THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA FOR THE YEAR 2010



PHILADELPHIA:

The Library Company of Philadelphia 1314 Locust Street Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107 2011

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Front Cover: Mother Goose's Melodies, the Only Pure Edition (New York and Boston, ca. 1854). Gift of Michael Zinman.

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REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

I'm delighted to present my fifth and final report as your President. As our Treasurer has reported, 2010 was a pretty good year for us. We benefited greatly last year from the generous support of so many of you, our members, and the excellent work of our investment manager (the endowment performance was just shy of 12%).

Last year we lost our great and good friend Robert L. McNeil, Jr. Bob was an enormously generous supporter of a great many institutions, and we are proud to be among those that he respected. His contributions to the Library Company over many years—both personally and through his Barra Foundation—included grants to endow fellowships, catalog our collections, acquire the Michael Zinman Collection of Early American Imprints, mount exhibitions, and present public programs. In 2009 he made a significant personal gift to endow our Directorship in the name of former Librarian Edwin Wolf 2nd. And after his death we learned that he had such faith in our stewardship that he left to the Library Company his unparalleled collection of more than six hundred rare books, pamphlets, and maps, mostly of the period 1750 to 1825. The McNeil Americana Collection represents a very significant addition to our holdings, and we look forward to reporting further on it, and creating an exhibition centered on this material.

Thus, to provide for the growth of the Library Company's collections and programs, we acquired a neighboring property. An exceedingly generous challenge grant from H. F. "Gerry" Lenfest enabled us to do so. We look forward to the exciting prospect of developing new spaces to better fulfill our mission.

This *Annual Report* contains in-depth accounts of our activities and acquisitions of 2010, but I would like to make special note of several.

Toward the end of the year Clarence Wolf (a recently-elected Trustee) gave us a large collection of 144 partially printed forms completed in manuscript, which we unveiled at the December meeting of the Junto. All but a few of these are bills of lading generated by the merchant house of Harper and Hartshorne, who were trading between Philadelphia and Antigua during the 1750s and 1760s. The highlights of the collection

are sixty-nine unique and unrecorded forms from the press of Benjamin Franklin and David Hall, identifiable by Franklin's distinctive type-metal cut "S" at the head. The collection also includes five forms with the imprint of James Adams, a former Franklin and Hall employee; until these forms were discovered there were no known imprints from that shop.

We also acquired a compositors' wage book for the printing firm of Clark and Raser, Philadelphia, 1826 to 1830, that records how much each of their typesetters was paid each week, how many pages of type each set, and for what publications. This is the most detailed accounting of personnel, productivity, and wages that has survived for any American printing office at any time in the hand press period.

Trustee William Helfand donated fifty-six pharmaceutical journals, which join many similar journals he has given in the past. This year's gift includes five issues from the 1890s of *The Merck Report*, one of the ancestors of the famous Merck Manual.

Trustee Davida Deutsch gave a New York, 1859 edition of George Barrell Cheever's best selling temperance pamphlet *The True History of Deacon Giles's Distillery*, in honor of Phil Lapsansky. This rare edition is unlike any other known in that the people in the wonderfully lurid illustration are portrayed as African American.

In 2010, Trustee Emeritus Michael Zinman donated his collection of more than 350 early American children's books, including about twenty "thumb bibles" and a number of other religious texts aimed at a juvenile audience, such as books of hymns and moral tales. The nature of publishing for children makes this a visually interesting collection—the books are rich with engravings and woodcuts depicting heroes and heroines, wild animals, and children in all manner of recreation and all sorts of peril. This collection will be a boon to researchers studying children's history and the history of American publishing and bookselling.

From Mr. Zinman also came William Lloyd Garrison's promotional pamphlet *Prospectus of the Liberator. Volume III* (Boston, 1832). This brief work is Garrison's effort to boost subscriptions for his militant newspaper, the most important voice in antislavery journalism.

From Trustee Emeritus Charles Rosenberg we received his collection of books on childrearing. Some were written by physicians who practiced regular medicine while others were written by physicians who practiced various types of sectarian medicine, such as hydropathy and homeopathy. Still others were written by clergymen. But many were written by mothers, who cited their own personal experience to establish their authority as advisors.

Significant African American History acquisitions included *Sketches from the Washington Races in October 1840 by an Eye Witness* (London?, 1840), a portfolio of three lithographs of African American jockeys racing at the Washington Race Track in Charleston, S.C. Throughout the 18th and much of the19th centuries there were many African American jockeys in American horse racing. They were in fact the first African American professional athletes. Our thanks again to Trustee Davida Deutsch for helping us acquire this work.

Henry Morton Stanley's *The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State:* A Story of Work and Exploration (New York, 1885) is a two-volume work celebrating one of the greatest atrocities inflicted on Africa, the transformation of the vast Congo region into Belgian King Leopold's private rubber plantation. Belgian troops enforced vicious discipline to control and exploit native workers, and Christian missionaries celebrated the enterprise as bringing the gospel to Africa. African American writers were later important in exposing the exploitation in the Congo region, helping to create in the early 20th century the Congo Reform Association movement in Great Britain and the United States.

Women's History acquisitions included Sophronia E. Bucklin, *In Hospital and Camp* (Philadelphia, 1869). Bucklin, an Army nurse on the front line during the Civil War, was known for challenging surgeons' opinions. Her memoir's subtitle ("A Woman's Record of Thrilling Incidents among the Wounded in the Late War") suggests that the publisher may have tacked on a sensational title to boost sales.

When thirty-three-year-old Anna Linnard of Philadelphia died in 1835, she became one of many women teachers whose name would become obscure in the historical record. But in 2010, we rediscovered Miss Linnard while cataloging Robert Baird's *Memoir of Anna Jane Linnard* (Philadelphia, 1837), part of the Todd and Sharon Pattison Ribbon-Embossed Cloth Binding Collection.

Significant acquisitions for our Print and Photograph Collection included an I. G. Langstroth ream wrapper. Langstroth was a wholesale

paper distributor in Philadelphia from 1807 to 1836. Artist John James Barralet settled in Philadelphia about 1795 and worked as an engraver and painter. Our collection includes a few examples of ream wrappers including a circa 1810 sample from Dove Paper Mill also engraved by Barralet. Also accessioned was an albumen print cabinet card from Schreiber & Sons of Mr. & Mrs. Fairman Rogers and friends in a coach (Philadelphia, 1879), which is closely related to Thomas Eakins' famous painting *The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand (A May Morning in the Park)* executed in 1879 and 1880. In both images, Fairman Rogers, accompanied by his wife, Rebecca, two grooms, and a group of young women, is depicted driving a coach pulled by four horses.

Finally, we received a Centennial Photographic Company albumen photograph of the Corliss Engine (Philadelphia, 1876) from Harvey S. Shipley Miller and Jon Randall Plummer. This large print (approx. 17 x 21 inches) captures the immense size of the Corliss engine that powered the Machinery Hall exhibitions at Philadelphia's Centennial Exposition. Forty feet tall, weighing over two hundred tons, and mounted on a fifty-six foot diameter platform, the Corliss engine inspired awe in fair-goers. In 1880 industrialist George Pullman purchased the engine and shipped it in pieces to Chicago, where it powered his sleeping car works until the plant's conversion to electricity in 1910.

That's a whirlwind tour of just a few of our most interesting acquisitions last year. You can see that whether the market is up or down, business-as-usual around the Library Company means continuing to build our collections and continuing to enhance the experience of those who come to 1314 Locust Street. We're grateful to all of you for enabling us to do this important work.

As I step down after five eventful years as President, I am very pleased to be able to pass the gavel to a most worthy successor—B. Robert De-Mento, a devoted Trustee since 2005 and a very effective advocate for the Library Company. I wish him a term that will be as rewarding for both President and institution as mine has been.

Beatrice W. B. Garvan, President

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Year Ended December 31, 2010

REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT Contributions \$ 198,560 Dues 100,823 Grants 401,352 Interest & dividends 114,678 Realized gain on sales of marketable investment securities 79,893 Unrealized gain on marketable investment securities 288,035 Library Services 194,316 Net assets released from restrictions 1,220,310 TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT 2,597,967 EXPENSES 2,270,589 Management & general 333,176 Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES 2,680,188 CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412 NIET ASSETS, END OF YEAR \$ 8,947,191		Unrestricted
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Realized gain on sales of marketable investment securities Unrealized gain on marketable investment securities Library Services 194,316 1,377,657 Net assets released from restrictions TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT EXPENSES Program 2,270,589 Management & general Fundraising TOTAL EXPENSES CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 288,035 194,316 1,377,657 2,597,967 2,597,967 2,597,967 2,270,589 4,680,188 (82,221)	Grants	401,352
Unrealized gain on marketable investment securities Library Services 194,316 1,377,657 Net assets released from restrictions TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT EXPENSES Program 2,270,589 Management & general 333,176 Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 288,035 194,316 1,377,657 2,597,967 2,597,967 2,597,967 2,680,188 (82,221)	Interest & dividends	114,678
Library Services 194,316 1,377,657 Net assets released from restrictions 1,220,310 TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT 2,597,967 EXPENSES Program 2,270,589 Management & general 333,176 Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES 2,680,188 CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	Realized gain on sales of marketable investment securities	79,893
1,377,657 Net assets released from restrictions 1,220,310 TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT 2,597,967 EXPENSES 2,270,589 Management & general 333,176 Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES 2,680,188 CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	Unrealized gain on marketable investment securities	288,035
Net assets released from restrictions TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT EXPENSES Program Annagement & general Fundraising TOTAL EXPENSES CHANGE IN NET ASSETS NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 1,220,310 2,597,967 2,597,967 2,270,589 333,176 542,270,589 4333,176 682,221	Library Services	194,316
TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT 2,597,967 EXPENSES 2,270,589 Management & general 333,176 Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES 2,680,188 CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412		1,377,657
EXPENSES Program 2,270,589 Management & general 333,176 Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES 2,680,188 CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	Net assets released from restrictions	1,220,310
Program 2,270,589 Management & general 333,176 Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES 2,680,188 CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT	2,597,967
Management & general 333,176 Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES 2,680,188 CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	EXPENSES	
Fundraising 76,423 TOTAL EXPENSES 2,680,188 CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	Program	2,270,589
TOTAL EXPENSES CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	Management & general	333,176
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS (82,221) NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	Fundraising	76,423
NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR 9,029,412	TOTAL EXPENSES	2,680,188
	CHANGE IN NET ASSETS	(82,221)
NET ACCETS END OF YEAD \$ 9.047 101	NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR	9,029,412
NET ASSETS, END OF YEAR \$ 0,547,171	NET ASSETS, END OF YEAR	\$ 8,947,191

Temporarily Restricted	Permanently Restricted	Total
\$ 492,281	\$ 30,000	\$ 720,841
-	-	100,823
20,100	-	421,452
-	551,763	666,441
-	386,233	466,126
-	1,361,011	1,649,046
		194,316
512,381	2,329,007	4,219,045
(447,428)	(772,882)	
64,953	1,556,125	4,219,045
-	-	2,270,589
-	-	333,176
-	-	76,423
		2,680,188
64,953	1,556,125	1,538,857
638,571	20,284,571	29,952,554
\$703,524	\$21,840,696	\$31,491,411

The complete financial statements, along with the report of our certified public accountants, are available at the Library Company.

Robert J. Christian, Treasurer

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

Late in 2010 the Library Company acquired a nearby building to provide for our space needs in the future. This was but the most recent in a long string of transactions, for the Library Company has been somewhat peripatetic over its 280 years of continuous existence. Gracing the back cover of this Annual Report is a watercolor and gouache drawing by Colin Campbell Cooper of our first purpose-built library building, designed by William Thornton and erected in 1789-90 on the east side of Fifth Street below Chestnut. Prior to the opening of Library Hall on New Year's Day 1791, the Library Company had peregrinated around that same neighborhood for almost sixty years, occupying in succession a house rented from shareholder Robert Grace (from 1732 to 1736); the home of Librarian William Parsons (from 1736 to 1740); a room on the west end of the second floor of the State House (Independence Hall; from 1740 to 1773); and the second floor of Carpenters' Hall (from 1773 to 1790). We had barely settled in at Carpenters' Hall when the Continental Congress gathered downstairs in September 1774 for its momentous first meeting. In anticipation of that meeting, our Directors on August 31 ordered the Librarian to "furnish the Gentlemen who are to meet in Congress in this City, with the use of such Books as they may have occasion for during their sitting, taking a Receipt for them," a courtesy that was later extended to all the Congresses and Conventions that met in Philadelphia for the next quarter-century before the national capital moved to Washington, D.C., in 1800, making the Library Company the *de facto* Library of Congress.

About ninety years after the completion of Library Hall, we decamped from Fifth Street for the new Ridgway Library on South Broad Street. That huge neoclassical building was erected with funds from the estate of James Rush, who was the heir of his wife Phoebe Anne Ridgway Rush, the source of the family fortune. The out-of-the-way location of the Ridgway Library necessitated the construction of a more convenient building at Juniper and Locust streets, designed by the prominent architect Frank Furness. That exuberant structure served the Library Company from 1880 to 1940, when the Library Company ceased being "a

general circulating library of current and ephemeral books" and focused on the rare books in the Ridgway Library.

The next phase in our migration took place in the mid-1960s, when the decision was taken to abandon the Ridgway Library—a firetrap with a leaking roof and a damp basement that was located in a still-undesirable part of town. Our present modern building was erected on Locust Street adjacent to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania; we have a reciprocal custodial arrangement for the combined collections of manuscripts (housed at HSP) and rare books and pamphlets (housed at the Library Company), and we have collaborated on many programs over the years, especially research fellowships.

About ten years ago our physical plant expanded with the transformation of the neighboring 1880s Cassatt House into a residential research center with offices, meeting spaces, and housing for visiting scholars and special projects. Expansion into the Cassatt House enabled us not only to address the needs of our long-term researchers, but also to organize seminars for school teachers, host meetings for outside groups, and provide office space for special projects. Both buildings are now used to capacity (and sometimes beyond), and our growing collections and programs call for additional space. Thus it was that we purchased a building at 1319 Irving St., directly behind us (the rear of our building and of the Cassatt House are across a twenty-foot-wide alley from the rear of the "new" building, which was constructed in the 1880s to serve as a carriage house and stable for a grocery company.

In order to make the best decisions about how to use all of our spaces, we commissioned Voith & Mactavish Architects to study all three of our buildings and prepare a Master Plan for space utilization. This process will entail not only studying the physical spaces, but also interviewing staff, Trustees, fellows, and other visitors to ensure that our decisions represent the most effective (and cost-effective) way to accommodate all of our activities in the three buildings. Our expanded "campus" should hold the Library Company in good stead for a great many years to come.

John C. Van Horne The Edwin Wolf 2nd Director

Report of the Librarian

"Shipped in good order and well conditioned": Franklin's Printed Bills of Lading

In December, at the annual meeting of the Junto (a group of share-holders who make special gifts for acquisitions), Clarence Wolf, proprietor of George S. MacManus Company, antiquarian booksellers of Bryn Mawr, and soon-to-be-elected member of our Board of Trustees, presented us with a collection of 144 partially printed blank bills of lading completed in manuscript. Almost half of them were printed by Benjamin Franklin's firm of Franklin and Hall sometime in the mid-1760s. They are identifiable by the distinctive type-metal cut "S" enclosing a ship in full sail (see illustration), which was first used by Franklin before Hall joined the firm in the 1740s. This is the largest cache of Franklin imprints to have come to light in almost fifteen years.

A bill of lading is a statement of goods loaded for transport by sea, in effect a receipt by which the carrier takes responsibility for the goods listed and their safe delivery at the specified destination. The printed part of the form, the boilerplate as it were, remained unchanged for centuries, beginning with the phrase "Shipped in good order and well conditioned," with blanks for the names of the consignor, the vessel, the mas-

	HIPPED in good Order and well conditioned, by Pragray Rackshorns on and upon the Good South and called the Agents whereof is Matter tog this prefer Worsen. John and hourd for Hard and now inding at Anchor in the Hardware John and bound for Hard and now inding and hourd for Hard and now inding the What Barn & One Barnelly Jugar Jordeel of Hardware Charles the Barnelly Jugar Jordeel of Hardware Charles them
N2 4 Aum ON 9 Sugar	Being marked and numbered as in the Margin, and are to be delivered in the like good Order and well conditioned, at the aforefaid Port of the Danger of the Seasonly excepted) on to the Affigure, he or they paying Freight for the laid Goods from Whilliams for the face of the Malker of the Malker of the Malker of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of which Are Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the Bills of Lading, all of this Tenor and Date; the one of the B
4.00	Charles Santa Share Share Santa Sant

Bill of Lading. [Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, ca. 1764]. Gift of Clarence Wolf.

ter, the recipient, the port of origin, and the destination, as well as the freight charges and a list of the goods. The form was signed and dated by the master, who also recorded the identifying marks on the bale(s) or barrel(s) in the left-hand margin. This is the most basic of all business forms in the early modern period.

(Readers who are not obsessed with Franklin's printing may skip this paragraph.) Mr. Wolf had already noticed that the sixty-nine Franklinprinted forms were in three slightly different settings of type, while the same type-metal cut S was used in all of them. This suggested to him that they were printed at different times. We looked more closely at those S's and found minute differences between them. There are three different S's that correspond exactly with the three settings. We were then able to determine by the deckle edges of the paper that one setting was at the top of the sheet and one at the bottom, while the one in the center was cut on both edges, sometimes leaving stray pen strokes from the forms above or below. All this proves they were printed three to a sheet, probably so one copy could be retained by the consignor, a second could accompany the goods, and the third could be sent (in advance, if possible) to the recipient. These forms, however, were filled out in duplicate, probably (as we will see) because there was no way to send the third copy in advance. We could not have reconstructed the original imposition of the forms if we had only had one or two of them, but having three piles of about twenty forms each allowed us to determine that they were all cut from copies of the same imprint. In his bibliography of Franklin's printing, C. William Miller writes of his bills of lading, "A collation of extant copies reveals that BF retained substantially the same wording in his text over the years but reset the type of the form many times." We now know that many of those variant settings are pieces of a single imprint, and that Franklin did not reset the forms quite as often as Miller supposed. This in turn suggests that he kept the type standing for years, rather than distributing it each time he printed a new batch of forms.

The collection also includes five forms with the imprint of James Adams, Philadelphia, 1761 (see illustration). Adams was a former Franklin and Hall employee; it is known from newspaper ads that he set up in business on his own in Philadelphia in 1761, but until these forms were discovered there were no known imprints from that shop. He almost im-



Bill of Lading. Philadelphia: James Adams, 1761. The only known imprint of James Adams before he moved from Philadelphia to Wilmington. Gift of Clarence Wolf.

mediately moved to Wilmington, Delaware, to become its first printer, and there he flourished. Franklin had a policy of setting up his former employees in distant towns so they would not become his competitors, and this seems to be an example. Sometimes he simply used his influence to get them work in their new locations, but sometimes he also loaned them printing equipment or cash, and occasionally he even made them partners. What role Franklin played in Adams's business, if any, is not yet known. Closely related to the Adams forms are seven others with the same "S" block, three of which have the imprint of Philadelphia printer Andrew Steuart. Steuart came to Philadelphia from Belfast, Ireland, in 1759 and worked for William Bradford, the main competitor of Franklin and Hall. The fact that Adams and Steuart used the same "S" suggests a connection between them. It is at least a possibility that Adams was somehow caught between Franklin and Bradford and decided that he would be better off setting up business away from them both.

These 144 forms all have a common provenance. They were almost all filled out in 1764 and 1765 by the Philadelphia merchant house of Harper and Hartshorne, trading with Antigua. The firm shipped flour, bread, pork, and manufactured products such as spermaceti candles, iron bars, and Windsor chairs to Antigua in exchange for rum, sugar, and the odd barrel of limes. The forms ended up together because the firm of

Harper and Hartshorne was in almost every case either the consignor or the recipient, or else the master was John Harper. William Hartshorne may have been born in New Jersey in the 1730s, because he first appears as a member of the Quaker-dominated New Jersey Association for Helping the Indians in 1757. In that same year his future partner John Harper was in Antigua, in partnership with another Philadelphia merchant named Thomas Clifford, whose papers are at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and who shows up in some of these bills. We do not know when their partnership was formed or when it broke up, but it did not last long. At the outbreak of the Revolution Hartshorne was in Alexandria, Virginia, trading as William Hartshorne & Co. We don't know much about his war experience, but it must have been good, because he appears in George Washington's accounts in 1785 as treasurer of the Potomac Company. We know more about Harper's war experience. He was a major serving under General John Muhlenberg when, shortly after the Battle of Brandywine, he was surprised in a country tavern by a party of British troops whose red coats he mistook for the uniforms of Virginia Riflemen. He was imprisoned in another tavern in Philadelphia until St. Patrick's Day of 1778, when his Irish guards got drunk and he escaped.

As if this were not enough, Mr. Wolf enhanced his gift in another very unusual way. He happened to know that his friend and ours, the New Haven antiquarian bookseller William Reese, owned a letter book kept by the firm of Hartshorne, Large & Co. from 1795 to 1817; and at Wolf's suggestion, Reese gave it to us. The senior partner was the same William Hartshorne. In 1788, shortly after his Alexandria partnership was dissolved, he formed a new partnership in Philadelphia with Ebenezer Large of Burlington, New Jersey. The bulk of the letter book documents their business, which imported dry goods from London in staggering quantities. In 1798 Hartshorne moved back to Alexandria, leaving the business in the hands of his son Pattison, who signed the last letters in the book. William was at least in his seventies in 1812 when his "Valuable Farm and Mill" near Alexandria was sold to satisfy a debt, perhaps resulting from the collapse of foreign trade due to the Embargo and the newly declared war. Known as Strawberry Hill, it boasted 256 acres of land, a two-story frame house 30 feet by 20 with two wings, and a brick mill, 55 feet by 45 and four stories high, capable of milling 10,000 barrels

of flour a year, or so says the ad in *Poulson's Daily Advertiser*. That is the last we have been able to find of him.

These two gifts, the bills of lading from the 1760s and the letter book from the 1790s, vividly show the transformation wrought by the Revolution in the life of one enterprising merchant and in the American economy as a whole. Before the war William Hartshorne's trade consisted mainly of exchanging Antiguan rum and sugar for Philadelphia flour. It was profitable but very much a peripheral and colonial trade. After the war, he was a major importer of manufactured goods (mostly clothing) from Britain, which he paid for using sophisticated financial instruments. The difference is not just in the size of the business but in its direct connection to the economic center of the Atlantic world and in the nature of the goods involved. Flour and sugar were basic commodities, but as drivers of economic growth they were nothing compared to the fashionable clothing that appears over and over again in the pages of the letter book. The emergent consumer society of the 1790s fed an explosion of foreign trade that enriched merchant princes like William Hartshorne, and if he himself died in debt, others like him prospered and went on to provide the capital that supported America's own industrial revolution.

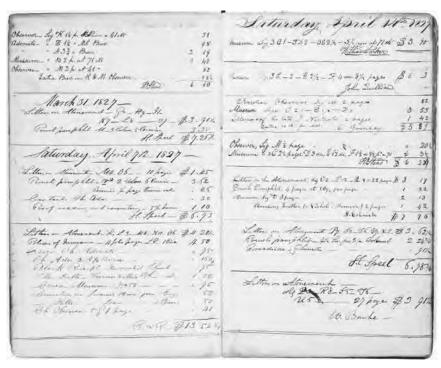
Clarence Wolf is a cousin to our former Librarian Edwin Wolf 2nd, and when, in the 1960s, Edwin Wolf moved the Library Company to Locust Street, the MacManus Company was located right behind us on Irving Street. When Clarence Wolf took over the business from his father Ben in 1972, he benefited enormously from this proximity, as did we. He often sold books to us, but more often he brought books to Edwin in order to learn about them. Edwin was his greatest mentor. Clarence's gift is in memory of his parents, Ruth and Ben Wolf, and Edwin Wolf 2nd. Bill Reese's gift is also in Edwin's memory.

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The Compositors' Record: Reconstructing the Printing Business of Clark & Raser in 1820s Philadelphia

The financial records of early modern printing houses are the best possible sources for reconstructing the working conditions under which books and other printed materials were produced. They are usually found in the archives of large and long-lived firms: the Plantins in Antwerp, the university presses of Cambridge and Oxford, and the Bowyers in early-18th-century London are famous examples; and whole books have been written about each of them. By the latter part of the 18th century, however, printing and publishing were becoming separate trades, with publishing by far the more lucrative and capital intensive. Voluminous business records have survived for late-18th- and early-19th-century publishers like John Murray in London, Isaiah Thomas in Worcester, and Mathew Carey in Philadelphia, but the records of the many independent printers they employed are mostly lost.

This is why our recent acquisition of a manuscript compositors' bill book for the Philadelphia printers Clark & Raser is so important. In this ledger, kept from 1826 to 1830, each compositor recorded weekly which pages of which books or magazines he had set in type, along with the



A sample page from the Clark & Raser Compositors' Bill Book, Philadelphia, 1826 to 1830. Purchase, 2010.

wages due to him (see illustration). In the process of making this acquisition, we discovered that the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has a similar bill book for 1821 to 1825, along with a daybook for 1817 to 1824 that provides corroborating information about the sales end of the business, including prices charged to customers. And the American Antiquarian Society has a ledger for 1825 to 1829 that may also relate to sales. It is unfortunate that none of these collections include a matching pressmen's bill book, which would give the same sort of wage and production information for the men operating the printing presses. Nevertheless, what we have constitutes a superb source for the study of printing house practice for a crucial decade at the very end of the hand-press period.

The printing partnership of John C. Clark and Matthias Raser commenced in October 20, 1817. Clark provided \$1,400 in working capital, about half of which was immediately spent on type from the Philadelphia foundry of James Ronaldson. Raser was the foreman who supervised the workers, but he worked alongside them and recorded his own contributions in the bill book under the name of the partnership: "C&R."

During the period covered by our bill book, the lion's share of their work was provided by four monthly magazines: The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science, and Art; The Christian Observer; and The Religious Magazine (all published by Eliakim Littell and all cut-and-paste jobs from English magazines); and *The Christian Advocate* (edited and mainly written by local Presbyterian clergyman Ashbel Green). They accounted for 69% of wages paid to compositors in 1826, the first year covered by our newly acquired ledger. In addition, the office always had a book or two in press; in 1826 they worked on at least a dozen of them, mainly religious and school books, accounting for 21% of wages paid. Finally, they did a good deal of job printing, mainly pamphlets, advertising handbills, and blank forms. Much of this work was done by Raser, who must have had the best eye for typography and layout, and who could be more flexible in how he spent his time. Small jobs like these were especially good for filling in idle time between larger commissions, and they were sought after by all printers; but it is easy to overstate their importance. They accounted for only about 7% of the wages paid in 1826. The remaining 3% was for proof reading and correcting.

The firm's chief jobbing customer was William Swaim, manufacturer

of the famous patent medicine Swaim's Panacea. He spent far more on advertising and packaging than on whatever was in the bottle. Another big jobbing customer was Mathew Carey, who at this point had retired from the publishing business and was churning out countless economic and political pamphlets, copies of which are on our shelves, in many cases given by Carey himself. In fact it was because Carey's name appeared so often in the ledger that it was offered to us by local booksellers Greg Gillespie and David Miller, to whom we are very grateful. Oddly enough, at least in the period covered by this ledger, Clark & Raser did no book work for the Carey publishing firm, Carey & Lea.

Just what Clark & Raser printed, however, is not nearly as interesting as how the work was organized and waged, and this is what these ledgers show best. The most obvious finding is that the workforce was amazingly casual, and they were paid strictly for work done, not by the hour. In 1826 twenty-four compositors worked in the shop at one time or another; but of these only five were steadily employed, working thirty-eight or more weeks. Nine worked only one or two weeks, and the rest were spread out between those extremes. The number at work in any given week ranged from two to thirteen. Wages varied tremendously too. The top weekly wage was \$17.65; the average was \$6.40. The top annual wage was \$353.61, paid to John Colerick, who worked for forty-nine weeks. The average was \$89.33. As we will see, some of the men worked part time by choice, but others must have moved from shop to shop, wherever work was available.

This variation in pay was not due to steadier or more senior workers earning higher wages. Everyone was paid the same rate, usually by the page; but the rate varied depending on the size of the type and the nature of the copy. So for *The Christian Advocate* the rate was forty-five cents a page for text in the size called Long Primer (roughly equal to ten-point type) and sixty-five cents for footnotes in the smaller type size called Brevier (about eight-point). But the rates were a few cents a page lower when the compositors were setting type from an already printed source, such as a British magazine. This was presumably because the copy was easier to read and to justify. When different kinds of composition were mixed on the page, the compositors would estimate how much of each kind they had set to the nearest half-page. Comparison of their bills with

the actual printed text shows surprisingly that they were fairly honest, sometimes rounding up in their own favor and sometimes down in management's favor.

The payment per page was based on the amount of type it contained, and that was measured in units called ems, defined as the square of the type's body, which we measure today in points. (The letter M is more or less square.) This page is set in twelve-point type and contains about 800 ems; a regular page of *The Christian Advocate* in ten-point type on a bigger page contains 1800 ems. By examining copies of the books and magazines printed by Clark & Raser, we can see that the page rates all work out to about twenty-five cents per thousand ems. From the daybook at the Historical Society, we know that Clark & Raser were charging their customers forty cents per thousand ems for composition. It is usually assumed that printers paid their compositors less than the market value of their labor, but it is rare to be able to document exactly how much less. In fact price and wage data for any trade is notoriously hard to pin down in this period.

Just as interesting as staffing and wages is the organization of the work flow. The regular magazine work was distributed among several compositors, with the steady workers getting priority, but in a strangely piecemeal fashion, two pages to one man, three pages to another, four to yet another. Still the work proceeded in a fairly orderly manner and the issues came out like clockwork. Book work was a totally different story. For example, Janeway's Letters on the Atonement was set in type over a seven-week period in the spring of 1827. For the first five weeks two compositors worked on it alternately, and progress was regular from signature A to signature L. In the sixth week the pace speeded up as the same two men worked on it simultaneously. In the seventh a third man was added to the job and a fourth hand was brought in from outside. He was William Bache, the fifteen-year-old great grandson of Benjamin Franklin. Perhaps Raser hoped that Bache had inherited his ancestor's skill or his intelligence, but if so he was disappointed. Chaos ensued: fifteen pages were either set twice or had to be reset, and twenty-three pages are unaccounted for, probably sent out to another shop. The same thing happened with Thomas Smiley's An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography, composed over nine weeks at the end of 1826. For the first four weeks one man worked on it alone; then again the shop went into deadline mode, with four men working on it for the next two weeks. By Christmas it was finished, except that fifty pages are unaccounted for, again probably sent out to another shop; and in the last week of the year, the original compositor was paid \$1.50 for (re)setting "cancelled pages." Without a bill book for the pressmen we cannot know for sure, but it seems logical that this confusion and waste were shared by them, and that printing as well as composition was farmed out in order to meet a deadline. It has long been known that printers often shared jobs, but this bill book suggests that sometimes it was not a planned strategy but rather the result of last-minute improvisation.

So who were these men, most of them so irregularly employed and poorly paid? Of the twenty-four compositors who worked in the shop in 1826, only five appear in the city directories: Henry Stead, James Morton, Jacob Adams, William A. Miller, and Henry Speel, who shows up halfway through the year but after that worked regularly and later became head compositor. None of them worked more than half the year, with Adams working only nine widely scattered weeks and Miller just one. The three steadiest workers are not in directories, but all three were sons of printers who had been independent masters in their time and might have been living with relatives: John Colerick, son of the first printer in Washington, Pennsylvania; Charles W. Fenton, son of an early printer in Trenton, New Jersey; and Charles Anderson, one of a large Philadelphia printing family. Two of the part-time workers, Lewis Dobelbower and William MacIlvaine, had been independent master printers before the War of 1812, and each had a son or brother still in the trade with whom they may have lived; but they evidently still needed to work for wages from time to time. They did not lack skill, and probably not ambition either, but simply someone like John Clark who could provide the capital to set them up in a business large enough to attract the book and magazine publishers. These men epitomize the downward mobility of the printing trades in the 1820s. The other fifteen employees cannot be even tentatively identified. They may have been country lads seeking their fortunes or possibly "tramp" printers, but whoever they were, they never made a name for themselves in an increasingly anonymous trade.

In 1868 an anonymous old printer reminisced in The Printer's Cir-

cular about the compositors he had known in his youth, some of them at Clark & Raser. Lewis Dobelbower, he wrote, was "the neatest jobbing compositor in the trade" and "he wore the latest *queue* [a braid of hair at the back of a head] seen in our composing rooms." James Morton was a slow worker who "used to pick his way... to the effect of some four thousand ems per day." The bill book bears this out; his average wage was just under a dollar a day—but that was also about the average for the whole shop. "He also held the position of Pit doorkeeper at the Chestnut Street Theatre, and had to leave the office early to attend to that responsible function." Henry Speel was "one of Clark & Raser's boys [apprentices]" who rose to journeyman in mid-1826. He too was a correct compositor and a neat jobber; but his eyesight at length gave way, and "he retired while it was yet high day." William A. Miller, who worked only a single week, "had a bright brown eye like Robert Burns's" but was extraordinarily taciturn. He seldom worked full-time but "often has he commenced work on Wednesday morning and made as large a bill as any of those who had two days' start on him."

The fullest portrait is that of Jacob Adams, who worked just nine scattered days in 1826. It turns out this was characteristic. "Jake disapproved of exhausting the *demand* for work, and therefore generously slacked off now and then, just to 'nurse the market." He worked mainly for two other printers, but "for years he had what might be called an 'open' situation with Clark & Raser, he stepping in quietly and resuming work when so inclined." Once he tried to prolong a bender by begging an advance on his wages. "He came into the press room and asked Raser for a dollar. 'I won't,' growled the commander. Jake replied, 'Never mind; I never liked you; you're only fit to sweep out the office... . I'll go up now to a man who really knows the business.' Up stairs he lumbered to Clark, and was refused... . 'What, you turned upon me too? Then I'll fix the pair of you; *I won't work for you; you may go and starve!*' I believe it to be the only instance on record of a journeyman sending his employers away into beggary by refusing to earn wages from them."

One of the most frequently cited bibliographical essays of all time is D. F. McKenzie's 1969 *Studies in Bibliography* article "Printers of the Mind." According to McKenzie, bibliographers had long assumed that the highly detailed descriptions of printing house practice found in print-

ers' manuals reflected how printers actually worked. In fact his exhaustive study of the Cambridge University Press archives and the Bowyer ledgers had shown that the manuals were highly idealized. So, for example, analytic bibliographers hoping to discover what Shakespeare actually wrote by studying the spelling and punctuation habits of compositors they designated A and B, or determining the precise order in which pages were set in type and sheets passed through the press, were constructing a fantasy printing office where printers worked on one job at a time, work schedules were regular, and copy was divided in a rational way. That was not the case in Cambridge or London, and as we have seen, it was not the case in the Clark & Raser office over a century later. If anything the Philadelphia printers were more disorganized and the work force was more casual.

Gifts in Kind

One of the most widely read novels in the late colonial period was Laurence Sterne's outrageously eccentric Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy, first published in nine small volumes from 1760 to 1767. The Library Company bought all nine volumes before 1770, though we probably weren't fast enough to get first editions of the first two volumes. All the volumes soon disappeared, either read to pieces or lost by their borrowers. To replace them we bought a set of Sterne's Works in five volumes (London, 1769). We still have some of the volumes but not the ones containing Tristram Shandy. After that we gave up trying to keep it on our shelves. So this year we jumped at the chance to replace a book that our 18th-century readers had loved all too much. Betty Lewis offered us a set, probably like the one we originally owned, all first editions except for the first two volumes, which are the second. All the volumes are complete with the plates designed by Hogarth, bound in original calf, and as usual three of the volumes were signed by the author to distinguish them from pirated editions. Because four thousand copies of each volume were printed, Sterne had to sign his name twelve thousand times! Among the novel's many seemingly postmodern jokes is a leaf of marbled paper inserted in the middle of volume three. It comes right after the passage where narrator says to the reader "you had better throw down the book at once," because its meaning is as impenetrable as "the moral of the next marbled page (motly [sic] emblem of my work!)" This nearly impenetrable joke entailed yet more hand labor, because each leaf was marbled individually. As you can plainly see in our copy, the paper was folded along all four sides to make clean margins before marbling one side, then folded the other way so the other side could be marbled. Five colors were used in the marbling trough, white, red, yellow, and two shades of green. Then page numbers were stamped on each page by hand to make the tipped-in leaf look as much as possible part of the printed book. There were four thousand copies of the first edition of this volume printed, which means this one leaf required eight thousand separate marblings and stamping of page numbers. Sterne supervised the printers of his works very closely, to make sure they reproduced his peculiar typography correctly——dashes of varying length, reckless use of *italics* and exclamation marks!!

This is surely the most expensive little joke in the history of book making. Because it was a runaway bestseller, his publisher Dodsley had to grin and bear it; but maybe he asked Sterne to sign his name on those twelve thousand copies to get even. Sterne died shortly after the last volume was printed. Not surprisingly all subsequent editions of the novel replaced the marbled leaf, first with cut out pieces of marbled paper pasted on, and later with a one-color woodcut imitating the look of marbled paper. Many modern editions simply leave it out. All digital editions reproduce it in black and white. We did not illustrate the page here because only the covers of our *Annual Report* are printed in color. The only way to get Sterne's joke is to see an actual copy of the first edition.

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Some of the most beautiful books of the 19th century are manuscript ladies' friendship albums. Roger Stoddard read the account of the Mary Beck Goddard album in our 2008 *Report* and decided to give us a similar one, undoubtedly among the finest examples of the genre. It is a small quarto bound in deep green straight-grain morocco with two gilt rolls on the borders of the covers, the outer one a leaf-and-vine design, the inner one a Greek-key pattern, flawlessly aligned, enclosing an elaborate sequence of blind rolls and tools. The spine is elaborately gilt in five panels, with the spine title *Album* in the center. The edges are gilt, the board edg-





Ink-and-wash and pencil drawings from Sarah Ann Ellicott, *Album*. Manuscript, Maryland and Pennsylvania, 1826-1839.

es are tooled, and the doublures are silk. It is a top-of-the-line binding, and in mint condition. The name of the album's owner is gilt on the front cover: Sarah Ann Ellicott. She was born in 1809, the daughter of Thomas Ellicott of Baltimore and Mary Miller of Avondale, Pennsylvania. The Ellicotts were Bucks County Quakers before Thomas's father moved to Baltimore in the 1770s and founded Ellicott's Mills. Most of the album is made up of extracts from famous poets, including Scott, Byron, and Moore, many of them in Sarah's hand. These are interspersed with verses signed by family and friends, dated from 1826 to 1839, mostly from Baltimore but also from Avondale, Wilmington, and the Philadelphia area. Deborah Norris Logan's old-fashioned hand is recognizable on some verses dated from Stenton in 1826. The first leaf is an elegant ink-andwash drawing of a Doric temple with the words "Album" and "Templum Famae" on the pediment (see illustration), below which are four lines of verse from Pope's "Temple of Fame" and the date the album presumably was begun, September 1826, when Sarah was seventeen. Further back in the album is a delicate pencil sketch of a book inscribed "Forget me not" grouped with a lyre and a horn (also illustrated). These graphic elements strengthen this album's connection with published literary annuals and gift books, such as the Forget Me Not, published annually in London beginning in 1823. One of the album's contributors was E. Lea, probably Elizabeth Ellicott Lea (1793-1858), author of a famous Quaker cookbook. She was a cousin of Isaac Lea, whose firm Carey and Lea published The Atlantic Souvenir, one of the first American gift books, beginning in 1826. We have another similar manuscript album of almost exactly the same date presented to Isaac Lea's sister Elizabeth by Carey's sister Sarah. This circle of young ladies in Philadelphia and Baltimore joined by ties of blood and friendship was on the cutting edge of the fashion for albums and gift books that was about to sweep the nation.



This year we happily accepted on deposit some important Logan family documents recently acquired by Stenton, James Logan's historic country house in Germantown. Stenton's heroic curator Laura Keim raised the money to buy some of the documents at the sale of the Jay Snider

Collection in 2008, and then after the sale she raised still more to acquire several more items that had not been offered or did not sell. Stenton is well-suited to the display of historic furniture and objects, but it does not have the facilities to store and provide scholarly access to books and manuscripts, so early this year Laura and the site's owner, the Pennsylvania Society of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America, decided to place these new acquisitions on deposit at the Library Company, where they join James Logan's library. They include a 1677 perpetual almanac belonging to Isaac Norris, with a laid-in fragment of a dress that belonged to Deborah Norris Logan; the 1739 marriage certificate of Logan's daughter Sarah to Isaac Norris, Jr.; and a collection of forty-six pocket almanacs, ranging in date from 1767 to 1815, all interleaved with blank pages and used as diaries by various members of the Logan family.

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Poor Will's Almanack, for the Year 1777 (Philadelphia: J. Crukshank, [1776]). Stenton Deposit.

Of course these are deposits, not gifts, but the reason we mention them among our acquisitions is that we helped in the fund-raising effort by buying one of the almanacs from Stenton, one that was not heavily annotated but was desirable for us because it is the only known copy of that imprint. It is *A Pocket Almanack for the Year 1772* (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1771). Pocket almanacs are really miniature books and are far rarer than regular almanacs. In most of the Stenton almanacs the original Dutch gilt or marbled paper covers are preserved. They are amazing artifacts, but of course the inscriptions are what make them so valuable. One of them is illustrated here, with anguished notes written by James Logan's granddaughter Sarah Logan Fisher just as the British army was occupying Philadelphia and pacifist Quakers were being interned under suspicion of being loyalists.

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Among many other people who gave us books this year was Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, who added eleven titles dealing with personal issues of women to the large gift of similar materials she made in 2008. Among them is *Health and the Woman Movement* (New York: The Woman's Press, 1918), by Clelia Duel Mosher. Mosher is most famous for her path-breaking survey of women's sexual activity, begun in 1892 but not published until 1980, when it became an instant feminist classic. Richard P. Morgan gave seven early Ohio imprints in recognition of Michael Zinman's support of the Library Company. Todd and Sharon Pattison donated another fifty-six well-chosen books from their collection of mid-19th-century cloth bindings, Bruce Kuklick gave half a dozen titles on 19th-century American philosophy, and Trustee William H. Helfand gave fifty-six American pharmaceutical journals from the 1880s and 1890s and fifty-two pamphlets, broadsides, and other ephemera advertising medicines ranging in date from the 1840s to 1900.

Lisa Baskin gave a sample sheet of eight different bookplate designs offered in about 1811 by Philadelphia bookseller and stationer James P. Parke. He served as the Library Company's Treasurer from 1812 to 1823 and did a lot of business with us as well, including printing bookplates for us with the same ornaments used in one of the samples. And finally, Wil-

liam Woys Weaver and Don Yoder added to their Roughwood gift two 1860s broadsides printed at the West Chester, Pennsylvania, Village Record Office; a real estate sale bill and an advertisement for the Philadelphia Harmonians, a little known choral group not to be confused with the fan group advocating a romantic relationship between Harry Potter and Hermione Granger.

Space does not permit us to acknowledge all the many valuable gifts we received this year, but all our donors of books and other library materials are listed under Gifts in Kind at the end of this report, and we are deeply grateful to each of them.

James N. Green, Librarian

The Michael Zinman Collection of Early American Children's Books

In 2010, long-standing friend, benefactor, and shareholder Michael Zinman donated his collection of about 370 early American children's books to the Library Company. They join other substantial gifts from Mr. Zinman that have helped broaden and deepen our collections over the last two decades, including the Michael Zinman Collection of Early American Imprints (which included a number of significant children's books) and the Michael Zinman Binding Collection. The volumes in the new gift of Early American Children's Books range in date from the 1750s through the 1870s, with over ninety percent published before 1840. Within the collection, there are several volumes that represent the only known copy of an imprint. There are at least ten such 18th-century imprints.

While imprints from large publishing centers like New York, Boston, New Haven, and Philadelphia predominate, many volumes were produced in smaller towns such as Pittsburgh; Cooperstown; Elizabethtown, New Jersey; and Jaffrey, New Hampshire. Some publishers had national distribution; others only local. Some publishers specialized in children's books; others issued only the occasional children's title. Some publishers had a pedagogical agenda; others merely wanted to make their money. The nature of publishing for children makes this a visually interesting collection—the books are rich with engravings and woodcuts by some of the era's best illustrators, depicting heroes and heroines, wild animals, and children in all manner of recreation and all sorts of peril. The physical specimens are universally small, perfect for little hands, but represent the full spectrum of binding options of the time, from dutch gilt paper wrappers to handsome diced leather. Through an examination of this collection, we can piece together a fine picture of the life of the early American child, and of early America itself, its priorities and its philosophies, its hopes, and its fears.

Religious instruction was a top priority for American children in the 18th and 19th centuries, and the large number of biblical texts, catechisms, and collections of hymns in the Zinman gift (about seventy-five in all) are representative of the prevalence of these works for children. This includes eleven works by English theologian and poet Isaac Watts and numerous texts that include excerpts of his works. The gift includes never-bound, uncut, and unopened copies of Watts' Imitations of the Psalms of David and of his Hymns and Spiritual Songs, both printed in 1803 by Deare and Andrews for William Durell of New York. Also included is an 1805 edition, in original blue wrappers, of his seminal work Divine Songs (Northampton, Mass.). This copy has the intriguing (and morose) inscription "Theodore Clapp must soon die." Was Clapp the owner, reflecting on his own mortality? Was this a reference to the Rev. Theodore Clapp (1792-1866), who left both his Massachusetts home and his Calvinist upbringing to become the highly influential, and controversial, Unitarian minister in New Orleans? We may never know. Watts influenced others to create their own collections of hymns for children, including Anna Letitia Barbauld and Ann and Jane Taylor. Early copies of their works are also in the Zinman Collection.

The Bible, of course, was essential reading for all ages, but its magnitude was more than most children could handle. Abridgements of the Old and New Testaments and individual stories extracted from the Bible were frequently published. The story of the life of Joseph seems to have been one of the more popular biblical tales for children, and the Zinman Collection includes several editions. Another oft-reproduced work was *The History of the Holy Jesus*, written by A Lover of Their Precious Souls, which retold the gospel stories and often included some of Watts' verses and a biblical abecedarius, or alphabetic acrostic, as seen in the illustration on the next page. The gift includes four works of this title, including an apparently unique Boston edition from 1791.

Of special interest are the Thumb Bibles, which were so numerous as to constitute a distinct genre. The Zinman Collection includes about twenty of these tiny hard-bound volumes, with such titles as *The Child's Bible, History of the Bible,* and *The Bible in Miniature*. They generally measure between five and eight centimeters high and include illustrations of some of the most familiar biblical scenes, such as Adam and Eve's expulsion, Noah's ark, Jonah and his whale, Daniel and his lions, and Jesus on the cross. Often, the illustrations were simple woodcuts but some editions had much finer engravings. One of the most ubiquitous Thumb

Bible titles was A Short History of the Bible, with illustrations designed by Alfred Mills, an English engraver. This collection includes two editions, an 1813 London edition and an 1811 Philadelphia one. The illustrations in the latter, and in each of the many American editions, are very crude and are, in fact, reversed reworkings of the original designs by Mills. The English editions of this work, including the one in this gift, all share a much finer quality than the American editions and indicate a much more delicate, refined hand at work. The frontispiece of the 1813 edition is a beautifully hand-colored illustration of Adam and Eve in their paradise, an exquisite surprise pasted just inside the simple, paper-covered binding.

Publishers, and parents, were always looking for a way to make the Bible more accessible, and amusing, to small children. The Thumb Bible was one way, and the use of rebuses, or "hieroglyphs," was another. The

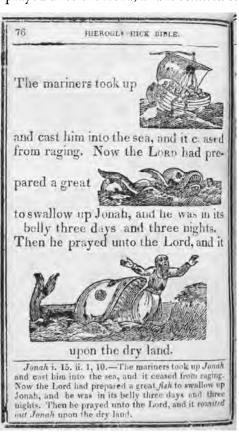


Abecedarius from Lover of Their Precious Souls, *The History of the Holy Jesus* (Exeter, N.H., 1813). Gift of Michael Zinman.

Zinman gift includes three Hieroglyphic Bibles, published between 1814 and 1824. As in other abridged Bibles, only highlights from both Testaments were included, generally with one verse to a page. The text with hieroglyphic clues filled most of the page, and the full text of the passage was at the bottom, with illustrated matter in italics. As with the Thumb Bibles, the quality of the illustrations varied widely, and the crudest now appear quite hard to decipher, particularly when the rebus represents something as amorphous as a disembodied tongue. The Bible is not an easy text to illustrate in this way, so one cannot help but admire the deft hand that created a decipherable Hieroglyphic Bible. Shown here is the treatment of the text: "Then he prayed unto the Lord, and it *vomited out*

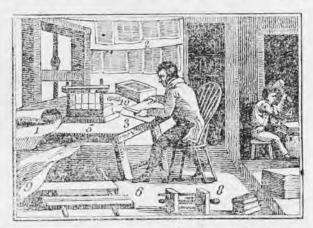
Jonah on dry land," and we can immediately appreciate the skill of the artist, both in the conception and execution of the illustration.

Creating Hieroa glyphic Bible was no small undertaking, as they typically included around 500 woodcut illustrations, or about four to six individual blocks printed within the type on each page. But it was considered well worth the effort, as it was understood early on that children learned better with the benefit of illustrations. In 1658, Johann Amos Comenius published what is generally considered the first illustrated children's book, Orbis Sensualium Pictus. The Latin and German text set out to describe "all the chief



The Hieroglyhick [sic] Bible, or, Select Passages in the Old and New Testaments (Plymouth, Mass., 1824). Gift of Michael Zinman.

The Book-binder. XCVIII. Bibliopegus.



In times hast they glued Paper to Paper, and rolled them up together, into one Roll. 1. At this day

the Book-binder bindeth Books, whilst he wifieth, 2. over Papers steeft in Gum-chartas maceratas agua

together, 3. beateth with a Hammer, 4. then stitcheth them up, 5. presseth them in a Press, 6. which hath two Screws, 7. glueth them on the buck, cutteth off the edges with a round Knife, 8. and at last covereth them

maketh them handsome,

and setteth on Clasps. 10.

Olim agglutinabant Chartam Chartæ, convolvebantque cas in unum Volumen. 1. Hodic

Compactor compingit Libros, dum tergit, 2.

water, and then foldeth them glutinosa, deinde complicat, 3. Malleat, 4.

> tum consuit, 5. comprimit Prelo, 6. quod habet duos Cochleas, 7.

conglutinat dorso, demarginat rotundo Cultro, 8.

tandem vestit with Parchment or Leather, 9. Menbrana, vel Corio, 9. efformat,

& affigit Uncinulos. 10.

Johann Amos Comenius, Orbis Sensualium Pictus (New York, 1810). Gift of Michael Zinman.

things that are in the world." Within a year, the work was translated into English, still with the accompanying Latin, by Charles Hoole. The translation was continually reprinted and enjoyed great success, but it was not until 1810 that an American edition was published, based on the twelfth English edition of 1777. The Zinman gift includes a copy of this first American edition, making it the first copy of any edition of this important work in the Library Company's collection. Each of the more than 150 illustrations contains a numbered key referenced in the descriptive English and Latin text. The level of detail in the illustrations provides a wealth of information about, and insight into, daily life in the early Republic. About a third of the illustrations are by the master wood engraver Alexander Anderson.

As it is today, education was the function of many early American children's books, and the Zinman Collection contains examples of all manner of books of learning, from simple spellers, to works on the peoples of the world and natural history, to guidance on proper etiquette. Isaiah Thomas was among the most prolific publishers of children's books in late-18th-century America, and was the chief American imitator of the famous London children's book publisher John Newbery. The Zinman gift includes several Thomas publications, including an unrecorded, and possibly the earliest, printing of *The Royal Alphabet* (Worcester, 1787?). That it might be the earliest printing is suggested by the strength of the prints made by the woodcuts, compared to the prints of the woodcuts in another early copy that was made with the same woodblocks but with a different setting of type. That copy is held by the American Antiquarian Society, and is itself the only known copy of its edition.

The Child's Pictorial Geometry (Hartford, 1841) is another heavily illustrated schoolbook in the Zinman Collection. Each leaf contains a plate depicting a boy and a girl discussing a part of their surroundings in terms of its geometric significance. They appear to be instructing each other, with most scenes being led by the boy, but with some scenes (notably those involving food and the garden) being led by the girl. In one scene, for example, the girl explains to the boy, "This piece of cake forms an equilateral triangle because all the sides and angles are equal." The presence of the girl throughout the book is no insignificant matter. The importance of educating girls, and to what end, was a longstanding subject of debate.



The Child's Pictorial Geometry (Hartford, Conn. and Berea, Ohio, 1841). Gift of Michael Zinman.

Caleb Bingham discusses the issue in the preface of his The Young Lady's Accidence; or, A Short and Easy Introduction to English Grammar (Boston, 1797), stating that he created the work to address "the great disadvantage the young Ladies of this country are peculiarly subjected to, viz. the scantiness of time afforded them for acquiring an education." He went on to say that he was "encouraged to hope that a reformation, in favor of female education, is about to take place." It is not readily apparent how this work is specifically geared toward ladies, but the number of reprints it saw indicates it was

quite well-received. In addition to the copy in this gift, we hold several other 18th-century editions, most of which came to us in earlier gifts from Michael Zinman.

In their books, children were being taught about the world around them, and its great variety of inhabitants. One instructive genre was city cries such as *The Cries of London*, of which this gift includes an 1816 New York edition and an 1819 Cooperstown edition. In these tiny paper-wrappered volumes, illustrations depict London street vendors, each with their distinct cry. Some of these cries are still well-known, as the cry of the hot cross bun vendor: "One a penny, two a penny, hot cross buns!" Cries of American towns were also of interest to American children. In the Zinman gift is an 1828 edition of *The New-York Cries, in Rhyme*. A distinct difference between this and the London cries is the paragraph describing the occupation of each vendor and the vendor's wares. These

passages stress the value of working industriously and earning money honorably and remind us that "no honest business is to be despised by its being humble; nor should any person be shunned or neglected because he is poor." While observing the illustration of the downtrodden seller of matches, we read "Better by far, thus honestly to earn a dinner of bread and cheese, than to ride in one's carriage with the gains of oppression." The antislavery leanings suggested here might also be glimpsed in the passage on the pineapple dealer. We are told that pineapples come from the West Indies and are fine "for a rich man's table" but that it provides not so fine a repast as New York's native "Newtown pippin, nor... a large West Jersey peach."

Another volume in the collection that serves to introduce children to their world is The People of All Nations, Being a Miniature Description of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Different Nations of the World (Auburn, N.Y., 1820). Each page contains an illustration of a person from a different city or country, some being contemporary inhabitants, others of ancient times. Under each illustration is a description of the people of that place, their customs, costumes, food, and temperament. There being no unified Italy at the time, there are separate descriptions of a Neapolitan, a Florentine, a Roman, and citizens of other cities of the realm. There is, also, an Italian, but he is described as one who has left his native land and is now employed selling toys to children. How much a child could use from what he learned in this volume is questionable, as the author does not always specify whether the costume of the person described is contemporary or from an era long past. Also intriguing is the presentation of the "Ourang Outang" as "a wild man of the woods, in the East-Indies." He is depicted standing upright, his hair parted in the middle, and carrying a walking stick. This reflects the long-held understanding that the orangutan was a kind of human. The name itself means "man of the forest."

Introducing children to animals, as such, was the focus of many children's books. Some volumes on animals were formatted much like the books of city cries, and like *The People of All Nations*, where each page contains an illustration of an animal and a few lines to describe its habitats and habits. Also like *The People of All Nations*, the value of the work in helping children identify animals from the illustrations is highly ques-

tionable, as the accuracy of the pictures varied widely. In *A Description of the Most Remarkable Beasts* (Hartford, 1798), the only copy of which is in the Zinman Collection, children are introduced to animals from all over the world. One might expect that animals not native to the illustrators' home countries would be least accurate, and those they would see regularly would be spot on. However, the volume contains illustrations of an instantly recognizable giraffe, a respectable civet cat, and a nearly perfect chameleon. But the domestic dog appears to have the head of a housecat and the body of a lion. The llama is, of course, not native to North America, so we grant some leeway. However, the depiction and the description present a fearsome beast so far from a llama as we know it as to be fully unrecognizable. She is presented as an animal who uses her "charms... to draw the unwary traveler in, and then the wretch destroy." Thirty years later, *Tommy Trip's Museum*; or A Peep at the Quadruped Race (Lancaster, Mass., 1828) describes the llama in a more expected way,



A Description of the Most Remarkable Beasts, for the Entertainment of Children (Hartford, Conn., 1798). Gift of Michael Zinman.

as "one of the mildest animals in nature." The illustrations in this volume are entirely more refined and demonstrate the breadth of quality seen in children's book illustration.

In addition to their own planet, children were being taught about the cosmos. Books geared toward the very smallest children addressed questions about the moon and stars. In *Stories about the Earth, Sun, Moon, and Stars*, a tiny toy book written by Samuel Goodrich and published by Mahlon Day in New York sometime between 1825 and 1833, the young reader is told that the moon is "a great world . . . with mountains, and rivers, and seas upon it." In another, earlier, volume written for an older audience, we learn more about what children were taught in regard to the universe. Martinet's *The Catechism of Nature* (Boston, 1793) consists of dialogues between a pupil and his tutor. The pupil asks if planets in other solar systems might be inhabited, to which his tutor replies, "Without doubt. . . . It is not to be supposed that angels and men are the only intelligent beings in the universe." When questioned as to why the Bible does not discuss this, the tutor explains that "the bible was not designed to teach us astronomy, geometry, or mathematics."

The laws of nature and the order of the cosmos were important subjects for children to be conversant in, but at least as important for them to master were the rules of polite society. The School of Good Manners set out to guide children in all the finer points of proper behavior. Pirated from an English work called *The School of Manners*, the American *Good Manners* appeared in more than thirty editions from its first publication in 1715 to the middle of the 19th century. Four early-19th-century editions are in the Zinman gift. Much of the etiquette remains unchanged today, though most American children enjoy more laxity in their relations with their elders than was prescribed in this work. Table manners have changed very little, so little that it is surprising to see that some standards needed to be spelled out for children, such as "foul not the table-cloth" and "gnaw not bones at the table, but clean them with thy knife." Any parent or teacher can appreciate the guidance given in this work and understand its enduring popularity, wishing only that it were as easy as reading it for the child to master such advice as "stand not wriggling with thy body hither and thither, but steady and upright" and "put not thy hand in the presence of others to any part of thy body, not ordinarily discovered."

Of course, if a child wanted to reach the age at which this level of politeness would be expected of them, they needed to take care not to allow some tragedy to befall them due to their own carelessness. There were books for that, too. A series of such books was Accidents and Remarkable *Events*, which was published in three separate volumes, or "chapters." We held the third chapter, and now with this gift we have acquired the second, both printed in Philadelphia by Jacob Johnson in 1807. Sage advice is given through the retelling of anecdotes, some historical, others not. The death of King William the Second in a hunting accident is recounted, and that story is immediately followed by the tale of a boy soiling his new clothes by not obeying his father's orders. Caution is advised in proceeding down streets and around corners, and an illustration depicts a woman almost having her eye taken out as she collides with a porter carrying a large burden. For even younger readers was The Chapter of Accidents: or Book of Caution to Children (New York, 1825). In each twopage spread, there was an illustration on the left of a child suffering some terrible injury, and on the right a description of the accident and how it can be avoided. Maladies to be avoided included playing with knives, drinking out of the tea pot, and getting kicked by a horse or tossed by a bull. This could be viewed as a primitive forerunner to the beautifully written and illustrated *Struwwelpeter* of later in the century.

The education of young children was not limited to practical matters. Religious and moral instruction constituted a very large portion of children's book publishing, and perhaps the most influential of this

genre of writing was James Janeway's A To-ken for Children: Being an Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths of Several Young Children. First published in 1671, Janeway's Token was a staple of the children's book trade in America



The Chapter of Accidents: or Book of Caution to Children (New York, 1825). Gift of Michael Zinman.

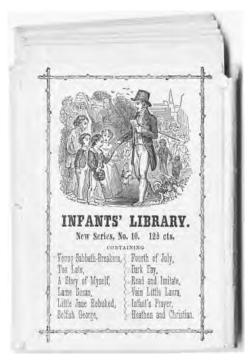
and was re-published a great many times through the 18th and early 19th centuries. The Zinman Collection includes a very scarce 1797 edition from Elizabethtown, New Jersey, and also a number of works created in imitation of Janeway. Among these is an 1814 edition of William Moseley's *The New Token for Children: Being Interesting Memoirs of Eleven Pious Children* (Hartford). A year later, Moseley's *Token* was published in Philadelphia, now with twelve pious children's deaths. The public's appetite for these sorts of narratives was seemingly ravenous.

One author was determined to address the difficulty readers had of sorting through and making the best use of the great number of pious death tales on the market. In his *Examples for Youth, in Remarkable Instances of Early Piety* (New York, 1809), William Rawes arranged the stories found in an earlier collection, *Piety Promoted*, by the age of the children upon their decease. He writes in his preface that "a publication of this kind would be peculiarly proper for schools." He begins with the death of an eight-year-old girl and continues through to the deaths of young adults in their mid-twenties. This seems rather modest in comparison to Janeway, who had mere toddlers announcing the great blessing of their deaths and scolding their parents for expressing sorrow on their behalves.

The grim reality of the time was that many died before reaching adulthood, and the literature reflected this. Fortunately, not all pious children needed to die to teach the adults around them to improve their ways and embrace piety. In *The Robber's Daughter* (Boston, 1819), the protagonist is finally able to bring her father to God through the learning she received in her Sabbath school. Not long after helping him "become a useful member of society," little Betsey gets the chance to sit at her father's deathbed, an unexpected turn of events in this time of fatal children's literature.

On a par with Janeway, Hannah More was one of the most influential authors of children's literature in the late 18th century. More generated the *Cheap Repository Tract* series in England, from 1795 to 1797. Some of the tracts were published in America as *The Entertaining, Moral, and Religious Repository*, and the Zinman gift includes a 1799 New York edition. But it was not until 1800 that they were first published in America as they were in England, as the *Cheap Repository*, and the Zinman gift

includes eleven of these first American edition tracts, printed by B. & J. Johnson in Philadelphia. While most of the tracts in the series were written by More herself, some were written by others, including her sister Sarah, and still others were abridgments of longer works by well-known authors. Tract number 23 was one of these abridgments, of Defoe's fictionalized account of the 1665 London plague. Though these tracts were not solely, or even primarily, intended for children, the small size, inexpensive price, and simplicity of the texts made them accessible. Thus, English and American children could read all about the cries of the bell man to "bring out your dead," and the tales of the sick who deliriously threw themselves into mass graves. The gift also includes volumes one and three of the three-volume first Boston edition of the *Cheap Repository* (1803). Volume three includes some quite charming illustrations from a previous owner, including what appears to be an armless man vomiting profuse-



American Sunday-School Union, *Infants'* Library, New Series, No. 10 (Philadelphia, between 1827 and 1853). Gift of Michael Zinman.

ly. While their literature has changed somewhat over the generations, children, it would seem, have changed very little.

More's influence can clearly be seen in the great quantity of religious tracts produced in the early 19th century by entities like the Sunday-School Union of the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Sabbath School Union of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church. The most ubiquitous of these religious publishers was the American Sunday-School Union, and works published by the ASSU are accordingly well-represented in the Zinman Collection. Six ASSU publications are preserved in the paper slipcase

that originally held them with six others that are no longer present. The front of the slipcase tells us that this group of tiny tracts is part of the *Infants' Library, New Series, No. 10* and that it sold for 12½ cents. The ASSU published works for children in nearly every genre, and some are represented here, including moral tales of good and naughty children and descriptions of missionary work.

Through the literature produced by Hannah More and her disciples, children were to learn gravity, so they might accept their lot in life and prepare for the grave. In his bleakly titled *Early Piety, or Memoirs of Children Eminently Serious* (Philadelphia, 1818), George Burder explains to his readers, "The children you read of here, died very young; from which you are to learn, that you are not too young to die." For being serious was of the utmost importance when you might soon meet your maker, leaving little room for frivolity in what would likely be a very brief journey here on earth. Burder explains that his work is quite different from the nonsense of fairy tales: "You must not expect to find in it any thing about Tom Thumb, or Jack the Giant Killer; such stories are false, and foolish too.... In reading such trifles, (to say the best I can of them,) you would only throw away your precious time."

In fact, there were many authors who walked the thin line between moral narrative and unmitigated fantasy. Though some felt that a story for children must contain only truth, many others appreciated that a well-told tale could bring a child to the truth more effectively than a stern recounting of sober facts. In his Worlds Displayed; for the Benefit of Young People (Boston, 1815), a copy of which is in this gift, John Campbell interspersed ancient and biblical tales with modern stories, all told from the first-person perspective. In his 1800 preface, he defends his use of fiction by referring to its prevalence in both the Old and New Testaments. He explains, "Some may judge [narrative], when fictitious, to be an improper instrument for cutting down the corruption of men; but as God has so frequently used the same method, his example may be safely followed." Some writers of fiction attempted to justify their use of it right in the work's title, as did the author of The Modern Story-Teller; Being a Collection of Merry, Polite, Grave, Moral, Entertaining, and Improving Tales (Poughkeepsie, 1816). Who could take offense at fiction that is both merry and grave, entertaining and improving?

Maria Edgeworth was perhaps the most renowned author of edifying fiction in the late 18th and well into the 19th centuries. Her first collection of children's stories was *The Parent's Assistant; or, Stories for Children*, and the first American edition of this work (Georgetown, 1809) is in the Zinman gift. The first American edition of her hugely successful collection *Moral Tales for Young People* (Philadelphia, 1810), geared to a slightly older audience, is also in the collection, though lacking the first of three volumes.

Americans seemed to have a particular fondness for Edgeworth, as her tales supported the American ideal of industry and diligence leading to material success. The works of Hannah More and her cadre instructed their readers to appreciate, and stay in, their station, and thus be rewarded in the hereafter. Edgeworth, on the other hand, was among those authors of children's literature who advised their readers that, through hard work accompanied by good works, they could be rewarded in the here and now. In her tale *The Lancashire Collier Girl*, which appeared bound with her *Lame Jervas* (Pittsburgh, 1818), Edgeworth explains the moral of the story: "I think it may teach the poor, that they can seldom be in any condition of life so low, as to prevent their rising to some degree of independence, if they choose to exert themselves, and that there can be no situation whatever so mean, as to forbid the practice of many noble virtues."

Little books for children on the value of goodness and diligence were abundant at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th centuries. The Zinman Collection includes many such tales, including copies of early editions not found in any other collection. These include *Nurse True-Loves' New-Year's Gift* (Plymouth, 1786); *Rural Felicity; or, The History of Tommy and Sally* (New York, 1794?); and *Mrs. Pleasant's Story Book* (Philadelphia, 1798). The collection also contains some quite rare first editions of the same type, including *The Story of Idris* (Newburyport, 1813) and the first American edition of Mary Martha Sherwood's *The History of Theophilus and Sophia* (Andover, 1820).

If one name is synonymous with rewarded virtue in children's literature, it is Goody Two-Shoes. The Zinman gift includes a copy of the exceedingly rare first American edition of *The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes*, printed in 1775 in New York by Hugh Gaine. While it remains the

most well-known of this genre of children's literature, it was one of a great many similar tales. The others of these tales would occasionally try to link their hero or heroine with Goody Two-Shoes herself in order to gain some instant credibility. Such is the case of *Dame Partlet's Farm* (Philadelphia, 1810), another tale of a poor woman rising to material wealth through virtue and hard work. It begins, "Dame Partlet is said to have been a very near relation to that renowned person Goody Two-Shoes, so well known to every good child who would rather read in pretty books than waste their time in idle play."

Though many authors employed fiction to instruct, this did not imply an acceptance of works of fantasy. For authors like Edgeworth, the purpose of reading had to include the betterment of the reader, and not just amusement for amusement's sake. There were many vocal opponents of fairy tales and similar works of fancy. Samuel Goodrich, who was more famous by his pseudonym Peter Parley, was one of these. In his *Recollections of a Lifetime* (New York, 1856), he wrote of his first conceiving of the idea for his Parley tales, "the general idea of which was to make nursery books reasonable and truthful, and thus to feed the young mind upon things wholesome and pure, instead of things monstrous, false, and pestilent." Besides being too revolting and vulgar for children, fairy tales were viewed by some as a waste of time better spent in more enriching pursuits. Reading itself was a virtue, but only if the content was elevating.

Nevertheless, fairy tales did thrive in the early American republic, in numerous American printings. Along with fairy tales, children were able to delight in books of fables, nursery rhymes, and adventure novels. Some were edifying, but most were just fun. The man responsible for many of the fairy tales that were subsequently retold and reprinted was Charles Perrault, who in 1697 presented to the world his *Histoires ou Contes du Temps Passé… avec des Morales*, or the tales of Mother Goose, as we commonly know them today. Perrault did end each of his tales with a moral, but this was not enough of a saving grace for those who, like Samuel Goodrich, found them to be too sordid. The Zinman Collection includes a 1795 New York edition of Perrault's tales with both English and French text on facing pages. The collection also includes several individual Perrault tales printed as toy books, including no fewer than six copies of the tale of *Blue Beard* printed before 1830. Not surprisingly, this particular

fairy tale, in which a curious wife finds the corpses of her husband's previous wives and barely escapes the same fate, has fallen out of favor with today's children's book publishers.

Others are just as vital today as when they were first printed in America, and perhaps in some cases more so. Perrault recorded, though certainly did not invent, the story of *Cinderella* as one of his Mother Goose tales. The Zinman Collection includes two copies, one printed in Albany in 1816 and one in Cooperstown in 1834. Both are illustrated, but the illustrations in the Cooperstown edition are far superior. Cinderella's godmother is portrayed in a conical hat and carrying a magic wand that is longer than she is tall. In one illustration, Cinderella is shown in the kitchen, where she is accompanied by two other servants, one white and the other black. Even among the servants, Cinderella is the most haggard-looking, wearing soiled and torn clothes and stooped over the dishes she is cleaning. As fine as the illustrations are, the costumes they depict are rather anachronistic. The women are dressed in the standard fashions of the early 19th century while the men are clearly from a quarter of a millennium earlier.

Another perennial favorite fairy tale is the story of the *Beauty and the Beast*. First popularized by Madame de Villeneuve in the mid-18th century, the tale was abridged by Madame Leprince de Beaumont, and it



Cinderella, or, the Little Glass Slipper (Cooperstown, N.Y., 1834). Gift of Michael Zinman.

is her now-canonical version that is found in the Zinman gift, in an English translation of her *Young Misses' Magazine* (Brooklyn, 1806). The Library Company only holds one earlier American printing of the tale, in the libretto for *Selima and Azore*, an English translation of the opera written by Jean François Marmontel and composed by André Grétry, and based on de Beaumont's version. The volume from Mr. Zinman,

therefore, constitutes our earliest American narrative version of the tale.

Fairy tales were clearly make-believe, but they did often have a message for the reader, usually about the power of goodness and the eventual downfall of evil. But another genre of writing that appealed to children was the nursery rhyme, and here no sense was to be found, no lesson learned. Of course the Zinman Collection includes examples of nursery rhymes. One particularly beautiful edition, in the original green wrappers, has the lofty title Mother Goose's Melodies. The Only Pure Edition, Containing All That Have Ever Come to Light of Her Memorable Writings, Together with Those Which Have Been Discovered Among the Mss. of Herculaneum, Likewise Every One Recently Found in the Same Stone Box Which Hold the Golden Plates of the Book of Mormon (New York and Boston, copyright 1833). Part of this title is certainly true, which is the implication that the contents have multiple sources. The many fine illustrations, each brilliantly hand-colored, have multiple sources, too, including Alexander Anderson, Able Bowen, and Benjamin F. Childs. The work soon



Mother Goose's Melodies, the Only Pure Edition (New York and Boston, ca. 1854). Gift of Michael Zinman.

found its way into nurseries across the young country and was reissued again and again through the century. As promised, it contains a treasury of nursery rhymes still repeated today.

Besides fairy tales and nursery rhymes, other classic works of fantasy are found in the Zinman Collection. Though beloved by generations of children, many of these were not originally intended for the juvenile audience. Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* enjoyed enormous success immediately after its publication in 1719 and was quickly abridged into edi-

tions more appropriate for young readers. One such in this gift is a 1798 Boston edition from printer and bookseller Samuel Hall, with the name *Travels of Robinson Crusoe*. The tiny twenty-page abridgment ends with a brief notice to the reader: "Note—If you learn this book well, and are good, you can buy a larger and more complete History of Mr. Crusoe, at your friend the Bookseller's, No. 53, in Cornhill." Such advertisements were often found at the backs of children's books. Merchants, it would seem, have long known that directing advertisements at children is a good strategy.

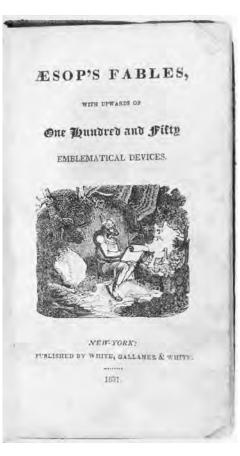
In all, six Robinson Crusoe tales are included in the Zinman Collection, including a German-language edition printed in Philadelphia in 1809. Other adventurers made their way to the book collections of children. Contemporary with Robinson Crusoe, and with nearly the same appeal, was Jonathan Swift's *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World*, commonly called *Gulliver's Travels*. An 1820 Boston edition is in the gift. More ancient tales of adventure are found here as well, including an 1822 New York edition of *The Extraordinary Life and Adventures of Robin Hood* and an 1815 (also New York) four-volume edition of *The Arabian Nights Entertainments*.

Perhaps the most ancient tales in the Zinman gift are those attributed to Aesop. The collection includes two editions of Aesop's Fables (New Haven, 1806, and New York, 1831). Both contain delightful illustrations and many of the same fables, though some fables appear in only one or the other work. In both works, each fable is followed by an explanation of its lesson. For the most part, the fables and the lessons are basically the same in each work, though put into different prose. Some fables, though, are dramatically different, as are the accompanying lessons. Such is the case with "The Eagle and The Fox." In the 1806 edition, the tale tells of a close friendship between an eagle and a fox, which ends when the eagle, seeing the fox is away, takes her cubs and feeds them to her young. The fox is unable to exact revenge because the eagle is high in the tree. A series of accidents involving the nearby sacrifice of a goat causes the nest to fall, whereupon the fox immediately eats the eagle's young. The moral provided is this: "When injured persons are unable to deal with them that wronged them, divine justice will be even with them, and right the sufferers."

The story in the 1831 New York edition is materially different. In this version, there is no mention made of a pre-existing friendship between the eagle and the fox. Rather, the eagle takes a single cub to feed her young, and is entreated by the fox to release it, an entreaty the eagle ignores. The fox runs to a goat sacrifice happening just then, takes a firebrand, and begins to ascend the tree. The frightened eagle returns the still-living fox cub to the mother. The lesson in this tale is very different from the first. It is that a person of the highest rank must take care to deal kindly with those below him, as even a weak creature, when wronged, will seek vengeance, and, "when once that fury is thoroughly awakened,

we know not what she will require before she is lulled to rest again. A powerful tyrant cannot prevent a resolved assassination." While the story in the later edition is less violent and has an apparently happier ending, the lesson to be learned is altogether more violent. It is a narrative of personal agency and empowerment, and the satisfaction of having wrongs righted by the victim in the present, rather than waiting patiently for divine retribution.

The prodigious breadth and depth of literature available to children in early America, and the lessons that could be learned through it, is most striking. Children were reading the same materials read by adults, as well as works originally intended for adults and then adapted for children,



Aesop's Fables, with Upwards of One Hundred and Fifty Emblematical Devices (New York, 1831). Gift of Michael Zinman.

and, increasingly, literature created specifically for children. They represented a large market for book publishers and booksellers, and were more and more the intended audience of many authors. Likewise, books for children represented a large segment of the total printed output in early America. In short, while the Zinman Collection consists entirely of works written for, or enjoyed by children, it is representative of the larger world of early American book production, dissemination, and use. Because of the nature of the history of the Library Company, intended to serve an adult population from its inception, children's literature is one element of early American publishing that we have never been able to consider one of our strengths. Thanks to Michael Zinman, we now have a solid collection of children's literature, and so a much more solid, and profound, collection of American printing.

Rachel A. D'Agostino Curator of Printed Books

Women's History:

Teachers and Students in and out of the Classroom

When thirty-three-year-old Anna Linnard of Philadelphia died in 1835, she became one of many women teachers whose names would become obscure in the historical record. But in 2010, we rediscovered Miss Linnard while we were cataloging the Todd and Sharon Pattison Ribbon-Embossed Cloth Binding Collection (with funding from the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation). Chief Cataloger Ruth Hughes brought to our attention the Pattison copy of the second edition of the Rev. Robert Baird's *Memoir of Anna Jane Linnard* (Philadelphia, 1837), which contains the arresting portrait frontispiece of Miss Linnard shown here. The portrait of Linnard, seated before a Bible open to the Gospel of St. John, helps underscore her religious temperament. Baird writes that



Robert Baird, Memoir of Anna Jane Linnard (Philadelphia, 1837), frontispiece.

she read the Bible two or three hours every evening and also mornings on the days when she was fasting, which were frequent. She was very active in Christian philanthropies in Philadelphia and taught Sunday school. We immediately added the portrait to the "Women in Religion" section of our online exhibition "Portraits of American Women," with a biographical sketch written by our volunteer Janet Hallahan. From reading Baird's memoir, Janet discovered that, by 1835, the American Sunday-School Union had sold more than 9,500 copies of Miss Linnard's Helen Maurice, or, The Benefit of Early Religious Instruction Exemplified. As with the books by Anna C. Reed and Harriet Ware, discussed in last year's Annual Report, the Union did not

name Linnard as author on the title page. The copy we acquired this past year lists the author merely as "A Sunday-School Teacher." The Union kept the title in its backlist through April 1866. Thus, after Linnard herself died at a young age, her fictional character "Helen Maurice" lived on. But ours is the only record in the international bibliographic utility OCLC that identifies Linnard as the writer, with a note citing Baird's memoir, thus bringing her back into the community of 19th-century women writers.

Elizabeth Palmer Peabody (1804-1894), one of Linnard's near-contemporaries, lived longer and was more prominent. Miss Peabody's activities were more varied than Linnard's. At age fifteen, following the death of an infant sister, she replaced her mother as the teacher of a school her mother had opened when her father proved to be a poor breadwinner. Later, in addition to teaching, Miss Peabody ran a foreign-language bookstore in the family house and also published. Conversations with her may have been the origin of many of the ideas developed by Ralph



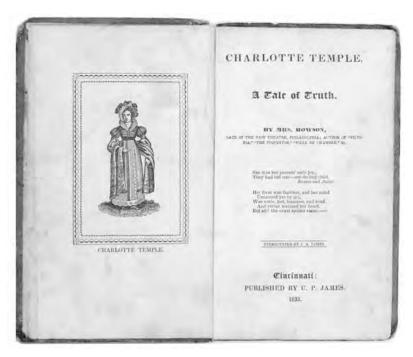
Anna J. Linnard, Helen Maurice (Philadelphia, 1829).

Waldo Emerson, Horace Mann, and others. She also wrote juveniles. In 1842, she published *The Flower People: A Token of Friendship*. According to her biographer Megan Marshall, the volume resulted from a collaboration between Elizabeth and her sister Mary and was based on Sundayschool lessons that Elizabeth taught. (Where did she find the time?) This past year we acquired a copy from one of the many later editions of *The Flower People*, the Springfield edition of 1847. The title page lists the author merely as "A lady," and catalogers generally have identified Mary as the author. In 1843, Mary Peabody married Horace Mann, the prominent educational reformer, whom both sisters may have wanted to marry. One wonders what the dynamic was in the sisters' "collaboration" on the text of *The Flower People*. Did the sisters want to demonstrate their interest in pedagogy in part for Mann's benefit?

Even earlier, in the 1830s, Miss Peabody had assisted Bronson Alcott in his experimental school in Boston. In 1835 her account of the Temple School (as it was known) appeared as Record of a School. Of the first edition, six hundred of the one thousand copies printed burned in a warehouse fire. Recently, we acquired one of the scarce copies, plus a slim pamphlet by Peabody entitled Method of Spiritual Culture: Being an Explanatory Preface to the Second Edition of Record of a School (Boston, 1836). Even though more than half of the first edition had been destroyed, Record of a School became quite controversial. In her pamphlet, Peabody defends Alcott's methods of teaching children to identify their own connection with what she terms "Spirit"—a radical shift in religious belief which became known as transcendentalism. But the following year she became caught up in the fallout from other controversies around Alcott and his school (especially related to Alcott's willingness to teach children about sexuality), and she severed ties with him. Perhaps her dislike of notoriety was a factor in issuing The Flower People anonymously in the 1840s.

Both Linnard and Peabody seem to have been exceptionally conscientious both in and out of the classroom. The print culture in 19th-century America suggests that schoolgirls could be less than perfect. The bestselling novel of the century, Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte Temple*, is essentially the story of a naughty schoolgirl. We have copies from more than thirty editions and regularly add more copies when we can. This past year, we

acquired an 1833 Cincinnati copy, shown here. In the story, instead of following the training of her parents and governess, the title character elopes with a handsome army officer with whom she leaves England for America. Once they are in New York, he abandons her. She goes mad. Finally, after giving birth to a daughter, she has a brief reconciliation with her father and dies. This is not Sunday-school fiction, though. By contrast, in Anna Linnard's Helen Maurice the title character is the girl who learns from observing a bad girl (the frivolous, immoral Sally Brown), who "wickedly profaned [the sabbath] by crossing in the steamboats to the Jersey shore, strolling along the banks, or the commons, and other places where the guilty crowd of Sabbath breakers usually resort." Sally then sinks lower, attending the circus, "low theatres," and balls. This dissipation wrecks her health and she dies, thus serving as a lesson for Helen Maurice. Perhaps not surprisingly to us, the story that focuses more on the bad girl was the bestseller. But the story that focuses on the good girl, with the bad girl merely a grim counterlesson, was the Sunday-school



Mrs. Rowson, Charlotte Temple (Cincinnati, 1833).

book. Susanna Rowson herself became a school mistress and textbook author in later life. We have a copy of her 1805 geography – but *Charlotte Temple* achieved a renown that eclipsed all Rowson's other works.

The naughty schoolgirl who comes to a bad end could also serve as the plot for more sensational literature. For example, we find that the author of *The Touching History of Rosina Jones, the Cottage Maid* (New York, 1854), which we also acquired this past year, has taken a page from *Charlotte Temple*. Early in the pamphlet, we read, "She yielded to the persuasions of a villian [sic], and set off with him to New-York." But the unidentified author goes one step beyond Mrs. Rowson; Rosina dies without being able to have any reconciliation with her father. The tragic scene is represented in the wood engraving on the next page, in which Mr. Jones discovers Rosina's dead body in the snow after opening his front door. One senses that Mrs. Rowson as a writer treaded a thin line; her *Charlotte Temple* is an acceptably moral tale with an edginess—poised neatly between Sunday-school fiction and the racy tale of Rosina Jones marketed to the prurient reader.

On extremely rare occasions we get a glimpse of real bad girls rather than fictional ones. This past year, we acquired three pamphlets related to a schoolgirl named Maria Louise Greene, who committed suicide in May 1866 after having been accused of stealing clothing and money from her classmates at Maine Wesleyan Seminary and Female College. Her body was not discovered until October. The following year her distressed father Jonas Greene published a pamphlet refuting the school's version of the story, The Crown Won but Not Worn, or, M. Louise Greene, a Student of Five Years at Kent's Hill, Me. (Boston, 1867). We also acquired the school's response to the pamphlet, Libel Refuted: A Reply to Greene's Pamphlet (Lewiston, 1868). To our immense surprise, we discovered that we already had Jonas Greene's response to the school's pamphlet, A Rejoinder to the Reply on the Kent's Hill Tragedy (Lewiston, 1868). We're left with the ultimate mystery: was Louise Greene a petty thief as charged, or was she innocent, with the school officials persisting in defending themselves in the midst of a scandal for the institution?

All education does not happen in school. Some can be on-the-job training. For many women, nursing soldiers in Civil War hospitals was a life-changing educational experience. Sophronia Bucklin answered Dorothea



The father in freuzy, tore his grey hairs as on Rosina he gazed at the door, for that night she had perished and died from the winds that blew bitter and cold."

The Touching History of Rosina Jones (New York, 1854).

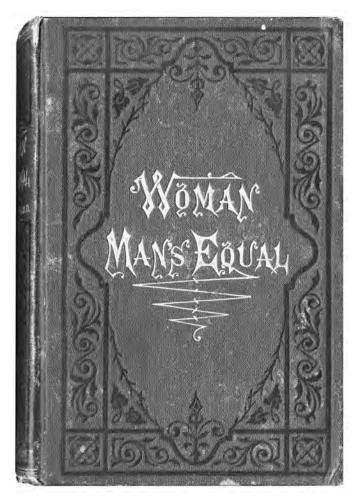
Dix's call for nurses in 1862. One of Miss Dix's requirements was that the candidates should not be "below the age of thirty-five, nor above fifty." But Bucklin tells us she applied despite being too young, in her account of her experiences as a Civil War nurse, In Hospital and Camp: A Woman's Record of Thrilling Incidents among the Wounded in the Late War (Philadelphia, 1869). She writes, "I resolved not to be kept from the great work because no wrinkles seamed my face, and no vestige of grey hair nestled among my locks." Bucklin made friends and took satisfaction from doing the difficult work. She does comment on the difference in pay between nurses and soldiers on page 70: "It was something for all to remember that the poor pittance of forty cents a day and soldiers' rations constituted the pay of an army nurse . . . whereas the [soldiers received] one hundred dollars and upward a month. . . . " The volume itself may have been Miss Bucklin's attempt to raise money after the war; in the portrait frontispiece she appears to be still fairly young in 1869. We are particularly grateful to Kerry L. Bryan for enabling us to purchase this volume under the stewardship program.

Sophronia Bucklin's observation about the imbalance in the pay



Sophronia Bucklin, *In Hospital and Camp* (Philadelphia, 1869), frontispiece.

between nurses and soldiers is interesting, as is her scofflaw attitude toward Miss Dix's age requirement. And there were other, more famous women in the postbellum period addressing women's rights issues. Quite unusual, however, is the Rev. Thomas Webster's Woman Man's Equal (Cincinnati and New York, 1873). Much of what Webster writes relates to the strength of character of missionaries such as the Newells and the Judsons, but he also discusses acculturation of women generally: "From the hour of a woman's birth to her death, there is a continuous system of belittling her, which . . .



Thomas Webster, Woman Man's Equal (Cincinnati and New York, 1873).

is so galling to [her] self-respect that the wonder is that her very nature has not been revolutionized. But women have so long been trained in this school, that they have, to a large extent, adopted the language expressive of their own inferiority, if not the sentiment itself." Indeed.

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Right Living by the Book: A Gift of Mothers' Manuals from Charles E. Rosenberg

Thanks to the generosity of Trustee Emeritus Charles E. Rosenberg and a good number of other donors, the Library Company has a strong collection documenting the history of Anglo-American medicine, especially the nexus between lay and professional medicine. A leading scholar in the field, Dr. Rosenberg systematically has given us segments of his own library. This past year we received his "mothers' manuals" and related texts—a gift numbering two hundred titles, spanning the two centuries between the end of the 17th and the end of the 19th century, the majority destined for our rare collection. As his own research has shown, these texts are artifacts from the long, sometimes contentious, discussion about who had authority over home health care. Historically, the conversation starts in the 18th century and develops through the complex, poly-vocal decades of 19th-century medicine.

In the early 18th century, calling in a trained physician to treat illness would have been an extreme step, taken after domestic or lay practitioners had been unsuccessful. Even physicians saw their role as complementing mothers and other healers who had daily experience with the child or adult who was sick. Lay healers on both sides of the Atlantic consulted books that described symptoms and suggested treatments, often combining herbalism and astrology. Starting in the mid-17th century, works by the English botanist and apothecary Nicholas Culpeper guided those treating the sick. "Culpeper" was a standard reference text for almost two centuries. Our collection includes a volume entitled *Culpepper's* [sic] *Family Physician* (Exeter, New Hampshire, 1824), which was enlarged to contain three hundred medicines "made of American herbs."

By the last quarter of the 18th century, however, the growing idea that physicians' authority, based on their formal training, was superior to traditional treatments and experience challenged the authority of lay healers (especially women healers since women were excluded from formal medical training). According to Lamar Murphy and others, this led to the emergence of the fields of pediatrics and obstetrics in regular medicine. Driven by Enlightenment ideas of perfectibility and the importance of science, the shift had the "accidental" consequence of displacing

women to an auxiliary role in home health care. According to this new ideology, mothers had the job of raising healthy children and preventing disease, thus implying failure if and when illness struck.

To improve domestic medicine, some regular physicians wrote home health encyclopedias. William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* (1769) educated people in how to cooperate with physicians. Buchan also wrote *Advice to Mothers, on the Subject of Their Own Health*, which went through many American editions starting in 1803. Especially concerned about infant mortality in late-18th-century England, Buchan blamed both the parents and the doctors who encouraged women to treat children's illnesses. He was concerned that nurses did not have adequate skills: "Nurses should do all in their power to prevent diseases, but when a child is taken ill, some person of skill ought immediately to be consulted. The



Thomas Bull, The Maternal Management of Children (Philadelphia, 1849); William P. Dewees, A Treatise on the Physical and Medical Treatment of Children (Philadelphia, 1838); John Eberle, A Treatise on the Diseases and Physical Education of Children (Philadelphia, 1841). Gifts of Charles E. Rosenberg.

diseases of children are acute, and the least delay is dangerous." Later American editions of Buchan's *Domestic Medicine* included additional material on yellow fever. The text was pivotal in realigning opinion at a time when the real possibility of death from yellow fever caused massive fear with each annual outbreak. From the catalogs of the Library Company we know that we have had editions of "Buchan" on our shelves from at least 1775.

Other works followed. The Rosenberg gift includes many early books on childrearing directed at mothers. Physician-authors include Thomas Bull (*The Maternal Management of Children*), Arthur Clarke (*The Mother's Medical Assistant*), William P. Dewees (*A Treatise on the Physi-*

cal and Medical Treatment of Children), and James Kennedy (Instructions to Mothers and Nurses on the Management of Children in Health and Disease). The title pages often highlight the authors' distinguished credentials. For example, Bull was a member of the Royal College of Physicians (London), Dewees was a member of the Philadelphia Medical Society, and Clarke was a member of the Royal College of Surgeons (London). In general they recommended breastfeeding, loose clothing for infants, proper ventilation, and attention to diet and exercise. Many of these books had spine titles that suggest the preeminence of the authors: e.g., Bull on the Maternal Management of Children, Dewees on Children, and Eberle on Children. The copies shown here are in their original bindings and show signs of considerable use.

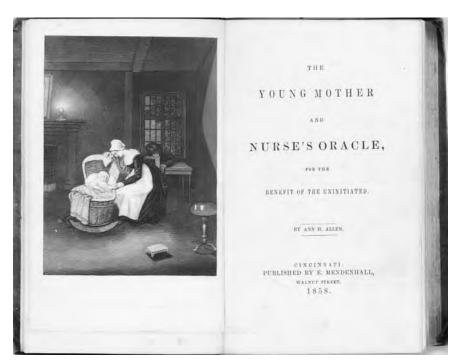
Not all advice books for mothers were by regular physicians. Reform-minded educators and clergymen also spread the clarion theme that people could be healthy if they learned right living from an early age, thus making illness a moral transgression. William Andrus Alcott, an educational reformer who had training in medicine, wrote extensively on the importance of learning the laws of physiology and hygiene. The Rev. Horace Bushnell articulated the responsibilities of parents for the development of the moral character (and coincidentally the health) of their children in his book *Views of Christian Nurture* (Hartford, 1847). Such books are part of a larger body of prescriptive literature that advised people on a wide spectrum of matters related to behavior, occupations, and amusements, literally from cradle to grave (that is, unless the writer advised against the use of a cradle due to the injurious effects of rocking).

The Rosenberg gift also includes works by leaders in the various medical traditions that challenged regular medicine in the 19th century: e.g., Andrew Combe (a leading homeopath) and Russell Trall and Joel Shew (both hydropaths). In response, regular physicians closed ranks by establishing professional standards. Over time, they also became less interested in publishing guides on disease management for lay people, perhaps hoping that the public would then equate such medical works with quackery. And their advice to the public became simple: For treatment of illness, call the regular doctor.

A remarkable number of 19th-century books on home health care were written by women, and they typically echo the regular doctors—

emphasizing the mother's role of prevention and the importance of relying on doctors for treatment of illness. For example, Louisa Tuthill (1799-1879), herself a widowed mother of four, cites many of the bigname authors of mother's manuals in the appendix of her The Nursery Book for Young Mothers (New York, 1849): Thomas Bull (don't bathe infants in cold water), Pye Chevasse (wash children in cooler water in the summer), and William Dewees (don't dress children in a draft). She also provides a number of recommendations for the treatment of illness, but draws the line with scarlet fever ("Send for your physician.") The main text is written as a series of letters from an older woman to her niece, who is a new mother. Mrs. Tuthill (as the aunt) writes that she will give her own opinions and consult "authorities" to provide advice—and she refers to sections of her appendix accordingly. She also derides hydropaths who claim that American Indians rightly bathe their children in cold water in outdoor streams, saying, "Perhaps, it would be better for the young pappoos if the Indian mother could warm the water." Thus, Mrs. Tuthill summarizes the recommendations of regular medicine and also criticizes hydropaths. Rhetorically, she positions the aunt as the young mother's trainer, and by speaking slightingly of both types of "authorities," she positions herself superior to all of them.

Other books defy easy understanding. One such is *The Young Mother* and Nurse's Oracle (Cincinnati, 1858). The title page identifies the author as Ann H. Allen, who may never have existed. Allen together with the publisher (E. Mendenhall) are identified as the copyright holders. In the preface, signed "The Author," she writes, "I have compiled some valuable information, from Dr. Webster [sic] Beach's American Practice." And indeed the book contains passages copied verbatim from Wooster Beach's widely reprinted The American Practice Condensed, or, The Family Physician. What we know about Beach, one of the originators of eclectic medicine, is that he cobbled together his text by borrowing from Constantine Rafinesque, Jacob Bigelow, and others. Compilations of previous writers' works were not unusual—and we may never fully unpack the origins of the text of The Young Mother. But even if "Ann H. Allen" is only a publisher's construct, the book represents a persistence of the tradition of lay women healers, here synthesized with doctor-driven practices. Books by lay healers continued to appear—perhaps evidence of the extent to which



Ann H. Allen, *The Young Mother and Nurse's Oracle* (Cincinnati, 1858). Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.

people did not trust, could not afford, or did not have access to regular practitioners. We are also intrigued by the book's frontispiece, "The Dying Babe," which depicts a woman bending over a baby in a cradle and seems overly morbid for the genre.

In summary, the 2010 Rosenberg gift of mothers' manuals will join our already strong collection on early American medicine. Further study of the genre will contribute to our understanding of various traditions in the management of disease. One of our readers said that she could imagine a dozen dissertations that could be researched without leaving Dr. Rosenberg's house—but now that work can be done at the Library Company.

Cornelia S. King Curator of Women's History

Afro-Americana 2010

The earliest African American professional athletes were prize fighters and jockeys. An example of the former is former Virginia slave Thomas Molineaux, who earned his freedom bludgeoning fellow slaves for the amusement of the master class. He later pursued a professional career in the British ring, and blow-by-blow accounts of his fights are found here in early issues of London's *Sporting Magazine*. And black jockeys are the subject of our new acquisition, a folio of three colored lithographs of jockeys in action at the Washington Race Track in Charleston, South Carolina, by a visiting British artist. African Americans, slave and free, dominated early American horse racing, not only as jockeys but also as trainers, groomsmen, and stable workers. The former South Carolina slave Jacob Stroyer gives us a glimpse of this life in his autobiography, *My Life in the South* (Salem, Mass., 1885). He was raised as a horseman



C. N. Newgate, Sketches of the Washington Races in October 1840. By an Eye Witness. Colored lithographs (London?, 1840).

and did ride in races at a track in the capital, Columbia. He describes the black jockeys and trainers as an elite group, widely celebrated by white race fans—perhaps the only free blacks celebrated by whites in the state—and the position was a route to freedom for many of them.

In the guise of a typical set of British sporting prints, our new acquisition is actually a work of racial caricature, if more elegant than most of the genre. And the bit of verse on the title page makes clear the denigrating intent of the artist:

"British steeds of your speed I have no doubt / But if Yankees an't stouter they are as stout. / A black Jock, in looks like a monkey, / Rides a good horse as an ape rides a donkey." The reference here is to the equestrian monkeys popular in circus acts of the time. We wrote of these in the 1997 *Annual Report*, introducing a cruder graphic, *Jim Crow and his Poney [sic] Never Fail to Please* (n.p., ca. 1835), showing monkeys, named after the famous minstrel character, atop horses in the circus ring. Coming about five years later, our new prints advance the simianization of black people for the amusement of whites.

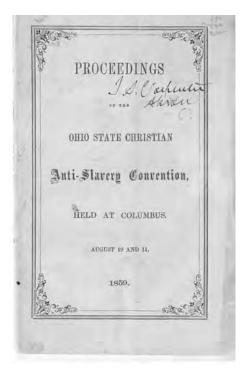
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As usual, antislavery works were front and center acquisitions. Most of the recent crop are religious appeals; some moderate like Chester Wright's Sermon Preached Before the Female Foreign Mission Society (Montpelier, Vt., 1816) championing African missions as a buttress against the slave trade; and the children's book The History of Joseph and His Brethren (New Haven, 1821), a retelling of the Bible story with a mild antislavery slant. Others are militant, such as An Appeal on the Subject of Slavery; Addressed to the Members of the New England and New Hampshire Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Together with a Defense of Said Appeal, in Which Is Shown the Sin of Holding Property in Man (Boston, 1835), an anonymous contribution to a controversy rocking American Methodism through the 1830s.

A rare and important addition is a small pamphlet, a gift from our longtime friend and benefactor Michael Zinman, *Prospectus of the Liberator, Volume III* (Boston, 1832). This is publisher William Lloyd Garrison's appeal for subscribers for the third year of his militant antislavery

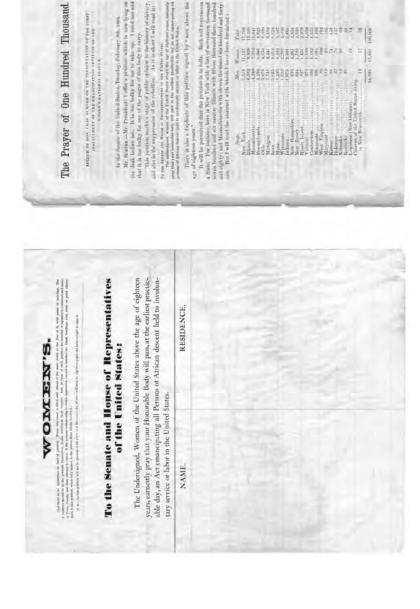
weekly. It is vintage Garrison, the opening sentence, for example, reading "We aim to overthrow slavery in this country." This four-page pamphlet is illustrated with a woodcut of Africans on a slave ship being tossed into the sea. This dramatic and violent illustration, an example of what Garrison's enemies dubbed "incendiary cuts," appears in several issues of *The Liberator* in 1832 to illustrate the cruelties of the ongoing African slave trade. Perhaps its most shocking use was as an illustration in *The Slave's Friend* for 1835, a children's magazine in a small format in which it takes up half the page. Though this is an appeal to the general antislavery public, likely most of its readers were blacks. Garrison noted that in his early years about three-fourths of his readers were free blacks, and, with circulation in Maryland, it likely reached many slaves as well.

Garrisonian thunder reverberates through another new pamphlet, Proceedings of the Ohio State Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, Held

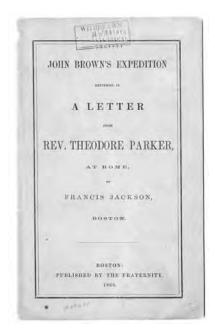


Proceedings of the Ohio State Christian Anti-Slavery Convention, Held at Columbus, August 10 and 11, 1859 [Columbus, 1859].

at Columbus, August 10 and 11, 1859 [Columbus?, 1859]. Over one hundred delegates at this gathering, mostly Protestant clergymen and a few bold like Representative politicos Joshua Giddings, were fed up with the endlessly compromising political system and urged resistance to slavery everywhere, particularly to the **Fugitive** Slave Law. Though urging passive resistance, physical violence against slave catchers was also declared legitimate. This gathering represents the groundswell of grassroots abolition militancy that helped make Ohio a major center of Underground Railroad activity, and no doubt most of them cheered on John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry just two



Women's Loyal National League, Women's... To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States (New York?, 1863), and Charles Summer, The Prayer of One Hundred Thousand (New York, 1864).



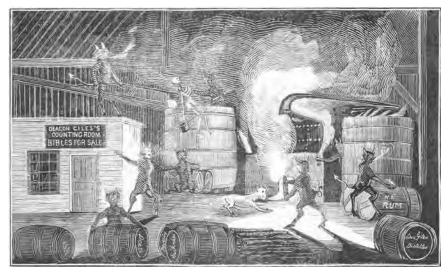
Theodore Parker, John Brown's Expedition, Reviewed in a Letter from Rev. Theodore Parker, at Rome, to Francis Jackson, Boston (Boston, 1860).

months later.

If the Ohio Christians anticipated John Brown's spirit, Theodore Parker was one of the few whites who actually aided the Harper's Ferry raid. This supporter of Brown writes affectingly of his fallen comrade in our new pamphlet. Parker was a supporter of Brown's plan for a slave guerilla army based in the southern mountains, stating as a fixed principle that "a man held against his will as a slave has a natural right to kill everyone who seeks to prevent his enjoyment of liberty." For Parker, the days of antislavery pacifism were over; radical whites working with aroused slaves would be the force to end American slavery.

Joining the fired up clergymen of Ohio and John Brown's allies like

Theodore Parker are the women's rights activists Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the principal organizers of the Women's Loyal National League. A recent purchase is the single-page petition form simply headed *Women's*. Beneath the head are instructions on gathering signatures and the text: "The Undersigned, Women of the United States above the age of eighteen years, earnestly pray that your Honorable Body will pass, at the earliest practicable day, an Act emancipating all Persons of African descent held to involuntary servitude in the United States." In an effort to not muddy the waters with further controversy, these otherwise radical women did not include their customary demand for women's rights along with the abolition of slavery. This was an effort to go mainstream, and to their mind it was successful. They quickly gathered over one hundred thousand signatures on the petitions and submitted them to Senator Charles Sumner, who acknowledged the women's effort in Congress in another new acquisition, *The Prayer of One Hundred*



George Barrell Cheever, The Dream: or the True History of Deacon Giles's Distillery and Deacon Jones's Brewery (New York, 1859).

Thousand [New York, 1864]. This effort by the Women's Loyal National League underscores the fact that the women's rights movement was born in the antislavery movement as female activists demanded a larger role in shaping the movement. And their unpretentious but portentous single page is a valuable addition to both our African American collection and our Women's History collection. We're always pleased when an acquisition can cover more than one base.

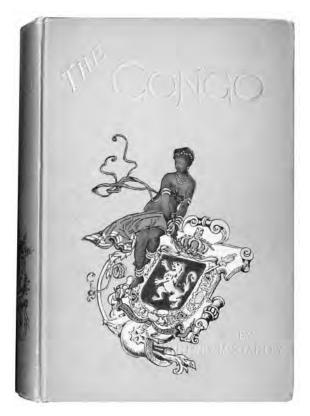
These militant Christian reformers and women's rights advocates illustrate the fact that American antislavery was seated amidst a cluster of reform efforts born of the antebellum Second Great Awakening. Among those reforms was the temperance movement, as represented here in the antislavery writer George Barrell Cheever's temperance classic *The Dream: or the True History of Deacon Giles's Distillery and Deacon Jones's Brewery* (New York, 1859). The work exposes two foul distilleries run by putative Christians and, according to Cheever and friends, purveyors of "the elixir of Hell for the bodies of those whose souls are coming there." Accompanying the purple prose are several dramatic woodcuts featuring satanic and demonic creatures working the stills. This pamphlet also has an African American element. On the title page we see it is published by Thomas Hamilton, one of the few successful African American publish-

ers of the time. The last page is devoted to an advertisement for Hamilton's new periodical *The Anglo-African Magazine*, described as a monthly octavo "devoted to literature, science, statistics, and advancing the cause of human freedom." The periodical became a major literary voice for mid-19th-century African American intellectuals. This intriguing addition is the gift of Trustee Davida Deutsch, who also helped us in acquiring the lithographs of black jockeys featured earlier in this report. Trustee Deutsch said she contributed this pamphlet in honor of the undersigned Curator, and thus we doubly thank her for her thoughtful regard and kind wishes for our African American collection.



The dark side of the African Christian missionary effort is revealed in a new addition, a two-volume work by the famous African explorer Henry Morton Stanley, *The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State: A Story of Work and Exploration* (New York, 1885). The proselytizing by Christian missionaries in Africa accompanied the brutality of white exploitation of the Congo region, turning this vast territory into Belgian King Leopold's personal rubber plantation, producing great wealth by savagely subjecting Africans into a state indistinguishable from slavery. Stanley was Leopold's agent and apologist, double-dealing with Congolese tribes and tricking them into treaty arrangements alien to their cultures that robbed them of control of their lands. Belgian authority was enforced with astonishing cruelty, including dismemberment, kidnapping of women and children, and outright murder.

Around the time of this book's publication, almost simultaneous with the Berlin Conference in which the European powers ratified Leopold's atrocities and agreed to the dismemberment of Africa into their individual spheres of influence, the Congo story began to draw larger international attention. The African American journalist and historian George Washington Williams was one of the first to expose the brutality of Belgian exploitation. Movements began to spring up in Great Britain and later the United States. In the early 20th century protest was becoming widespread, reflected in the rise of the Congo Reform Association, which launched a vigorous campaign to condemn Belgian rule in Africa. Congressional committees investigated, journalists exposed, and such

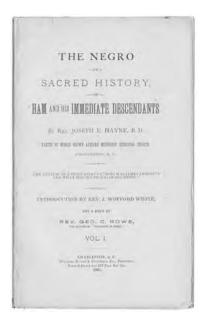


Henry Morton Stanley, *The Congo and the Founding of Its Free State: A Story of Work and Exploration* (New York, 1885).

notable public figures as Samuel Clemens contributed to the campaign, which unfolded just as many Americans were beginning to question our own imperialist ambitions in the campaign to control the Philippine Islands.



In later-19th-century America the refusal of most whites to accept African Americans as equal human beings was known as "the Negro Problem." Blacks found their civil rights and even their humanity under attack from politics, popular science, and religion. Black resistance included the building of schools and colleges for their advancement and a lively literature challenging white racial assumptions and theories. We hold many examples of this important literature ranging from the 1830s



Joseph E. Hayne, *The Negro in Sacred History, or Ham and His Immediate Descendants* (Charleston, 1887).

into the 20th century; an important addition this year is the African American clergyman Joseph E. Hayne's The Negro in Sacred History, or Ham and His Immediate Descendants (Charleston, 1887). Hayne's targets include white Christianity and Darwinian science, and he argues for the primacy of black people in antiquity. His work follows the tradition of Robert B. Lewis, whose 1836 book Light and Truth (Portland, 1836, and subsequent editions), scoured Biblical and classical sources to establish black preeminence in antiquity. Hayne defends the progeny of Ham as the founders of ancient civilizations, and his work is a major effort to foster black pride in the face of white oppression and opprobrium in

South Carolina, a state that was the foremost champion of slavery, the cradle of Secession, and later the champion of segregation until well into the 20th century.

Phil Lapsansky
Curator of African American History

Report of the Print Department

Through acquisition fund purchases and the generosity of our donors, we have been able to acquire exciting new material which built on many of our collection strengths. In 2010 we continued our relationship with many longtime friends and supporters and established ties with new ones as well.

Knowing of our interest in Philadelphia lithography—which culminated this year with the *Philadelphia on Stone* exhibition, the launch of the biographical dictionary of Philadelphia lithographers, and the completion of a survey of Philadelphia lithographs in several institutions—shareholder David Doret gave us many noteworthy lithographs. One of particular interest to us since it was executed by a female lithographer is illustrated here. According to a notation on the image, around 1876 Martha Sharples, at the urging of her father, S. Emlen Sharples, a coal and lumber dealer, drew on stone this image of her family's West Chester, Pennsylvania, homestead. Martha Sharples was probably not a professional artist. She is listed in the 1870 census as a school teacher, but



Martha Sharples, artist, Sharples Homestead, lithograph, 1876. Gift of David Doret.

subsequent censuses do not supply an occupation for her. She did, however, attend the Philadelphia School of Design for Women in 1877 and 1878. That school, now known as Moore College of Art and Design, offered instruction in lithographic drawing and printing. Regardless of her training, Sharples's rendering of her family's more than 200-acre property displays a charming naiveté despite its technical flaws. The figure of the child whittling in the foreground, for example, is far too large for the cows grazing nearby. The Sharples house still stands today, surrounded by a condominium development rather than cows. We do not know who printed Martha Sharples's lithograph. She may have printed it herself as part of her studies at the School of Design. She may have brought it to a lithographic printing shop in Philadelphia. Or perhaps her younger brother, identified as a printer in a late-1870s West Chester city directory, printed it for her. In any case, the lithograph itself is tangible evidence of one woman's foray into the challenging world of lithography.

In contrast to the unpolished style of Sharples's image, artist John James Barralet (ca. 1747-1815) successfully utilizes a sophisticated ar-



John Barralet, artist; Francis Kearny, engraver, Langstroth Mill, engraved ream wrapper, ca. 1810. Gift of Kathryn G. Lesieur.

tistic vocabulary to produce the ca. 1810 ream wrapper reproduced here. Neptune looks out to a ship at sea, while a female allegorical figure sits on a horn of plenty surrounded by agricultural implements. Liberty and an American eagle hover on a cloud at the top of the central circular medallion which depicts workers producing paper at John G. Langstroth's Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, paper mill. The Langstroth mill burned down in March 1809, so perhaps this ream wrapper was produced to

commemorate the reopening of the business. A gift of Kathryn G. Lesieur, this wrapper joins our other ream wrappers, one of which, also by Barralet, enclosed paper from Dove Mill, also in Montgomery County.

Michael Zinman continues to be a generous friend to the Library Company, and this year's gifts included twenty beautifully bound photographic albums, many filled with examples of work by Philadelphia's finest portrait photographers. Designed as decorative objects, some were clear-



Samuel Broadbent, *Portrait of a Unidentified Woman*, half-plate daguerreotype in gold-stamped leather album, ca. 1850. Gift of Michael Zinman.

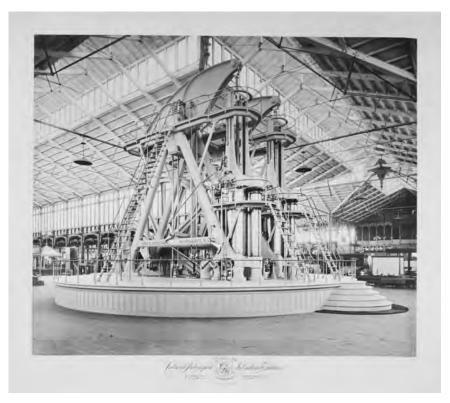
ly given as gifts such as the album presented to John Clayton at Christmas in 1863 by his Sunday morning Bible class that includes portraits by Frederick Gutekunst and the Wenderoth, Taylor & Brown studio. Probably the most unusual item in the collection is entitled *Memory's Leaflet* and contains two half-plate portrait daguerreotypes within a beautiful gold stamped leather album. The relationship between the two sitters, if any, is not known. Philadelphia daguerreotypist Samuel Broadbent took the portrait of the woman, while the man sat for a daguerreotypist identified only by the surname "North," presumably either William C. North or Walter Crane North, who both advertised as daguerreotypists in numerous cities including Boston, Cleveland, and Buffalo.

Mr. Zinman also assisted us in purchasing a significant collection of silhouettes related to the Billmeyer family of Germantown. Seven of the sixteen silhouettes are identified with an embossed stamp reading "MU-SEUM," indicating that they were created at Peale's Museum in either Philadelphia or Baltimore. Given the Billmeyers' ties to the Philadelphia region the silhouettes, both stamped and unstamped, were most likely made at Charles Willson Peale's Philadelphia museum. Visitors to Peale's museum paid a twenty-five-cent admission fee and for an additional penny could cut their own silhouette or, for a few cents more, have Peale's freed black slave, Moses Williams, cut their silhouette for them. In 1803, the first year silhouettes were offered, Peale estimated that 8,800 visitors took advantage of the opportunity to have inexpensive images of themselves taken to distribute to friends and family. Michael Billmeyer (1752-1837) and his wife Mary are two of the identified silhouettes in our recently acquired collection. According to Don Yoder, a well-known collector of German-Americana who brought this collection to our attention, our newly acquired silhouette is the only known portrait of Michael Billmeyer. Billmeyer's Germantown printing shop was the leading German printing establishment in the area, printing the weekly newspaper Germantauner Zeitung, an almanac, and religious and educational books, many now on the Library Company's shelves.

Philadelphia's McAllister family and its connection to the Library Company continues to be an interest of ours, and this year we purchased one item and were given another relating to the family. From James J. Reis we received a late-19th-century photograph of the exterior of the

McAllister family's Chestnut Street optical shop. We successfully bid on a quarter-plate daguerreotype portrait of Eliza Melville Young McAllister (1790-1853) taken by Philadelphia daguerreotypist Marcus Root only a year or two before her death. Eliza McAllister, the daughter of noted Philadelphia printer and bookseller William Young, married antiquarian John McAllister Jr. (1786-1877) in 1811 and was the mother of John Allister McAllister (1822-1896), yet another antiquarian closely tied to the Library Company. We were also the successful bidders at a different auction on more than one hundred items relating to Philadelphia photographer William Nicholson Jennings (1860-1946). Our longtime Annual Report readers with good memories may recall that we featured two large Jennings acquisitions in our 1978 and 1981 reports. Our recently acquired material fills in the more personal side of Jennings's life with many photographs of his wife and young children and their summer camping excursions along Philadelphia's Wissahickon Creek in the early years of the 20th century.

William Jennings's commercial photographic work included serving as an official photographer for the Sesquicentennial Exposition held in South Philadelphia in 1926. The failure of the Sesquicentennial to generate public interest and excitement stands in stark contrast to the public reaction to the Centennial fair held in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park. Michael Zinman this year donated photographs and ephemera relating to both these fairs and some of their European antecedents. We also received as a gift from Harvey S. Shipley Miller and Jon Randall Plummer a large number of photographs including the image on the next page of the Centennial Exposition's Corliss engine, which provided power for the fair's Machinery Hall. The enormous size and power of the engine is a subject well suited for this large (17 x 21 inch) photographic format. Standing over forty feet tall and mounted on a fifty-six-foot diameter platform, the Corliss engine inspired awe in fairgoers. The Philadelphia Inquirer described it as "the one work of American genius which need fear no rivalry from abroad." In 1880 industrialist George Pullman purchased the engine and shipped it in pieces to Chicago, where it powered his sleeping car works until the plant's conversion to electricity in 1910. The mighty Corliss engine came to an inglorious end as scrap metal. The Centennial Photographic Company, the fair's official photographers,



Centennial Photographic Company, *Corliss Engine*. albumen photograph, 1876. Gift of Harvey S. Shipley Miller and Jon Randall Plummer.

produced images as stereographs and as 5×7 , 8×10 , 13×16 , and 17×21 prints, but until this gift our collection included only one other Centennial photograph of the largest size, a view of a Rodman gun (a massive, cast iron cannon used for coastal defense) mounted in front of the U. S. Government Building.

From weapons to taxidermy to decorative arts to geology, the Centennial displayed an intoxicating array of the familiar and the exotic for eager fairgoers. Organizers developed a classification system in an attempt to impose both physical and intellectual order over the potential chaos. What would become one of Thomas Eakins's most famous paintings (*The Gross Clinic*, with its graphic depiction of surgery) was, for example, rejected for inclusion in the Art Gallery display and was instead deemed more suitable for exhibition in a U. S. government medical display. Eakins supposedly took photographs of Dr. Gross as part of his preparations

for producing the large painting, and Eakins's interest in incorporating the camera as one of many tools at his artistic disposal continued in later years. One of our purchases this year, an albumen print cabinet card of Mr. and Mrs. Fairman Rogers and their friends seated in a carriage, most likely relates to Eakins's painting *The Fairman Rogers Four-in-Hand* (also known as *A May Morning in the Park*) executed in 1879-1880. Henry Schreiber, of the Philadelphia photographic studio Schreiber & Sons, which shot this image on May 10, 1879, was a good friend of Thomas Eakins. In 1872 Eakins painted a portrait of Schreiber's dog Grouse from a photograph taken at the family's photographic studio. Included in the cabinet card image are young ladies from such prominent Philadelphia families as the McMichaels, Rawles, and Newbolds and Fairman Rogers's sister Mrs. Franklin Dick, who appears in the Eakins painting as well.

Colin Campbell Cooper, Jr. (1856-1937), one of Thomas Eakins's pupils at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, created the water-color and gouache image of the Library Company reproduced on the back cover of this report. A gift of Robert L. McNeil, Jr., this view shows our building at Fifth and Library streets probably not long before we vacated the premises in 1880. We do not know if the two figures in front of



Schreiber & Sons, Mr. & Mrs. Rogers and Friends in a Coach. Albumen print cabinet card, 1879.

the building are supposed to be particular individuals, but it is amusing to speculate that the woman with the dog is Anne Hampton Brewster, a good friend of then-Librarian Lloyd P. Smith. Brewster received special permission to have her dog in the library, and the dog's presence is documented in several George Bacon Wood paintings of our reading room. Our collection already includes two interior views of the Library Company by Cooper dated 1879, including one with the same small pooch waiting patiently in front of the circulation desk.

Sarah J. Weatherwax Curator of Prints and Photographs

Service and Administration

The exhibition "Catching a Shadow: Daguerreotypes in Philadelphia, 1839-1860," which opened in the fall of 2009, continued into the new year. Drawing on the Library Company's strong collection of Philadelphia daguerreotypes (complemented by loans from other Philadelphia institutions), as well as 19th-century books about daguerreotyping, studio advertisements, and other daguerreian ephemera, the exhibition was organized by Curator of Prints and Photographs Sarah Weatherwax on the occasion of the sesquicentennial of the invention of the process.

Much of the year was given over to the major project we have reported on previously—"Philadelphia on Stone: The First 50 Years of Lithography, 1828-1878." This multifaceted project, directed by Erika Piola and assisted by Linda Wisniewski, has been generously funded by the William Penn Foundation. Over the past several years it has involved surveying half a dozen other institutional collections for lithographs; cataloging and digitizing them; producing a biographical dictionary of hundreds of people involved in the trade; mounting an exhibition; creating a website; organizing a conference; and preparing a book for publication. In 2010 the project reached major milestones by accomplishing all but the last element (the book has now been accepted by Penn State University Press and is scheduled for publication in 2012). The exhibition included a talk by Nancy Finlay of the Connecticut Historical Society at the opening and a major conference, "Representations of Economy: Lithography in America from 1820 to 1860." Much of what the project has accomplished can be found on its website at www.librarycompany.org/pos.

November saw the opening of the exhibition "Building a City of the Dead: The Creation and Expansion of Philadelphia's Laurel Hill Cemetery." This project was a very successful collaboration with Laurel Hill Cemetery, which was celebrating the 175th anniversary of its founding in 1836 as Philadelphia's first "rural" cemetery by, among others, our own Librarian John Jay Smith. This fortuitous partnership came about at the instance of our Trustee Richard Wood Snowden, who is also active with the Friends of Laurel Hill Cemetery. He served not only as matchmaker, but was a generous donor to the project. The exhibition was guest curated

by Aaron Wunsch, a scholar with a deep knowledge of the collections of both institutions. Dr. Wunsch, who teaches in Penn's Graduate Program in Preservation, worked closely with staff members James Green and Cornelia King. There is, of course, a very fine online version of the exhibition, and our website also has an illustrated gallery talk by Mr. Wunsch.

Last year we embarked on our first venture into a partnership with a commercial publisher to digitize and distribute searchable texts of rare materials in our collection. That inaugural project, in partnership with Readex/Newsbank, digitized a great many of our early American imprints (books, pamphlets, and broadsides printed in America before 1820, particularly those we acquired with the Michael Zinman Collection) that were not already included in "Digital Evans" or "Digital Shaw-Shoemaker"—the most comprehensive online resources for such materials. The 2,000 items in this Library Company supplement were previously unknown and therefore add greatly to the universe of rare materials now available to researchers.

Work began last year on another in our string of major cataloging projects funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The new two-year grant will enable us to catalog, conserve, and selectively digitize almost 30,000 uncataloged and recently donated collections of printed and graphic ephemera from the 18th and 19th centuries. These collections—which include materials such as broadsides, blank forms, trade cards, advertisements, almanacs, chromolithographs, photographs, and postcards—constitute a rich primary source for historians, opening a valuable window into the lives of ordinary Americans.

Regarding our topical programs, the "Representations of Economy" conference mentioned above was presented under the joint auspices of our Visual Culture Program and our Program in Early American Economy and Society. PEAES also published Sharon Ann Murphy's *Investing in Life: Insurance in Antebellum America* (a volume in our monograph series published by Johns Hopkins University Press) and awarded several fellowships (see below). VCP at LCP also presented a talk by Anne Verplanck on Philadelphians' use of silhouettes, miniatures, and daguerreotypes, 1760-1860 (co-sponsored by the American Philosophical Society).

The Program in African American History, supported by a grant from the Albert M. Greenfield Foundation, continued at a high level

of activity in 2010. It held a "Juneteenth" commemoration with a panel discussion on the past eight years of controversy surrounding the slave quarters and the nine slaves who served President George Washington at the President's House at 6th and Market Streets; a major conference on "Early African American Print Culture in Theory and Practice" (cosponsored by the McNeil Center for Early American Studies, Temple University Libraries, and Penn's Center for Africana Studies, with a resulting volume to be co-published by the Library Company and the University of Pennsylvania Press); a talk by Murray Dubin and Daniel Biddle on their new book *Tasting Freedom: Octavius Catto and the Battle for Equality in Civil War America* (co-sponsored by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania); and a program on the occasion of the 250th anniversary of the birth of the Rev. Richard Allen, founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church (also co-sponsored by HSP).

Other 2010 programs and activities not already mentioned included:

- a Summer Seminar for School Teachers, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, on Abolitionism, led by Prof. Richard Newman of the Rochester Institute of Technology
- a talk by historian Eran Shalev, of Haifa University, Israel, author of Rome Reborn on Western Shores: Historical Imagination and the Creation of the American Republic (co-sponsored by the National Constitution Center)
- a lecture by Anne Norton Greene on *Horses at Work: Harnessing Power in Industrial America* (co-sponsored by the Philadelphia Area Center for the History of Science)
- a talk by former Library Company Curator Wendy Woloson about her new book In Hock: Pawning in America from Independence through the Great Depression
- a program on William Bartram, The Search for Nature's Design: Selected Art, Letters, and Unpublished Writings with the volume's co-editors Thomas Hallock and Nancy E. Hoffmann (co-sponsored by HSP)
- a talk by Gary Nash, of UCLA, about his new book on the Liberty Bell (co-sponsored by the American Philosophical Society)

- a talk by Julia Miller, the Library Company's first-ever fellow to do research primarily on bookbinding, detailing her extensive research on the Nag Hammadi Codices (co-sponsored by the Delaware Valley chapter of the Guild of Bookworkers)
- our Annual Dinner, which featured a talk by prize-winning author Ron Chernow about his new biography of George Washington
- a special one-day exhibition about Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation that comprised a display by Sotheby's of a copy owned by Robert F. Kennedy, supplemented with related materials from the Library Company's collections
- our annual Junto program for supporters of our acquisition fund, which featured a talk by antiquarian bookseller Clarence Wolf about six great collectors of books written and/or printed by Benjamin Franklin.

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Our research fellowship program, now twenty-four years old, continues to flourish and has grown to such a degree that last year we awarded \$162,000 in stipends to more than three dozen fellows. These funds came from several sources: restricted endowments; renewable grants, such as the support we receive from the National Endowment for the Humanities for post-doctoral fellowships; and annual gifts that support work in particular fields, such as the Reese Company Fellowship in bibliography, and the Helfand Fellowships, one in the history of medicine and one in visual culture. (The renewal award we received last year from NEH provides additional funds to support more post-doc fellowships than we were previously able to support.) And in 2010 we completed the second year of a program of fellowships in Early American Literature and Material Texts in collaboration with our friends at the McNeil Center, funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation. Our list of former fellows now exceeds 600, and the list of the books they have published is now well over 200.

For the 2010-2011 academic year the Library Company and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania jointly awarded nineteen one-month fellowships to support research in American history and culture.

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fellows were:

- Tim Cassedy, Ph.D. Candidate in English, New York University; *The Character of Communication*, 1790-1810
- Dr. Julia Chybowski, Music Department, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh; Elizabeth Taylor Greenfield and Philadelphia Musical Culture
- Dr. Vivian Bruce Conger, Department of History, Ithaca College; The World of Deborah Read Franklin: A Transgenerational Exploration of Gender in Revolutionary and Early Republic Philadelphia.
- Julie Davidow, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Pennsylvania; "Citizens in the Making": Black Philadelphians and the Republican Party, 1865-1915
- Nora Doyle, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; "A Higher Place on the Scale of Being": Experience and Representation of the Maternal Body in America, 1750-1865
- Katherine Gerbner, Ph.D. Candidate in History of American Civilization, Harvard University; *Christian Slavery: A Protestant Dilemma*
- Simon Gilhooley, Ph.D. Candidate in Government, Cornell University; The Textuality of the Constitution and the Origins of Original Intent
- Glenda Goodman, Ph.D. Candidate in Historical Musicology, Harvard University; Songs Crossing the Atlantic: American Identity, Citizenship, and the Making of Musical Hybrids
- Dr. Amy Hughes, Department of Theater, Brooklyn College; Sensation, Spectacle, and Reform in the Mid-Nineteenth Century American Theater
- Dustin Kennedy, Ph.D. Candidate in English, Pennsylvania State University; Nationalism and the Revolutionary Fiction of George Lippard

- Julia Miller, Independent Book Conservator, Ann Arbor, Michigan; A Descriptive Study of American Scaleboard Bindings from the Early Colonial Period through 1850
- Dolores Pfeuffer-Scherer, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Temple University; The Franklin Women: Kinship, Gender Roles, and Public Culture in Philadelphia and Beyond, 1720-1900
- Katie Pfohl, Ph.D. Candidate in History of Art and Architecture, Harvard University; Abstraction's Islamic Antecedents: American Modernism and Islamic Art, 1830-1930
- Dr. Lloyd Pratt, Departments of English and African and African American Studies, Michigan State University; *The Freedoms of a Stranger: African American Literature around 1845*
- Rusty Roberson, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Edinburgh; Scottish Imperialism in the Colonial American Borderlands

The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic Fellows were:

- Dr. Katherine Carté Engel, Department of History, Texas A&M University; Breaking Ties: International Protestantism in the Era of the American Revolution
- Megan Walsh, Ph.D. Candidate in English, Temple University; A Nation in Sight: Literature, Visual Technology, and Print Culture in the Early American Republic

The Barra Foundation International Fellows were:

- Dr. John Richard Oldfield, Department of History, University of Southampton; International Abolitionism in the Age of Revolution, 1787-1815
- Dr. David Worrall, Department of English, Nottingham Trent University; British Theatre in Colonial and New Republic America; with Particular Reference to British Military Theatricals and the Mischianza, Philadelphia, 1778

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The Library Company independently awarded an additional twenty fellowships, ranging from one to four-and-a-half months.

The National Endowment for the Humanities Post-Doctoral Fellows were:

- Dr. Hester Blum, Department of English, Pennsylvania State University; Arctic and Antarctic Circles: The Print Culture of Polar Exploration
- Dr. David J. Silverman, Department of History, George Washington University; Firearms and the Transformation of Native America

The Albert M. Greenfield Foundation Dissertation Fellows were:

- Adam Gordon, Ph.D. Candidate in English, University of California at Los Angeles; Cultures of Criticism in Antebellum America
- Spencer Snow, Ph.D. Candidate in English, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Reading the Map: the Nationalization of Geographic Space, Reading Publics, and the Shaping of Nineteenth-Century American Identity

The Albert M. Greenfield Foundation Fellows in African American History were:

- Dr. Ric N. Caric, Department of Government and Regional Analysis, Morehead State University; Occupied by Blackness: Early Blackface Minstrelsy in Philadelphia
- Dr. James W. Cook, Department of History, University of Michigan; The Lost Black Generation: African American Performers and the Making of Global Mass Culture
- Dr. Peter Reed, Department of English, University of Mississippi; Dancing on the Volcano: The Haitian Revolution and American Performance Cultures, 1790-1865
- Dr. Terri Snyder, American Studies, California State University, Fullerton; Suicide, Slavery and the Rise of Abolitionism in North America

The McLean Contributionship Fellow was:

Dr. Timothy Helwig, Department of English and Journalism, Western Illinois University; From Serialization to Publication: The Uncanny Migration of Nativism in the Late Writings of George Lippard

The Reese Fellows in American Bibliography were:

- Kenneth Carpenter, Harvard University Library (retired); Disseminating Economic Literature before 1850
- Lindsay DiCuirci, Ph.D. Candidate in English, Ohio State University; History's Imprint: The Colonial Book and the Writing of American History, 1790-1855

The American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Fellow was:

Molly O'Hagan Hardy, Ph.D. Candidate in English, University of Texas at Austin; Imperial Authorship and Eighteenth-Century Transatlantic Literary Production

The William H. Helfand Fellow in Early American Medicine, Science, and Society was:

Sari Altschuler, Ph.D. Candidate in English, Graduate Center, City University of New York; National Physiology: A Medico-Literary Exploration of the American Body and Body Politic between 1789 and 1860

The William H. Helfand Fellow in Visual Culture was:

Dr. Sarah Kate Gillespie, Department of Fine and Performing Arts, York College, City University of New York; "One Thing New Under the Sun": The Cross-Currents of Art and Science in the American Daguerreotype, 1839-1850

The Library Company's Program in Early American Economy and Society

The Dissertation Fellows were:

- Katherine Arner, Ph.D. Candidate, Institute for the History of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University; Making Yellow Fever American: Disease Knowledge and the Geopolitics of Disease in the Atlantic World, 1793-1822
- Melissah Pawlikowski, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Ohio State University; In the Land of Liberty: The Squatter Exodus into the Ohio Valley, 1760 to 1800

The Short-Term Fellows were:

- Dr. Aaron Marrs, Office of the Historian, U. S. Department of State; Moving Forward: A Social History of the Transportation Revolution
- Dr. Simon Middleton, Department of History, University of Sheffield; *Cultures of Credit in Eighteenth-Century America*
- Dael Norwood, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Princeton University; Politicizing America's Trade with Asia in the Early Republic
- Caitlin Rosenthal, Ph.D. Candidate in the History of American Civilization, Harvard University; Accounting for Control: Bookkeeping in Early Nineteenth-Century America

Senior Research Associates

- Dr. Richard Altenbaugh, College of Education, Slippery Rock University; Stumbling towards a State System of Public Education: Pennsylvania's Common-School Reform.
- Dr. Lori Ginzberg, Department of History and Women's Studies, Pennsylvania State University; Women's History and the Narrative of American Democracy

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The Library Company of Philadelphia/McNeil Center for Early American Studies Dissertation Fellows in Early American Literature and Material Texts

- Katherine Gaudet, Ph.D. Candidate in English, University of Chicago; Fear of Fiction: Novels and Their Antagonists in Eighteenth-Century America
- Alea Henle, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Connecticut; Preserving the Past, Making History: Historical Societies and Editors in the Early Republic



Our staff continued their high level of public service and professional development. Librarian James Green continues to be a leader in the field of American publishing history. In 2010, his chapter on publishing in the early national period appeared in the second volume of the scholarly, collaborative work *A History of the Book in America*. He also edited, with Rosalind Remer, the January 2010 special issue of *Early American Studies* on "The Atlantic World of Print in the Age of Franklin," containing the proceedings of the 2006 conference that the Library Company cosponsored with the McNeil Center for Early American Studies. He gave presentations on bookbinding (at the University of Pennsylvania Seminar on the History of Material Texts) and on early bookstores (at Florida State University). Here at the Library Company, he was co-curator, with Aaron Wunsch, of our exhibition on Laurel Hill Cemetery. Mr. Green also continued to serve on the publications committee of the Bibliographical Society of America.

In 2010, Curator of Printed Books Rachel D'Agostino created over 1,100 accession records in WolfPAC. These minimal-level online cataloging records track new acquisitions and allow staff and researchers to access the materials prior to full cataloging. In addition, Ms. D'Agostino inventoried hundreds of items gifted to the Library Company but not yet formally added to the collection. Starting in the fall of 2010, she was assisted with these and other curatorial tasks by volunteer Ann Nista, an experienced librarian and former library director who helped process

new gifts, manage long-standing backlogs, and reorganize areas of the stacks. In the summer of 2010, Ms. D'Agostino attended the advanced course in descriptive bibliography at Rare Book School in Charlottes-ville, Virginia, thanks to a grant from the Mellon Foundation for staff development. The course provided her an extraordinary opportunity to increase her expertise in evaluating and describing the physical composition of books from Europe and the Americas through five centuries. Ms. D'Agostino attended the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section (RBMS) of the American Library Association pre-conference in Philadelphia in June 2010. Also in 2010, Ms. D'Agostino was named co-director of the Visual Culture Program, and, along with Erika Piola, created a strategic plan for VCP at LCP that includes developing new public programming with an emphasis on collaboration and increasing the program's visibility through a new website, to be launched in 2011.

As part-time Curator of African American History, Phil Lapsansky selected acquisitions for the collection and advised and consulted with fellows and other researchers on their work He also reviewed fellowship applications and curated two small exhibitions in conjunction with programs jointly sponsored with the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, one on Richard Allen and the other on Octavius Catto. For our Juneteenth program, he organized a program on slavery at the President's House, which featured three panelists and a moderator, all of whom were involved in the creation of the new historic site from its beginnings in 2002. He also served as the Library Company's representative on the Civil War Consortium and as a board member of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society (in its 236th year). Also last year the *Philadelphia Inquirer* published a feature story on the Library Company's collection of African Americana through the decades of Mr. Lapsansky's curatorship.

In the main Reading Room, the staff served 1,873 readers, in the process paging 4,669 volumes. As usual, the summer was the busy season, with spikes in the statistics coinciding with seminars and conferences onsite. In June, our busiest month, Chief of Reference Cornelia King was able to attend the RBMS conference, conveniently held about a block from the Library Company. She also worked with intern Hilary Malson (from Haverford College) on the Women's Portraits section of the Im-PAC catalog. As part of her internship, Ms. Malson created an online ex-

hibition based on a selection of those portraits. Volunteer Janet Hallahan worked on biographical profiles for former Library Company shareholders. Linda August, in addition to her work as Reference Librarian, supervised intern Casey Near (from Scripps College), who added descriptions for more than twenty objects to our online exhibition showcasing highlights from the Art & Artifacts Collection. Working with interns Julie Kress and Kaitlin Ammon (both from the University of the Arts), Ms. August developed a collections management plan for the Library Company's small but distinguished collection of museum objects.

The Print Department assisted 265 readers in its second-floor Reading Room, in the process paging 3,509 items. Curator Sarah Weatherwax attended the annual meeting of the Print Council of America. She also attended a workshop on "Visual Literacy for Photograph Collections" offered by the Society of American Archivists. Associate Curator Erika Piola published articles in Art Documentation and the Journal of the Ephemera Society of America and presented a paper at the Center for Historic American Visual Culture's (CHAViC) "History Prints: Fact and Fiction" conference. Ms. Piola was named co-director of the Library Company's Visual Culture Program. Ms. Piola also was elected to membership in the Print Council of America. Print Department Assistant and Digital Collections Manager Nicole Joniec continued to process all outside rights and reproductions requests, filling 303 photographic reproduction orders totaling 1,104 images. She served on the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries' (PACSCL) Access Digitization subgroup and attended digitization workshops offered by the Society of American Archivists and the Conservation Center for Art and Historic Artifacts.

Under the direction of Ms. Piola, our "Philadelphia on Stone" project, funded by the William Penn Foundation, wrapped up its third and final year. Our gallery hosted an exhibition of the same name curated by Ms. Piola featuring lithographs from our holdings, other institutional collections, and private collectors. We also began work on a two-year NEH ephemera cataloging and digitization project. Visual Materials Cataloger Linda Wisniewski and Ms. Piola cataloged close to 20,000 graphic items working on these two projects. Digitizing for the ephemera grant is being carried out by Digitization Technician Concetta Barbera (who joined the

staff in October) and Conservation/Digitization Technician Edith Mulhern. In addition to working on the ephemera grant, Ms. Barbera also provided in-house photography and scanning for the Library Company's website and publications, as well as for outside reproduction requests. Enrolled in Drexel University's Masters of Library and Information Science program, she is part of the new wave of young professionals who are making textual and visual materials more widely available digitally.

Volunteers and interns continue to provide invaluable assistance to the Print Department's work. In the summer, Ellen Nigro (from the University of Delaware) created cataloging records and scanned images from the Frank Taylor Collection. Throughout the year Ann Condon, Louise Beardwood, and Selma Kessler volunteered hundreds of hours assisting us with inventorying our portrait collection and working on other projects as needed. Over the summer we sadly said farewell to Mrs. Kessler, a retired librarian, who left after twenty years of volunteer service, during which time she helped bring order to our sheet music, the papers of Edwin Wolf, and many other collections.

Information Technology Manager Nicole Scalessa attended the Computers in Libraries Conference in April 2010. With funding from the Mellon Foundation, Ms. Scalessa enrolled at Moore College of Art & Design, completing eight classes and earning a certification in graphic design. She also became Associate Director of Historians against Slavery (and director of its website services).

Over the course of the year, the Cataloging Department cataloged over 2,300 items. Of that number, eighty-seven were entirely new additions to the international bibliographic utility OCLC. Another 2,200 catalog records were updated with new information, additional copies, and/or corrections, demonstrating the need for on-going maintenance of the catalog as better information and new research opportunities appear. Along with their regular Reading Room responsibilities, Chief of Reference Cornelia King, Reference Librarian Linda August, and Conservation/Digitization Technician Edith Mulhern cataloged rare and modern books and serials and updated many existing records.

In the first four months of the year, Rare Book Cataloger Holly Phelps cataloged about 600 volumes with noteworthy bindings. This short project, funded by the Gladys Krieble Delmas Foundation, focused on our Pattison Collections of blue-and-gold bindings, decorated papers, and ribbon-embossed bindings. Starting in the beginning of May, with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, Ms. Phelps began cataloging ephemera in the Helfand Popular Medicine Collection, the Rose and Leon Doret Collection of Business Ephemera, and the Helen Beitler Collection. The NEH ephemera project will continue through May of 2012 and will ultimately include some 4,000 pieces of printed ephemera, as well as visual materials.

The Cataloging Department benefited greatly from the expertise of one of our 2010 research fellows. Julia Miller is a bookbinding historian and conservator. While conducting research on the Library Company's scaleboard bindings (that is, scabbard, or thin wood bindings), she generously added her notes to the catalog records of the books she studied. Now we have 186 scaleboard bindings well-described and easily retrieved from our online catalog.

Along with performing cataloging duties, department head Ruth Hughes supervised the daily operations of the Library Company's joint venture with Newsbank/Readex to digitize early American imprints. Many of the catalog record improvements previously mentioned are associated with this project. At its conclusion, the Library Company's catalog records will be provided to subscribers along with the searchable digital images.

Ms. Hughes continues to represent the Library Company at PAC-SCL meetings. With funding from the Council on Library and Information Resources (CLIR) obtained by PACSCL, several of the Library Company's most significant archival collections were processed and had new finding aids created. The new finding aids will be available in a database with those of other PACSCL institutions upon final review and editing. Ms. Hughes attended a two-day Society of American Archivists workshop on describing archival collections to help her work with the processors and collections. Ms. Hughes attended the Midwinter and Annual meetings of the American Library Association. Her role as co-chair of the local arrangements committee for the RBMS conference peaked in June with about 400 attendees participating in programs and social events. The conference included tours and sessions at many local institutions, including the Library Company.

Ms. Phelps also attended the RBMS conference and continued to serve on the advisory council for the Friends of Johns Hopkins University Libraries. Ms. Hughes continues to serve on the Acquisitions Committee of the Friends of the Oberlin College Library.

In the Conservation Department, Chief of Conservation Jennifer Rosner and Conservators Alice Austin and Andrea Krupp treated 788 items and installed two major and two smaller exhibitions. Ms. Rosner and Ms. Austin continued to be very active in the Delaware Valley Chapter of the Guild of Bookworkers, serving as President and Secretary/ Treasurer, respectively. For the first time in a while, the department staff worked with interns: Renee Wolcott (from the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture) and Laura Beyer (from the University of the Arts). In addition, Julia Miller, the Library Company's first-ever fellow to do research primarily on bookbinding, was here for a month. Ms. Rosner, in particular, assisted Ms. Miller in her study of scaleboard bindings in the collections.

Publicity, Events, and Program Coordinator Lauren Propst processed more than 200 fellowships, produced eleven e-newsletters, and oversaw thirteen events including our Annual Meeting and Annual Dinner. With the help of cooperative staff members she produced one newsletter and completed ten mailings to our membership. Ms. Propst also successfully coordinated two National Endowment for the Humanities summer programs for school teachers.

Chief of Maintenance and Security Alfred Dallasta and Maintenance Assistant Bernard Phillips continued to make it possible for the rest of the staff, as well as fellows, readers, and other visitors, to go about their daily lives, often without full appreciation of how much work goes into making our operation run smoothly. It's all in the details—something Mr. Dallasta and Mr. Phillips know full well. And Receptionist Charlene Knight gets our new readers started on the right track and shows the rest of us the importance of graciousness.

John C. Van Horne The Edwin Wolf 2nd Director

Appreciation

During 2010 the Library Company received, and acknowledges with gratitude, many contributions in the form of materials for the permanent collections, annual dues for operations, and grants and gifts for endowment, programs, and special projects, some of which are listed here.

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The James Rush Society

The Society is named in honor of Dr. James Rush, whose generous bequest in 1869 included works of art, the library and papers of his father, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and funds to construct a new building. Its purpose is to recognize the generosity of those who have designated the Library Company as a beneficiary in their estate plans. The following members comprise the Society as of December 31, 2010:

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If you would like your name added to the roster of the James Rush Society, please contact the Development Office at (215) 546-3181 or development@librarycompany.org.

The following Library Company exhibition catalogs and other publications are paperbound unless otherwise noted:

James Logan, 1674-1751, Bookman Extraordinary (1971)	\$15.00
Made in America, Printmaking 1760-1860 (1973)	\$15.00
Women 1500-1900 (1974)	\$10.00
The Library of James Logan, 1674-1751 (1974; cloth)	\$45.00
Quarter of a Millennium: The Library Company, 1731-1981 (1981)	\$30.00
Philadelphia ReVisions: The Print Department Collects (1983)	\$15.00
Germantown and the Germans (1983)	\$15.00
Mathew Carey, Publisher and Patriot (1985)	\$10.00
35 Receipts from The Larder Invaded (1986)	\$15.00
The Larder Invaded: Three Centuries of Philadelphia Food and Drink (1987)	\$17.00
The Delegates' Library (1987)	\$15.00
How To Make Paste Papers (1988)	\$8.00
The Rittenhouse Mill and the Beginnings of Papermaking in America (1990)	\$15.00
From Gothic Windows to Peacocks: American Embossed Leather Bindings,	\$85.00
1825-1855 (1990; cloth)	
Anne Hampton Brewster: 19th-Century Author and "Social Outlaw" (1992)	\$10.00
The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America	\$23.50
(1994)	
At the Instance of Benjamin Franklin: A Brief History of the Library Company	\$15.00
of Philadelphia (1995)	
Making a Case for Cloth: Publishers' Cloth Case Bindings, 1830-1900 (1995)	\$10.00
An African American Miscellany: Selections from a Quarter-Century of	\$15.00
Collecting, 1970-1995 (1996)	
The Library of William Byrd of Westover (1997; cloth)	\$80.00
Noteworthy Philadelphia: A City's Musical Heritage, 1750-1915 (1997)	\$10.00
"A Melancholy Scene of Devastation": The Public Response to the 1793	\$40.00
Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic (1997; cloth)	
"Every Man His Own Doctor": Popular Medicine in Early America (1998)	\$15.00
Historic Reflections in Crochet (2001; cloth)	\$22.50

The Hook and The Book: The Emergence of Crochet and Knitting in American	\$15.00
Popular Culture, 1840-1876 (2001)	
Traveling the Pennsylvania Railroad: The Photographs of William H. Rau	\$65.00
(2002; cloth)	
The Birth of the Grand Old Party: The Republicans' First Generation (2002)	\$22.50
Manufacturing Revolution: The Intellectual Origins of Early American	\$25.00
Industry (2003; cloth)	
Risky Business: Winning and Losing in the Early American Economy (2003)	\$15.00
From the Bottom Up: Popular Reading and Writing in the Michael Zinman	\$15.00
Collection of Early American Imprints (2004)	
America's Curious Botanist: A Tercentennial Reappraisal of John Bartram,	\$40.00
1699-1777 (2004; cloth)	
Old Dominion, Industrial Commonwealth: Coal, Politics, and Economy in	\$50.00
Antebellum America (2004; cloth)	
The Pennsylvania German Broadside: A History and Guide (2005; cloth)	\$56.00
The Economy of Early America: Historical Perspectives and New Directions	\$25.00
(2006; cloth)	
Benjamin Franklin, Writer and Printer (2006; cloth)	\$50.00
The Library of Benjamin Franklin (2006; cloth)	\$100.00
"A Clock for the Rooms": The Horological Legacy of the Library Company	\$10.00
(2006)	
Black Founders: The Free Black Community in the Early Republic (2008)	\$10.00
Afro-Americana, 1553-1906. 2nd expanded edition (2008; cloth)	\$125.00
Buying into the World of Goods: Early Consumers in Backcountry	\$55.00
Virginia (2009; cloth)	
Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore (2009)	\$25.00
Investing in Life: Insurance in Antebellum America (2010)	\$65.00

Many of our publications are available through our online store: www.librarycompany.org
Members receive a 20% discount.

BACK COVER: Colin Campbell Cooper, Jr. (1856-1937), *Library Hall*, watercolor and gouache drawing, ca. 1875. Bequest of Robert L. McNeil, Jr.