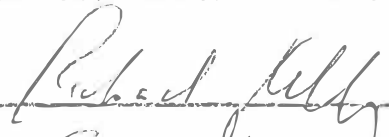
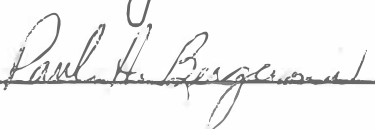


To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Douglas Kirke Gordon, entitled "The Thomas Hughes Free Public Library, Rugby, Tennessee: A History and Partial Bibliography." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

  
Kenneth Curry, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation  
and recommend its acceptance:

Accepted for the Council:

  
Vice Chancellor  
Graduate Studies and Research

THE THOMAS HUGHES FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY, RUGBY,  
TENNESSEE: A HISTORY AND PARTIAL  
BIBLIOGRAPHY

A Dissertation  
Presented for the  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Degree  
The University of Tennessee

Douglas Kirke Gordon

August 1974

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Those who have supported me belong in no linear or chronological arrangement; they are like points equally distant from the center of my work. Mary Sue first took me to Rugby and from that trip came the idea for the dissertation. Dr. Kenneth Curry has encouraged and wisely directed me in my work from my first cautious suggestion to him. C. J. spent happy afternoons with me in the Hughes Library laboring over the bibliography. My mother and step-father lovingly provided material and spiritual comfort. Allyn shared her love for me and her enthusiasm for the first important chapter. Brian Stagg, Executive Director of the Rugby Restoration Association, supported my work, generously trusted me in the Hughes Library, and allowed me to write freely my own views and opinions of the Rugby Colony. Scott and Jeanne Wine's love has enabled me to live the hours of solitude my work demanded delivered from the anguish of loneliness. Houlihan always made me glad.

## ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is twofold: first, to reconstruct from the documents, correspondence, and newspapers of the Rugby Papers the history of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library from 1880 to 1895; second, to provide a systematic bibliography of the Prose Fiction, Section A, and Poetry, Section F, volumes which make up nearly one third of the holdings of the library.

Despite its importance for understanding the Rugby Colony of Thomas Hughes, the Hughes Public Library has never been adequately described. Most assessments of the library have been obscured by unfounded assumptions and brief but unscholarly statements. In October of 1880, Dana Estes, a Boston publisher who popularized children's literature and who was to become a vigorous supporter of the international copyright law, conceived the idea for a library in "token of respect" for Thomas Hughes. He was supported initially by twenty-seven American and English publishers who contributed over 5,000 volumes. In addition to Estes, the library project attracted other prominent men including William Frederick Poole, author of the first index to periodical literature and librarian of the Chicago Public Library, and Eduard Bertz, a young German socialist and scholar. Bertz was the first librarian and saw to the careful cataloguing and organization which have helped to

assure the preservation of the library. The early history also includes the persistent difficulties of inadequate funding, the minor but enlightening controversy over the leaky roof, and the unfulfilled promise from some citizens of Chicago to supply books to help make the collection "symmetrical." After Bertz's departure in May of 1883, and the succession of Mary Percival to librarian, the popularity of the library reached its peak by 1886 and gradually declined in use thereafter.

The cataloging system which Bertz adapted from an article by William F. Poole on the organization and use of libraries is explained in detail, as well as the purpose of the bibliography in keeping with guidelines established by the current Board of Trustees who hope to make the library useable for further assessment of the holdings and scholarly research. The dissertation also contains other information including a transcription of the original charter, the original rules and requirements for using the library, and the index for Bertz's catalogue and a subject index which gives the shelf order of the library.

The results of the historical reconstruction and the biographical compilation show the importance of the Hughes Public Library in understanding some of the reasons for the early demise of the colony and in establishing the close ties to publishing trends and publishers of the late

nineteenth century. The brief history of the library is a paradigm for the failure of the entire Rugby experiment. Chief among the reasons for its failure is the failure of colonists to establish quick and effective communication--including the apparently trivial matter of answering letters--and to get accurate information about the financial and legal problems of Rugby to the world outside the colony. The Hughes Library is a publisher's library. It is not a collection of rare, first editions as some of the popular discussions state, but rather a unique period library of publisher's reprints collected between 1880 and 1899.

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## INTRODUCTION

Since October 5, 1882 when it first opened its doors to the public, The Thomas Hughes Free Public Library has been the most famous and neglected institution of Rugby, Tennessee. Its place in understanding the Rugby experiment has been obscured by sentimental evaluation, unspecific vignettes, or brief discussions. The Hughes Library had its origins in the wave of enthusiasm that swept the United States for Thomas Hughes and his plan for a cooperative community in Tennessee. The idea for a library significantly came from a publisher in Boston, Dana Estes, who suggested that the library be named after Thomas Hughes "as a token of respect." Active in the international copyright movement and innovative in marketing children's books, Estes was an influential as well as successful publisher who combined the best of self-interest with philanthropy. His influence and devotion to the library project made the plan a substantial reality with the completion of a building and the contribution of over 5,000 volumes from at least twenty-seven major publishers in America and England. The history of the library pieced together from documents, letters, reports and newspapers collected and preserved in the Rugby Papers supports the general claim of its importance with specific facts. From the early difficult

and successful years from 1880-1884 to the decline in the library's fame from 1885-1895 comes a clearer understanding of the entire colony's history.

The Hughes Library is also the result of social changes and attitudes of the later nineteenth century. The widespread public movement for free universal education and the simultaneous growth of tax supported public libraries, the phenomenal growth of the publishing business in the 70's and 80's, and the yoking together of the ideal and the pragmatic by middle class social reformers all contributed their influence to the conception and completion of a free public library in Rugby, Tennessee.

The contents of the Hughes Library and an accurate bibliographical assessment of its holdings have remained as generally obscure as its history. Articles speak most often of the lovely colors of the well-preserved bindings and the rare first editions--of which there are in fact very few. The library's importance lies in the obvious: it is a publisher's library, a collection of reprints representing a variety of subjects in the common inexpensive formats of the books of the late 70's and early 80's. The accurate historical and bibliographical records enhance the value of The Thomas Hughes Free Public Library and but merely begin a task which has been too long neglected.

## CHAPTER I

### "LONG EVENINGS AND DARK DAYS": THE EARLY HISTORY, 1880-1895

When the Rugby colonists met together on a Thursday afternoon in October in 1882, exactly two years to the day from the colony's official opening, their dedication of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library was far more important to them than the formal ceremony. This ceremony was a ritual of renewal for their belief in the survival of Rugby, Tennessee, both in the physical growth as manifested by the building they gathered in, and also in the spirit of a cooperative community as it drew its strength from the work and integrity of individual colonists dedicated to the ideals of Thomas Hughes. The Rugbeian, and District Reporter carried the texts of the speeches delivered on opening day, and the first speeches sound a new optimism in spite of the struggles of the past.<sup>1</sup> "No," Mr. Blacklock said, "we can't fail in Rugby, because we have vim, we have energy, we have religion, we are a God-fearing and law-abiding people." Thomas Hughes's more solemn brother Hastings was less rhetorical: "I know all this will be very cheering to my brother, as we have, evidently, been going, as a colony, through some heavy trials." Cyrus Clarke, the land agent, was more vigorous

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<sup>1</sup>The Rugbeian and District Reporter, October 7, 1882.

and biblical in his affirmations: "I have belonged to Rugby from the first, and never liked to belong to anything that failed, now Rugby has not failed, and will not fail. Why should not this beautiful country be settled up by industrious people and made to 'blossom like a rose' by 'Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, and the dwellers in Mesopotamia,' and beyond Jordan?" Those stirring speeches must have been momentarily reassuring to colonists who had just lived through the worst months of Rugby's short history. Yet even on the dedication day more moderate and practical voices gave a perspective to the idealism. Charles Wilson, the treasurer of the library and one of its dedicated supporters, reported that the financial situation was "not so good as it ought to be, but we hope to be extremely solvent in the course of a few weeks, with enough even to endow the library." The treasury had liabilities of \$450. Then Eduard Bertz spoke of the problems of the librarian and suggested the opening of the library would be but "half an opening" because the catalogue was not complete and therefore the books promised from Chicago would not be sent to Rugby. He lamented the presence of "rather too much fiction" and the absence of books of more practical value. For several years the Thomas Hughes Library was to be a reminder of the colony's aspirations and of its seemingly interminable problems. The Hughes Library is more than a quaint

"library in the woods,"<sup>2</sup> however; it is the Rugby institution whose history reveals accurate insights into the entire Rugby experiment. The library documents establish clearly the tension between practical conditions and ideal aspirations and suggest that the settlement on the Cumberland Plateau was not entirely a town of "cultured ghosts"<sup>3</sup> who lived idly in expectation of manna. But men both inside and outside Rugby who worked to see the library completed believed that the fruition of an ideal was inseparable from the application of hands and heads to work. Finally, the history of the Hughes Library adds further information for understanding the colony's early demise. True, some colonists were unprepared to meet the rigors of life in Tennessee, and financial and legal matters had been poorly handled. But Rugby's most important link to survival, a link through effective transportation and communication--including something apparently as routine as answering letters--was never securely achieved. Thus the library's early history from 1880 to 1895 is a paradigm for the colony at large. To understand the successes and failures of the

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<sup>2</sup>See Margaret Ellsworth, "Famous Library in the Woods," The Tennessee Conservationist, 33, No. 7 (July 1967), pp. 14-15.

<sup>3</sup>See John Maloney, "Town of Cultured Ghosts," Holiday, XXXV (1962), pp. 22-25.

Hughes Library and those who were instrumental in its development is to understand Rugby, Tennessee, and its people with new sympathy and deeper insight.

The claim of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library to importance in the colony has its source in a meeting held on the evening of October 4, 1880 before the formal opening of the colony by its founder Thomas Hughes. Hughes, best known as author of Tom Brown's Schooldays, had attended Rugby School during the school's reforms under Dr. Thomas Arnold and had never relinquished his dedication to religious and moral concerns which Arnold taught were the first aims of education. Hughes supported the Co-operative and Christian Socialist movements in England, was one of the founders of the Working Men's College in London, served in Parliament as a Liberal, and was a Queen's Counsel. He conceived the plan for Rugby for second sons of English gentry who were restricted in the professions which they could pursue. When Hughes arrived in Rugby, Tennessee, the Tabard Inn, where the first public meeting in connection with Rugby institutions was held, was only partially completed, and he wrote that "the hotel was still in the hands of the contractor, from whom, as yet, only the upper floors had been rescued. The staircase wanted banisters, and the hall and living rooms were still only half-wainscoted, and full of carpenters' benches and plasterers'

trays. . . ."4 Yet the excitement and optimism of the impending dedication and the presence of Thomas Hughes were sufficient inspiration to carry the early colonists ahead with their plans to form a library. Rain had fallen all day, and some felt anxious about those guests who were coming from New England, Cincinnati, Knoxville, and Chattanooga to attend the ceremonies. Hughes contemplated the havoc which the rain would bring to the new road by which the guests would have to travel from the railway station at Sedgemoor, seven difficult miles from the colony. He called it "a slough of Despond"5 for those nineteenth-century pilgrims on their way to the New Jerusalem of Rugby, Tennessee. On that evening while the guests made their way to Rugby, soaked and jostled, and others waited on a delayed train from Cincinnati, members of the colony convened the first meeting.

On this particular night, which ended without mishap when the last of the guests arrived in the pitch dark cheerfully singing "John Brown's Body," the meeting for the formation of a library in Rugby would provide the necessary organization to take up the suggestion of a free public library a month later. The original proposal for a

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<sup>4</sup>Thomas Hughes, Rugby, Tennessee (London: Macmillan and Co., 1881), p. 85.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 86.

Rugby library was to include an annual subscription rate per year of three dollars per person, five dollars per family, and fifty cents per month for each hotel visitor. The newly formed committee and officers accepted suggestions for newspapers and magazines for "The Rugby Reading Room" and gave the committee power to make additional selections commensurate with their funds. The committee had four members and three officers, including Joseph H. Blacklock as president. Blacklock, one of the most influential and energetic colonists, was to preside over the early development of the library from its short-lived antecedents in "The Rugby Reading Room" to the more prestigious Thomas Hughes Free Public Library. He had come to the colony early in 1880 and brought his wife and seven sons. As an older member of the colony with the credentials of being a member of London University, bearing a diploma of Associate of the College of Preceptors, London, and of having had twenty years' experience as a successful teacher in England as principal of Spencer College and Walworth House, his sphere of influence grew during the early years--and the hospitality of his home was known to colonists and visitors alike. He served both as first rector of Christ Church and as the first headmaster of Arnold School. Notes for that first meeting list the magazines to which subscriptions would be taken and all agreed that "one hundred copies of the Rules be

printed & distributed by the Committee & that copies be sent to various Public Libraries in hopes of securing contributions of books etc.--"<sup>6</sup> Aside from providing the mechanism for the transition to a free public library, this first meeting indicates the generic tendency to order and the determined efforts of colonists to proceed cheerfully in the midst of hardship. Although unknown to those who met in the Tabard Inn, the colonists' meeting on that stormy night was a vigorous assertion that was to carry the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library to completion in spite of continuing difficulties in almost every part of the colony's life.

Within two weeks after the official dedication of Rugby, Hughes had arrived in Boston on making his triumphant return to England to fulfill his obligations to Parliament. His trip to Boston was a fortuitous one for the library, for the next two years were to bring to the library project its most influential and devoted worker who was to be responsible for seeing the work completed. Dana Estes (1840-1909) was a partner in the publishing house of Estes & Lauriat of Boston, Massachusetts. Aside from his successful

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<sup>6</sup>Notes for the first meeting of the "Rugby Reading Room" on October 4, 1880 are among the Rugby Papers but are not catalogued in the index. The book containing the notes was found in the librarian's desk. The Rugby Papers are located in the Board of Aid Building, Rugby, Tennessee. Duplicate copies are located in the Tennessee State Library and Archives, Nashville, Tennessee.

introduction of travel and adventure stories for young readers--including the Zigzag Journey Series--he was an active leader in the movement for international copyright and a favorite of many prominent English writers.<sup>7</sup> At a breakfast given by Houghton Mifflin & Co. and attended by representatives of twenty-seven leading publishing houses of America, Estes "conceived the plan of forming a free library for Rugby 'as a token of respect for Thomas Hughes.'"<sup>8</sup>

At that meeting--no doubt spurred by the contagious enthusiasm for Rugby which had been heralded by the American press--the Boston publishers subscribed twelve hundred volumes, and a week later Estes reported confidently in a letter to Thomas Hughes: ". . . I have now received the promise of 2,300 additional volumes mainly by New York publishers making 3,400 volumes now promised. The pleasantest thing about this is that the publishers have not only subscribed these, but have done so in a manner highly complimentary to you. Many of them not only presented the volumes promptly, but thanked me for

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<sup>7</sup>Raymond L. Kilgour, Estes and Lauriat A History 1872-1898 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1957). Estes' popularity with Thomas Hughes is in part explained by his desire to protect literary property and his active participation in copyright activities. Kilgour writes that he was "one of the American publishers who paid generous royalties and was persona gratissima to the British."

<sup>8</sup>The Publisher's Weekly, No. 559 (September 30, 1882), 457.

the opportunity of so doing. . . ."9 In the same letter Estes leaves no doubt that the plan for the library was his alone, which in part helps to explain the extraordinary devotion to the project he showed. In addition to subscriptions, Estes was instrumental in raising funds for building the library and in providing Rugby with copies of his many letters which deal directly with the Hughes Library, letters which now make up the single most important source of historical record for piecing together the early growth and development of the library. It is Dana Estes alone who can accurately be called the father of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library, its founder and preserver. As soon as word of Estes' plan arrived in Rugby, the library committee met again to develop plans in order to receive the gifts from American publishers and to formulate plans for a building and its funding. Notes dated November 9, 1880 indicate that the library committee received a letter from Mr. Hastings Hughes from New York indicating that a "Mr. Scarborough had consented to give five hundred dollars & thinks he will get the like sum from someone else--."10 And by November 15 the committee had selected the National LaFayette Bank of Commerce of Cincinnati, Ohio, to handle all financial transactions. However, late in December the

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<sup>9</sup>Dana Estes to Thomas Hughes, November 8, 1880. Rugby Papers.

<sup>10</sup>"Rugby Reading Room" Notes, Rugby Papers.

treasurer of the library committee received within two days two notes from Charles Steadman of the LaFayette Bank which indicated some of the problems which would face the committee members and the building of the library. Steadman was "sorry to have to report no donations for your Public Library Bldg. . . ." "I would ask you to be careful to endorse all checks sent to us for your credit. The check . . . for 15th recd this a.m. was not endorsed, but . . . I took the liberty of endorsing it for you, to spare returning to Rugby."<sup>11</sup> For the next decade financial debts would plague the library board as would inefficiency and difficulty in establishing quick, effective communication with those involved in the project outside Rugby, Tennessee.

During the first months of 1881, the colonists continued with plans to receive the books and to build an appropriate building. The Rugbeian reported that "valued grants of books, maps, etc. continue to arrive from the Secretary of State at Washington, and other states of the union."<sup>12</sup> By February the solicitations by the secretary were beginning to pay off as documents came from Wisconsin, Ohio, Texas, Alabama, Kansas, and Michigan. On behalf of his brother, Hastings Hughes donated a box of books including

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<sup>11</sup>Charles Steadman to James Clarke, December 23 and December 24, 1880, Rugby Papers.

<sup>12</sup>The Rugbeian, January, 1881.

Tom Brown at Oxford and Tom Brown's Schooldays.<sup>13</sup> By March the colonists must have had new confidence in the success of their project in what was now the "Hughes Public Library" and "Reading Room," operating with two committees headed by J. H. Blacklock for the paper reported that "it will be gratifying to our readers to learn that both of these institutions will be open daily, (Sunday excepted) on and after the 12th of March, and that the respective committees have secured temporary rooms in one of Mr. Milmow's little frame houses on Central Avenue near the 'Board of Aid to Land Ownership's' Offices."<sup>14</sup> At this time supporters outside the colony were continuing the task of fund raising. The Hughes library building committee thought first of a stone structure costing about \$5000 and had set about enlisting supporters in England. In an address in Big School at Rugby, England, Thomas Hughes explained the purpose of the colony, pointing to the dangers of materialism

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<sup>13</sup>These original copies given by Hughes have been lost or stolen from the library. A notice appeared in the Rugby newspaper on July 15, 1882 which read: "The Librarian of the Hughes Public Library very respectfully requests the immediate return of any books borrowed from this library. . . . All of Killebrew's Publications, Tom Brown's School Days, Tom Brown at Oxford, Endymion, a book on African travels and several other works, are known to have been on our shelves, every trace of their whereabouts being now lost."

<sup>14</sup>The Rugbeian, March 1881. Rugby also had a subscription library that had been in operation since December, 1881. Fardon's library was on Central Avenue and charged an annual subscription rate of two dollars. The lists of books and periodicals can be found in The Rugbeian.

and espousing the "worth of manual labor as a part of the highest education."<sup>15</sup> Hughes read a letter from Charles Wilson (1851-1887), an alumnus of Eton and Cambridge, surveyor for the Board of Aid, and treasurer of the library committee: "A library has been formed, and we have already got promises, private and official, or nearly 4,000 volumes! This necessitates a good building, for which we are sending round the hat. If it reaches you, I hope the tile will depart heavier by a few coppers."<sup>16</sup> Dana Estes reported in a letter to Hastings Hughes that he had succeeded in obtaining subscriptions for \$825 and would like to get a thousand dollars before leaving to go to New York and Philadelphia to raise funds. "Rest assured," he concludes, "that having put my shoulder to the wheel I shall not leave any stone unturned to make a success of it."<sup>17</sup> By June Estes had continued to fulfill his promise and raised an additional \$300. As always, he was a cautious man in business matters, for it was he who most likely suggested that the books be shipped only when a building was assured, and he wrote to Hastings that the money he had raised would be deposited in a Boston Bank until it was absolutely needed, thus earning some

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<sup>15</sup>Thomas Hughes, Rugby, Tennessee (London: Macmillan and Co., 1881), p. 133.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 130.

<sup>17</sup>Dana Estes to Hastings Hughes, April 16, 1881, Rugby Papers.

small interest and insuring that there would be no mismanagement. Estes' attention to such details was not without its purpose since communication with the colony was often delayed. To keep the money in Boston would be to keep a ready exact accounting, especially important since Estes' own reputation was at stake in the library project. He also put in his support for a "substantial building" and attempted, as he often did, to raise Hastings' sagging hopes. "I think it would be a very great pity to put the Library into a frame building. It seems to me it is worth a little delay to try to obtain subscriptions enough to build a brick or stone building which shall be an ornament to the town and a permanent structure."<sup>18</sup> The financial problems were never to be solved, and in the months ahead, the colony was to face a series of difficulties magnified by misinformation in the press and made worse by inept management of the colony's business transactions.

The spring of 1881 was a deceptively successful time for Rugby. In April, Macmillan published Hughes's account of Rugby. In May Mrs. Margaret Hughes, Thomas's mother, arrived in Rugby to give her son's venture visible support. The Tabard Inn was "advertised in the larger cities in America and England as a 'gem in its sphere, where all

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<sup>18</sup>Dana Estes to Hastings Hughes, June 23, 1881, Rugby Papers.

the luxuries of a city are combined in a quiet home in these favored mountains.'"<sup>19</sup> Julia Ward Howe wrote to Hughes to inquire about the colony, and Charles Dana wrote to ask for a place for his widowed daughter and her children. "As a consequence of all this publicity, a steamship company advertised through rates via Liverpool and Philadelphia to Rugby. . . ."<sup>20</sup> But by July rumors of the colony's imminent collapse began to circulate in the major newspapers of the East, and in August the editor of The Rugbeian, Osmond Dakeyne, died of typhoid. Seven others were to die before the cause was located in a contaminated well in the famous Tabard Inn. Furthermore, legal problems concerning claims and titles grew worse, and the manager of the colony seemed ill-equipped to handle the problems. Criticism of the colony was not entirely external as a perusal of The Rugbeian will indicate. Men of responsibility in Rugby were also suggesting that changes needed to be made in the governing of the colony. Some idle young men had taken to drink, and the paper reported whiskey could be had for \$1.25 a gallon simply by "giving a few shrill

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<sup>19</sup>Brian Stagg, The Distant Eden: Tennessee's Rugby Colony (n.p.: Paylor Publications, 1973), p. 9.

<sup>20</sup>Edward Mack and W. H. G. Armytage, Thomas Hughes: The Life of the Author of Tom Brown's Schooldays (London: Ernest Benn, 1952), p. 237. Hereafter cited in this chapter as Mack and Armytage.

whistles." In September two articles in the same newspaper indicate the simultaneous concern with the colony's problems and the need to push on with plans, a condition for the library's existence from the first meeting.

Reporters wrote in The Rugbeian:

Crave Duncan's saloon was opened last week. We are informed he has asked the surveyors to lay off a circle of four rods radius from the door that he may test the whiskey cocktails warranted to kill at that distance. Note for Rugby. The above drink will be gratis.

The Library Committee have decided to commence building the new library at once. The plans etc. have been duly submitted and approved and the work will doubtless be begun without delay.<sup>21</sup>

Even at the time of Rugby's most difficult moments, when the earnest, sober moral idealism of the colony seemed under attack, men of unfailing devotion to the colony and to the founding of a library proceeded with their work. It is too easy to dismiss their hopes as short-sightedness or as idealism gone soaring beyond reason. The problems were all too apparent to them; and to solve them Joseph Blacklock, Charles Wilson, Dana Estes and others believed that work, diligence, and devotion to duty were practical virtues that would insure the completion of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library. They had begun to believe that to complete the library was to ensure Rugby's survival.

Letters written during October of this difficult

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<sup>21</sup>The Rugbeian, September 10, 1881.

year support the contention that many of Rugby's problems were the result of inadequate communication. In addition, however, new communications with William Frederick Poole (1821-1894), author of Poole's Index to Periodical Literature, organizer of the American Library Association, and librarian of the Chicago Public Library, indicate that men of influence continued to join the list of supporters of the library project. In a letter dated October 3, 1881, Dana Estes wrote to Hastings Hughes in reply to news of the typhoid outbreak and to the "discontent that had found vent in the newspapers," and, as usual, Estes tried to bolster Hastings' failing hopes:

The colony must not be a failure, it would be a tremendous blow to the reputation of your brother, and all concerned in it. You must fight it out, and make a success of it no matter how long it takes to do so. . . .

I am very glad that you have started Mr. Poole up; he is like myself, a very busy man, and it is difficult for him to attend anything outside his regular duties, therefore a little pressure upon him in this question will not be out of place. I feel that we have no resource left but to build a wooden building as you suggest. I thought it not impractical that they who made the plans should make the estimates, that in the case the estimates exceeded his own estimate, we might use that as an excuse to call upon him and his friends for some money needed. . . .<sup>22</sup>

This particular letter is important because it indicates the difficulty with raising funds to build the stone building originally recommended; it notes for the first

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<sup>22</sup>Dana Estes to Hastings Hughes, October 3, 1881, Rugby Papers.

time the apparent interest which W. F. Poole expressed in the library; and it reiterates Estes' still unflagging zeal for the library, as well as suggests his early instinctive feeling that dealing with Poole and other presumably interested Chicago citizens was to be a difficult task. Early in August Poole had promised to furnish Estes a set of plans for a rubble stone building, but by October neither Estes nor Hastings Hughes had received any plans. Sometime during the early summer Poole had written to Hastings in reply to a request for contributions and agreed that "we with other citizens of Chicago would like to make a contribution of American books to your Library as a slight acknowledgement of the great service which . . . Mr. Thomas Hughes rendered to this city in contributing to the foundation of the Chicago Public Library."<sup>23</sup> Hastings Hughes and Dana Estes were not the only men, however, to experience the difficulty in getting results from Poole, who, in fairness to him, was an extraordinarily busy man. Eduard Bertz, a young German who arrived in Rugby in the autumn of 1881 and who would eventually become the first librarian, was to come to know first hand of Mr. Poole's famous delays in responding to requests from Rugby. From this time Chicago's role in the

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<sup>23</sup>Marguerite B. Hamer, "The Correspondence of Thomas Hughes Concerning His Tennessee Rugby," North Carolina Historical Review, XXI (January, 1944), 212.

history of the Hughes Public Library was to have an increasingly prominent part. "I think we have more positive and distinct claims upon the Chicago people in this connection, than any one else in the country, and I do not like to go ahead without giving them a full chance to help us," wrote Estes.<sup>24</sup> At least what seemed to be the beginning of the fulfillment of those claims arrived within ten days of Estes' letter when plans concerning the proposed library building arrived from Mr. Poole.

Hastings Hughes had written to Poole on the 19th of October requesting that plans be formulated for a smaller structure to shelve about five thousand volumes, and Poole advised that he thought such plans could be drawn. In an earlier letter to Mr. W. W. Scarborough of Cincinnati,<sup>25</sup> a chief adviser on the building and building funds, Poole included the estimate from his architect for a rubble stone building "of tasteful design," costing \$2,471. The building fund, however, probably had no more than \$1500. The rumors concerning the colony's failure

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<sup>24</sup>Dana Estes to Hastings Hughes, October 12, 1881, Rugby Papers.

<sup>25</sup>W. W. Scarborough was a millionaire who arrived in Cincinnati in the early 1840's and made his fortune in banking and commerce. He was President of the Ohio Valley Bank and involved in an advisory capacity with the Cincinnati Southern Railway which carried passengers and most of the books for the library to Sedgemoor. For information on Scarborough see The Criterion, no. 3 (April, 1888), Cincinnati, Ohio, and Charles Theodore Greve, Centennial History of Cincinnati and Representative Citizens, 2 vols., Chicago, n.p. 1904.

had grown rather than abated, and Dana Estes was once more frustrated in his efforts to get accurate information and to maintain the support of publishers and financial backers for the library.

By January of 1882 the Board of Aid to Land Ownership, Ltd., a London-based company with offices in Rugby and in Boston set up to assist the new colonists in locating suitable land and in handling the business matters of the colony, admitted that all the money was gone. In discussing the mismanagement in land dealings Marguerite Hamer wrote that the publicity given the Board of Aid through numerous lawsuits over property made matters worse.<sup>26</sup> Mack and Armytage, Hughes's biographers, argue that John Boyle, first cousin to the Earl of Glasgow and early surveyor of the Rugby site, who had been appointed by Thomas Hughes to be the resident manager, had run the colony badly, allowing "too little self-government" and supervising the idle insufficiently.<sup>27</sup> Whatever the causes for the early failures, whether they can be laid to a bad press, to Boyle, to Cyrus Clarke, or even to Thomas Hughes as absentee landlord, news of the difficulties continued to reach Dana Estes, and in February he wrote to W. W. Scarborough expressing his dismay over the situation

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<sup>26</sup>Marguerite B. Hamer, "Thomas Hughes and His American Rugby," The North Carolina Historical Review, V (1928), 406.

<sup>27</sup>Mack and Armytage, pp. 239-240.

in Rugby, as much because he feared not being able to collect the books--regretting that he had not collected the books when they were first subscribed--as he was frustrated in his attempts to get accurate information from the colony and Hastings Hughes. Estes' balanced and reasonable approach, however, reinforces the view of his preëminent place in seeing the library completed. "If Mr. Hughes has severed his relation from the Colony, it certainly will be very awkward for me to ask the publishers to fulfill their pledges . . . made wholly out of compliment to him. I feel I must suspend judgment until I can get some actual data as to the position of affairs."<sup>28</sup> Estes further complained that although he subscribed to the local paper he had not received the last four or five numbers. In January, six weeks before this Estes letter, Henry Boyle, John Boyle's son and the colony's secretary, had requested advice from Mr. Scarborough concerning proceeding with plans to erect a library building and had included both a sketch and specifications, and Scarborough had forwarded the letter to Estes.<sup>29</sup> Estes had in turn written Scarborough and

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<sup>28</sup>Dana Estes to W. W. Scarborough, February 14, 1882, Rugby Papers.

<sup>29</sup>The original sketch made by Poole's architect, Mr. Willcox, is in the Rugby Papers and is obviously the model used in the construction of the library. Plans called for a building either 30X40 costing \$2500 or 22X30 costing \$2000.

Boyle in early February. He requested that Boyle inform him whether there had been an act of insolvency and whether the relations of Thomas Hughes to the colony would continue to be friendly or otherwise. "I am surprised Mr. Hastings Hughes does not reply to my last letter on this subject, as the news-paper reports and other rumors leave me in a very unpleasant quandary, as to what action I ought to take regarding the library."<sup>30</sup> In the meantime, before mailing the letter to Boyle, Estes received assurance from Hastings Hughes--a turn of events since Estes had spent much time in encouraging Hastings in the early months of the project--and he included a handwritten postscript to Boyle: "I think from the data received . . . that there is no reason why we may not proceed with the erection of the building without delay."<sup>31</sup> Estes' letter marks a turning point in the library's development from paper plans to substantial fact. Even in the worst period of the colony's history, plans with the library had proceeded, and the most significant delays seem to have come as a result of inadequate communication with the outside

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<sup>30</sup>Dana Estes to John Boyle, February 13, 1882, Rugby Papers.

<sup>31</sup>The postscript in the letter to John Boyle is one of three rare handwritten letters of Estes in the Rugby Papers. Kilgour notes in Estes and Lauriat that few letters of Estes have been preserved; thus the entire collection of Estes letters has added significance aside from its importance to the history of the library.

world rather than from any lack of determination or hard work on the part of those most directly involved.

In September of 1881 The Rugbeian had announced confidently that the library would be begun without delay, but not until April of the next year would the actual contract be drawn up for the building. With the return of the spring to the Cumberland Plateau came the renewal of hope in Rugby. They had, after all, survived difficult times. Thus as early as March, an announcement was made that the Hughes Public Library would shortly be commenced on a site on Central Avenue. The Rugbeian reported that a small cash deficit would no doubt be removed by subscription and that Mr. Winkley had prepared a specification for a frame building to cost \$1600. A proposal at a meeting of the library committee urged that the present library be removed from Milmow's house to the school building. "We should have mentioned before, perhaps, that there has been for some months a Library on Central Avenue called, we believe, the 'Rugby Library and Reading Room Society,' but so unostentatious has everything about it been, that few of us know anything of it."<sup>32</sup> The school building, however, could not accommodate the additional books, and consequently the move to hurry on with the construction gained new momentum. On April 27

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<sup>32</sup>The Rugbeian, March 4, 1882.

Charles Wilson informed J. H. Blacklock that it appeared that they could proceed at once to contract with Winkley.<sup>33</sup> Winkley had come from Boston to settle in Rugby and to open a construction business. As early as February of 1881 an advertisement appeared in The Rugbeian: "Winkle and Rigney, Carpenters and Builders, Central Avenue, Rugby, Tennessee. Special attention paid to business in all branches." Most of the early plans and specifications Winkley submitted, along with other matters concerning the building plans, have regrettably been lost. His wife and family came to Rugby in November of 1881, and within six months, on May 27, 1882, J. S. Winkley was dead of a heart attack, leaving his wife to fulfill the contract. On Tuesday, May 2, the excavation began and the first trees were felled to prepare the site. The Rugbeian was not altogether pleased with the building and site but was rhapsodic about the library's importance.

The site, about fifty yards east of the church, is a good one, although at present seems a little out of the town. The building, though small, will have a good appearance, and be sufficient to start with but, doubtless . . . other grants and donors will be attracted. It will be a boon of no common kind to possess, in such early days, and on such very liberal terms, a library more complete and extensive than is possessed by many towns numbering their inhabitants by the thousands and their years of growth by tens.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>33</sup>C. H. Wilson to Joseph Blacklock, April 27, 1882, Rugby Papers.

<sup>34</sup>The Rugbeian, May 6, 1882.

The idea that the library was to be visible proof of Rugby's success and ultimate survival gained popularity as the structure's frame began to rise in the woods.

Meanwhile, Dana Estes had not been idle and was able to report to Hastings Hughes in May that he had begun to try to arrange for the books to be shipped free of charge and that he had succeeded in raising a thousand dollars for the library. But the problems with support from Chicago still remained. Estes had been circulating a subscription list in Boston and planned to send it to New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, and then to Chicago. He wrote in May that "I think before it goes to Chicago, however, it will be well to have the Cincinnati's subscribers names added. . . . If we wish to obtain liberal subscriptions from Chicago, we must stimulate them by letting them see what has been done in another western city. They are very susceptible to that sort of argument there."<sup>35</sup> But no longer did the completion of the library need to depend on support from Chicago, especially since one of its most able and skillful supporters had become the first official librarian of the Hughes Public Library by official appointment of the Board of Trustees on May 15, 1882.

Eduard Bertz (1853-1931), a young German exile who

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<sup>35</sup>Dana Estes to Hastings Hughes, May 9, 1882, Rugby Papers.

fled his country in 1877 to avoid prosecution because of his part in writing political pamphlets espousing socialism, arrived in Rugby in late autumn of 1881 when he was twenty-seven. Even though he left in May of 1883, Bertz made a lasting contribution to the colony; and his stay in Rugby apparently had a lasting influence on him because in 1896 he published his novel Das Sabinergut, a satire on the colony and its people.<sup>36</sup> He had purchased a farm through the Board of Aid in London and spent his first winter in Rugby reading in a one-room log cabin some distance from the town center. His bout with agriculture was short-lived, and in the spring he was disillusioned with life in Tennessee but offered his assistance in cataloguing some of the state documents. Even before his official appointment as librarian, Bertz had apparently become familiar with all of the financial problems, was well aware of the delays by Poole and the Chicagoans, and had begun correspondence with Dana Estes. What is known about Bertz during his stay in Rugby comes mainly through official speeches and reports he made as librarian. Arthur Young has drawn a sketch of Bertz from the German's correspondence with George Gissing and writes that Bertz was "sensitive to grossness and vulgarity . . . he had a

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<sup>36</sup>Only two extant copies of Bertz's Das Sabinergut are known to exist in America. One is in the New York Public Library; the other in the Hughes Public Library.

noble idea of what men should be and despised those who did not measure up, yet he betrayed his own principles by whining and dramatizing his illnesses. As a scholar Bertz was gifted; he was well read, thoughtful, and perceptive."<sup>37</sup> For his important part in the careful cataloguing of the Hughes Library, Bertz's gifts as a scholar served him well. Next to Estes, Eduard Bertz is the most important individual in seeing that the library would be preserved beyond the successes or failures of the moment; and the most important documents next to Estes' letters are the careful and thorough reports of Bertz, as well as the first catalogue which he laboriously copied in duplicate books. Whatever his temperamental shortcomings, they were more than compensated by his virtues. When Estes got word of Bertz's appointment he wrote to congratulate Hastings for "securing such an intelligent gentleman . . . and the very modest sum which he demands as compensation is certainly the best part of it. . . It is also very gratifying to me that the gentleman is an enthusiast on the subject of Rugby."<sup>38</sup> Estes knew how to mingle his business and pleasure and was jubilant after the months of anxiety because the news of the Bertz

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<sup>37</sup>Arthur C. Young, ed., The Letters of George Gissing to Eduard Bertz 1887-1903, (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1961), p. xxviii.

<sup>38</sup>Dana Estes to Hastings Hughes, May 12, 1882, Rugby Papers.

appointment came at about the same time final arrangements were completed to send the books "gratuitously" by rail from New York and Philadelphia to Rugby. Apparently Bertz had to be persuaded to stay in Rugby, and offering him the post of librarian was decisive because the paper felt it worth noting on May 13th that Mr. Bertz would stay on. Thus with the arrangements secure for the building, the shipment of the books assured, and the lucky appointment of Bertz as librarian, the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library was to begin the most fruitful and energetic year of its early history.

The building contract was officially drawn and accepted on May 14, the librarian was officially appointed on May 15, a bill of lading for five cases of books shipped from Boston was received on May 16, and Bertz left the following Monday to attend the American Library Association's Fifth Annual Congress in Cincinnati, Ohio. Representatives from forty-five libraries across the nation were present. The list of influential librarians who spoke at the meeting reads like a who's who in early library science history--Justin Winsor, William Frederick Poole, Josephus N. Larned, Charles Ammi Cutter, and others--and the young, eager Eduard Bertz must have been carefully absorbing the good advice, sorting what he felt useful, and agreeing with the addresses which called for moral responsibility from librarians as well as for library

reading material to educate and instruct. Bertz's report of June 3rd addressed to Joseph Blacklock indicates just how fully the conference was useful to him as a new librarian.<sup>39</sup> After expressing appreciation for the confidence the library committee showed in him, assuring them that he regarded his position as one of trust and would discharge his duties "in the highest sense," he focused on the feeling about Rugby expressed by members at the Cincinnati conference. Interest in Rugby

seems vivid enough, but it is wanting activity in proportion to the want of exact information. It impressed me like the mourning for a departed friend; great was the astonishment at our continued existence. This I found especially to be the case with Mr. W. F. Poole. . . . While we . . . were expecting the greatest help from his assistance, he was labouring under the impression that our enterprise had been abandoned. It is evident that the state of suspense in which we were living so long, was a great misfortune.<sup>40</sup>

In addition to pointing out the lack of accurate information outside Rugby, however, Bertz indicated that the promised help would no doubt be on its way from Chicago. Poole promised Bertz in Cincinnati that he would get lists from the contributing publishers and attempt to fill in the gaps left by the contributors. But Bertz was a careful man, perhaps because he was already familiar with Poole's delays, and Bertz said he would prepare a carefully classified

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<sup>39</sup>Eduard Bertz report to Joseph Blacklock, June 3, 1882, Rugby Papers.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

catalogue to send along to Poole to insure the Chicago donations would be forthcoming. Bertz could not have foreseen the difficulties which he would face in preparing the catalogue which would further delay, even permanently prohibit, the donation from Chicago. Poole recommended that the Hughes library not be opened to public use until all the volumes including the contributions from Chicago were properly catalogued. The scheduled opening of the library on October 5th might have to be delayed, Bertz suggested in the same report of June 3rd, and should people insist on using the books, they should be confined to the Reading Room during restricted hours. The failure of Poole and Chicagoans to supply the books and the pressure applied to Bertz to get the books in circulation before he felt he had carefully done his work were major problems that were eventually to bring Bertz's resignation after only one year as librarian; yet in the midst of the successes of May and June, Bertz optimistically believed that principles would win out over expediency. The same earnest conviction honoring principle over expediency finds its way into all of the major speeches and reports Bertz made during the next year. Thus with the memory of the Cincinnati conference still fresh, the librarian spoke at the cornerstone ceremonies on Monday, June 5, 1882.

The colonists--settlers, as they preferred to call

themselves--were at their ceremonious best, having prepared a tin box in a large stone in the north-east corner of the building, which as yet was only a standing frame, for receiving appropriate current literature and "other particulars of Rugby." The Stars and Stripes and the Union Jack were draped above from the frame. Boys and girls of the school arrived in kind of a martial array, and other ladies and gentlemen dressed in their finest assembled to witness the ceremony. Mrs. Hughes arrived a few minutes late as befitted her revered station in the colony and was accompanied by her son Hastings, Miss Hughes, Thomas's niece, and John Boyle who presided in the absence of Mr. Blacklock. Mr. Robert Walton, the newly appointed manager of the colony, took over after remarks by Boyle and handed Mrs. Hughes the papers to be placed in the box.

The first newspaper was a copy of the Rugbeian. This was followed by the Cincinnati Commercial, the Chattanooga Times, a map and plan of the town of Rugby, a copy of the books presented to the Library by Mr. Dana Estes, the Constitution, and the Rules of the Rugby Lawn Tennis Club, this last deposit causing some laughter. The names of the gentlemen forming the Library committee were also deposited. . . . Mr. Winkley's name was added as the builder to whom the work had been given, and with Mr. Blacklock's letter explaining his absence at the day's ceremonial, the box was closed.<sup>41</sup>

Mrs. Hughes spread the mortar and the stone was laid. Then followed the eloquent address of Eduard Bertz, which rings

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<sup>41</sup>The Rugbeian, June 10, 1882.

with a call to new hope in Rugby and an assertion of the belief that reading at best should bring "strength, power of mind, and character." Bertz warned of the dangers of not performing the daily share of work in preference to mental recreation. "Without faithfully performing our duties in the first, the benefit we may derive from the second will be of doubtful value. No library, however excellent, can be a panacea for all our failures." He turned to address the boys and girls telling them the library offered materials to direct the way to "noble success, by showing you how to be good and true to yourself, and faithful to the task you will have to perform. Plain living and plain thinking, this is what you shall find here."<sup>42</sup> The speech contains ideas familiar to the nineteenth-century consciousness which modern man sometimes finds quaint or peculiar, but which justly express one of the motivating forces of the entire Rugby experiment: Noble ends can be wedded to practical means, even though the conviction of the believer does not insure success or willing converts. The records of borrowings from the library indicate that Bertz's advice largely went unheeded, and patrons flocked to the library to be entertained, not to be reminded of their obligation to duty or morality.<sup>43</sup> With a job well done

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<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>See the yearly "Report of the Librarian of the Hughes Public Library" from 1882-1895, Rugby Papers.

and hip-hip-hoorays for Mrs. Hughes, Thomas Hughes, and John Boyle, the guests moved to Underhill Cottage for refreshments on the verandah.

For Eduard Bertz the next ten months were to bring increasing frustration with his job and with those who could not see the need for what must have seemed to some his incessant concern with thoroughness and detail.<sup>44</sup> As the books began to arrive case by case during the next month, Bertz began sorting them and placing them on shelves in a temporary library building especially prepared for the arriving shipments. He had also begun a correspondence with Estes which was to be cordial until Estes arrived for his only visit to Rugby in January of 1883. The Chicago problem was uppermost in Estes' mind, and in a long letter in early June, his growing annoyance with W. F. Poole finds vent. Estes had received a copy of Bertz's report on the Cincinnati Library Congress to which he replied.

It seems that he [Poole] was under obligation to keep himself better posted on the subject; one can excuse ignorance on the part of persons who had no other interest in the Colony and its fortunes than the rest of the casual news-paper readers who have seen the unfavorable comments of the press.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>44</sup>Eduard Bertz's systematic approach to the classification and cataloguing is embodied in the "Report of the Librarian of the Hughes Public Library, to the Board of Trustees, for the year from May 15th, 1882, to May 15, 1883," and in a letter to Mrs. Mary Percival, February 18, 1886, Rugby Papers.

<sup>45</sup>Dana Estes to Eduard Bertz, June 9, 1882, Rugby Papers.

Estes had expected to rely on "the gratitude of the people of Chicago" to build up the library and "was deeply disappointed" at the repulse of the Chicagoans. To the Boston publisher, the failure to receive support from Poole and others became a matter of regional differences which finds so much expression in American literature of the late nineteenth century. Generosity in the West (i.e., Chicago) was directly related to competition from rivals in the East, and men of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia were men of greater responsibility: "I succeeded better with some liberal minded Eastern gentlemen."<sup>46</sup> The problem of the contribution from Chicago was not solved; and in July, even with his wife growing increasingly ill, Estes made a trip to Chicago hoping to raise funds to supplement the building fund and found that W. F. Poole was on a visit to Colorado.<sup>47</sup> Estes' letters consistently reveal a man who was apparently as tireless as he was devoted to the library in Rugby and to Thomas Hughes, who was persistent in his appeals for aid, convincing in the promotion of an idea, reasonable in his judgments, and a man of unquestionable integrity.

The library building narrowly escaped fire on Monday June 19th, when, according to the newspaper, a returning

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Dana Estes to Hastings Hughes, August 11, 1882, Rugby Papers.

road gang noticed the flames and quickly subdued them. By July 1st the last crate of books had arrived from the original subscribers, and the total number of the as yet unclassified and uncatalogued library was 5371 volumes.<sup>48</sup> Bertz was thorough in counting the volumes as they arrived and compared them with the list of volumes subscribed by the publishers. He carefully reported the missing books to Dana Estes, who was concerned that such carelessness should have led to so many mistakes, however slight, but felt it would be ungracious to call them to the attention of the subscribers. In comparing the two lists one finds the missing books likely the result of carelessness by shipping clerks in warehouses. The missing books are just part of the evidence which indicates that the publishers took merely routine care in shipping and selection of books sent to Rugby. The reprints with which the library is filled were designed for individual readers and not for the hard use of a library. Bertz had pointed out in his first librarian's report that the carelessness with which some books were treated by readers is even more fatal than their being lost "as most of the bindings are not at all adapted to the needs of a circulating library." Since most books of the 1880's were poorly bound, after five

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<sup>48</sup>"Report of the Librarian of the Hughes Public Library, to the Board of Trustees, for the year from May 15th, 1882, to May 15th, 1883," Rugby Papers.

months of out-door circulation, many volumes had loosened leaves which would necessitate the "constant help of a bookbinder . . . to save the library from speedy destruction."<sup>49</sup> In view of the types of books sent from the publishers, the Thomas Hughes Library's remoteness and gradual decline as a circulating library were fortuitous circumstances which insured its preservation from the "speedy destruction" which Bertz thought might come.

Bertz devoted every waking hour to the cataloguing and classification in spite of the fact he was sometimes not promptly paid and with full recognition that debts for the building were mounting. The trustees had been meeting to prepare for incorporating the library under the state laws of Tennessee, to plan the ceremonies in October to coincide with the second anniversary of Rugby's founding, and to seek ways to balance the accounts. On September 2nd the newspaper, which had become The Rugbeian, and District Reporter, reported that the Hughes Public Library trustees had "issued a circular recounting the history of the movement to date and soliciting further subscriptions to enable the library to be opened as a free and untrammelled institution in every way."<sup>50</sup> The receipts to September were \$1767.40, some \$600 short of a balanced account. The

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>The Rugbeian, and District Reporter, September 2, 1882.

colonists were still optimistic, though, and the trustees felt that once the word of the deficit was known "many friends of Mr. Hughes and others in sympathy with his views will be glad to an opportunity to testify their respect for him. . . ." On September 8, Dana Estes sent the balance of his collections from Boston, \$152.12, of which \$125.49 was the principal. He had received the circular from Rugby and characteristically arranged for support. The Boston Advertiser gave an editorial on the library, urging contributions. The sense of urgency over the library's finances and condition had gone, however; and Estes must have been relieved that the building was nearly completed and that the books would be adequately housed.<sup>51</sup>

In October Bertz, with the help of some volunteers, quickly moved the books from their temporary building to the newly completed library.<sup>52</sup> He had won out temporarily

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<sup>51</sup>Dana Estes to C. H. Wilson, September 8, 1882, Rugby Papers.

<sup>52</sup>The present arrangement of the books according to Bertz's cataloguing procedures was undertaken by Brian Stagg during the summer months of 1966-68. During the early decades of the twentieth century, the books had been constantly rearranged to make way for new books. When Brian Stagg and a few assistants reshelfed the books, they removed all volumes added since 1899. The arrangement of the volumes is substantially similar to the first arrangement made by Eduard Bertz and Mary Percival.

in his effort not to allow the books in circulation until the catalogue could be completed in order to send an accurate copy to Chicago. Notice appeared frequently in the newspapers that two thousand volumes were expected from Chicago, and Bertz had no reason to believe otherwise. His insistence on an exact catalogue was the assurance of the gift from Chicago, but time was rapidly passing; and Poole had already shown on several occasions he was prone to forget when not constantly reminded of the debt to Rugby. The opening day came and went with the mixture of optimism and caution already mentioned. With the job done well, or so she thought, Mrs. Winkley left in late October to return to Massachusetts.<sup>53</sup> Cold weather came to the Plateau, and Mrs. Blacklock made a gift to the library of a stove and fittings. Patrons came to the reading room and began to irritate Bertz by taking books from the shelves without first asking the librarian, as the rules demanded (Appendix A). Those chilly days in late autumn and winter must have tried Bertz's patience as he worked hard to straighten the books that were disordered in moving, to keep an eye on patrons, and to work on the catalogue he had promised to Poole more than eight months before. A fortnight before Christmas he was able to finish the first classification catalogue but needed additional

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<sup>53</sup>The Rugbeian, October 28, 1882

time to prepare another to send to Chicago.<sup>54</sup> But Dana Estes was to arrive on January 13th for his only visit to Rugby, and in deference to him the books were allowed to circulate. Bertz had wanted to wait to number the books only after the donation from Chicago had arrived but found it impossible to do, since anywhere from eighty to a hundred volumes were constantly in circulation. The Rugbeian reported that Estes "thought the main thing now was to open the library to the public in reality, giving out the books. . . . the library should be free to all in Rugby--free as the pump was, or the air and water around us. . . . Of course strict rules for the regulation and return of books would be necessary."<sup>55</sup> It must have been difficult for Bertz to resist the mounting pressure to circulate the books, knowing full well that the long overdue Chicago contribution would surely be delayed as a result. But the man who was toasted at a banquet at the Tabard Inn as "the father of the Hughes Public Library" had given the supporters of ready circulation all the influence they needed; thus the librarian was forced to defer to the pressures of the moment, a yielding to expediency which was not in his nature to take lightly.

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<sup>54</sup>"Report of the Librarian of the Hughes Public Library, to the Board of Trustees, for the year from May 15th, 1882, to May 15th, 1883," Rugby Papers.

<sup>55</sup>The Rugbeian, and District Reporter, January 13, 1883.

Shortly after Estes and his wife left Rugby, the final official act was completed--the registration of the charter of incorporation with the Secretary of State of Tennessee<sup>56</sup> (Appendix B).

Sometime in February, Bertz completed the duplicate catalogue and sent it on its way to Poole, nearly ten months after having met with him in Cincinnati. Poole's reply came to Bertz in April and best indicates the difficulties which the delays had caused.

The parcel of manuscript list of books has arrived, and also your letter received several days earlier. I have been so busy I have not had time in library hours to open it, and at home we are all stirred up with moving.

You have delayed so long in sending the list I had suffered you did not intend to send it, and I am in doubt how Mr. Hoyne and others who were at one time interested in the subject, will now regard it, for the matter has not been mentioned between us for more than a year. I will see him however in a few days & will report. Mr. Larned upon whom I relied has left the city and now resides in Providence. When I can look about me I will write to you again.<sup>57</sup>

The problems were familiar ones by this time: endless

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<sup>56</sup>See Fred A. Bailey, "Legalities, Agriculture, and Immigration: The Role of Oliver Perry Temple in the Rugby Experiment," East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, No. 44 (1972), 90-103. The official charter was drawn by Jerome Templeton who was O. P. Temple's last law partner. Temple phased out his law practice after being appointed postmaster in Knoxville in the autumn of 1881; by June of 1882, Templeton was handling the legal matters of the colony.

<sup>57</sup>W. F. Poole to Eduard Bertz, April 14, 1883, Rugby Papers.

delays, other obligations on the part of Poole, and a tendency to forget about Rugby when not continually reminded of its existence. Thomas Hoyne, who managed the reorganized Chicago Public Library after it burned in 1871, was apparently the head of a committee set up to look into sending a contribution to the Hughes Library in Rugby in return for Thomas Hughes's efforts to convince Englishmen to help in the rebuilding of the Chicago Library. Queen Victoria had given an inscribed copy of The Early Life of the Prince Consort, and Carlyle gave autographed copies of his own works. Hughes had sent around a circular in England which outlined a plan to restore the library; as a result some eight to ten thousand volumes were sent to Chicago.<sup>58</sup> Bertz left Rugby before he had word from Poole again. He had, however, set aside some shelves in the Rugby library for the contribution, and as late as 1890 the issue of Chicago's famous non-contribution was still alive. Poole apparently finally turned the job over to Norman Williams of the John Crerar Library and to E. G. Mason, who had served as the president of the Chicago Historical Society. Early in 1900 the errant duplicate copy of the "Preliminary Catalogue" which had been in the hands of Norman Williams finally returned to Rugby to the care of Robert Walton.

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<sup>58</sup>George M. Bishop, Jr., "A Mark of English Sympathy," Chicago History, XXVII (Fall, 1971), 232-235.

That copy is now among the Rugby Papers, a silent witness to the prolonged and difficult attempts of the colony to communicate effectively with at least one important part of the world outside Rugby. It is also a reminder of Bertz's dedicated and industrious efforts to see the library completed and the Chicago promise fulfilled. Dana Estes' last letter to Rugby, a rare handwritten one sent from Aiken, South Carolina, on March 10, 1883, contains word of a contribution from J. M. Stoddart of Philadelphia of a set of the new edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, a contribution he felt was the most important one to the library. He asks to be remembered to his friends in Rugby, thus bringing to a close his efforts on behalf of Rugby that had lasted more than two difficult and rewarding years.<sup>59</sup> Bertz resigned on May 15, left fifty-six of his own books to the library, and returned to London. The newspaper noted his departure: "He was an able and cultured gentleman, and as first librarian will long be remembered, both for the great attention and courtesy, and the energy and ability he brought to bear in arranging and cataloguing the books. He takes with him the goodwill of all."<sup>60</sup> Notice appeared of the appointment of Mrs. Mary Percival to succeed him, bringing to an end the

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<sup>59</sup>Dana Estes to Hastings Hughes, March 10, 1883, Rugby Papers.

<sup>60</sup>The Plateau Gazette and East Tennessee News, May 19, 1883.

first turbulent and triumphant year of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library.

The next years saw the continuation of the financial problems and the library's returning to a partial subscription plan as early as 1885. Charles Wilson, treasurer since 1881, resigned in November of 1885. There was a comfortable balance, he said, but one that was the result of Hastings Hughes's generosity alone. Mrs. Percival had not been paid for two months, and a contractor was due money for repairs to the faulty roof which had led to damage of the plaster ceiling. He generously noted that his own claims could wait until Chicagoans took action.<sup>61</sup> Certain correspondence indicates that the roof was a constant problem. Mrs. Winkley, who left Rugby shortly after the opening of the building and took the key to the library with her but returned it three months later, wrote twice to Wilson about the roof but had received no reply as late as July. "Dose [sic] it still leak? and if it dose will you not see that it is fixed?. . . I do not like to have Mr. Winkley's last work left unfinished."<sup>62</sup> In August of 1883 Mrs. Winkley wrote again in reply to Wilson and said she was glad to hear the leak was being looked after. "I think letter paper must be

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<sup>61</sup>C. H. Wilson to Joseph Blacklock, November 11, 1885, Rugby Papers.

<sup>62</sup>Mrs. R. R. Winkley to C. H. Wilson, January 7, 1883, Rugby Papers.

scarce there for few letters ever reach me," she sarcastically added.<sup>63</sup> In 1884 Mrs. Percival's annual report notes "that the condition of the Library roof is not what it should be. During heavy rains it still leaks badly, and the plastering on the west side which is frequently dropping in small particles will inevitably fall en masse if the leakage is not remedied."<sup>64</sup> The leaky roof was a minor cause célèbre for several years in Rugby, and when Bertz wrote from Potsdam in 1886 to advise Mrs. Percival on cataloguing the still unreceived books from Chicago and to give a copy of his new book Montesqueiue's Persian Letters, he, too, had a word for the roof. "I am so glad to hear the library is at last dry; that bad roof was an awful nuisance."<sup>65</sup> Not until the 1950's when the entire plaster ceiling was replaced was the leak fixed. The difficulty of quick, efficient communication found its way even into the question of the leaky Winkley roof.

The library continued to receive occasional gifts during the coming years. The newspaper continued to report the poor financial condition of the Hughes Public Library. Posters appeared in April of 1885 in Commissary Hall

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<sup>63</sup>Mrs. R. R. Winkley to C. H. Wilson, August 18, 1883, Rugby Papers.

<sup>64</sup>The Report of the Librarian for the year ending May 15, 1884, Rugby Papers.

<sup>65</sup>Ben Harris McClary, ed., "Not for the Moment Only": Eduard Bertz to Mary Percival, February 18, 1886, Tennessee Historical Quarterly, XXIV (Spring, 1965), 60.

announcing a performance of a comedy and a farce to aid the library. That same year proceeds from the Social Club once went to the library. The library continued to have a circulation of about three thousand volumes annually for six years and then came a gradual decline into the next decade. The reports of Mrs. Mary Percival were exact, and she apparently ran the library efficiently. But public attention was no longer focused on the library and the colony as it had been in those early years, and the library gradually became in memory the place where colonists spent "long evenings and dark days . . . beguiled with amusement and instruction."<sup>66</sup>

Today, nearly a century after the opening of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library, the serenity of its setting and the emptiness of its reading room belies its turbulent history, a history which was closely connected to significant cultural influences and prominent public men. Among the books given to the Hughes Library after 1899 is A Neighborhood of Girls, a novel of life in Rugby. Its author, Lellie Southwick, who gave the autographed copy, describes in one chapter a scene of a typical morning in the library. Hazel, a bright and quick-witted young girl, always sat in one of the large windows from which she could gaze out at the scenery. "It was just the spot of all

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<sup>66</sup>Plateau Gazette and East Tennessee News, April 18, 1885.

others to forget where you were, all your personal affairs and restraints, and dream all the world within your grasp and centered in one small book."<sup>67</sup> Soon several of her friends arrived, and they discussed the varying merits of wild, romantic stories, biography, and the worst of the French novels. The Librarian looked sourly their way, and with an ironic remark by Hazel to one of her more pedestrian friends that she could not get queer notions from reading Miss Alcott's books, the girls started to the nearby woods to chatter. This short scene is the only known account which recreates an active world inside the library, a world which no doubt existed behind the green baize doors. Rumor has it that these same French novels were deliberately placed on the upper shelves out of the reach of probing young hands and impressionable minds. But when did distance ever deter the curious? Whatever the degree of truth in novel or in rumor, the library stands as Rugby's most misunderstood and enlightening institution. Perhaps the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library will now begin to yield what Bertz spoke of as "the good harvest of what was sown in a stormy spring." Its history is the colony's history; its inspiration, the goodness of Thomas Hughes; its successes, the union of grand vision and hard word; its failures, the way to better understanding; its future, the persistence of Rugby's hopes.

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<sup>67</sup>Lellie C. Southwick, A Neighborhood of Girls (Springfield, Mo.: Jewell Publishing Co., 1896), p. 74.

## CHAPTER II

### PUBLISHERS, MORALITY, AND THE MIDDLE CLASS: THE HUGHES LIBRARY AND SOCIAL CHANGE

In spite of its geographical isolation, The Thomas Hughes Free Public Library is the result of important cultural changes and social attitudes in America and England. Above all, it is a publisher's library. Only as a result of the rapid expansion of the publishing trade during the last several decades of the nineteenth century could the library have received in 1882 the donations of nearly 5,000 volumes which now make up the core of the collection. The idea for a library in Rugby came from a publisher. As a result of good advertising and marketing, Dana Estes was able to build the house of Estes & Lauriat to an influential business within a few years in the 1870's. But in addition to the influence of the publishing trade, the belief in the ability of public education to improve the moral lives of citizens brought an awareness of the need for books to be available at no cost to the taxpaying citizen. Founders of the Hughes Library made certain that it was to be free to all citizens. They saw the library as an instrument of a stable community and democratic nation and a means to practical instruction for life in Tennessee. They hoped that borrowers would not

read too much fiction but would turn instead to other more morally uplifting and technically instructive reading. Finally, the conjunction of the practical and the ideal in a harmonious paradox lies at the heart of understanding the library in a broader context. The middle class of which Hughes was a solid part and which he extols in the Brown family in Tom Brown's Schooldays put more emphasis on competition than contemplation. The Browns were determined, combative, hard-working, frugal, and devoted to family. "This family training too, combined with their turn for combativeness, makes them entirely quixotic. They can't let anything alone which they think going wrong."<sup>1</sup> Just as the library bears Hughes's name, the values that brought it into existence bear the marks of the middle class. To understand the Hughes Library and its history fully is to understand both its claim to be the most important of Rugby's surviving institutions and also its relationship to social change and attitudes.

By the time an accurate list of contributions by publishers was compiled in the spring of 1882, twenty-six firms had contributed 4,781 volumes. Two lists are among the Rugby Papers. The one consisting of round figures is the one most often quoted, but the following list compiled by Bertz is the only exact list done. Books from publishers

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<sup>1</sup>Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown's Schooldays (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1951), p. 3.

continued to arrive through the last years of the 1880's, but no accurate count according to publisher was kept. Bertz's figures are as follows: Harper Brothers, 500; J. B. Lippincott & Co., 494; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 485; D. Lothrop & Co., 303; D. Appleton & Co., 300; Estes & Lauriat, 254; Chas. Scribner's Sons, 200; Thomas Nelson & Son, 200; E. P. Dutton & Co., 199; George Routledge & Co., 199; Porter and Coates, 198; Henry Holt & Co., 195; Macmillan & Co., 192; James R. Osgood & Co., 128; Orange Judd Co., 120; Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co., 119; Dodd, Mead & Co., 102; A. D. F. Randolph & Co., 102; G. W. Carlton & Co., 101; E. Claxton & Co., 100; R. Worthington, 99; Roberts Brothers, 97; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 97; A. C. Armstrong & Son, 97; Fowler & Wells, 75; A. P. Barnes & Co., 25.<sup>2</sup> In addition 135 volumes were donated by O. J. Wilson of Cincinnati, whose contribution belongs with the list of contributing publishers because of his connection with the publishing trade as senior partner in the firm of Wilson, Hinkle & Co., one of the largest schoolbook publishing concerns in America.<sup>3</sup> Unquestionably, the holdings

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<sup>2</sup>"Report of the Librarian of the Hughes Public Library, to the Board of Trustees, for the year from May 15th, 1882, to May 15th, 1883." Rugby Papers.

<sup>3</sup>For more information on O. J. Wilson see History of Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio (Cincinnati: S. B. Nelson & Co., 1894). Wilson gave many books from his personal library, and many of his inscribed volumes are found within the poetry section of the Hughes Library.

of the Hughes Library are the direct result of the rapid growth in the publishing business and constitute valuable collective evidence of the varying degrees of quality of reprints designed for quick sale in a market which was not yet subject to international copyright laws. Familiar causes which led to the proliferation of cheap and inexpensive books by the last decades of the century have been discussed by Raymond Shove in Cheap Book Production in the United States, 1870-1891, and by Richard D. Altick in The English Common Reader.<sup>4</sup> Quite clearly one of the primary reasons for the abundance of books is not some overwhelming public demand for good literature but rather the technological advances in printing that produced cheaper books at a speed unknown before the nineteenth century.

An examination of a few of the contributors to the Hughes Library gives some clear indication of the strong influence of trends in the book trade market on the make-up of the library. Harper Brothers, the contributor of the largest single gift to the library, had entered low-priced competition as early as 1830.<sup>5</sup> The Family Library and the

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<sup>4</sup>Raymond Howard Shove, Cheap Book Production in the United States, 1870 to 1891 (Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Library, 1937), pp. 1-10. Hereafter cited in this chapter as Shove. See also Richard D. Altick, The English Common Reader (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1963), pp. 260-317. Hereafter cited in this chapter as Altick.

<sup>5</sup>Shove, p. 106.

more famous Library of Select Novels, which reached its 400th volume by 1875, were instrumental in Harper's financial success.<sup>6</sup> Harper Brothers published many inexpensive books, and because of the size and reputation of its business from which it continued to reap considerable profits, it opposed international copyright laws.<sup>7</sup> While these facts do not necessarily diminish the generosity of Harper's gift to the Hughes Library, they do put the gift in its proper context. Another of the major contributors, D. Appleton, was also active in publishing cheap editions of standard authors. The Appleton house was generally more conscientious about the quality of print and paper in its cheap editions than was Harper; its New Handy Volume Series was successful in the highly competitive market within a few short years and had reached sixty-two volumes by 1880.<sup>8</sup> Although Appleton's contribution was enhanced by its concern with quality, it, too, was the direct result of financial success in cheap book production. The Hughes Library also contains some of Roberts Brothers' "No-Name" series which sold for one dollar, and which early in the 1870's helped to make some small headway into the cheap quarto series with attractive, cloth-bound editions.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 108.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 118.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 8.

Henry Holt & Co.'s contribution is also of special interest. Of the 195 volumes given by Holt in 1882, 123 were from the "Leisure Hour Series" begun in 1872. In 1877 Publisher's Weekly noted of the series that Henry Holt & Co. had decided to enter the price competition and would

make the now famous "Leisure Hour Series" "as cheap as the cheapest." From this date, the retail price of "linen dusters" will be reduced from \$1.25 to \$1 per volume throughout the series. . . . How very cheap this is the readers of these pleasantly familiar books, now found on everybody's table, may reckon for themselves: anybody who wants more for his money simply can't get it.<sup>10</sup>

Holt & Co.'s venture into cheap book production was a financial success, and the series grew to over two hundred volumes during the 1880's. Since it represents cheap book production at its qualitative best, the "Leisure Hour Series" volumes are an important collection for understanding the Hughes Library within the context of the publishing world.

Finally, George Routledge & Co., another of the main contributors to the library, was one of England's major publishers of American writers. Altick writes in The English Common Reader that "it was up to the individual publisher's conscience whether he would follow the gentleman's course of compensating the American author or the pirate's device of appropriating the work without any

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 120.

payment whatsoever. Some settled the matter in one way, some the other. Routledge, who was especially fond of reprinting American books, usually preferred the latter alternative."<sup>11</sup> Of publishers contributing to the Hughes Library many were involved in questions of profit versus conscience; and their contributions represent the apparently easy partnership publishers made between a growing world of new money and influence and the charitable enterprise of a library in Thomas Hughes's Rugby.

Dana Estes was also faced with the question of profit and conscience. The generous contribution Estes made in conceiving the plan for the library and attending to its completion is documented in the early history. But the attitudes and values which in part motivated Estes in business are most clearly seen in connection with his own firm. The "Chatterbox Controversy" discussed by Raymond L. Kilgour in Estes and Lauriat; a History, 1872-1898 shows the mixed motives and methods which Estes used for success in a market where pirated editions were the order of the day.<sup>12</sup> In 1877 in response to an advertisement in Publisher's Weekly noting that Chatterbox--a highly successful children's book in England--was open to American

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<sup>11</sup>Altick, p. 300.

<sup>12</sup>Raymond I. Kilgour, Estes and Lauriat; a History, 1872-1898 (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1957), pp. 88-96; 188-201. Hereafter cited in this chapter as Kilgour.

dealers for orders in quantity, Estes & Lauriat ordered a small number. Their check and order arrived in London after the advertised date for receiving orders; yet since Estes & Lauriat had already received 5,000 orders at home, they felt obliged to reprint the book without the London agent's permission. The reprint was cheaper and more attractive than the original English edition distributed in America by Thomas Nelson; and after two years of successful promotion and marketing by Estes & Lauriat, the British agent decided it could not continue to stand the financial losses from the pirated edition reached an agreement with Estes & Lauriat. But once Estes & Lauriat became the lawful American distributor in 1879, Estes "was willing to spend thirty thousand, over a period of ten years, to win his point and to beat down those who tried to infringe on his business. Though the controversy was, basically a copyright problem, it was also part of Estes' relentless pursuit of the cheap-reprint publishers who had ventured to print some of the firm's unprotected books and thereby incurred his hatred."<sup>13</sup> Publishers whom Estes took to court over unauthorized reprints of Chatterbox included John W. Lovell, Richard Worthington, George A. Leavitt, and Belford, Clarke and Company--all of whose books found their way into the Hughes Library. The controversy tells much about Estes

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 188.

and the business he managed. He was a skillful and pragmatic promoter of his interests and a frank proponent of the profit system. His own persuasive and often eloquent promotion of international copyright laws must be viewed within the context of his business instincts, however, not within a nobility which sought solely to protect the property and rights of authors. The few worn copies of Chatterbox still on the shelves in the Hughes Library are not only evidence of its appeal to children and Estes's part in developing the growing market for children's books, but are also evidence of the often bitter struggles in the publishing world to protect business interests. Dana Estes seemed equally at home with self-interest as with philanthropy.

The growing supply of books in the nineteenth century which had risen to a peak by the last decades stemmed from a rapidly increasing reading public, as well as from technological advances in printing. At the same time a growing interest in tax-supported libraries as a necessary adjunct of democratic culture also increased the demand for books.<sup>14</sup> Not surprisingly, the idea of a public library as an instrument of stability and morality guided the founders of the Hughes Library.

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<sup>14</sup>See Sidney Ditzion, Arsenals of Democratic Culture (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947); and Jesse H. Shera, Foundations of the Public Library (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1949). Hereafter cited in this chapter as Shera.

Apart from the practical matters of cost and administration, two themes are expressed in the speeches delivered on the opening day of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library. Mr. Blacklock said, "This library is in harmony with all we hear and know of America. In all new places a plot is set aside for educational purposes, so that men and women may grow up in intelligence; all over the land it is so, and among them all Rugby holds a proud position. . . ."15 Even though most men and women of Rugby were not part of a working class who had been deprived of the access to books, this appeal to the democratic nature of a public library had been carefully considered by the incorporators who signed the charter. The charter specifies that "the general welfare of society, not individual profit, is the object for which this charter is granted. . . ."16 Ironically, during his one trip to Rugby, Dana Estes, a man partially motivated by individual profit, also emphasized the idea of the right of free access to books as an inherent condition of a library within a democratic society.<sup>17</sup> But freedom and a democratic society were not the main reasons for making the Hughes Library public. Behind the public intentions

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<sup>15</sup>The Rugbeian, and District Reporter, October 7, 1882.

<sup>16</sup>"State of Tennessee, Charter of Incorporation, The Thomas Hughes Free Public Library," Rugby Papers.

<sup>17</sup>The Rugbeian, and District Reporter, January 13, 1883.

lay the common assumption that reading promoted morality and taught useful skills, skills that would insure the survival of Rugby, Tennessee.

The second theme, then, was the library's role in moral instruction. Most of Rugby's colonists had been nurtured in an age of social reform. The existence of the colony, in fact, had grown out of the humanitarian impulses of one of the nineteenth century's most vigorous social reformers, Thomas Hughes. Thus that someone among the followers should raise the issue of the dangers of too much fiction in the library is not surprising. Altick has pointed out "it was an exceptional man indeed who ventured to suggest that popular edication might, for example, encourage a taste for reading for private satisfaction, entirely apart from its social benefits."<sup>18</sup> In the minds of the founders and the sober first librarian, Eduard Bertz, the Hughes Library was to be first an educational instrument for the moral and physical well-being of the colony. The Rugbeian reported that Bertz said the new library contained "rather too much fiction . . . we want a few more scientific works and some on the useful arts."<sup>19</sup> At the cornerstone ceremony in June of 1882, Bertz had more forcefully argued for the library as a place where "what the greatest men have discovered for the

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<sup>18</sup>Altick, p. 148.

<sup>19</sup>The Rugbeian, and District Reporter, October 7, 1882.

furtherance of human progress will be stored . . . and accessible . . . to guide and to advise us in whatever doubts may arise before our minds."<sup>20</sup> He went on to issue a clear priority of duty first and pleasure last. The library's best offerings would provide useful guidance for living an upright and earnest life and would thereby insure the progress of mankind.

No where is it more evident that the library followed rather than created social objectives than on this issue of the value of good reading for social and individual moral virtue.<sup>21</sup> Yet just as the librarian set a high moral priority for the institution, so did a democratic society leave patrons free to follow their own interests. And while practical and evangelical men strongly disapproved of too much fiction, an entire generation of young men in their twenties in Rugby had cultivated their reading habits on Scott, Dickens, Charles Reade, Frederick Marryat, and a host of others. Predictably, readers in Rugby turned to fiction and its imaginary world which offered some escape from the stark realities of life on the Cumberland Plateau. For the years in which the librarian's reports were kept accurately--from 1883 to 1895--clearly half of the borrowings were from the fiction section. When combined with borrowings from Juvenile

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., June 10, 1882.

<sup>21</sup>Shera, p. 248.

Literature, nearly three-fourths of the circulation could be classified as reading for pleasure rather than duty, improvement, or morality. And although many of the children's books contained moral instruction, the primary object was pleasure. The records of borrowing give some clear idea of just how little reading fell into that class of which Eduard Bertz spoke.<sup>22</sup> It is unlikely that the reading trends indicate a flaw in the character of the colonists which led to the decline in Rugby's population and popularity. What can be said is that the colonists liked to read; but their aversion to serious, technical, and didactic literature placed the Rugby reader firmly within the nineteenth century milieu of reading preferences and habits.

Thomas Hughes's own relationship to the library has been greeted by general silence on the part of writers on the Rugby Colony<sup>23</sup>; however, Hughes's lack of attention

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<sup>22</sup>The librarian made annual reports until 1895 and the records are in the Rugby Papers. The following list includes the years for which accurate percentages were recorded:

| Year      | Total Circulation | Percent from Juvenile & Fiction |
|-----------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1883-1884 | 3332              | 68                              |
| 1884-1885 | 3585              | 70                              |
| 1885-1886 | 3352              | 70                              |
| 1886-1887 | 4240              | 73                              |
| 1887-1888 | 1412              | 76                              |
| 1888-1889 | 2710              | 72                              |
| 1889-1890 | 1281              | 70                              |

<sup>23</sup>See Edward C. Mack and W. H. C. Armytage, Thomas Hughes (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1952). Brian Stagg, The Distant Eden: Tennessee's Rugby Colony (n.p.: Paylor

to the library in his colony is understandable if not obvious. In his major writings which specifically concern Rugby--Rugby, Tennessee, and, in part, Vacation Rambles-- Hughes is silent about the library. After the first troublesome months of the colony's life, he wrote and emphasized--as he usually did in his public statements-- that Rugby needed first of all settlers who would be willing to till the soil. The letterhead of the Board of Aid to Land Ownership included in the inscription a call to "TILLAGE OF THE EARTH--THE BASIS OF ALL INDUSTRIES, AND THE PRIMARY SOURCE OF ALL WEALTH."<sup>24</sup> Hughes sought to discourage those who would or could not work and was careful to point out to the would-be settler that only when his work is done that "he will find himself in a cultivated society, within the reach of all the real essentials of civilization, beginning with a good library."<sup>25</sup>

In 1881 in an address to Rugby School, Hughes read a letter which mentioned the establishment of the library, but he followed it closely with the reminder to the students "that the worth of manual labor, as part of the highest

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Publications, 1973). Marguerite Bartlett Hamer, "Thomas Hughes and His American Rugby," The North Carolina Historical Review, V (October, 1928), pp. 391-413.

<sup>24</sup>See official stationery of the Board of Aid to Land Ownership, Rugby Papers.

<sup>25</sup>Thomas Hughes, Rugby, Tennessee (London: Macmillan and Co., 1881), p. 108.

education, is getting to be more and more openly recognized by the most successful and laborious men in all ranks."<sup>26</sup> In an essay "The Hermit" written in 1887 in Rugby, Tennessee, Hughes tells of receiving a note from a hermit in the woods nearby requesting the loan of a geology book. Hughes got the book from the library and set out to satisfy his curiosity about this recluse, a Shrewbury man who knew three or four languages and was a graduate of Cornell. When Hughes arrived the Hermit was trying to find his ram who was constantly leaving the flock and disappearing in the forest. The recluse seemed pleased with the book and its late date but had little time to chatter since he needed to search for the wandering ram. Hughes seemed glad to take him the book but seemed more interested in the man's livelihood.<sup>27</sup> The book seems to have been a means to find out what the man did rather than what he thought.

Another interesting reference to the function of a library and its association with the noble leisure of life occurs in Tom Brown at Oxford, Hughes's less successful sequel to Tom Brown's Schooldays. Tom and a friend, Hardy, spend a day with axes felling a gnarled old elm. Through the hard work Tom is able to lift his depressed spirits, and the friends discuss the advantages of emigration. The view Tom conjures up is idyllic, one of an ideal world far

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<sup>26</sup>Ibid., pp. 132-133.

<sup>27</sup>Thomas Hughes, Vacation Rambles (London: Macmillan and Co., 1895), pp. 252-254.

removed from the hard realities.

. . . The pictures which were painted included foregrounds with beautiful children playing about the clearing and graceful women, wives of the happy squatters . . . clothed and occupied after the manner of their ideal grandmothers; with the health and strength of Amazons, the refinement of high bred ladies, and wonderous still in domestic works. . . . The log-houses also contained fascinating libraries continually reinforced from home, sufficient to keep all dwellers in the happy clearing in communion with the highest minds of their own and former generations.<sup>28</sup>

This vision of sylvan bliss significantly includes a library not as a place of arduous study--but rather as a place of "communion" with great minds. Quite clearly Thomas Hughes recognized the value of a good library, but only as a supplement, not as the focus of a community. This attitude is not surprising if one has read Tom Brown's Schooldays which emphasizes the close kinship of physical and moral fitness rather than learning and intellectual pursuits.

Thomas Hughes's teaching at the Working Men's College, of which he was one of the founders, reinforces the view that his attitude toward the intellectual life was a matter of priorities not of disparagement. He had tried teaching classes in laws of combination and association, but only a few students enrolled.

For he soon found a congenial field: sparring.  
"Round shoulders, narrow chests, stiff limbs, were I

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<sup>28</sup>Thomas Hughes, Tom Brown at Oxford (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., n.d.), pp. 408-409.

submitted, as bad as defective grammar and arithmetic." Profiting by his Rugby training, where the big boys made the little ones fight until they lost their tempers, and by his Oxford experiences ("at last it became clear to me, that all my Oxford time spent on such matters had not been thrown away"), Hughes made a science of his work.<sup>29</sup>

Hughes himself boxed with skill and cleverly outsparring stronger opponents. The discussions which developed from the athletic contests caused Hughes to feel that he had made a worthy contribution to the College. He had ideally hoped to lift the lot of working men to noble pursuits in reading and study and in part this ideal was realized. But action more than contemplation was Hughes's strength. Manliness--self-reliant and courageous action for good works<sup>30</sup>--allowed less time for contemplation than for competition. Thomas Hughes's silence concerning the library in Rugby is thus the natural consequence of his moral priorities; reading was secondary to direct action. Perhaps he did feel it was unnecessary to mention the library because such a community "without a collection of fine books would have been unthinkable."<sup>31</sup> Perhaps as Brian Stagg, Executive Director of the Rugby Restoration Association, has suggested, Hughes's modesty prevented him

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<sup>29</sup>Edward C. Mack and W. H. G. Armytage, Thomas Hughes (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1952), p. 79.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 97.

<sup>31</sup>David Kaser, "Tom Brown's Library at Rugby," in Library History Seminary No. 3, Proceedings, 1968, ed. Martha Jane K. Zachert (Deland, Fla.: E. O. Painter, 1968), p. 129.

from praising an institution which bore his name. But above all, Thomas Hughes believed that the society which depended more on the work rather than the leisure of its citizens would be the virtuous community. Libraries were for those whose work had been completed.

Several miles to the north west of Rugby is the Meeting of the Waters, the union of the Clear Fork and White Oak. This land was the new Eden, the land of promise, unspoiled and potential. Several miles to the south east is the town of Glen Mary where some of Rugby's young men beat a woodland path to the moonshine stills. This town was the presence of evil in the garden. The Thomas Hughes Free Public Library stands at a point midway between the new Eden and Glen Mary and its history best reminds us of the grand vision and troubled dream of Thomas Hughes's Rugby, Tennessee.

### CHAPTER III

#### "NOT FOR THE MOMENT ONLY"

From late June through the autumn of 1882, the books began arriving for the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library, and Eduard Bertz was faced with the enormous task of classifying and cataloguing over 5,000 volumes in order to prepare the books for circulation. Because of his connections with W. F. Poole, with whom he had consulted on the management of the library at the American Library Association meeting in Cincinnati in May of 1882, Bertz turned to an essay by Poole, "The Organization and Management of Public Libraries," in Public Libraries in the United States, for guidance.<sup>1</sup> Several years after he had left Rugby, Bertz had occasion to answer a letter from Mary Percival, his successor as librarian, who had questioned him about cataloguing books that she anticipated would arrive soon from Chicago. Before outlining his own methods in detail, Bertz wrote that "the best and most practical advice for your task you will find in the management of Public Libraries, contained in State documents. For the cataloguing etc. useful rules are given in the chapter contributed by Mr. Poole; it will be

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<sup>1</sup>William F. Poole, "The Organization and Management of Public Libraries," in Public Libraries in the United States of America: Their History, Condition, and Management, Special Report, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), 476-504. Hereafter cited in this chapter as Poole.

wise to read that first and foremost."<sup>2</sup> Bertz had with characteristic thoroughness read the chapter, and the arrangement of the library today follows, with only slight modifications designed to accommodate the special limitations imposed by the size of the library and the impatience of the people of Rugby, the suggestions of Poole. Bertz had only limited space in a small building which allowed little room for continuous expansion of volumes, and pressure was applied to him at almost all points during the cataloguing process to get the books in circulation. Yet Bertz was able to apply judiciously the advice of Poole and successfully adapt it to Rugby's library needs in the areas of cataloguing, labeling, classification, arrangement, shelf marks, tags, shelf lists, methods of delivery, records of circulation, as well as resisting pressure from potential patrons.

Two documents, the letter to Mrs. Percival and the "Report of the Librarian of the Hughes Public Library, to the Board of Trustees, for the year from May 15th, 1882, to May 15th, 1883,"<sup>3</sup> contain the detailed explanation of the

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<sup>2</sup>Ben Harris McClary, ed., "Not for the Moment Only": Eduard Bertz to Mary Percival, February 18, 1886, Tennessee Historical Quarterly, XXIV, No. 1 (Spring, 1965), 58. Hereafter cited in this chapter as McClary.

<sup>3</sup>"Report of the Librarian of the Hughes Public Library, to the Board of Trustees, for the year from May 15th, 1882, to May 15th, 1883," Rugby Papers.

process of cataloguing which Bertz followed during his first months as librarian. In his report Bertz mentions that he catalogued the public documents first and passed the rest of the summer and fall in arranging the books according to "rough classing." Bertz details in his letter to Mrs. Percival the process that is sketched in broader outline in the report, and he suggests that the preparation of the card catalogue should come first and recommends using thicker paper for the cards. Incidentally, Bertz's original card catalogue may still be found bound by twine in individual bundles in a specially divided dictionary card catalogue box on the wall of the librarian's closet. After the first broad cataloguing--that is the division of the books into classes--the librarian recorded the author's name, the title, imprint, class letter, and eventually the shelf number on the small thin piece of paper serving as the card; the card was placed in the book. The expected books from Chicago were then to be placed on the shelves beside the older books. i.e., the books already there, and the cards removed from the books, alphabetized, and copied in the classified subject-catalogue, the "Preliminary Catalogue" prepared in the process of first cataloguing. Mrs. Percival followed Bertz's advice for books she received other than the never-to-appear Chicago books, and one can find her entries written in above the entries in the second catalogues, the alphabetical shelf classification catalogues.

The cards were finally placed in the dictionary-card-catalogue, mixing the new with the old in alphabetical order.

The classified-subject catalogue compiled by Bertz, which bears the date December, 1882, and the heading of "Preliminary Catalogue of the Hughes Public Library," was to function as a final subject index catalogue (Appendix C) but was not, according to the alphabetical classification, the system used for the actual shelving of the books (Appendix D). For his "Preliminary Catalogue" work, Bertz followed a modified form of the Expansive Classification system suggested by Charles A. Cutter of the Boston Athenaeum in the "Rules for a Dictionary catalogue" which formed Part II of the U. S. Bureau of Education report.<sup>4</sup> Bertz had two purposes in mind: he needed a complete authoritative catalogue in order to send a copy to Chicago, and he needed to have a complete and careful record in preparation for making available to others the record of the library's holdings. Poole called Cutter's system "the most complete and authoritative treatise on the subject extant."<sup>5</sup> Yet

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<sup>4</sup>Charles A. Cutter, "Rules for a Printed Dictionary Catalogue," in Public Libraries in the United States of America: Their History, Condition, and Management, Special Report, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Part II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876), pp. 1-89. For more information on Cutter's Expansive Classification system see William Parker Cutter, Charles Ammi Cutter (Boston: Gregg Press, 1972), pp. 40-47.

<sup>5</sup>Poole, p. 490.

prior to actually shelving the books, most likely in the early summer of 1882, Bertz realized, perhaps even without Poole's suggestions, that classification should be simplified as the occasion required, that a simpler system of classification would be more appropriate for circulation. For the librarian of the Hughes Library, classification was as much a practical matter designed to meet the demands of the public as it was a responsibility he accepted with moral earnestness, and except when the pressures were extraordinary, his earnestness took precedence.

Most of the cataloguing was done with the minimum of complexity and the maximum of thoroughness. Bertz saw to it that official labels were placed in the books, "an official label must . . . be prepared and pasted on the inside of the cover."<sup>6</sup> In preparing shelf marks and tags, Bertz decided to designate the cases with the same letter of the alphabet as the simplified classified letter, to number the shelves in each case from floor to ceiling, and to number each volume consecutively as it was to stand on the shelf. With the help of an assistant, Bertz began in January to tag the books according to the simplified classification, and one need only look briefly at the illustrations and discussion in the section "Tags" to see how closely Bertz at times followed Poole's advice. Poole recommends that "many more tags should be printed for the cases that contain the popular books than

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<sup>6</sup>Poole, p. 492.

for other cases . . . the number of the work is placed about the middle of the tag . . . if there be more than one copy of the work, the first copy is marked 'a', the second 'b', etc."<sup>7</sup> Even today the librarian's closet contains boxes with originals of the "many more tags"; the original tags still mark the spines of the volumes with the number "placed about the middle of the tag"; duplicate volumes are generally marked with an "a." Bertz's work seems at all points to be guided by the authority of Poole.

As far as methods to make the books accessible to the public were concerned, Bertz and other members of the library board did not need Poole to tell them to make a code of regulations concerning the qualifications of borrowers and the rules governing circulation. The disposition to order and regulation was generic to many of the English colonists of influence in Rugby, Tennessee, and the records of rules governing the library are just one instance of numerous attempts of the colonists to govern themselves by orderly procedures. It is not surprising then, that among the library papers still at Rugby are careful records of the borrowings covering the first twelve years of the library's operation. Poole suggested that "In a small library where few books are taken, and where the borrowers are nearly the

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<sup>7</sup>Poole, p. 495.

same from year to year, and are known to the librarians, there is, perhaps, no better plan than a ledger system,"<sup>8</sup> a system by which the borrower's name is recorded along with the class and number of the book on a ruled ledger book. The name was also placed on a small slip of paper, a "card," and alphabetized at the end of a day's borrowings. When a book was returned, the card was placed in a returned file and the name checked off the ledger. If a patron wanted to renew a book, the card was used and "renewed" written across the face and a date was placed in the lower left hand corner. As with many of the library's records, these borrowing cards are still among the library's holdings and are bound together in the librarian's closet according to month and year. The adoption of the ledger system, supplemented by the simplified card system, had advantages for Bertz and Percival in that the librarian could refer to the ledger with facility in charging a book to a patron, in compiling records of delinquency, and in meeting the library board's requirements of annual reports.

Poole concludes his chapter by writing: "There are no qualities which will supplement even a little technical knowledge so efficiently as good judgment and practical common sense."<sup>9</sup> Far from suggesting that Eduard Bertz's

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<sup>8</sup>Poole, p. 499.

<sup>9</sup>Poole, p. 504.

reliance on Poole's suggestions was a mere slavishness to the new czar of American librarians, the care with which the Hughes librarian went about his duty was just such a successful partnership of technical knowledge and good judgment and practical common sense which was necessary to see that the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library was a lasting tribute to the man whose name it bears, for it was, after all, the devotion which Hughes seemed to inspire in others which brought Bertz and Poole, among others, to the library. In the same letter to Mary Percival, Bertz expresses the dissatisfaction he felt in having to do the job of cataloguing under pressure and hopes, with some bitterness, that she will be spared. However, he turns quickly from any rancor to the overwhelming sense of devotion to duty and to the memory of Thomas Hughes which is reflected in the care of his work which was "not for the moment only"<sup>10</sup> but for all time.

#### Introduction to the Use of the Bibliography

Two overriding concerns have determined the compilation and form of the following enumerative bibliography of the prose fiction, Section A, and the poetry, Section F, of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library. The first was to make the bibliography functional. The present Board of Trustees has felt for some years that the library's operating as a museum, as it did for a while containing "articles of attire and of

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<sup>10</sup>McClary, p. 58.

household use that have been preserved and turned over to it for display,"<sup>11</sup> was not in keeping with the original intentions of its founders. Consequently, the record in the following pages is only the beginning of what will eventually become a complete bibliography of the holdings of the library in order that nineteenth-century bibliographers and scholars might be encouraged to use the library more frequently both for research and for making an accurate assessment of the value of the holdings, both concerning separate volumes and the entire collection. The bibliography attempts to fulfill the wishes of the board insofar as possible by making available, for the first time, the first part of an accurate, useable record.

The second concern was to see that some clear record is preserved reflecting the order of the volumes as they are and were originally shelved in the library under the direction of Bertz and Percival. Because the Board of Trustees of the library and the Rugby Restoration Association operates within a limited budget, no funds have been available to see that the Hughes library is protected from fire and that the contents are insured against any loss. Since other buildings in Rugby have burned--Hillsden, Yandilla, Vine Cottage, Onderdonk House, the Gardens, the Pines, the original Rugby Public School building, the printing

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<sup>11</sup>Patricia Guion Wichmann, Key to the Library (Privately Printed, 1963), p. 20.

office, the Fardon residence and drug store, and the hospital, and the famed Tabard Inn burned twice--it seems only by a combination of benign circumstances and the care of a dedicated few that the library remains today. But the preservative record is not sufficient in itself as the rarely used original Preliminary Catalogues, two copies, and the subject classification catalogues, copies which are found in Kingston Lisle in Rugby and in the Tennessee State Archives in Nashville, are silent witnesses. Preservation and usefulness are inseparable, a notion which Thomas Hughes, Dana Estes, Eduard Bertz, and others who had a part in the conception and completion of the library would well understand. Usefulness and value seemed to be complementary notions to these Victorian men.

The bibliography is arranged throughout according to (a) Section Classification and to (b) shelf number and volume number.<sup>12</sup> It consists of main entries which describe the book in some detail. The "Preliminary Catalogue" copies of which are found in Rugby and Nashville, serves as an alphabetical index to the volumes in the following bibliography.

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<sup>12</sup>For the format for this introduction I have relied on A Catalogue of Gloucester Cathedral Library, compiled by Suzanne Mary Eward (Published by the Dean and Chapter, 1972), pp. xvi-xx; and Michael Sadlier, XIX Century Fiction (Cambridge: The University Press, 1951), pp. xxvii-xxxiii.

## Main Entries

The different parts of the main entry in which the book is described are as follows:

Heading. The author's name is most often used as the main heading. Exceptions occur where there is a more obvious heading for a book such as The Illustrated Book of American Poets, or in the case where a single volume contains the work of several poets such as The Poetical Works of John Milton, Edward Young, Thomas Gray, James Beattie, and William Collins. Because the Hughes library is catalogued according to shelf number and position rather than alphabetically, such a listing is in keeping with the Bertz-Poole system. Where the author is unknown, the entry is marked "Anon." Insofar as possible, I have attempted to identify anonymous authors and when successful have supplied the author's name. For pseudonymous entries I have followed, as in other questions of entry form, the practice of the British Museum Catalogue. Where authors are identified by initials only, the last initial is listed first followed by a comma and the other initials. For example, W. A. S. becomes S., W. A. in the main entry. Unless otherwise stated, if an author's name begins with a prefix such as De or Von, the book is entered under the following word. In cases where many books by a single author are shelved together, the author's name is put once and other entries are preceded by a continuous line.

Titles. Titles are given in exact sequence according to the current shelf listing. The punctuation has been standardized throughout. Sub-titles are preceded by a colon and are capitalized. In cases where the listing of titles "also by the author of" is lengthy, the list has been omitted. If a book is in two, three, or even four parts with different titles, the titles are listed separately within one entry separated by a period. In considering books in which the title page is missing, the title, where possible, is given from the running title, and the notation comes at the end of the entry [t.p.m.], i.e. title page missing.

Edition. The edition is included when noted on the title page and is given in the language of the book. Both numbered editions, e.g. 4th edition, and titled editions, e.g. Home Library Edition, are given. In instances when two volumes of exactly the same edition are shelved together, only the shelf number is given in the second entry.

Imprint. Imprint information includes the place of printing, the name of printer and/or publisher, and the date. In order to conserve space and to simplify the entries, most cities and publishers are given in abbreviated form. A key to the abbreviation precedes the first section of the bibliography. The wording and punctuation have been standardized throughout. When a date is given in brackets

[ ], it indicates that the book is part of a series or edition which was published over a period of successive years. In such cases only the first date, the date of publication of the first volume, is given followed by "etc." Where no date is printed on the title page, the notation "n.d." is used. Where a long list of several publishers is given on the title page, the first publisher, generally the American publisher who donated the book, is given.

Pagination. The pagination (pp.) of volumes is complete and in detail. If page numbers are not given, a notation of "u.p." is given. When pages are also numbered in roman numerals in addition to the standard arabic numerals, both are given: for example, xxiv, 523 pp. Where quantities of pages are missing from the main text of the volume, this is indicated at the end of the entry enclosed in brackets, e.g. [pages 1-15 missing]. If the work is two volumes in one, three volumes in one, etc., this is indicated by describing the volume as one volume and listing the pagination according to each separate volume, such as: Two volumes in one. xx, 430; xvi, 329 pp.

Illustrations. Many of the books in the bibliography are illustrated, following a widespread practice of late nineteenth-century publishers to add to the commercial appeal of inexpensive reprints and/or to adhere to the author's original design. Only in instances where illustrations are

so noted on the title page are they included in the entry. If the specific illustrator or illustrators are not given by name, the entry reads "Illus." Where specific names are included on the title page, the entry includes the names and information given, such as engravings, woodcuts, etc.

Size. The volumes are measured in centimeters and the size given is that of the title page. The majority of the volumes are duodecimo, so that while sizes may differ slightly in measurement even within a series, the measurements, if necessary, can be quickly converted to folio, 4°, 8°, etc. The Bertz Preliminary Catalogue gives the size of the volume according to folio, etc. In this instance of sizes, since there is no specific authority as such for nineteenth-century books, the measurements follow the suggestion of McKerrow.<sup>13</sup>

Bindings. No specific information regarding bindings is given in the entry. It would, however, be a serious omission not to mention that the bindings are, with rare exceptions, remarkably well-preserved both in material and color. Many which came direct from the publishers, and some few given by private donors, have ornate "ormolu" bindings characteristic of many late nineteenth-century reprints.

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<sup>13</sup>Ronald B. McKerrow, An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928; rpt., 1948), p. 164 n.

Shelf numbers. The shelf numbers are given at the end of each entry. The first notation is the section or classification letter, detailed accounts of which are found in Appendix D for the entire library. This bibliography is limited to section F and section A, comprising nearly a third of the library's holdings. Other volumes of poetry and other novels are found elsewhere in the library, most notably in the juvenile literature, section B, and among section R, essays and miscellanies. For example, section R contains Laurence Sterne's The Works of Laurence Sterne. In ten volumes complete. London: Printed for J. Rivington and Sons, J. Dodsley, G. Kearsley, J. Johnson, G. G. J. and J. Robinson, T. Cadell, J. Murray, T. Becket, R. Baldwin, A. Strahan, W. Lowndes, W. Bent, G. and T. Wilkie, and D. Ogilvie. M DCC LXXXVIII. This work is mentioned here because of its unusual date for the library. Otherwise, other novels and poetry are not included in the bibliography. If the first letter is followed by a lower case letter, i.e. A.a. or A.b., this indicates a division of shelves and not a subclassification within a major section. The third notation, in roman numerals, is the shelf number. Shelves are numbered from I., the lowest shelf at floor level, to XII., the highest shelf. The last part of the shelf number entry is the arabic numeral indicating the position of a book on a given shelf, numbering horizontally from left to right in consecutive order. In some cases where several volumes are

included as one but given several position numbers, the entry is given with a dash between the numbers, i.e. A.d.III.1.-2.

Donor. Each volume given by an individual publisher contains a plate on the inside front cover indicating the name of the publisher and the date given. This information is not given within the entry. Volumes which were contributed by individual donors and are noted as such, either by the signature of the librarian or by the individual donor, are included in the entry. The donor's name appears after the shelf number and, if possible to determine, a notation whether the signature belongs to the donor. Thus an entry might read: O. J. Wilson, Dec., 1882. O. J. Wilson, inscribed.

Series. Sections A.c. and A.d. contain series of books which are shelved continuously through two different sections of shelves. Collections of Dickens's novels, part of both single and a variety of different editions, may be found on the same shelf in two different sections. The two large collections of series are shelved in this way. The "Prize Series" runs from A.d.IV.1.-26. to A.d.IX.1.-5. The "Leisure Hour Series" runs from A.c.XI.1.-35. to Ad.XI.1.-34. and from A.c.XII.1.-36. to A.d.Xii.1.-18. A collection entitled the "No Name Series" runs from A.d.XII. 18.-28. This continuous shelving for the two large series collections of novels is not noticeable when reading through

the bibliography according to section, and any accurate estimation of the completeness of a series with the library's prose fiction sections is dependent on a full awareness of this particular variation. The presence of these series in the library indicates yet another approach to the Hughes library which deserves mention but is outside the scope of this particular study. The books are a wealth of information for the record of the birth, expansion, and often ephemeral fame of many publishing houses of the late nineteenth century. Furthermore, the Hughes library contains some important periodicals of the period, as well as important collections of children's literature and agricultural literature. Among the periodicals are copies of the Illustrated London News, The Spectator, The Breeder's Journal, The British Trade Journal, Publisher's Weekly, The Critic, American Agriculturalist, The Illustrated Newspaper, Illustrierte Zeitung, The Housekeeper, Live Stock Journal, Garden and Forest, The North American Review, Harper's Monthly, and the Official Gazette. Periodicals generally cover the first ten to twelve years of the library's operation from about 1881-1893.

This enumerative bibliography makes no pretense to be exhaustive, and others who might use it will no doubt find flaws and limitations. John Carter has noted that "it is a distasteful fact, but a fact, that bibliographical technique for dealing with nineteenth-century books as

physical objects is still at a rudimentary stage."<sup>14</sup> Since nineteenth-century bibliography still wants its Bowers or McKerrow, the bibliography which follows is eclectic in its form and necessarily limited in its purpose. Errors are entirely my own and in no way reflect the judgment of either the Board of Trustees of the Thomas Hughes Free Public Library or the collective or individual members of my doctoral committee. Undoubtedly within the commission of long disciplined hours I have made errors of omission, whether seduced by the fragrant summer breeze blowing across the Cumberland Plateau or numbed by the finger-chilling cold of the unheated library in the early spring and late summer. Yet all bibliographers are guilty of omission--whether by selection or error--as their bibliographies are everywhere in print published testimonies. It is not so with bibliographies as it is with taste. Bibliographia est disputanda.

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<sup>14</sup> John Carter, "Some Bibliographical Agenda," in Nineteenth-Century English Books: Some Problems in Bibliography (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1952), p. 53.

## CHAPTER IV

### POETRY--SECTION F

#### Abbreviation Code for Publishers Listed in the Bibliography

|      |                                |
|------|--------------------------------|
| A.A. | A. C. Armstrong & Co.          |
| A.B. | A. S. Barnes & Co.             |
| A.C. | Albert Cogswell & Co.          |
| A.M. | Albert Mason Publisher         |
| A.R. | A. D. F. Randolph & Co.        |
| A.W. | Archibald Wilson               |
| B.C. | Belsford, Clarke & Co.         |
| B.J. | Baldwin, Craddock, Joy         |
| B.P. | Baker, Pratt & Co.             |
| B.T. | Bernard Tauchnitz              |
| C.A. | Cosby & Ainsworth              |
| C.C. | Cassel & Co. Ltd.              |
| C.F. | Cameron & Ferguson             |
| C.G. | Cassel, Petter, Galpin & Co.   |
| C.H. | Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger |
| C.K. | Carl B. Lorck                  |
| C.L. | Chapman and Hall               |
| C.P. | C. Kegan Paul & Co.            |
| C.S. | Chas. Scribner's Sons          |
| C.W. | Chatto and Windus              |
| D.A. | D. Appleton & Co.              |

- D.B. David Bogue  
D.C. David Clapp & Son  
D.L. D. Lothrop & Co.  
D.M. Dodd Mead & Co.  
E.B. E. H. Butler & Co.  
E.C. E. Claxton & Co.  
E.D. E. P. Dutton & Co.  
E.K. Edward Kearney  
E.L. Estes & Lauriat  
E.S. General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School  
Union and Church Bible Society  
E.Y. Edward Lumley  
F.H. Fords, Howard & Hulbert  
F.L. Fred C. Laird, Publisher  
F.O. Fields, Osgood & Co.  
F.S. F. J. Schule & Co.  
F.T. Stuttgart: Franchth  
F.W. Frederick Warne & Co.  
F.Y. Frederick Leypoldt  
G.C. George W. Carleton & Co.  
G.E. Grigg & Eliot  
G.F. Griffith and Farren  
G.M. George Munroe, Publisher  
G.P. G. P. Putnam & Sons  
G.R. George Routledge & Sons  
G.S. George A. Smith

H.B. Harper & Brothers  
H.C. Hurst & Co.  
H.G. Hurd & Houghton  
H.H. Henry Holt & Co.  
H.L. H. L. Broenner  
H.M. Houghton Mifflin & Co.  
H.O. Houghton, Osgood & Co.  
H.T. Hurst & Blackett, Publisher  
H.W. Holt & Williams  
J.A. John B. Alden  
J.E. James Morison  
J.H. John Lovell & Sons  
J.I. James Tilton  
J.L. J. B. Lippincott & Co.  
J.M. Jansen McClung & Co.  
J.N. James Nisbet and Co.  
J.O. James R. Osgood & Co.  
J.R. James Miller  
J.S. John S. Marr & Sons  
J.Y. E. & J. B. Young & Co.  
L.A. Leavitt & Allen Bros.  
L.B. Little Brown & Co.  
L.C. John W. Lovell & Co.  
L.G. Longman, Green, Longman & Roberts  
L.P. Loring Publishers

|      |                                           |
|------|-------------------------------------------|
| L.S. | Lee and Shepherd                          |
| L.W. | Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Co.                |
| M.A. | Mitchell, Ames, and White                 |
| M.C. | Murray & Co.                              |
| M.M. | Macmillan & Co.                           |
| M.N. | McKinney & Martin                         |
| M.W. | Marcus, Ward & Co.                        |
| N.P. | National Publishing Co.                   |
| N.S. | Noyes, Snow and Co.                       |
| N.T. | N. Tibbals & Sons                         |
| O.E. | Oliver Ellsworth                          |
| O.J. | Orange Judd Co.                           |
| O.M. | Oakley Mason and Co.                      |
| P.C. | Porter & Coates                           |
| P.S. | Phillips, Sampson and Co.                 |
| P.Y. | Pott, Young & Co.                         |
| R.B. | Roberts Bros.                             |
| R.C. | Robert Carter and Bros.                   |
| R.F. | Robert and Andrew Foulis                  |
| R.L. | R. W. Carroll & Co.                       |
| R.W. | R. Worthington                            |
| S.A. | Scribner Armstrong & Co.                  |
| S.E. | Smith, Elder & Co.                        |
| S.F. | Sever Francis                             |
| S.L. | Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington |
| S.W. | S. R. Wells & Co.                         |

T.B. Tinsley Bros.  
 T.F. Ticknor & Fields  
 T.N. Thomas Nelson & Sons  
 T.P. T. B. Peterson & Bros.  
 T.W. T. Wittaker  
 W.G. William F. Gill & Co.  
 W.L. Ward, Lock & Co.  
 W.S. White & Stokes  
 W.T. Ward Lock and Tyler  
 W.W. W. J. Widdleton

### Section F, Shelf II

The Family Library of British Poetry from Chaucer to the Present Time (1350-1878). Ed. James R. Fields and Edwin P. Whipple. Bos.: H. O., 1880. 24.5X16. xxx, 998 pp. F.II.1.

Tennyson, Alfred. The Poetical Works of Alfred Tennyson. Illus. Bos.: J. O., n.d. 24.4X15.8. vii, 380 pp. F.II.2.

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. The Complete Poetical Works of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Illus. Bos.: H. M., 1881. 24.4X15.8. viii, 299 pp. F.II.3.

Virgil. The Aeneid. Trans. Christopher Pearse Cranch. Bos.: H. O., 1879. 24X17. xvii, 545 pp. F.II.4.

Christmas Snowflakes: Illustrated Poems by Favorite American Authors. Bos.: D. L., 1879. 24.5X18.8. u.p. F.II.5.

Lathbury, Mary A. Out of Darkness into Light. Drawings by Mary A. Lathbury. Bos.: D. L., 1878. 23.4X18. u.p. F.II.7.

The Poetical Works of John Milton, Edward Young, Thomas Gray, James Beattie, and William Collins. Phil.: G. E.,

1841. 22.3X13.8. xxxii, 170, 208, 47, 23, 19 pp.  
F.II.8. O. J. Wilson, 1848, Cincinnati, Ohio,  
inscribed.
- Longfellow, Henry W. The Skeleton in Armor. Illus. Bos.:  
J. O., 1877. 22.8X16.2. u.p. F.II.9.
- Tennyson, Alfred. A Dream of Fair Women. Illus. Bos.:  
J. O., 1880. 22.2X16.2. 103 pp. F.II.10.
- The Home Book of Poetry: A Compilation of Poetry from the  
Best English and American Poets. Illus. Bos.:  
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Hervey, Thomas Kibble. The Poems of Thomas Kibble Hervey.  
Ed. Mrs. T. K. Hervey. With a memoir. Bos.: T. F.,  
1866. 13.7X8.7. viii, 437 pp. F.X.46.

\_\_\_\_\_. F.X.47.

### Section F, Shelf XI

Meredith, Owen, pseud. [i.e., Edward Robert Bulwer, Earl  
of Lytton]. Lucile. Bos.: H. M., 1881. 17.7X11.4.  
iv, 251 pp. F.IX.I.

\_\_\_\_\_. Fables in Song. Bos.: J. O., 1874. 16.5X10.  
332 pp. F.XI.2.

- \_\_\_\_\_. New Poems. Vol. II. Chronicles and characters.  
Orval and Other Poems. Bos.: T. F., 1868. 16.5X  
 10.2. 332 pp. F.XI.3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Lucile. Illus. Bos.: H. M., 1881. 14.7X  
 10.6. iv, 251 pp. F.XI.4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Lucile. Bos.: H. M., 1880. 13.9X9.5. iv.  
 251 pp. F.XI.5.
- L., J. M. The Sacred Harp: A Book of Devotional Poetry.  
 Lon. and N.Y.: G. R., n.d. 14.9X9.1. vi, 162 pp.  
 F.XI.6.
- Taylor, Jane, and Taylor, Ann. Original Poems for Infant  
 Minds. Author's Complete Edition. Lon. and N.Y.:  
 G.R., n.d. 14.7X9.5. ix, 177 pp. F.XI.7.
- Alexander, C. F. The Sunday Book of Poetry. Bos.: S. F.,  
 1869. 14.5X9.5. viii, 335 pp. F.XI.8.
- Opal, pseud. The Cloud of Witnesses. N.Y.: J. R., 1874.  
 18X10.4. 522 pp. F.XI.9.
- Harte, Bret. East and West Poems. Bos.: J. O., 1871.  
 17.6X10.6. 171 pp. F.XI.10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Poetical Works of Bret Harte. Complete  
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 pp. F.XI.11.
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- Howitt, Mary. Tales in Verse. N.Y.: H. B., n.d. 15.2X9.  
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 stone). Bos.: R. B., 1877. 13.1X8.2. F.XI.16.
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 Thoughts and Arguments, Originally Treated. N.Y.:  
 A. A., n.d. 14X8.2. v, 383 pp. F.XI.17.

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- French Love Songs and Other Poems. Sel. and trans. Harry Curwen. N.Y.: G. C., 1871. 16.9X11.2. x, 197 pp. F.XI.27.
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- Khayyám, Omar. Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám. Astronomer poet of Persia. First American from the third London edition. Bos.: H. M., 1881. 16.7X11.9. 78 pp. F.XI.29.
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traits. The Chandos Library. Lon.: F. W., n.d.  
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Rosaline Orme Masson and a general preface by David  
Masson. Lon.: M. M., 1876. 17X11.5. xxii, 391  
pp. F.XI.40.
- Meredith, Owen, pseud. [i.e., Edward Robert Bulwer, Earl  
of Lytton]. The Rebel and Other Tales. N.Y.:  
H. B., 1835. 18.6X11.2. F.XI.42. O. J. Wilson,  
inscribed.
- Hopkins, Alphonso Alva. Geraldine: A Souvenir of the St.  
Lawrence. Bos.: J. O., 1881. 16.7X11. 321 pp.  
F.XI.43.

### Section F, Shelf XII

- The Sunday Book of Poetry. Ed. C. F. Alexander. Lon.:  
M. M., 1865. 15.2X10.3. viii, 318 pp. F.XII.1.
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Scotland. Compiled and arr., with brief notes by  
Mary Carlyle Aitken. Lon.: M. M., 1874. 15.6X10.  
viii, 308 pp. F.XII.2.
- The Children's Treasury of English Song. Sel. and arr.,  
with notes by Francis Turner Palgrave. N.Y.: M. M.,  
1877. 15.6X10. viii, 302 pp. F.XII.3.

Wordsworth, William. Poems. Ed. Matthew Arnold. Lon.: M. M., 1880. 15.8X10.1. xxxi, 325 pp. F.XII.5.

Pollok, Robert. The Course of Time: A Poem. With an enlarged index, a memoir of the author and introductory notice, and an analysis prefixed to each book. Phil.: E. C., 1882. 15X9.3. xiv, 286 pp. F.XII.6.

Cavendish, William, and Cavendish, Margaret. Selections from the Works of the First Duke and Duchess of Newcastle. Ed. with an introductory essay by Edward Jenkins. Lon.: M. M., 1872. 15.6X10.3. 284 pp. F.XII.7.

Hemans, Felicia. Songs and Lyrics. viii, 360 pp. F.XII.9. Title page missing. Edward Bertz, inscribed. Presented by Edward Bertz, 1883.

Heine, Heinrich. Heine's Book of Songs. Trans. Charles G. Leland. Phil.: F. L., 1864. 16.8X10.8. xiv, 239 pp. F.XII.10.

Townsend, Mary Ashley. Xariffa's Poems. Phil.: J. L., 1870. 18.2X11.6. 262 pp. F.XII.11.

Arnold, Edwin. The Light of Asia; or The Great Renunciation (MAHABHINISHKRAMANA) Being the Life and Teaching of Gautama, Prince of India and Founder of Buddhism. (As told in verse by an India Buddhist.) Bos.: R. B., 1880. Author's Edition. 16.8X10.8. xi, 244 pp. F.XII.12.

Selections from the American Poets. Ed. William Cullen Bryant. N.Y.: H. B., 1870. 15.7X9.5. xii, 316 pp. F.XII.13.

Brannan, William P. Vagaries of Vandyke Browne: An Autobiography in Verse. Cinn.: R. L., 1865. 16.5X9.9. 230 pp. F.XII.14.

H., H., pseud. [i.e. Helen Maria (Fiske) Hunt Jackson]. Verses. Bos.: R. B., 1874. 14.7X10.4. 191 pp. F.XII.15.

Charades and Responses: A Christmas Book. Phil.: J. L., 1874. 16.8X11.4. 83 pp. F.XII.16. Charades signed: M. C. B.; responses: R. T. W.

Anderson, Edward L. Northern Ballads. N.Y.: G. C., 1874. 14.5X10.7. 62 pp. F.XII.17.

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- Burns, Robert. The Poetical Works. With a memoir and prefatory note and a complete marginal glossary with portrait and illustrations. Ed. John & Angus

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596 pp. F.XII.31. O. J. Wilson, inscribed.
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The "Chandos Classics." Lon.: F. W., 1868. 17.4X  
11.7. 626 pp. F.XII.32.
- Boileau. The Lutrin: An Heroic Comical Poem in Six Cantos.  
To which is prefix'd, some account of the author's  
writings, and this translation, by N. Rowe, Esq.  
4th edition. Corrected and revised by the last Paris  
edition. Glasglow: R. F., 1752. 14.2X8.9. 76 pp.  
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Hudibras. A mock poem in two parts. St. Andrews:  
J. E., 1796. 14X8.6. 152 pp. F.XII.34.
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13.9X9. 410 pp. F.XII.40.
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- Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic. With  
Hallam's "View of Spain During the Middle Ages."  
Trans. J. G. Lockhart. Murray's People's Classics,  
no. 3. Lon.: M. C., n.d. 18.5X12.4. 119 pp.  
F.XII.43.
- Matthisson, Friedrich Von. Gedichte. 2 vols. Vollständige  
Ausgabe. Tübingen, bei Cotta, 1811. 17.1X10.4. 352,  
365 pp. F.XII.44 - 45. Presented by Edward Bertz,  
1883. Edward Bertz, London, 31. März, 1881, inscribed.

## CHAPTER V

### PROSE FICTION--SECTION A

#### Section A-a, Shelf III

- Stowe, Harriet Beecher. Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life Among the Lowly. New edition. Illus. Bibliography by George Bullen. Bos.: H. M., 1881. 19.9X13.5. 1xi, 529 pp. A.A.III.1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A.a.III.2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Agnes of Sorrento. Ninth edition. Bos.: F. O., 1869. 18.9X11.9. 412 pp. A.a.III.3.
- Eliot, George, pseud. [i.e. Mary Ann Evans]. Silas Marner, The Weaver of Ravelow. N.Y.: H. B., 1861. 19.2X12. 265 pp. A.a.III.4.
- Bede, Cuthbert. The Adventures of Mr. Verdant Green. Three volumes in one. Illus. Ninetieth thousand. N.Y.: G. C., 1881. 18.2X12. 112 pp. A.a.III.6.
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Illus. Phil.: J. L., 1874. 18.7X12. vi, 442 pp.  
A.a.III.23.
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Stories. Fifteenth thousand. N.Y.: G. C., 1880.  
18.6X12. 282 pp. A.a.III.24.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. Adventures of an Attorney in Search of Practice.  
Bos.: E. L., 1880. 18.7X12. 422 pp. A.a.III.27.

Cooke, Rose Terry. Somebody's Neighbors. Bos.: J. O., 1881. 19.2X11.9. 421 pp. A.a.III.28.

#### Section A-a, Shelf IV

Disraeli, Benjamin. Endymion. N.Y.: D. A., 1880. 19.5X12.2. 477 pp. A.a.IV.1.

\_\_\_\_\_. A.a.IV.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Endymion. N.Y.: D. A., 1881. 18.5X11.2. 477 pp. A.a.IV.3.

\_\_\_\_\_. A.a.IV.4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Endymion. N.Y.: G. R., n.d. 17.3X11.2. 477 pp. A.a.IV.5.

Hope, Thomas. Anastasius; or, Memoirs of a Greek. 2 vols. 2nd edition. N.Y.: H. B., 1856. 18.7X10.9; 15.8X10.3. 339, 339 pp. A.a.IV.6. - 7. Vol. I: O. J. Wilson, Cincinnati, Ohio, Aug. 31, '68, inscribed.

Diaz, Abby Morton. Lucy Maria. Illus. Bos.: J. O., 1881. 17.8X11. 396 pp. A.a.IV.8.

Bruner, Jane W. Free Prisoners: A Story of California Life. Phil.: C. H., 1877. 18.5X12. xii, 258 pp. A.a.IV.9.

Balzac, Honore De. The Cat and Battledore and Other Tales. Trans. Philip Kent. Chi: B. C., 1879. 18.3X11.8. 333 pp. A.a.IV.10.

Benedict, Frank Lee. Twixt Hammer and Anvil: A Novel. Three volumes in one. N.Y.: G. C., 1876. 18.1X12. viii, 468 pp. A.a.IV.11.

\_\_\_\_\_. Her Friend Laurence: A Novel. N.Y.: G. C., 1879. 18.1X12.2. viii, 408 pp. A.a.IV.12.

Horner, Ann Susan. Isolina; or, The Actor's Daughter. Phil.: J. L., 1873. 18.3X11.3. 479 pp. A.a.IV.13.

Wallace, Lew. The Fair God; or, The Last of the 'Tzins. A tale of the conquest of Mexico. Bos.: J. O., 1873. vii, 586 pp. A.a.IV.14. 18.9X11.9. vii, 586 pp. A.a.IV.14.

Auberbach, Berthold. Waldfried: A Novel. Author's edition. Trans. Simon Adler Stern. N.Y.: H. H., 1874. 18.8X12.2. 514 pp. A.a.IV.15.

- Merriweather, Magnus. Royal Lowrie; or, a General Misunderstanding. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X12. A.a.IV.16.
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- Jay, W. M. L. Holden with Cords. N.Y.: E. D., 1874. 18.7X11.8. vi, 517 pp. A.a.IV.19.
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- Moulton, Louise Chandler. My Third-Book, a Collection of Tales. N.Y.: H. B., 1859. 18.6X12. 434 pp. A.a.IV.25.
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- \_\_\_\_\_. Seaforth. Phil.: J. L., 1879. 18.3X11.5. 309 pp. A.a.IV.27.
- S., M. E. W. The Sarcasm of Destiny; or, Nina's Experience. N.Y.: D. A., 1878. 18.9X12.1. 389 pp. A.a.IV.28.
- Trollope, Anthony. Barchester Towers. New edition. Phil.: J. L., n.d. 17.5X11.2. viii, 439 pp. A.a.IV.29.
- Freeland, Humphrey William. The Fountain of Youth. Trans. Frederick Paludan-Müller. Illus. Walter Allen; engravings J. D. Cooper. Lon.: M. M., 1876. 18.8X12.4. 147 pp. A.a.IV.30.

Jeaffreson, John Cordy. Isabel, the Young Wife and the Old Love. N.Y.: H. B., 1857. 19.2X12.2. 454 pp.  
A.a.IV.31.

Section A-a, Shelf V

Falconer, William. Bloom and Brier; or, As I Saw It, Long Ago. A southern romance. Phil.: C. H., 1870. 18.8X11.5. 416 pp. A.a.V.1.

Marvel, Ik. Fudge Doings: Being Tony Fudge's Record of the Same. 2 vols. 18.4X12. xii, viii, 235, 257 pp. A.a.V.2. - 3.

Fell, Archie. Gold and Gilt; or, Maybee's Puzzle. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X11.5. iv, 424 pp. A.a.V.4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Plus and Minus; or, The Briaridge Problem. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.8X11.5. vi, 404 pp. A.a.V.5.

\_\_\_\_\_. Mrs. Thorne's Guests; or, Salt, With Savor and Without. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.8X11.3. 400 pp. A.a.V.6.

McKeever, Harriet B. Edith's Ministry. Phil.: C. H., 1876. 19.1X11.8. vi, 404 pp. A.a.V.7.

\_\_\_\_\_. Woodcliff. Phil.: C. H., 1876. 19.1X11.8. vi, 464 pp. A.a.V.8.

\_\_\_\_\_. Maude and Miriam; or, The Fair Crusader. Phil.: C. H., 1878. 19.1X11.8. xii, 337 pp. A.a.V.9.

\_\_\_\_\_. Westbrook Parsonage. Third edition. Phil.: C. H., 1878. 19.1X11.5. viii, 359 pp. A.a.V.10.

\_\_\_\_\_. Silver Threads. Phil.: C. H., 1881. 19.1X11.8. 376 pp. A.a.V.11.

\_\_\_\_\_. Twice Crowned: A Story of the Days of Queen Mary. Phil.: C. H., 1882. 19.1X12. 360 pp. A.a.V.12.

L., L. Branches of Palm. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.8X11.4. 334 pp. A.a.V.13.

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xii, 328 pp. A.a.VI.2.

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Edersheim, Elsie Williamina. True to the End: A Story of  
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iv, 332 pp. A.a.X.22.

Anon. My Marriage. Bos.: R. B., 1880. 16.6X10.6. 334 pp.  
A.a.X.23.

Rowson, Susanna. Charlotte and Lucy Temple. Two vols. in  
one. Phil.: J. L., 1881. 16.5X10.4. vi, 129 pp.  
A.a.X.24.

Anon. Six to One: A Nantucket Idyl. N.Y.: G. P., 1878.  
16.4X10.7. iv, 176 pp. A.a.X.25.

Tolstoy, Leo. The Cossacks: A Tale of the Caucasus in  
1852. Trans. by Eugene Schuyler. 2nd edition.  
N.Y.: C. S., 1878. 17X11.8. 313 pp. A.a.X.26.

De Maistre, Xavier. A Journey Round My Room. Trans. with a  
notice of the author's life by H. A. N.Y.: H. G.,  
1871. 17.6X11.2. xi, 152 pp. A.a.X.27.

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Bell, Currer, pseud. (i.e. Charlotte Brontë). The Professor. To which are added the poems of Currer, Ellis, and Acton Bell. Now first collected. Lon.: S. E., 1875. 16.8X11. iv, 436 pp. A.a.X.30.

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Farjeon, B. L. Little Make-Believe. The Seaside Library. N.Y.: G. M., n.d. 17.1X11.7. 116 pp. A.a.X.35a.

Achard, Amédée. Belle Rose. Trans. Martha Laffitte Johnson. Phil.: C. H., n.d. 22.4X14. 183 pp. A.a.X.36.

Ward, Mrs. Humphrey. Robert Elsmere. N.Y.: J. L., n.d. 18.4X12. 680 pp. A.a.X.41.

\_\_\_\_\_. Miss Bretherton. Munro's Library. N.Y.: L. C., 1888. 18.2X11.5. 195 pp. A.a.X.45.

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Habberton, John. The Scripture Club of Valley Rest; or, Sketches of Everybody's Neighbors. N.Y.: G. P., 1877. 17X12. 188 pp. A.a.XI.1.

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———. A Book of Love Stories. Bos.: J. O., 1881. 17X11.1. 309 pp. A.a.XII.26.

Cooke, Rose Terry. Root-Bound, and Other Sketches. Bos.: Congregational Sunday-School and Publishing Society, 1885. 17.5X11.4. 264 pp. A.a.XII.30. Presented by Jeannie Wells, Feb., 1887.

Haggard, H. Rider. King Solomon's Mines. The New York Novelist. N.Y.: J. A., 1887. 19.2X13.9. 98 pp. A.a.XII.31. Presented by Mrs. Ina Alexander, July, 1887.

Brontë, Charlotte. Jane Eyre. N.Y.: American Book Exchange, 1881. 15.7X11. 379 pp. A.a.XII.32. Presented by Mrs. Ina Alexander, Aug., 1887.

Winter, John Strange. Mignon's Husband: A Novelette. Harper's Handy Series. No. 150. N.Y.: H. B., 1887. 16.9X11.5. A.a.XII.34.

Haliburton, T. C. Sam Slick, the Clockmaker. Pt. I & II. The Irving Library. N.Y.: J. A., 1887. 18.9X14.4 24, 84 pp. A.a.XII.35.

Brontë, Emily. The Tenant of Wildfell Hall. N.Y.: H. B., 1855. 18.6X12.2. 418 pp. A.a.XII.37.

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Roosevelt, Blanche. Marked "In Haste": A Story of To-day. N.Y.: L. C., 1886. 18X11.9. 362 pp. A.a.XII.42.

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James, Henry. The Portrait of a Lady. Bos.: H. M., 1882. 18.8X11.2. 520 pp. A.b.III.1.

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H., L. C. (i.e. Laura Carter Holloway). Laura: The History of a Blighted Life. Phil.: C. H., 1880. 18.4X11.6. 371 pp. A.b.III.4.

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 A.b.III.8.
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 Sixteenth Century. Trans. Luigi Monti. Vol. I.  
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Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth. Kavanagh, and Other Pieces.  
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A.b.IX.32.

DeForest, J. W. Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to  
Loyalty. N.Y.: H. B., 1867. 18.7X12. iv, 521 pp.  
A.b.IX.33.

Lover, Samuel. Rory O'More. A new edition. Lon.: G. R.,  
n.d. 17.3X11.1. 419 pp. A.b.IX.34.

#### Section A-b, Shelf X

Anon. Grey Abbey: A Novel. The "Star Series." Phil.:  
J. L., 1878. 16.3X11.2. 328 pp. A.b.X.1.

Auer, Adelheid von. It is the Fashion. By the translator  
of "Over Yonder," "Magdalena," "The Old Countess,"

- etc. Phil.: J. L., 1879. 16.3X11.2. 293 pp.  
A.b.X.2.
- Harte, Bret. The Luck of Roaring Camp, and Other Sketches.  
Bos.: J. O., 1877. 17.8X11.1. 256 pp. A.b.X.3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Luck of Roaring Camp, and Other Sketches.  
Bos.: H. O., 1880. 17.6X11. 256 pp. A.b.X.4.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Mrs. Skaggs's Husbands and Other Sketches.  
Bos.: H. O., 1880. 17.6X11.2. 352 pp. A.b.X.5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Twins of Table Mountain, and Other Stories.  
Bos.: H. M., 1881. 14.7X10.4. 249 pp. A.b.X.6.
- Hawthorne, Nathaniel. The Scarlet Letter. Bos.: H. M.,  
1881. 14.7X10.4. 298 pp. A.b.X.8.
- Bishop, W. H. Detmold: A Romance. Bos.: H. O., 1880.  
14.7X10.4. 286 pp. A.b.X.9.
- Hale, Lucretia P. The Peterkin Papers. Illus. Bos.: J. O.,  
1880. 17.8X11.3. 246 pp. A.b.X.7.
- Fawcett, Edgar. A Hopeless Case. Bos.: H. M., 1880. 14.6X  
10.5. 275 pp. A.b.X.11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Gentleman of Leisure: A Novel. Bos.: H. M.,  
1881. 14.6X10.5. 323 pp. A.b.X.12.
- Featherstonhaugh, Maria Georgiana. Lil: "Fair, Fair with  
Golden Hair"; or, Kilcorran. The "Star Series."  
Phil.: J. L., 1878. 16.7X11.1. 238 pp. A.b.X.13.
- Healy, Mary. Storm-Driven. The "Star Series." Phil.:  
J. L., 1877. 15.9X11.1. 283 pp. A.b.X.14.
- MacIntosh, Maria Jane. Conquest and Self Conquest; or, Which  
Makes the Hero? N.Y.: H. B., n.d. 15.2X9.5.  
A.b.X.15.
- A., F. S. Hid Treasure. Bos.: Congregational Sabbath-  
School and Publishing Society, n.d. 16.8X10.4.  
416 pp. A.b.X.16.
- De Forest, J. W. The Bloody Chasm: A Novel. N.Y.: D. A.,  
1881. 17.4X11.6. 301 pp. A.b.X.17.
- Thistle, Timothy. A Single Gentleman. Illus. I. Hyde.  
Bos.: O. E., 1867. 16.5X10.7. 182 pp. A.b.X.18.
- Edgeworth, Maria. Helen. Lon.: G. R., n.d. 16.6X10.9.  
256 pp. A.b.X.19.

Kingsley, Henry. Leighton Court. Sixth edition. Lon.:  
C. L., 1872. 17.8X11.3. 326 pp. A.b.X.20.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Harveys. Copyright edition. In one  
volume. Phil.: J. L., 1872. 17.6X11.4. 353 pp.  
A.b.X.21.

\_\_\_\_\_. A.b.X.22.

Hewitt, Mary. Who Shall Be Greatest?: A Tale. N.Y.: H. B.,  
1871. 15.2X9.2. 242 pp. A.b.X.23.

Jewett, Sarah O. Old Friends and New. Bos.: H. O., 1880.  
14.2X10.3. 269 pp. A.b.X.24.

\_\_\_\_\_. A.b.X.25.

\_\_\_\_\_. Country By-Ways. Bos.: H. M., 1881. 15X10.5.  
249 pp. A.b.X.26.

Greenwell, Dora. Two Friends. N.Y.: E. D., n.d. 14.6X  
10.5. 167 pp. A.b.X.27.

Orme, Mary. Uncle John; or, It Is Too Much Trouble. N.Y.:  
H. B., 1855. 15.4X9.3. 179 pp. A.b.X.28.

Anon. Live and Let Live; or, Domestic Service Illustrated.  
N.Y.: H. B., 1876. 15.2X9.3. 216 pp. A.b.X.29.

Synge, W. W. Follett. Olivia Raleigh. The "Star Series."  
Phil.: J. L., 1877. 16.2X11.1. 212 pp. A.b.X.30.

Smart, Hawley. Belles and Ringers: A Novelette. Phil.:  
J. L., 1881. 17.5X11.6. A.b.X.32.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Outsider. The Seaside Library. No. 925.  
Double number. N.Y.: G. M., n.d. 17.8X11.7. 258  
pp. A.b.X.32a.

Anon. Philanthropy; or, My Mother's Bible. N.Y.: H. B.,  
1862. 15.2X9.4. A.b.X.33.

Austen, Jane. Sense and Sensibility: A Novel. New edition.  
Lon.: C. L., n.d. 17.7X11.4. xv, 331 pp. A.b.X.34.  
Presented by C. H. Wilson, Jan., 85.

Smart, Hawley. Courtship in Seventeen Hundred and Twenty  
and in Eighteen and Sixty: Romance of Two Centuries.  
Phil.: J. L., 1877. 16.2X11.2. 251 pp. A.b.X.36.

O'Rell, Max. John Bull and His Island. N.Y.: C. S., 1885.  
18.8X12.4. 243 pp. A.b.X.37.

Craddock, Charles Egbert. The Prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains. Bos.: H. M., 1885. 17.6X11.4. 308 pp. A.b.X.37. Presented by Mr. Wm. Fowler, Feb., 1886.

\_\_\_\_\_. In the Tennessee Mountains. Bos.: H. M., 1886. 17.2X11.5. 322 pp. A.b.X.38.

Stowe, Harriet Beecher. Oldtown Folks. Bos.: F. O., 1869. 18.9X11.9. iv, 608 pp. A.b.X.40. Presented by J. Farley.

Tuthill, Mrs. L. C. Romantic Belinda: A Book for Girls. Bos.: C. A., 1865. 16.4X10.2. 250 pp. A.b.X.43. Presented by Miss Ignatia Marland, Dec., 1886.

### Section A-b, Shelf XI

Eastwood, Frances. Marcella: The Fearless Christian Maiden, a Tale of the Early Church. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 16.8X10.6. 329 pp. A.b.XI.1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Geoffrey the Lollard. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 17.2X10.5. 342 pp. A.b.XI.2.

Macleod, Norman. Character Sketches. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 16.8X10.4. u.p. A.b.XI.3.

Moore, J. F. The Clifford Household. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 17X10.6. 308 pp. A.b.XI.4.

Marshall, Emma. Millicent Legh: A Tale. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 16.9X10.7. 319 pp. A.b.XI.5.

Douglas, Marian. Peter and Polly; or, Home Life in New England, a Hundred Years Ago. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 16.9X10.3. 268 pp. A.b.XI.6.

Stretton, Hesba. Brought Home. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 17X10.4. 221 pp. A.b.XI.7.

\_\_\_\_\_. Max Kromer: A Story of the Siege of Strasburg. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 17X10.4. 184 pp. A.b.XI.8.

Blackburn, Rev. W. M. Geneva's Shield: A Story of the Swiss Reformation. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 16.7X10.6. 325 pp. A.b.XI.9.

Leathes, Mrs. Stanley. Morning Clouds: A Penelope. N.Y.: D. M., n.d. 17X10.4. 272 pp. A.b.XI.10.

- Ouida, pseud. (i.e. Marie Louise de la Ramée). Cecil Castlemaine's Gage, and Other Novelettes. New edition. Lon.: C. W., n.d. 18.1X12.2. A.b.XI.11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Cecil Castlemaine's Gage, Lady Marabout's Troubles, and Other Stories. Author's edition. Phil.: J. L., 1876. 18.3X11.5. 389 pp. A.b.XI.12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Granville de Vigne; or, Held in Bondage, a Tale of the Day. A new edition. Complete in one volume. Phil.: J. L., 1871. 17.7X11.4. A.b.XI.13.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Tricotrin: The Story of a Waif and Stray. Phil.: J. L., 1872. 18.1X11.4. 675 pp. A.b.XI.14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Pascarel: Only a Story. Phil.: J. L., 1874. 17.9X11.3. 494 pp. A.b.XI.15.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Bébé; or, Two Little Wooden Shoes, a Story. Phil.: J. L., 1874. 18.1X11.5. 240 pp. A.b.XI.16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Signa: A Story. Phil.: J. L., 1876. 18X11.4. 501 pp. A.b.XI.17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Folle-Farine. Phil.: J. L., 1876. 18X11.4. 530 pp. A.b.XI.18.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ariadne: The Story of a Dream. Phil.: J. L., 1877. 18X11.4. 384 pp. A.b.XI.19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Friendship: A Story of Society. Phil.: J. L., 1878. 18X11.4. 492 pp. A.b.XI.20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Chandos: A Novel. Phil.: J. L., 1879. 17.8X11.4. 678 pp. A.b.XI.21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Moths: A Novel. Phil.: J. L., 1880. 18X11.4. 525 pp. A.b.XI.22.
- \_\_\_\_\_. In a Winter Day: A Story of the City. Phil.: J. L., 1880. 17.7X11.4. 258 pp. A.b.XI.23.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Village Commune: A Story. Phil.: J. L., 1881. 17.7X11.4. 324 pp. A.b.XI.24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A.b.XI.25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A.b.XI.26.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Puck: His Vississitudes, Adventures, Observations, Conclusions, Friendships, and Philosophies,

Related by Himself. Edited by "Ouida." Phil.:  
J. L., 1881. 17.7X11.4. 607 pp. A.b.XI.27.

. Strathmore; or, Wrought by His Own Hand, a  
Life Romance. Phil.: J. L., 1881. 17.6X11.4.  
622 pp. A.b.XI.28.

. Idalia: A Novel. Phil.: J. L., 1881. 17.7X  
11.4. 594 pp. A.b.XI.29.

. Beatrice Boville, and Other Stories. Third  
series. Phil.: J. L., 1881. 17.6X11.4. 411 pp.  
A.b.XI.30.

. Under Two Flags: A Novel. Phil.: J. L.,  
1881. 17.5X11.5. 652 pp. A.b.XI.31.

### Section A-b, Shelf XII

Branston, M. Blue Bell. Lon.: M. W., 1878. 16.9X11.  
230 pp. A.b.XII.1.

Anon. Fashion and Passion: A Novel. N.Y.: G. C., 1879.  
17.1X11.4. 364 pp. A.b.XII.3.

Ewing, Juliana Horatia. Jan of the Windmill: A Story of  
the Plains. Bos.: R. B., 1876. 16.6X10.6. 310 pp.  
A.b.XII.6.

The Confessions of a Frivolous Girl: A Story of Fashionable  
Life. Ed. Robert Grant. Illus. L. S. Ipsen. Bos.:  
J. O., 1882. 17.4X11.3. 220 pp. A.b.XII.7.

Burney, Frances. Evelina: or, The History of a Young  
Lady's Introduction to the World. In two volumes.  
Vol. 1. N.Y.: H. B., 1878. 15.8X10.3. 200 pp.  
A.b.XII.8.

Godwin, William. Adventures of Caleb Williams. Complete in  
one volume. N.Y.: H. B., 1870. 16.5X10.3. 231 pp.  
A.b.XII.9.

Garrett, Ruth. The Quiet Miss Godolphin, and A Chance Child  
by Edward Garrett. Illus. Townley Green. Phil.:  
J. L., 1871. 110 pp. A.b.XII.10.

Hale, Edward. Ups and Downs: An Everyday Novel. Bos.:  
R. B., 1877. 17.3X11.3. 319 pp. A.b.XII.11.

. His Level Best, and Other Stories. Bos.: R. B.,  
1882. 17.1X11.3. 293 pp. A.b.XII.12.

- Crake, H. D. Alfgar the Dane; or, The Second Chronicle of Aescendune, a Tale of the Days of Edmund Ironside. Third edition. N.Y.: J. Y., 1881. 16.8X11.1. 242 pp. A.b.XII.13.
- Farjeon, B. L. Solomon Isaacs: A Novel. Illus. N.Y.: G. C., 1877. 16.4X11.9. 207 pp. A.b.XII.14.
- Charles, Mrs. The Diary of Brother Bartholomew, a Monk of the Abbey of the Mariathal, in Odenwald, in the Twelfth Century. N.Y.: D. M., 1874. 16.2X10.1. 75 pp. A.b.XII.15.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A.b.XII.16.
- Anon. An Earnest Trifler. Bos.: H. M., 1880. 16.2X11.4. 249 pp. A.b.XII.17.
- Goldsmith, Oliver. The Vicar of Wakefield. Bos.: J. O., 1877. 14.7X10.1. 242 pp. A.b.XII.18.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Vicar of Wakefield: A Tale. Illus. George Thomas. N.Y.: C. G., n.d. 17X11.6. 140 pp. A.b.XII.19.
- Zschokke, Heinrich. Labour Stands on Golden Feet: A Holiday Story, for Sensible Apprentices, Journeymen, and Masters. Trans. John Yeats. Fifth edition, revised. N.Y.: C. G., n.d. 10.2X16.4. A.b.XII.20.
- Peard, Frances Mary. Thorpe Regis: A Novel. Bos.: R. B., 1874. 17.4X11.3. 432 pp. A.b.XII.21.
- O'Reilly, John Boyle. Moondyne: A Story for the Underworld. Third edition. Bos.: R. B., 1879. 17.3X11.4. 315 pp. A.b.XII.22.
- Anon. My Intimate Enemy: A Story. Phil.: C. H., 1878. 17.1X11.8. vi, 176 pp. A.b.XII.23.
- Owen, Ashford. A Lost Love. Bos.: L. P., n.d. 16.7X12.9. 215 pp. A.b.XII.24.
- Lamartine, Alphonse de. Fior D'Alzia. Trans. George Perry. N.Y.: H. G., 1869. 16.3X10. 240 pp. A.b.XII.25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Fior D'Aliza. Trans. George Denny. N.Y.: H. G., 1868. 16.3X10. 240 pp. A.b.XII.26.
- St. Pierre, H. H. Bernardin de. Paul and Virginia. Illus. Augustus Hoppin. N.Y.: H. G., 1875. 16.3X10. 149 pp. A.b.XII.27.

Underfen, C. Das Marchen Meines Lebens, ohne Dichtung.  
Leipzig: C. K., 1848. 16.1X9.5. 128 pp. A.b.XII.28.  
Presented by Edward Bertz. 1883.

Spindler, Carl. Das Belletristische Ausland. Stuttgart:  
Franckh, 1848. 13.8X9.4. 387 pp. A.b.XII.29.  
Presented by Edward Bertz, 1883.

Wood, Mrs. Henry. East Lynne. N.Y.: B. C., 1883. 17.9X  
11.7. 445 pp. A.b.XII.30. Presented by Miss Giles,  
June, 1887.

Besant, Walter. All Sorts and Conditions of Men: An  
Impossible Story. Lon.: C. W., 1886. 17.2X11.2.  
331 pp. A.b.XII.31.

Hay, John. The Bread-Winners. 319 pp. A.b.XII.32.  
[t.p.m.]

Holmes, Mrs. M. E. A Woman's Love. Illus. Chi.: F. L.,  
n.d. 19.2X13. 188 pp. A.b.XII.41.

Smart, Hawley. From Post to Finish. Lon.: C. H., 1885.  
18.7X12. 364 pp. A.b.XII.42.

Anon. (?). Will It Be? 173 pp. A.b.XII.34. [t.p.m.]

Barrett, Frank. The Great Hesper: A Novel. N.Y.: D. A.,  
1887. 18X12. 173 pp. A.b.XII.35.

### Section A-c, Shelf III

Scott, Sir Walter. Waverley. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. M., 1881. 18.7X12.1. 362, 369 pp.  
A.c.III.1.

\_\_\_\_\_. Guy Mannering. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. M., 1881. 18.7X12.2. 320, 330 pp.  
A.c.III.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Antiquary. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. M., 1881. 18.7X12.2. 306, 300 pp.  
A.c.III.3.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Black Dwarf: A Legend of Montrose. Illus-  
trated Library edition. Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X  
12.2. 258, 274 pp. A.c.III.4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Old Mortality. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 323, 308 pp.  
A.c.III.5.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Rob Roy. Illustrated Library edition. Bos.:  
H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 331, 338 pp. A.c.III.6.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Heart of Mid-Lothian. Illustrated Library  
edition. Bos.: H. M., 1881. 18.7X12.2. 403, 406  
pp. A.c.III.7.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Bride of Lammermoor. Illustrated Library  
edition. Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 232, 240  
pp. A.c.III.8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Monastery. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 313, 304 pp.  
A.c.III.10.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Abbot. Illustrated Library edition. Bos.:  
H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 325, 320 pp. A.c.III.11.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Kenilworth. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. M., 1881. 18.7X12.2. 338, 333 pp.  
A.c.III.12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Pirate. Illustrated Library edition. Bos.:  
H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 337, 332 pp. A.c.III.13.
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edition. Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 345, 346  
pp. A.c.III.14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Peveril of the Peak. Illustrated Library  
edition. Bos.: H. M., 1881. 18.7X12.2. 457, 460  
pp. A.c.III.15.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Quentin Durward. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 338, 348 pp.  
A.c.III.16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. St. Ronan's Well. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 306, 316 pp.  
A.c.III.17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Redgauntlet. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 330, 318 pp.  
A.c.III.18.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Betrothed. The Highland Widow. Illustrated  
Library edition. Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.1.  
362, 368 pp. A.c.III.19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Talisman. The Two Drovers. My Aunt  
Margaret's Mirror. The Tapestry Chamber. The

Laird's Jock. Illustrated Library edition. Bos.:  
H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 296, 296 pp. A.c.III.20.

\_\_\_\_\_. Woodstock. Illustrated Library edition.  
Bos.: H. O., 1879. 18.7X12.2. 357, 360 pp.  
A.c.III.21.

#### Section A-c, Shelf IV

Farman, Ella. A White Hand: A Story of Noblesse Oblige.  
Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X11.4. 251 pp. A.c.IV.1.

\_\_\_\_\_. A Girl's Money. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X  
11.4. 272 pp. A.c.IV.2.

\_\_\_\_\_. Mrs. Hurd's Niece: Six Month's of a Girl's Life.  
Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X11.4. A.c.IV.3.

\_\_\_\_\_. A Little Woman: A Story for Other Little Women.  
Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X11.4. 195 pp. A.c.IV.4.

\_\_\_\_\_. Anna Maylie: A Story of Work. Bos.: D. L.,  
n.d. 17.9X11.4. 402 pp. A.c.IV.5.

\_\_\_\_\_. How Two Girls Tried Farming. Bos.: D. L.,  
n.d. 17.9X11.4. 155 pp. A.c.IV.6.

\_\_\_\_\_. Good-for-Nothing Polly. Bos.: D. L., n.d.  
17.9X11.4. 211 pp. A.c.IV.7.

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17.9X11.4. 215 pp. A.c.IV.8.

Porter, Mrs. A. E. Glencoe Parsonage. Bos.: D. L., n.d.  
17.9X11.7. 256 pp. A.c.IV.9.

\_\_\_\_\_. The One Thing I Do. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 344 pp.  
A.c.IV.10.

\_\_\_\_\_. Millie Lee. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X11.7.  
316 pp. A.c.IV.11.

\_\_\_\_\_. My Hero; or, Contrasted Lives. Bos.: D. L.,  
n.d. 17.9X11.7. 332 pp. A.c.IV.12.

\_\_\_\_\_. Sunset Mountain. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X  
11.7. 365 pp. A.c.IV.13.

Yonge, Charlotte M. Heir of Redcliffe. N.Y.: D. A., 1881.  
18.4X11.7. 314, 312 pp. A.c.IV.14.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Heartsease; or, The Brother's Wife. N.Y.:  
D. A., 1881. 18.4X11.7. 303, 315 pp. A.c.IV.15.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Hopes and Fears; or, Scenes from the Life of a  
Spinster. N.Y.: D. A., 1873. 18.4X11.7. 376, 347  
pp. A.c.IV.16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Dynevor Terrace; or, The Club of Life. N.Y.:  
D. A., 1873. 18.4X11.7. 316, 319 pp. A.c.IV.17.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Daisy Chain; or, Aspirations, a Family  
Chronicle. N.Y.: D. A., 1881. 18.4X11.7. 314,  
309 pp. A.c.IV.18.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Trial: More Links of the Daisy Chain.  
N.Y.: D. A., 1881. 18.4X11.7. 389 pp. A.c.IV.19.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Caged Lion: A Novel. N.Y.: D. A., 1881.  
18.4X11.7. x, 347 pp. A.c.IV.20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Three Brides. N.Y.: D. A., 1877. 18.4X  
11.7. 554 pp. A.c.IV.21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Two Guardians; or, Home in This World.  
N.Y.: D. A., 1881. 18.4X11.7. 338 pp. A.c.IV.22.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Beechcroft. N.Y.: D. A., 1882. 18.4X11.7.  
302 pp. A.c.IV.23.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Dove in the Eagle's Nest. N.Y.: D. A.,  
1882. 18.4X11.7. 339 pp. A.c.IV.24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Chantry House. N.Y.: M. M., 1886. 18.6X  
11.9. x, 405 pp. A.c.IV.25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Heir of Redclyffe. Vol. I. 18.6X11.9.  
Lon.: M. M., 1881. 524 pp. A.c.IV.26.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Heartsease. Vol. II. Lon.: M. M., 1880.  
18.9X12.3. 548 pp. A.c.IV.26.

#### Section A-c, Shelf V

Yonge, Charlotte M. The Chaplet of Pearls; or, The White and  
Black Ribbaumont. Illus. N.Y.: D. A., 1881. 23X  
14.3. 331 pp. A.c.V.1.

\_\_\_\_\_. A.c.V.2.

Gerstäcker, Fredrick. How a Bride Was Won; or, A Chase

Across the Pampas. Trans. Francis Jordan. Illus. Gaston Fay. N.Y.: D. A., 1872. 23.4X14.5. 274 pp. A.c.V.3.

Brachvogel, A. E. Beaumarchais: An Historical Novel. Trans. Therese J. Radford. Illus. Gaston Fay. N.Y.: D. A., 1868. 23.3X14.4. 295 pp. A.c.V.4.

\_\_\_\_\_. A.c.V.5.

Hugo, Victor. The Man Who Laughs. Trans. William Young. N.Y.: D. A., 1881. 23X14.5. 351 pp. A.c.V.6.

\_\_\_\_\_. A.c.V.7.

Muhlbach, L. Mohammed Ali and His House: An Historical Romance. Trans. Chapman Coleman. Illus. Alfred Fredericks. N.Y.: D. A., 1872. 23.1X14.4. 229 pp. A.c.V.8.

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 tion, notes, etc., by the author. Phil.: J. L.,  
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Lord Lytton edition. Phil.: J. L., 1881. 18.7X12.  
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- Cherbuilez, Victor. Count Kostian: A Novel. By O. D. Ashley. N.Y.: H. H., 1873. 16.6X10.8. 307 pp. A.d.XI.8.
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- Drew, Catherine. The Lutaniste of St. Jacobi's: A Tale. No. 128. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 16.6X10.8. iv, 260 pp. A.d.XI.10.
- Anon. Democracy: An American Novel. No. 112. N.Y.: H. H., 1880. 16.6X10.8. 374 pp. A.d.XI.11.
- Fothergill, Jessie. The First Violin: A Novel. No. 101. N.Y.: H. H., 1878. 16.6X10.8. 430 pp. A.d.XI.12.
- . Kith and Kin: A Novel. No. 130. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 446 pp. A.d.XI.13.
- Francillon, R. E. Under Slieve-Ban: A Yarn in Seven Knots. No. 119. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 16.6X10.8. 275 pp. A.d.XI.15.
- Freytag, Gustav. Ingo. The first novel of a series entitled Our Forefathers. Trans. Mrs. Malcolm. N.Y.: H. W., 1873. 16.6X10.8. iv, 327 pp. A.d.XI.16.
- Gift, Theo., pseud. (i.e. Dora Havers). A Matter-of-Fact Girl: A Novel. No. 126. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 16.6X11.8. 351 pp. A.d.XI.17.
- Hardy, Thomas. Desperate Remedies: A Novel. No. 32. N.Y.: H. H., 1874. 16.6X10.8. vii, 402 pp. A.d.XI.18.
- . The Trumpet-Major: A Novel. No. 118. N.Y.: H. H., 1880. 16.6X10.8. 366 pp. A.d.XI.19.
- . The Laodicean; or, The Castle of the De Stamps: A Tale of Today. No. 131. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 432 pp. A.d.XI.20.
- Hunt, Mrs. Alfred W. The Leaden Casket: A Novel. No. 121. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 16.6X10.8. 424 pp. A.d.XI.21.
- Norris, W. E. Matrimony: A Novel. No. 125. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 16.6X10.8. iv, 433 pp. A.d.XI.22.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Heaps of Money: A Novel. No. 133. N.Y.:  
H. H., 1882. 16.6X10.8. 352 pp. A.d.XI.23.
- Spofford, Harriet Prescott. The Amber Gods, and Other  
Stories. No. 123. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 16.6X  
10.8. 432 pp. A.d.XI.24.
- Winthrop, Theodore. Cecil Dreeme. With a portrait and  
biographical sketch of the author by George William  
Curtis. N.Y.: H. H., 1876. 16.6X10.8. iv, 360  
pp. A.d.XI.25.
- \_\_\_\_\_. John Brent. N.Y.: H. H., 1876. 16.6X10.8.  
iv, 359 pp. A.d.XI.26.
- Wylde, Katherine. A Dreamer. No. 117. N.Y.: H. H., 1881.  
16.6X10.8. 452 pp. A.d.XI.27.
- Poynter, E. Frances. Among the Hills. No. 127. N.Y.:  
H. H., 1881. 16.6X10.8. 310 pp. A.d.XI.28.
- Sparhawk, Frances Campbell. A Lazy Man's Work: A Novel.  
No. 122. N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 16.6X10.8. 377 pp.  
A.d.XI.29.
- Spofford, Harriet Prescott. Azarian: An Episode. No. 124.  
N.Y.: H. H., 1881. 251 pp. A.d.XI.30.
- Walford, Mrs. L. B. Dick Netherby. No. 132. N.Y.: H. H.,  
1882. 16.6X10.8. 280 pp. A.d.XI.31.
- Besant, Sir Walter. The Revolt of Man. No. 136. N.Y.:  
H. H., 1882. 16.6X10.8. 257 pp. A.d.XI.32.
- Vers de Soci  t  . Sel. from recent authors by Charles Jones.  
N.Y.: H. H., 1876. 16.6X10.8. xi, 400 pp.  
A.d.XI.33.
- McGrath, Terence. Pictures from Ireland. No. 120. N.Y.:  
H. H., 1881. 16.6X10.8. 206 pp. A.d.XI.34.

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- Alexander, Mrs. Which Shall It Be?: A Novel. N.Y.: H. H.,  
1874. 16.6X10.6. 415 pp. A.d.XII.1.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Wooing O'T. N.Y.: H. H., 1874. 16.6X  
10.8. 483 pp. A.d.XII.2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Ralph Wilton's Weird: A Novel. N.Y.: H. H.,  
1875. 16.5X11. 267 pp. A.d.XII.3.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Her Dearest Foe: A Novel. No. 56. N.Y.:  
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- \_\_\_\_\_. Maid, Wife, or Widow? No. 105. N.Y.: H. H.,  
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- Graham, W. A. Baillie. Gaddings with a Primitive People:  
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Customs. N.Y.: H. H., 1878. 16.6X10.8. vi, 397  
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- Jenkin, Mrs. C. Jupiter's Daughter: A Novel. N.Y.: H. H.,  
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- \_\_\_\_\_. Within an Ace. N.Y.: H. H., 1875. 16.6X  
10.8. 287 pp. A.d.XII.8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Skirmishing. N.Y.: H. H., 1874. 16.7X10.9.  
187 pp. A.d.XII.9a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A Psyche of To-day. N.Y.: H. H., 1876.  
16.7X11. 280 pp. A.d.XII.9.
- Heine, Heinrich. Scintillations. From the prose works of  
Heinrich Heine. I. Florentine Nights. II. Excerpts.  
Trans. Simon Adler Stern. N.Y.: H. H., 1873.  
16.5X10.9. 185 pp. A.d.XII.10.
- Majendie, Lady Margaret. Gianetto. N.Y.: H. H., 1876.  
16.5X10.9. 180 pp. A.d.XII.11.
- Laffan, May. Christy Carew: A Novel. No. 112. N.Y.:  
H. H., 1880. 16.6X11. 411 pp. A.d.XII.12.
- Plays for Private Acting. No. 99. Trans. from the French  
and Italian by members of the Bellevue Dramatic Club  
of Newport. N.Y.: H. H., 1878. 16.5X10.9. vi,  
355 pp. A.d.XII.13.
- Winthrop, Theodore. Life in the Open Air and Other Papers.  
N.Y.: H. H., 1876. 16.6X20.8. iv, 374 pp.  
A.d.XII.14.
- Villari, Linda. In Change Unchanged. N.Y.: H. H., 1877.  
16.4X10.9. 308 pp. A.d.XII.15.
- Cornish, Blanche Warre. Alcestis. N.Y.: H. H., 1874.  
16.6X10.8. vi, 288 pp. A.d.XII.16.
- Hardy, Thomas. A Pair of Blue Eyes: A Novel. N.Y.: H. H.,  
1874. 16.5X10.9. 390 pp. A.d.XII.17a.

- Maxwell, Cecil. A Story of Three Sisters. N.Y.: H. H., 1876. 16.5X10.9. 292 pp. A.d.XII.17.
- Wells, Mary Prudence. The Great Match: and Other Matches. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1877. 16.6X10.6. 293 pp. A.d.XII.18.
- Anon. Hetty's Strange History. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1877. 16.8X10.6. 291 pp. A.d.XII.19.
- Hamerton, Philip Gilberton. Marmorne. No Name series. The story is told by Adolphus Segrave, the youngest of three brothers. Bos.: R. B., 1878. 16.5X10.6. 309 pp. A.d.XII.20.
- Fox, Mrs. Emily. Gemini. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1878. 16.7X10.8. 271 pp. A.d.XII.21.
- Anon. A Modern Mephistopheles. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1880. 16.6X10.5. 290 pp. A.d.XII.22.
- Mulock, Dinah Maria. Will Denbigh, Nobleman. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1882. 16.5X10.6. 329 pp. A.d.XII.23.
- Anon. Deirdré. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1876. 16.6X10.7. 262 pp. A.d.XII.24.
- A Masque of Poets: Including "Guy Vernon," a Novelette in Verse. No Name series. Ed. George Parsons Lathrop. Bos.: R. B., 1878. 16.7X10.7. 301 pp. A.d.XII.25.
- Anon. The Colonel's Opera Cloak. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1879. 16.7X10.8. 228 pp. A.d.XII.26.
- Anon. The Tsar's Widow. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1881. 16.6X10.8. 272 pp. A.d.XII.27.
- Austin, Jane Goodwin. Mrs. Beauchamp Brown. No Name series. Bos.: R. B., 1880. 16.6X10.7. viii, 319 pp. A.d.XII.28.
- Le Row, Caroline B. A Fortunate Failure. Bos.: D. L., n.d. 17.9X11.5. 280 pp. A.d.XII.29.
- \_\_\_\_\_. A.d.XII.30.
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## APPENDIXES

## APPENDIX A

### REGULATIONS

The librarian shall, under the direction of the Trustees, have charge of the Library, and shall be responsible for the safety of all books and other property contained therein.

### READING ROOM

Any person of good deportment, over ten years of age, may use the Library for reading purposes at all times when it shall be open, which, for the present, shall be daily (except Sundays and National Holidays), from 10 to 12 a.m. and 3 to 5 p.m.

Application must in all cases be made to the Librarian for any book desired for consultation, no one but the Librarian being allowed to remove the books from the shelves. It shall be the duty of the Librarian to comply with all requests to furnish books to any orderly, well-disposed person for reference or reading within the Library building.

### THE LIBRARY

All citizens of Rugby over the age of ten years may take books from the library, subject to the

regulations adopted by the Trustees.

Any non-resident of Rugby may, on payment in advance of three dollars yearly, acquire the right to draw books from the library, subject to the following rules:

One volume only can be taken on one account, unless the work be in duodecimo or smaller volumes, when two volumes may be taken.

Books may be retained for two weeks, and may be renewed for one additional week. They cannot be re-issued to the same person until they have been on the shelves twenty-four hours.

Encyclopedias, dictionaries and other works of reference, rare and illustrated books, and such books as, for any reason, are restricted from circulation by the Board of Trustees, can be consulted only in the building.

All injuries to books beyond reasonable wear, and all losses shall promptly be made good to the satisfaction of the Trustees.

A fine of three cents a day shall be paid on each volume which is not returned according to the provisions of the preceding rules. To this due shall also be added the expense of collection and serving notice, and all privileges connected with Library shall be withdrawn from any party incurring a fine until said fine and costs are paid.

If any book be not returned within one month after

serving a notice, the Librarian shall proceed to collect, through the solicitor of the Trustees, the value of the book, with accrued fines and other charges to the date of payment.

Temporary residents may acquire the same privileges as citizens by depositing one dollar, or the full value of any book they may wish to take from the Library, with the Librarian, which sum shall be refunded on the return of the book.

Any person abusing the privileges of the Library, or violating these rules, shall be temporarily suspended from its privileges, and the case shall be reported to the Trustees for such action as the Board may deem proper.

These regulations to remain in force until repealed or amended by vote of the Trustees at any regular meeting, or special meeting, called in accordance with the provisions of the charter, and by-laws of the Board of Trustees.

Signed on behalf of the Trustees,

Jos. H. Blacklock.

The Rugbeian, January 20, 1883.

## APPENDIX B

### State of Tennessee

### Charter of Incorporation

Be it known, that

Joseph H. Blacklock, Dana Estes, Alexander  
Hill, Robert Walton & Wm. Hastings Hughes.

are hereby constituted a body politic & corporate by the name and style of "The Hughes Free Public Library" of Rugby, Tennessee. The object of said association is primarily, the establishment of a Public Library and Reading Room, with the following enlarged powers as provided by statute. viz. "The support of any literary or scientific undertaking, as a College or University with powers to confer degrees, an academy, a debating society, lyceum, the establishment of a library, the support [1] of a historical society, the promotion of painting, music, or the fine arts, the support of boards of trade, or chambers of commerce, or other offices of like nature."

The general powers of said corporation shall be to sue and be sued by the corporate name; to have and use a common seal, which it may alter at pleasure; if no common seal, then the signature of the name of the corporation, by any duly authorized officer, shall be legal and binding; to purchase and hold, or receive by gift, bequest, or devise, in addition to the personal property owned by the

corporation, real estate necessary for the transaction of the corporate business, & also, to purchase or accept [2] any real estate, in payment or in part payment, of any debt owed to the corporation, and sell the same; to establish by-laws, and make all rules and regulations, not inconsistent with the laws and constitution, deemed expedient for the management of corporate affairs; and to appoint such subordinate officers & agents, in addition to a President and Secretary or Treasurer, as the business of the corporation may require, designate the name of the offices, and fix the compensation of the officer. The said five corporators shall, within a convenient time after the registration of this charter in this office of the Secretary of State, elect from these [3] members a President, Secretary and Treasurer, as the last two officers may be combined into one; said officers and the other corporators to constitute the first Board of Directors. In all elections each member to be entitled to one vote, either in person or by proxy, and the result to be determined by a majority of the votes cast. Due notice of any election must be given by advertisement in a newspaper, personal notices to the members, on a day stated in the minutes of the Board, six months preceding the election. The Board of Directors shall keep a record of all these proceedings, which shall be, at all times subject, to the inspection of any member. [4] The corporation may establish branches in any other County of the State. The Board of Directors may

have the power to increase the number of Directors to seven or ten, if they deem the interest of the corporation requires such increases, and the first or any subsequent Board of Directors may have the power to elect other members, who, on acceptance of membership, shall become corporators, equally with the original corporators. The Board of Directors shall have the right to determine what amount of money paid into the Treasure shall be a pre-requisite for membership, or if necessary what amount shall be thus annually paid, and a failure thus to pay, shall in the discretion [5] of the Directors, justify the expulsion of said defaulting member. If said corporation is organized as a literary or educational institution, under the patronage of any Christian or Jewish denomination, the corporation shall have the power to increase the number of Directors as Trustees; to regulate the mode & manner of appointments of the same, or expiration of terms of service; to regulate the number, duties & manner of elections of Officers; to appoint executive agencies, and to pass all other by-laws, for the government of said institution as may be required by the denominations establishing the same; Provided, said by-laws are not inconsistent with [6] the constitution & laws of this State. The term of all officers may be fixed by the by-laws; the said term, not however, to exceed three years. All officers hold over until their successors are duly elected & qualified. The general welfare of society, not individual profit, is the

object for which this charter is granted, and hence the members are not stock-holders in the legal sense of the term, and no dividends or profits shall be divided among the members. The members may, at any time dissolve the corporation, by a conveyance of its assets & property to any other corporation, holding a charter from the State, for purposes not of individual profit, first providing for [7] corporate debts. A violation of any of the provisions of the charter, shall subject the corporation to dissolution at the instance of the State. This charter is subject to modification or ammendment; and in case said modification or ammendment is not accepted, corporate business is to cease, and the assets & property, after payment of debts are to be conveyed as aforesaid, to some other corporation holding a charter for purposes not connected with individual profit. Acquiescences in any modification thus declared, shall be determined in a meeting of the members, specially called for the purpose, and only those voting in favor of the modifications shall thereafter compose the corporation [8] for the claims of creditors.

We, the undersigned apply to the State of Tennessee, by virtue of the laws of the land, for a charter of incorporation for the purposes and with the powers be, declared in the foregoing instrument.

Witness our hand January 6th 1883.

Witnessed by us --

|                  |                    |      |
|------------------|--------------------|------|
| David T. Stewart | W. Hastings Hughes | seal |
|------------------|--------------------|------|

|             |                |      |
|-------------|----------------|------|
| P. A. Reece | Alexander Hill | seal |
|-------------|----------------|------|

State of Ohio -- Hamilton County; SS,

Before we the undersigned Notary Public in & for said  
County & State came W. Hastings Hughes and Alexander Hill,  
who are personally known to me to be the subscribing  
incorporators to the above Articles of Incorporation and  
acknowledged the signing & sealing thereof to be voluntary  
act & for the uses & purposes therein mentioned. In  
testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and notorial  
seal this 6th day of January A.D. 1883.

P. A. Reece

Notary Public in & for  
Hamilton County, Ohio

## APPENDIX C

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## APPENDIX D

### SHELF CLASSIFICATION LETTERS

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- H. Natural Science
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- J. Public Documents
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- L. Public Documents
- M. Agriculture and Gardening
- N. Fine Arts
- O. Social and Political Science
- P. Domestic Science and Etiquette
- Q. Temperance Literature
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- S. Language and Rhetoric; Education and Self-Culture,  
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- T. Serials
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- V. Polography
- W. History of Literature; Sports and Games; Architecture
  
- H. General Science
  - Biology and Evolution
  - Astronomy and Meterology
  - Geology and Mineralogy
  - Botany
  - Natural Philosophy
  - Chemistry
  - Mathematics
  - Medicine
  - Zoology
  - Phrenology and Spiritualism
  - Useful Arts.

## VITA

Douglas Kirke Gordon was born in Kansas City, Missouri, on July 17, 1943. He attended elementary schools in Bluefield, West Virginia and was graduated from Waynesboro High School, Waynesboro, Virginia, in 1961. In June of 1965 he was graduated from the University of Virginia with a Bachelor of Arts in English. Before entering The University of Tennessee in the winter of 1969, he taught in secondary school, went to two seminaries, raised a litter of nine Irish Setters, and sold china in a department store.

In December of 1970 he received the Master of Arts degree from The University of Tennessee and received the Doctor of Philosophy Degree with a major in English in August of 1974. He is also a graduate of the American College of Banjo Instructors.