling-Book*, while Moore (1829-1864) wrote *Songs of Love and Liberty. Compiled by a North Carolina Lady* (Raleigh: Branson & Farrar, 1864). There were also textbooks published in Greensboro by Sterling, Campbell, and Albright. A British historian has referred to southern textbooks as an "instrument of state patriotism." Michael O'Brien, *Conjectures of Order: Intellectual Life and the American South, 1810-1860* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004), v. 1, 346. See also Keith Whitescarver, "School Books, Publishers, and Southern Nationalists: Refashioning the Curriculum in North Carolina's Schools, 1850-1861," *North Carolina Historical Review* 79 (2002): 28-49; and Anne S. Rubin, *A Shattered Nation: The Rise and Fall of the Confederacy, 1861-1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 25-29.

<sup>21</sup> David Kaser, *Books and Libraries in Camp and Battle: The Civil War Experience* (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1984), 3; Delha Mabrey diary 1860-1865, 8 June, 1860, Lucy Cherry Crisp papers, East Carolina University, Joyner Library Manuscripts 154; Patrick M. Valentine, *The Rise of a Southern Town: Wilson, North Carolina, 1849-1920* (Baltimore: Gateway Press, 2002), 35-37.

<sup>22</sup> *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of North-Carolina passed in Secret Session* (Raleigh: Cannon & Holden, 1865); Calvin Wiley, *Address to the People of North Carolina: Conference of Teachers and Friends of Education* (1861: Raleigh, N. C.), 12, electronic edition, Documenting the American South, Academic Affairs Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000. Alice Fahs, "Northern and Southern Worlds of Print," *Perspectives on American Book History: Artifacts and Commentary*, eds. Scott E. Casper et al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002), 195-222.

<sup>23</sup> First quotation, W. M. Robey, *Centennial of Methodism in North Carolina ...* (Raleigh: J. Nichols, 1976), 201; second quotation, Benjamin Robinson, *Delores, a tale of disappointment and distress... in Carolina* (New York: E.J. Hale &

Sons, 1868), 95. See also Walter L. Fleming, *Documentary History of Reconstruction ...* (1906; New York: Peter Smith, 1950), vol. 1; Benjamin E. Powell, "Southern University Libraries during the Civil War," *Wilson Library Bulletin*, 31 (1956): 250-254; and Laura F. Edwards, *Gendered Strife and Confusion: The Political Culture of Reconstruction* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

<sup>24</sup> Jeffrey R. Kerr-Ritchie, *Freedpeople in the Tobacco South: Virginia, 1860-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Scott Reynolds Nelson, *Iron Confederacies: Southern Railways, Klan Violence, and Reconstruction* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999).

<sup>25</sup> J. W. Alvord, *Letters from the South, relating to the condition of freedmen, addressed to Major General O. O. Howard* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1870), 5; quotation, "Shaw University," *The Examiner*, June 14, 1900 (Hampton University, New Clipping File, Z61).

<sup>26</sup> U.S. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands, "Records of the Education Division, 1865-1871," National Archives Microfilm Publication, M843, roll 26, North Carolina Public Schools, reports of 17 July, October, 31 December 1865, and 31 May 1866; Wayne County Historical Association & Old Dobbs County Genealogical Society, *The Heritage of Wayne County, North Carolina* (Winston-Salem: Hunter Publishing, 1982), 90.

<sup>27</sup> 1870 figures are from *The Statistics of the Population of the United States ... Ninth Census* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872), Table XIV (A). The census reports are clearly inadequate and inconsistent.

<sup>28</sup> *Wilson Advance*, August 12, 1881. *Branson & Farrar's North Carolina Business Directory for 1866-'67* (Raleigh: Branson & Farrar, 1866), 67, listed only twenty-five schools, academies and colleges for the whole state. For the schools in Burlington and Chapel Hill, see the review of Wm. Bingham, *Grammar of the Latin Language* (Philadelphia, 1867) in *Land We Love* II (April 1867): 76. The Bingham library was large enough to warrant arrangement: Bingham Military School Polemic Society, SHC, 3730, vo. 2, minutes 1872-1877, entry of January 12, 1877.

<sup>29</sup> Mildred Hayward Farrow, "The History of Guilford College Library, 1837-1955" (Master's thesis, University of North Carolina, 1959), 34.

<sup>30</sup> Edward L. Ayers, *The Promise of the New South: Life after Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), viii. See also James Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South 1860-1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1987).