Informing the South:
On the Culture of Print in Antebellum Augusta, Georgia 1828-1860

By

Jamene Brenton Stewart

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

(Library & Information Studies)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

2012

Date of final oral examination: 05/22/12

The dissertation is approved by the following members of the Final Oral Committee:

Christine Pawley, Professor Library & Information Studies
Louise Robbins, Emeritus Professor, Library & Information Studies
Greg Downey, Professor, Library & Information Studies/Journalism and Mass Communication
Susan E. Lederer, Professor, Medical History & Bioethics
Jonathan Daniel Wells, Professor, History, Temple University

Dedication

This dissertation is decided to my grandparents Thomas and Lenora Bartley-Stewart, my great-aunts Birdie Sartor and Sister Minnie. I stand proudly on your shoulders.

Acknowledgements

To Dr. Jessie J. Walker mi compañero, chief council, and friend, I thank you for your unyielding support in all of my endeavors. How apt that you are a Hawkeye and I a Badger.

I thank my advisor Professor Christine Pawley, who has worked with me on this project since year one of my doctoral studies. This work would not have been possible without your guidance and expertise. Additionally sincere thanks to my dissertation committee, Professors Louise Robbins, Greg Downey, Susan Lederer and Jonathan D. Wells.

I must thank the American Antiquarian Society, which has helped transform me into a print culture historian. I will be forever grateful of the financial support I received from the Society, Isaiah Thomas Scholarship and Stephen Botein Fellowship, but most importantly the opportunity the AAS provided for me to interact with fascinating documents and meet amazing scholars; a special thanks to Drs. Paul Erickson, Jeannine Delombard, and Lloyd Pratt for their support and encouragement of my dissertation research.

To my SLIS cohort, Nathan Johnson, Tammy Mays, Michele Caswell, Melissa Adler, Sarah Roberts, and Tien-I Tsai, I have truly enjoyed this five-year journey with such wonderful people and I wish you all the best.

To the SLIS Faculty, I thank you for supporting me throughout this journey and a special thanks to Kristin Eschenfelder and Ethelene Whitmire.

Darrell Ramsey-Musolf, Thank you for being you. I've truly enjoyed this sojourn with you and have gained a colleague, allay and a true friend.

Jeanne Essame je vous remercie de partager vos façons Françaises et de l'humour avec moi.

Doria Johnson, thank you for your friendship and the kindness you have showed me during our Wisconsin journey.

Professor Michael Thomas, I want to be like you when I grow up! It has been a pleasure being your "guerilla advisee." I have learned so much from you and am grateful for the opportunity to have studied with you.

Kaetrena Davis-Kendrick, I thank you for your support, the music, extra step excursions, and providing me with a safe laughter-filled refuge during my many journeys to the "Big A" and "Little A."

Mrs. Queen Thompson, I am forever grateful for your support, guidance and encouragement so many years ago.

To my parents James and Brenda Lytle-Stewart, thank you for your love and support during this very challenging journey toward the doctorate. To my father especially, I thank you for always being willing and able to crisscross this vast county (many times) with me in pursuit of my dreams.

I relied on many repositories in the writing of this dissertation. The staff at the American Antiquarian Society was particularly amazing in helping me uncover documents relating to Augustan print culture and cheerfully retrieved numerous documents (often the same ones) on my behalf. A special thanks to Renee Sharrock, at the Medical College of Georgia's Special Collections, and Joshua Larkin Rowley, at the David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library at Duke University, for their assistance as well.

Completing this doctorate would have been impossible without the financial support of the Spectrum Doctoral Fellowship provide by the American Library Association, and Institute of Museum Studies, and the Advanced Opportunity Fellowship from the of Wisconsin– Madison.

ON WISCONSIN!

Table of Contents

Chapter One

Reading Augusta: An Introduction

Augusta, Georgia -- the South's "Magnolia City" -- has never garnered much of the public's fascination; it has never possessed New Orleans' excitement and debauchery, Memphis' status as a major transportation hub, or Atlanta's literary fame. Even Charleston, a smaller city in whose image Augusta was styled, is known for its thriving antebellum intellectual cultures, historical architecture, former slave markets, and low country cuisine. The Magnolia City, by contrast, has remained largely invisible, except for once a year when it is thrust into the national spotlight as the host for the Master's Tournament. But long before amateur golfer and Georgia attorney Bobby Jones founded the Augusta National Club in 1933, its famed clubhouse first received national recognition during the summer of 1857, when an illustration of it appeared in the New York-based magazine, *Life Illustrated: A Journal of Entertainment, Improvement and Progress.*[1]

The magazine's illustration of the future clubhouse showcases a peculiarly designed two-story, square structure with wrap-around verandas; unlike other notable buildings in Augusta, this one was conceived not as a clubhouse, but as the residence of famed agriculturalist Dennis Redmond. The mansion sat amongst 315 rolling acres of an indigo plantation that doubled as a commercial nursery called Fruitland. Redmond, editor of the popular Augusta-based *Southern Cultivator*, leveraged *Life Illustrated*, a Yankee magazine, to show off the latest in Southern architecture; he claimed to be the first Southerner to construct a home built entirely of concrete. While Redmond's press attention was not unlike the profiles of contemporary celebrity's profiles found within the pages of magazines like *Architectural Digest*, it also speaks to issues specific to the

[1] "A Southern Country House," *Life Illustrated: A Journal of Entertainment, Improvement and Progress* 4:16

antebellum era. In fact, Redmond's use of print material culture reflects how commercial and educational institutions in mid-19th century Augusta were able to extend their cultural reach well beyond the city's seemingly provincial borders, as well as generate reading content for a constantly expanding antebellum public seeking reading material. Fruitland's profile in a journal subtitled "improvement" and "progress" reflected not only Redmond's orientation toward cultural advancement, but also the reformist nature imbued in much of Augustan print material cultural in the decades before the Civil War.

Statement of the Problem of Investigation

Long before Atlanta lay claim to the title, Augusta was regarded as Georgia's principal economic market and cultural and information hub. Surrounded by towns and villages that scarcely contained 1,000 white inhabitants, Augusta sat at the center of a catchment zone 150 miles west of Atlanta that spanned 22 counties and two states.[2] Augusta supplied goods, services, and cultural enrichment to the region. As result, the Magnolia City boasted a diverse assortment of information agencies and their attendant technologies, including daily newspapers, such as Georgia's oldest daily the *Augusta Chronicle and Sentinel*, as well as *The Constitutionalist*; Augusta's Medical College of Georgia was the state's first medical school and it published the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal.*

Religious institutions -- like the First Baptist and Presbyterian Churches and Saint Paul's Episcopal Church -- attracted both local and rural visitors and contributed to the city's literacy culture. Local churches were prolific producers of reading material, often commissioning printed

[2] J. William Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society: White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta's Hinterlands,* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998). For more on Augusta see: Edward J. Cashin, *Paternalism in a Southern City: Race, Religion, and Gender in Augusta, Georgia*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), -- *Story of Augusta*, (Augusta: Richmond County Board of Education, 1980).

sermons and lectures; many established vibrant Sunday school programs that taught reading to European American and African American children. These congregations also founded libraries for parishioners and their families. Augusta hosted a local branch of the American Tract Society, which published its own *Christian Almanac*, while the local Unitarian Church's book association published a periodical called the *Unitarian Christian*. The famed Southern Baptist Convention was established in 1845 at the city's First Baptist Church. *The Washingtonian, or, the Total Abstinence Advocate*, was founded in 1843, joining the growing cavalcade of the nation's temperance journals.

The city's diverse landscape of print culture was augmented by the presence of several Southern literary magazines such as the *Augusta Mirror*, *Southern Eclectic*, and *Georgia Home Gazette*. James Gardner, the local printer of *The Constitutionalist*, presented readers with the mammoth-sized *Southern Field and Fireside Journal*, which combined literature with agricultural information. Complementing Augusta's varied reading landscape was a burgeoning school book industry that, during the 1850s, capitalized on the growing interest in texts produced by and for Southerners.

Despite this vibrant print culture, Augusta's position as a major producer of print material culture for both Georgia and the Southern United States has largely been neglected by scholars. This disregard is indicative of a more general trend wherein the print material culture of the American South receives scant attention in contemporary scholarship about print culture. When the South is discussed in this field of scholarship – and it is often done so only in passing – it is often contextualized as possessing regional apathy and delayed development in almost every aspect of human life and technological advancement including literacy, higher education, and industrialization. These characterizations are unfortunate, particularly because they obscure the rich and unique diversity that forms Southern print culture. Such slighting fosters fictive imaginings of the antebellum United States' regional cultures and lifeways. The legacy of this historical exclusion and regional chauvinism manifests in contemporary scholarship on the South.

David Paul Nord's analysis of "Working Class Readers" and Kenneth Carpenter's treatment of "Libraries and Schools" in 19th century America both exemplify this trend and appear to situate themselves within the established tropes of Southern illiteracy and contrariness. Nord, for example, analyzes discretionary spending on reading materials such as books and newspapers in order to argue that Southerners eschewed reading, but his work ignores other types of reading materials that circulated in the region, as well as Southerners' diverse strategies for obtaining reading materials.[3] Similarly, Carpenter makes broad claims about the rarity of libraries south of the Mason-Dixon Line, calling special attention to Georgia.[4] Both of these theses are believable because readers, who are familiar with American culture's fictive imagining of the region, are more apt to take as truth the ways in which both Nord and Carpenter portray the antebellum South. As a result, it has become easy to gloss over the South's major accomplishments with respect to the production of literary works and the development of schools and libraries. The College of Charleston, for example, is the nation's oldest municipal college, having been established in the 1770s; the University of South Carolina has the distinction of having the first academic library housed in a building designed exclusively for that purpose, while the library at the Medical College of Georgia, with 4000 volumes, in 1835, had one of the largest medical collections in the country; similar collections in the North at that time scarcely contained 1,000 holdings.

My research not only identifies a regional bias in the field's literature, but I also interrogate the skew toward what I term "national cities." These locales are large urban spaces that play leading roles in the United States' economic, cultural, and transportation infrastructure. During the antebellum period, such national cities were New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Washington D.C., and

---

[3] David Paul Nord, *Communities of Journalism: A History of American Newspapers and Their Readers*. (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2001).

[4] Kenneth E. Carpenter, "Libraries and Schools" in *History of Book in America: Volume 2: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1970-1840* ed., Robert A. Gross et.al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010) 274.

New Orleans. This limited focus on national cities located primarily in the Northern corridor prevents a holistic perspective of national print culture and limits our ability to recognize variation within regions as well as the American Republic at-large. I do not, however, suggest that scholars only focus on small cities and towns outside of the North. Instead, I propose a more nuanced response: researchers should also consider shifting the scale at which they view locations. That is, rather than take a nationalist or macroscopic view, we should adopt a more local or regional (microscopic) perspective of cities. When viewed from a nationalist perspective, for example, a city like Augusta, with a population of 12,000 residents, is relatively small, especially in comparison to a metropolis like New Orleans. But if we shift the perspective to a relational or regional scale, we can see antebellum Augusta as an influential metropolis in its own right.

Microhistory as a Corrective Method of Analysis

While I have argued that there are limitations inherent in large-scale, national levels of analysis, historians do have options for alternative perspectives that can help to serve as correctives to the generalized outcomes of the aforementioned methods. I initially described this research as a geographically-situated reading history, but a more apt description is that it is a microhistory of reading. Microhistories first appeared in the 1970s in the Italian academy as a reaction against traditional historical modes of inquiry, which researchers increasingly viewed as insufficient in explaining what Giovanni Levi calls "political events and social realties," and what Georgy G. Iggers calls "small-scale units consisting of concrete individuals."[5] Traditional inquiries were good at explaining the macrohistorial, but offered little in the way of analysis of phenomena falling outside of conventional boundaries or the expected.

---

[5] "On Microhistory" Giovanni Levi in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing,* 2nd edition, eds. Peter Burke , (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 2001) 98. ; Georgy G. Iggers, Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge (Middleton,CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2005)14.

Microhistories -- with their reduced level of analysis oriented toward the "culture of everyday life" -- can reveal the complex interactions in individual social worlds. Rather than privilege the norm, the microhistory "scrutinizes those individuals who did not follow the paths of their average fellow countrymen." This strategy exposes that which was previously unseen; Sigurdur Magnusson suggests that in this approach, "those who in one segment of society are considered obscure, strange, and even dangerous, […] might be, in other circles, at the center of attention and fully accepted in their daily affairs." Because of its power to humanize individuals from marginalized communities, it is of little surprise that Magnusson suggests that American historians could benefit from employing the micohistory in their analysis of "issues related to minorities, ethnicity, race, and gender." [7]

Antebellum Southerners were a marginalized population within the context of a national cultural that was not only oriented toward the North, but whose national narratives were constructed according to a Northern imagining as well. This established a zero sum dynamic from which the South could never escape. Ralph Waldo Emerson, a fixture on the antebellum lecture circuit, often noted what he viewed as the region's alcoholism, sexual conquests, abuse of slaves, fights and duels" and general culture of anti-intellectualism. Social and intellectual historian Burton Bledstein mentions the South had the "highest illiteracy rate in the nation," and had "failed to develop educational institutions, according to the northern image."[8] These statements speak volumes, particularly in the "othering" of the Southern region and those parts of society that they leave out of their assessments. While individuals and conditions such as those described above did exist (certainly in the North as well as the South), Emerson and Bledstein tell us nothing about those

[7] What is Microhistory? Sigurdur Gylfi Mangnusson, accessed April 25, 2012, http://hnn.us/articles/23720.html .
[8] Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976) 27-28.

individuals who were not anti-intellectual, who could read, and who did not fight -- in other words, those outliers on which a microhistory would focus its attention.

There were individuals who, for example, established anti-dueling societies.[9] The largest churches in antebellum Augusta taught reading to Black and white children in well-attended Sunday schools, as well as established children's libraries for parishioners.[10] And, while institutions of higher learning were not established in the 17th century as they were in the North, this is because the South did not have sufficient population centers to support such establishments. Calling attention to the region's delayed development establishes the Northern section of the United States as an "ideal type" that other sections of the county should emulate. And Northern institutions were not always enviable. If we shift our perspective to that of marginalized Native Americans, we can say that the establishment of Northern-like social and political institutions and infrastructure in the Southern United States means that Native communities saw their demise at a later date than Native Americans living in the Northeast.

Because the South was slower to establish institutions of higher education, this does not mean that colleges were nonexistent in the region. There is, in fact, a very rich history of higher education in the Southern states. For example, the University of Georgia, the nation's oldest public university, was founded 1786, the University of North Carolina is the only public college to have conferred degrees in the 18th century, and the College of Charleston was the nation's 13th oldest public institution of higher learning. The existence of institutions during these early years of the

---

[9] Jonathan Daniel Wells, "Religion Dueling, and Honor" in *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class : 1800-1861*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 69-88.

[10] In 1842 St. Pauls' [Episcopal] Church began Sunday school classes for African American children, held captive by its parishioners. In the 1820s the church established a "Sunday School Library" which held 220 volumes and its Sunday school program had 3 male and 12 female teachers, which served almost 100 students. See St. Pauls' History 1822-1865 accessed April 25, 2012 http://www.saintpauls.org/history/history04.shtml.

Republic certainly complicates the public's construction of the region and its oft quoted high illiteracy rate.

I began this research with a broad but pointed question: What types of print material proliferated in Augusta, Georgia during the antebellum period? I then narrowed my scope to those institutions and organizations that produced print in Augusta, and finally sought to uncover the social, economic, and political circumstances that led to the manufacture and publication of Augustan print. This dissertation reveals that reading in antebellum Augusta was robust and encompassed a wide assortment of literacies or reading practices. Print material culture oriented toward practical ends was a major component of the city's literacy scene. Because much of the research on geographically-situated reading histories privileges literary novels as sources of data, other types of literacies are often hidden from view and, subsequently, scholarly analysis.[12] However, in this dissertation, I look at those types of print literacy that were parts of everyday life: newspapers, advertisements, agricultural and medical periodicals, and paperwork for business practices.

Media historian Ben Kafka defines practical literacy as "literacy oriented toward practical rather than literary ends."[13] Another way to view practically-oriented print is the reading that pertains to everyday life. In the most simplistic form it was the citizens' ability to navigate an increasingly complex information network, such as meandering Augusta city streets and reading the required signage above commercial establishments, or reading druggists' labels on prescription bottles. At a more advanced level of practical literacy, reading was undertaken by middle class clerks, in Augusta's offices and merchant houses; though these clerks lacked a college education, they were literate

---

[12] William J. Gilmore, *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life: Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England, 1780-1835*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1989); Robert Zboray and Mary Zboray, *Everyday Ideas: Socioliterary Experience Among Antebellum New Englanders*. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2006); "Have You Read…? :Real Readers and their Responses in Antebellum Boston and its Region," *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 52(2),139-170.

[13] Ben Kafka, "Paperwork: The State of the Discipline" *Book History*, (12), 2009:342.

enough to execute the day-to-day affairs of business as well as patronize social libraries in order to sharpen their reading skills, which could ultimately propel them into a higher status occupation. Much practically-oriented reading material corresponds to what we may broadly call "paperwork" or documents of bureaucratic and business practices. I categorize all of these materials as practical documents and the reading and manipulation of them as constituting a practical literacy.

In discussing the history of literacy, M.T. Clanchy suggests "practical business was the foundation of this new literacy."[14] Possessing a literacy that is practical in nature gave 19th century citizens the tools to negotiate a society that increasingly relied on written documents to communicate information; for "laymen, literacy was a practical convenience long before it became an education."[15] Practical literacy, however, was not restricted to lay individuals; commercial enterprises were also tightly bound to practical literacy in the form of receipts, bills of lading, labels, account books, catalogs and the like, all of which required a practical reading ability to manipulate and decipher. This dissertation uncovers the nuance of practically-oriented documents and reading in that such texts can exist simultaneously as practical yet be sophisticated in their configuration, scope, and depth. Both almanacs and agricultural journals, for example, were very much practical texts, but the latter presented a breadth of content much more complex than found in almanacs and requiring a deeper level of interaction from readers. Similarly, specialized medical information, like that found in the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, may appear dissimilar to the practical reading done by average citizens who consumed health advertisements in newspapers; both forms of reading, however, were of a practical nature, as the medical journal presented information that readers could implement in Southern practice and excluded theoretical content.

---

[14] M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993): 332. For more on how practical literacy is supported by bureaucracy, see S.J. Tambiah's Literacy in a Buddhist Village in Northeast Thailand, in Jack Goody's Literacy in Traditional Societies. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975).
[15] Ibid.

Argument

The dissertation argues that Augustan commercial and educational institutions used print material culture, in the form of journals, as an efficient technology to help establish a new genre of Southern professional reading. The consumption of practically oriented-reading in the South constituted a reactive genre of print culture. An integral characteristic of reactive print, I argue, is an acute awareness of self. Print emanating from Augusta possessed a hyper-awareness of a geographically-situated and socially-constructed Southern location. This shared awareness of place, space, and perceived social status, in contrast to the North, was used as a marketing strategy to attract new readers. The dissertation uncovers unlikely information agencies who not only promoted specialized reading for one's profession, but also provided the components for a growing Southern information regime that leveraged print as a strategy to transform the South into a respectable region. I illustrate these claims by drawing upon evidence from an assortment of Augusta-based print genres encompassing business (jobbing), agricultural, and medical literatures as well as an analysis of the organization of the city's reading rooms and medical library, all of which fostered a practical literacy that resulted in the self-improvement of city clerks and aspiring agriculturalists and physicians.

Geographically Situated Reading Histories

While I approach this study using the lens of a microhistorian, the dissertation is a geographically-situated reading history. I situate this work among previous scholarship on reading practices in local communities. For example, Ronald Zboray and Mary Zboray examine the reading habits of antebellum middle and upper class New Englanders, while William J. Gilmore conducts a similar treatment of New England readers but limits his study to the late 18th and early 19th

centuries.[16] David Henkin explores urban reading in antebellum New York, and Christine Pawley extends the research on local reading histories westward by investigating the reading practices of late 19th and early 20th century residents of Osage, Iowa.[17] My dissertation not only shares a genre with the aforementioned works, but it constitutes a major contribution to the field in that it also extends the genre southward through its examination of a small but regionally significant city.

Theoretical Framework

Many reading histories situate analysis at the individual level which requires the use of dairies, wills, and court records as sources of data. This study, however, is positioned at what Christine Pawley calls the "meso" or "middle" level of analysis, an approach which directs my analysis toward commercial and educational institutions and organizations in Augusta.[18] The meso level of analysis is a theoretical framework that Pawley devises as a strategy for researchers to connect readers with producers of print material. Recognizing the limitations in archival data based on personal documents such as diaries, which may not be readily available, the meso level of analysis provides an innovative means of accessing real readers and their texts.

Pawley critiques methods of analysis stemming from economic and market models, as well as Michel de Certeau's theory of "poaching." A form of textual appropriation, poaching describes the process of readers picking and choosing the parts of texts they most identify with and discarding the rest. De Certeau suggests that poaching is an act of resistance, a strategy used by lower-class readers to assert their own self-agency. Pawley argues that poaching is a flawed metaphor because poaching, an illegal activity, requires the awareness of perpetrators. Similarly, readers would have to

---

[16] William Gilmore, *Reading Becomes A Necessity*, 1989; Robert Zboray and Mary Zboray, *Everyday Ideas*, 2006.
[17] David Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).; Christine Pawley, *Reading on the Middle Border: The Culture of Print in Osage, Iowa, 1860-1900* (Amherst, University of Massachusetts Press, 2001).

[18] Christine Pawley, "Beyond Market Models and Resistance," 79.

possess an awareness of their own subjugated status in relation to authors in order to perpetrate a conscious act of transgression. This consciousness is not always discernible when analyzing the habits of readers.

While both market analysis and poaching theories have their advantages, they obscure interactions between readers and the assortment of infrastructures that produce texts. Examining the meso level, Pawley argues, provides print culture researchers a tool that helps to "bridge the gap between individuals and society" by examining the print material of institutions and organizations. Pawley's focus here is not just on obvious institutions, such as libraries, but on an assortment of both "noncommercial as well as commercial organizations." By examining different sites of print production, we are able to consider a broad assortment "of texts to study"; materials such as "manuals, advertising, school and college texts and ephemera" are all worthy objects for deconstruction.[19]

One reason the meso theoretical perspective is applicable to a study of Southern print culture is because of its avant-garde construction of data. The South has been viewed as anti-intellectual in print cultural scholarship because of the limited sources of data that researchers were willing to accept as evidence. The meso analysis repudiates this restrictive convention and therefore provides this dissertation with a lens through which I can view a diversity of reading materials present on the Augusta reading landscape. Additionally, microhistories and meso approaches are complementary in that both employ elements of ethnographic methods through their use of thick description as means of broadening an "understanding of the acts of reading and writing" of ordinary citizens.[20]

---

[19] Ibid., 89-90.
[20] Ibid., 74.

A theoretical emphasis on the middle layer of society helps counter the stereotype of Southern uninterest in cultural advancement by accentuating the actions of all types of institutions that played a major role in the push toward improved social and cultural infrastructures. While Pawley situates the dominating influence of organizations as a late 19th and early 20th century phenomenon, my dissertation illustrates that institutions, at least in the context of Augusta, were well-established by the 1820s and were actively influencing the reading habits of Georgians and Southerners. The theoretical implications of this dissertation are that it extends Pawley's framework in order to encapsulate the early 1800s and helps remove antebellum Southern readers from the assumed ghettoized spaces of illiteracy.

Scope and Data Collection

Earlier, I mentioned the broad assortment of reading materials that emanated from and circulated in Augusta, ranging from schoolbooks to magazines promoting Southern literature. I have had the opportunity to view and analyze much of this material over the three years that I have worked in this project. Much of this Augustan print is also of a practical nature and reactive in its design and marketing; this is also true of the city's literary journals. In order to present a dissertation that is coherent, I have decided to narrow my focus to the information worlds of printers, agriculturalists, and physicians and present an analysis of Augusta's antebellum library scene. The dissertation is situated from 1828 to 1859. This time period corresponds to the establishment of the Medical College of Georgia, and its constituent units, the medical journal and library, and the Augusta *Chronicle's* acquisition by the Jones brothers, in 1840 and James Joneses' death in 1859.

Augusta was a hub city that supplied the goods, materials, and the components of infrastructure -- such as cotton warehouses, slave markets, and factors or cotton agents -- for Georgia's plantation economy. Rather than focus on the brute physical nature of slavery, this

analysis views the practice of slaveholding as an information-intensive phenomenon. As such, the antebellum Southern agriculturalist who wanted to improve his practice increasingly needed to read more sophisticated types of materials outside of the ubiquitous but uncomplicated almanac. I note that printers, the professionals who often commissioned, printed, and sold almanacs, as well as printed journals and other types of textual material culture, are often invisible in analyses of reading. Printers played a major role in the Southern information regime and print shops were unlikely information agencies that promoted various scales of literacy in the South. My focus on printers serves as the dissertation's first case in the meso level of analysis; as such, it connects readers with the producers of reading material. An initial analysis of printers also illustrates the unexpected relationships encouraged by the presence of a plantation economy, which conjoined printing, agriculture, and medicine into a network that formed the Southern information regime.

The practice of agriculture and medicine were inextricably linked because of their mutual interest in the health, control, and management of human captive laborers. Planters needed physically healthy captives to plant and harvest cash crops; physicians were experts on plantation medicine (also called Negro medicine) and articulated the benefits of proper clothing, diet, housing, and hygienic living conditions in an effort to diminish diseases and increase productivity. Therefore, what initially seems like separate information realms are revealed to be in reality overlapped spheres of influence, and this relationship is seen in the *Southern Cultivator*. Planters also contributed much to the professionalization of Southern medicine. The bodies of captives were often used in Southern medical education, as cadavers for dissection and also more rarely as sources of clinical training for aspiring students. The treatment of sick and/or injured captives was often conducted in commercial Negro hospitals and appeared in Southern medical journals as case studies for the continuing education of physicians, which is seen in the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal.*

This dissertation is a historical analysis. I make no claims that another individual can replicate my findings and or analysis, as they are filtered through my specific subjective lens. This work relies on primary documents that I have unearthed in repositories across the United States. I was awarded the Stephen Botein Fellowship at the American Antiquarian Society, which allowed me to spend July 2011 in residence at the society. There, I gathered most of the documents required for chapters two and three of the dissertation. The Center for Science and Technology Studies at the University of Wisconsin in Madison awarded me a Holtz Travel Grant, which allowed me to spend a week in the archives at the Medical College of Georgia in Augusta, Georgia. Materials from this institution are analyzed in chapters four and five. Other repositories I visited in Augusta were the Augusta History Society and the Public Library of Augusta. Primary documents from these locations are presented in chapter five. Primary documents from the Southern History Collection at the University of North Carolina - Chapel Hill, as well as Duke University's archive, are presented in chapters three and four.

Chapter Outline

The four cases presented in the dissertation appear in the following order, with each one dependent on the findings of the previous chapter in situating its own analysis. Chapter two's discussion of printers and their infrastructure helps readers to understand the subsequent discussion of agricultural print through its analysis of almanacs and the *Southern Cultivator*. Chapter three continues with a discussion of medical information found in the *Southern Cultivator*, which establishes the foundation for my following discussion of medical print and the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*. My analysis of the Medical College of Georgia and its aforementioned journal in chapter four orients readers to the information world of antebellum Southern physicians and establishes the

foundation for chapter five's analysis of Augusta's diverse library cultures, with an emphasis on the medical library and museum at the Medical College of Georgia.

Chapter Two -- " 'On the Art of Printing:' Tales of Southern Printers" -- introduces readers to the antebellum print scene in Augusta. This discussion reconstructs and analyzes the sociocultural world of the antebellum printer. As previously mentioned, the printer is often disconnected from analyses of 19th century print material culture, which prevents the emergence of a holistic understanding of print infrastructure. This chapter draws primary data from antebellum print trade journals, such as the *Typographic Advertiser*, *The Printer*, and R. Hoe & Company, the nation's leading manufacturer of printing presses. Additionally, I draw from business records that are found in the form of letters from R. Hoe & Company. These materials provide readers with a snapshot of the culture of printing in the South, emphasizing the many problems printers encountered with the nation's budding postal and transportation infrastructure.

Chapter Three -- " 'A Depository of Useful Information:' The *Southern Cultivator* and the Professionalization of Slaveholding" -- argues that a subgroup of Southerners adopted print technology as a form of interactive media, not only to perfect the practice of slaveholding, but also to establish the activity as a "profession." My analysis of the *Southern Cultivator* illustrates the unexpected relationship between health information and the management of African American captives as an integral component of professional information for Southern agriculturists. This analysis also demonstrates how commercial institutions, such as textile manufacturers, helped to promote professional reading and contributed to the print culture of slaveholding. This chapter draws primary data from early to mid 19th century Augustinian almanacs and the *Southern Cultivator*, the Southern leading agricultural journal that had as many as 10,000 subscribers in 1857, and to

articles and advertisements found in the *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel* and the Minute Book for the Beech Island Police and Agricultural Club.

Chapter Four -- " 'Do Not Kill The Goose To Obtain The Golden Egg;' Negro Medicine and the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*" -- examines Augusta's culture of medical print; this analysis connects the biological, social, and intellectual factors that influenced the design and production of the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* as an integral part of Southern information technology and infrastructure. This chapter argues that the Medical College of Georgia was at the center of an information network -- including its faculty, printers, and Negro hospitals -- that used the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* to help to establish the genre of Southern medical literature. This discussion draws data from the Medical College of Georgia's faculty minute book, the *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* (series I & II), advertisements in the *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel*, the *Southern Cultivator*, and Jackson Street Hospital's regulations pamphlet.

Chapter 5 -- " 'A Considerable Collection:' The Medical Library at Augusta" -- studies the proliferation of local repositories, including the social library and agricultural reading rooms established by Jones Newspaper, Book and Job Publishers, with an emphasis on the medical library at the Medical College of Georgia. This chapter illustrates how Augusta's citizens established libraries in order to promote self-improvement and professional development for aspiring businessmen and physicians. Most of my analysis pertains to the Medical College of Georgia's library collection. Medical libraries were important recruiting tools for antebellum medical schools, as they represented an institution's commitment to modern facilities and advanced curriculum. I discuss the collection's origins in the famous book market in Paris, as well as its rules and organization as compared to other medical libraries, and Dr. Dugas' role as surrogate librarian. Data are drawn from

the Medical College of Georgia's Faculty Minute Book, the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, announcements of the Medical College, and advertisements in the *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel*.

Chapter Two

'On the Art of Printing:' Tales of Southern Printers"

The elderly narrator in Herman Melville's mid-19th century short story, "Bartleby, the Scrivener," is a Wall Street attorney, but rather than argue cases before packed New York City courtrooms, his work remains largely hidden from the public gaze. The unnamed councilor works as "a conveyancer and title hunter, and drawer-up of recondite documents of all sorts."[21] At the beginning of this story, business has "considerably increased" and the two scriveners, or copyists, can no longer keep up with the voluminous amount of documents that flood the office. Bartleby, the newly hired scrivener, upsets the office's workflow by refusing to copy the "bonds, mortgages, and title deeds" that sit atop his desk, only providing the echoed response "I prefer not to" when assigned new projects to complete. While Bartleby appears to be the protagonist, I suggest that the central figure in the story is in fact not Bartleby, but the overflowing paperwork that fills the office. Melville's short story appears at a time during the mid-1850s when Americans, particularly those that were a part of the middle and upper classes, increasingly encountered the bureaucracy of administration and its materialization in the form of documents.

It was not, however, just new encounters with paperwork that altered the American reading landscape of the 19th century. Historian David Henkin's *City Reading* introduces readers to the explosion of reading materials that appeared in antebellum New York City.[22] In contrast to the documents of administration that appear in "Bartleby," the majority of new reading materials during this time period were not read in private law offices or in homes but in public spaces. The types of reading that Henkin explores are situated within the sphere of public reading, or rather, reading

---

[21] Herman Melville, "Bartleby the Scrivener, A Story of Wall Street," *Putman's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art*, 0002:11 (1853):559; For more on "Bartleby the Scrivener" and its symbolism of 19th century office work see Thomas Augst, The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[22] David Henkin, *City Reading:*

dislocated from those private spaces. In *City Reading*, Henkin dislocates the act of reading from a private sphere to a public one; we can also say that he re-situates reading from the homes of individuals to the streets of urban America, where texts are read and experienced in unison with fellow citizens. This was not a new trend -- for much of human history, individuals learned of both significant and insignificant events and gossip by way of first-person oral testimony.[23] By 1825, however, this traditional mode of information transfer had been upset; as Henkin notes, "… in earlier times writing and print had been used to codify information that was already available in authoritative oral forms, [now] the relationship is reversed: oral transmission of the news is delayed until" it appears in print.[24] The shifting textual landscape meant that citizens -- especially in urban areas -- would now encounter print as a fact of everyday public life, as "writing and print appeared on buildings, sidewalks, sandwich-board advertisements, the pages of personal diaries, classroom walls, needlepoint samples, election tickets and two-dollar bills, to name just a few locations and contexts."[25]

What is missing from the examples provided by both Melville and Henkin is the intersection of reading culture with that of printers, the professionals largely responsible for the physical manifestation for many of these new urban reading materials. The role of the printer is often disconnected from analyses of 19th century print material culture, which prevents the emergence of a holistic understanding of print infrastructure. Because this dissertation focuses on the social, economic, and political motivations that underlie Augustan print culture, a keen understanding of printers as actors in print material practice is critical in order to gain a comprehensive perspective of local print culture. Because of this, I present my analysis of printers as a way to illustrate the ubiquity of practical literacy in Augusta, as well as the fact that Southern printers embraced new printing

[23] Jennifer Lackey and Ernest Sosa., eds., *The Epistemology of Testimony*, (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 2006).

[24] David Henkin, *City Reading*, 1.
[25] Ibid.,6.

technologies like printers and new typefaces, created dynamic materials with multicolored ink, and, like their northern brothers, participated in labor organization and unionism.

The chapter argues that printers constituted a viable but *hidden* constituency of readers on the Southern information landscape. Where there are printers there are also readers. In contrast to other artisanal work, printing required a high level of literacy in order to engage in its daily practices. Printing was a reading profession where the Southern printer participated in a national community of readers, as an act of self-improvement and professional practice. I begin this discussion, with an overview of printing culture in colonial Georgia and then transition into the experiences of printers during the antebellum years, chronicling their difficulties with distance for example in receiving merchandise and their strategies for overcoming these obstacles. I conclude with a discussion of information labor. I describe the different types of printer workers, the region's use of orphans and captives in the print shop and the development of a printer's union in Augusta.

A Brief History of Printing in Georgia

According to the printing historian Douglas C. McMurtrie, Georgia was the last of the original thirteen colonies to be settled, but managed to be twelfth in establishing a printing press.[26] James Johnston has the distinction of being the Georgia colony's first printer. The Scotsman arrived in the colonial territory at age twenty-four, in 1762 having been recommended as a master "in the art and mystery of printing."[27] In my introductory chapter, I mentioned that print rarely manifests itself in isolation and is often stimulated by a variety of social, political, and economic factors. For colonial Georgia, the stimulus for a press was the need to codify laws in a lawless territory. The royal government, for example, allowed the resumption of rum and captive imports, new lands had been taken from Native Americans and needed a legal means of dispersal and recording of land deeds,

[26] Douglas C. McMurtrie ,*The Pioneer Printer of Georgia.* (Chicago :Eyncourt Press, 1930), 5.
[27] Louis Turner Griffith and John Erwin Talmadge *Georgia Journalism, 1763-1950* (Athens: University of Georgia Press),1.

and theft was rampant. Yet, the General Assembly had little means of distributing laws, as "no printing press has yet been set up in the province."[28]

Johnston received a four-year appointment and a salary of 100 pounds sterling, having an "exclusive right" to print and sell the colonial laws at his print shop on Broughton Street in Savannah.[29] The first act printed in colonial Georgia was intended "to prevent the stealing of Horses and Neat Cattle, & c."[30] Johnston quickly set out to establish a newspaper, called the *Georgia Gazette*, which was also the colony's first paper. A Georgia newspaper was desperately needed, as Johnston's contract required that he make public the laws of the territory. Like many printing offices Johnston supplemented his income by doubling as a bookstore and through selling stationary. The list of books available for sale in Johnston's offices suggests that colonial Savannah maintained a vibrant reading scene. *The Gazette* noted that readers could buy novels such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *Gulliver's Travels*, and works by Hume, Locke, and Voltaire; bibles, dictionaries, and maps were also available for purchase. Such was the variety of reading material at Johnston's print office that "if the people of Georgia did have not have in their homes the means of intellectual culture, it was certainly not the fault of James Johnston."[31] Locals could also buy assorted materials to satisfy their writing needs, such as colored ink powder, pens, and pencils; and merchants were able to buy "blank bonds, and bills of lading" for their business needs.[32] While Savannah was leading city as the colonial capital during the pre-revolutionary years, Augusta would begin to make a name for itself during the 1780s.

Unlike Savannah, Augusta was an inland city, although it was situated on the Savannah River. Even during this early period in the city's history, Augusta was known as a trading town, populated with merchants who supplied the needs of tobacco planters residing in the hinterland.

---

[28]Ibid.
[29] McMurtie, *Pioneer Printer*, 6; Douglas C. McMurtri , *The Pioneer Printer of Georgia*, (Savannah: Privately Printed 1931),10.
[30] Ibid.,8.
[31] Ibid., See also Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism,* 3.

[32] McMurtrie, 1931 p. 11-12.

Augusta's first newspaper was the *Augusta Gazette*, which began publication in August of 1785. *The Gazette* is the antecedent of the contemporary *Augusta Chronicle*, which lays claim to being the state's oldest newspaper. An ambitious printer, John Eardman Smith, assumed control of the *Gazette*, proclaiming himself "Printer to the State." Subscriptions were "one guinea" a year but payments in tobacco and indigo were also accepted.[33] Smith, like Johnston, offered assorted reading and writing materials for sale at the print shop, including "Columbian Magazine, almanacs and blotting paper."[34] Smith's role as official state printer would not last long however, as Alexander McMillian mounted a challenge to his position by establishing a rival paper known as the *Southern Sentinel and State Gazette*. Smith and McMillian would ultimately share the state contract, alternating every two years. Griffith and Talmadge view the city's ability to support two papers as a "sign of prosperity," and while this is true, we should also note that this also an indicator of the level of literacy and desire for reading materials in Augusta and her hinterlands.[35]

Phenomenology of Southern Printers

The early 19th century marked many changes for the American printer. Rather then being a class of independent artisans working in isolated shops across the republic, printers increasingly viewed themselves as being a part of a brotherhood of professionals. With little doubt this self-perception was related to the larger changes in an American culture that began to value professionalization. One of the ways that printers marked their status as members of the professional class was by adopting trade journals as well as establishing unions. We can view early print trade journals as a form of interactive media that established a virtual meeting space for individuals involved with the practice. Ellen Manzur Thomson explains that trade journals, as a genre, "function as professional communication networks, defining professions in themselves and to

[33] Griffith and Talmadge, *Georgia Journalism*, 11.
[34] Ibid.,12.
[35] Ibid.

others."[36] In other words, the trade journal has two audiences – one is the practitioner, while the other includes those outside of the practice, a phenomenon that we see in both Southern agricultural and medical journals. But I would argue that the language should be clearer here; what Thomson calls "defining...to others" is in reality mimicking the practices of other professionals, with more social status. It is also true that not all trade journals began as tools to promote and define a practice. Most began as "price-currents" in the form of broadsides or pamphlets listing the prices for "all manner of goods and materials," as well as "products and services," and distributed freely to would-be customers.[37]

The earliest trade journal aimed at printers was the *Typographical Advertiser* (1855-1892), which made its appearance on April 1, 1855. The Philadelphia-based quarterly was published by L. Johnson & Company, one of the nation's largest type foundries. Thomson suggests that the *Typographical Advertiser* "demonstrates the transition from a straightforward marketing device designed to merchandise the typefoundry's products to a publication with larger aspirations."[38] While it is true that journals such as the *Typographical Advertiser* proclaimed larger aspirations that what could be expressed in price currents, we should not be so quick to dispense with the text as an advertising arm. After all, the masthead of the journal clearly identifies its publisher as L. Johnson & Company and advertisements for the Johnson's type were well-represented within its pages. Perhaps the *Typographical Advertiser* represents a more sophisticated advertising mechanism, whereby scaling up the practice of printing with a fancy magazine that in turn increases demand for Johnson's typeface and other products. This is clearly discernible in the inaugural issue's column, "OUR ENDS AND AIMS," which I reproduce in its entirety below.

> THE design of this periodical is to bring *The Printer* into more intimate relations with the Type Founder. The doctors' have their Medical Reviews---the lawyers their Reports---the merchants their

[36] Ellen Mazur Thomson, "Early Graphic Design Periodicals in America," *Journal of Design History*, 7(2), 1994:113
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid., 114.

> Price Current--the mechanics their Scientific Magazines; and why should not *The Printer* and the type founder, who purvey to the mental wants of all other classes, have their own medium of intercommunication? We see no reasonable objection: and we therefore propose, once in a quarter, to present our compliments, as well as an impression of our new types, to the respectable fraternity who, at an earlier (if not better) day
>
> "Wore their swords
> As well as lords"
>
> They may sometimes discover in our columns hints of no small value to the discerning printer, and ideas of typographic adornment which may tend to the beautifying of the products their tasteful fingers, whether in the shape of the severely elegant book, the mercantile missive, the business card, the bill of fare or the hymeneal token.
>
> Publishers of books, too may find it to their interest, as well as to the improvement and cultivator of their taste, to con our quarto, and thus keep pace with the progressive advances of the Type Founder's Art.
>
> In fine, we shall aim to present a sheet that, whether we regard the elegance of its outward seeming or the usefulness and purity of it sentiment, shall be auxiliary in promoting the advancement of the Typographic Art and the welfare of its professors, as well as creditable and profitable to ourselves.[39]

The *Typographical Advertiser* was responsible for introducing the public to the idea of a printers' trade journal. And its success, with little doubt, laid the foundation for similar publications during the period.

In 1859, the New York-based publishing house Henry & Huntington opened *The Printer: A Monthly Newspaper devoted to the Interests of the Art Preservative of all Arts* (1859-1879); it debuted with a very aggressive 5,000 copies in its inaugural issue. Curiously, the journal's prospectus suggests that it, rather than the *Typographical Advertiser*, was the first journal of this genre. "As far as we know," the prospectus begins,

> an elegant paper devoted exclusively to the art of printing, and those arts immediately connected with it is a new enterprise. It certainly is in this country, and we are not aware of any in Europe. And like the Ty P, fours year earlier, *The Printer* draws on the same rhetoric on professional and interest group journals in other disciplines.
>
> We have literary and scientific journals and periodical in abundance […] every political party and every religious sect, every profession and every art except the art of printing, must have its organ. Why is it that this 'art preservative of all arts' had not its organ? We know not,

[39] "Our Ends and Aims" *Typographical Advertiser, (1) 1855.*

> unless it be upon the principle embodies in the old adage, that shoemaker's wives are the ones to do barefoot.[40]

The Printer was priced such that it was within the economic grasp of most printers at one-dollar year. The journal was positioned as a "desirable" resource for individuals within the practice, including "printers, publishers, and artists," but was also seen as an accompaniment "in every family circle."[41] Topics included both practical issues as well as articles that traced the histories of "type founding, stereotyping, electrotyping, copper facing as well as paper making."[42] It's clear *The Printer* wanted the printing trade to be highly visible to the public at large, on par with occupations and interest groups that they imagined were well-regarded. The quest to scale the practice up to a professional level is also evident in the rich history the journal promised to provide to its readers. What was left out of the prospectus, however, was the important role that advertisements played, not only in forming the content of the new journal but also in building a national information network of printers.

In fact, advertisements and notices can tell us much about the role of the aforementioned journals in the professional lives of Southerners. Ogburn, Cole, & Albright, a printing firm in Greensboro, North Carolina, that published *The Times and Greensboro Patriot*, ordered their supplies from L. Johnson & Co. In 1857, for example, the firm wrote to the *Typographical Advertiser*, stating that "[w]e find it necessarily to make an addition to our stock of materials. Our transactions have heretofore been entirely with you. And have given full satisfaction to us: we therefore will order through you again."[43] Likewise, D.A. St. Clair of Wythville, Virginia, located in the western part of the state, praised the company for their well-made type, calling them "the best in the Union." [44] Readers of *The Printer* appear to have hailed from all parts of the country and resided in both urban

---

[40] Ellen Mazur Thomson, "Early Graphic Design," p. 115.
[41] Ibid. In the 19th century the "family circle" was a means to exchange knowledge and information originating from the printed text. It encompassed the act of reading within nuclear families, as well as the larger community often organized by "voluntary societies." See William J. Gilmore, Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life, 104.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Business Complaints" *Typographical Advertiser*, 1:11, (1857), 1.
[44] Ibid., p.1

and rural locales.

In 1858, *The Printer* notified readers of the new R. Hoe & Company printing press, which was aimed at smaller newspapers. In the 19th century, R. Hoe & Company was the nation's largest manufacturer of printing presses. Under the heading "NEW CYLINDER PRESS FOR COUNTRY PAPERS," readers were alerted to Hoe's "new CHEAP CYLINDER PRESS, designed especially for country newspaper publishers."[45] The article suggested that such a need had long existed, but printing manufacturers had yet to respond with such equipment. An illustration of the new press was promised to appear in the January issue of the journal. A smaller press would have been greatly appreciated in the Southern marketplace, as low populations did not warrant the very large presses that were common on the market, nor did the expense of such hefty equipment justify their cost.

Owners wishing to unload their businesses or individuals in the market for their own print shop could find these advertised in *The Printer* as well. W.B. Abernathy used the journal to announce the sale of his "Country Newspaper and Job office" located in Henderson, Kentucky -- "one hundred eighty miles below Louisville" -- which promised a yearly income of "two to three thousand dollars." Purchasers could acquire the firm for $3,000, with half in cash and the remainder paid over "two to three years."[46] Luckily for future owners, Abernathy's shop came fully stocked with two hand presses and four imposing stones. It was challenging for Southern printers to obtain the needed equipment and supplies for business, which is why services like those offered by George Viten of New Orleans, were especially needed. *The Printer* often ran notices with the caption "TO SOUTHERN PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS"

> We again direct the attention of Southern printers and publishers to the advertisement of George H. Viten, of New Orleans. This gentlemen is prepared to furnish everything needed in a large or small printing office, without delay consequent upon forwarding an order to New York, and at manufactures' prices and terms. [47]

---

[45] Idid., 1:8 (1858).
[46] "A GOOD CHANCE FOR PRINTERS," *The Printer*, (1):71858.
[47] "TO SOUTHERN PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS" *The Printer*, 1:2, (1859).

There was nothing false or exaggerated in the above notice. Viten really could "furnish everything needed" for a print office. In 1858, for example, Viten and J.A. Kirgan of Texas were the only Southerners authorized as agents for *The Printer* ; this was just one of Viten's numerous services, as the following notice illustrates:

TO SOUTHERN PRINTERS AND PUBLISHERS

> As Conners' type is somewhat famous for its harness and beauty of face, and also, as some of our Southern friends are often driven to save time in the renewal of their offices, they will be glad to learn that they can be supplied at first prices, in the city of New Orleans, by Mr. George H, Viten, who is sole agent of the Messes. Conner for the South. [48]

> TO SOUTHERN PRINTERS.--- The members of the craft " way down South" Are respectfully invited to read the advertisement of Mr. Vinten on past page of the present issue. This gentleman is agent for Messrs. Conner & Sons' celebrated type foundry; also for Hoe & Co's Cylinder Presses and Gordon's Franklin Job Presses, of New York; and the Ruggles Co's Job Presses and Adams' Book Presses, of Boston, Printers in want of material of any description, with hail of New Orleans, can be accommodated by Mr. V. at manufactures' prices and terms.[49]

The three excerpts above reveal much about Southern infrastructure during the period. Notice that, in the first quote, there is a reference to New York City and the time constraints that often accompany ordering goods through the northern metropolis. New Orleans is presented as an alternative, providing the same goods but without the loss in time. The Southerners' need to "save time" also appears in the second excerpt, while the final quote (particularly the expression "way down South") goes even further in illustrating the vast distances that separate the South from Northern trade and commerce. Additionally, jobbing firms like the *Augusta Chronicle's*, advertised that they "kept *constantly* on hand" a wide assortment of "paper and typographical" fonts and could complete customer orders at "short notice"(emphasis added).[50] Delays in shipments jeopardized Southern firms ability to meet customer expectations. It is a bit ironic that we see the South

[48] The Printer,1:8 (1858).
[49] Ibid.,1:7 (1858).
[50] "Advertisement" *Augusta Chronicle*, February 19, 1841,3.

presented as a hurried region, when popular constructions tend to situate the Southern states as carefree, or even lazy. Viten's notices in *The Printer* provide a glimpse into the day-to-day experiences of Southern printers. The vast majority of Southerners were located far from the transportation nodes of the northeastern corridor, but printers located near large Southern ports like New Orleans and Charleston found it easier to obtain essential goods from the North. This, however, did not apply to printers located in the interior. How did printers scattered throughout the South obtain new equipment like printing presses or replacement parts? And what did this exchange look like? Examining the business letters that circulated between Southern printers and Northern manufacturers can tell us more about those transportation issues to which Viten eludes in the above advertisements.

Obtaining Printing Presses

In order to fully comprehend the functions surrounding the following correspondences, we must first consider the act of mailing letters within the context of the antebellum nation's social milieu. By the mid-19th century, Americans were increasingly using the postal service to communicate with people located throughout the republic; Henkin describes this phenomenon as "engaging with people they did not see."[51] The significant element here is not so much that the postal service grew expediently -- particularly because of the Postal Acts of 1845 and 1851, which drastically reduced the cost of stamps -- but that the United States began to develop a sophisticated perception of "time, space, and community around the existence of the post."[52] Commerce played a substantial role in transforming American views about their relationship to others within their nation, and to re-imagine space and time in terms of new modes of transport.

The issue of community would have been quite apparent to Walter Newman Halderman,

[51] David Henkin, *City Reading*, 2.
[52] Ibid., 3.

founder of the *Louisville Courier* in Kentucky, every time he needed to order equipment for the print office. The Kentucky native could not depend on his home state, or even a regional center like Louisville, to supply him with the materials needed to operate a state-of-the art printing office. For modern equipment, Halderman had to venture far outside of his local environment to large East Coast cities like New York, headquarters of R. Hoe and Printing Company. The summer of 1850 found the offices at the *Louisville Courier* teeming with business. The jobbing arm of the paper was increasingly conducting "a great deal of printing […] in colored ink" and so Halderman ordered "extra inking foundations" to keep a ready supply on hand. The "previous year" they had purchased a "cylinder press," and by July of 1850, had apparently acquired an additional press, which had yet to arrive in Louisville; this incident prompted Halderman's correspondence with the Hoe brothers. The temporal and spatial aspects of Southern interstate commerce are clearly expressed in Halderman's letter; "I wish you would send with the least possible delay," the Kentucky printer pleads, "as I am in great need of them." Hoping to secure the fastest route, Halderman gives explicit directions to "ship <u>via</u> N. Orleans" and reminds Hoe to "insure all the way to [Louisville]." This fast route through New Orleans could take "1 month to six weeks" to arrive. It is likely that Halderman's order, once in New Orleans, would travel north to Louisville via the Mississippi and Ohio Rivers.[53]

The following year Halderman wrote to the Hoe brothers expressing an "urgent need" for printing supplies for his "job cylinder press" consisting of "two extra inking apparatus, rollers & c." As he had a year earlier, Halderman expresses his "hope" that Hoe & Company can "get it ready for shipments at the earliest possible moment." But in contrast to the previous year, when Halderman requested the shipment be sent through New Orleans, he now suggests a faster route through "N. York by way of the Lakes, on to Philadelphia," then to "Pittsburg by way of the Canal, without

[53] R. Hoe & Company Business Records: #157.

costing much more than via N. Orleans" and resulting in a "three week" delivery period.[54] Southerners, it appears, were always looking for faster, cheaper methods of delivery. For example, by 1853, Halderman requested his order of a small cylinder press, measuring 46 X 31, and an assortment of blankets be sent by the burgeoning "Adams & Co's Express." [55]Founded by Alvin Adams in 1840 -- and using the slogan "2 men, and a boy. 1 wheelbarrel" -- Adams & Co's Express filled a growing demand in United States commerce: the delivery of parcels.[56] Despite the United States Postal Service's expansion during the 19th century, Hollis Robbins notes that the USPS did not deliver parcels until the early 20th century.[57] Adams & Company advertised that they would deliver goods in "one or two" days and offered the added service of privacy; unlike the USPS, they would not look in your shipments. By the late 1840s, the Baltimore-based company was well established in the Deep South, delivering "mountain piles of newspapers" and other print media "to cities of the South and West, as far as St. Louis and New Orleans." As their reputation grew, printers like Halderman wanted to take advantage of what was a faster delivery method for time-sensitive goods.

Halderman was not the only Southern printer concerned about delayed shipments and finding the most efficient transportation routes. D.O. Dooley, *The Printer* and publisher of the Tri-Weekly *Memphis Enquirer*, was "greatly disappointed" upon notice from Hoe that his presses would not be shipped on time. This glitch in supply was particularly surprising because Hoe "always kept [presses] on hand and ready made." Complicating the matter was the fact that Dooley had already "notified patrons" that he intended to be "enlarging our paper," but without the new press, this

---

[54] R. Hoe & Company Business Records: #258.
[55] R. Hoe & Company Business Records: #253.
[56] "The Adams Express Company 150 Years" Accesses April 24, 2012, http://www.adamsexpress.com/files/u2/adams_history.pdf

[57] Hollis Robbins, "Fugitive Mail: Henry 'Box' Brown and Antebellum Postal Politics," American Studies 50:1 (2009): 6.

expansion would have to wait. Like Halderman at the *Louisville Courier*, Dooley also expressed his concern about shipping, requesting "the safest and most expeditious conveyance by way of New Orleans." The temporal and spatial dimensions of the correspondence between Dooley and Hoe are evident in his closing request to be notified "by telegraph" upon the shipping of the press. Printers in smaller markets also faced challenges in receiving their equipment. Dunn & Whittaker of Goldsboro, North Carolina wrote to Hoe & Company during the summer of 1855, informing them that Mr. Whittaker was relocating the printing office to Kinston, North Carolina and to forward Dunn's previous order to Whittaker in the new location. But the shipment was directed "via New Bern, North Carolina," about 45 miles away and an inland port city. Whittaker was to make his own arrangements to somehow get the equipment back to Kinston.[58]

These infrastructural experiences of Southern printers are notable for several reasons. R. Hoe & Company has the reputation of building state-of-the-art printing presses in the 19th century. Southerners, not unlike other printers throughout the republic, participated in this commercial exchange by buying presses, parts, and related materials. And yet, obtaining this modern equipment came at a price. Written communication with Hoe & Company was slow and products were often difficult to obtain, whether from issues with supply or the laborious process of shipping heavy equipment great distances. Judging from Halderman's insistence that Hoe "insure" his purchases "all the way" to Louisville suggests that orders would often arrive broken or would not arrive at all.

Nevertheless, we see these printers attempting to circumvent the many problems with respect to time, space, and community by playing an active role in this commercial exchange, identifying faster shipping methods and taking advantage of regional port cities and the increasingly improving interstate transportation nodes, as well as newfangled private delivery services like Adams & Company. These actions were undertaken in attempts to establish modern print offices that could

[58] R. Hoe & Company Business Records: #46 and 117.

offer their customers a competitive quality of printed material goods on a national scale. This is evident in an advertisement for the Louisville Courier's jobbing office that was sent to R. Hoe & Company:

OUR JOB OFFICE.

> We have one of Hoe's celebrated Steam JOB-PRESSES, the only one in Kentucky, and also one of Hoe's CARD PRESSES, also the only one in Kentucky, as we are thus enabled to do work with an expedition heretofore approached here, as well as at remarkably LOW PRICES.[59]

Information Labor

Printers occupied a rather precarious position in antebellum America. Throughout much of the 18th century, printers occupied a rather high social status and were seen as a sort of intellectual in the mold of Benjamin Franklin. During this period, printers were a jack of many trades, not only printing their own newspapers and the famed pamphlets and flyers (broadsides) of the century, but also often operating as author and editor. As Pasely notes, however, by the end of the 18th century, editorial duties and the physical labor of print work were increasingly separate jobs.[60] While it appears that printers' reputation as the elite of working men was established in the previous century, there remained in the 19th century marked differences between them and their artisanal peers, like blacksmiths, bakers, and tailors. The reputation of printers as working-class intellectual extends beyond their professional lives. Laurie posits that printers spent a greater share of their income on reading materials than other working class laborers, and print unions often "established libraries and reading rooms."[61] The idea that printers were somehow a "better" class of laboring men was reflected in Philadelphia journeyman John Funnell's argument before the local chapter of the

---

[59] R. Hoe & Company Business Records: "*Louisville Courier*" Broadside 1853.
[60] Jeffrey L. Pasley, "*The Tyranny of Printers: Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic*" (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2002).
[61] Bruce Laurie, "Labor and Labor Organization" in *The History of the Book in America: Volume 3:The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*" ed., Scott E. Casper et.al., (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007) 77.

International Typographical Union; citing the printers' "necessity to appear more respectable in their dress," and to keep their families in better condition than those who were engaged in "menial service" and in contrast to such humdrum workers, printers "should be entitled to a little more consideration."[62] Funnell suggests that, unlike his artisanal brothers, printers had a bifurcated role in society. In addition to the intensive physical labor that the job required, printers were simultaneously involved in intellectual work, which required a certain practically-oriented literacy to facilitate the occupational requirements of good spelling, grammar and punctuation. Faced with new advances in print technology, as well as increased labor competition from women and children, the masculinist stronghold on print work would begin to unravel. With little doubt, printers' -- and later print labor unions' -- justification of print work as situated exclusively within the white male sphere was due to the job's exhaustive physical requirements, late hours, and rowdy work environments, along with the fact that printing was waged labor.

The printing trade had long been considered grimy work and no matter how much its members attempted to cast their labor as intellectual work, it was hard to deny the physical realities of the occupation—printing was hard work. During the last decade of the 18th century, for example, a jobber could expect to spend upwards of sixteen hours just to set the type for a "typical four-page early American newspaper." If the long allocation of time were not enough, the entire task was carried out while standing and reading copy; one hand "selected tiny bits of metal and the other placed them with a 'composing stick,'" while the type still had to be locked into heavy forms and placed on the press. The actual printing of the paper still required even more exertion, namely in the "pulling the heavy crank that lowed the platen and made the impression. Two experienced workers lifting, beating and pulling in rhythm, like parts of the machine, could print 240 sheets, or one

[62] Bruce Laurie, "Labor and Labor Organization," 70.

"token" an hour at their best.[63] The first few decades of the 19th century saw the development of a number of new printing presses designs that allowed for increasingly faster output, but the labor intensive nature of print work remained static at best. In fact, if the labor stratification and regulation that occurred during the antebellum period is any indication, then it seems that print work became even more strenuous than it had previously been.

Journeymen

Within the stratified world of printing, the position of journeyman was a long awaited title that symbolized years of sweat and toil as an apprentice, beginning in prepubescence. Until the middle 19th century, this apprenticeship may have spanned anywhere from six to eight years. Rather than correlate to a specific job duty, like the compositor and pressman, the journeyman was a title that symbolized endurance and longevity, but most importantly, he was a waged employee. During the early part of the 19th century, the status of journeyman was seen as a stepping-stone to becoming a master or independent printer; however, by the 1830s, fewer men were able to obtain financial independence. Pasley notes that journeymen, were in effect trapped, and "could expect to spend their lives as wage laborers."[64] The main issue was the increasingly high cost of printing equipment. In the first couple of decades of the 19th century, it was possible for a journeyman to save the estimated $1,000 needed to equip his print shop, but Rorabaugh suggests that by 1841, these same expenses had increased to $4,000.[65] This heightened cost required the aspiring journeymen "to obtain loans or political set asides, to accept capitalists as partners or to form a corporation," which in effect closed "the traditional route from apprentice to journeymen to

[63] Jeffrey L. Pasley, *The Tyranny of Printers,* 25.
[64] Ibid., 46.
[65] W. J. Rorabaug, *The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* (Oxford: University of Oxford Press, 1988)149.

master."[66] As print shops began to grow in size, the position of foreman was one of the few avenues for advancement for experienced journeymen.

The increasing lack of opportunities for journeymen also meant that their solidarities began to coalesce around their own interests and, by proxy, against those of master printers or owners. As a result, we begin to see the rapid growth of typographical unions throughout the United States, which were led by none other than the journeymen printers. The challenges with locating jobs meant that journeymen were often transient, as illustrated by the life of Henry C. Reynolds. A North Carolina native, Reynolds worked in a dry goods store before relocating to the Hamburg, South Carolina just outside of Augusta. By the age of 21, Reynolds had traveled to Talladega, Alabama where he had obtained the position of journymen. Having jumped bail, for an alleged theft of "one hundred eighty dollars" from foremen at the *Democratic Watchtower*, Reynolds was a wanted man. By the time notice ran in the *Augusta Chronicle*, announcing a $50 reward for his apprehension, Reynolds was believed to have made his way to Arkansas. The journeyman, was not only an esteemed position within the practice of printing, it was also a part of antebellum cultural consciousness. In 1848 the Augusta Theater hosted a play called "Box and Cox! OR IT IS YOUR INTENDED!" The review was said to have played in New York with uproarious laughter and applause. The main character was "John Box, "a journeyman printer, portrayed by Mr. Bess.[67]

Compositors or Typesetters

Earlier I wrote that one of the duties of the late 18th century printers was the arduous task of setting the type for printing machines. By the 19th century, however, this task fell under the purview of the compositor, or typesetter, as the position was later termed. Any association of *The Printer* as a pseudo-intellectual was undoubtedly tied to the work of the compositor. *Savage's Dictionary of the Art*

[66] Jeffrey L. Pasely, *Tyranny of Printers*,132.
[67] "Augusta Theater," *Augusta Chronicle,* January 27, 1848, 3.

of Printing defines composing as "the practical knowledge of picking up letters, spacing, justifying lines, and emptying the composting stick when full."[68] Ringwalt adds to this definition that the compositer was responsible for "embodying in a typographical form the matter embraced in manuscript or reprint copy." Compositors were expected to be expeditious and accurate, and to possess "good taste." Of course, none of these required characteristics were possible without a solid natural "intelligence" as a foundation.[69]

What made the compositor's job particularly challenging was that he needed to posses superior cognitive abilities as well as manual dexterity."[70] This work was fast-paced, requiring the compositer to quickly "comprehend copy, despite its comparative illegibility, and remember the text so well that little or no time is lost in recurring to it." And if these requirements were not enough, there was the "double tax" that weighted on the compositor's "intelligence" – "correcting orthography, punctuation, and capitalization," which necessitated an "extraordinary quick eye and quick brain to achieve the best attainable results." Interestingly, both Savage and Ringwalt suggested that the compositor take-up exercises in order to facilitate recall.

The tax that Ringwalt denotes as "double" would have been more accurately described as a three-fold tax, because the compositor also needed to possess a great nimbleness with his fingers. Yet again, mere nimbleness was not enough, as perfectly synchronized movements were the ideal within the profession. The swiftest moving compositors, for example, were more likely to drop type while the "slow or indifferent composters" made poor use of time. "False motions" was just one of the many adjectives used to described what were seen as nefarious movements -- "ridiculous," "superfluous," and "purposeless" were all common insults hurled toward these folks. This ideal

---

[68] William Savage, *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing*, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1841), 177.
[69] *American Encyclopedia of Printing*, eds., John Luther Ringwalt, (Philadelphia: Menamin & Ringwalt, 1871),117.

[70] Ibid.

standard, however, remained largely just that -- a "utopian and never-to-be-realized hope."[71] Those who were able to meet the intellectual and physical demands of the position were known as "Swifts and "FireEaters," and were most likely to advance to the role of foreman.[72] The demands of the position were often complicated by the alcoholism that seemed to accompany the work culture of jobbers. Thurlow Weed, for example, recounted how his coworkers frequently played a game of dice called "jeffed" for beer. Pasley notes that while drinking games functioned as a form of collegiality in printing firms it also took "toll on printers' health, prosperity and public image."[73] This explains why the *Augusta Chronicle's* advertisement seeking a "Compositor" added the caveat that the applicant be "sober and [have] industrious habits."[74]

Pressmen

As indicated by the title of "pressman," this worker "executes printing at the press, and produces impressions from types and engravings in relief."[75] This definition, however, only provides a glimpse into the day-to-day operations of the position; presswork encompassed an assortment of duties relating to book or job printing, including responsibilities such as loading forms into printing presses, delivering completed jobbing work, as well as less obvious tasks like cooking-up the lye used to clean the printing forms, oiling presses and ensuring that they were in proper working condition (which meant free from dirt and debris), and maintaining the balls and rollers that distribute ink to the type.

Pressmen, like compositors, had to have a keen eye for detail, as they were the first line of quality control for competed print work and thus needed to inspect the sheets as they exited printers. Furthermore, different types of presswork required sundry apparatuses in order to execute

---

[71] J. Ringwalt, *American Encyclopedia,*118.
[72] Savage, *Dictionary of the Art of Printing,* 178.
[73] Jeffery L. Pasley, *Tyranny of Printers*, 26-27.
[74] "To Journymen Printers, *"Augusta Chronicle*, April 9,1840, 2.
[75] Ibid., 597.

jobs. Fine quality print work, for example, required not only better grades of paper that had to be loaded, but also necessitated the use of balls because they applied thicker coatings of ink to the typeface. In contrast, rollers were inserted for more general print work. It appears that, in many respects, the pressmen occupied the less glamorous and often under appreciated position within the press shop, as evidenced by the extended quote below, which Ringwalt offers as a "practical lesson":

> It is to (sic) much the habit of apprentices to devote their attention exclusively to composition and as consequence compositors are always plenty and good pressmen comparatively scarce. All the money and labor spent in purchasing fonts of letter, and in setting up type correctly or elegantly, are well-nigh useless when bad press-work mars the products of the type-foundry and the composing room. We have great faith in modern machinery, in improved presses, roller-composition etc., but no machinery and no chemical combinations will cover up the blunders or carelessness of poor pressman.[76]

Ringwalt was right. Regardless of a firms' acquisition of the latest "fancy job type," high quality output was impossible without a team of seasoned employees.[77] The *Chronicle's* print office touted its "experienced workmen" in an 1845 advertisement, noting their ability to "execute every variety of letter press printing."[78] Pressmen at the *Chronicle* were kept busy with a broad assortment of print work: CIRCULARS, CARDS, BILLS OF LADING, HANDBILLS, LABELS, NOTES, CHECKS, DRAY RECEIPTS, RAIL-ROAD do, PAMPHLETS, POSTERS, TICKETS, POLICIES AND WAGON RECEIPTS appeared as the most common types of materials produced.[79] By the early 1850s the *Chronicle's* jobbing business expanded into bookbinding. Requiring a different skill set than that available among the letter press printing crew, the *Chronicle* recruited "an efficient and competent workman" who could "execute all orders for BINDING" not only ensuring high quality but like other materials printed in the jobbing office, "at short notice." Having acquired a new "RULING MACHINE" the print shop could also provide custom ruled blank books, often

---

[76] J. Ringwalt, *American Encyclopedia,* 366.
[77] "PLAIN AND FANCY JOB PRINTING" *Augusta Chronicle* January 16, 1845, 2.
[78] Ibid.
[79] "JOB PRINTING" Ibid., September 25 1841, 3.

used in financial transactions, and legal practice.[80] While pressmen might have been viewed as occupying a low status within the national printing trade, it appeared that in the print shop at the *Augusta Chronicle* they were valorized. Not unlike the representation of pressmen, apprentices had a less than reputation into the print trade.

Apprentices and Child Labor

Any discussion of apprentices in the printing trade is inevitably linked to child labor, which was not an uncommon occurrence in 19th century America. In fact, child labor appears to have been an integral part of the infrastructure of antebellum information labor.[81] The apprentice was in many respects the bane of existence for journeymen, while being a source of new and cheap labor for master printers. In fact, it appears that the issue of apprentices was a major concern for typographical societies of the period. In the simplest terms, an apprenticeship trained the next generation of compositors and pressmen. By the 1850s, Baker asserts that beginning printers were "teenager[s] of about seventeen or eighteen years old. The most sought-after and useful apprentices were boys who already had some education and were literate." Working under the "supervision of the owner and the direct supervision of one or more journeymen, he served until he was twenty-one."[82]

There were several levels of apprenticeship in local print shops; there were older teenagers like those described above, as well as younger ones who were sometimes called printer's devils and fly-boys. Baker seems to suggest that the term "devil" was synonymous with "apprentice"; I, however, argue these were direct classifications. First, I cite Ringwalt who defines devils as "a boy

---

[80] "Book Bindery" Ibid., March 25, 1853, 2. See also "Job Printing Establishment" Ibid., December 6, 1850,1.
[81] For more on children as information laborers, see Gregory Downey, *Telegraph Messenger Boys: Labor, Technology, and Geography, 1850-1950* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[82] Cathleen Ann Baker, "The Press That Cotton Built: Printing in Mobile, Alabama 1850-1865" (PhD dissertation, University of Alabama, 2003) 191.

who does the "the drudgery-work of a printing office."[83] In some establishments, such as newspaper-printing offices, the devil position functioned as a preparatory job for more responsible duties. Further evidence for this is supported by Ringwalt's description of apprentices, which warns young lads that their "duties are often trivial and most servile" but are in fact "laying the foundation of habits of order and accuracy." The companion position to the printer's devil was that of the fly-boy, whose job was to remove the sheets from "the tympan as the pressmen turns it up." This process was called "flying the sheets." The fly-boy was an integral part of the nation's print infrastructure. R. Hoe & Company, the nations' largest manufacturer of printing equipment, frequently included illustrations of youth in the role of fly-boys as part of their annual trade catalogs.

The company's 1855 catalog, for example, contains an illustration of its "Patent Improved Double Cylinder Printing Machine" used to print newspapers.[84] The Double Cylinder was a massive machine that required "two-attendants" and up to two boys "at each end of press to receive the printed sheets." The advertisement depicts two adult European American men standing on a four-step pedestal at one end, feeding sheets into rollers; on the opposite end a child, appearing to be no more than 10 years old, flys the sheets while standing on a two-step pedestal.[85] The labor pool for these young information workers hailed from several sources. Some, like the famed antebellum New York printer Joel Munsell, responded to a newspaper advertisement for aspiring apprentices. Because of the nature of print work, it makes sense that the most literate boys would be the most sought after, although it appears that printers often had to take what they could get.

---

[83] J. Ringwalt, *American Encyclopedia*, 137.

[84] The smallest Double Cylinder sold for $2,500, while larger presses were offered at $3,500, and custom sizes were "made to order"42 All print work did not require gargantuan presses--some needed to be small, and relativity light, mobile and inexpensive. Presses fitting this configuration were especially beneficial for smaller print shops on the frontier and most likely influenced Hoe's introduction of the "Little Jobber" which occupied no more than 5 X 3 feet and sold for $600. Advertised for its "speed," "durability," and "convenience" the Little Jobber was "capable of throwing off 2,500 impressions per hour." But what makes this latest press especially noteworthy is that its speed was conditional, predicted on whether the "feed-boy" could "supply the sheets." See R. Hoe & Co. Manufactures of Single and Double Cylinder and Type-revolving Printing Machines…(New York: Charles Shields, 1854) ,19.

[85] "Patent Improved Double Cylinder Printing Machine" R. Hoe & Co. Manufactures of Single and Double Cylinder and Type-revolving Printing Machines…(New York: Charles Shields, 1854) ,12. (Trade Catalog Collection AAS).

In Antebellum Mobile, for example, Baker suggests that orphan boys could obtain apprentice work in local print shops, due in part to problems with the labor supply originating in an outbreak of yellow fever.[86] It is highly likely that Augusta's orphaned children also played an integral role in meeting the information labor needs of the city. In fact, there has been a long tradition in Georgia, as well as the Southern states in general, to ensure that white orphan children received some type of training such that they could care for themselves in adult life. During the 18th and the first half of the 19th century, Georgia state law instructed courts to bind out orphan children. This appears somewhat analogous to the hiring out process endured by African American captives, but of course, the period of servitude for white orphans was fixed and ended when they reached the age of maturity. Individuals bounding orphans were required to "clothe and maintain such apprentice to be taught to read and write the English language, and the usual rules of arithmetic." By the middle of the 19th century, the state mandated more specific requirements for those bounding orphans:

> Master[s] to teach the apprentice the business of husbandry, house service, or some other useful trade or occupation, which shall be specified in the instrument of apprenticeship; shall furnish him with protection, wholesome food, suitable clothing, and necessary medicine and medical attendance; shall teach him habits of industry, honesty, and morality; and shall cause him to be taught to read English; and shall govern him using only the same degree of force to compel his obedience as a father may use with his minor child.[87]

The above was the description of responsibilities for masters of orphans placed in the care and homes of individuals. However, it appears that one of the state's earliest orphanages, Bethesda Orphan House, also ensured that orphans and other poor white children were "taught such trades as carpentering, weaving and tailing as well as the elements of a literacy education."[88] Both of the aforementioned examples provide us with much insight into the types of education and labor requirements that may have existed at the Augusta Orphan Asylum, which opened in 1855.

---

[86] Cathleen Ann Baker, "The Press That Cotton Built."
[87] Edgar Wallace Knight, *Public Education in the South*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1922),

62-63. For more on the Bethesda Orphan House see Neil J. O'Connell, "George Whitefield and Bethesda Orphan-House" *The Georgia Historically Quarterly* , (54):1970, 41-62.
[88] Ibid.,35.

The establishment of a city orphanage by Augusta's boosters was a series in a long line of major projects that helped to solidify the city's position as a modern regional center. It appears that Mayor Miller, initiated plans for an Orphanage as a means for "education of the poor" as articulated in the Augusta *Chronicle's* "Message of the Mayor." [89] However, three years later, except for a $20,000 appropriation and a "square" earmarked for the construction of the new facility, little else had been done to bring the project to fruition. Yet the 1854 "Proceedings of Council," now under the direction of Mayor William Dearing, was concerned that the city's slow movement of the project could jeopardize the city's image; "Let not this be," the mayor pleaded, "let it not be said that Augusta, so noted for her enterprise is so far behind her sister cities."[90] Dearing's words must have sparked movement on the project, as the following month a notice appeared announcing the institution's constitution. Note that, at this point, the orphan asylum society did not exist as a physical entity but it was already contributing to Augusta's print scene.[91] Furthermore, it is likely that the Society also ran the same notice in the *Chronicle's* rival newspaper the *Constitutionalist*, as well as produced flyers and posters (broadsides).

"Our Orphan Asylum" expressed the "hope that action has been taken, that will result in giving [Augusta] one of the best and most efficient Asylums in [the United States]." Having already secured $20,000 in funds the society was soliciting an additional $25,000 "to put up a building and furnish it throughout." Once again, the boosterish spirit that accompanied the project from its inception in 1851 is still evident; the Asylum was imagined as "an ornament" to Augusta. Citizens could contribute by donating lifetime or annual memberships in amounts of $100 or $5, respectively. The man who first called for the establishment of the city orphanage, Mayor Thomas Miller, was evidently still affiliated with the project, as citizens were to direct their payment to him. The notice

---

[89] "Mayor Miller's Message," *Augusta Chronicle,* April 8, 1851, 2.
[90] "Proceedings of Council," *Augusta Chronicle,* April 5, 1854, 3.
[91] "Constitution of the Augusta Orphan Asylum," *Augusta Chronicle* May 24, 1854, 2.

concludes with 9 articles of its constitution. After four long years of planning, frustration, and fundraising, the Augusta Orphan Asylum was "ready to receive application[s] for the admission of a limited number of orphans."[92] Children had to be at least three years old, with those having been born in Augusta proper receiving first priority, followed by those from Richland County and finally the state of Georgia; these rules of priority were especially important because Augusta is situated virtually on the state line between Georgia and South Carolina.

From the earliest days of its settlement as an English colony, to the state's 19th century statutes, the rhetoric surrounding orphanages in Georgia situated them within the larger context of education and practical skills training. Not only did the state and various municipalities, not want deal with the negative effects of "paupers," some saw these institutions as symbols of modernity. For the purposes of our discussion, the Augusta Orphan illustrates several points. An apprenticeship in printing required a level of literacy, differentiating it from other craftwork. With the limited availability of free public education, orphanages, with their mandate to prepare youths for self-sustaining occupations, would have been convenient sources of local labor for Augustan print shops. Additionally, it is worth noting that a ready supply of apprentices not only provided needed intellectual workers, but cost effective laborers as well.

African Americans and Southern Information Labor

Orphanages were not the only Southern institutions that supplied labor for the print industry. So did the "peculiar institution" of slavery. Much like other aspects of Southern antebellum culture, the issue of captives and information labor presents a paradox. In 1829, for example, the General Assembly of Georgia passed sweeping legislation that was designed to circumscribe information literacy within the captive population. Most notably was the state's prohibition against teaching

---

92 "Our Orphan Asylum," *Augusta Chronicle,* February 10, 1855, 3.

captives as well as free African Americans "to read or write either written or printed characters." Offenders, if Black or of mixed race, were "punished by fine, and whipping, or fine or whipping at the discretion of the court." White citizens faced fines "not exceeding five hundred dollars, and imprisonment in the common jail" for instructing African Americans, and this punishment was also at the discretion of the court."[93]

Georgia was not alone in passing such legislation. Louisiana's Black Codes followed with similar laws in 1830, as did North Carolina, which added a clause outlawing the gifting of books to captives, and the state of Virginia. By 1834, South Carolina would enact some the strictest anti-literacy laws in the United States.[94] What is less known, however, is that Georgia also prohibited the use of captive labor in printing offices. The 1829 statute stated that no slave "or free person of color shall be employed in the setting of type in any printing-office" in the State. Owners or proprietors violating the statute faced fines of "ten dollars for every slave or free person of colour employed" daily.[95] Not only was it illegal to educate captives using printed materials, or for them to work as compositors, but they were also forbidden from producing and distributing literature deemed inflammatory by the regime; African Americans, or sympathizers, could not "circulate, bring, or cause to be circulated […] any manner concerned in any written or printed pamphlet, paper or circular, for the purpose of exciting to insurrection, conspiracy, or resistance among" the Black population, either captive or free; transgressors would be "punished with death."[96] We can see that 1829 was a watershed year for restricting information access for Georgia's African American residents, and the aforementioned legislation reveals the immense power and privilege of local print culture. Georgia's move to regulate literacy and information work, within the state, was the result of perceived threats of captive

---

[93] William C. Dawson, *A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia, passed by the General Assembly, Since the Year 1819* ...(Milledgeville, GA: Grantland and Orme, 1831): 413.
[94] Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear: Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1991):32-33.
[95] William Dawson, *Laws of the State of Georgia*: 415.
[96] Ibid.,413.

insurrections; literate captives, as well as those with information access, were evidently viewed as very dangerous to the presiding regime.

The "hazard" of captives with information access can be best understood by the words of Postmaster General Gideon Granger, who feared that free African Americans, whom he thought were the "most active and intelligent," would discover the magnificent "machine" of the United States Postal Service. When this occurred, Granger argued, Blacks would take "advantage of this knowledge to use the post office routes as a means to "coordinate movements" for escape or and the dredged slave revolt. Granger wrote to Georgia Congressmen James Jackson in 1803, explaining new federal legislation mandating that only "free white persons" could deliver United States mail. This action, like that in Georgia and the Southern states, was meant to quell captive revolts; three years earlier, captive mail carriers had used the postal "machine" to inform rural inhabitants of the impending insurrection, while others, like famed captive rebel leader Gabriel Processor, used the postal service to directly mail communiqué of the coming revolt to white sympathizers.[97] The United States Congress hoped that its 1803 band of captive labor would protect both the safety of the white regime as well as the integrity of the postal service.

We can interpret the actions of some Southern state legislators as serving a similar purpose as the federal legislation, albeit on a smaller scale. Fears of captive revolts were grounded, in part, in increasingly changing demographics during the early 19th century. From 1790 to 1820, for example, Kentucky, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Georgia each saw their captive populations grow with the addition of over 100,000 individuals. Cornelius notes that Georgia saw the largest increase because captives "were needed for more intensive rice and cotton cultivation along the coast and to

---

[97] Richard John, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse,*(Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998):140-141; Douglas R. Egerton, suggests that Gabriel X (sometimes called Prosser) mailed letters to two white supporters: Charles Quersey and Alexander Beddenhurst see p. 67 of *Gabriel's Rebellion: The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802 (*Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press): 1993.

carve out new plantations in the Piedmont and the interior."[98] Another factor sparking fear in the white regime was the increasingly rebellious political environment; a number of well-known planned insurrections, such as Denmark Vesey's in Charleston in 1822 and Nat Turner's 1831 uprising in Virginia, all played an integral role in Southern states' heightened surveillance and regulation of their captive populations. A lesser known influence on Southern states' crackdown on print culture was the result of the self-produced pamphlets of African American abolitionists such as David Walker and his famed Appeal, which "called for African Americans free and slave, to take direct and violent action to change their condition." Cornelius notes "[i]n the South, his essay was the evidence most quoted to prove that slaves could not be allowed to read. White Southerners anxiously traced the progress of Walker's pamphlet through their region and rumors of rebellion abounded from 1829 to 1831."[99]

Despite the anti-literacy and labor legislation passed during the early 19th century, at both the state and federal levels, African Americans were still involved in the nation's information infrastructure. In Virginia, for example, an African American man ferried the mail into Virginia accompanied by "a white boy who was no more than ten" in an attempt to circumvent the federal law that restricted such activity to free whites. Richard Johns notes that it was common for subcontractors to hire Blacks as mail carriers, as evidenced by the numerous fines that could be acquired for doing so; in the 1830s, Nathaniel Herbet, a freeman living in Richmond, worked as a messenger at the post office.[100]

This seemingly paradoxical behavior can also been seen throughout the antebellum South, where captives were often used to operate printing presses. The press at the *Charleston Courier*, for example, "was driven by the labor of negros." In Augusta, Charles, a 45-year old captive, was advertised for

[98] Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *When I Can Read My Title Clear*, 28.
[99] Ibid., 32.
[100] Richard John, *Spreading the News*, 141.

sale as a "pressman by trade;" similarly, "a Negro pressman, Jacob, was sold with the *Montgomery Advertiser* in 1837 because his skill was so valuable."[101] Returning to the 1854 trade catalog of R. Hoe & Company suggests that the use of African American men in the nation's print infrastructure was anything but a rare occurrence. Similar to my earlier discussion about child laborers, R. Hoe & Company also included illustrations of African American men operating printing presses. The company's advertisement for the Type Revolving Fast Printing Machine depicts two African Americans feeding sheets into the gargantuan printing press. The Type Revolving printer contained "four impression cylinders capable of printing 10,000 impressions per hour," and required four individuals to operate it; in addition to the aforementioned men, the advertisement also depicts two adolescent European Americans working the lower tiered flies.[102] Interestingly, the accompanying copy makes no reference to the African American laborers or their adolescent companions. And while it is impossible to say whether the men in Hoe's advertisement were captives, we can infer that such arrangements were typical of the period and that, furthermore, these images signal to potential buyers that Hoe's equipment was within the operational capacity of African Americans and youths. In the South, the labor intensity involved with print work could have been one of the motivators for using African Americans workers; Cathleen Baker states that much of the presswork in Southern print shops and factories "might have been performed by [captives] as they were cheaper sources of labor than white workers."[103] The demanding working conditions of print work was one the reasons journeymen began to organize printer unions across the Unites States, and while we have seen the heavy involvement of African American men and European American youths in the print industry, these unions had very little concern for their welfare.

---

[101] "Executor's Sale," *Augusta Chronicle*, December 19,1840, 3; Cathleen Ann Baker, *Press Cotton Built*, 196.
[102] "Four Cylinder Type Revolving, Fast Printing Machine" R. Hoe & Co. Manufactures of Single and Double Cylinder and Type-revolving Printing Machines…(New York: Charles Shields, 1854) 11. (Trade Catalog Collection AAS).
[103] Cathleen Ann Baker, *Press Cotton Built*,197.

Augusta's Typographical Unions

The nation's earliest typographical unions, known in the late 18th century as printers' societies, were ephemeral organizations established in the northeast. Journeymen printers protesting low wages in New York City formed a union and organized a strike in 1776. Having gotten their demands met, the union disbanded. Similar disputes over wages spurred Philadelphia printers to organize in 1786; this union also dissolved once their grievances were settled.[104] By the 1830s, the scale and influence of unions began to solidify, and we see the emergence of the National Typographical Society (NTS), which advocated the very ambitious goal of establishing union standards for local unions and working practices.

At their first 1836 convention, held in the nation's capital, the NTS put forth statutes for "uniform regulations regarding apprentices; that runaways from one office should not be permitted to work in any other." They also stated that members expelled from one society should not be able to immediately join another, and that membership should be open to all white journeymen regardless of their having completed an apprenticeship. Perhaps most controversial, the union called for a "six-year apprenticeship" before earning journeyman status.[105] The adoption of national standards appears problematic in some parts of the South. During the fall of 1836, printers in Richmond, Virginia, for example, called a strike in an attempt "to enforce the apprentice section of the local constitution." That same year, printers in Augusta, Georgia established the city's first union, in an attempt to thwart Washington D.C. printer Duff Green's plan to establish an apprentice school for orphan boys across the state line in South Carolina. In protest, the Augusta society ran "circulars" in Washington, D.C. newspapers denouncing Duff's proposal. In solidarity, the

---

[104] George A. Tracy, "Early Organization of Printers," *History of the Typographical union, its Beginnings, Progress and Development, its Beneficial and Educational Features Together with a Chapter on the Early Organizations of Printers.*(Indianapolis: The International Typographical Union, 1913.): 17-62.

[105] Ibid.,87.

Washington Union paid for the advertisements, as they too had faced the initial threat of Green's orphanage. The result of such an institution would drive down wages and employment opportunities for journeymen in the area.[106]

The 1830s appear to have been a robust period for Southern printers in that we see the establishment of local typographical unions throughout the region. Unions were established in Columbia and Mobile in the same year as Augusta (1836). Unions had already been founded in Richmond, Charleston, and Louisville in 1834, and in Natchez and Nashville in 1835.[107]

It was not until 1859 that Augusta became a charter member of the National Typographical Union. It is unclear whether the 1836 union survived until 1859 and was then enveloped into the NTS, or if the national charter was a new organized assemblage of printers. What is clear, however, is that there was much discontent among Augusta printers, and their heated disagreements jeopardized the establishment of the local chapter of NTS.

All appears to have started well; in the summer of 1859, an announcement appeared in *The Printer* with the heading "UNION AT AUGUSTA, GEORGIA." Having applied for "admission," the "new organization" had "recently received a Charter"; it was known as Union no. 41. John T. King was named President and five other members to its Board of Directors.[108] The following year, the President of the National Typographical Union, in a notice in *The Printer*, mentioned several communications he received from Augustan printers regarding the founding of a local chapter. Apparently, John O. Walter was a rabble-rouser of "such an intractable spirit that it was impossible to bring about harmonious action" within the group. Trying to "calm the disturbing elements, [the president] was hesitant in issuing a Charter, "wanting to ensure that the "association was formed

[106] Ibid., 88.
[107] Ibid.,112.
[108] *The Printer*, 2:3 (1859).

upon a solid basis;" the Augusta delegation was required to submit its member list totaling twenty-four, prospects, and other supporting documents.

Review of these materials seems to have convinced the NTS president that the group was indeed legitimate. It is curious that this notice appeared a year after the local charter was granted; we can only assume that the Augusta members were able to resolve their conflict "upon fair and equitable Union principals."[109] J. Nathan Ellis, the newly installed President of Augusta Chapter, wrote *The Printer* the following month in an attempt to bring clarity the situation. Ellis, a Savannah Union transplant, paints a picture of disharmony "among the craft" such that although a union existed, it was in name only, as "it was almost impossible to convene a quorum." John Walters, we learn from Ellis' letter, was a foreman at the *Constitutionalist*, the city's Democratic-leaning paper, and was a "rat."

First coined by the Albany Typographical Union in 1821, the word "rat" referred to printers who worked below standard wages; the term also referred to individuals who failed to make their union dues payment on time.[110] When Philadelphia printer John F. Keyser was expelled and branded a rat in the early 1860s, he pleaded "that he would have preferred the humiliation of exposing his 'shortcomings if any- but rat, NEVER' [arguing that his aspiration] above all others was good will." Laurie states that during the 19th century, being labeled a rat was the worst insult one could call a printer.[111] But the charges did not end there. Waters was also accused of exposing "one of the printers in the *Constitutionalist* and *The Field and Fireside* offices were enrolled as members of the union." The issue seems to have been resolved without charges brought within the Union against Walters. The resolution rested upon community notice that Walter's employment as a foreman was on a temporary basis and therefore he was not working as a "rat." Additionally, "Mr. Walters and all

---

[109] Ibid., 3 (1860).
[110] George A. Tracy, "Early Organization of Printers,"56.
[111] Bruce Laurie, "Labor and Labor Organization" 77.

of *The Printer* s in the *Constitutionalist* and *The Field and Fireside* "came forward and joined the Union."[112]

While typographical unions did not get their start in the South, Southerners nevertheless adopted the idea of union early in the nation's history, much like other regions of the country. Their first iteration was as localized autonomous unions, which were established in the 1830s; during the second phase, Southern unions became a part of a burgeoning national brotherhood, as local chapters of the National Typographical Association. These associations, both on a local and a national level, help demonstrate the self-actualization of the Southern proletariat in opposition to the often-discussed paternal elite, fighting for their rights as workers. It also positions Southerners as very much in the national mainstream. It is important to note, as regards this last point, that there was no Southern Typographical Association; rather, Southern printers, not unlike printers in the expanding West, were eager to join the national brotherhood.

Conclusion

A focused analysis on printers at the South complicates interpretations of the region's delayed development of literary culture. The extent that the Southern United States did not progress at the same rate as their Northern brethren is largely attributed to difficulties in establishing the required infrastructure responsible for producing print material culture. The adversities in obtaining equipment and supplies accounts for the Southern printers' heightened awareness of space and time. However, rather than accept the realities of distance, printers in this analysis were proactive consumers, having identified faster and more efficient transportation networks; directing manufactures and suppliers to ship their goods through

[112] "The Augusta Union" *The Printer*, 3:2 (1860).

these preferred routes helped to shrink the vast distances between them and East coast suppliers.

The interregional exchange between Southern printers and Northern industrialists also means that Southern printers were actively engaged in national culture, using state-of-the-art equipment, like R. Hoe & Company printing presses, and high quality paper, not unlike printers in other parts of the Republic. The benefits of using an organizational level of analysis, focused on printing firms also provides us with cues to the nature of reading material across the Southern landscape. As the dissertation argues, the material emerging out of Southern print shops included practically oriented reading material, characteristic of, paper based, modern life in antebellum culture.

The meso level of analysis has helped us see unexpected readers on the Southern literary scene. Antebellum printers were immersed in a complex information sphere all their own. Unlike other artisans, printers were required to possess a high level of literacy in order to carry out their day-to-day activities. Printing was a reading profession, and while we do not see the development of a 'Southern print journal,' the region's printers were active consumers of Northern based journals, which provided practical news, advice and most importantly, connected them to manufactures of much needed goods and products. Who were readers in the antebellum South? The printers!

Chapter 3

A Depository of Useful Information:

The *Southern Cultivator* and the Professionalization of Slaveholding

In 1819 the United States saw the birth of its first successful agricultural journal: the *American Farmer*. Established at Baltimore by U.S. Postmaster, John Skinner, the weekly periodical was a response to Maryland's crumbling agricultural economy, much of which was attributed to the devastation caused by the War of 1812. Skinner hoped his journal would address a very specific problem – an information gap; its goal was "to collect information from every source" and disseminate "knowledge and skill" to Maryland farmers.[113] But first Skinner had to win over a highly skeptical audience.

Instead of greeting the *American Farmer* with enthusiasm, some readers had difficulty understanding exactly what the journal was. One farmer simply asked, "What is it?" Another wondered, "What won't they get going next."[114] Another speculated that the new weekly was a tool for politicians "to coax farmers to vote them into office." Pinkett suggests such suspicion was warranted "since there was no other periodical devoted mainly to agricultural subjects" at the time.[115] James Jones, publisher of the *Southern Cultivator*, provides a glimpse into the challenges involved with constructing an audience for reading. Writing in 1849, about the journal's financial problems, Jones admitted that, "to create a taste [for] agricultural reading in a community takes time."[116] Joneses' words are intriguing because agricultural print material had long abounded in Augusta and her hinterlands.

---

[113] Harold T. Pinkett, "The American Farmer: A Pioneer Agricultural Journal, 1819-1834" *Agricultural History*, 24:3 (1950):147.
[114] Ibid., 146.
[115] Ibid.
[116]Quoted in the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*; Clifford Norse, "The Southern Cultivator, 1843-1861." (PhD diss, Florida State University, 1968) 11.

During the middle 1820's readers of the local newspaper called the *Chronicle and Advertiser* were greeted by an announcement from G.B. Marshall about his twenty-year old captive Jim who had fled, "without any known cause" and offered a $20 reward for his return. John C. Holcombe sought "information" on the return of his "Dark Sorrel Horse," which he thought, had either wandered off or was stolen a few nights previously.[117] An often forgotten facet of the Southern plantation economy was that crops, once harvested were transported to urban centers for sorting, weighing and storage before sale to markets in coastal cities like Charleston, SC, Savannah, GA or New Orleans. Henry Shultz operator of the fireproof Public Warehouse in nearby Hamburg, South Carolina, used the local paper to advertise an assortment of services that included inspection, storage, and auction of cotton and tobacco.[118] Printers, looking for alternative sources of revenue produced almanacs, which were every popular on the local agricultural reading scene, since 1803s when William Bunce presented his almanac with its meridian set at Augusta. These types of materials represented simple forms of practically oriented reading material, which provided readers with quick information requiring little thought on behalf of readers.

James Jones's comment about the development of agricultural literature was related to scale. While readers had encountered agricultural material for some time, they had done so in bits and pieces, across a variety of print materials. The agricultural journal represented a scaling up or an intensification of reading that few had likely ever experienced before. This chapter's analysis of the *Southern Cultivator,* is about the role of the journal in the reading life of its subscribers and the way in which they constructed the journal as a *de facto* professional publication for Southern agriculturalists.

---

[117] *Augusta Chronicle & Advertiser*, June 02, 1830, 3.

[118] Ibid., January 02, 1830, 2.

I used the term *de facto* because a formal educational institution did not publish the *Southern Cultivator* unlike the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal.*

An Agricultural Crisis

In the 1840s, the United States was experiencing rapid change; the industrial revolution introduced new technologies, such as the telegraph, railroads, and the scientific organization of factory waged labor in the North. With policies driven by the concept of manifest destiny, the country was quickly expanding westward, which meant increased competition from new planters in western states, as well as new markets for cash crops such as cotton and tobacco. Slavery was increasingly under attack from Yankee abolitionists who viewed the South's use of unfree labor as "immoral, archaic and out of step with nineteenth century liberal capitalist forces."[119] The convergence of these forces resulted in a dual crisis amongst Southern planters. One issue they faced was economic, with the question of how to modernize slavery "so that it satisfied the old capitalist planter concerns with profit maximization." Another issue that faced Southern planters was about identity, with concerns over how to preserve the South's social hierarchy and legitimacy in the face of increasing opposition.[120]

The answer to these most troubling of questions was to adopt a number of new technologies, including, as this chapter explores, that of printing. Plantation management or "making factories in the fields" was one method, while another implemented a regulated structure of time that not only established more discipline and control, but also provided planters a "substantial base from which to describe themselves as modern"[121] These efforts at modernizing Southern agriculture

---

[119] Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time Slavery and Freedom, in the American South.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1997),4.
[120] Ibid.
[121] James Oakes, The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders (New York: Vintage, 1983), 153-191; Mark M. Smith, Mastered by the Clock, 5.

formed the basis for the agricultural reform movement of the early 1800s, and intensified planters' collective identity and information needs.

By 1851, some Northerners were beginning to capitalize on the South's unique information needs. A.B. Allen and Company's *Almanac* was published in both Southern and Northern editions. Not only was Charleston used as "the meridian for its calendars," but this almanac was also considered to portray an "unadulterated southern" image without any, "piebald mixtures from the north." [122] Meanwhile, the South's strategy for managing its crisis was to establish their own networks of information dissemination in the form of agricultural societies and journals, which spoke to their specific information needs. In 1853, the Agricultural Association of the Slave-Holding States was established at Montgomery, Alabama in opposition to more nationally-oriented agricultural societies, which Southerners believed represented the interests of Northerners. Its aim was not only to spread agricultural knowledge, but to defend the South's "peculiar institution."[123] A quote from the Executive Council responding to anti-Southern rhetoric reveals the Association's defiant stance; it states, "Be it so; the world we know, is dependent on us, and we glory in our position; let us be true to ourselves, and all will be well."[124]

I will begin my discussion with a history of agricultural literature in the United States as a Northern print phenomenon. I discuss print material culture of early agricultural societies through the development of independent periodicals. Next I argue for a nuanced approach to early Georgia agricultural literature with an analysis of Augustan almanacs. This background provides the foundation that introduces the *Southern Cultivator*, and the challenges posted by a journal format in establishing a readership. The discussion concludes with an analysis of the information content

---

[122] *American Agriculturist,* 9:8 (1850): 261.
[123] E. Merton Coulter, *Daniel Lee : His Life North and South*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972), 44.
[124] Ibid.

needed for Southern professional agricultural practice.

History of Agricultural Literature

The expressed need for agricultural information in the United States appears to be a result of crisis in agricultural production. As True suggests, in the years preceding the American Revolution, land was plentiful and freely available for European American men willing to cultivate it. As a result, farmers had little interest in responsible cultivation that ensured soil fertility, since when yields declined, the "easiest and most profitable thing to do was […] change to new fields and abandon the old to weeds." [125] By the time the Republic was established, ravaged soil spanned much of the entire country. This was especially alarming considering that, at the time, as "about 90 percent" of American citizens were evolved in the practice of agriculture.[126] Complicating matters was a "deep-rooted prejudice against book learning" that discouraged any formal education among the yeomen or dirt farmers who comprised the vast majority of agriculturists.[127]

It was the educated gentlemen farmers who first recognized that an agricultural crisis that had befallen the new republic. The first attempts to satisfy the new information needs that were caused by an agricultural crisis was the establishment of agricultural societies. Paradoxically, "early agricultural societies were begun in cities and their membership was largely composed of men who had only a secondary interest in agriculture"[128] Two of the earliest societies were the Philadelphia Society for the Promotion of Agriculture -- founded in 1785, at the then capital of the United States -- and the New York Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Manufacturers, which was

---

[125] A. C. True, "Agricultural Education in the United Sates" in *Yearbook of Agriculture)* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1899),158,
[126] A. Fusonie, "Agricultural Literature of the Gentlemen Farmer in the Colonies." Agricultural Literature: Proud Heritage - Future Promise a Bicentennial Symposium September 24-26, 1975 (Washington, D.C.: Associates of the National Agricultural Library, 1975), ii.
[127] A.C., True, *Agricultural Education,* 158.
[128] Ibid.,159.

founded in 1791. President George Washington and Benjamin Franklin were two notable members of the Philadelphia Society.

One of the earliest accomplishments of these societies was the establishment of agricultural libraries, which acted as repositories for "papers on farming and the publication of them in newspapers and then in books." Resources were collected primarily by donations from individuals and "learning societies" in the United States and abroad.[129] Agricultural societies were primarily situated in urban areas, which did little to meet the information needs of rural farmers; thus, branch libraries were proposed as way to compensate for the spatial bias toward cities. While book farming was suspect by the lower classes, wealthily or gentlemen farmers in the Northeast appear to have embraced the pursuit of agricultural knowledge. This is evident in the Philadelphia Society's charter, which states:

> It will also be the business of the society to recommend the collection of useful books on agricultural and rural affairs in every county and should be drawn into the spirit of inquiry by the establishment of a small but well chosen library on various subjects. This would not only promote the interests of agriculture but it would diffuse knowledge among the people and assist government, which is never in danger while a free people are well informed.[130]

The New York Society for the Promotion of Agriculture and Manufacturers were even more ambitious in their plans for branch libraries, calling for:

> Each society [to] be furnished with all the publications on agriculture in America as well as the most approved European publications. This will lay the formation of county libraries for the promotion of information in every town and neighborhood in the whole State, and will doubtless in a few years be the means of disseminating much useful knowledge.[131]

During this period agricultural societies in the South were virtually non-existent because the population in the region was too low to support them. However, there were some like Winyah Indigo Society in Georgetown, South Carolina. Founded in 1755 by "well-to-do-planters" wishing to

---

[129] Charles Howard Greathouse, "Development of Agricultural Libraries," in *Yearbook of Agriculture, (1899),*492.
[130] Ibid., 493. Jeannine delombard
[131] Ibid., 493.

discuss "public affairs and business interests," the society established a library that gained a measure of fame in the area.[132] As societies transitioned into the role of information producers, they began to distribute their own publications, with the New York Society being the earliest; in 1793, they circulated a "small quarto volume of [their] transactions." [133] The Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture had one the most aggressive publishing agendas among all of the societies at the time. In 1797 they began distributing bulletins on "agricultural notes and extracts", which morphed into a serial publication in 1808.[134]

It should be of little surprise that gentlemen farmers were the nation's first proponents of the circulation of agricultural information in print. Planters were avid consumers of European agricultural publications, including society journals, books and treatises, much of it housed in their private libraries. Furthermore, gentlemen farmers were frequently hobbyist scientists who often experimented "in such areas as land use, animal husbandry, seed cultivation, crop rotation, plantation management, and farm harvesting."[135]

Agricultural Periodicals and Editors

Quite evident in antebellum agricultural journals is the writers' revolutionary zeal for improving farming methods as well as educating farmers and planters. These early efforts were complicated by the average farmer's "distrust of book farming;" in fact, the vast majority "stubbornly refused to subscribe to an agricultural paper [or even] read it."[136] This often complicated the role of editors who struggled to find interesting material to capture readers' attention. Generally editors were loyal to their respective regions of the country and solicited contributions, in the form

---

[132] Ibid.,492.
[133] A.C. True, *Agricultural Education*,160.
[134] A.C.True, *Agricultural Education*, 160; Charles Howard Greathouse, Development of Agricultural Libraries, 494.
[135] A. Fusonie, "Agricultural Literature," 37.
[136] George F. Lemmer, "Early Agricultural Editors and their Philosophies," *Agricultural History*, 31:4 (1957):3.

of articles, from readers. John Skinner is often credited with being the founder of agricultural journalism with the establishment of the *American Farmer* in 1819. Founded in Baltimore, the *American Farmer* was primarily interested in the "Eastern seaboard and concerned itself with problems of the farmers in [that] area." [137] Skinner was a prolific writer, often contributing articles himself and encouraging readers to participate in creating content for the journal. An avid seed collector, Skinner promised to distribute them to readers if they were willing to "experiment with them and report [their] results." [138]

Luther Tucker was probably the most successful editor and publisher of the era, having successfully established several farm journals, including the *Genesee Farmer* and *The Cultivator*. Tucker was known for his emphasis on pragmatic farming methods that would appeal to the everyday farmer. As a result, he too welcomed participation from subscribers; by 1840, the *Genesee Farmer* received over 300 articles annually, with many contributed by "practical farmers."[139]

Marti provides a glimpse into the crisis faced by many journals during the first decades of the republic. Although farm journals claimed to be concerned with science and technology, the reality was that the vast majority of editors lacked a scientific background. Consequently, most journals relied on secondary material or reprints from English and American agricultural societies. Securing content was such a concern for editors that John Lowell, editor of the *Massachusetts Agricultural Journal*, frequently lamented his readers' "unwillingness […] to furnish [the journal] with the results of their own experiments and discoveries."[140] These types of struggles revel that Northern agricultural journals experienced much of the same challenges in audience creation as Southern titles. Because most editors lacked any scientific training, the procurement of empirical content or what

---

[137] Ibid., 4.
[138] George F. Lemmer, "Early Agricultural Editors," 4.
[139] Ibid.,10.
[140] Donald Marti, "Agricultural Journalism and the Diffusion of Knowledge: The First Half-Century in America," *Agricultural History*, 54:1 (1980):29.

was in reality the author's testimony was especially important. Neither Lowell nor Skinner had training in science; Skinner worked as Baltimore's postmaster, when the *American Farmer* was established, and was originally trained as a lawyer. Thomas Fessenden of the *New England Farmer* was described as so inept in matters of science that he "warned his readers not to put much faith in the new ideas they found in his journal."[141]

In the South, Virginia planter Edward Ruffin was an amateur scientist who was notable for his essay "On the Composition of Soils and Their Improvement by Calcareous Manures," which represented a benchmark for the reformist faction in the agricultural community. Ruffin founded *The Farmer's Register* in the small town of Shelbanks, near Petersburg. In a move attributable to Ruffin's interests in soil chemistry, the journal was presented as "a vehicle" to help resolve the issue of soil infertility throughout the South.[142] *The Farmer's Register* was a serious journal and excluded content not relating to agricultural treatises, including advertisements, "jokes, poetry, and items of interest to women and children."[143] The rigorous nature of the journal and its rather high price of $5 a year may have contributed to its lack of support.[144]

Like most agricultural journals of the period, *The Farmer's Register* needed readers to help supply content to fill its pages. Readers, however, rarely cooperated, forcing Ruffin to write half of the articles in the journal under pseudonyms.[145] Charles T. Botts a Richmond lawyer founded the *Southern Plant*er as an alternative to Ruffin's exorbitantly priced journal, which was accused of being full of "philosophical and theoretical essays."[146] With its more practical orientation, Bott advertised

---

[141] Donald Marti, "Agricultural Journalism," 35.
[142] G.F. Lemmer, "Early Agricultural Editors." 13.
[143] Albert Lowther Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press 1819-1860*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1841) 359 and 361.
[144] Most farm journals of the period were no more than a few dollars a year.
[145] Albert Lowther Demaree, *American Agriculture Press,* 360.
[146] Ibid .,368. After several successful years with the *Southern Planter* Botts relocated to California where he began practicing law, served on the state judicial bench and was a delegate to the California Constitutional Convention.

the *Southern Planter* as more suitable for agriculturists -- and its success indicates that he may have been right. In its first year, the journal had 3,000 subscribers; unlike similar journals, it was able to turn a modest profit. By the mid-1850s, *The Southern Planter* had nearly 5,000 subscribers.

Agricultural historian James Bonner suggests that, in the Deep South, "the organization of agricultural societies and the writing of agricultural literature" was scarce. This was particularly true in Georgia, where such content was nearly nonexistent before 1840.[147] Although Savannah saw the establishment of its first agricultural society in 1810, it quickly faltered because of a lack of support. Georgia's earliest agricultural journals, both published in 1840, suffered similar fates. *The Southern Silk Journal and Farmer's Register* was established in Columbus as the "official organ of the Southern Silk and Agricultural Society." A journal called *Gleanings of Husbandry* was the earliest agriculturally based periodical published in Augusta. Its editor, Moses Holbrook, was initially optimistic about the journal's success because he believed that he had stumbled upon a niche market of Southern information, noting that Northern journals failed to cover issues pertaining to Southern agriculturists. Neither journal, however, was able to survive its first year.[148]

Bonner suggests that Georgia was particularly apathetic in improving its agricultural practices, citing that "only fifteen Georgians were on the subscription list of Ruffin's *Farmer's Register* in 1835; " Bonner also reported that no other state besides Florida had such a "dearth of subscribers."[149] While I acknowledge that these early Georgia and Southern agricultural journals experienced difficulty in cultivating readerships, the print culture of Georgia's agricultural community is more nuanced than merely looking at subscription numbers would have us believe, and an analysis consisting solely of periodicals provides an incomplete picture of other successful

---

[147] James C. Bonner, "Agricultural Reform in the Georgia Piedmont, 1820-1860," (PhD Diss, UNC Chapel Hill, 1943), 77.

[148] Ibid.,108.

[149] Ibid.,112.

print technologies in the state. Beginning around 1820, for example, Augusta became a leading center for the printing and publication of almanacs calculated for the Augusta region. At that time, Augustan almanacs symbolized the ingenuity and technological development of Southern print culture.

Augusta and the Production of Almanacs

The almanac was so ubiquitous in the homes of "common people" that Benjamin Franklin, writing in his autobiography, saw the genre as a "vehicle for conveying instruction" among a class of citizens who "scarcely brought any books."[150] From the previous chapter's discussion of printers, we see that almanacs, along with the publication of laws, and sometimes newspapers, were some of the first materials offered for sale at local print shops. For printers, the manufacture of almanacs was a means to supplement their income Franklin mentioned that he "reap'd considerable profit" from his almanacs.[151] For the consuming public, almanacs were a major resource for practical information on agriculture, health, and medicine. They also frequently doubled as dairies for their owners, recording notes on the weather, harvests and life events such as births, deaths, and travel.

The *Virginia and Maryland Almanack* for 1732 was the South's first almanac; William Parks published it at his print shop in Williamsburg, Virginia. Colonial printer James Johnston printed *The South Carolina and Georgia Almanac* in 1764, and his twelve-leaf pamphlet was offered for sale in his Savannah print shop. Several other almanacs with the name 'Georgia' in their titles appeared during the period stretching from the 1770s to 1790s, but these were printed in Charleston, South Carolina.[152] It was not until the 19th century that we begin to see a steady supply of almanacs

---

[150] Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American Almanacs: The Colonial Weekday Bible*, (New York: Burt Franklin, 1977), 80.
[151] Ibid.
[152] The South-Carolina & Georgia almanac, for the year of our Lord, 1789: being the first after leap year, and the thirteenth year of American independence. : Containing lunations, eclipses, rising and setting of the sun, aspects, judgement of the weather, &c. : Also, a general description of the state of South-Carolina, its officers, city establishment,

emanating from the Magnolia City. The earliest appears to be that presented by local printer William J. Bunce who, in 1802, published his *BUNCE'S Georgia and South Carolina Almanac.*[153] Several years later, The *Augusta Chronicle* presented readers with its *Georgia and South Carolina Republican Almanac*, which, like the BUNCE'S almanac, promised "useful matter" but the *South Carolina and Georgia Almanac* was presented to readers as a corrective against "old womens' tales" and other "nonsensical" ideas. It was designed for readers seeking "rational information" that would "amuse" as well as "instruct" readers.[154] Both Bunce's and the *Chronicle's* almanacs were typical of the genre. In contrast to the popular 'pocket almanac' these two were of the standard size- "roughly six by four inches."[155] Many almanacs did not have formal covers; rather, the title and back pages were composed of paper of a heavier weight. These early Augusta almanacs were, however, printed on paper bearing a similar weight as the interior pages, with a single string serving as the binding for approximately forty pages of text.

In both cases, as was the standard for all of the Augustan almanacs discussed here, individuals other than the printer carried out the calculations. Historically, some printers -- like Benjamin Franklin -- did their own calculations, but most contracted astronomers or mathematicians for these services. In the middle 1700s, for example, printers would purchase astrological calculations for around 30 pounds a year. Others would purchase their astrological data, sell it to an editor who provided the remaining material, and the printer would then "print and sell the almanac,

---

courts held in Charleston, return day[s], rates of coin[,] tide table, scale of depreciation, charges on transacting business, as agreed to by the Charleston Chamber of Commerce, premiums voted by the Agricultural Society, &c. (Miami University) ;The Georgia and South-Carolina almanack, for the year of our Lord 1775. By John Tobler, Esq. ; Also extracts from the votes and proceedings of the grand American Continental Congress holden at Philadelphia in September & October, 1774 (Johns Hopkins University).

153 *Bunce's Georgia and South-Carolina Almanack; or, A new and accurate calender,(sic) for the year of our Lord, 1803 ... : Adapted to Augusta, in Georgia. ...* / The astronomical part by Alexander B. Silliman.
Augusta [Ga.]: : Printed and sold by William J. Bunce., [1802].

154 "TO THE READER" *The Georgia and South-Carolina Republican Almanac, for the year of our Lord, 1810 ... : Adapted to Augusta, in Georgia. ...* / The cadoudattons [i.e., calculations] by J. Sharb, A.M.
Augusta [Ga.]: : Printed at the Office of the *Augusta Chronicle*, near the market., [1809].

155 Marion Barber Stowell, *Early American Almanacs*, 15

thus, making a profit with both his wholesale and retail merchandise."[156] The printer's name would then appear on the title page as the author or editor.

In addition to the expected content, such as garden calendars and the zodiac, almanacs promised a plethora of "useful matter" for their readers. Both Bunce's and *The Chronicle's* almanacs contained information, such as currency and weight tables, and civic information, such as the names of municipal, state, and federal elected officials; as previously mentioned, the Augusta region spanned both Georgia and South Carolina, so this information covered both states. Postal rate schedules and a list of post offices also accompanied almanacs. This type of data was typical of the genre, as Molly McCarthy notes in her dissertation. McCarthy writes that almanacs were "fonts of local information" that helped their readers to "negotiate their geographic and commercial terrain."[157]

Printing firms and newspaper offices were not the only entities designing Augusta's almanacs. Despite the commercial appeal of almanacs to local printers, there were other economic models used to publish and disseminate Augustan almanacs. Historian of American publishing and historian David Paul Nord suggests that "evangelical print" was the antithesis of commercialized print in the United States. Religious and tract societies, he notes, "knew they were moving against the rising tide of commercial culture," and so "they aimed to turn the power of print to anticommercial ends."[158] In the early 1800s, the nation's largest tract societies, such as the New York Tract and American Bible Society, were established in large Northeastern cities because of easy access to raw materials and proximity to "technological innovation in the art of printing." [159] In addition to bibles, tract societies were also publishers of Christian almanacs because they were

---

[156] Marion Barber Stowell, Early American Almanacs Stowe p. 26
[157] Molly McCarthy "A Page, A Day: A History of the Daily Diary in America," (PhD Diss Brandeis University, 2004) 19.
[158] David Paul Nord "Benevolent Books: Printing, Religion, and Reform" in *History of the Book v. 2*, 222.
[159] Ibid., 230.

relativity cheap to produce and a popular genre of reading material; for these reasons, religious publishers found them an "attractive venue" to spread their message of Christian virtues.[160]

Thomas A. Horrocks mentions that the American Tract Society was an active publisher of almanacs during the 1820s to 1850s and that their "*Christian Almanack*, for example, was issued in various cities in the Northeast."[161] Horrocks fails to mention that Southerners established local chapters of the American Tract Society and also published almanacs adapted for their region. In 1828, the Georgia Religious Tract Society presented readers with *The Christian Almanac for South Carolina and Georgia*.[162] Timothy Edwards, a local book merchant long affiliated with the city's religious organizations, served as the "Agent for the Society's Depository in Augusta" and also maintained a thriving bookstore stocked with reading materials from "principal Booksellers."[163] In 1825, Edwards served as treasurer and librarian to the Georgia Sunday Sunday School Union, which established an active book depository that supplied reading materials for the area's Sunday schools.[164] *The Christian Almanac* was unusual in that it failed to include pricing information; religious almanacs of the period usually sold for six cents but were often provided gratis to readers unable to pay.[165]

The Society contracted Georgia's famed astronomer Robert Grier to produce calculations for the 1829 edition. Grier was also publisher of the very popular *Grier's Almanac*, established in 1807. In fact, Grier made a successful career providing calculations for Southern almanacs, and his

---

160 Thomas A. Horrocks, *Popular Print and Popular Medicine*, (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008),98.
161 Ibid.,98
162 *The Christian almanac, for South Carolina and Georgia, for the year of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1829 ... / Carefully calculated for the meridian of Augusta, by Robert Grier, Esq. ...*
Augusta, (Georgia:) : Published by the Georgia Religious Tract Society. Sold by Timothy Edwards, agent of the Society's depository in Augusta, and by the principal booksellers., [1828]
163 Ibid.
164 "Constitution of the Georgia Sunday School Union," *Augusta Chronicle*, January 7, 1826, 2. For a record of Edward's accounts see "Timothy Edwards accounts, 1827" at University of Georgia Archives.
165 Thomas A. Horrocks, *Popular Print*, 98.

name can be found on several.[166] Around 1810, for example, Augusta printers Hobby & Bunce printed and sold *The Georgia and South-Carolina Almanack*, wherein Grier provided the calculations.[167]

In 1824 *The Christian Almanac*, had undergone a redesign because its editors believed it needed more in the way of articles that required more "thought" from their readers. For this reason, the 1829 edition included – "laconic sayings and pithy maxims" on various topics from antiquity to modern sages."[168] Horrocks tells us that religious almanacs, in particular, functioned as advice manuals for readers offering a "regimen of advise along with their usual fare of spiritual guidance & pietistic maxims," which reflected society's belief that "one's spiritual health was linked to one's physical health."[169]

In their effort to correct these imbalances, consumer health information was a frequent component in religious almanacs. *The Christian Almanac* did offer readers articles on health, such as "Rules For Preserving Health" from "Lord Bacon and Dr. Franklin," but if Horrocks' assertions are correct, it should have contained more of this content than the amount that actually appeared in the 1829 edition.[170] As to be expected with an almanac with religious ties, several pages were devoted to various iterations of benevolent organizations, such as the Sabbath, missionary, and educational societies in Augusta and throughout the state, suggesting that volunteerism was quite active in the region.

Almanacs produced by religious organizations were not the only ones concerned with providing information about physical health. By end of the 17th century, consumer health

---

[166] See Grantland's Georgia almanac for ... 1812 ...; Bradford's Tennessee almanac for the year of our Lord 1816 : calculated for the latitude and meridian of Nashville; The Georgia and South-Carolina almanack,.
[167] The New Georgia Encyclopedia suggests that this was owned by Grier, serving as a precursor to his self-titled almanac. However, the dates do not correspond such that such a scenario was possible. Most likely Grier was contracted to provide the astrological data as he did for other almanacs throughout the region.

[168] "To The Patrons of The Christian Almanac*," The Christian Almanac.*
[169] Thomas A. Horrocks, *Popular Print,* 95.
[170] *The Christian Almanac*, 22.

information, in the form of "cures for diseases" had become standard for the genre.[171] *Bunce's Almanac*, for example, provided readers a "Recipe for the Dropsy," which was a condition that often resulted in swollen feet and legs. The cure for this disease, claimed *Bunce's*, was the ingestion of "salt of tobacco, water and gin."[172] *The Chronicle's Georgia and South Carolina Republican Almanac* contained treatments for child-related diseases, such as "Red Gum," "Sore or Ruptured Navel," and "Thrush" – a yeast infection of the mouth and tongue.[173]

Almanacs as Diaries

The discussion thus far has described almanacs as informative texts that are read for their content rather than devices for recording personal information. Almanacs however, often doubled as dairies for their owners. In fact, the practice was quite common in the United States; a tradition that Molly McCarthy tells us was acquired from Britain where individuals had kept almanac diaries was early as the sixteenth century. Readers often altered their almanacs, turning them into diaries, by slipping blank pages into its leaves. Several Augustan almanacs however, did not require any modification by their users. These were manufactured with blank pages inserted into them, known in in the industry as 'blanks.' The almanac diary is a particularly important materialization of print because it exemplifies the way in which practical literacy was produced and consumed within a singular information resource, effectively transforming the almanac into a highly interactive piece of media. The manufacture of blank almanacs in the American South once again complicates conventional attitudes about Southern literacy because it establishes the framework for the presence of a sizable population of individuals who were at least semi-literate.

---

[171] Thomas A Horrocks, *Popular Print*, 65.
[172] *Bunce's Georgia and South-Carolina Almanack*.
[173] *The Georgia and South-Carolina Republican Almanac.*

Northern printers rarely touted their almanacs' "utility as diaries; some like the printer of *Amos' Almanck* would interleaf pages "upon request" [at] no extra charge."[174] McCarthy writes that the lone exception was New York printer Hugh Gaines, who advertised his almanacs as "interleafed with fine Paper, on which memorandums may be made for every Day in the year."[175] *Grenville's Georgia Almanac* for 1848 claimed a circulation of more than 50,000 copies, and was aimed at readers in South Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee, as well as Georgia.[176] Similar to the almanacs that McCarthy reviewed, *Grenville's* makes no mention of its format as a blank nor does it call attention to its dual purpose as record book or dairy.

One Cherokee County resident who owned *Grenville's* 1850 edition used the almanac as a place to record the weather, harvests, and health statuses of family members throughout the year. The owner's writings provide us a glimpse into what March looked like:

1. A very thick Fog 3 mornings and a hard Rain every day for 4 days 14-17th and Snow 27th
2. Rain Windy
3. Windy
4. Rain & Thunder
5. Began to plant corn
6. Rained very hard
7. A thick fog and the then a very heavy rain for 4 days
8. Rained 3 days
9. Peach Trees in full Bloom

---

174 Molly McCarthy, "A Page, A Day," 27 and 28.
175 Ibid.,
176 *Grenville's Georgia almanac, for the year of our Lord 1849. : ... Calculated for the meridian and horizon of Augusta, Geo.* / The astronomical calculations by Robert Grier, residing in Butts County, Georgia.[Augusta, Ga.] : Charles E. Grenville: Augusta, Ga., [1848].

10. Rained in day & Snowed at night until the… [text illegible]
11. Finished planting corn[177]

By summer, the damp, moist conditions had changed to severe drought conditions; the writer took to recording readings on the thermometer of 94 and 97 degrees; by fall, temperatures had subsided, the rain returned, and it was time for the slaughter.

Deborah Brandt suggests that academics consider the cultural contexts in which reading occurs.[178] In the case of Augusta's almanacs, these information devices were read or consumed for their information on local phenomena. This was practically-oriented material that facilitated civic engagement, both locally and on a national scale, forecast weather for the immediate area, and provided consumer health information for a public who rarely interacted with physicians. The presence of blank almanacs also suggests that writing had become both normalized and expected of citizens in the Augusta region. Earlier in this chapter, I suggested that Georgia's interest in agricultural literature was more nuanced than merely looking at the subscriptions to journals would indicate. The reason there appears to be a disconnect between the acceptance of locally produced almanacs and the low adoption of Southern-based agricultural journals is that the latter signifies a scaling up in form and time, and also presented a different type of reading for audiences. Print culture historian Roger Chartier suggests that material form matters; quoting D.F. McKenzie, he writes that "new readers make new texts, and their meanings are a function of their new forms."[179]

---

[177] *Grenville's Georgia & Carolina almanac, for the year of our Lord 1851. : ... Calculated for the meridian and horizon of Augusta, Ga.*[Augusta, Ga.] : Joseph Carrie & Co: Augusta, Ga., [1850].
[178] Deborah Brandt, *Literacy in American Lives*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[179] Roger Chartier, "Reading Matter and 'Popular' Reading: From the Renaissance to the Seventeenth Century" in *A History of Reading in the West*; edited by Guglielmo Cavallo et.al. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 278.

Almanacs were yearly publications rarely exceeding forty pages, with much of the content consisted of charts, tables, and lists. Agricultural journals, by contrast, had a different temporality and, whether issued bimonthly or monthly, the content was more robust and comprehensive. Furthermore, the seriality of a journal denoted a new sense of urgency; readers may have felt the need to complete one number before progressing to the next issue. The act of reading a journal was also more intensive than was reading an almanac. Agricultural journals were early forms of interactive print media where readers could be exposed to many writers across vast regions of the county, alongside encouragement for readers to become writers by contributing their own knowledge of Southern agriculture. The following analysis of the *Southern Cultivator* will illustrate the ways in which this new, agriculturally-based information and communication device was constructed by its readers as a de facto journal that professionalized planting.

Origins of the *Southern Cultivator*

James Jones most likely arrived in Augusta in the late 1830s as a young, vibrant bachelor of thirty-two, having made his fortune as a merchant in Northern Georgia a decade earlier. Born on a plantation in Oglethorpe County, Jones constituted one half of J.W. & W.S. Jones, a publishing company that would ultimately publish the most circulated daily newspaper in Georgia, as well as the South's most successful agricultural journal, the *Southern Cultivator*. [180] William S. Jones arrived in Augusta later, having practiced medicine in the small adjacent village of Appling, Georgia. By April of 1840, W.S. Jones received patients from Augusta and the surrounding area at the offices of the *Augusta Chronicle* as well as his residence at the nearby United States Hotel.[181] James Jones assumed

[180] "Death of James W. Jones," *Augusta Chronicle* February 15 (1860): 2; [Obituary; No heading] *Southern Cultivator*, February 18:2 (1860):56.
[181] "TO PHYSICIANS" Ibid., January 7, 1840, 3 ; "Dr. W.S. Jones," Ibid., April 27, 1840, 3.

editorial duties of most the company's publications, while William Jones worked primarily as a physician.

The Joneses' involvement the agricultural reform did not appear in isolation. In fact, the brothers appear to have adopted a reformist agenda when they acquired the *Augusta Chronicle* sometime in late 1839. James Jones had been "interested in the Chronicle and Sentinel" for "some time;" and cues to why a "novice," with nothing more than "zeal" for publishing, would purchase a newspaper, can be found in Jones's address to readers in the winter of 1840.[182]

Jones recognized the power of the press and saw access to such technology as a means to effect change. Readers were told that if well organized "the press" could "accomplish everything" from "Politics, Science, and [unclear]." The press, Jones noted, was a means to bring about "greatness" both for "individuals" and the nation. Acquiring the *Chronicle* was therefore an act of patriotism, emerging out of his "duty" to the United States and its "institutions." Jones imagined the *Chronicle* as a repository of "all subjects connected with the public" and pledged to provide information "beneficial to all class" whether they resided in "the city or country."[183] The Joneses' interest in the 'public' as well as recognition of rural readers and their information needs foreshadows the development of the *Southern Cultivator* and their establishment of an agricultural reading room aimed at "county residents visiting Augusta.

The Joneses lived up to their promise of providing reading material for rural residents. This was accomplished in part by the establishment of a weekly mammoth sheet. Measuring "28 by 46 INCHES!!!" the mammoth edition contained "36 Columns of matter." Advertisements claimed the mammoth contained "*more* than DOUBLE" the quantity of reading materials than other Southern newspapers. Readers could subscribe for two dollars a year, pick up single copies at the *Chronicle's*

[182] To Our Patrons" *Augusta Chronicle*, January 27, 1840, 2.
[183] Ibid.

office, as well as request "specimen copies."[184] The daily paper published mornings and evenings was directed at "City Subscriber's" while the mammoth edition was advertised in the *Southern Cultivator* as "A FAMILY NEWSPAPER." Attention is drawn to its "Literary Department" with material suitable for the family circle." Not to be left out, "planters" were also targeted, enticed by the country editions "reliable information" on cotton and produce markets.[185]

Isabelle Lehuu tells us that these gargantuan newspapers appeared on the American reading landscape in the late 1830s and early 1840s. Lehuu situates the publication and reading of mammoth papers as an urban phenomenon or what she calls "urban street culture."[186] The mammoth form, Lehuu suggests, was a bridge of sorts that aided readers "transition" from rural communities to "urban industrial environment."[187] New sights and curiosities, likely never seen before, accompanied the readers' relocation from the country to the city. The mammoth form argues Lehuu, capitalized on the readers' naiveté not only with a steady supply of sensational tidbits, which chronicled the grotesque nature of urban life, but also by the exaggerated form of the mammoth itself.

What we see with the *Chronicle* was the reverse from the model Lehuu establishes. The mammoth *Chronicle* is printed in an urban environment and marketed to readers in the countryside. The mammoth filled a niche market that satisfied the information needs of rural readers. Unlike the *Southern Cultivator* it was marketed for its broad readability and suitable for women, children and slaveholder alike. Rather than a space for sensational content, as Lehuu indicates in her analysis, the mammoth version of *the Chronicle* retained its original orientation for providing readers with the latest in "News, Politics, Agricultural Improvement, "and the all-important task of "developing"

---

184 Advertisement *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel*, June 26, (1847),3.
185 "A Mammoth Weekly" *Southern Cultivator*, 7:12 (1849) 192.
186 Isabelle Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page: Popular Print Media in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000) 67.
187 Isabelle Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page*, 68.

Southern "resources."[188] Additionally, it is possible that a daily paper might have seemed overwhelming for busy rural readers, who may have struggled to 'keep up;' conversely a weekly edition might have seemed more 'doable.'

While the weekly *Chronicle* did not deviate from content in its daily edition, Augusta readers desiring big city, salacious mammoths like *Brother Jonathan*, on which Lehuu bases her analysis, could obtain a copy for 25 cents at S.A. Holmes' Literary Depot on the city's main thoroughfare, Broad Street.[189] Holmes could also satisfy more eclectic reading tastes with his collection of "splendid pictorial English and Ireland mammoth newspapers" which arrived via biweekly "steamers."[190] Although Augusta's reading public had access to mammoths of various subjects, these like the country edition of the *Chronicle* provided little in the way of professional content for ambitious planters.

The *Southern Cultivator* like other Southern agricultural journals offered an aggressive agenda for reform. The editors hoped the journal's advocacy and participatory orientation would drastically alter the lives of readers. While the journal debuted in March of 1843 its original title was the *Southern Planter*. The Joneses had little idea they had "encroached upon" the title of the Virginia based journal founded by Charles T. Bott's, until after its prospectus was distributed. The title was quickly changed to the *Southern Cultivator* to avoid a "collision" with Bott's journal and because the Joneses believed that the new title was just has "comprehensive" and expressed the "character" of the new title.[191]

The prospectus of the Joneses' *Southern Planter* expressed concern that the South was overly dependent of the "Eastern and Western" parts of the country and the region's "rapidly exhausted

---

[188] "A Mammoth Weekly" *Southern Cultivator*, 7:12 (1849) 192.
[189] "The Leviathan Pictorial" *Augusta Chronicle*, January, 23 1843;3.
[190] "Floating Literature" *Ibid.,* December 4 ,1843: 3.
[191] "Change of Name" Southern Cultivator, 1 (1843):6.

soils." These harsh environmental and socioeconomic realities "induced" the Joneses to establish a journal devoted entirely to alleviating the South's inclination to other regions or as the prospectus called it "the cause of Southern Agriculture." The journal would be printed on "fine paper" with "new type," purchased just for the title. It was projected to contain eight pages and measure "9 X 12" which readers could "bind" into single volumes at year's end. The journal called upon "intelligent planters" as well as "Mechanics, Lawyers, Doctors" and "Merchants" to support the cause and simultaneously reveling many practiced involved in Southern agriculture.[192]

Subscriptions to the *Southern Cultivator* were sold at a price of one dollar a year, which the journal thought was a price that "every planter could afford to pay."[193] By the conclusion of its first volume, the *Southern Cultivator* introduced club prices as a strategy to increase readership. Within this subscription model, readers could receive six copies for five dollars, twenty-five for twenty dollars and one hundred copies for seventy-five dollars. By the late 1840s the *Southern Cultivator* adopted an aggressive campaign to increase readership with the introduction of "$750 Premiums."[194] The expanse of the journal's readership is evident in that five winners were selected from among "North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas." Individual prizes ranged from "twenty-five dollars" for a minimum of a hundred subscribers, to "five dollars" for forty subscribers." Rather than present the prizes as cash, the *Southern Cultivator* offered the premiums in "Agricultural works."[195] This strategy was likely chosen because it could increase subscriptions, without putting a financial burden on the journal. As a major newspaper publisher, the Joneses likely had a robust exchange list, where journals and publishing houses sent materials *gratis*. These titles were then likely repacked as premiums.

---

[192] "Prospectus of the Southern Planter" *Augusta Chronicle,* December 30, 1842, 3.
[193] "OUR SECOND VOLUME: CLUBS" *Southern Cultivator*, 1:24(1843):190.
[194] "Prospectus" *Southern Cultivator*, 7:2 (1849) 36.
[195] Ibid.

As mentioned earlier, agricultural journals were fairly common on the nation's print scene in the antebellum period but they generally folded soon after publication. Even Augusta saw its first agricultural journal *Gleanings of Husbandry* fall to a similar fate.[196] One of the reasons the *Southern Cultivator* survived to become the most esteemed agricultural journal of the South was largely because it was underwritten by the Joneses' mainstay, the *Chronicle and Sentinel*. The Jones brothers purchased the paper in 1840, and transformed the Augusta paper such that it rivaled its Northern peers. Bell and Crabbe tell us the journal was "immaculate," using the latest in printing technology, and it lacked the "printing errors so common of the times." Unlike other papers, whose owners acted as editors, the Joneses hired Georgia politician and editor James Smythe to lead their Augusta paper.[197] In 1849, the journal began receiving news via a new communication medium, the telegraph. The effort to modernize the paper helped make the *Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* Georgia's most popular newspaper, with a circulation of 5,000 copies by 1854.[198] Like many newspapers of the time, *the Daily Chronicle and Sentinel* was anything but an objective paper, and its sympathies clearly aligned with the Whig party.

While the *Chronicle and Sentinel* was already a Whig-leaning paper under its previous proprietor, the Jones brothers strengthened its ties to the new party. Established around 1833 by Henry Clay, the Whigs opposed President Andrew Jackson's policies and advocated for states' rights and economic protectionism. The Whigs favored modernization and the Southern faction -- known as Cotton Whigs -- were overwhelmingly pro-slavery. One cannot divorce the Joneses' political orientation from their establishment of an agricultural paper aimed at Georgians and other citizens of the Lower South. The *Southern Cultivator's* mission was stated in their first issue:

---

[196] "Prospectus Gleanings of Husbandry" Ibid., January 17, 1840, 2.
[197] Earl L. Bell and Kenneth C. Crabbe, *The Augusta Chronicle, Indomitable Voice of Dixie, 1785-1960*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960),46.

[198] Ibid.,50.

> In commencing a work of such importance to the cultivators of the soil, we have been influenced by no other motives than to contribute our humble but zealous efforts to the restoration of the exhausted lands of the country, to introduce an enlightened system of agriculture, and to afford an acceptable medium for the interchange of views between planters, upon a subject in which all classes of society are so deeply interested.[199]

In short, the journal was trying to establish an information network among planters and in order to accomplish this it had to explain how the journal operated -- how much it cost, where readers could obtain copies, and what was expected of them.

Although James Jones served as editor of the *Southern Cultivator* for the paper's first year, it appears he had little interest in assuming the duty permanently. With his merchant background, Jones most likely recognized his shortcomings in the area of agricultural reform and thought that hiring an expert would be the wiser choice. This is not unlike Joneses' actions with the *Chronicle,* where veteran editor James Smythe was hired to lead the paper. In 1844, James Camak of Athens was hired to conduct the Editorial department of the *Southern Cultivator*.[200] Camak was a renaissance man; educated at South Carolina College, he came to the University of Georgia to teach Mathematics from 1817-1819. He would return in 1829 to serve as a trustee of the University. His unexpected death in 1847, however, resulted in the hiring of the Northern editor of the *Genesee Farmer*, Dr. Daniel Lee, who was at the time based in Rochester, New York; during the 1840s, the *Genesee Farmer* was one of the foremost agricultural journals in the United States.

In announcing Lee's procurement by the *Southern Cultivator*, James Jones alerted readers that Lee's editorial services were acquired "at a great expense," but this appears to have been justified in part because of his status as "among the most scientific and practical Farmers of the Union."[201] Acquiring someone with Lee's experience and professional esteem was likely a strategy meant to

---

[199] *Southern Cultivator*, 1:1 (1843):6.
[200] *Southern Cultivator,* 2:25 (1844):199.
[201] "Our Editor." *Southern Cultivator*, 5:8 (1847):120.

prevent the *Southern Cultivator* from following the path of so many other agricultural journals of the period; there were few better ways to accomplish this than to have the nation's top editor of the genre at the helm of one's journal. Lee's Northern credentials also were likely a means to introduce Northern wisdom and industrialization into Southern agriculture. Wells notes that Northerners often made the journey South in pursuit of economic opportunities and many promoted the region's adoption of modern infrastructure, including the "building of railroads, banks, and manufacturing enterprises."[202] The *Southern Cultivator* was not alone in being a Southern-based journal with an editor of Northern extraction. Massachusetts native Daniel K. Whitaker, for example, is most noted for his editorship of the *Southern Quarterly Review and Southern Literary Journal*, but he also "edited or help to edit many other Southern magazines before and after the Civil War."[203]

While at the *Genesee Farmer*, Lee had established a reputation as a prolific lecturer, giving talks to agricultural audiences throughout New York and New England; he continued these activities in the South. South Carolina's Beech Island Agricultural and Police Society, located in Augusta's hinterland just across the state line, invited Lee to speak at their August 1848 meeting, where he expressed his "pleasure" that the "leading men" of the region were taking an interest in agriculture. He also warned them that "railroads and steamboats are bringing [the South] into competition with rich land of other portions" of the United States.[204] While at the *Southern Cultivator*, Lee's most prestigious position was perhaps his appointment to the Terrell Professorship of Agriculture at the University of Georgia in 1852. While Georgia was one the earliest Southern states to establish an agricultural department at their public university, the vast majority of the public had little access to institutional knowledge and depended on print material like the *Southern Cultivator* to stay abreast of agricultural information.

---

[202] Jonathan Daniel Wells, *Origins of the Southern Middle Class*, 22.
[203] Ibid, 34.
[204] Beech Island Farmers' Club Minutes 1846-1883. Augusta 5, 1848. [pages unnumbered]

Introducing Agricultural Literature to the Republic

During the early years of the Republic, agricultural information was disseminated through newly established agricultural societies. These social clubs were the first domestic entities to produce materials that would contribute to what was known as "book farming." According to agricultural historian Sally McMurry, book farming was "agriculture practiced according to scientific and technical information disseminated in print;"[205] Benjamin Cohen defines it as "the practice of guiding field management by reference to written works on agriculture."[206] The earliest publishers of book farming materials in the United States were agricultural societies. Agricultural societies began publishing transactions that detailed their members' experiments and "best practices."[207] Marti suggests that the transactions of these organizations had little effect on the masses, only reaching "a minuscule public."[208]

By the 1820s, book farming manifested as agricultural journals published independently of societies. As previously mentioned, the first agricultural journals in the United States were the *American Farmer* (1819) and the *Plough Boy* (1819), while in the South, a number of journals were established but most failed within a few years.[209] Another prominent journal of the South was the *Southern Agriculturist* (1828-1846), published at Charleston, South Carolina. Offered at the steep price of $5.00 per year, much of the *Southern Agriculturist's* content was filled with reprints from Northern journals, as Southern readers refused to supply the journal with the steady supply of content it so desperately needed. Southern journals were usually oriented toward planters, completely neglecting the information needs of yeomen or dirt farmers.

---

[205] Sally McMurry, "Who Read the Agricultural Journals? Evidence from Chenango County, New York, 1839-1865" *Agricultural History*, 63(1989):1.
[206] Benjamin Cohen, *Notes From The Ground. Science, Soil, and Society in the American Countryside*, (New Haven: Yale, 2008), 49.
[207] Albert L. Demaree, *American Agricultural Press*, 8.
[208] Douglas Marti, "Agricultural Journalism," 29.
[209] Paul Gates, *The Farmers Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860*, (Holt: New York, 1960), 342.

Dirt farmers are traditionally described as the class of farmers who rejected book farming as "impertinent and useless."[210] They are usually characterized as Luddites who were highly suspicious toward any type of innovation. Zboray argues that yeomen farmers in the North associated book farming with "modernity" or "new lights," which included such modern marvels as rail travel and...?. For many dirt farmers, these new innovations also signified that "horses and coaches, like traditional farming methods," were things of the past. They rarely "believed" anything they heard and "required to see and feel before" they could give credit to what was being said.[211]

The analysis of Augusta's almanacs illustrates that many of these assertions about this lowest level of farmer are misleading. While it's popular to claim this class of farmers rejected printed agricultural information, we know they readily consulted almanacs all over the United States. One of the reasons almanacs were so prolific was because the public loved them; they were cheap to produce and printers were more than willing to satisfy public demand as well as turn a quick profit. During the 19th century, and perhaps the early 20th, the almanac was the most read book in farm households, second only to the Christian Bible.[212]

While the above provides very useful background into book farming and agricultural information during the late 18th and early 19th centuries, ideas about agricultural literature changed during the 1840s. For many ambitious agriculturalists, book farming was a sign of reform and increasingly a mark of professional status. For readers of the *Southern Cultivator*, the journal helped solidify their status not just as farmers, but rather, as planters and agriculturalists, not unlike the physicians and lawyers who had also started to establish professional journals of their own. The

---

[210] Albert L. Damaree, *American Agricultural Press*,9.
[211] Ronald J. Zboray, *Fictive People : Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public*, (Northwestern University Press: Chicago, 1993), 75.
[212] Paul Gates, *Farmers Age,* 338.

following analysis allows us to gain more insight into the social world of the journal's audience and illustrates the obstacles they faced on introducing a new technology to Southern audiences.

Book Farming and the Profession of Southern Agriculturists

The journal decided to tackle the problem in its fourth issue with an article simply titled "Book Farming."[213] The journal's first treatment of book farming was groundbreaking not only because of its direct focus but also because it was in part a reprint written by Edmund Ruffin. Book farming, for both Jones and Ruffin, was a marriage between science and the daily practice of farming. Jones seems to define the practice by explaining what book farming was not, which included "cut[ting] down and exhaust[ing] land, without any regard to improving the soil, or any effort to increase its production by the enlightened system of culture which the science of agriculture teaches."[214] Notice the inference that not practicing book farming was a mark of being anti-intellectual on the verge of barbarism. This new method of farming had a very specific purpose: to increase soil fertility, and thus yields, through the application of scientific principles. However, the *Southern Cultivator* encountered an acute "prejudice" against book farming and proclaimed that this "universal" feeling amongst planters was "one of the greatest obstacles to the introduction of a new system of agriculture."[215]

Recognizing the ambitious task at hand may explain why Jones decided to append his statement with the wisdom of a more authoritative source: Edmund Ruffin. As the founder of Virginia's leading agricultural paper, the *Farmer's Register* (1833-1842), Ruffin was the elder statesman of the agricultural reform movement. In addition to serving as editor and publisher of the *Farmer's Register*, Ruffin was also one of Virginia's wealthiest planters as well as an accomplished agronomist.

---

213 *Southern Cultivator,1:4* (1843):31.
214 Ibid.
215 Ibid.

He was probably most famous for his 1819 paper "An Essay on Calcareous Manures," which by 1852 was in its fifth edition and had been quoted in the agricultural press for thirty years.

Ruffin argued that no activity should be more mentally challenging than farming, and he advocated for a very systematic process that drew upon "experiments and investigations."[216] He boldly proclaimed that "all good farming [was] the result of science applied to the practice of the agricultural arts." In contrast to the Joneses' view that the South was mired in a deep resentment toward book farming, Ruffin suggested that "the ridicule" it once received was quickly "becoming… obsolete." Ruffin's optimistic view was supported by his argument that book farming was in reality no different than what farmers practiced daily -- only in oral form. "Every experiment," he tells readers, "which has been made in agriculture, unless accidentally, has been effected by experiment, by inquiry, [and by] investigation." Thus, farmers have never existed in a vacuum; rather, they have throughout history learned from others and should acknowledge their "indebtedness" to their forebears.

For Ruffin, book farming was derived from the information that circulated in agricultural journals designed to: "elevate the depressed state of agriculture;" "make the knowledge of one the common property of all"; and ignite excitement for agricultural reform in the "public mind." The implementation of book farming also marked a new era in which the epistemology of testimony was no longer sufficient. For Ruffin, science was the bearer of such gifts as "plaster, lime and marl," all of which served as useful fertilizers; it had also uncovered the benefits of "ground cover" and "crop rotation," about which the previous generation "knew nothing."[217]

We can assume that Ruffin was primarily describing conditions in Virginia and that planters' perceptions of book farming were radically different in that state as compared to points further

---

216 *Southern Cultivator, 1:4* (1843):.31.
217 Ibid.

South. Virginia, for instance, was years ahead of Georgia in regard to agricultural reform and thus had already progressed further toward acceptance of agricultural literature. In 1817, Virginia saw the establishment of its first agricultural improvement agency, which was known as the Albemarle Agricultural Society. Established at Charlottesville by Presidents Jefferson and Madison, the society studied the benefits of crop rotation, fertilizers, and new machinery.[218] Agricultural societies continued to spring up in Virginia until the outbreak of the Civil War. One of their major functions was the sponsorship of fairs; the Albemarle Society held its first fair in 1819 and every subsequent year until 1849, and the first official state fair was held in Richmond in 1853.[219] Ruffin's *Farmer's Register* was founded in 1833 and was published until 1842. At the time, Demaree suggest that agricultural editors regarded it the "best publication on agriculture" in the United States and Europe by agricultural editors.[220] Georgia's first agricultural fair, sponsored by the Southern Central Agricultural Society, did not occur until 1847 -- almost thirty years after Virginia's first fair. Other Southern states were more akin to Georgia. For example, Mississippians saw the establishment four agricultural journals from 1839-1850, yet they received such little support they too were defunct within a year.[221]

By its second year of publication, the *Southern Cultivator* began to garner support from readers who appeared frustrated with the backwardness of Southern agriculture. One writer outspokenly pitied "the stupidity of the man who thinks that if we use books we must close our eyes against other sources of information."[222] For this writer, book farming was "learning by means of books, new facts, opinions, results of experiments, modes of operation and using such parts of the information as can be turned to profitable account on individual situations." He was reacting to a

---

[218] Charles Turner, "Virginia Agricultural Reform 1815-1860" *Agricultural History*, 26:3 (1952):80-89.
[219] Charles Turner, "Virginia State Agricultural Societies 1811-1860" *Agricultural History*, 38:3 (1964):167-177.
[220] Albert Lowther Demaree, *The American Agricultural Press,* 359.
[221] John Moore, *Agriculture in Ante Bellum Mississippi.* (Bookman: New York, 1959), 74-75.
[222] *Southern Cultivator*, 2:2(1844):15.

culture that was not only prejudiced against book farming, but books in general. Some held that books would make readers "mad" or that by "taking up an agricultural paper" they would "lose common sense" by rendering them mere "theorizers."[223] The article was submitted to the *Southern Cultivator* unsigned.

Three years into publication, the *Southern Cultivator* still struggled to attract an audience. The journal tried a different tactic by publishing a reprint "with the hope that it may aid in correcting Southern bad habits."[224] Praising the industrial nature of Yankee farmers, the unnamed narrator had traveled around New England and shared his observations, noting his Western brethren had much to learn from Northerners. This type of interregional travel was commonplace before the Civil War. A number of Southerners would venture North and write of their admiration for the "northern economy and culture;" much of which seems to pertain to new infrastructure like "public education."[225] We can interrupt the growth, proliferation, and advocacy of book farming as an iteration of public education.

The author of the article identifies the North as the land where book farming "triumphs." The West and South lacked many of the improvements made by Northern farmers, including "systematic drains, which [any] civil engineer might be proud of, judicious manures" that produced "high yields," and roads free of both holes and "livestock." The writer found Western farmers were lazy by Northern standards, noting "a Yankee farmer does not know what an idle moment means." Having had his "Western pride" bruised, the writer speculates that the West could greatly benefit from the ways of "New England industry."[226] Prosperity abounded in the North and the benefits of book farming were quite obvious not only to this writer but also to the editor of the *Southern*

---

[223] Ibid.
[224] *Southern Cultivator*, 4:7 (1846):109.
[225] Jonathan Daniel Wells, *Origins of the Southern Middle Class*, 28.
[226] *Southern Cultivator*, 4:7 (1846):109.

Cultivator. It was this type of advancement to which Southern agricultural reformers aspired, and it was certainly the vision that the *Southern Cultivator* tried to sell to its readers.

Much of what we have read positions book farming as a result of or a reaction to an agricultural crisis. Yet the excerpts that follow reveal another crucial issue planters faced-- that of identity. It also denotes how agricultural journals were seen as symbols of professionalism, which planters hoped would garner them more status and respectability. Georgian D. Barnwell wrote to the *Southern Cultivator*, encouraging the journal to "press on" because "the prize" was "ahead."[227] He was quite honest about the almost insurmountable task that lay before the new journal. The very idea of agricultural reform was only an "embryo" in the South, and he warned that the *Southern Cultivator* had a "tough fight against deep-rooted prejudices and long standing habits" that would "require time, patience, and much perseverance to overcome."

Barnwell suggests that planters were not only stubborn but also atypical of other professions that often established societies, which created a "general fund of knowledge" for their members. "Who ever heard of a well-organized society of planters in the South?" he asks. An "Amateur Planter" from Alabama expressed similar thoughts by suggesting that the ignorance toward agricultural literature was in large part due to planters steering their most feeble-minded progeny into farming rather than "their brightest and intellectual sons," who were instead channeled into "Law, Physic, and Divinity." The long term consequences of this resulted in the "prevalent prejudice against book farming." For this planter, the *Southern Cultivator* was more than a vehicle for information-sharing; it was also a symbol of professional credibility, not unlike "scientific journals."[228]

---

[227] *Southern Cultivator*, 2:10 (1844):75.
[228] *Southern Cultivator*, 4:9 (1846):140.

What was occurring in the aforementioned was a rapidly changing cultural and social landscape where professionalism was the new ideal. A professional stood in stark contrast to the "amateur."[229] Bledstein notes that, in the 1700s, an amateur was simply "a person who pursued an activity for the love it," but by the mid-1800s, negative variations of the word such as "amateurish" appeared; these are what we are familiar with today -- a lack of skill, that which is "superficial," "defective" and less than. These connotations conflicted with the increasingly dominant middling classes, who were made up of people who did something of merit or had purview over some dominion of human life. Lawyers were associated with contracts and courtrooms; doctors healed, or at least were associated with human disease; teachers obviously taught. Farmers, on the other hand, still felt that they had insufficient professional recognition, and many called for an alternative title, as well as an infrastructure of education and printed culture to help solidify their status.

The "Amateur Planter" wanted to convey to readers that agriculture was no different from "other branches of human knowledge" and thus should be "promoted by papers" as well. There are many reasons this planter found these issues important. Respectability was one reason; for the "Amateur Planter," the existence of a paper would transform the lowly planter into a peer "with the learned professions, [so that they could] compete successfully" for public office. Writing from Fairfield County, South Carolina, in the summer of 1846, Caroliniensis submitted "Respect for Labor" for publication in the *Southern Cultivator*.[230] This article is particularly noteworthy because it illustrates the class struggle between agriculturalists and the more enlightened disciplines of law and medicine, as well as the animosity that existed between planters and the upper classes. For

[229] Burton J. Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 31
[230] *Southern Cultivator*, 4:9 (1846): 139.

Caroliniensis, the purpose of agricultural literature was two-fold: "not only [were they] to improve the soil and increase the products of the country, but [also] to elevate Agriculture as a profession."[231]

We learn from Caroliniensis that planters suffered from "low esteem" and were apparently in such depths of despair that they were unable to free themselves from their self-acknowledged "suicidal" practices. Like the "Amateur Planter," this South Carolina planter suggests that fathers do a disservice by encouraging their children to enter other professions. "Who is at fault for the seemingly universal low opinion held of agriculturists?" Caroliniensis asks. He goes on to blame the "cream of gentility and refinement, the upper crust of society," who he regarded as the "drones of society" calling them out as "non-producing loafers of the day." Here we see the conflict that is set up between the ambitious middling classes with their reformist agendas and the planter elite, who favored the status quo. Middle-class Southerners often used the pages of periodicals to express their outrage toward an elite that they thought were uninterested in Southern cultural and infrastructural development, and many of these conflicts revolved around education.

A writer in the North Carolina's *Southern Weekly Post* titled his article "Old Fogyism" after what he saw as the elite's indifference, noting that they "sip rich wines and indulge in luxurious dinners" rather than spearheading the reformist movements that were occurring throughout the region.[232] The elite felt that reformers like Caroliniensis were "clowns" and for him "the prime object" of the *Southern Cultivator's* "existence" was to defend the profession and thus establish much needed respectability.[233]

By the mid 1800's Southern agricultural clubs were increasingly becoming sites of reading and knowledge sharing for rural residents. Members of the Barbour County Alabama Agricultural

---

[231] Ibid.
[232] Jonathan Wells, *Origins of the Southern Middle Class,*139. Also see pages 67-68.
[233] Ibid.

Society, for example, produced a "Report" on the "Management of Slaves," which was read before its members and subsequently shared with practitioners in the *Southern Cultivator*.[234] The Report lambasted Southerners for reading Northern agricultural materials "where the institution of slavery does not it exist." The North's labor pool relied on "hirelings" readers were told, while Southern laborers were "our property." Northern societies were solely concerned with "their lands" and "their stock" argued Calhoun and DuBose and Southerners needed to chart a new path, by focusing on their own informational needs.

Among the Reports' key findings was that financially successful planters had learned to "not kill the goose to obtain the golden egg." Instead of using harsh methods of discipline and punishment, the Report called for a regimen of "systematic management" which it believed increased productively. The Report concluded with ten "general principles" in the "government of slaves.[235] While some Southerners consumed agricultural materials from the "non-slaveholding section of the United States," the more ambitious readers were keenly aware that Northern agricultural literature lacked practical information for Southern consumers. This information conflict was the stimulus for agricultural literature in the Southern image.[236]

Similarly the Beech Island Agricultural and Police Society, located just outside of Augusta in South Carolina, did their part to support education in the practice of Southern agriculture. In 1846, they required that "every member […] take at least one agricultural paper." Additionally, members were required to conduct "at least one" experiment in "farming" a year and share their results in a "report" with the club. Aiming for something that at least appeared rigorous, the club required that reports stated:

---

[234] "Management of Slaves" *Southern Cultivator* 4 (1846) 113-114. See also James O. Breeden eds. *Advise Among Masters: The Ideal in Slave Management in the Old South*, (Westport: Greenwood Press,1980) 7.
[235] Ibid.
[236] A similar information conflict appears in Northern medical journals.

> Precisely & accurately the area of ground on which it takes the number of bushels & kind of manure applied, manner of working & product in exact weight or measurement, -or if the experiment is not of a kind require such details as mentioned – He shall then state all the particulars with such exactness as to leave no room for guessing. [237]

By 1858, the Club held subscriptions to "agricultural papers," including the *Southern Cultivator*, the *Farmer & Planter* (Pendleton, S.C.), *Cotton Planter & Soil of the South* (Montgomery Alabama), *Southern Homestead* (Atlanta, GA), *Western Farm Journal* (Louisville, Ky), and the *Southern Planter* (Richmond, VA). The only paper of Northern origin was New York's *Working Farmer*, which supports my previous argument that the content in Northern journals did not meet the information needs of the majority of Southern agriculturists. The subscriptions cost the club $9.00 a year in subscription fees and $1.05 in postage. In 1860, the club added the *Mississippi Planter* to its periodical collection on book farming.

What we have witnessed is an extension of the meaning of "book farming," and the agricultural journal was just one manifestation in this evolving term. Not only did the *Southern Cultivator* disseminate what editors believed was scientific information, but it also brought professional legitimacy to planters so that they too could claim membership in a highly-esteemed occupation. The *Southern Cultivator's* status as a *de facto* professional journal represented the aspirations of some of its readers for a higher social status. However, identity was not the only issue; the other unexplored component justifying the need for a professional journal was an information gap in agricultural literature. Wells writes about the robust exchange of reading materials that occurred between the North and the South during the antebellum period. Using records from postal account books in Montgomery County, Alabama, he finds that residents subscribed to New York-based journals second only to those produced in their home state.[238] With this evidence in mind, I do not suggest that Southerners did not read and/or subscribe to Northern agricultural

[237] Beech Island Minutes, January 24, 1846 (unnumbered pages).
[238] Jonathan Daniel Wells, *Origins of the Southern Middle Class*, 48.

journals, but I do claim that information reflecting Southern agricultural practices -- especially slaveholding -- was given scant attention in these farm journals of Northern origin, which is also supported by the paucity of Northern journals subscribed to at the Beech Island agricultural club.

The highly successful New York-based *The Cultivator* -- a monthly publication devoted to agriculture from which the title of the *Southern Cultivator* was derived -- had very little content relating to plantation management. In fact, for the period spanning 1834 to 1865, the only articles related to any aspect of Southern plantation life was in the form of travel writings by noted agriculturist Solon Robinson.[239] I contend that Northern farm journals were inappropriate media for the specialized place-based information needed by Southern agriculturalists, resulting in an conflict between the needs of Southerners and the material manifested in Northern-based journals like *The Cultivator*.

Information on Professional Practice

Rather than focus on the brute physical nature of American slavery, this analysis treats the practice as an information-intensive phenomenon. Since the process of extracting labor from unwilling individuals for profit was anything but intuitive, issues regarding the management and control of captives became a vital part of the information landscape of Southern agriculturalists. Sharla M. Fett uses the term "advice literature" in referencing the swarm of content appearing on the Southern reading scene in the "late antebellum decades."[240] Rather than refer to such literature as "advice," I suggest it be regarded as professional literature on the most critical aspects of

---

[239] See Solon Robinson "NOTES OF TRAVEL IN THE SOUTHWEST--No. VI.," *Southern Cultivator*, 2:9; (1845), 271; "A MISSISSIPPI PLANTATION," Ibid., 3 (1846), 31. The *Southern Cultivator* is available electronically. Users can search phrases, such as the often used "Negro Management" or "Management of Negros." These results lead me to these claims. Conversely, searching early Southern agricultural journals like the *Southern Agriculturist* reveals rich results on the aforementioned terms related to plantation management.

[240] Sharla M. Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations (*Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002),172.

Southern agricultural practices. To simply regard this type of material as "advice" hides the true nature of what was occurring -- perfecting the practice of Southern agriculture, including its administration and delivery -- as well as obscures the harsh reality of the Southern information régime on the lives of African Americans.

Looking at letters exchanged between Southern agriculturalists provides insight into the management of plantations, and particularly issues that most troubled planters. Virginia planter Nathaniel Hooe, who warned fellow planter William Harrison not to govern his plantation as an absentee owner by noting the pitfalls of transferring control to a " 'subaltern' overseer."[241] The type of advice transferred in private letters may have helped resolve an immediate concern such as this, but it did little to prevent future problems, nor could this knowledge be shared effectively with the masses.

By contrast, the *Southern Cultivator*, as an information and communication device, provided a fast and efficient form of interactive media that helped solidify a network of Southern agriculturists. In many respects, the *Southern Cultivator* was a hybrid journal in that it contained all of the expected content of an agricultural journal, such as animal husbandry and issues of crop propagation, but there were also pieces devoted to the administration of human captives and spanning such diverse topics as diet, clothes, health, and labor management. Plantations were totalitarian régimes where the residing despot was concerned with maximizing profit, which resulted in health information being a major area of professional concern for the Southern agricultural community.

The concept of "soundness" introduced by Georgian physician Juriah Harris encapsulated "an enslaved person's overall state of health and, by extension, his or her worth in the

---

[241] Sharla Fett, *Working Cures,*172.

marketplace."[242] The idea here is not just the captives' value at the time of sale, but also, their productivity as a laborer. Unlike articles appearing in the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, which were restricted to physicians, health articles in the *Southern Cultivator* emanated from an assorted group of practitioners involved in the practice of slaveholding, which included overseers, planters, and physicians who, like M.W. Phillips and James N. Towns, were also agriculturalists.

Physicians generally warned planters against the hazards of overworking captives and advocated for hygienic living conditions on plantations, not out of concern for the captives but as an effective means for diminishing disease outbreaks. M.W. Phillips was a well-known contributor to Southern agricultural journals, in addition to the *Southern Cultivator*, his articles populated the pages of the American Cotton Planter and the *South-Western Farmer*, where he served as editor in the early 1840s.[243] A South Carolinian by birth, Phillips owned a 500-acre plantation located outside of Vicksburg, Mississippi. He was one of the many planters who moved west in the 1830s to take advantage of the untilled soil and cheap land. By the late 1840s, Phillips suggested that he was of "that small class in the South sneeringly called book farmers."[244] Phillips's plantation, located in Hinds County, Mississippi, had acquired the reputation of being one of the best managed in the South, even hosting famed antebellum travel writer Slone Robinson.[245] One of Phillip's articles for the *Southern Cultivator*, "The Best Means of Preserving Health on Plantations," gives readers a prescription for conserving the energy of captives during the summer months, which he referred to as a "little luxury."[246] We're told that "about the 1st of May, or probably earlier, say 20th of April, [his] horn sounds at 11 o'clock, if very warm – all hands come in, they hunt for shade where they nod or

---

242 Ibid., 20.
243 Albert Lowther Demaree, *American Agricultural Press*, 104.
244 Southern Cultivator, 7:4 (1849):59.
245 "Editorial Items," *The Western Farmer and Gardner: Devoted to Agriculture, Horticulture and Rural Economy*,3 (1841), 72-73; H.A. Kellar, *Solon Robinson Pioneer and Agriculturalist; Selected Writings.* (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Bureau, 1936).
246 *Southern Cultivator, 5:8* (1847):142.

sleep, until 3 o'clock, p.m. Usually [they] stop at 12, and sometimes do not go out until 4, ever being governed by the heat."[247]

One of the more peculiar medical articles found in the *Southern Cultivator* was submitted by a Dr. Rustic. In "Danger and How to Prevent It," he warned planters about the potential hazards of fire. The optimum way to "protect against fire" was to "impress on the minds of all, large and small, field and house servants, the importance of not running if they catch a-fire, otherwise ninth tenths will run" he tells us. Rustic would systematically interrogate captives with what he called "quizzes" until he was reassured that his slaves knew "to stop, drop, and roll."[248]

Physician James Townes provided an article on the "Management of Negros" that, among other things, warned planters of the importance of providing proper clothing. Townes, writing from Mississippi, suggests that New Orleans provided the best selection and prices in the region for "blankets" and other apparel. Basic winter requirements consisted of "two pairs of shoes," and for men a "thick wollen suit," while women were provided a "woolen cape" and handkerchief. Alabama physician-planter Robert Draughton, also a frequent contributor, agrees that the apparel of "field hands" required proper attention. He too touted the benefits of woolen clothing, especially in the summer, which he argued, that was a "poor conductor of heat" and caused the skin to itch. This stimulated blood flow, resulting a healthier body.[249] This seemingly unlikely content for an agricultural journal was an important aspect of professional practice. County fairs often hosted exhibits that featured so-called "Negro shoes." The Cass County Agricultural Society, for example, offered premiums at its annual fair for the best agricultural products, and J.H. Fitten touted his "well

[247] Ibid.
[248] *Southern Cultivator*, 17:3(1859):74.
[249] Ibid.

made, home-made shoes" that offered "planters" no better option.[250]

Augusta textile manufactures frequently ran advertisements in the *Southern Cultivator* selling both raw materials as well as finished clothing for captive wear. "To The Planters of the South," the Belleville Manufacturing Company's notice read, claiming it offered better quality "negro cloths" than any manufacturer "North of the Potomac."[251] Negro cloth was made from low-grade coarse material used to fashion "loose fitting garments" for captives.[252] Like Southern physicians, they suggested that purchasing quality-made goods would result in lower "Doctor's Bills." Scranton, Seymour & Company, another local textile firm, sold woolen cloth by the "rolls" for planters wanting to "make their Negro clothing at home."[253] White and White suggest that clothing was also used as an enticement or reward for what planters saw as good behavior. Reverend Henry Laurens, for example, wanted to "distinguish" well-behaved captives from the others, dressed in what was presumably white "Negro cloth." Instead he would provide them with "blue cloth and metal buttons."[254]

This concluding discussion illustrates the integration of the many different actors involved in the professionalization of Southern agriculture. The planter-physician was a particularly powerful advocate in the dissemination of health-related medical information because of the consolidation of their medical authority and practical experience in managing captive labor as agriculturists. Furthermore, in contrast to the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, which I introduce in the next chapter, the *Southern Cultivator* provided a venue for physicians to interact with actors external to the

---

[250] "Cass County Fair," *Southern Cultivator*, 18:11, (1860) :338 Cass County is now known as Bartow County, Georgia. For other examples see "Harris Agricultural Society" Ibid., 5,(1847):14; "Agricultural Fair for Jefferson County," Ibid., 7:6 (1849).
[251] "To The Planters of The South" and "Important to Planters," Ibid.,13:8, (1855), 261.
[252] Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin': African American Expressive Culture, from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 9. See also John David Smith, "Clothing" in Dictionary of African American Slavery,(Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 117-121.
[253] "To The Planters of The South" and "Important to Planters," *Augusta Chronicle*, 13:8 (1855), 261.
[254] Shane White and Graham White, *Stylin',*14.

medical profession. The interaction between these different actors reveals unexpected institutions contributing to the practice of Southern agriculture, as well as the region's reading landscape. Manufacturers entered the dialogue by way of advertisements, echoing the sentiments of physicians -- that is, that well-made clothing represented a healthcare preventive, and we can imagine that the savings resulted in higher productivity.

This elaborate flow of information provides readers with an argument not only about why apparel is integral to agricultural practice, but also locations and manufacturers to obtain these most needed goods. For example, textile firms such as Belleville and Scranton became institutions that promoted professionally-oriented reading for the South through their purchasing of advertisements; their marketing campaigns suggest the presence of readers in as faraway places as New Orleans, Mobile, and Montgomery, and more accessible points like Charleston, Savannah, and the Magnolia city herself.[255]

Conclusion

Agricultural information had long circulated on the Georgia reading scene. Readers will recall, from the previous chapter, that the first printed documents occurring in the state were legal notices that outlawed the theft of horses. Colonial printers quickly developed and sold almanacs that supplied readers with local sundry information and themselves with a hefty flow of supplementary income. This chapter has demonstrated that agricultural information, during the antebellum period was bountiful, existing in bits and pieces that appeared in varied forms of texts, manifestations and scales. By the beginning of the 19th century, printers in Augusta were not unlike their brethren in other regions of the United States, as they too produced and marketed almanacs filled with "useful" information for readers.

---

[255] "To The Planters of The South" and "Important to Planters," *Southern Cultivator,* 13:8 (1855), 261.

The *Southern Cultivator* represented a scaling up of agricultural literature, both in format and temporality. Additionally, this information appeared more intensive than that of its smaller cousin, the almanac. These changes in scale and time occurred because, in contrast to the annual almanac, the *Southern Cultivator* was issued serially, in monthly installments. The information was much more expansive, offering everything from treatises on soil and crop propagation, animal husbandry, the management of captives and advertisements which presented readers with yet, more assorted agricultural goods, materials and services. The *Southern Cultivator* also altered the reading experience of Southern agriculturists. Almanacs offered an individual reading experience, and while they may have been read as a community, readers were not necessarily imagining themselves as Southern agriculturists.

The *Southern Cultivator* established a new information environment that directed readers to consume the text within the context of a practice. Its audience were readers who identified with the geographical space –Southern, and the occupation of "tiller of the soil." While the *Southern Cultivator* positioned itself as an interactive medium to unite practitioners, ambitious readers constructed it as a professional journal, not unlike those journals belonging to other practices. The content needed for the practice of Southern agriculture was quite diverse, and its knowledge sphere was amassed from a broad assortment of individuals involved with the practice. This chapter's emphasis was on the dual role of physician-planters as information creators. This analysis allowed us to see unexpected connections between apparel, health, textile manufacturing, and slavery, which intersected to form a viable information need in the practice of Southern agriculture.

This discussion revealed the many types of agriculturally-based practically oriented reading materials that emanated from Augusta. Additionally, it has demonstrated the hidden contribution of local printers on the South's reading landscape. While many printers, with little doubt, assumed this

role for no other reason than its pecuniary benefit, others like Jones Book, Job, and Newspaper, Publishers used the *Southern Cultivator* as a public good, wanting only to "break-even;" their main objective was to unite agriculturalists across the South, with an information device they thought could help transform the dismal state of agriculture. Yet the story does not end here. As we will see in the next chapter the role of medicine, slavery, professionalism, and printers becomes even more complicated in the web that was antebellum Southern print culture.

Chapter 4

"Do Not Kill the Goose To Obtain the Golden Egg" Negro Medicine & *The Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* [256]

Among the diverse types of reading materials and genres that proliferated in a seemingly provincial antebellum Southern town like Augusta, Georgia, texts concerned with medical content would seem outside the purview of likely topics. Yet, the circulation of practical information on human health care and various iterations of its administration, delivery, and improvement was bountiful in Augusta, appearing across a spectrum of locally produced print materials. Similar to Augusta's agricultural journal, the *Southern Cultivator*, medical information emanating from the Magnolia City extended well beyond its borders, and influenced the everyday lives of the working class, yeoman, and medical professionals alike. Augustan medical information was disseminated on a variety of scales; consumer health information in the form of articles and advertisements made its way out of Augusta and into the hinterlands by way of the *Chronicle & Sentinel's* Wednesday "mammoth" country edition.

While other medical information was documented and read for administrative purposes, such as Dr. Paul Eve's medical ledger, which recorded an assortment of treatments for patients ranging from captives on rural plantations to city dwelling prostitutes, and the Medical College of Georgia's Faculty minute book, which faithfully documented the meetings of the school's Board of Trustees and was read at the commencement of every faculty assembly. On a much larger scale, Augustan medical print appeared in the form of a medical journal, designed to reach a broad audience scattered throughout the Southern United States. Intended to be a corrective, the *Southern*

---

[256] "Do not kill the goose to obtain the golden egg" was a metaphor used by the Barbour County (Alabama) Agricultural Society. It symbolized a paradigm shift in planters' management style wherein, what they believed was, better treatment of captives produced higher profits. See "Management of Slaves" *Southern Cultivator* 4 (1846) 113-114. See also James O. Breeden eds. *Advice Among Masters: The Ideal in Slave Management in the Old South*, (Westport: Greenwood Press,1980) 7.

Medical & Surgical Journal augmented the dearth of Southern medical information and helped Southern physicians to gain control of their natural and social environments.

While this chapter's discussion begins with the presence of consumer health information on the local print scene, the chapter's focus is on the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* (*SMSJ*). I argue the *SMSJ* was leveraged as a print technology by the Medical College of Georgia in order to bring about cultural change in the practice of Southern medicine. The medical journal was a node in a complex information network, with the Medical College of Georgia at its center. The medical college as an information agency helped to legitimatize Southern medical literature as a viable genre in the region. As such, the MCG played a significant role in affecting the reading habits of Southern physicians, by relying on a vast information network that produced specialized medical content which was consumed as *professional reading,* an activity designed for self-improvement.

I begin the chapter by discussing the prevalence of consumer health information encountered by readers of Augustan periodicals. Next, I discuss the biological and social factors that effected health in Augusta and her hinterlands, and present how municipal and state governments employed print technology as a surveillance tool for public health administration. The discussion then turns to the presence of professionally-oriented medical information in the Southern states, which establishes my introduction of the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, where I discuss how the faculty of the MCG imagined the journal and its role as an information communication technology. The chapter concludes with a discussion on so-called "negro hospitals" and their role in producing valuable information content for the *SMSJ*.

Health Information in Augusta's Public Sphere

The local newspaper, the *Chronicle & Sentinel*, was a popular and efficient vehicle for the spread of everyday practical medical information in antebellum Augusta and its environs. In 1825,

for example, the Augusta Medical Society used the paper to announce a new fee structure for medical services in the city, local citizens were kept informed with monthly updates from the "Keeper of the Hospital Reports," and death notices were dispersed by the sexton in the paper's pages. Dr. Dennis took advantage of the *Chronicle*'s large readership to advertise his "Astringent Tonic" for "plantation medicine," promising "planters would save great expense in medicines and medical fees." Even advertisements by Augusta's printers mentioned the medical print produced in their offices. Jones Publishers, for instance, noted that they could execute "Labels for Druggists"; similarly, James McCafferty proclaimed his expertise in printing "Physicians and Druggists' Labels." Advertisements such as these were not aimed at the consuming public, but rather at local and regional physicians and pharmacists. Citizens, however, would eventually encounter these medical documents in their day-to-day reading practices when the documents appeared on prescription bottles.

As presented in the previous chapter, the *Southern Cultivator* was a site for the consumption of medical information. Content sometimes addressed planters, with tips, testimonials, and advertisements about what was called "Black health"; at other times, the *Southern Cultivator* shared consumer health information for the public at large. Articles in the journal's section on "Domestic Economy, Recipes, & c" often hailed the benefits of daily "EXERCISE" and "FRESH AIR," and touted the "importance" of eating healthy foods like apples.[257] Newspapers and journals in antebellum Georgia were not only sites for consumer-related health information, but municipal and state governments, under the banner of "public health," used the technology of print to communicate with each other; print was also used by the government as a fast and efficient means to notify citizens about disease outbreaks.

[257] See "Exercise" *Southern Cultivator*, 2(1843:70; Ibid., 7:12 (1849):190.

Southerners were concerned not only by responses to disease, but by the ways in which the South was portrayed in terms of disease in the nation as a whole. By the 1830s, Georgians had established control over the smallpox epidemic that, although concentrated in the low-lying coastal port cities, had struck most parts of the State. Part of the reason the state was able to quell the epidemic was because of an aggressive vaccination campaign that began in 1801.[258] Savannah, for example, required all of its citizens to be vaccinated around 1815. By 1825, the mere rumor of a single case of Yellow fever prompted city officials to offer vaccinations to residents, which were accompanied by municipal regulations threatening to quarantine diseased citizens to a "safe and convenient place" and stating that individuals found interfering with the city's efforts to maintain a healthful city faced fines upwards of $500; these threats were, of course, disseminated in the local newspaper, the *Chronicle*. During the antebellum period, newspapers represented a fast and efficient technology for public health surveillance and were not unlike present-day technologies like Google's Flu Tracker, which researchers suggest can improve early detection of influenza outbreaks.[259] Increased circulation of newspapers established an information network that linked citizens, government officials, and physicians throughout the state, and which coalesced into quick action that suppressed outbreaks.

Cates suggests that while newspapers often hid the truth about the health status of their respective cities, rival papers within the state "could usually be relied upon to reveal the deception."[260] In 1799, a small pox outbreak hit the city of Savannah, but the local paper made no mention of it. Cates suggests the paper colluded with the city council and local businesses who were concerned with the loss of revenue that news of such an outbreak could bring. Augusta's *Chronicle*

---

[258] Gerald Lee Cates. *A Medical History of Georgia: The First Hundred Years, 1733-1833* (PhD diss., University of Georgia, 1976) 63.
[259] See Jeremy Ginsberg, Matthew H. Mohebbi, Rajan S. Patel1, Lynnette Brammer2, Mark S. Smolinski1 & Larry Brilliant. "Detecting influenza epidemics using search engine query data" *Nature* 457, (2009): 1012-1014.
[260] Cates, *Medical History of Georgia,* 68.

picked up the story, alerting readers to the deceitful practices of the Savannah newspaper. The proper protocol required the city to notify the Governor, who in turn used the newspapers to notify "Georgians to avoid the region, and […] enforcing quarantine regulations."[261]

State and Municipal Public Health

Northern pundits of the early 19th century often cast the South as "the unhealthiest region in the country" -- an accusation that lives on in contemporary popular discourse. This external criticism, combined with the reality of diseases like yellow fever, which had already been controlled in the North, contributed to the belief in Southern medical communities that their region was distinct in terms of health concerns.[262] Like many parts of the urban South during the period, Augusta waged battles against the dual threats of malarial and typhoid fevers. Situated on a fall line, where rich piedmont clay meets the sandy soil of the coastal plain, Augusta sits in a sort of natural trough, with hills to the north and west of the city and a large mosquito-filled swamp encompassing the city's southern parts.[263] These conditions spawned annual "autumnal fevers," which swept through the city from "late June or early July to October."[264] While Augusta certainly had its share of mosquito-borne diseases, the city fared much better than coastal Savannah, which in 1820 experienced an outbreak of yellow fever. Fear of a similar epidemic prompted Augustan officials to enact public health legislation that mandated strict regulations regarding the construction of latrines,

---

[261] Ibid.,62.

[262] Margret Warner "Public Health in the Old South" in *Science and Medicine in the Old South*, Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt eds. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press ,1989), 226.

[263] Fall lines are a common geographical feature in the Eastern United States. They are the imaginary lines that separate the Piedmont (clay soils) from the Atlantic coastal plain (sandy soils). Other Georgia fall line cities are Macon and Columbus. Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond are also examples of fall line cities.

[264] Cates, *Medical History of Georgia*, 87.

disposal of human and animal wastes, and implementation of pumps to remove stagnant water in low-lying parts of the city.[265]

Despite overreactions from the city's elected officials, Augusta largely had the reputation for being a "healthful community."[266] This explains why the residents were perplexed by the outbreak of yellow fever that engulfed the city during the summer of 1839. The "thunderbolt in a cloudless sky," as the *Chronicle* described the epidemic, caused 2,000 of Augusta's 6,500 residents to flee the city; another 1,500-2000 cases of infection were reported, and ultimately 240 deaths.[267] During the summer of 1839, a hot zone appeared around Lincoln and Elbert streets near the Savannah River. In early June, several members of a family residing in the area were diagnosed with what was believed to be a "remittent fever"; a month later, a laborer who worked in the area received a similar diagnosis, and a child residing in the area displayed "flu like symptoms and died in a few days, his skin turning yellow […] and developing large purple blotches shortly after death." As more residents became ill, the city convened a committee -- comprised of MCG faculty members Drs. Robertson, Garvin and Eve -- to investigate the source of the outbreak, initially believed to be the result of infected travelers from Charleston, South Carolina. The findings however, reported that the source of the disease was not that of an infected stranger, but rather, massive piles of garbage. A more apt description is a "trash wharf" containing "200,000 cubic feet of vegetable and animal matter" that had been decomposing since 1834.[268] It was not until the 20th century, during the sojourn of Army physician Dr. Walter Reed in Cuba that the medical community came to understand the role of mosquitoes in transmission of the yellow fever virus.

---

[265] Ibid., 91.
[266] Cates, *Medical History of Georgia* , 91. See also Edward Cashin's *Story of Augusta.*
[267] *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, 21 (1840):183; Evelyn Ward Gay, *The Medical Profession in Georgia 1733-1983* (Fulton: Missouri: Avid Bell Press:1983):181. Yellow fever is a virus caused by the bite of a female infected mosquito of the Aedes Aegypti species. Symptoms of the disease usually manifest 3-5 days after infection in the form of fever, jaundice, or a yellowing of the skin and eyes, bleeding and liver, kidney and organ failure.
[268] *American Journal of the Medical Sciences,* 30: (1855): 45.

In addition to the health consequences the epidemic posed for the city, the outbreak interrupted the flow of information for the entire region. The Augusta *Chronicle* was unable to publish its three editions because of a "lack of hands," with journeymen having "left their posts on account of the prevailing epidemic," as noted by the paper on September 12, 1839; consequently, the *Chronicle* had "barely force enough to go to press with [the] weekly paper." Two weeks later, William E. Jones, owner of the paper, told readers that he could only print a weekly edition, and that "even this was difficult."[269]

Other print venues were also affected by the epidemic. Dr. Milton Anthony, a pioneer in Georgian health care reform, was perhaps the most prominent victim of the 1839 epidemic. The ripple effect of Anthony's death was felt by the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, which was suspended following the loss of its editor. One of Augusta's earliest literary journals, the *Augusta Mirror*, also found its publication interrupted from August to November of 1839. Thompson, the founder and editor of the *Mirror*, evacuated the city, along with 2000 other residents, finding refuge in Warrenton, Georgia; there, he recuperated from a "chronic affection of the liver and … great irritability of lungs."[270]

As mentioned earlier in the paper, locally produced medical information circulated on a variety of scales, and was consumed both in the city and the countryside, as in the case of the *Chronicle*. Another entity disseminating medical information, not only for local practical implementation but also for local enforcement, was the City of Augusta. The city's General Ordinance for 1857 reveals a municipal concern for the health and control of its white citizens. Harkening back to the "trash wharf" from 1839, residents were prohibited from "throw[ing] any vegetable or animal matter or other offensive substance, in the Savannah River from any part of the

---

[269] Earl L. Bell and Kenneth C. Crabbe. *The Augusta Chronicle: Indomitable Voice of Dixie 1785-1960*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1960): 43.
[270] Bertram Holland Flanders, *Early Georgia Magazines*, 34.

city of Augusta." The city also ensured that public pumps were kept free from "trash" and ordered locals not to "wash or rinse any clothes, vegetables, or other articles, within twenty feet of such pumps."[271] The city felt it acceptable for only "white boys under the age of fifteen years to bathe" in a portion of the river between McCarten and Marbury streets."[272] Even at this late date, when smallpox would have been of little concern, individuals infected with the disease -- whether captive, free person of color, or "free white persons" -- had to obtain special permission from the Mayor to enter the city; only he could "admit or exclude" entrants, possibly requiring a "quarantine" to determine if individuals were in good health.[273]

Municipal control of health also extended into the city's Lower Market-House. Established in 1830, the downtown market was in operation until 1878; it served as a destination for residents to buy food from farmers, grocers, and butchers. A municipal clerk, elected annually, was charged with inspecting "all unsound, impure and unwholesome provisions brought to the market for sale," with unsuitable goods being "thrown in the river." Local ordinances required that market butchers always wear aprons or frocks, and required the market be "swept clean every day within two hours" of closing.[274] But the city was not just concerned with needs of the living; the 1857 Ordinances also reveal numerous medical regulations pertaining to the dead, falling under the purview of an elected sexton. Augusta's ordinances were a form of practical material culture that in turn mandated the production of other forms of practically oriented documents and literacies. The sexton, for instance, made sure that "the digging of all graves" reached their required depth of at least five feet, as well as maintained a "Book of Record." This document recorded all of the deaths and burials in the city, noting an individual's name, age, and place of birth. The sexton also acquired death certificates,

---

[271] *The General Ordinance of the City of Augusta : Passed March 18th, 1857 : to which are annexed the rules and resolutions, of the City Council of Augusta : the ordinances for the construction of the Augusta canal, and the several acts of the Legislature, relating to the city of Augusta and the construction of the Augusta Canal. (*Augusta, Ga. : McCafferty's Office, 1857), 9. American Antiquarian Society

[272] Ibid., 7

[273] Ibid., 20

[274] Ibid.,70-71.

another layer of practical material culture, from physicians so that he could record the cause of death in the Book of Record, as well as prepared monthly reports for the city council, which were subsequently published in the local newspaper.[275]

While the aforementioned rules and regulations were a vital part of the city's efforts to maintain a healthful population, static codification of laws could only accomplish a limited amount in terms of policing the human condition. For issues of a more dynamic nature, the city mandated a Board of Health, which was "appointed at the first meeting after the annual election of Members of the City Council." The board was comprised of four members, each of whom represented one of the city's wards. Their primary role was to keep surveillance of the city and "secure and promote its health." A part of their duties was the inspection of lots and the removal of "nuisances" that could facilitate the spread of diseases.[276]

City boosters did much to promote and maintain the sanitary living conditions of Augusta's residents by codifying regulations and mandating government positions that would enforce its directives. An investigation of a localized information culture, like this study, has the potential to uncover a diversity of information needs in the city; these needs inevitably varied between different communities. While newspapers were informative to lay citizens, government officials and physicians alike, much of the practical material culture produced and circulated by the city of Augusta was of little value for physicians wanting to improve the production, dissemination, and quality control of medical literature that addressed the needs of practitioners on a regional rather than municipal or state-wide scale. The next section addresses the deficiencies in medical literature on Southern practice and establishes the subsequent discussion on the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal.*

---

[275] Ibid., 78.
[276] *Ibid* ., 81.

Professional Medical Information

We have seen how the city of Augusta used practical medical information, by way of codified documents, to establish an information landscape that, through enforcement, provided the city with the infrastructure necessary for controlling and protecting the health and sanitation of the city. This type of communication, however, tells us little about the information available at the time for physicians. What information agencies and resources could they turn to? Answering this question will help to not only situate the origins of the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, but will also aid the reader in understanding the role of the journal in the lives of its readers. Additionally, a discussion of professionally focused organizations and their print materialization supports the dissertation's core argument of the ubiquity of practically oriented reading material in the South.

As we saw in the previous chapter on the *Southern Cultivator*, agricultural societies were the first institutions to consistently disseminate farming information in the form of published speeches, transactions, and eventually journals, newspapers, and magazines; a similar trajectory is discernible within medical societies. Other societies used their vast collection of case histories, collected by their members, to create increasingly important reference materials. The Massachusetts Medical Society, for example, published the *Library of Practical Medicine*, which spanned fifteen volumes. In 1820, several Northern medical societies cooperatively published the *United States Pharmacopoeia*, which Shafer calls the "finest work" produced by early medical societies.[277]

While the Southern states did not establish medical societies as early as their Northern brethren, by the 19th century, Southern physicians had established diverse organizations that helped define the practice of medicine, differentiating themselves from the many "quacks" that proliferated in American communities at that time, and cooperatively establishing "educational standards, [and]

---

[277] Henry Burnell Shafer, *The American Medical Profession, 1783-1850*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936),176.

codes of ethics."[278] Many Southern states, such as Louisiana in 1820, set up medical boards whose primary purpose was to regulate licenses and root out imposter physicians. Alabama, Florida, Texas, and Georgia all established medical supervisory boards of this type during the 1820s.[279] While these state commissioned boards did much to produce practical information for the government's regulation and enforcement of laws, they did little for the intellectual development of practicing physicians. The Georgia-based medical societies in particular, like the Augusta Medical Society, appear to have been primarily concerned with improving the state of medical education, rather than building the information landscape of working physicians.[280]

In order to fully comprehend the value and significance of the *SMSJ*, one must understand the dismal state of Southern medical literature during the early 19th century. In short, it was nearly non-existent. The *Charleston Medical Register*, published in 1802, was the first medical journal published in the Deep South--but it lasted only a year. The *Carolina Journal of Medicine, Science, and Agriculture* was a hybrid journal that commenced publication in 1825, but it too was suspended after one year. Richard Arnold, one of Georgia's leading physicians, argued that the South's lack of medical literature was due to inadequate infrastructure in Southern society. Northern physicians, Arnold believed, had access to medical libraries, as well as the luxury of "time" to sit and contemplate medical science, while the Southern practitioner was occupied with clinical duties and was ultimately "cut off from books," therefore lacking the same "incentive to write" as his Northern brethren. Arnold noted, however, that the Southern physician did have unique experiences that "would afford excellent materials worthy of a permanent record."[281] Having established the cultural

---

[278] Wells, "Professionalization and the Southern Middle Class" in *Southern Society and Its Transformations 1790-1860*, eds. Susanna Delfino *et al.* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2010), 163-166
[279] Henry Burnell Shafer, *American Medical Profession,* 212-213.
[280] For more on the activities of the Augusta Medical Society, see S. Joseph Lewis, *The Medical College of Georgia from 1829-1963* (Augusta: Georgia Health Science University, 2011) Chapter I.
[281] Henry Burnell Shafer, *American Medical Profession,* 178.

milieu in which the *SMSJ* emerges, the following section chronicles the introduction and development of what was the South's only medical journal at its debut.

The Southern Medical & Surgical Journal

In a letter written during the early half of the 1800s, the Georgian physician Richard Arnold wrote in a correspondence that he "wish[ed] there was more industry at the South among medical men."[282] But perhaps the most vociferous promoter of the Southern medical industry was Augusta physician Milton Anthony, who developed the idea for a medical journal that was published by the Medical College. In November 1835, the faculty minutes recorded that Dr. Paul Eve, who would later serve as co-editor, was "authorized to issue a prospectus for a Medical Journal at the expense of the Faculty."[283] In January of the following year, the prospectus of the curious new medical journal entitled the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, greeted readers of the Augusta *Chronicle*:

> The object of this journal is chiefly to condense practical information, as it may be derived from domestic and foreign sources, and to present it at once, to country, as well as city practitioners, of the healing art. It is designed to supply to desideratum in the South, and remedy the defect now experienced by the delay, expense, trouble, and frequent disappointment in the reception of quarterly publications. It will be strictly a practical work – composed of short articles, original and selected, of interesting facts and intelligence connected with the profession, and while its columns will be opened to all professional subjects, long theoretical disquisitions will not be admitted.[284]

The above prospectus provides us with several clues as to the state of the antebellum Southern medical landscape. Foremost, the *SMSJ* was imagined as a concise document. The Southern physician's lack of the "time" to read about and consider medical issues, as articulated above by Dr. Richard Arnold, appears to have been taken into consideration with its design. While the journal is aware of its place in the lives of local readers, specifically in Augusta and its hinterlands, it is imagined as a regional publication aimed at a population residing throughout the South. And as we saw in the discussion about printers' problems with the transporting and receiving

---

[282] Henry Burnell Shafer, *American Medical Profession,* 178.
[283] Faculty Minutes, November 30, 1825, 20-21.
[284] *Augusta Chronicle* January 16, 1836.

of ordered goods in Chapter Two, here we can witness similar issues with the dissemination of medical journals. Although the above prospectus does not expressly mention the geographical origins of the delayed and troublesome quarterly publications, they could only be those emanating from the North. The assumption here appears to be that the *SMSJ*, as a locally-produced journal, would have a much higher likelihood of actually making it into the hands of its subscribers. The journal was intended to help transform the Southern physicians' information world by providing useful information, which the prospectus intimates was being neglected, and to advance Southern medicine with the type of empirical content that others could immediately utilize in their daily practice of medicine.

Wells's research has illustrated that members of the Southern middle class, of whom physicians formed a part, did not reside in a vacuum. In fact, Southerners were exposed to a variety of ideas, thoughts, and opinions through the consumption of all types of Northern published periodicals.[285] The initial library collection of periodicals owned by the Medical College of Georgia, for example, was comprised entirely of Northern and European medical journals, except for the *Transylvania Medical Journal*, which was published in Lexington, Kentucky (a location considered more Western rather than Southern at the time). [286] Since Southern physicians consumed Northern published medical information, mainly because they had little choice, they still felt the need to establish a journal of their own, whether because they were ultimately dissatisfied with the quality of information present in Northern journals, or, more likely, because there was a budding information conflict between practitioners in the Southern and Northern states. Examining the *SMSJ* directly can tell us much about the educational and informational needs of the antebellum Southern physician, as well as how the journal imagined its role throughout the region**.** Paramount to the *SMSJ* was the belief that Southern physicians should communicate with peers, sharing a similar geography, and we

[285] Jonathan Wells, *Origins of Southern Middle Class*, 41- 65.
[286] See next chapter 5 of the dissertation for more on the library collection.

can assume, clinical experiences. The *SMSJ* was presented as the technology that would facilitate this interactive cultural exchange among professionals.

Goals, Nature, and Orientation of the *SMSJ* Series I (1836-1840)

The first volume of the *SMSJ* debuted during the summer of 1836. Drs. Milton Antony and Paul Eve shared the editorship of the journal, which contained no advertisements for products or services, and was divided into two departments. The first contained original articles submitted primarily by the Medical College of Georgia faculty, including I.P. Garvin, Louis Dugas, Lewis Ford, and Dr. Antony. Dr. William W. Lee, a resident of South Carolina, was the lone non-facility member represented in the inaugural issue. The second department consisted of book and periodical reviews, as well as extracts from other medical journals. As the new journal progressed in number of publications, additional sections were added, including a Part III, which consisted of a "Monthly Periscope" that usually included reports from the Medical Society of Augusta, and a section on "MEDICAL INTELLIGENCE" that contained assorted materials on the practice of medicine. The August issue for 1837, for example, was comprised of the "circulars" for Southern medical schools; these highlighted their faculty, curriculum, and facilities. This issue also included the Medical College of Georgia's own announcement citing its newly constructed "fire-proof," Greek-inspired building, containing an "ample" museum and laboratory, as well as a "spacious" library. Other circulars were included from the Medical College of the State of South Carolina, the Medical College of Louisiana, the Medical Department of Transylvania University, and Jefferson Medical College.[287] And, as discussed in a previous chapter, the *SMSJ* also included a monthly almanac under "Metrological Observations."

[287] *SMSJ*, 2 (1837): 62-64.

The task of printing the journal was carried out by James McCafferty's Jobbing Office. The faculty minutes fail to mention specifically why Mc Cafferty's print shop was chosen over other printers in Augusta; most likely, Mc Cafferty was selected because his office presented the most acceptable contract. During the 19th century, obtaining contracts for college and university print work was a very lucrative business, as institutions of higher learning increasingly began producing high volumes of documents and documentation. Colleges often contracted with a local jobber to print a wide assortment of materials, including everything from catalogs to speeches, textbooks, and journals.[288] McCafferty, in fact, would develop a long relationship with the Medical College of Georgia, printing other materials emanating from the institution, such as, "An Introductory Lecture, Delivered in the Medical College of Georgia, at the opening of the Session 1842-3," by Drs. Ford and Boles, as well as similar address written by Alexander Means in 1847.[289]

In June of 1836, the *SMSJ* wasted little time in introducing itself to its audience. The first page included no index to the issue's other content, but began a five page "INTRODUCTION" where the editors presented their case to readers.[290] It is quite interesting to consider the ways in which the editors of the *SMSJ* imagined the impact of the journal's physical form in the lives of its readers, because the editors devoted much thought to issues pertaining to time, cost, and accessibility. Remember these were also problems identified by Georgia physician Richard Arnold, in his attempt to explain why the South lagged behind the North in terms of professional literature. For Drs. Milton and Eve, the periodical format was praised for its "utility" as an information communication device, in which its architects could spread "useful information in a condensed form." The utility of the periodical manifested in several distinct ways: it was easily obtainable by

---

[288] For more the role of printers and American Colleges see Dean Grodzins and Leon Jackson's "College and Print Culture" in *A History of the Book in America v.2, 3*18-332.
[289] See "An Address, Delivered before the Medical College of Georgia: at the Opening of its Annual Session, Nov. 8th, 1847." Alexander Means, Medical College of Georgia (Augusta: James McCafferty, 1847).
[290] "Introduction," *SMSJ* 1(1836):1-4.

readers lacking the "command [of] money"; its compact form also meant that readers with few "leisure" hours to spare could nevertheless "keep pace with the improvements that [were] constantly made in medicine"; and, like other periodicals, its successive publication in relatively short cycles meant that, unlike monographs, the journal did not face the problem of information obsolescence. As the *SMSJ* notes, one of the factors contributing to outdated information contained in books was not just the rapidly evolving landscape of antebellum medical information, but that books were difficult to get a hold of by individuals residing in "remote situations." According to the journal, "the difficulties in the way of obtaining books are almost insuperable." Although the United States rapidly expanded between the years of 1840 and 1880, in terms of both territory and population, the majority of Americans still lived in rural areas. And even though we begin to see in the 19th century the development of new transportation and communication technologies like the railroad, consumers still had difficulty in receiving their ordered goods. Print culture historian Michael Winship tells us the problem was especially acute for "book publishers and production [which was] concentrated in only a few, mostly eastern, urban centers."[291] Thus, the periodical form was often selected for disseminating information because it was more readily available for readers who had meager funds to devote to building a large personal library or extensive time for professional reading.

The *SMSJ* did not vilify Northern journals, although this most likely was an act of collegiality more than anything else; instead they aligned themselves with their Northern brethren in the context of promoting American medicine. They argued however, the South had its own esteemed physicians, most of whom were educated in the Northern schools, who could write empirical observations just like their Northern colleagues. The journal employed rhetoric that called for the

[291] Michael Winship "Distribution and the Trade" in *A History of the Book in America v.3*, 120.

creation of a Southern information environment that would allow practitioners to interact with members they would otherwise not meet face-to-face.

The editors of the *SMSJ* made a point to applaud the Northern-based journals for their role in advancing scientific knowledge, and lest anyone accuse them of possessing any "hostility or unkindness," the journal's editors were clear in their intention to have a "harmonious" co-existence with the Northern periodicals, as both regions were in pursuit of the same goal: to "advance" the "profession" of medicine. Yet, something was missing from the information provided by the Northern journals. Southern physicians, the journal stated, needed a sphere of their own, where they could "collect and preserve the valuable discoveries and improvements of Southern practitioners." The call was specifically for geographically-based information that reflected the diseases, climate, and populations residing in the Southern states. In current day terms, the journal was calling for a database for Southern medical knowledge, and a failure to develop such a "convenient and suitable repository" for this valuable place-based "knowledge" would render it "forever lost to the world," "entombed" with its originators. The *SMSJ* would serve as an interactive medium for Southern physicians, eradicating the "evil" fact that such a space did not already "exist."[292] In this newly constructed sphere, practitioners could communicate with each other, sharing their "observation, practice, and reflection" of medical science.

Earlier in the dissertation, I defined practical literacy as the reading carried out in everyday life, particularly in situations outside of leisurely pursuits (such as the consumption of literary fiction). For the *SMSJ*, practical literacy was constructed as "practical information" that encompassed "practical essays, of all kinds, histories of epidemics, reports of cases, application of new remedies" as well as "interesting facts and experiments."[293] It is important to note that these are all documents that could advance the practitioner's knowledge in a very immediate way, in contrast to the "long

[292] *SMSJ*, 1(1836):3.
[293] Ibid.,

theoretical disquisitions and prolix discussions," which did little to address the urgency of the region's information deficit. The *SMSJ* also stood in contrast to those verbose, theory-laden texts that were sensitive to the time limitations suggested by both Dr. Richard Arnold and the editors of the *SMSJ*. As mentioned earlier, the journal was "design[ed]" as an interactive space that relied on a sophisticated network which connected the "facilities" of the Medical College of Georgia including the faculty, and the "College Library which received a regular supply of the most valuable of medical books." Editors took advantage of the library's resources by reviewing them using a "plain analysis" as a means to promote self-improvement by way of continuing education. Perhaps most important in the *SMSJ*'s infrastructure were the hundreds of physicians throughout the "Southern and Western States" whose freely-given volunteer labor (testimony) was sought out to help supply articles, as well as forming the base of a steady readership. Unlike the *Southern Cultivator*, however, where authors contributed content under various noms de plume, the *SMSJ* strictly forbid "anonymous and fictitiously signed" articles and directed its authors to use their "proper name."

The *SMSJ*'s call for fellowship and participation among Southern physicians was based on the perception by its editors that a community of individuals existed who linked their identity with the geographical space constituted as the South. Here, I want to suggest that Drs. Milton and Eve, not unlike James Jones, were referencing an already-constructed imagined geography of the Southern United States, while simultaneously intensifying the meaning of the region and the budding concept that there was a legitimate body of knowledge known as "Southern medicine."

Said's concept of an imagined geography explains such a phenomenon, which is important for print culture scholars to conceptualize because it helps illustrate the ways that texts can be used to help solidify the populaces' construction of geography and its associated meanings.

In *Orientalism*, Said suggests that prejudicial tendencies are solidified around an imagined geography that is subsequently used to support the United States' and European nations' colonialism

and contemporary aggression toward a given region.[294] In this context, "imagined" does not refer to something that is fictive, but rather, that which is perceived, having been influenced by an assortment of materials such as texts, images, and rhetoric. Said's concept is similar to Benedict Arnold's imagined communities, which argues that nations are socially constructed by individuals (unable to see the entirety of their fellow citizenry face-to-face) who perceive themselves as members of a national group influenced by nationalistic rhetoric often found in newspapers.[295] I specifically invoke Said's concept of imagined geographies because of its emphasis on identity, specifically a place-based identity, because the *SMSJ* was an information and communication technology bound by its location within the antebellum Southern United States. The Southern region of the republic was, as described above and in the previous chapter, constructed by Northerners as an unclean and diseased place, often designated as a backward and uncivilized region. Southerners were not ignorant of these opinions, and I posit that they contributed to the Southerners' view of themselves and helped to establish what would increasingly be a culture of opposition directed toward the Northern sector of the country.

The inaugural issue of the *New Orleans Medical Journal* noted the region's need for its own medical journal, which would reflect its "peculiar climate."[296] John Harley Warner argues that all medical journals were in effect regional, emphasizing issues and concerns of local practice, but notes "these regions did not display the extent of openly sectional ardor that animated investigations in the South."[297] Warner, however, seems to diminish the information conflict inherent in medical journals, which are by his own admission sectorial in their scope and orientation. Rather, Warner seems to emphasize other factors, such as the low social status of the medical profession and the contempt held by Northern physicians for Southern practice, both attitudes ultimately being internalized by

---

[294] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979).
[295] Benedict Arnold*, Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Verso: New York, 2006).
[296] Kay Olschner, "Medical Journal in Louisiana before the Civil War, *Bulletin Medical Library Association,* 60, (1972):3.
[297] John Harley Warner, "Idea of Southern Medical Distinctiveness,"197.

Southerners who relied heavily on Northern medical infrastructure, including medical education and journals. Establishing a new genre of Southern medicine, Warner suggests, served the dual purpose of rebutting Northern denouncements of the region, as well as symbolizing for Southern medical practitioners that they were indeed influencing the development of American medical science.[298]

While I certainly agree with the dual performance component that Warner suggests, we should not discount the problematic nature of Northern-based medical periodicals for Southern readers. Inherent regional biases reflected in journals meant that Southerners were locked out of any substantive knowledge sharing in these medical repositories that were oriented toward social, environmental, and political conditions dissimilar from their own. This dissertation's research places the role of information, including creation, dissemination, and politics, at the center of its investigation rather than on its periphery; as such, it is easier to witness the Northern journals' role as gatekeeper, controlling not only the flow of information but also the content that is disseminated in its pages. So far, this chapter's discussion of the *SMSJ* has focused on the perceptions of its editors and how the journal was situated within the antebellum medical landscape. The next part of the chapter, however, will turn to how its readers reacted to the new medical genre, and what did the journal meant to them as Southern medical practitioners.

A Reader's Response

In the fall of 1836, the *SMSJ* published what it claimed was a letter written to the editors by Dr. Edward Delony, of Talbotton, Georgia. Dr. Delony's article was presented in Part I as an "ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS." Expressing his gratification over the appearance of the professional journal's aid to the "Southern medical gentlemen," Delony presented his argument on

[298] Ibid.,198-199.

"the importance of a Southern medical periodical." The treatment for various diseases is not uniform across diverse geographies, Delony reasoned, and when this fact was coupled with the localism found in medical journals, Southerners were at a disadvantage, cut off from the relevant information that pertains to not only their climate but also diseases particular to their region of the county. Delony continued:

> When we take into view the various influences of climate, especially on the human constitution, even in the limits of the United States, and the consequent variation and peculiarity of symptoms which characterize disease, brought about by this powerful agency, in connection with other local causes, over which it operates, we do not hesitate to declare our firm belief, that a successful course of treatment for almost any disease, in the northern part of the American continent, or even the United States, would in the State of Georgia, Alabama, or Louisiana, in the same disease, not only prove unsuccessful, but in all probability, dangerous to the life of the patient.[299]

In this statement, Delony references a long-held belief in medicine about "place modified disease"; Warner traces this belief to over 2,000 years of human history, with its origins in the "Hippocratic treatise On Airs, Waters, And Places."[300] Within the context of the United States, this regional bifurcation of disease between the North and South was actually preceded by a similar perceived distinction between Europe and the newly established American Republic, i.e. the North. Southern physicians, Warner suggests, who were often educated in Northern schools, adopted the concept of place modified disease in the North, and brought the idea back to the South, where it evolved into a core tenet of Southern medicine.[301] In fact, Dr. Delony's letter cited what he saw as evidence to support his claim of regional characteristics of disease and treatment. Asiatic cholera, the doctor states, never appears in the "highlands" nor in locations far from "the moist atmosphere of the oceans or large rivers"; rheumatism and typhus fever are also cited for their Southern peculiarities and "variety of [different] symptoms and treatments." [302]

---

[299] "A Letter to the Editors," *SMSJ*,1:5 (1836): 257.
[300] John Harley Warner, "Idea of Southern Medical Distinctiveness,"189.
[301] Ibid., 190- 195.
[302] *SMSJ*, 1:5 (1836):33.

Delony also argued that the presence of the *SMSJ* freed the South's dependence on Northern thoughts and ideals, which often contained little utility for Southern practice. Here, Delony appears to be referencing the information conflict inherent in Northern-based medical journals that was mentioned earlier in this chapter. Not only were Northern journals cumbersome to obtain, not to mention expensive, as Delony told the *SMSJ*, but after reading them, individuals must "avail themselves of their own resources," since the journals were ignorant "in the management of diseases which occur among" Southerners.

It is apparent that, for this Georgia physician, the *SMSJ* represented a "medium" through which Southern physicians could "interchange ideas" and share their "experience" with comrades. Unexpectedly, Delony saw the *SMSJ* as a resource not just for physicians, but also for "every household" and "farmers" as well. "Why should the circulation of medical periodicals be confined to the medical profession?" he asked. The practical orientation of the journal seems to have influenced Delony's thinking, as he notes the journal's "useful information" is applicable to a number of circumstances, by placing "all the information in their power." Delony adopted the view that the journal could have a transformative effect on the lives of its readers.

The events I have described so far relate to the first few years of the *SMSJ*'s short life. Earlier, in the discussion of Augusta's yellow fever outbreak of 1839, I mentioned how this event halted much of the information production in the city. The *SMSJ*, like other journals and newspapers in the city, was another casualty when its co-editor Dr. Milton Antony died unexpectedly. The faculty of the Medical College of Georgia responded by suspending the journal.

SMSJ Series II (1845-1867)

The graduating students of the medical college for 1840, were provided a copy of the *SMSJ*'s final volume and it was they who eventually urged the faculty to revive the institution's journal. In

late January of 1842, the class sent a letter to the faculty requesting the journal's reinstatement. Drs. Ford, Dugas, and Eve were appointed to answer the class's request. After several meetings, the faculty was persuaded by the students' appeal and Drs. Garvin, Dugas, and Eve were charged with developing a new prospectus for the journal. It was not until 1845, however, that the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* was launched (as Series II) with Drs. Eve and Garvin acting as the journal's new editors, for which they received an additional salary of "three hundred dollars per annum."[303] The Augusta *Chronicle*, having received an advanced copy of the journal, echoed similar Southern sentiments that the need for a medical journal oriented toward the South, as technology that compressed space and time. They too suggest the " long felt" need for "such a medium" and urged that it be "liberally sustained by the profession."[304]

Mr. James McCafferty once again served as the journal's printer, having propositioned the college to print "600 copies," as well as administer the "subscription" and "exchange" lists." Rival printer and publisher of the city's democratic newspaper, the *Constitutionalist*, James Gardner had also expressed interest in the venture, but received only a thank you letter for his "interest" in the project as a response.[305] In contrast to the first series, the revived journal was an "octavo volume of 48 pages, of medium sized type;" the *Chronicle* seemed rather impressed with the "neat" journal, which it credits to the superior printing abilities of its "Printer."[306] Another change in the new series was that P.C. Guieu was now listed as its publisher, and like McCafferty who preceded him, Guieu also printed other documents for the Medical College, such as its 1842 Address to the Graduating Class by Charles Jones Jenkins. By 1847, the Medical School had annulled its contract with Mc Cafferty, allowing Guieu to assume those duties as well. Guieu had been in the printing business for quite some time; in 1820, he printed J.K. M. Carlton's *Tales & Miscellanies in Prose and Poetry*, but the local

---

303 Faculty Minutes, October 28th 1844, 99
304 *Augusta Chronicle* , Jan 02, 1845, 2.
305 Faculty Minutes, October 22, 1845, 104.
306 *Augusta Chronicle,* January 02, 1845, 2.

jobber was most well-known for his printing and publishing of newspapers like *The Georgia Constitutionalist* and the *Washington News*, the local paper in nearby Washington, Georgia.

The antebellum period saw a marked increase in the publication of medical journals, particularly during the 1840s. In contrast to early the 1800s, when the young republic experienced a burst of medical periodicals, those appearing in the 1840s were most often affiliated with medical schools. Most of the new journals published during this later period "were established in the newer regions of the West and South" and were reformist in nature.[307] Similar to the first series of the *SMSJ*, they sought to promote localized place-based medicine, in opposition to Northern medical journalism. It is likely that the students at the Medical College of Georgia were influenced by the rising tide of institutionally based journals, which they would have encountered in the college library.

Furthermore, establishing an institutional journal added to the prestige of a school, helping to attract more students. The medical department at the University of Louisville, for example, undertook the development of a journal because it would add to the "prosperity of the School."[308] Similarly, a college's faculty assumed editing duties because it was a means of enhancing one's reputation as a leading intellectual in the field. These were all likely factors that influenced the students' desire to reestablish the SMJS, as well as the faculty's willingness to resurrect the journal, for it increased the reputation of the school as well as the individual faculty members who contributed to it.

Further evidence to help support my claim is that the medical college required every member of the faculty to submit "at least two articles of at least five pages of original matters or ten of translation annually." The consequence of not doing so was a penalty of "twenty dollars."[309] Lewis

---

[307] John Harly Warner, *Against the Spirit of System: The French Impulse in Nineteenth-Century American Medicine*, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 158.
[308] Ibid.,159.
[309] Faculty Minutes, November 4, 1845, 105. Fines were pervasive at the MCG. Dr. Ford arrived at the Dec 4th1845 meeting tardy and without an excuse; he was subsequently fined one dollar. Proper protocol dictated that faculty, were to

refers[310] to this arrangement as "publish or pay, rather than publish or perish." The new series also featured articles by students like W.I. Johnson, whose paper was accepted in lieu of a formal thesis.[311] Translations were included as an acceptable contribution to the journal because of the prominence of French medicine during the antebellum years. Due the relative lack of clinical experience available to medical students during the early to middle 19th century, the more ambitious and wealthier graduates would voluntarily undertake medical tours of Europe, which were highly concentrated in Paris, where they could attend medical courses free and gain significant patient contact in hospitals like the Hôtel-Dieu.

Paris, as the center of medical science in the West, had a thriving information industry, with medical texts, instruction manuals, and journals circulating in abundance. Warner suggests that American translations of medical journals began to flourish after 1820, and "most were produced by Americans who had studied in Paris, and, more often than not, produced relatively soon after their return from France."[312] Translations served a very practical purpose, functioning as a professional good by disseminating Parisian research to the vast majority of American physicians lacking fluency in French as well as to those who could not afford to travel abroad. Georgian physician Juriah Harriss, for example, shared his experiences with readers of the *SMSJ* through his piece, "Observations on the Pathology and Treatment of the Cholera as witnessed in the Hospitals of Paris during the recent Epidemic."[313] Translations, as well as publishing in general, also provided a means for physicians to make a name for themselves, often becoming as famous as the texts they were deciphering. Even a young Dr. Dugas, who would later serve as one of the editors of the *SMSJ*, tried his hand at translating while on a medical tour during the 1820s, writing to his mother, "I am busy

---

"notify the Janitor" if they we unable to attend scheduled meetings. Janitors, it appeared held much power on the MCG campus, also assuming 'librarian' duties, which is addressed in the next chapter. See Faculty Minutes, October 2, 1846, 106.

310 S. Joseph Lewis Jr, *Medical College of Georgia*, 55.

311 Faculty Minutes Feb 10 1847 p. 118.

312 John Harley Warner, *Against The Spirit*, *1998*, 154.

313 *SMSJ,* 5:7, (1849): 387-392.

now translating a French work on medicine and if I can succeed I shall begin another, until I have enough experience to compose one."[314] The 1820s through the 1850s was not just a period that saw the growth of medical journals and French translations, but was also a time when the United States was experiencing a growth in all manner of printed materials. Every budding profession and special interest group had a journal or magazine to call its own. When the first series was published in the 1830's the *SMSJ* was truly a novelty, being the only Southern journal of this type in circulation. When the journal was resurrected in the early 1850's it had competition not only from several Southern medical journals but also from the plethora non-medical periodicals that appeared in the United States beginning in the 1840s. This next section addresses how the *SMSJ* positioned itself within this new, larger information landscape.

Organization, Price, Frequency and Advertisements

Series II of the *SMSJ* was published the "first of each month" and limited to "forty-eight pages," as noted by the *Chronicle*. The journal retained the same layout as the original, being comprised of three sections: "Original Communications," "Reviews and Abstracts," and a "Monthly Periscope." Subscriptions were established at $3.00 a year in advance. For the purpose of comparison, the contemporary *Missouri Medical and Surgical Journal*, with which the *SMSJ* participated in a reciprocal exchange list, contained "24 pages" at a "Price two dollars per annum." Other journals in exchange with the *SMSJ* were the *Buffalo Medical Journal*, a monthly containing "24 pages" (price unknown) and the *Louisiana Medical and Surgical Journal* (having undergone a title change from the *New Orleans Medical Journal*), published "every other month," containing 144 octavo pages, and priced at five dollars per annum.[315] Exchange Lists were an integral part of the infrastructure of 19th century periodicals, as editors frequently reprinted articles that they deemed interesting, thus forming

[314] John Harley Warner, *Against the Spirit*, 156.
[315] "Medical Intelligence," *SMSJ,* 1:10 (1845):605.

major source of content for their journals. For instance, by 1853, the *SMSJ* exchanged with twenty-nine of the nation's thirty medical journals.[316]

Begun in the 1790s as a strategy to help establish an informed citizenry, exchanges were a means to keep newspaper editors abreast of the happenings in other regions of a vastly expanding nation. Because of this, editors enjoyed a unique privilege known as "franking," which allowed them to mail copies of papers free of postage to other editors, establishing a vast intra-network among themselves.[317] Literary scholar Leon Jackson describes this activity as a "gift exchange" wherein "one newspaper sent a copy of its publication to another using printer's privilege to transmit papers without charge;[..] the editor would write on the margin 'exchange,' 'please to exchange,' or 'Do me the favour [sic] to exchange.'"[318]

One major difference in the second series was that, for the first time, it included advertisements. Physicians, apothecaries, and medical schools were all encouraged to submit material. Fees were set at "five dollars per page for the first insertion and three dollars" for additional runs. Ads consisting of a "few lines" were charged between one and two dollars.[319] Many of the advertisements appearing in the *SMSJ* served as effective means for Augusta retailers to reach a wide swath of potential customers throughout the South. Haviland, Risely & Co., Druggists, advertised their Risely's Syrups and Extracts for "all afflictions of the Urinary organs," as well as their "Vermifuge," which it claimed was "palatable for children" in getting rid of intestinal worms.[320] A frequent advertiser, they also sold "MEDICAL SADDLE BAGS," which they claimed were

---

316 "Miscellany,"*SMSJ,(new series)* January 1853: :63.
317 For more on franking, see: Richard Kielbowicz, *News in the Mail: The Press, Post Office, and Public Information, 1700-1860s*, (New York: Praeger, 1989); Richard Johns, *Spreading the News: The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

318 Leon Jackson, *The Business of Letters: Authorial Economics in Antebellum America* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008),122.
319 *SMSJ* (new series), 1(1845): Back cover.
320 SMSJ, 5:11, (1849): Back cover.

manufactured and sold exclusively by them, and "Breast pumps, nursing bottles and ARTIFICIAL NIPPLES."[321]

Another Augusta merchant, D.B. PLUMB & Co., operated a "stand" near "the United States Hotel," from which they sold an assortment of goods, from "PAINTS & OILS" and "DRY-STUFFS" to "PURE AND UNADULTERATED MEDICINES AND CHEMICALS," the latter being targeted to physicians, planters and other merchants. Even McCafferty did not miss the opportunity to solicit new business, publishing his own notice that targeted rural customers in its assertion that "orders from the country will be punctually attended to" at his office on "Macintosh street, opposite the Post Office."[322] Other notices were from Northern merchants like Philadelphia-based publisher and bookseller Grigg, Elliot & Company, which used the Southern journal to tout its vast selection of "New & Valuable Medical Books" to both medical students and physicians alike, noting the "particular attention" paid to this category of monograph for "private and public" libraries.[323] Now that is clearer how the *SMSJ* was organized and the types of advertisements its readers encountered, I will devote some attention to the journal's readers. This next section is particularly concerned with who the readers were, more specifically, where they came from and how they interacted with the journal.

Readers and Subscribers

Charles Dickens' famous quote, "It was the best of times, it was the worst of times" is an apt description for America's expanding, consumer-oriented information landscape from the 1830s to the 1850s. In many respects, the events occurring in the South mimicked those at the national level. Susan Belasco notes that in the 1840s, for example, the United States was on the verge of a "new

[321] *SMSJ* 5:4 (1849):Back cover
[322] *SMSJ*, 5:5,(1849): Back cover.
[323] *SMSJ* 5:4, (1849): 1.

literature," national in scope and orientation, and presented as a domestic alternative to the widely read British literature and periodicals. As magazines were, with little doubt, a new communication medium for most of the nation's readers, they had much work to do in convincing those readers that periodicals were "worth the price and required time to read them." Belasco suggests this act of "persuasion" was complicated because magazines did not possess the "solid authority of a book or the flexible timeliness of the newspaper."[324] In the South, one way that periodicals found support for their journals was through the establishment of an imagined geography. While for magazine publishers it may have been the worst of times as they struggled to establish a loyal consumer base and not go under, from the readers' perspective, it was the best of times. Magazines and journals catered to every profession and interest group imaginable, and there was a large array of reading material from which they could choose.

These national trends were also evident throughout the South's literary scene. Jonathan Wells notes that, between 1800 and 1829, 121 magazines were started in the Southern states. During the 1830s alone, 120 magazines began publication; and during the 1840s, 174 made their debut. In the 1850s, however, 214 periodicals were launched, by far the most of any previous decade.[325] The antebellum Southern landscape of material print culture was therefore quite robust. There is no doubt that many editors thought they could capitalize on the nation's budding readership. However, it was true that the majority of periodicals of the day could not sustain themselves for more than a few years at best.[326]

This was the larger sociocultural print landscape in which the *SMSJ* found itself at when it relaunched in January of 1846. The journal began quite hopeful of its future prospects, announcing in the first issue of the new series that it had plans to "enlarge" the monthly periodical "without any

---

[324] Susan Belasco, "The Cultural Work of National Magazines," in *History of the Book v.3*, 258.
[325] Jonathan Daniel Wells, *Origins of the Southern Middle Class*, 2004.
[326] Susan Belasco, "Cultural Work," 258.

additional charge to subscribers," but that there was a condition: the journal needed to show its sustainability "by the profession." The publisher Guieu required that the journal meet an undisclosed threshold of subscribers, from its first issue, before consenting to expanding the journal by "sixteen pages." An enlarged issue, the editors argued, could result in a "work more valuable to the profession." Apparently neither the editors nor Guieu knew how many issues to send to press, as the first edition was "entirely exhausted" at publication; readers uninterested in the journal were asked to "return" their unwanted copies as subscribers demanded the first issue with their subscriptions. McCafferty was authorized to print 600 copies of the first volume but this appears to have been a miscalculation. It was not uncommon for mid-19th century editors to have little knowledge of marketing their periodicals. When Margaret Fuller and Ralph Waldo Emerson began their Transcendentalist journal *Dial*, for instance, they could not agree on whether the journal should have a first printing of 1,500 or 2,000 copies, despite having a subscription list "of only 30" individuals; the journal collapsed after four years.[327]

Analyzing the location of the journal's receipts provides us with some indication of the areas whence the journal's readers hailed. Although the first issue states that receipts would be printed on the journal's "cover," (i.e. back cover), in reality this information appeared in various locations over the course of the journal's publication. This was a curious tactic; the *Southern Cultivator* never printed receipts and let one's receipt of the journal stand as evidence of payment. Other journals of the period, most notably the famed *Ladies Companion*, reserved a part of its front cover, as a means to shame "derelict subscribers."[328]

Unsurprisingly, Georgians populated the list of recipients for the first issue, with fifty-six subscribers. South Carolina followed with twelve and the state of Alabama with seven subscribers. With each increasing number and volume, the aforementioned states continued to produce the

[327] Ibid.
[328] Leon Jackson, *Business of Letters,*170.

largest share of subscribers, although other states began to supply subscribers as well, including Florida, North Carolina, Arkansas, Tennessee, Missouri, Texas, Missouri, and even Pennsylvania. By its fifth volume, the journal was reaching an ever-expanding audience, but this was not enough to sustain the journal. In January of 1849, Paul F. Eve, by this time the journal's sole editor, asked readers a startling but direct question; "SHALL IT BE CONTINUED OR NOT?" At the close of 1848 only 300 subscribers had paid for the year, leaving Dr. Eve to speculate that the fifth publication would be the journal's last. Guieu, the publisher, was rapidly losing money, and threatened to end his relationship with the journal. The reality was that the *SMSJ* had been losing money since the third volume of the first series and was sustained only because the editors had supplied "one-half of the actual costs of publication," totaling $900. The journal needed at least 600 fully paid subscribers in order to render it profitable. "The profession of the South and West have these facts before them," Dr. Eve closed, noting that it is the decision of the region's professionals "whether the oldest, the most prompt, and only, monthly medical publication in [the] region… was sustained or not."[329]

The problems experienced by the *SMSJ* very closely mirrored those of the *Southern Cultivator*. Both journals arose out of rhetoric for Southern distinctiveness, which argued for the region's unique information needs. Yet, when these journals became physical realities, they were unsupported by the audience for whom they purported to provide specialized content, despite their role as important symbols of Southern ingenuity and intellectual progress.[330] Does this mean that the rhetoric on the South's unique informational needs was fictive? Or does it lend credence to the belief that the South was truly uninterested in reading? The answer to both of these questions is a resounding "no." The region's distinctiveness and desire for print cultural materials that were

[329] "Medical Intelligence" *SMSJ*, 5(1849):62

[330] For more on the performance aspects of print production see Jeannine Marie DeLombard's "African American Cultures of Print" in *History of the Book v.3,* 360-373.

reflective of its own values is not negated by the struggles of their regionally-based journals. The reason that both the *Southern Cultivator* and the *SMSJ* lacked support has less to do with their being Southern-based, but rather that the South, was in fact participating in a national American culture of not paying their bills on time, particularly when it came to periodicals.

Most journals in the antebellum United States required their subscription payments be sent not only in "ADVANCE" but also paid in "CASH" due to readers' common dereliction of payment. Therefore, the "cash system,' as it was known, was developed as a strategy for journals to collect payments from a public reluctant to pay up. In his chastisement of non-paying readers, Dr. Eve suggests that if not for the current system, the journal might have been in even worse shape: "[T]his too with payments demanded in advance [he noted], If this be the result of the cash system, what would have been the result of credit?"[331] Literary debt, as Leon Jackson called it, is the dirty little secret of American book history. The problem was pervasive in all sectors of the Republic and "neither wealth, age, race, profession, nor location characterized this failure to pay." In fact, it was not uncommon for entire cities to default on their literary debt, as was the case with New Haven, Connecticut's readers of the *Religious Intelligencer*.[332] The cash system, introduced in the late 1830s, was designed as a corrective, but readers did not take to it particularly well. The previous system, which relied on credit, was based on communal bonds of trust, at least on the part of editors, whereas the cash system reeked of consumer distrust and readers were not enthusiastic about it.[333] By the 1850s, the cash system was the mode of operation for most journals in the United States; new magazines, like *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, were only available either at newsstands or via a prepaid cash subscription.

---

[331] *SMSJ* 5(1849): 62.
[332] Leon Jackson, *Business of Letters*,143.
[333] Ibid., 177-178.

And yet, when examining the case of the *SMSJ*, it appears that its communal ties had not totally eroded, as Dr. Eve's appeal does indicate a desire to invigorate a sense of Southern community and pride that would sustain the journal. This appeal was not completely ineffective, either. The call was felt by Dr. Gordon from Lawrenceville, Georgia, a subscriber to the journal and an alumnus of the Medical College of Georgia. Gordon's letter, which appeared under the section "MEDICAL INTELLIGENCE," advocated the journal's continuance by invoking the imagined geography of Georgia and the South, positioning the *SMSJ* as a "home journal" and citing the familiar refrain of the journal's "convenient medium" offering "free interchange" of Southern medical science. For Dr. Gordon, failure to support the journal would lead to the demise of "Southern Medical Literature." He expressly called on the college's alumni and members of the state's medical society to each recruit two new subscribers as an act of solidarity and Southern professionalism.[334] Surely, this was a low point for the *SMSJ* and its most ardent supporters. The journal was not only an important medium for communication, but was in fact much more. I have written much about the regions' imagined geography, particularly in contrast with Northern culture, but the journal served an important purpose within the South as well. At a time when the majority of physicians struggled financially and experienced a rather low social status, the professional medical journal served as a means to provide self-esteem and buttress their evolving identity as an educated professional class. Wells's research situates the antebellum physician as a member of the emerging Southern middle class, between the yeomen farmers on one end and the wealthy planters on the other. Dr. Eve's predicted demise of the *SMSJ* put more at stake than the loss of medical information; it would have been a blow to the profession's hopes for a more respected identity as a whole.

Perhaps Dr. Eve's stern warning ignited a sense of loyalty in readers, or maybe it was Dr. Gordon's call on the Medical College's alumni for support. Whatever it was, the *Southern Medical &*

---

[334] *SMSJ*, 5:2 (1849):120-121.

Surgical Journal was able to accomplish that seemingly elusive task that so many other 19th century journals could not – convincing readers that the work was worth the price -- so much so that they did send cash in advance for their literary subscriptions. By 1853, the *SMSJ* was able to boast of being "the oldest Medical Journal of the South," having escaped the fate of so many other journals who had "died from inanition." The relationship with its readers was repaired as well, the journal describing them as "hard to beat."[335] The *SMSJ* had good reason to be enthused: some thirty-two authors from nine states had provided "fifty-two original articles" on practical medicine to the 1852 volume alone.[336] The *SMSJ* would be published until 1869, making it the longest published journal of its genre in the United States at that time.

This chapter has described the circulation of medical information on various scales throughout Augusta and her hinterlands as well as the social, economic and environmental impetus for the appearance of this content. I began this chapter with a discussion of advertisements in the local newspaper, then moved forward to the codification of rules and regulations on public health, and finally discussed the professional information oriented toward Southern physicians in the *SMSJ*. While we know the how and why of the *SMSJ* appears on the Southern literary scene, in 1836, we have yet to unpack the nature and source of the *SMSJ's* content. A large part of Southern medical practice dealt with the health care of captive African Americans and the *SMSJ* was an effective technology in which to collect and disseminate this most specialized of Southern information, due to its format as a modestly priced monthly periodical.

---

[335] *SMSJ*, 9 (1853):[69].

[336] Ibid.,62. States contributing articles were Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Mississippi, South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Negro Medicine and the SMSJ

In 1860, an editorial appearing in the Augusta *Chronicle* asked what must have seemed like a paradox: "[W]hy [do] students who intend to adopt a Southern field for practice go to the North […] to be educated?" After all, Augusta had a robust medical infrastructure that few cities in the North or the South could rival. The *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* had survived to become the longest published medical journal in the South; the Medical College of Georgia, the article argued, possessed a fine faculty, "a large and well selected Library," and perhaps most importantly, provided "abundant clinical advantages [at the] Jackson Street Hospital, [which was] especially devoted to the treatment of diseases of the Negro race."[337]

What the article alludes to was a common belief that a Northern medical education would not properly equip newly minted physicians with the knowledge and experience to practice in the Southern states, specifically in regards to disease and what was called "Negro medicine." As I have previously mentioned, one issue the Southern medical community identified as unique to their geographical region was the particularities in the Southern manifestation of certain diseases. This sentiment is illustrated in the examination of a published lecture by University of Pennsylvania Professor Chapman; the journal found his recommended treatment for "remittent fever" wholly inadequate for Southern students, who during the 1830s and 1840s accounted for a nearly seventy percent of the enrollment at the University of Pennsylvania.[338] The journal argued that the South had developed better and more appropriate treatments, and "a short intercourse" with Southern practitioners could undo the damage done to "pupil[s] at the oldest Medical College in the United States." The other reason Northern medical education was insufficient for the demands of Southern

---

[337] *Augusta Chronicle,* September 7, 1860.

[338] "A Compendium of Lectures on the Theory and Practice of Medicine by University of Pennsylvania, Professor Chapman," *SMSJ*, 2:6 (1855), 342. For enrollment figures in Southern medical students at University of Pennsylvania see Daniel Kilbride's "Southern Medical Students in Philadelphia, 1800-1861: Science and Sociality in the Republic of Medicine" in *Journal of Southern History*, 65:4 (1999):703.

practice, as was suggested in the *Chronicle*'s editorial, was a lack of access to captive bodies over which the Southern physician, along with planters, held purview. This unique branch of American medical practice was known as Negro or Plantation medicine; it was concerned with the medical treatment of captives and is most analogous in its contemporary sociocultural role to 21st century specialties like occupational and correctional medicine.

The *SMSJ* was a single node in a complex infrastructure of organizations that linked the medical school, as a physical and intellectual place, to its faculty and to Augusta's Negro hospitals. My intention in this final section is to reveal the ways in which medical organizations in Augusta worked in tandem to help generate practical, medically-oriented reading material appearing in the pages of the *SMSJ*. This method of analysis will demonstrate how these sites acted as unexpected places where reading and writing occurred. I will begin with a discussion of Augusta's medical hospitals, or infirmaries, for Negros and their role as urban institutions. I follow with a description of medical cases on Negro medicine and their appearance in the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*. In order to understand this complex medical infrastructure of which I argue the *SMSJ* was a part, we must first understand its location. Here I refer not to its position as something Southern or Georgian, but rather, I position it within a distinctly urban medical network, situated in a regional information hub that spanned twenty counties across two states. Adopting this view provides us a better means for understanding the ways in which African American bodies produced information, which was subsequently funneled through the interactive technology of the *SMJS*, and disseminated throughout the American South.

Defining Negro Medicine

Negro medicine was a sub-branch of Southern medicine and as a literary genre was not restricted to practicing physicians, but rather, was directed at any individual responsible for the regulation and control (policing) of captive African Americans. As such, articles in the genre appearing in agricultural journals, like the *Southern Cultivator*, were directed primarily toward overseers and slaveholders, whether they were small farmers of the yeomen variety or planters. The information physicians disseminated in agricultural journals was more analogous to an advice column, wherein readers were supplied with information on a diverse number of topics, such as diet, clothing, housing, and hygiene. By contrast, articles appearing in medical journals, like the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, were not only aimed at increasing the knowledge of fellow physicians, but they also provided a means to increase one's professional status and reputation. Additionally, African American health care was presented as clinical case studies, empirical knowledge that functioned as a way to remain up-to-date on the latest medical techniques; as such, these clinical case studies created an information repository for Southern medicine.

Dr. Samuel Cartwright was perhaps the most acclaimed author on Negro Medicine and his research on a variety of diseases effecting captives -- considered wildly unorthodox even for the period -- frequently graced the pages of Southern journals, particularly *DeBow's Review* and *The New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal.* Cartwright, a staunch advocate for Southern medical reform, practiced in Natchez, Mississippi and New Orleans during the 1840s and 1850s.[339] He is known for his discoveries on "Negro Diseases," such as Drapetomania and Dysaethesia Aethiopicia.[340] A portmanteau of two Greek derived words meaning "runaway slave" and "mad or crazy,"

---

339 Steven M. Stowe, *Doctoring The South: Southern Physicians and Everyday Medicine in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2004), 215.

340 Samuel A. Cartwright "Report on the Diseases and Physical Peculiarities of The Negro Race" *The New Orleans Medical And Surgical Journal,* 7:5, (1851):691.

Drapetomania was a disease that Cartwright claimed was previously "unknown" to medical professionals until his identification; however, its symptoms had been known to "overseers and planters," he suggested, since time immemorial.

Drapetomania was a disease that caused captives to run away, but Cartwright had uncovered a cure, having deciphered a code to the "true art of governing negros" in the Old Testament of the Christian Bible. Captors and overseers, he argued, ill-treated captives, and their failure to safe-guard captives resulted in their fleeing. A kinder and gentler approach, which involved a proper diet and clothing, keeping families intact, and even providing individual family homes, were prescribed as treatments. Dysaethesia Aethiopicia was a related disease, but a mental illness that affected most "free negros" and was prevalent among captives; Cartwright argued that it rendered them lazy and averse to work. Symptoms manifested in destructive behavior, such as the abuse of animals, the destruction of clothes, theft, and work stoppages. This disease had also escaped diagnosis by the medical community, but like Drapetomania, it was the caused by "badly-governed plantations." Its cure lie in "stimulating" the skin, liver, and kidneys by way of bathing with soap and water, working in "open air and sunshine," a proper and well-balanced diet, and adequate housing. I do not suggest that Cartwright's views were entirely embraced by the Southern medical establishment; in fact, Cartwright had many detractors, like Louisiana physician, editor, and co-founder of the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, Dr. Erasmus Darwin Fenner.[341] It is true, however, that examining Cartwright's diagnoses provides much insight into the intellectual justifications of Negro medicine. He claimed that blacks had different diseases than whites and properly trained physicians could ameliorate these symptoms. Cartwright's words also help us see the reciprocal relationship between the medical community and captors - a relationship that suggests the deep links between health care, print culture, and slave management. Slave hospitals were an effective means of protecting the

[341] For more on Dr. Fenner's dissent on Cartwright's views see: see Stowe's *Doctoring the South,* 216-218.

economic interests of slavery while simultaneously serving as information agencies where Southern physicians could, as Medical Historian Stephen C. Kenny states, develop their knowledge, raise their profile, and sharpen their professional skills."[342]

Negro Hospitals

Memphis-based physician A.P. Merrill, writing during the mid-1850s in an article on "Plantation Hygiene," published in the *Southern Agriculturist*, argued that "every plantation should be provided with a hospital" as the benefits such a facility he thought "obvious" to readers.[343] The health care of captives was administered by a variety of caregivers over the course of one's life. Care of pregnant mothers and newborn infants fell under the authority of a midwife. Dr. Kolliock of Savannah, Georgia writes in the *SMSJ* that midwifery "at the South" was "in the hands of females – those most usually negroes."[344] Overseers, white plantation mistresses, as well as planters, who were often physicians, also participated in the medical care of captive African Americans.[345] While Merrill, as well as contemporary historians, suggest multi-room, well-equipped buildings for treating sick captives, Kenny argues that such facilities were likely nothing more than a "slave cabin used to isolate those afflicted with fevers, or simply somewhere to keep close watch over the sick and ensure they were not feigning illness or planning to run away."[346]

Commercial hospitals, by contrast, were a distinctly urban institution first appearing in the South Carolina low country. Phillip D. Morgan tells us that by 1740, hospitals for captives were

---

[342] Stephen Kenny, "A Dictate of Both Interest and Mercy? Slave Hospitals in the Antebellum South." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences,* 65 (2010):5.

[343] Hospitals for captives were an 18th century phenomenon, usually situated on larger plantations.
[344] P. M. Kollock, MD *SMSJ* "Case of Traumatic Tetanus cured by Strychnine" October (1847):601
[345] See Phillip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint: Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998): 321-323.
[346] Stephen Kenny, "Dictate of Both Interest and Mercy," 7.

already in operation, and by the 1760s, "at least seven were functioning.[347] Kenny situates such infirmaries as an outgrowth of the transatlantic slave trade by providing a means to "quarantine" newly arrived captives.[348] In fact, colonial documentation facilitated the growth of these institutions. Fearing the reoccurrence of a smallpox outbreak in 1759, the governor implemented "rigorous quarantine regulations" that forbade ships arriving from Africa entry into the Ashley or Copper rivers until they had docked for ten days on Sullivan Island. During these two weeks, the ships were sanitized and 200 to 300 captives were sequestered in the island's pest-house.[349]

The transatlantic trade in captives was supplanted around 1815 by an internal trade that relocated captives from older established regions of the United States, like Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, westward to new states like Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and Texas. Rather than curb the proliferation of captive hospitals, the effect of the internal slave trade, as argued by Kenny, was to expand the presence of Negro hospitals, from coastal cities like Charleston, Norfolk, Mobile, and New Orleans to internal cities like Montgomery, Natchez, Columbia, and Augusta. Kenny, in fact, correlates the appearance of Negro hospitals throughout the South with those same cities serving as trading depots. Several years before the Jackson Street Hospital and Surgical Infirmary for Negros opened, a group of Augusta citizens were outraged by efforts to "establish a Negro Depot" on that same street. City ordinances restricted the building of such facilities north of Fenwich Street, as a strategy for keeping the "nuisances" out of local neighborhoods. This group of concerned citizens feared the "loathsome diseases and death" that certainly accompanied depots.[350] As previously mentioned, captors had an economic incentive to provide some level of medical treatment and Southern physicians had an equal incentive to provide their specialized services to a captives owner, in for-profit hospitals.

---

[347] Philip Morgan, *Slave Counterpoint*, 323.
[348] Stephen Kenny, "Dictate of Both Interest and Mercy," 9.
[349] George C. Rogers, *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press,1984), 27.
[350] "Depots for the Sale of Negros," *Augusta Chronicle* July, 23, 1850, 2.

Advertisements for Augusta's Negro Infirmaries

While Augusta and Richmond County never contained Georgia's largest concentration of captives, they were second to Savannah, according to both the 1850 and 1860 census.[351] It is of little surprise, then, that Augusta was one of the nation's major centers for the sale and acquisition of captives. The city had a Market House, colloquially known as the slave market, as early as the 1790s, and in an effort to provide modern facilities, the state legislature commissioned a new Market House in 1825. Business, as one would expect, was quite robust; Bellamy and Walker found that a significant number of the 28 individuals in Georgia listing their occupation as "slave trader" on the 1860 census were based in Augusta. For the decade spanning 1841 to 1851, captives in Richmond County accounted for 46 percent of the population, dropping to 29 percent in 1860. Captives, however, were not only concentrated in the hinterlands, as Bellamy and Walker found, but in fact slavery in Augusta proper "was just as viable as rural slavery in the county."[352] The high number of captives held in the area also meant that conditions were right for the establishment of Augusta's own Negro Hospital.

During the summer of 1845, the Medical College of Georgia Professor Dr. F. Eve announced the opening of his "SURGICAL INFIRMARY." Eve was one of the founding physicians of the Medical College and, as previously was mentioned, served as the editor of the *SMSJ* from 1845-1849. Located near the Georgia Rail Road Depot, Eve's hospital was an interracial facility providing "accommodation" for "4-8" white patients, but most space was reserved for "10 to 20 Black patients." Dual race facilities were not particularly unusual; medical historian Todd L. Savitt

[351] Donnie D. Bellamy and Diane E. Walker "Slaveholding in Antebellum Augusta and Richmond County, Georgia" *Phylon,* 48:2, (1987).
[352] Ibid.,169, 173.

tells us that Southern urban infirmaries were often "open to whites, slaves and free blacks."[353] Board and access to the nurse's care was free of charge but fees were applied to surgical facilities. Destitute patients, however, could gain access to treatment "free of expense" if they were admitted during the months that the Medical College was in session.[354] What is peculiar about the advertisement appearing in the *Chronicle* is that it alludes to a degree of agency by referring to "Black patients." By way of contrast, Dr. Leon's Hospital for Negros, in Columbia, South Carolina clearly references the unfree status of patients by noting "an efficient white person" was on staff to "superintend" the facility. The "owner of a patient" is mentioned and readers are told that "no slave" will be released without payment.[355]

The following year, Eve's hospital was restructured as a space solely for Blacks. The "INFIRMARY FOR NEGROS" was advertised as a "PRIVATE" facility, and surgeries were no longer offered free; at this point, the "owner" was informed of their responsibilities for "visits, medicines, or operations," which were "regulated by the Medical Society of Augusta."[356] Dr. Eve's Private Surgical Infirmary was also advertised concurrently in the *SMSJ* as accommodating "fifteen to twenty black Patients."[357] It is not clear when Dr. Eve suspended the Infirmary; he resigned from the Medical College in 1850 and relocated to the University of Louisville, where he was named Chair of Surgery.

In January of 1851, a "Professional Notice" appeared in the *Chronicle* announcing Dr. Eve's impending return to Augusta and the resumption of "His Infirmary for Negros." Dr. Eve, however, was blacklisted by Dr. Dugas, who had assumed the editorship of the *SMSJ*, having denied his

---

353 Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery: The Disease and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), 192.
354 *Augusta Chronicle,* August 11, 1845, 3.
355 Stephen Kenny, "Dictate of Both Interest and Mercy,"15. Here Kenny is quoting the *South Carolinian State Gazette and Columbia Advertiser July* 4, 1828.
356 *Augusta Chronicle* October, 16, 1846, 3.
357 *SMSJ,* 3:10, (1847): Backcover.

request to insert his "card" for several insertions.[358] Since its opening in the summer of 1845, advertisements ran continually until October of 1847. Print material emanating from Dr. Eve's hospital represented a significant source of reading material for readers of the *Chronicle* and the *SMSJ*. In fact, these specialized hospitals generated much in the way of content for Southern newspapers and medical journals.

Part of the reason Dr. Eve's "card" may have been denied inclusion into the *SMSJ* was there was now increased competition, as the Medical College's faculty had begun infirmaries of their own. It is unclear if either of these facilities accepted Black patients; Dugas' advertisement specifically mentions "White persons in indigent circumstances," offering the same arrangements that Dr. Eve offered -- free surgical procedures if they occurred during the academic term. Drs. Henry and Robert Campbell were the newest faculty members at the Medical College, having been appointed professors of anatomy. Their "Surgical Institute," like Dr. Dugas', beckoned patients from the "country," promising visitors the best consideration during their "sojourn" in the city. It is clear from these advertisements that Augusta functioned as the regional center for health care for both Black and white patients. Small towns and villages in the hinterland may have offered some form of medical treatment, but Savitt suggests that these usually closed after a short period of time.[359]

The Campbell brothers had ambitious plans for Augusta's medical scene and readers of the *Chronicle* were given a glimpse of them during the winter of 1853. The announcement called for a "NEW SURGICAL INFIRMARY FOR NEGROS." The facility was planned as an institution that would serve the needs of the entire state, and being located near the railroad depot, it could easily receive patients. What separates the Jackson Street Hospital and Surgical Infirmary for Negroes, as it came to be called, in terms of its print material culture is the surviving copy of a pamphlet detailing its regulations. The presence of this document expands our perspective on the types of materials

[358] *Augusta Chronicle*, 2:11, (1851), 3.
[359] Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery*,193.

medical organizations contributed to the Southern print scene. In order to help understand why such documentation was needed, we must reiterate that the "patient" was in fact the owners of the captives, rather than the captives themselves, and as a result, Southern physicians needed to "demonstrate that special effective disciplinary systems were in place."[360] Demand for the Jackson Street Hospital's services appeared quite robust; in 1859 as a means to reduce the flow of paperwork the hospital produced a pamphlet entitled *Regulations* which it hoped would "lessen the amount of necessary correspondence" with planters, as well as accelerate information flow that explained the hospital's role in the lives of planters as well as the ailments and surgeries offered to the community.[361]

The seven page pamphlet was printed by local jobber Jeremiah Morris, who was also the printer of the *SMSJ* at the time, provided the expected information on fees, set at $10.00 a month, and logistics; for example, the hospital was able to receive patients by "Rail Road, or Steamboat." The expanded space that accompanied the pamphlet format meant that the hospital could argue its validity in a way that newspaper advertisements could not. Plantations were ill equipped to handle the prolonged treatment of sick slaves in an "efficient" manner. This often results in an owner's "loss in time," not only due to the down captive, but also due to those others directing his care. Furthermore, it was believed that Blacks could not take care of themselves, being "careless" and "derelict." The hospital's physicians and staff could "properly restrain" and "judiciously manage" black healthcare, freeing planters of the hassle while ensuring a speedy recovery.[362] The pamphlet describes four types of conditions thought to be common afflictions of slaves: Chronic Diseases, Diseases of Women, and Obstetric Ward, emphasizing that vesicovaginal fistula and hernia were "common among negroes" making them "worse than useless to their owners." However, both

---

[360] Stephen Kenny, "Dictate of Both Interest and Mercy,"14.

[361] Regulations. Jackson Street Negro Infirmary (1859)

[362] Regulations, 1859 Duke University Archives

conditions were "curable" by surgery. This final point on surgery is important in the context of Augusta's Negro infirmaries, as all were established by surgeons on the faculty of the Medical College of Georgia. This also marks the point in our analysis where we begin to see multiple layers of print emanating from these institutions. The first layer is their appearance as advertisements in other periodicals, like the Augusta *Chronicle* and the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*. The second, as we saw with the pamphlet of the Jackson Street Negro Hospital, are pieces of print material culture independent of other media that address the peculiarities of an intended audience. The third level is more abstract. At this stage, the organization appears in print not as an advertisement, but as the location that produces the information. A cursory glance of Augusta's medical scene may suggest that African Americans had much access to health care, but the reality was these facilities were laboratories intended to produce professional information for the Southern medical community. Thus, this complex interaction between the city's Negro Infirmaries, the Medical College and its faculty, and the *SMSJ* exemplify what Pawley refers to as a "well-defined … pathway that formed layered networks of print."[363] The following discussion will demonstrate how Augusta's Negro Infirmaries contributed to the dissemination of Southern reading, as both an activity that was practical and professional.

Negro Medicine as Professional Reading in the *SMSJ*

Medical students entering the Medical College in 1850 were required to pay a fee of $120 to begin their course of instruction. The courses themselves cost $115; the remaining $5.00 went toward a one-time matriculation fee. Students were able to save on clinical instruction, which was "given… without extra charge."[364] One reason the medical college saw little need to charge students

---

[363] Christine Pawley, "Beyond Market Models and Resistance," 81.

[364] "MEDICAL COLLEGE OF GEORGIA." *Augusta Chronicle,* August 20, 1850, 1.

for clinical training was because of its access to the city's Negro infirmaries. On a basic level, these facilities supported the curriculum by providing hands-on training, which was generally rare in American medical schools of the period. They also served as resources that helped generate practical reading materials for the community of Southern Physicians.

Dr. Paul Eve was a prolific contributor to the *SMSJ*; during the winter of 1849, his "Report" chronicled the opening day of the Surgical Clinic rotations at the medical school. Eve suggests that the Report will be of "sufficient interest" to the profession.[365] The cases appearing in the Report were all performed before the students, providing them with first-hand experience in patient contact. The first case presented was that of an unnamed, pregnant "Negro woman aged 21." Patients, if they were of color, were always identified by race. This type of racial naming or classification in the *SMSJ* mirrors that observed in physicians' daybooks of the period.[366] This case is particularly interesting because the patient had arrived from "the interior of South Carolina." In the mid-1850s, the small town of Blackville, South Carolina, located "on the South Carolina Railroad between Charleston and Augusta, would establish the Blackville Infirmary for Negros [sic] offering "SURGICAL OPERATIONS or TREATMENT IN CHRONIC DISEASES."[367] Eve appeared frustrated with the young lady, citing an inability to understand the "cause of her present compliant," which he suggests occurs "too often ... with patients of this class." Here, Eve was transferring to both students and readers the belief that captives often feign illness. Stowe tells us such assumptions were at the "center of physicians' hostility and distrust with regard to black patients:" for physicians, faking sickness was a means of undermining authority.[368]

---

[365] "Surgical Cases" *SMSJ* 2,(1837):4-7.
[366] This is discussed in more detail by Steven M. Stowe in *Doctoring the South,* 107.
[367] Stephen Kenny, "Dictate of Both Interest and Mercy, 11. Here Kenny cites an ad that appeared in the *Charleston Mercury* September 27, 1856.

[368] Steven M. Stowe, *Doctoring the South,* 172.

Yet, the cause of the young lady's complaint was obvious, as she was diagnosed with tumors in her armpit. Since the patient was said to have rejected "etherization," or anesthesia, Eve and the class proceed with a "three inch incision" stopping due to the patient's great "suffering"; the anesthetic "chloroform" was administered and the 1/3 pound mass removed. After a three-day recovery, the patient was sent "home" by stagecoach. Other surgical cases presented reveal how some Black patients made repeated visits to the city's Negro infirmaries. Winney, described as a "negro girl aged 20," had been essentially living at Eve's "Surgical Infirmary" for a year, suffering from an ulcerated foot. Unable to find a successful course of treatment, Winney had endured a "great variety" of procedures with little effect. Likewise, an unnamed "19 year old negro boy" had suffered from blockages in his urethra for "six or eight years" and had visited Eve's infirmary several years before. On the present visit, the young man was provided anesthesia, before a catheter insertion, in "previous" visits having been offered no anesthetic, he would "writhe in pain." The patient was provided a "bougie" to continue self-care at "home," the "chloroform" having "acted truly like enchantment."

These cases help illustrate the ways in which African Americans as captive patients in Augusta's Negro hospitals, generated geographically situated medical information. The way in which data were created for the codification of Southern and Negro Medicine forces us to think critically about not only the ways in which information is harvested, but on its lack of impartiality and recognizing that information is politicized and often oriented toward a specific end. Analyzing the role of captive bodies in information production also helps clue us into the dynamics of power that surrounded information creation. Notice the voices that appeared in the *SMSJ* were not those of captive patients, except for fragmented appearances where they were seen advocating against their interests, such as refusing anesthetics. This is not unlike the case of the *Southern Cultivator*, where the

marginalized were unwillingly used in the process of creating information, through varying levels of surveillance, which was subsequently used as a tool in their own oppression.

Conclusion

I began the chapter suggesting that print material rarely manifests in isolation, removed from the sociopolitical, and in this case biological, factors that impact human life. This claim has certainly held true in this discussion on the proliferation of medically-oriented print material culture in Augusta. Rather than coalescing around a single type of medical print, this chapter has shown how various iterations of practically oriented medical information was produced and distributed using a diverse assortment of Augusta's print technologies. From the smallest scale, where we encountered consumer health information in the form of articles and advertisements, to the city ordinances that regulated the day-to-day activities of Augusta's citizens, to an even larger scale where we saw the development of specialized medical information for Southern health professionals in the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, readers consuming Augusta's print material culture were able to keep themselves informed about issues affecting their personal health and well-being, manage the health of their captives, and remain current about the latest developments in Southern medicine.

Approaching reading from an organizational level of analysis has illustrated how an institution, like the Medical College of Georgia, can mobilize print technology as a cultural agent. The extent to which the *SMSJ* was able to overcome its initial obstacles in securing payment from subscribers, is related to it having successfully convinced readers that Southern medical literature was indeed valuable and should therefore be sustained with their support and cooperation. It is because of this fact that we can state that the medical school, using the technology of its medical journal, played a major role in establishing the genre of Southern medical literature. Additionally, the middle level of analysis uncovers the medical school's influence on Southern professional education.

Reading the *SMSJ* was not like reading George Lippard's *Quaker City*, an act meant to entertain; rather, this was reading for professional information and self-improvement, at a time when medical education throughout the nation was being reformed.

Finally, examining medically-oriented reading material at an organizational level has revealed a complex information network with the Medical College of Georgia at its center, with nodes radiating outward that included the local printers, the *SMSJ* (as a technology for dissemination), the faculty (as authors), Negro Infirmaries (as sites of reading and information production), and captives' bodies (as information producers). It has even revealed unexpected actors like the railroads and stagecoaches, which were responsible for ferrying captives to and from Augusta's hinterland. All of these actors worked as a well-oiled machine that facilitated the production of Southern medical information. This chapter's discussion supports the dissertation's claim that practically oriented print was a substantial genre of reading material for the South. This discussion also exposes the multiple scales that practical literacy can manifest. Initial reactions to the term 'practical literacy' may suggest activities outside of intellectual pursuits. Yet here we see the complicated nature of the genre spanning consumer health information, as articles and advertisements at the lowest scale, escalating to medical science in its final iteration, within the context of medical reform and self-improvement.

Chapter 5

A "Considerable Collection:" A History of Augusta's Medical Library

It is no secret that 19th century Northerners did not always look kindly upon their Southern counterparts. For Ralph Waldo Emerson, for example, the inhabitants of the Southern part of the republic were a scornful "race," devoid of "wisdom" and lacking any "capacity for self improvement." Much of Emerson's text and numerous speeches were devoted to expressing this belief.[369] Emerson was not alone in his vitriolic views about the South and Southerners. As Bledstein notes, Northerners imagined the South as a "backward region," and "because the region failed to develop educational institutions, according to the northern image, the South both stifled the emergence of a class with professional skills and was burdened by the highest illiteracy rate in the nation."[370] Having already examined the *Southern Cultivator* and *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal*, we know that at least those Southerners in Augusta were in fact very concerned about increasing knowledge via information dissemination. This was done in a quest for self-improvement, not only for Georgia but also for the South as a whole.

In light of trans-regional misconceptions and prejudices about education, it is important to examine the development of cultural institutions like libraries in regional settings, in order to better understand that region's commitment to knowledge production and intellectual advancement. Such an analysis of library culture in Southern cities is particularly informative as a counter to the often-discussed low literacy rates of the South and the vocal Northern proponents of contemporary regional biases, which claim, for example, that antebellum Georgia lacked social libraries.[371] Research reveals, however, that antebellum Augusta possessed a very dynamic library scene. In speaking of the city's rich library culture, I refer not only to the physical spaces designated as reading rooms or

---

[369] Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 27-28.
[370] Ibid., (emphasis added).
[371] Kenneth E. Carpenter, "Libraries" in *An Extensive Republic Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840 v.2*, ed. by Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelly. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010) 274.

libraries, but also to the citizens' encounter with I shall call *libraries on the page*. Here libraries are manifest in the local newspaper the *Chronicle& Sentinel* as news articles or in advertisements of regional colleges, touting their institution's modern facilities. This type of analysis helps us see that libraries, both in their physical and abstract forms, were not alien to the citizens of Augusta, and likely filled the pages of other Southern newspapers as well, thus supplying rich practically oriented content for readers' consumption in the antebellum South.

While this chapter is primarily concerned with the Medical Library at the Medical College of Georgia, I situate its development within a much larger cultural milieu, of Augusta and the South, which valued libraries as institutions for cultural improvement. Berry Fleming's *199 Years of Augusta's Library* is the only known work that offers a treatment of libraries in the city.[372] Fleming's work, however, is a chronology of excerpts obtained primarily from the local newspaper. While this seminal text does provide coverage of the earliest libraries in the city, it is silent on other libraries that were present during the era, such as the reading room and agricultural library established by Jones Publishing; it also offers a scant entry on the medical library at the Medical College of Georgia. My goal for the following section is to provide a more comprehensive analysis of the diverse library cultures that proliferated on the Augusta scene during the antebellum period. This discussion will orient readers to the institutionalized reading culture of the city, and serve as a foundation for my subsequent analysis of the medical library.

Augusta's Library Scene

In the early 1840s, bulletins announcing the start of Harvard University Law School's new term began appearing in the *Augusta Chronicle*. The notice touted Harvard's national curriculum, which did not emphasize the "jurisprudence of any particular state." Students wanting to study

[372] Berry Fleming, 199 *years of Augusta's Library: A Chronology* (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press).

"local law and practice" however, will find "ample" opportunity" in the "nearly 9,000 volumes" in the law library. Readers were informed that the $50 fee per term included "access to the College and Law Libraries" as well as "textbooks."[373] Another Cambridge institution, the Massachusetts Medical College, alerted readers of the *Chronicle* to its expansive curriculum, which offered numerous clinical opportunities in the city hospital, Eye & Ear Infirmary, and medical museum at a cost of $80 for the entire course; access to the library was offered "gratuitous."[374] Southern educational institutions also touted their libraries to the pages of the *Chronicle*. The University of Georgia announced the start of its new term on the "sixteenth of January, 1841"; college fees of $50 a term included tuition, a room, a servant hire, and library access.[375] Even secondary schools like the Augusta Female Academy hoped to "induce" readers (in this case parents) with its "excellent library" and collection of "Maps, Globes" and "Scientific Apparatus" which it claimed were the best in Georgia.[376]

Evidence of libraries as common institutions often filled the pages of the *Chronicle*; one such example is an 1841 notice that simply states: "The Library of Harvard University is said to be the largest in the United States, it containing 57,942 volumes." A reprint from the *Savannah Georgian*, titled "Chronology of Some Important Inventions," lists the first comedy and tragedy in Western Literature, the reformation of the calendar by Julius Caesar, and the first public libraries in Athens, Rome, and Alexandria as significant moments in history. Other library news was grim, such as the fire at a boy's orphanage in Lafayette, Louisiana, which destroyed the "Library, dormitory and schoolroom."[377]

---

[373] "Harvard University," *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel*, February 7, 1845, 3.
[374] "Massachusetts Medical College," *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel,* August 17, 1850, 1.
[375] "Franklin College," *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel*, April 17, 1845, 2. For another example see "Emory and Henry College" July 14, 1842, 2.
[376] "Augusta Female Academy" *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel*, September 23, 1847, 2.
[377] "Chronology of some Important Inventions, & c." *Augusta Chronicle & Sentinel*, June 20,1842, 2.; "FIRE" Ibid., January 21, 1841 p.2; For another example of fires in libraries covered in the local paper see "Fire at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts" June 16, 1845 p.3.

Not to be overshadowed, local libraries did much to contribute to the city's library scene through publicity in the local newspaper, in addition to their physical presence as a source of reading material and intellectual development. The Augusta Library Association, one of the city's oldest subscription libraries, often advertised its "annual stockholders meeting" in the *Chronicle*, while the Young Men's Library Association, the precursor to the Augusta Public Library, frequently ran announcements for a variety of events, including book drives and public lecturers held in their reading rooms. The Joneses often used the pages of the *Chronicle* to promote their own institutional library culture. Shortly after purchasing the *Chronicle & Sentinel*, the Joneses ran an advertisement announcing the launch of "Our Reading Room." Recently remodeled with "new lights," the Reading Room was said to contain the "lending periodicals" of the United States and Europe." Designating the space as a public good, the Joneses expressed "no wish or expectation to render [the reading room] a profitable business," wanting only to collect enough dues to "defray the expenses," a position they also adopted years later with the *Southern Cultivator*. In order to render the new space an "agreeable resort," access was limited only to "subscribers," although "strangers" were welcomed as long as they were properly "introduced by a member."[378]

Despite the national regional rhetoric that spoke of Southern backwardness and apathy, the Joneses' establishment of a public reading space positions Augusta in the mainstream of national culture.[379] Social libraries, while having their origins in the 18th century, were really a 19th century phenomenon.[380] Most often organized by wealthy merchants (overwhelmingly men), the social

---

[378] "Our Reading Room," *Augusta Chronicle*, February 3, 1840. 2.

[379] I am adopting Jesse Shera's notion that social libraries were the de facto public libraries of their era. See Jesse H. Shera, *Foundations of The Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England 1629-1855*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1949),74.

[380] Ibid. 54, 59, 71, and 74. For more on the development of social libraries in the 18th century, see James Raven and James Green.

library took several forms and was called by an assortment of names.[381] Broadly speaking, "athenaeums, lyceums, young men's associations, mechanics' institutions, [and] mercantile libraries" are all iterations of social libraries.[382] Jesse Shera's seminal work, *Foundations of the Public Library*, argues that social or subscription libraries were basically "volunteer organizations" that pooled membership dues to purchase books and other materials.[383]

Thomas Augst's book *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral life in Nineteenth-Century America* can help us understand the type of users who frequented social libraries during the period. As the United States became more urban, a new class of worker emerged: the clerk. In contrast to working class laborers, clerks were immersed in the nation's burgeoning culture of paperwork, as we saw with the character Bartleby in *The Scrivener*. Finding employment as a clerk, according to Augst, was a strategy for young men to obtain social mobility on the path towards a career in business.[384] This also meant that clerks were particularly interested in self-improvement and often sought out reading opportunities in mercantile libraries, where they could encounter "useful knowledge."[385] Augst's narrative is focused on large cities, but even smaller locations like Augusta had a steady pool of clerks who might have also found the reading material in the Joneses' reading room beneficial in their quest for improved social status. Augusta's first *Directory* published in 1841, for example, included 100 entries of local residents with the occupation of "clerk" out of approximately 700 entries.[386] Some like Nathaniel Patton, worked at the *Chronicl*e's office, others at the local iron foundry Hand and Scranton, which employed several clerks.

---

[381] For the social class of founders of social libraries, see Patrick M. Valentine, "America's Antebellum Social Libraries: A Reappraisal in Institutional Development," *Library & Information History* 27 (2011): 32-51.
[382] Adam Areson, "Libraries in Public Before the Age of Public Libraries: Interpreting the Furnishings and Design of Athenaeums and Other Social Libraries, 1800-1860" in *The Library As Place: History, Community, and Culture,* John E. Bushman eds.*et. al.* (Westport: Libraries Unlimited, 2007): 42.
[383] J. Shera, *Foundations of The Public Library,* 58.
[384] Augst, *Clerks' Tale* 14.
[385] Ibid.,161.
[386] Approximately half of the entries in the directory were for individuals; the remainder was for commercial and cultural institutions. *The Augusta Directory and City Advertiser*, *For 1841*. K, Woodward, Publisher. Augusta: Ga.: Browne & McCafferty, Book & Job Printers. 1841. Text at the American Antiquarian Society.

As a regional hub for middle Georgia, Augusta was home to several financial institutions such as the Georgia Railroad and Banking Company, Augusta Insurance and Banking Company, as well as the local branch for the Bank of the State of Georgia. These institutions all employed a number of middling professional men. William H. Jones, William Smith, and F.A Morgan for example all worked as tellers, while other men held the position of cashier.[387] Each institution employed a bookkeeper, which formed a small brotherhood of 20 accountants or bookkeepers in Augusta. Although Augst is silent on Southern clerks, their presence on the Augusta scene is not unexpected, as "every Southern city housed small army of clerks—young, generally unmarried men who boarded together and aspired to counting housed of their own."[388] Augusta's middling office workers resided in boarding houses such as Mrs. Sarah Ann's, the Mansion House, or the Phoenix Hotel. Reading rooms not only provided a means to further one's education and skill set but was also offered a reprieve from the city's overcrowded boarding houses.

The Joneses were not just interested in providing reading materials for individuals of the aspiring middling sort; they were also interested in providing information resources for agriculturists, as we saw with their activities in publishing a country edition of the *Augusta Chronicle*. In 1853, the Joneses established their second reading room, but this one was touted as a "SOUTHERN AGRICULTURAL ROOM." Advertised in the Joneses' agricultural paper, the *Southern Cultivator*, the reading room, like its predecessor, was located at their main office and was "devoted to the advancement of agricultural & mechanical interests of the South." The library contained all of the obligatory "agricultural papers" and a collection of "standard Agricultural works," as well as a menagerie of natural specimens -- "seeds of all kinds, native minerals, specimens of insects, samples of wild plants" and those all-important "Agricultural Implements of Southern make" -- which made

[387] Augusta Directory, 26-26. A total of 16 attorneys were also listed in the City Directory.
[388] Jonathan Daniel Wells, *Origins of the Southern Middle Class*, 166.

the collection quite distinctive.[389] This eclectic collection was not uncommon for reading rooms during the mid-1800s; even the aristocratic Athenaeum was "filled with scientific and cultural artifacts."[390] In contrast to the Jones' original reading room, the agricultural room offered "free access, at any time" to patrons finding themselves in Augusta "for business or pleasure."[391]

The establishment of specialized (social) library places in the city of Augusta positioned them in the nation's mainstream. Shera points out that the mid 1800s was a period of intense specialization in social libraries due to the "growing concern of workers with vocational subjects;" as such, collections "were pointed toward some specific reading end."[392] Social agricultural libraries were extremely rare in the United States; from 1735 to 1850, there were 1,085 social libraries in the nation, yet only 12 (1 percent of the total) were oriented toward agriculture.[393] The period of specialization that Shera alludes to was a part of the mid-19th century's growing middle class and its interest in professionalization. This occurred in both the North and the South; one example of this is that the nation's growing interest in professionalization played a major role in the Medical College of Georgia's early plans to establish a medical library and museum.

So far we have seen how different types of cultural heritage institutions appeared on the Augusta library scene, including local, regional, and Northern libraries. Adding to the diversity of the city's robust library culture was a medical repository and museum -- institutions of which few antebellum cities could boast. The medical library at the Medical College of Georgia presents a fascinating site of analysis because it functioned as both a specialized as well as a college library. Academic libraries were not uncommon in the 19th century South, as we have seen earlier in the

---

389 "Southern Agricultural Room," *Southern Cultivator* 10:2 (1852), 93.
390 A. Areson, "Libraries in Public," 53; also see Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).
391 "Southern Agricultural Room," *Southern Cultivator* 10:2 (1852), 93.

392 J. Shera, *Foundations of The Public Library*, 71.
393 Ibid., 2.

chapter, although they may have existed on a different scale than those in the North. Earlier I mentioned how the presence of Southern colleges complicated tropes of Southern uninterest in literacy and other forms of cultural advancement; Southern academic libraries further complicate this convention. South Carolina College, (now the University of South Carolina) has the distinction of being the first to establish a separate building for housing a library collection, which it did in 1840. Harvard followed a year later and Yale did so in 1843 while Princeton did not establish a library building until 1873[394]

Augusta's medical library represents the ambitions of a small group of Southern physicians working through the Medial College of Georgia, to transform medical education and the dissemination of medical information on a national and regional scale. What follows is an analysis of the medical library at Augusta. I begin with a brief history of early American collegiate libraries, unpacking the meaning of medical libraries as well as describing the nation's earliest medical repositories. Having established a foundation for college and medical libraries in the United States as a whole, I then move to more specific regional readings, particularly in interrogating the origins of the medical library at Augusta. This discussion emphasizes infrastructure, exploring the conditions responsible for the library's founding, the collocation of its materials, as well as its daily administration. I close the discussion with an analysis of the medical museum, which shared many of the same materials and functions as the college library. This discussion argues that the Medical library, as a constituent unit of the MCG functioned as a recruitment tool for the college, symbolizing its commitment to modern infrastructure. The library also served as another node in the institution's information network that advocated reading as an act of self-improvement and professional status.

---

[394] Dean Grodzins and Leon Jackson, "Colleges and Print Culture" *History of the Book v. 2,* 322.

Brief History of College Libraries

Grodzins and Jackson note that early 19th century college libraries were "emblems of school pride" that showcased an institution's "ambition" as a "center of learning."[395] Such institutional sentiment was most likely the result of a performance strategy designed to lure much needed prospective students, seeking modern facilities. Undoubtedly some colleges did take pride in their book collections, often stashed away in the locked cabinets of their president's office, but they offered few, if any, students access to them. Antebellum colleges appear to have cared more about the symbolic meaning of their libraries as showpieces, rather than as physical spaces designated to house the institution's books (nor did they particularly emphasize the role of the individuals responsible for their management). An explanation for this paradox can be found through an examination of American academic culture during the 19th century.

The typical college was a minuscule community with no more than a few buildings, faculty averaging 4 to 6 members, and a student body comprised of 25-100 or so young men. Even the nation's largest colleges, such as Yale, scarcely had enrollments higher than 400 pupils.[396] The idyllic image of studious pupils conjured by the images of authors like Thoreau and Emerson is generally false, as behavioral problems and alcohol abuse abounded. Students frequently defaulted on their tuition leaving many institutions "on the brink of bankruptcy."[397]

The college curriculum was quite prescribed, and offered students few opportunities for elective study; instruction was facilitated with the use of schoolbooks, as they were known during the period, that alone were sufficient to pass course exams. As we saw in the previous chapter on the *SMSJ*, colleges during the antebellum years were increasingly responsible for much of the local

---

[395] Ibid.
[396] Ibid., 319.
[397] Orvin Lee Shiflett, *Origins of American academic librarianship* (New York: Aplex, 1981), 6-17. See also Bledstein, 223-265.

print scene; collegiate material culture included a broad assortment of materials including "laws, lectures, orations, catalogs of students and faculty, announcements" and schoolbooks. Professors often authored their own instructional materials that were subsequently printed in locally owned print offices contracted by the college and sold to students establishing a "perfect circle" of commercial exchange.[398] Colleges therefore often discouraged over-ambitious students who wanted to read 'outside of the curriculum:' and unlike contemporary faculty, the antebellum professor was under no directive to produce research.

These cultural realities meant that college libraries of the period were little more than ornamental spaces, providing very little in the way of resources to students. Most libraries during the period had scant holdings. An 1850 survey by William James Rhees and Charles Coffin Jewett, which was published by the Smithsonian, noted that altogether, 126 colleges in the United States held a total of less than 600,000 volumes, with the average holding being around 2,000. Yet, we know that the average number of holdings was raised higher by the relatively large collections at a few elite institutions like Harvard, which held 72,000 volumes. Most college libraries resembled Ohio's Central College, which held 500 volumes.[399]

The size of early collegiate libraries, however, is somewhat misleading, as collections were often prohibited from use by students, the convention of the day being that libraries supported reference activities and provided those materials lacking in the personal libraries of its faculty. Even libraries with rather liberal circulation policies, like Harvard, were against "indiscriminate use of the library by Undergraduates" due to the belief that students were more attracted to the books' ornate bindings over their intellectual content. If access was permitted, it was often limited by restricted operating hours. Central College's library was open a single afternoon every other week, while Dartmouth's collection was accessible once every fourteen days. The antebellum college library was

[398] D. Grodzins and L. Jackson, "Colleges and Print Culture," 327.
[399] Orvin Lee Shiflett, *Origins of Academic Librarianship, 2.*

fraught with many challenges and constituted a radically different space than the academic libraries with which present day students and faculty are familiar. The 19th century student was kept isolated or segregated from the information contained in institution-owned books and, as a result, frequently started their own literary societies that developed libraries designed to provide students with access to the desired book cultures of the day. Antebellum medical schools were situated within the context of this academic culture, but were unique in that they overcame the challenges faced by their parent institutions in part by shaping their curricula such that access to medical repositories was a necessary.

The Meaning of Medical Libraries

Defining what a medical library is, identifying those institutions that established them, and when this occurred is a more complex project than it initially may seem. Historians have largely based their analyses of the existence of medical libraries on the presence of large collections. One may find it difficult to fathom how an institution charged with training future physicians could function without a library of some sort. William Norwood tells us that every medical institution in the United States "had a collection of books [it] called a library." The reason that a relatively unknown medical institution like the Medical College of Georgia is credited with having the first such collection in the South is largely due to self-selection. Schools with large collections like the Medical College of Georgia made certain that potential students, physicians, and rival medical schools knew about their libraries and "made special mention of the library in its circulars and catalogs." Small collections were most likely the collocated holdings of professors' private libraries, with the average collection ranging from a few hundred to under two thousand volumes. [400] It is therefore probable that an established institution like the Medical College of South Carolina had a

[400] William Fredrick Norwood, *Medical Education in the United States before the Civil War* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), 398.

library of some sort, but because the Medical School did not advertise or call special attention to its presence, we can assume that it was insignificant.[401] The South Carolina medical school did have an "Anatomical Museum" however, which had been "improved" during the summer of 1828 with the addition of materials form Europe. The museum also contained an assorted variety of natural history materials from the Literary and Philosophical Society of South Carolina, which appeared to have been deposited on loan. But no mention of a library appears in the advertisement.[402]

An example of medical schools advertising their medical collections can be found in the case of Transylvania University of Lexington, Kentucky, which was proud of what was soon to become a whole library system. An 1800 article in the *Kentucky Gazette* announced that,

> The library of the University [unclear] of more than 1000 volumes of the best ancient and modern authors; in addition to which the trustees have procured a valuable Law Library for the students [….] and have appropriated 500 dollars for the purchase of the Medical books, which will soon be brought forward.[403]

The medical department later claimed in advertisements that its collection contained "eight thousand volumes" and by 1837, similar ads mentioned that they included library privileges in the school's fees of $110.[404] Similarly, the Medical College of Ohio's advertisement for its 1849-1850 session included a "Matriculation and Library ticket" fee of $5.00, while the Baltimore College of Dentistry alerted would-be students to their "Museum containing thousands of Teeth, of every pathological variety."[405]

---

[401] The concept of "calling attention" echoes Norwood.
[402] "Medical College of South Carolina" *Augusta Chronicle,* November 8, 1828, 48. Other advertisements for the S.C. medical school fail to mention the existence of a library.
[403] "Transylvania University,"*Kentucky Gazette*, Jan 23, 1800, 3.
[404] W. Norwood, *Medical Education,*398; "Transylvania University Medical Department," *Kentucky Gazette* January 23, 1837, 2.
[405] See advertisements *SMSJ* 5:8, 1849.

Early Medical Libraries in the United States

The rise of the modern medical library is inextricably linked to the 19th century's physician's adoption of "professional ideas" that helped fuel the expansion and dissemination of medical literature, most often in the form of journals, as well as the proliferation of newly established medical schools throughout the country. As mentioned in the previous chapter, "Do Not Kill The Golden Goose," the concept of medical literature was nearly non-existent before the 18th century in Europe and did not begin to increase in popularity in the United States until the antebellum period. Considering the slow development of American medical education during the 18th and 19th centuries, it is of little surprise that the earliest medical collections in what would become the United States consisted of the private collections of the colonial elite, who either practiced medicine or accumulated medical texts as a hobby, rather than as constituent units of medical colleges or societies.

John Winthrop the Younger, the governor of colonial Connecticut, is one such example of an avid collector of medical literature. The son of John Winthrop, the first governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony amassed what was a sizable collection for the period -- "about a thousand scientific and medical books" -- that were later donated to New York Hospital in 1812, and would later find a permanent home at the New York Academy of Medicine. Henry Willoughby, a Virginia physician, had a meager personal collection, yet it was considered one of the largest medical libraries in the state. Willoughby's 1677 collection of 44 books of "Phisick" was valued at 631 pounds of tobacco. Dondale suggests that most physicians' libraries during the early days of the republic were built out of hobbyist pursuits rather than attempts to enhance their medical practice. "Few practitioners maintain more than a small working collection," Dondale writes, noting that "those who do make private collections are more likely to search for the masterpieces of the past, or, better

still, for those books and papers which round out the history of one small subject," which usually reflected the interests of "the collector." [406]

18th Century Medical Libraries

The earliest medical library in the United States that was a constituent unit of an institution was the College of Physicians of Philadelphia, which was founded in 1788; this was soon followed by the New York Hospital (1796). Established in 1762 "as a teaching and reference library for the hospital's managers, physicians, and medical students," the Philadelphia Hospital Library has the distinction of being the first such institution in the United States.[407] Benjamin Franklin in fact founded the library, along with Dr. Thomas Bond, in 1751 after the Pennsylvania colony issued a charter "to establish a hospital to care for the sick-poor and insane who wander[ed] the streets of Philadelphia." Dr. John Fothergill donated the first book to the hospital, which inspired the Board to establish a library; a year later, the library was charging using fees from medical students who used the hospital to complete their rounds. Because of the unique service that this library offered to the city's medical students, the Pennsylvania Hospital had a steady cash-flow and in reality could have set fees at almost any amount, as the much desired clinical experience was quite rare and difficult to procure for American medical students during the 18th and for much of the 19th centuries. A Philadelphia professor of medicine, in speaking with students, provides insight on the situation, noting that "large towns" offered the would-be physician "abundant clinical opportunities" because of better infrastructure than was had in rural communities, including numerous "hospitals, dispensaries, and other public institutors."[408] This steady revenue stream helped the collection

---

406 "Marion F. Dondale, "Medical Libraries" in *Handbook of Medical Library Practice*, eds Louise Darling, et.al. (Chicago: Medical Library Association, 1983), 3-4.

407 "History of Pennsylvania Hospital: Historical Timeline,1751-1800," University of Pennsylvania, accessed March 1, 2012. http://www.uphs.upenn.edu/paharc/timeline/1751/tline4.html

408 Warner, *Against the Spri*t, 27.

increase to 366 volumes by 1790, when Dr. Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence, co-compiled the library's first catalogue. By the time the second catalog was published in 1837, the collection contained 7,300 volumes, which increased to 10,000 by 1856.[409] Considering that Philadelphia was the leading center for medical education at the time, it is of little surprise that the city lays claim to the nation's second oldest medical library as well: the College of Physicians of Philadelphia (1788). The main point of interest with respect to the medical college's library is its distinction as the first established by an American medical school; that being said, its collection was not particularly notable and remained relativity sparse well into the next century, with holdings around 1,000 volumes in 1858.[410]

19th Century Medical Libraries

By the early 19th century, medical schools increasingly saw the establishment of a library as a necessity, albeit for reasons one would not necessarily expect, such as using the library as a tactic to siphon students away from competing institutions. Such concerns were the impetus for the Medical College of Ohio's trustees, who viewed the creation of a library as "the best method of promoting the interest of the College." Similarly, the medical department at Transylvania University sent one of its professors to Europe to "buy a library for the Medical department...that it may be enabled to better establish the school."[411] As Warner suggests, establishing medical collections was a means by which colleges could overcome a "competitive disadvantage vis-à-vis its rival" institutions that lacked such facilities and technologies.[412] Competition was fiercest among schools in close proximity and libraries did not always guarantee an institution's success; despite having the latest facilities and equipment, the medical department at Transylvania University closed in 1856, unable to fight off

---

[409] Kathleen P. Birchette, "The History of Medical Libraries from 2000 B.C. to 1900 A.D." *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, 6 1(3) 1973, 306.
[410] Henry Burnell Shafer, *The American Medical Profession, 1783-1850* (New York: AMS Press, 1968) 73.
[411] Warner, *Against the Spirit*, 65.
[412] Ibid.

rival institutions. In the 1840s Transylvania University held the market for medical schools in a wide catchment zone that spanned several states.[413] However, the establishment of new medical schools in Tennessee and Ohio greatly diminished their ability to attract students.

I suggest that ambitious antebellum educational institutions used their libraries as a strategy to recruit students, and this tactic was not unique to medical schools, although competition may have been fiercest among them. Readers will recall that both colleges and secondary schools advertising in the *Augusta Chronicle*, called attention to their libraries.[414] Virginia's Emory & Henry College's 1842 advertisement, for instance, mentioned not only their "Library" but also its "Chemical Apparatus" and "Cabinet of Minerals and Fossils." The notice was targeted toward parents who wanted to provide their "children the advantages" of a high quality education college education at a reasonable price.[415] This type of institutional marketing is not unlike the medical school notices that we will encounter later in the chapter.

Establishing medical libraries during the period was no small feat, as collections were often assembled across the Atlantic Ocean in Europe, particularly in Paris. It is useful for readers to remember that antebellum library collections contained more than the obligatory books and journals on medical science; as we saw earlier with the Joneses' Agricultural Reading Room, the line that separated libraries from museums was rather fluid, having no clear distinction in the antebellum period. Anatomical models, jars of preserved specimens of all types, and assortments of newfangled instruments were often a part of the materials procured and shipped back to the United States as seedlings for new medical collections.

---

[413] W. Norwood, *Medical Education,* .
[414] This discussion occurs on pages 145-146.
[415] "Emory & Henry College" *Augusta Chronicle,* July 14, 1842, 2.

The examples of the Medical College of Ohio and Transylvania University provide a glimpse into the unexpected justifications medical schools employed for establishing medical collections during the period. The following section, which discusses the founding and evolution of the medical library at the Medical College of Georgia, will provide readers with a holistic perspective on why this burgeoning Southern medical institution participated in the national trend of organizing a medical library. We know from Berry Fleming's *199 Years of Augusta's Library History* that the inaugural library at the Medical College of Georgia opened in 1834; what is unknown is how the medical college accomplished such a feat, who used it, how it operated, and its larger role in the community.

Medical Library at the Medical College of Georgia

The concept of building a medical library in Augusta first appeared in print on December 19, 1828, when the Georgia State legislature passed an act renaming the Medical Academy of Georgia as the Medical Institute of the State of Georgia. The state appropriated ten thousand dollars for the Medical Institute to purchase land and construct a new facility, which would include "a suitable library, apparatus and museum."[416] While the act itself provides little background on the legislation that established a library and museum, events occurring during the fall of 1828 suggest such apparatuses may have been part of a strategy to appear competent in the eyes of their peer institutions. The Medical Academy of Georgia conferred the degree of Bachelor of Medicine by the state Board of Physicians, which allowed graduates to practice within the state of Georgia. The bachelor's degree, however, was of little use for graduates wanting to practice outside of Georgia and when one considers that twenty percent of its inaugural class hailed from outside of Georgia, it becomes apparent that this would greatly restrict the Academy's ability to attract students.[417]

---

[416] *CHARTER, BY-LAWS, OFFICERS, &C. OF THE MEDICAL College of Georgia, 1835. Being the Medical Department of the University of Georgia 1899*. (Augusta: George Robinson: 1835 Reprinted 1899 Richards & Shaver Printer)10. MCG
[417] S. Joseph Lewis, *Medical College of Georgia*, 18-19.

In 1829 MCG's Secretary of the Board of Trustees wrote the Medical College of South Carolina requesting that their graduates be allowed to transfer into the second year course of study and subsequently receive the degree of Doctor of Medicine from the South's oldest medical institution. That fall, Dr. Simmons, the President of South Carolinas Medical Society, answered back with a resounding "no."[418] The Trustees at the Medical College of South Carolina felt that the curriculum of the Augusta Academy was inadequate, with its faculty of three and one-year course of study, and declined any transference of credit until the school could be more competitive with medical institutions across the country. While medical education during the antebellum years was far from uniform, the conventional curriculum included two years of lectures, followed by three additional years of training under a practicing physician; recipients of the Doctor of Medicine degree were also required to be at least 21 years of age.[419] Furthermore, the Medical College of South Carolina, established in 1824 and the oldest medical institution in the Deep South, presumably felt little pressure to accommodate an upstart rival in Augusta.

The devastating notice prompted the Board of Trustees to petition the state legislature for what was essentially a change in the status of the institution, allowing them the right to grant the Doctor of Medicine degree. The following year, the faculty was increased to six professors, while the curriculum expanded to include a second year. Similar to the situations at the Medical College of Ohio and Transylvania Medical School, the impetus for better facilities, represented by libraries and museums, manifested from external forces rather than an internal need to support the curriculum. While at the time the Medical Institute of Georgia was not necessarily in direct competition with the

---

[418] Ibid.

[419] W. Norwood, *Medical Education*, 253-54; See also Shafer, *American Medical Profession*,35. The two-year course of study, thesis, and age requirement appears to have started with the University of Pennsylvania Medical School who in 1789 required them of their students. W. Norwood, *Medical Education*, 403-404.

South Carolina medical school, it nevertheless needed to obtain a higher level of competency to be seen as a viable medical institution in the region in order to recruit a steady supply of students.

As the 1830s rapidly progressed the Institute still did not have a building of its own, nor a library or a museum as put forth in the 1828 legislative act; by 1833, however, the new building was finally under construction on Telfair Street, with an expected completion date of October 1, 1834. While the impetus for a library and museum may have been the outgrowth of regional competition, the Medical Institute was increasingly producing and acquiring documents that would warrant such new allocation of space in its own right, for example, student theses. In order to obtain the Doctor of Medicine degree students were required to "deliver a Thesis written by himself, on some medical subject, to the Dean of the Faculty."[420] The medical thesis was a common graduation requirement throughout the period and ranged anywhere from "twelve to forty pages."[421] Shafer dismisses the senior treatises as merely "performances of duty rather [than] expressions of true professional interest," suggesting that they were "seldom worthwhile contributions." Norwood expresses a similar sentiment, noting that "few" were regarded as "original contributions," with their quality generally approaching a document analogous to a "term paper of a college sophomore."[422] The intellectual merits of medical theses need not be debated here, but it is worth noting that Southern medical students often wrote their them on topics like "Negro or Plantation Medicine;" as we saw in the previous chapter, a few of these written at the Medical College of Georgia debuted in the *Southern Medical &* Surgical *Journal*.[423] The faculty minutes fail to identify where these manuscripts were stored, but with an ever-increasing graduating class, this may have been an issue.

---

[420] Charter, 19 Article VIII.
[421] H. B. Shafer, *American Medical Profession*,75.
[422] W. Norwood, *Medical Education,* 51, 406.
[423] See Sharla Fett, *Working Cures*, Harriet Washington, *Medical Apartheid; The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americas from Colonial Times to the Present* (Ancor:New York, 2008). The undergraduate medical thesis has largely been abolished at U.S. medical schools. Yale University Medical School is one of the few schools that continue to

In the early 1830s, the Institute, seemingly for the first time, subscribed to medical journals "in behalf of the faculty." The subscription list shows a mix of international journals: the *Medico-Chirurgical Review* published in Great Britain, as well as the leading "American Journals," including the "Baltimore Journal by Geddings," whose official title was the *Baltimore Medical and Surgical Journal and Review* and had just commenced publication a year earlier. Another was the *American Journal of the Medical Science*, also known as "Hays' Cyclopedia," which began as the *Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences* and fell under the editorship of Issac [sic] Hays in 1827; Hays helped to solidify it as one of the most celebrated medical periodicals in the Unites States. Other subscriptions included the *Boston Medical [& Surgical] Journal*, and the Philadelphia-based *American Journal of the Arts and Science*. While the faculty minute book used the term "American" to describe most of the journals for subscription, the reality was that these were also primarily Northern-based journals.[424] The presence of Northern periodicals in a Southern library collection is not unusual; Wells points out that "southerners subscribed to Northern newspaper and magazines in large numbers."[425] This was done in part out of "admiration" for northern culture and lifeways, but also as a strategy to learn "about the latest intellectual movements, the newest technological advancements or the most recent trends in urban living." Another factor influencing the subscription list was the simple reality that, in the early 1830s, Southern medical literature was nearly non-existent. The only publication on the faculty's subscription list that comes close to being Southern was the "The Lexington Journal," which most likely was the *Transylvania Journal of Medicine*, published by the medical school located in Lexington.[426] Southern medical journals such as the *New Orleans Medical and Surgical Journal*, *Charleston Medical Journal & Review*, and *Southern Journal of Medical and Pharmaceutical Sciences* would not come on

require a thesis as a graduate requirement. See Gerard N. Burrow M.D. *A History of Yale's School of Medicine: Passing Torches to Others*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002) 290.

[424] Faculty Minute Book, January 11, 1832, 2.

[425] Jonathan Wells, "Middle Class Southerners,"39.

[426] At this early date Kentucky was seen as mostly as a "Western" state. See W. Norwood, *Medical Education*, 291. For a list of journal subscribed see Faculty Minutes, 2 Jan 11 1834; for description of medical magazines see Shafer p. 181-183. Other journals on the list included *The Wusyure Journal*, and *Patti Sourg. Cyclopdia.*

the publishing scene until over a decade later.[427] It is also worth noting that these early journal subscriptions most likely formed a part of the materials housed in the library's inaugural collection. This paltry collection of journals, however, did not constitute the materials that would make the medical library one of the largest collections in the nation; those materials instead would come from Paris.

The Paris Book Market

Early in 1833, the Board of Trustees selected Dr. Dugas, Professor of Surgery, to serve as the school's "Agent to go to Europe and purchase a museum" as part of the Institute's duty to fulfill the mandate in the state's 1828 legislation that called for the establishment of a library and museum. With a budget of six thousand dollars that Lewis suggests were funds raised from the faculty's own accounts, Dr. Dugas was sent to Paris.[428] It is unknown whether Dr. Dugas volunteered for the Paris mission but in all likelihood he was selected by his fellow trustees because of his fluency in the French language, and also because he would have been quite familiar with French culture, having resided a decade earlier in Paris for three years, after finishing medical school at the University of Maryland.

Louis Alexander Dugas was of French-Haitian heritage and descended from a long line of wealthy planters. His parents, Louis Rene de Vallon Dugas and Mary de Vincendire, immigrated to the United States in the 1790s in flight from the first Haitian Revolution; they took refuge in Charleston, South Carolina before establishing a plantation in Wilkes County, Georgia, where Louis was born in 1810.[429] Like many privileged and ambitious Southerners, the young Dugas headed northward to complete his medical education at the University of Maryland, at the time considered

---

[427] Henry Shafer, *American Medical Profession*, 185.
[428] S. Joseph Lewis, *Medical College of Georgia*, 23.
[429] W.H. Goodrich, *The History of the Medical Department of the University of Georgia* (Augusta: Ridgely-Tilwell, 1928), 28.

the best medical school in the United States.[430] After graduation, Dugas, like many affluent newly minted American physicians, traveled to Paris, which was then known as the epicenter of medical science. Doctors often did so as a means to enhance their credentials both within the practice as well as with the public at large. Paris was also the principal market for medical literature, such as books and periodicals, as well as state-of-the art equipment, such as the early 19th century invention of the stethoscope. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the early to middle 19th century was a period of increased professionalization across an assortment of occupations, and medicine was no different. One factor that separated physicians from other practitioners was that the citizenry had little trust in the American doctor, who was believed to cause death more often than healing. Wells states that, "Southern doctors quickly realized that their profession lacked respect with the community, and patients had little faith in the knowledge, training, or abilities of their physicians."[431] Formal medical education, and the establishment of medical journals and state medical boards, were some of the strategies that the medical community enacted to try and boost their credibility. Another means of doing so was through traveling to Paris, as the public understandably viewed physicians who could tout more clinical experience as more credible. For African American physicians, the Parisian medical tour provided them a means to escape the "prejudice, customs, and usage of the American" populace.[432]

During the early 1800s, medical schools in the United States offered students few opportunities to gain clinical experience or exposure to cadavers because of the public's uneasiness with dissection.[433] In Paris, on the other hand, physicians had numerous opportunities to practice their bedside manner, not to mention ready access to cadavers in the city's numerous hospitals, like

[430] W. Norwood, *Medical Education,* 240.
[431] J. Wells, "Professionalization and the Southern Middle Class,"163.
[432] J. Warner, *Against the Spirit*, 48.
[433] Ibid., 24-25.

the famed Hotel Dieu and Hôpital De La Republique. The Medical College of Georgia student William Holt, wishing to enhance his experience with dissection, enrolled in anatomy courses in the city's L'Ecole Pratique.[434] The factor that made Paris irresistible for thousands of foreign medical students was that "lectures in the different hospitals and institutions, by men of the first eminence, were paid for by [the] government, and *gratuitous*, as respected the pupil" (emphasis in original), as communicated by Philadelphia surgeon William Gibson in an 1839 letter. Such generosity was the result of a Napoleonic policy that sought to solidify the French capital in "admiration of foreigners."[435] Ironically, it was the intense locus of control and institutional surveillance that provided the infrastructure for Paris to become a rich medical scene during the period. In contrast to London, for example, hospitals in Paris were state controlled, offering free access to treatment. As a result, occupancy was high, which helped established the public theater, or spectacle, of examination, treatment, autopsy and dissection. Although this produced much in the way of medical information for physicians, it came at the expense of the individual's forfeiture of bodily self-agency, both in life and in death. In many respects, this is not unlike the surveillance experienced by African American captives in the Jackson Street Hospital, as discussed in the previous chapter, and similar to *the Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* much of the information produced from patients was codified in French medical journals.

Physicians usually concluded their Parisian medical tours by stockpiling Paris' rich medical literature and the latest instruments that were unavailable in the United States. Harvard Medical School Professor Henry Williams, while a student in Paris, shipped back not only crates of books but also "the most lovely little case of eye instruments you ever saw." [436] Robert Harris wrote family members that he had run out of money before his return voyage, which may have been due to the

[434] Ibid.,45.
[435] Ibid.,71.
[436] Ibid.,85.

cost of his "box of the newest medical publications and some instruments" that he shipped back before departing Paris. [437] Warner mentions that French medical literature was an expected part of 19th century American physicians' personal libraries. Two Southern physicians J.H.P. Shackelford, of Alabama, and S. H. Dickson, from Georgia, were known to have an abundant assortment of French-produced materials in their personal collections.[438]

Individuals were not alone in procuring medical material in Paris, nor was the Medical College of Georgia an outlier in sponsoring Dugas' 1833 voyage. As I mentioned earlier in this chapter, Transylvania University sent a professor to Paris in order to secure materials for a medical library, and similar envoys were sent by the medical colleges of New Orleans and Pennsylvania.

While competition among American medical schools was the impetus for establishing libraries, introducing Parisian medical literature also added to the prestige of an institution and facilitated its claim to offer students the most advanced curriculum. In effect, it allowed students who could not afford a one-to- three year sojourn in Paris an opportunity to experience the French system of medicine. Students at the Medical College of Georgia were seemingly aware of the college's frequent expeditions to Europe for books and supplies. One student was so enthralled by the college's Southern ambitions that he wrote to the *Georgia Journal*, exclaiming the school would soon "outstrip any [medical] Institution… in the country." What really impressed the "STUDENT" from Talbotton, Georgia was that the school had "an agent in Paris […] purchasing Instruments of superior quality."

The student's excitement over the acquisition of Parisian medical equipment was the response that the Medical College of Georgia wanted students to have; in this case the marketing worked. New materials, the student believed, resulted in enhanced learning opportunities that provided

[437] Ibid., 296.
[438] Ibid., 397. See footnote no. 113.

"every advantage there can be found elsewhere." [439] Similarly, so excited about what he hoped was the transformational effect of the materials he picked up in Paris, the Transylvania University professor proclaimed the school could now "shine."[440] Contextualizing the role of early medical libraries and the allure of Paris for American physicians helps us to understand why the Institute of Augusta went to such lengths to alter its name, curriculum and travel abroad in order to secure a library; having had its offer of curricular reciprocity rejected by the Medical College of South Carolina, and informed that the school lagged behind other programs with respect to its faculty and its educational program, the Institute responded with a bold plan to establish one of the nation's largest medical libraries.

By 1835, the Institute's board, which included the famed Augusta author Augustus Longstreet, was granted another name change, this time to the Medical College of Georgia, which the Board of Trustees thought better reflected the college's ambitious mission to radically alter Southern medical education; certainly, the name Medical College of Georgia sounds more comparable to Medical College of South Carolina than did the Georgia Medical Institute. City boosters enthusiastically embraced the new medical college by raising money for it through selling 50 city-owned parcels, raising an additional $10,000 to $20,000 through a lottery, and by having the city council donate an additional $5,000 in exchange for ten years of the faculty's service at the city's hospital. The faculty each donated $1,000, which formed the funds Dugas took to Paris to procure materials.[441] The city of Augusta was not necessarily alone in being so supportive; municipalities of the period appear supportive of new medical facilities, with the city of Memphis allowing the newly established Memphis Medical College to set up classes and laboratories in an unused portion of city hall until it could establish a more permanent facility, while the city of Lexington, Kentucky donated $125,000

---

[439] "Medical College of Georgia," *Augusta Chronicle* September 20, 1840, 3 reprinted from the *Georgia Journal.*
[440] J. Warner, *Against the Spirit of System*, 140.
[441] Cates, "Medical History of Georgia," 193.

in support of Transylvania University's Medical School.[442] The big news of 1835, however, was that the Medical College moved into its new home: a Greek revival building, with space for a "library, three lecture rooms, a chemical laboratory, anatomical rooms, a biological laboratory and a museum." [443]

The Medical Collection

The term "medical library" can be vague. For instance, we can reasonably assume that there was some assorted collection of medical books and periodicals at the Medical College of South Carolina, with its high standards and concern for national competency. However, as Norwood points out, because the medical school does not expressly call attention to its holdings, we can assume that their collection was rather small and insignificant, likely encompassing a few hundred titles. The Medical College of Georgia, by contrast, often used print media to inform readers about the wonders of both its library and medical museum. During the summer of 1837, for example, the library is described in the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* as a "spacious" room, "containing many of the most valuable and costly foreign works, [that will] soon be enlarged by the adition [sic] of an extensive catalogue of works selected from all parts of the world."[444] The college's 1858 announcement noted the collection's "over four thousand volumes of the most valuable and latest works on the various departments of medical science, besides beautiful plates, diagrams, & c., &c."[445] Dissecting the annual announcements not only helps us to better understand the assortment of materials held in the library, but also how students were expected to utilize it. Describing its curriculum in "Institutes and Practice of Medicine," the college provided a "general survey of the human body," encompassing a range of ailments from "Yellow Fever" to "Diseases of the Brain and Nervous

---

442 W. Norwood, *Medical Education*, 373, 292.
443 Minutes of the Trustees, April 15, 1835. Minutes of the Building Committee, April 17, 1835.
444 *SMSJ*,2:1 (1837) 62.
445 Twenty-Seventh Annual Announcement of the Medical College of Georgia, 1858, 12.

System, Chest, Heart, Lungs, Abdomen and Skin"; readers were informed that this course of study was supplemented by the use of "Plates of the best writers on Pathological Anatomy and Special Pathology, …which the College Library" held in "ample" supply.[446] Pathological plates were a basic but important feature of medical education; when Dr. J. T. Hammond, a Medical College of Georgia graduate, requested circulation privileges at the library, his request was granted but "(with the exception of Plates)." What the medical school described as 'plates' were actually illustrations of assorted pathological conditions. The work of famed 19th century British medical illustrator Dr. Robert Carswell can help us understand the value of these materials. Carswell's illustrations, numbering over 1,000, were mostly water-colors and ranged in size from 4cm x 4cm to 45cm x 30 cm. The paintings show "pathological specimens" in a variety of states including in situ, postmortem, whole body and individual body parts. In the late 1830s, Carswell's drawings were collected into a book called *Pathological Anatomy: Illustrations of the Elementary Forms of Disease* and a commonly held item in medical libraries of the period.[447]

Excerpts from the college's advertisements and announcements reveal the library's ambiguous status within the institution. Students frequented the library to study its vast collections of illustrated plates; yet the library was not the only location for such materials, as the "elegant Plates" were stored in the "Medical Museum." This was quite typical of libraries during the early to mid-1800s, as the line separating the two types of institutions was not as clearly defined as it was would be during the latter half of the century. For example, early libraries were often filled with "scientific and cultural artifacts" much like we saw in the Southern Agricultural Reading Room established at the Joneses' Job, Book, and Newspaper Offices several blocks over on Broad Street.[448] In fact, the

---

[446] Ibid.,, p. 10.

[447] Arthur Holloman, "The Paintings of Pathological Anatomy by Sir Robert Carswell (1793-1857)" British Heart Journal, 74:5 1995, 556-557.

[448] A. Areson, *Libraries in Public*, 53.

museum and the library, since their first appearance in text in 1828, are most often mentioned in unison. However, the library was more than a repository of books and artifacts or a means of recruiting students.

The faculty viewed the library as an integral component in "support of the Southern medical public."[449] The inaugural issue of the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* says the "college library" would have a steady supply of "the most valuable medical books," which were to be acquired as fast as publishers could print them, as well as journals from not only France, but Great Britain, Germany and Italy." The "constant access" to the library meant that the *Journal* could publish book reviews on the wide assortment of materials for readers, which it hoped could end the information isolation of "Southern practitioners."[450] In this instance, the library, as a physical space, was enveloped into the institution's larger cultural mission of Southern educational reform in that the library's holdings were in effect shared throughout the region in the pages of the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal.*

If we are to believe the numbers cited above, the medical library at Augusta was one of the largest collections of its kind in the United States. Note this was at a time when it was not uncommon for collections to consist of 300 volumes, although the average medical repository held about 1,500 to 2,000 volumes.[451] To provide a larger perspective, the medical libraries at the University of Buffalo had 500 volumes in the late 1840s, while Albany Medical Colleges claimed 1822 volumes, the University of Ohio opened its medical collection in 1822 with 500 volumes, and New York's College of Physicians & Surgeons only housed 1,200 volumes in 1839. The closest rival would have been Transylvania's collection, which totaled 6,000 books and pamphlets. The collection at Augusta even dwarfed the United States' Surgeon General's Library, considered by the medical community as the

---

[449] Southern Medical & Surgical Journal (New Series) v. XIV no. VII July 1859 see Annual Announcement.
[450] *Southern Medical and Surgical Journal* 1:1 (1836) 4,2.
[451] Gerald Cates, *Medical History*,195.

nation's most comprehensive collections, at 3,500 in 1856. Of course, the size of the collection at 4,000 items makes the collection larger than most college libraries in the country, when the vast majority of collegiate repositories held no more than 1,000 volumes.[452]

Administering the Library

Present-day institutional lore at the Georgia Health Science University is that Dr. Dugas served as the college's librarian; however, this role in not formally recorded in the faculty minutes. Furthermore, the term "librarian" is a bit of a misnomer at this early period in the United States and bears very little resemblance to the duties of a contemporary librarian. Jesse H. Shera's seminal text, *Foundations of the Public Library*, provides us with more insight into the tasks associated with the title librarian. Social libraries in the late 18th century were typically governed not by the librarian but by a supervising board of trustees. A social library in Vermont, for instance, required its board to vote on all "book purchases" before they could be added to the collection. If a member of the board was bestowed with the title 'librarian' it was largely only ceremonial, denoting a "little expenditure of time or attention" to the collection. Even by the 1820s, librarians did little more than light clerical work, such as recording "title, size, number of pages, and the prints or maps, if there be any, of each book drawn from the library." [453] In this way, administration of the antebellum academic library was very similar to its institutional counterpart, the social library.

A popular image in the history of early college library administration is the professor-librarian; while this position may be romanticized, as Shera suggests it is in library history lore, a close examination of the position and how it came about leaves little to celebrate. Economic challenges and staff inadequacies, rather than the erudite desires of bibliophilic professors, were the reason that

[452] *History of the Book* v. 2 p. 322.
[453] J. Shera, *Foundations of The Public Library,* 107-108.

such positions arose. The typical college library during the period was relativity small, and it rarely made economic sense to hire a full-time employee as caretaker of the books. In addition, the convention was that faculty members had to adopt a multitude of roles in the administration of the college; if a 'caretaker' of the college's books was needed, this was the task a faculty member had to assume. The position of professor-librarian developed in several manifestations. Some took up librarian duties as a means to augment low salaries, since the position rarely required a great expense in time. Henry Longfellow, a Bowdoin professor, received an extra $100 a year in exchange for five hours a week as the college's librarian. The University of Georgia employed a different tactic, requiring that all faculty members, even the president, to serve as the librarian, rotating by term; between 1851 and 1855, the faculty at the University of Mississippi rotated on a yearly basis.[454] The professor-librarian was generally an outlier; the reality was that the Board of Trustees at many colleges had little concern or interest in their libraries and assigned the duties to anyone who was available to administer them. Sometime this included members of the faculty, but it also included students and even janitors.

The Pennsylvania Hospital library initially employed the apothecary, analogous to a contemporary pharmacist, as its keeper of the library; duties were later passed on to a resident physician, until finally falling under the purview of William Malin, an uneducated English immigrant who is said to have taught himself "Latin, French, German, Dutch and Danish" while working as a clerk in the hospital. In fact, it was he who compiled the library's catalog in 1829.[455] The library at the College of Physicians of Philadelphia only required the sparse presence of its 'librarian'– an hour a month for no other purpose than to circulate books, while Transylvania University relied on a

[454] Henry Burnell Shafer, *American Medical Profession*, 35-36. Harvard University was the first to hire a full-time librarian.
[455] Kathryn S. Thompson. "America's Oldest Medical Library: The Pennsylvania Hospital," *Bulletin of the Medical Association of the Medical Library*, 44:4 (1956), 429.

student to manage its vast collection, even providing living quarters within its Medical Hall.[456] [457] At the Medical College of Georgia, it appears that the governance of the library was the shared responsibility of the Board of Trustees and Dr. Dugas, who played a significant role in the library's affairs such as establishing the library's rules and compiling several of its catalogues.

Nevertheless, it is difficult to ascertain when the Board -- of which Dr Dugas was a member - - made decisions, and when he acted independently. This lack of clarity renders the library's true delineation of power unknown. On May 29th, 1838 for example, "the Italian, German, & Journals of National Sciences & Chemistry" were "discontinued" in favor of "a London Med. & Surg. Journal & one in Dublin." This seems to be a Board decision, with the minutes stating only that "it was decided."[458] However, after the untimely death of MCG founder and editor of the *SMSJ* Dr. Milton Anthony, it was neither the Board nor Dr. Dugas but instead the Dean who "authorized" retrieval of "all books, Journals, Instruments, etc" belonging to the "medical school.[115] When "certain books" were in need of binding, it was "the Faculty" who directed Dr. Newton to carry out the charge.[459] Yet, when it was time to decide "[w]hat books ought to be purchased for the College Library," both Drs. Dugas and Ford shared the responsibility; but on another Spring trip to "Europe" Dr. Dugas was "authorized to make purchases at his discretion […] for the College."[460]

Some tasks did very clearly fall under the purview of Dr. Dugas, and these certainly meet our modern description of a librarian's duties – namely, organizing information. In addition to procuring the collection in Paris, Dugas developed the rules for the library, which he introduced to the Board as the following:

---

[456] W. Norwood, *Medical Education*, 294.
[457] Kathleen P. Birchette, History of Medical Libraries, 305.
[458] *Faculty Minutes*, May 28, 1838, 43.
[115] *Faculty Minutes, February 11, 1840, 51.*
[459] *Faculty Minutes*, March 23, 1840, 53.
[460]*Faculty Minutes,* April 25, 1851, 149.

> No book shall be taken from the library without the knowledge of the librarian, (emphasis added) whose duty it shall be to attend three times a week for the purpose of delivering such works as may be needed by the Faculty and of recording them. Resolved furthermore that no work shall be kept more than ten days when ever any new application is made for it. Resolved that no member of the faculty shall take out a work for the use of the students unless for mere reference and speedy return.[461]

Note that the library's polices implicitly restricts circulation of materials to faculty. Perhaps the 1840 policy was too vague, because by 1854, rule number one boldly announces that, "No book shall be taken from the from the library but the member of faculty." Students however, did fare better under the 1854 regulations; if ten dollars was deposited with the librarian then they too could take home library books, but the circulation of journals was absolutely forbidden for both faculty and students.[462] Records show that only nine students took advantage of this option. In comparison, Harvard's medical library required the biweekly presence of a librarian who checked out books on Tuesdays and Saturdays; there, students had circulation privileges, without the burden of leaving a deposit, and were also allowed the circulation of journals and pamphlets.[463] It is still unclear whether the Medical College of Georgia actually employed someone to act as the 'librarian' during the antebellum period, although that is suggested from excerpts in the faculty minutes.[464]

While it was not uncommon for the antebellum professor of medicine to be involved with the medical library, as we have seen earlier with Dr. Benjamin Rush compiling several iterations of the University of Pennsylvania's medial library catalogue and several faculty members at Transylvania University actively selecting materials for its library, it is doubtful that Dr. Dugas, with his teaching, clinical, and Board duties, was actually involved with the biweekly labor of circulation duties. No institution encountered in this research has shown a physician performing these rote tasks, but several have mentioned medical students, resident physicians, and clerks. Curiously however, Shera

---

461 *Faculty Minutes, January 16, 1840, 51.*
462 *Library Record Book*, 1. MCG
463 Henry Shafer, *American Medical Profession*, 78.
464 The first full-time Librarian at the MCG was Mrs. Gertrude Crane Bently hired in 1914. See Lewis, History of Medical College of Georgia, 184.

mentions that the early American librarian was "little more than a glorified janitor, a 'keeper' in the most elementary sense."[465] This context can help us answer the question of who acted as the librarian at the Medical College of Georgia. In 1844, Dr. J. T. Hammond petitioned the college for circulation privileges at the library. As Hammond was an alumnus of the college "he was permitted to take books from the library" the lone condition being that Hammond "first" present them to the "Janitor to be recorded in a suitable book."[466] Decades later, the University of Mississippi would hire August Blomgren, also a janitor, to serve as the college's librarian (from 1883-1884).[467]

The Medical Museum at Augusta

In the late 1980s, construction crews that were remodeling the original building of the Medical College of Georgia uncovered a find so horrific that they thought it a possible crime scene. And while some could argue that crimes did occur in the old basement at Telfair and Sixth Street, law enforcement quickly determined that the debris scattered across the earthen floor was the mark of the previous century rather than the act of a recent serial killer. Crews had uncovered an odd mélange of 9,000 human bones, 300 animal bones, and 2,000 artifacts including medicine bottles, stoneware jugs and canisters, and medical instruments. This subterranean menagerie was the 19th century waste of the Medical College of Georgia's many dissections of men, women and children; the animal remains facilitated the study of comparative anatomy, while many of the artifacts hailed from the adjoining City Dispensary, which provided medicines to Augusta's residents. Almost a decade later, the Smithsonian published *Bones in the Basement*, a publication that chronicles

---

[465] J. Shera, *Foundations of Public Libraries*, 107.
[466] *Faculty Minutes*, July, 0 1844,97.
[467] Orvin Shiflett, *Origins of American Academic Library*, 37. See also Mary E. Nichols, "Early Development of the University of Mississippi Library" (Master's thesis, University of Mississippi, 1957).

postmortem racism in nineteenth-century medical training, using the Medical College of Georgia as the site for analysis.[468]

Curiously, *Bones in the Basement* fails to acknowledge the irony of the menagerie found in the medical school's basement and the materials found in its 19th century medical museum. Aside from the location of the aforementioned artifacts, I suggest they were essentially the same materials, with location being the decider in how humans preserve and interpret the objects. In the location defined as a museum they are objects, presented in a sterile, orderly fashion, to be studied with the goal of increasing medical knowledge. Conversely, when these objects are found in bedraggled disarray in a dank basement, they might initially evoke horror and disgust; yet, they too are quickly sorted, cleaned, organized and documented such that they produce not only medical information, but also social and cultural knowledge of a bygone era. In fact, aside from a passing reference to a description of the museum appearing in the local newspaper the *Chronicle and Sentinel*, *Bones in the Basement* is silent on the medical museum located just a floor above. In 1835, however, visitors were quite impressed with the new museum, which likely was the first museum many had ever seen. Consisting of "two large rooms" the museum was "furnished with an extensive variety of specimens, anatomical, mineralogical, etc.," which were "beautifully arranged and presenting a most attractive and pleasing appearance."[469]

Studying the medical museum provides another lens through which to view the production of knowledge at the Medical College of Georgia. Earlier, we discovered that the library served several functions within the college; some of these functions, like establishing a repository for

---

[468] *Bones in the Basement*: *Postmortem Racism in Nineteenth-Century Medical Training*, Robert Blakely and Judith M. Harrington eds., (Washington: D.C.: Smithsonian, 1997).

[469] Mark R. Barnes, Architectural, Archaeological, and Historical Investigation of The Old Medical College of Georgia Building" *Bones in the Basement* in *Postmortem Racism in Nineteenth-Century Medical Training*, eds. by Robert L. Blakely etc. al, (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press,1997), 35.

books, and supporting the curriculum, were expected, while others, such as being a means for recruitment and providing knowledge meant to transform the Southern medical landscape, were unexpected. What role did the medical museum play in the larger scheme of the medical college? How was its role different from that of the library? Before these questions can be answered, It is important to first understand the sociocultural landscape in which the 19th century museum arose.

Museums are much neglected in contemporary scholarship; Steven Conn provides researchers with a most apt framework with which to analyze the function of late 19th century museums. And although there is some conflict between Conn's work, which is situated from 1876 to 1926, and my analysis in the pre-war period, the characteristics that Conn describes are attributable to the conditions present at Augusta in the early 1830s. The key aspect that separates a library from a museum in the imaginations of many is the former contains books while the latter has objects of some sort. It is these objects, placed in museums that give rise to what Conn calls "object–based epistemology."[470] In this space, objects produce "knowledge and meaning" for observers, in much the same way that traditionally the written word does with "text." Edward Everett of the Field Museum suggested "all museum material should speak for itself upon sight. It should be an open book which tells a better story than any description will do."[471]

The museum was the vehicle through which the late 19th century American citizen received their instruction in the ways of science. The museum was regarded as an institution where new knowledge was discovered and as such, pointed towards the future, whereas libraries looked back and contained older knowledge. It was not until the early 20th century, Conn argues, that study of the "natural science" was "ceded" to "university-based research laboratories."[472] The conflict I

---

[470] Steven Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998) 4.
[471] Ibid., p.8.
[472] If it is not clear at this point, I should point out that Conn is speaking of scientific museums, which housed specimens, fossils, and dinosaur skeletons and the like.

alluded to earlier is that Conn sees the manifestation of an object-based epistemology as a late 19th century phenomenon that arose from more focused and ordered museum culture, in contrast to the carnivalesque sideshows of men like P. T. Barnum common in the earlier part of the century. Curiously, there is no mention of medical museums in Conn's analysis. Nevertheless, the relationship that he establishes between viewers, the knowledge produced in objects, and the role of museums as disseminators of scientific information is useful in analyzing the medical museum at Augusta.

Establishing a medical museum was a very practical solution to a very real problem: providing a steady supply of human bodies to facilitate learning. Like the library, the medical museum also served a myriad of purposes. Advertisements indicate that the medical school called attention to its state-of-the-art instruction materials. "Important additions from Europe," readers are told in the school's 1852 announcement, had "been recently made to their means for demonstrative teaching in Obstetrics, Pathological and Surgical Anatomy, Diseases of the Skin, & c.," resulting in "ample opportunities for the acquisition of a medical education" taught by Southern men.[473] While on the surface these "additions from Europe" may seem like mere classroom materials, the reality is that they are objects for the museum. Instruction in the "Practice of Medicine," for example, was facilitated by "valuable plastic colored pathological preparations which grace the College Museum" while classes in "Obstetrics and Diseases of Women & Infants" was augmented by "life-like" models of embryos, fetuses ("one wax and the other papier máchê"), and materials housed in the medical museum.[474] Pathological specimens were particularly valuable for documenting conditions in a way that provided students a means to supplement their clinical experience. Some plates, like those described earlier, were color illustrations, while others, like the ones ordered by Philadelphia

[473] Twenty-First Annual Announcement, 1852,(unnumbered page) 4.
[474] Twenty-Seventh Annual Announcement, 1858, 10.

physician George Wood, "were photographic pictures of the diseased structures of bowls, lungs, and brain." Wood, it appears, maintained a pathological museum in which to deposit the materials.[475]

Earlier I mentioned that libraries and museums often contained similar holdings and that the line separating the two was an act of human interpretation. In examining the medical museum, we also find that it too does not conform to our contemporary notions of museums as places where we merely observe objects. The medical museum functioned very much like a laboratory and facilitated the pedagogical process. Modern medical schools continue to advertise their modern, state-of-the-art facilities as a strategy to attract new students. The 2011 Admissions Bulletin for Wake Forest Medical School, for example, touts its "Anatomical Resource Clinical Training Center," describing it as a high-tech "multidisciplinary laboratory" featuring "18 vented downdraft cadaver dissection tables." Closed circuit televisions, electronic books, and virtual microscopes are all the latest gadgets organized under the ARCTC to "enhance student learning." Just as Wake Forest attempts to "transform the classical Gross Anatomy Lab" with its state-of-the-art equipment, so too did the Medical College of Georgia, specifically through its collection of modern devices.[476] The Medical College of Georgia did not just pepper its course descriptions with enticing materials from its museum; it also devoted two pages of its annual announcement to *Chronicle* the collection's most featured items:

Museum

> The COLLEGE MUSEUM is one of the most extensive, interesting, and valuable in the United States; and is continually receiving new contributions. In order to convey some idea to the student, we will merely enumerate the following objects it contains...[477]

---

[475] John Harley Warner, *Against the Spirit of System*, 139-140.
[476] "Admission Bulletin" Wake Forest School of Medicine, 6.
[477] MCG Annual Announcement, 1858.

The collection included anatomical models, "morbid anatomy," parasite worms, "wet and dry" dissections, and animal skeletons. Two of the more bizarre items in the collection included the "skeleton of a fetal acephalous monster" and "Cyclops, believed to be the most perfect specimen of the kind in any museum." Acephalous monsters in mythological form were headless creatures, believed to have eyes in their chests. The specimen housed in the medical museum most likely resembled the description offered by Dr. W. Cooper in his "Account of an Extraordinary Acephalous Birth," of a deformed newborn missing its "head, neck, hands, arms" and most of its internal organs. The Cyclops head was said to have remained in the collection until the early 20th century, when the specimen was misplaced while being relocated to new facilities.[478] Non-medical items in the collection were presented for "general interest" and included minerals, geological formations, and Egyptian mummies.

Conclusion

This chapter opened with a discussion of the many historical and contemporary inaccuracies that surround the culture of literacy in the antebellum South. My analysis has complicated many of the widely-accepted notions scholars held regarding the regions' knowledge and development of libraries. It is here that the benefits of taking an institutional level of analysis are realized; examining the advertisements from Augusta's libraries for example, suggests that citizens were quite familiar with libraries and their connection to education and cultural refinement.

Libraries in the city appeared on several different levels. Some were mere reading rooms aimed at clerks and agriculturists both of whom would have used these facilities as a means to improve their skills and knowledge, resulting in increased economic opportunities. The presence of

[478] Interview Renee Sharrock, MCG Archives Assistant, August 2011.

institutions such as these are outliers and do not conform to the accepted beliefs about Southern libraries. Rather than a private group of citizens, establishing sites of reading, in Augusta we see this activity implemented by the city's leading media organization, Jones publishing. This analysis of the Joneses' reading rooms helps support my argument that Augusta supported many types of practically oriented literacies.

The medical library at the Medical College of Georgia further complicates ideas of a South uninterested in educational advancement. At a time when medical schools across the United States, were redesigning their curricula and using the allure of new educational facilities to attract students, we see the medical college participating in this national trend. Similarly, when Paris was heralded as the capital for medical science, and the procurement of new instruments, anatomical models and medical literature, the medical school sent an envoy, not unlike other institutions. On a local level the medical library worked in unison with the *SMSJ* in promoting Southern medical literature as an active part of professional practice. Like the *Southern Cultivator* and the *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* the medical library also put Augusta on the national scene, as having one of the nation's largest academic library collections during the antebellum period.

Chapter Six

Epilogue

Informing the South has presented a snapshot of reading, writing, and print in pre-Civil War Augusta, Georgia; such a snapshot functions as a corrective to beliefs that the South was a backward region whose population was uninterested in reading and cultural progress. One of the reasons such sentiments have been so easy to believe is because scholars have paid little attention to those Southern institutions responsible for the production and distribution of print material culture. This dissertation adopts a practical but robust strategy by examining Southern printers and the types of reading materials that emanated from their shops.

The Southern antebellum printers often found themselves in precarious situations. Most of the country's printing infrastructure was located in the Northeastern section of the country and internal transportation, while increasingly improving, often proved inadequate for the speedy and guaranteed delivery of materials. Despite these challenges, however, Southern printers played an active role in the nation's reading revolution. Printers in the South equally sought out state-of-the-art printing presses, new typographical type that allowed them to print more elaborate materials, colored ink, and fine paper in order to meet the changing demands of consumers. In Augusta printers produced almanacs and formed the foundation of what was the city's burgeoning information regime. We saw how they resisted the constraints of space and time by locating the fastest and most efficient trade routes and directing manufactures to ship needed materials through these preferred modes.

Situating the study at the meso level has revealed that print shops in Augusta were not just printing firms but were in fact information agencies actively influencing the modes of reading both in Augusta and throughout the Southern United States through the use of a broad assortment of

materials, which I have identified as practical in their nature. Practical reading material corresponds to activities pertaining to everyday life; here the dissertation has shown how practically-oriented content was intended to be read by consumers while going about their daily lives, as well as budding agricultural and medical professionals seeking ways to establish a network of Southern practitioners in an attempt to improve their respective practices.

This analysis, although narrowly focused on Augusta, nevertheless reveals the presence of print cultures in even smaller Southern towns and villages. Locations like New Bern, North Carolina, for example, had a population of approximately 2,500 in 1800, but had a resident printer who ordered printing materials from the nation's premier manufactures like R. Hoe & Company.[479] Similarly, several of Augusta's printers mentioned they welcomed business from country patrons, further suggesting that the circulation of printed material, likely of a practical nature, was not uncommon in rural communities that surrounded the city. Additionally, some materials appear to have been specially designed for rural readers. *The Augusta Chronicle's* Wednesday newspaper was a mammoth sheet that was billed as the "country edition," and the Jackson Street Negro Infirmary's regulations pamphlet stated its intent to streamline correspondence with slaveholders seeking its services. The pamphlet's emphasis on receiving patients sent to Augusta via rail or steamboat suggests that its patients, the owners of captives, were located outside of the city's urban core.

The analysis of the *Southern Cultivator* and *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* illustrates that practical literacy was manifested in various forms and scales and culminated in the aforementioned journals, as professional information. Both the *Southern Cultivator* and *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* were products of local information agencies. This research emphasizes the influence of unexpected information agencies in the promotion of Southern professional reading as a new literary

[479] "North Carolina Cities Population Changes in the 1800s" North Carolina Business History, accessed April 25, 2012 http://www.historync.org/NCCityPopulations1800s.htm

genre. In Augusta we saw a printing firm engaging in similar intellectual activities and advocating for professionalism in the same way that an esteemed and respected educational institution would have, such as the Medical College of Georgia. Both organizations leveraged the technology of print, in the form of journals, to construct an interactive network of Southern practitioners, linked by their shared geographical space.

The development and proliferation of the *Southern Cultivator* and *Southern Medical & Surgical Journal* provides us with a glimpse into the culture of self-improvement that was very much a part of antebellum America; the South's enthusiastic participation in this culture is evidence that the region was not as isolated from the nation's mainstream as some stereotypes would have us believe. At the same time, it is important to note that the South was seen as distinct. Its climate was hot and humid and allowed the profusion of diseases that were unseen in the North or that had long been eradicated from there; also, its soils were different and slavery was the backbone of its economy. These realities established an information conflict wherein the Southern condition was not given the same attention in Northern-based information and communication resources. The appearance of Southern professional journals had a twofold purpose: they helped to eradicate the information conflict inherent in regionally-biased journals, and served as a performance device, acting to normalize the region with the same cultural and professional materials as other regions. Professional reading was just as much for the Southern self-image as it was for the circulation of 'scientific' and practice-based information.

This snapshot of Augustan antebellum print culture positions the city as a site of a thriving information regime for the South. While not resulting in the efforts of a single leader, this information regime was constructed of many nodes that grew out of Augusta's status as a regionally significant city whose economic success depended on a plantation-based economy that was in crisis.

Augusta's infrastructure of print jobbers, commercial and educational establishments, and a diverse network of actors that included planters, physicians, and captives (although against their will) meant that institutions were able to leverage print technologies for the common goal of improving the Southern economy and cultural image. The most important actors in this complex regime of Southern information consisted of a population who could read.

Future Studies

In the course of writing this dissertation I have encountered much more information than can be incorporated into a single study. I have included a brief discussion of topics not addressed in this study that nonetheless warrant scholarly attention, especially for individuals interested in the print culture of antebellum and post war Georgia. Readers will notice that the voices of European American women and African Americans are nearly non-existent in this analysis; future study of the reading practices of these groups and their interactions with print culture would be very beneficial.

Augusta's literary journals, such as the *Augusta Mirror* and *Georgia Home Gazette*, may be useful places to begin hearing the voices of European American women; these publications can provide insight into their reading practices. Another journal that might produce knowledge in this area is the *Southern Field & Fireside*, which offered readers a unique blend of agricultural and literary content aimed at families. The short-lived *Washingtonian, or Total Abstinence Advocate*, may prove useful for individuals hoping to understand Southern iterations of the temperance movement; this was also marketed toward families and may also be helpful in uncovering European American women's voices. Additionally, the city of Macon, Georgia, published several journals targeted to Southern white women, including, the *Southern Ladies' Book*, *Family Companion* and *Ladies Mirror*.

Researchers interested in the reading habits of Southern children could explore Augusta's religious institutions as agents in the promotion of literacy. St. Paul's Episcopal Church, for example, in the 1820's established a Sunday School Library, which held 220 volumes and had a dedicated caretaker identified as a "Librarian." Three male and twelve female teachers taught 100 students in the church's Sunday school program.[480] In the early 1840's instruction was extended to African American children who were captives of St Paul's parishioners. Records of these activities may be in the church's archives. The Georgia Sunday School Union and the Georgia Religious Tract Society, a branch of the New York- based American Tract Society, both maintained book depositories that distributed reading materials to churches in Augusta and the countryside. The activities of these institutions are covered in the local newspaper the *Augusta Chronicle*. Researchers may also want to examine Augusta's position as a center for the production of schoolbooks for the Southern market. The American Antiquarian Society, for example, has a large collection of these materials and several copies can also be found in the Special Collections Library at the University of Georgia. This study could be augmented with an analysis of a popular children's magazine called *Schoolfellow*, which was published from 1849-1856, in Athens, Georgia.

While this dissertation has focused on the Medical College of Georgia, that does not mean that Augusta was devoid of educational institutions aimed at children and adults seeking practical training. The Richmond Academy was Georgia's first public school established in 1783 by the state legislature. The Academy added much to the city's print scene including advertisements and notices in the *Augusta Chronicle*. A transcribed copy of the Board of Trustees Minute Book is held in the Augusta State University Archives. These records revel books acquired by the Academy, as well as their interactions with book agents both in Augusta and throughout the Northeast. Prominent Augustans like Dr. Dugas, of the Medical College of Georgia, severed on the Board in the 1850s.

---

[480] See footnote 10.

Researchers interested in adult literacy will find Augusta's penmanship schools fruitful. Targeted toward adults wanting to improve their handwriting, these institutions were often just a couple of rooms acquired by proprietors. Advertisements in the *Chronicle* promised that women could write in a beautiful epistolary style after courses ranging from four to six lessons. Good penmanship for men was the catalyst into middle-class jobs as clerks. Notices like R. McHelms,' who styled himself as a "Professor of Penmanship and Bookkeeping," promised men the acquisition of "bold and expeditious business hand-writing" and an opportunity to learn bookkeeping.[481] Penmanship schools provide researchers a unique site to further scholarship on Southern literacy.

It may be difficult the access the voices of African Americans in Augusta during the antebellum period, but there are certainly many attractive materials for individuals interested in this research area in the post-Civil War era. A meso level of analysis could unpack J.T. Shufte's *The Colored American*, the first African American periodical published in Augusta in 1865. An analysis of the journal would reveal much in the way of how and why newly emancipated African Americans embraced the technology of print, as well as provide insight into the types of information valuable to the community of readers. In 1882, the Paine Institute was founded, in Augusta, as a secondary school for African American children, and in 1902, it established itself as a four-year college. An analysis of Paine would help provide a snapshot of early African American institutional print culture. Researchers could, for example, explore the college's role in the reading lives of multiple generations of Black residents. The presence of a library may have served the information and educational needs of the surrounding neighborhood. It was common for Black institutional libraries, in schools and churches, to serve as *de facto* public libraries for the larger African American community. One place to start in pursuing this line of research might be the question: Did the college have its own printing facilities or did it rely on Black printers in the city to produce its material culture? Studies of African

[481] "Penmanship and Book keeping" *Augusta Chronicle,* February 11, 2943, 3.

American print culture at the organizational level are rare, and studies adopting this lens could go far in advancing our knowledge of how this population navigated print, reading, and institutional cultures such that print materials reflected their values and served as a means of informing their community.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

American Antiquarian Society

Augusta Directory and City Advertiser, 1841

Bunce's Georgia and South-Carolina Almanack 1803, 1810

Christian Almanac, for South Carolina and Georgia, ,1829

Georgia and South Carolina Republican Almanac, 1810 , 1812

Greenville's Georgia Almanac, 1849

Greenville's Georgia Almanac, 1851

R. *Hoe & Company Business Records*

R. *Hoe & Company Manufactures of Single and Double Cylinder and Type-Revolving Printing Machines (trade catalog)*

The General Ordinances of the City of Augusta, 1857

The Printer

The Typographical Advertiser

University of South Carolina, Aiken

Beech Island Farmers; Club Minutes, 1849-1883

University of Wisconsin-Madison

Augusta Chronicle

Southern Cultivator

Georgia Health Sciences University- Medical College of Georgia Archives

Charter By Laws, Officers & c of the Medical College of Georgia

Dr. Paul Eve's Ledger Book

Library Record Book

Medical College of Georgia Annual Announcement 1848

Medical College of Georgia Annual Announcement 1852

Medical College of Georgia Annual Announcement 1858

Medical College of Georgia Faculty Minutes

Southern Medical & Surgical Journal (Series I & II)

David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library Duke University

Regulations. Jackson Street Negro Infirmary, 1859

Secondary Sources

Anderson, Benedict R. O'G. *Imagined Communities : Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Rev. ed. London ; New York ;: Verso, 2006.

Areson, Adam. "Libraries in Public before the Age of Public Libraries: Interpreting the Furnishings and Design of Athenaeums and Other Social Libraries, 1800-1860." In *The Library as Place: History, Community, and Culture*, edited by John E. Bushman. Westport: Libraries Unlimited, 2007.

Augst, Thomas. *The Clerk's Tale : Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003.

Bell, Earl Leaston, and Kenneth Charles Crabbe. *The Augusta Chronicle, Indomitable Voice of Dixie, 1785-1960*. Athens,: University of Georgia Press, 1960.

Bellamy, Donnie D., and Diane E. Walker. "Slaveholding in Antebellum Augusta and Richmond County, Georgia." *Phylon (1960-)* 48, no. 2 (1987): 165-77.

Birchette, K. P. "The History of Medical Libraries from 2000 B.C. To 1900 A.D." no. 0025-7338 (Print).

Blakely, Robert L., Judith M. Harrington, and Mark R. Barnes. *Bones in the Basement : Postmortem Racism in Nineteenth-Century Medical Training*. Washington [D.C.]: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.

Bledstein, Burton J. *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1976.

Bonner, James Calvin. *A History of Georgia Agriculture, 1732-1860*. Athens,: University of Georgia Press, 1964.

———. "Agricultural Reform in the Georgia Piedmont, 1820-1860." 1943.

Boogher, Elbert Willis Griffin. *Secondary Education in Georgia, 1732-1858*. Philadelphia,1933.

Brandt, Deborah. *Literacy in American Lives*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Breeden, James O. *Advice among Masters : The Ideal in Slave Management in the Old South*, Contributions in Afro-American and African Studies. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1980.

Burrow, Gerard N. *A History of Yale's School of Medicine : Passing Torches to Others*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Bynum, W. F. *Science and the Practice of Medicine in the Nineteenth Century*, Cambridge History of Science. Cambridge [England] ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Carpenter, Kenneth E. "Libraries and Schools." In *The History of the Book in America: Volume 2: An Extensive Republic, Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1770-1840*, edited by Robert A. Gross et. al, 274. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2010.

Cashin, Edward J. *The Story of Augusta*. Augusta, Ga.: Richmond County Board of Education, 1980.

Cashin, Edward J., and Glenn T. Eskew. *Paternalism in a Southern City : Race, Religion, and Gender in Augusta, Georgia*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001.

Cates, Gerald Lee. "A Medical History of Georgia : The First Hundred Years, 1733-1833." ThesisPhotocopy of typescript Ann Arbor, Mich : University Microfilms International, 1978, University of Georgia.22 cm., 1976.

Church, St. Paul's Episcopal. "1784-1821: Post Revolutionary War Rebuilding to Reorganization."http://www.saintpauls.org/history/history03.shtml.

Clanchy, M.T. *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.

Cohen, Benjamin R. *Notes from the Ground : Science, Soil, and Society in the American Countryside*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.

Conn, Steven. *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. *"When I Can Read My Title Clear" : Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South*. Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

Coulter, E. Merton. *Daniel Lee, Agriculturist; His Life North and South*. Athens,: University of Georgia Press, 1972.

Delombard, Jeannie. "African American cultures of Print " In *A History of the Book in America: Volume Iii: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*, edited by et.al. Scott Casper, 360-73. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Demaree, Albert Lowther. *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860*, Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture. Morningside Heights, New York: Columbia University Press, 1941.

Dondale, Marion F. "Medical Libraries." In *Handbook of Medical Library practice*, edited by Louise Darling. Chicago: Medical Library Association, 1983.

Downey, Gregory John. *Telegraph Messenger Boys : Labor, Technology, and Geography, 1850-1950*. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Egerton, Douglas R. *Gabriel's Rebellion : The Virginia Slave Conspiracies of 1800 and 1802*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993.

Fett, Sharla M. *Working Cures : Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations*, Gender & American Culture. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002.

Flanders, Bertram Holland. *Early Georgia Magazines: Literary Periodicals to 1865*. Athens: The University of Georgia press, 1944.

Fleming, Berry. *199 Years of Augusta's Library, a Chronology*. Athens,: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1949.

Fusonie, Alan M., Leila Padgett Moran, and Agricultural History Society. *Agricultural Literature : Proud Heritage, Future Promise : A Bicentennial Symposium, September 24-26, 1975*. Washington: Associates of the National Agricultural Library : sold by the Graduate School Press, U.S. Dept. of Agriculture, 1977.

Gates, Paul W. *The Farmer's Age: Agriculture, 1815-1860*, The Economic History of the United States,. New York,: Holt, 1960.

Gay, Evelyn Ward. *The Medical Profession in Georgia, 1733-1983*. Atlanta: Auxiliary to the Medical Association of Georgia, 1983.

Georgia., and William C. Dawson. "A Compilation of the Laws of the State of Georgia Passed by the General Assembly since the Year 1819 to the Year 1829 Inclusive

Comprising All the Laws Passed within Those Periods, Arranged under Titles with Marginal Notes and Notes of Reference to the Laws or Parts of the Laws Which Are Amended or Repealed : To Which Are Added Such Concurred and Approved Resolutions as Are Either of General, Local, or Private Nature." Milledgeville [Ga.]: Grantland and Orme, 1831.

Gilmore, William J. *Reading Becomes a Necessity of Life:Material and Cultural Life in Rural New England 1780-1835*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 1989.

Ginsberg, Jeremy, Matthew H. Mohebbi, Rajan S. Patel, Lynnette Brammer, Mark S. Smolinski, and Larry Brilliant. "Detecting Influenza Epidemics Using Search Engine Query Data." *Nature* 457, no. 7232 (2009): 1012-14.

Goodrich, William Henry. *The History of the Medical Department of the University of Georgia*. Augusta, Ga: [Ridgely-Tidwell co., 1928.

Griffith, Louis Turner, and John Erwin Talmadge. *Georgia Journalism, 1763-1950*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1951.

Grodzins, Dean, and Leon Jackson. "College and Print Culture." In *A History of the Book in America: Volume 2: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Harris, J. William. *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society : White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta's Hinterlands*. 1st ed. Middletown, Conn.Scranton, Pa.: Wesleyan University Press ;Distributed by Harper & Row, 1985.

Henkin, David. *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1998.

Hollis, Robbins. "Fugitive Mail: The Deliverance of Henry "Box" Brown and Antebellum Postal Politics." *American Studies* 50, no. 1 (2009): 5-25.

Hollman, A. "The Paintings of Pathological Anatomy by Sir Robert Carswell (1793-1857)." no. 0007-0769 (Print).

Horrocks, Thomas A. *Popular Print and Popular Medicine : Almanacs and Health Advice in Early America*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.

Iggers, Georgy G. *Historiography in the Twentieth Century:From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge*. Middleton:CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2005.

Jackson, Leon. *The Business of Letters : Authorial Economies in Antebellum America*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008.

John, Richard R. *Spreading the News : The American Postal System from Franklin to Morse*. 1st pbk ed. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1998.

Kafka, Ben. "Paperwork:The State of the Discipline." *Book History* 12 (2009).

Kielbowicz, Richard Burket. *News in the Mail : The Press, Post Office, and Public Information, 1700-1860s*, Contributions in American History,. New York ;: Greenwood Press, 1989.

Kilbride, Daniel. "Southern Medical Students in Philadelphia, 1800-1861: Science and Sociability in The "Republic of Medicine"." *The Journal of Southern History* 65, no. 4 (1999): 697-732.

Knight, Edgar Wallace. *Public Education in the South*. Boston, New York [etc.]: Ginn and company, 1922.

Lackey, Jennifer, and Ernest Sosa. *The Epistemology of Testimony*. Oxford Oxford ; New York: Clarendon Press ;Oxford University Press, 2006.

Laurie, Bruce. "Labor and Labor Organization." In *History of the Book in America:Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*, edited by Scott E. Casper et. al. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Lawrence, Alexander A., and Ray Dilley. *James Johnston : Georgia's First Printer*. Savannah: Pigeonhole Press, 1956.

Leedham-Green, E. S. *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland*. 3 vols. Cambridge, UK ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Lehuu, Isabelle. *Carnival on the Page : Popular Print Media in Antebellum America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000.

Lemmer, George F. "Early Agricultural Editors and Their Farm Philosophies." *Agricultural History* 31, no. 4 (1957): 3-22.

Levi, Giovanni. "On Microhistory." In *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, edited by Peter Burke. University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 2001.

Lewis, Joseph S. *The Medical College of Georgia : From 1829-1963 Chronicle of an Institution*. Augusta: Georgia Health Sciences University, 2011.

Mangnusson, Sigurdur Gylfi. "What Is Microhistory?" Center for Microhistorical Research, Reykjavik Academy, http://hnn.us/articles/23720.html.

Marti, Donald B. "Agricultural Journalism and the Diffusion of Knowledge: The First Half-Century in America." *Agricultural History* 54, no. 1 (1980): 28-37.

McCarthy, Molly. 2004. *A Page, a Day : A History of the Daily Diary in America*. PhD dissertation, Brandeis University. Ann Arbor: Proquest/UMI, (Publication No. AAT 3107612)

McMurry, Sally. "Who Read the Agricultural Journals? Evidence from Chenango County, New York, 1839-1865." *Agricultural History* 63, no. 4 (1989): 1-18.

McMurtri, Douglas C. "The Pioneer Printer of Georgia." Savannah: Privately Printer, 1931.

———. The Pioneer Printer of Georgia. Chicago: Eyncort Press, 1930.

Means, Alexander, and Georgia Medical College of. *An Address, Delivered before the Medical College of Georgia : At the Opening of Its Annual Session, Nov. 8th, 1847*. Augusta: James McCafferty, 1847.

Medicine, Wake Forest School of "Admissions Bulletin 2011." http://www.wakehealth.edu/MD-Program/

Melville, Herman. "Bartleby the Scrivener, a Story of Wall Street." *Putman's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art,*(1853): 559.

Moore, John Hebron. *Agriculture in Ante-Bellum Mississippi*. New York,: Bookman Associates, 1958.

Morgan, Philip D., and Omohundro Institute of Early American History & Culture. *Slave Counterpoint : Black Culture in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake and Lowcountry*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, by the University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

Nichols, Mary Elizabeth. 1959. *Early Development of the University of Mississippi Library*. Master's Thesis. University of Mississippi.

Nord, David Paul. "Benevolent Books: Printing, Religion, and Reform." In *A History of the Book in America: Volume 2: An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

———. *Communities Of journalism: A History of American Newspapers And their readers*. Urbana: University of Illinois, 2001.

Norse, Clifford Carlton. 1976. *The Southern Cultivator, 1843-1861*. PhD dissertation, The Florida State University. Ann Arbor: Proquest/UMI, (Publication No. AAT 7008583)

Norwood, William Frederick. *Medical Education in the United States before the Civil War*. Philadelphia,: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944.

Numbers, Ronald L., Todd Lee Savitt, and University of Mississippi. Center for the Study of Southern Culture. *Science and Medicine in the Old South*. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1989.

O'Connell, Neil J. "George Whitefield and Bethesda Orphan-House." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* 54, no. 1 (1970): 41-62.

Oakes, James. *The Ruling Race : A History of American Slaveholders*. New York: Vintage Books, 1983.

Olschner, K. "Medical Journals in Louisiana before the Civil War." no. 0025-7338 (Print).

Orr, Dorothy. *A History of Education in Georgia*. Chapel Hill,: University of North Carolina Press, 1950.

Osthaus, Carl R. *Partisans of the Southern Press : Editorial Spokesmen of the Nineteenth Century*. Lexington, Ky.: University Press of Kentucky, 1994.

Pasley, Jeffrey L. *"The Tyranny of Printers" : Newspaper Politics in the Early American Republic*, Jeffersonian America. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001.

Pawley, Christine. "Beyond Market Models and Resistance:Organizations as a Middle Layer in the History of Reading." *Library Quarterly* 79 (2009).

———. *Reading on the Middle Boarder: The Culture of Print in Osage, Iowa 1860-1900*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 2001.

Pennsylvania, University of. "History of Pennsylvania Hospital: Historical Timeline 1751-1800." http://www.uphs.upenn.edu/paharc/timeline/1751/.

Perkins, Maureen. *Visions of the Future : Almanacs, Time, and Cultural Change, 1775-1870*. Oxfor New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1996.

Redmond, Dennis. "A Southern Country House." *Life Illustrated: A Journal of Entertainment, Improvement, and Progress* 4, no. 16 (1857): 128.

Ringwalt, J. Luther. *American Encyclopaedia of Printing*. Philadelphia: Menamin & Ringwalt, 1871.

Robinson, Solon, and Herbert Anthony Kellar. *Solon Robinson, Pioneer and Agriculturist : Selected Writings*. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968.

Rogers, George C. *Charleston in the Age of the Pinckneys*. [1st ed, The Centers of Civilization Series. Norman,: University of Oklahoma Press, 1969.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 1979.

Savage, William. *A Dictionary of the Art of Printing*, English Bibliographical Sources. Series 3, Printers' Manuals. London,: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans Gregg P. in association with the Archive P., 1841.

Savitt, Todd Lee. *Medicine and Slavery : The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia*, Blacks in the New World. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.

Shafer, Henry Burnell. *The American Medical Profession, 1783-1850*, Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. New York,: Columbia University Press, 1936.

Shera, Jesse Hauk. *Foundations of the Public Library; the Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629-1855*, University of Chicago Studies in Library Science. Chicago,: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1949.

Smith, Mark M. *Mastered by the Clock : Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South*, Fred W. Morrison Series in Southern Studies. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.

Smith, T.L. "Public Library and the Mechanic." *Public Libraries* 15 (1910): 6-10.

Stowe, Steven M. *Doctoring the South : Southern Physicians and Everyday Medicine in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*, Studies in Social Medicine. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

Stowell, Marion Barber. *Early American Almanacs ; the Colonial Weekday Bible*. New York: B. Franklin, 1977.

Tambiah, S.J. "Literacy in a Buddhist Village in Northeast Thailand." In *Literacy in Traditional societies*, edited by Jack Goody. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.

Thompson, K. S. "America's Oldest Medical Library: The Pennsylvania Hospital." no. 0025-7338 (Print).

Thomson, Ellen Mazur. "Early Graphic Design Periodicals in America." *Journal of Design History* 7, no. 2 (1994): 113-26.

Tracy, George A., Hugo Miller B, William B. Prescott, and Jeremiah J. Sullivan. *History of the Typographical Union, Its Beginnings, Progress and Development, Its Beneficial and Educational Features Together with a Chapter on the Early Organization of Printers*. [Indianapolis]: The International typographical union, 1913.

"Transylvania University." *Kentucky Gazette*, 1800, 3.

Turner, Charles. "Virgina Agricultural Reform 1815-1860." *Agricultural History* 26, no. 3 (1952): 80-89.

———. "Virginia State Agricultural Societies 1811-1860."*Agricultural History* 38, no. 3: 167-77.

United States. Dept. of Agriculture. *Yearbook of the United States Department of Agriculture, 1898*, Yearbook of Agriculture. Washington, D.C.: U.S. G.P.O., 1899.

Valentine, Patrick. "America's Antebellum Social Libraries: A Reappraisal in Institutional Development." *Library & Information History* 27, no. 1 (2011): 32-51.

Wade, Richard C. *Slavery in the Cities; the South, 1820-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.

Warner, John Harley. *Against the Spirit of System : The French Impulse in Nineteenth-Century American Medicine*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

Warner, Margert. "Public Health in the Old South." In *Science and Medicine in the Old South*, edited by Ronald L. Numbers and Todd L. Savitt. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1989.

Wells, Jonathan Daniel. "Middle-Class Southerners and Professional Organizations." In *The Transformation Of southern Society*, edited by Louis M. Kyriakoudes. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011.

———. *The Origins of the Southern Middle Class, 1800-1861*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.

White, Shane, and Graham J. White. *Stylin' : African American Expressive Culture from Its Beginnings to the Zoot Suit*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1998.

Winship, Michael. "Distribution and the Trade." In *A History of the Book in America: Volume I: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*, edited by Scott E. Casper et.al. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Zboray, Robert, and Mary Zboray. "Everyday Ideas: Socioliterary Experience Among Antebellum New Englanders." Knoxville: University of Tennessee, 2006.

Zboray, Robert J. *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.