

THE ANNUAL REPORT  
OF THE  
LIBRARY COMPANY  
OF PHILADELPHIA  
FOR THE YEAR 2012

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*PHILADELPHIA:*

The Library Company of Philadelphia  
1314 Locust Street  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107  
2013

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## REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

I am pleased and proud to relate that individual contributions, membership support, and foundation support all grew in 2012, and that at the close of the year our endowment fund had reached almost \$26,000,000.

Noteworthy gifts received last year include a William Penn Foundation grant of \$165,000 to support refurbishment of the Library Company's almost-fifty-year-old elevator. Judith Goffman Cutler and Laurence S. Cutler of the National Museum of American Illustration made a \$100,000 contribution in recognition of Beatrice Garvan. Nancy and Theodate Coates continued their tradition of providing leadership annual support for facilities initiatives with a generous contribution of \$100,000. And an anonymous donor gave \$75,000 to support the acquisition, conservation, and comprehensive digitization of Peter Collinson's extra-illustrated copy of William Maitland's *History of London* (1739), discussed at length later in this *Annual Report*.

The institution of term limits for Trustees in 2009 continued to result in significant transitions for the Board in 2012. While it is hard to watch dear friends and dedicated champions of the Library Company step down from the Board, it is thrilling to add accomplished new Trustees. In 2012, we had the excellent fortune to welcome Rebecca W. Bushnell, Michael B. Mann, and Randall M. Miller. Rebecca Bushnell is School of Arts and Sciences Overseers Professor of English at the University of Pennsylvania. Michael Mann is a founding partner of Mann Mann Jensen Partners LP. Randall Miller is the William Dirk Warren '50 Sesquicentennial Chair and Professor of History at Saint Joseph's University and also serves on the Advisory Council of our Program in African American History.

The Board has already benefitted enormously from the experience and expertise of these newest members. We were additionally pleased to reelect Charles B. Landreth, who chairs our Nominating and Governance Committee, for a second term. Martha Hamilton Morris and Howell K. Rosenberg, both wise and thoughtful Trustees and generous donors to the institution, reached the limit for their terms of service and were elected Trustees Emeriti.

On a more somber note, we record the passing early in 2013 of Trustee Emeritus and former Assistant Librarian Gordon M. Marshall. While on the staff from 1971 to 1993, he revived the exhibition program and oversaw a major renovation of Library Company's facilities in 1993. After nine years of retirement Gordon joined the Board in 2002 and became Emeritus in 2012. He was dedicated to the Library Company and will be sorely missed.

Detailed reports on acquisitions for the year appear in the following pages—those essays that have been so prized by scholars, librarians, collectors, and our members for so many years—but I cannot conclude my report for 2012 without offering some reflection on the meaning for this institution of our purchase of Peter Collinson's copy of Matitland's *History of London*. Collinson played an enormous role in the life and career of Benjamin Franklin and served as the Library Company's first book purchasing agent.

It was what Trustee Davida Deutsch characterized as serendipity, though, that brought the volume into our collection. John O'Mara of the London bookseller Maggs Bros., Ltd., who knew about the connection between Peter Collinson and this institution, happened to see the book among the wares of another bookseller at the New York Antiquarian Book Fair in the spring of 2012. He was sure that the Library Company would jump at the chance to own this document of Collinson's encyclopedic knowledge and interests. Mr. O'Mara happened to know that Mrs. Deutsch was a Library Company Trustee; also at the Fair was her fellow Trustee Clarence Wolf, and together they were able to arrange the purchase within minutes. This volume is now back in the family thanks to the quick action of our network of loyal friends, volunteers, and fans who made this connection.

B. Robert DeMento  
*President*

# REPORT OF THE TREASURER

*Year Ended December 31, 2012*

	<u>Unrestricted</u>	<u>Temporarily Restricted</u>	<u>Permanently Restricted</u>	<u>Total</u>
REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT				
Contributions	\$ 345,128	\$ 45,566	\$ 145,743	\$ 536,437
Dues	96,693	-	-	96,693
Grants	493,751	217,000	-	710,751
Interest & dividends	129,735	-	551,738	681,473
Realized gain on sales of marketable investment securities	197,903	-	837,638	1,035,541
Unrealized gain on marketable investment securities	264,838	-	1,118,525	1,383,363
Library Services	224,498	-	-	224,498
	<u>1,752,546</u>	<u>262,566</u>	<u>2,653,644</u>	<u>4,668,756</u>
Net assets released from restrictions	<u>1,483,832</u>	<u>(356,189)</u>	<u>(1,127,643)</u>	<u>-</u>
TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT	<u>3,236,378</u>	<u>(93,623)</u>	<u>1,526,001</u>	<u>4,668,756</u>
EXPENSES				
Program	2,259,916	-	-	2,259,916
Management & general	396,840	-	-	396,840
Fundraising	227,890	-	-	227,890
TOTAL EXPENSES	<u>2,884,646</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2,884,646</u>
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS	351,732	(93,623)	1,526,001	1,784,110
NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR	<u>9,822,008</u>	<u>2,376,536</u>	<u>21,700,635</u>	<u>33,899,179</u>
NET ASSETS, END OF YEAR	<u>\$ 10,173,740</u>	<u>\$2,282,913</u>	<u>\$23,226,636</u>	<u>\$35,683,289</u>

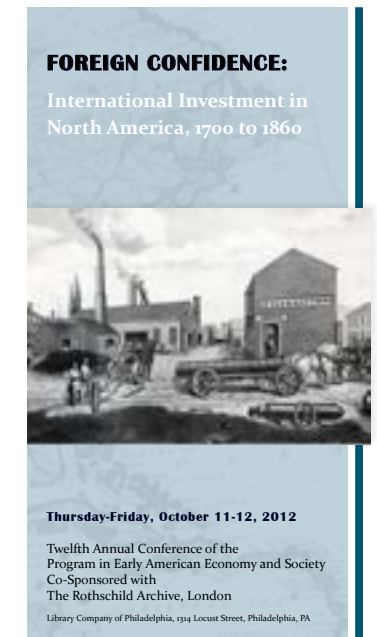
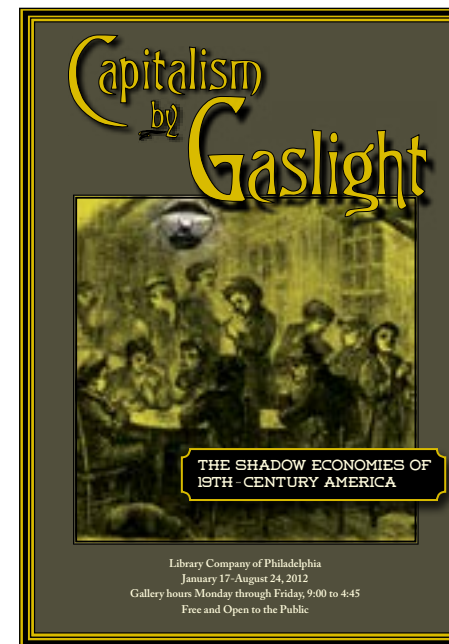
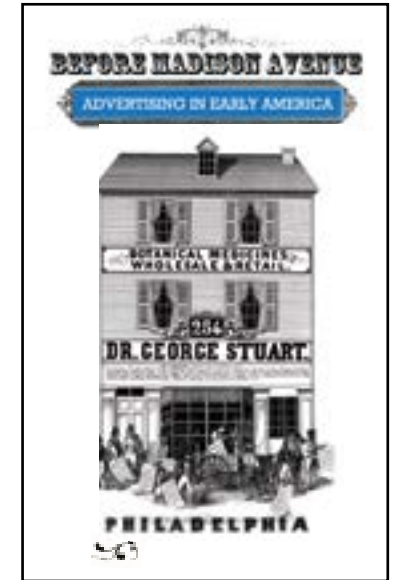
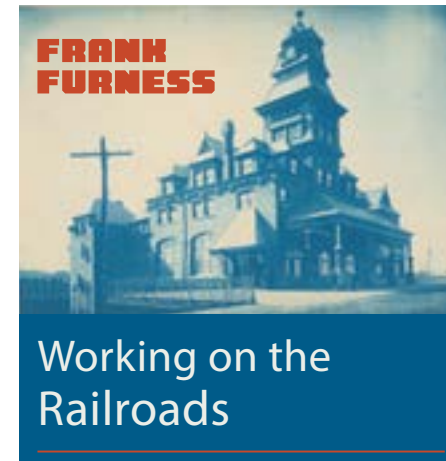
The complete financial statements, along with the report of our certified public accountants, are available at the Library Company.

Robert J. Christian, *Treasurer*

## REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

While 2012 was not my last year in the corner office, it will be the last year on which it is my pleasure to report in these pages, as the report for 2013 will be issued by my successor in 2014. Preparing this report has prompted me to reflect on how much has changed since my appointment in 1985. Of course, there are the basic measures of sustained institutional growth: budget, endowment, members, staff, and programs. But that framework has undergirded a coming-of-age that is qualitative as well. The Library Company has grown into its role as a cultural organization—America’s oldest—in whole new ways over these many years, fulfilling Benjamin Franklin’s basic understanding of the role of a library in serving the needs and enhancing the lives of citizens. Today we offer a robust array of exhibitions, fellowships, conferences, and lectures that engage scholars and the public with our collections and the research conducted in them, all the while building those collections through tightly focused acquisitions and maintaining them to the highest standards for cataloging and conservation. These myriad activities are described at length in the following sections of this report. On these introductory pages I’d like to focus briefly on two particular areas that have seen perhaps the most change in recent decades—our collaborations and our increasing use of technology.

Today, the Library Company is actively sought out as a program partner by institutions and organizations throughout our region and beyond. Collaborations bring our collections and scholarly resources to new audiences and enable us to magnify our impact. The list of partners for 2012 alone includes the Rothschild Archive, London (the annual conference of our Program in Early American Economy and Society, on international investment in early America); the American Antiquarian Society (the conference “Before Madison Avenue: Advertising in Early America,” with sessions held in both Worcester, Mass., and at the Library Company); the American Philosophical Society (two jointly sponsored lecture programs); the McNeil Center for Early American Studies (the conference “Capitalism by Gaslight: The Shadow Economies of 19th-Century America” and a joint fellowship program in Early American Literature and



2012 Collaborative Programs

Material Texts); Furness 2012 (a city-wide commemoration of architect Frank Furness's life and work on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his death); the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (many research fellowships jointly awarded); and public programs and lectures co-sponsored by HSP, the Delaware Valley Chapter of the Guild of Book Workers, and the English Speaking Union. And of course there are the numerous consortia established for various purposes in which the Library Company takes an active, and often a leadership, role: the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries, the Philadelphia Area Center for the History of Science, the Independent Research Libraries Association, the Civil War History Consortium, and the OCLC Research Library Partnership. Finally, there are collaborations with the publishers who disseminate the tangible results of our scholarly enterprises, such as conference proceedings, exhibition catalogs, and bibliographies. In 2012 these partners included the University of Pennsylvania Press, the University of Georgia Press, Penn State University Press, and the quarterly journal *Pennsylvania History*. All of these connections ensure that the Library Company is unremittingly outward-looking and does not become set in its ways, and that we engage in partnerships that enhance our ability to serve our readers, members, and the interested public.

Perhaps our most unusual collaboration of 2012 was marshalling the thoughtful contributions of more than fifty scholars for a rather non-traditional *festschrift* for Phillip Lapsansky, who retired after more than forty years of service to the Library Company as Chief of Reference and Curator of African American History. *Phil Lapsansky: Appreciations* is a collection of pithy essays containing both heartfelt reflections about Phil and discussions of particular works in our collections associated with Phil—whether rare books, pamphlets, graphics, manuscripts, or ephemera—that played an important part in these collaborators' research.

As for technology, we utilized it in ever greater ways in 2012 to fulfill our mission. With funding from the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, the Program in African American History created an electronic user's guide to the African Americana Collection that includes a general introduction to conducting research in the Reading Room. The guide takes the form of an animated "app" accessible from the Library Company's home page, and it was in place in time for the arrival in July of

the sixteen participants in our National Endowment for the Humanities-funded Summer Seminar for School Teachers on the Abolition movement. Building on the rich syllabus developed for that Seminar by guest instructor Richard Newman of the Rochester Institute of Technology, the Library Company also developed an automated walking tour of Abolitionist sites around the city. Through our partnership with technology start-up Lokadot in its pilot phase, we were able to upload images and brief audio clips for about fifteen sites important in the history of the Abolition movement that can be launched from any web browser or from a mobile phone.

In our continuing digitization efforts, the Library Company completed work on an NEH-funded project to digitize a selection of our 18th- and 19th-century ephemera. More than 8,400 digital images of collection materials were created over the span of the grant period. Early in the year, we embarked on a large-scale project with Readex/Newsbank to digitize cover-to-cover our extraordinary African Americana Collection of more than 12,000 printed works dating from 1535 to 1922. This massive seven-year project will produce fully searchable images of nearly two million individual pages. Adam Matthew Digital, another commercial publisher, added images of more than 120 items from our collection relating to wheat and oil to its Global Commodities electronic database. And Alexander Street Press scanned 10,000 images relating to the Civil War for a product that will combine our holdings with those from the American Antiquarian Society, the New-York Historical Society, and the Virginia Historical Society. We also enhanced our website and created an additional 2,000 digital images for online exhibitions and publications.

In all, while I believe the Library Company has come a long way, I believe equally firmly that it has many more miles to go, and that its future will be as bright as its storied past. I thank you all for accompanying me on what has been a truly marvelous journey.

John C. Van Horne  
*The Edwin Wolf 2nd Director*

## *Peter Collinson, Benjamin Franklin, and The Library Company*

This year's acquisition of Peter Collinson's annotated and extra-illustrated copy of William Maitland's *History of London* (London, 1739) is something to celebrate and also an opportunity to reconsider Collinson's long and formative relationship with the Library Company (as our agent in London) and with Benjamin Franklin (as a publisher of his *Experiments and Observations on Electricity*). But first, who was Collinson, and why is this book of his so interesting?

Peter Collinson (1694-1768) was a London Quaker cloth merchant who specialized in exporting fine fabrics to America. His great passion

was botany, however, and he became an extensive importer of American plants and seeds, which he solicited from American naturalists, such as John Bartram, Joseph Breintnall, and James Logan, and distributed to eminent English naturalists as well as to gardeners and landowners. He was at the center of a huge international network of botanical exchange that introduced scores of new species to England and helped transform its landscape; and he did more than anyone else to foster the study of botany in North America.

Collinson was born



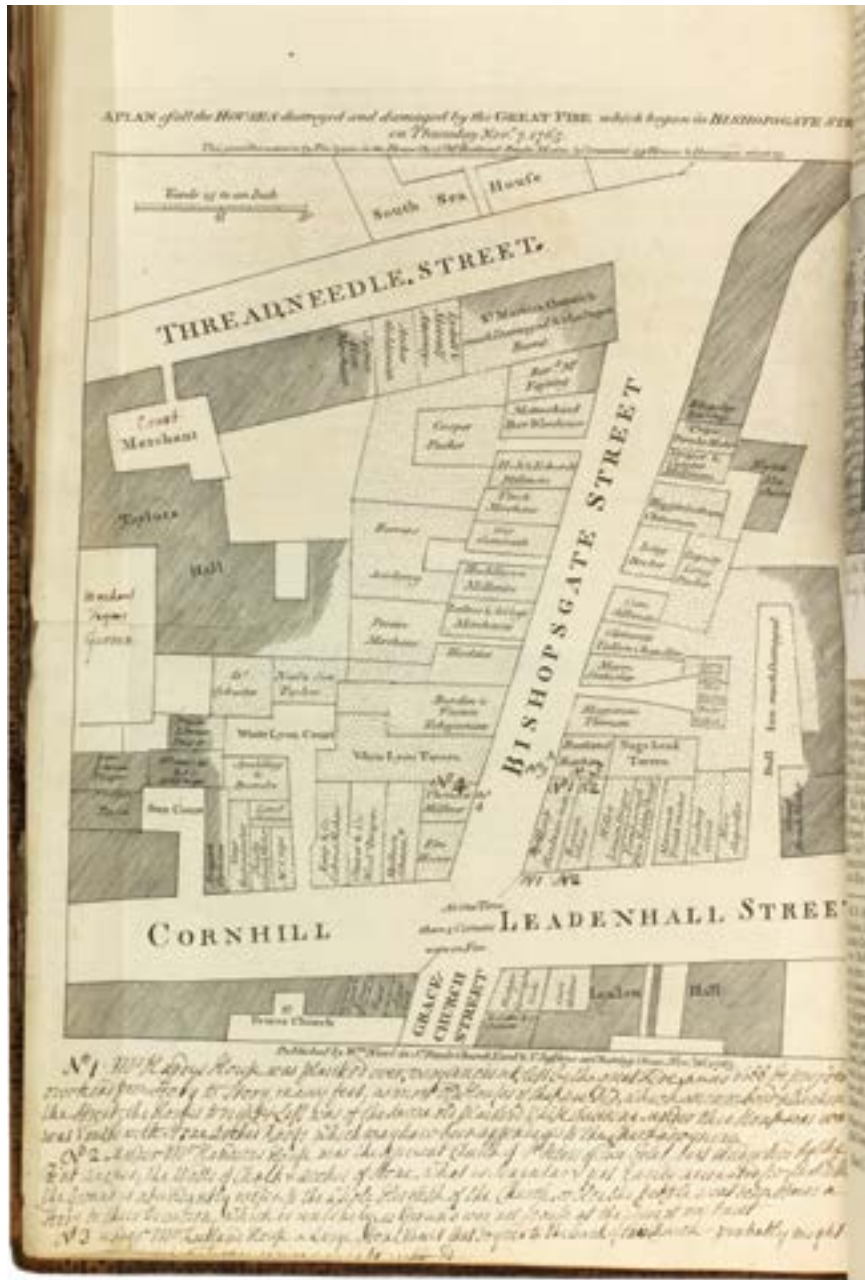
Engraved frontispiece from John Fothergill, *Some Account of the Late Peter Collinson* (London, 1770). Gift of John Dickinson Logan, 1871.

in London, but he was raised by his maternal grandmother Martha Hall in Peckham, now a suburb but then notable for its market gardens and orchards. Collinson later wrote that Mrs. Hall inspired his "first Liking to Gardens and plants. Her Garden was remarkable for its fine Cut Greens, the fashion of those times & for Curious Flowers." By age seventeen he was working for his abusive father, a cloth merchant in the heart of London; but he continued to see his beloved grandmother. "I went often with her to visit Gardens round London to buy Fruit & Flowers & Clip'd Yews in shapes of Birds, Dogs, Men & Ships," he wrote. Thus through the medium of its gardens he came to a wider knowledge of London, which fed his interest in history, and in particular the history of his city. He rapidly became a prominent figure in both fields as a Fellow of two august learned societies, the Royal Society and the Society of Antiquaries.

The acquisition we are celebrating is an artifact of this interest in history. It is a stately folio volume covering the history of London "from its foundation by the Romans, to the present time" illustrated with twenty-five splendid plates. To this volume Collinson added manuscript notes and engravings from other sources over a period of time ranging (judging from those notes that are dated) from the mid-1750s almost up to his death in 1768. The most extensive annotations are on blank leaves inserted at the front of the book. At the head of one of these leaves he wrote: "Peter Collinson, F.R.S., S.A.S., [etc.] observes more remarkable publick edifices, buildings & enlargements has happened in his memory from the year 1702 (I was then eight years old) to the year 1759 then in any era of that number of years before." At the head of another leaf he wrote, "Stow the indefatigable antiquary [whose 1598 *Survey of London* is the precursor to Maitland's *History*] remarks how much the ground has been raised in Leaden Hall Street. I have taken notice of the same in laying the foundation of St. Katharine Coleman [when it was rebuilt in 1741] in Fenchurch Street was 17 feet before they came to the virgin soil." These were the two most common themes of his notes: the inconceivable antiquity of London and its transformation in his lifetime.

Other notes are more personal, such as his account of the horrifying experiences of his grandmother Hall during the great plague of 1665 and the great fire of 1666. This is supplemented by his insertion of a large

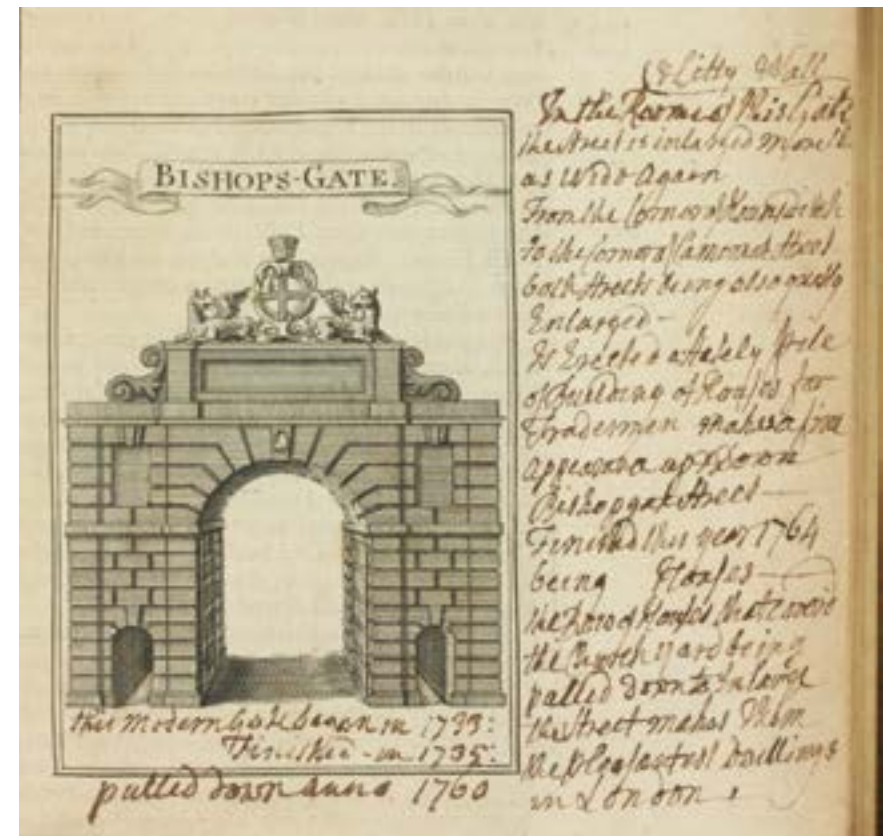




*A Plan of all the Houses destroyed and damaged by the Great Fire which began in Bishopsgate Street on Thursday Novr. 7. 1765* (London, 1765), inserted in William Maitland, *History of London* (London, 1739), Peter Collinson's copy, purchase.

folding plate from the mid-18th century showing a plan of London in Queen Elizabeth's day contrasted with a view of the ruins of the city after the fire of 1666. He took a great interest as well in London's smaller fires, inserting detailed printed maps of the destruction caused by fires in his neighborhood in 1748 and 1765. In 1765 fire struck close to Collinson's house in Gracechurch Street, and he was able to make several corrections to this engraved plan of the damaged properties.

Still other notes are updates, corrections, or supplements to Maitland's text, based on personal knowledge or other published sources. An example is the long note next to the illustration of the ancient Bishops Gate, another landmark in his neighborhood, giving much additional detail, and concluding with a final "pulled down anno 1760." Collinson



One of the many views set into Maitland's text shows one of the old gates in the London wall, which Collinson noted as "pulled down anno. 1760."



clearly did not think Maitland had the last word on the city's history. He also added a number of engravings from other books, including a nicely colored copy of a foldout "General View of the City of London" (London: John Bowles, 1764?) and another view of London that he noted as "Taken from James Howel's History of London 1697." These inserted views call attention to the fact that most of the illustrations originally included in the book are views of single buildings, and there is no overall view of the city in its then-current state. The Preface admits the book's most glaring defect, the lack of an up-to-date map. Collinson corrected that by inserting a 1762 "New and Accurate Plan of the Cities of London and Westminster, including the New Roads & New Buildings."

Maitland was a fellow member of the Royal Society, and Collinson was a sponsor of his work, as indicated by his name on the list of subscribers, where he was identified as "Mercer." (Collinson blotted out "Mercer" and wrote in "F.R.S., S.A.S. &c &c."). Was he a collaborator in Maitland's antiquarian researches? Many antiquaries and naturalists at this time worked collaboratively in gathering specimens or documents. When they published their findings, they expected others to come forward with more specimens and documents, which would then be published in a revised edition. In 1756 a second edition of Maitland's book claimed to correct all the defects in the first edition and continue the story down to the present. We have that edition, and indeed it has been substantially rewritten, and the number of plates greatly increased; but we can find none of Collinson's corrections reflected there, and in any case most of his dated notes were inserted after 1756. It is possible that he hoped to contribute to a third edition, but Maitland died in 1757, and the third and fourth editions were reissues of the 1756 edition—in effect remainders. All in all, this possibility seems remote. Collinson's annotations were too personal to be published, and his informal syntax and penmanship confirm the impression. It is more likely, and also more interesting, to suppose that towards the end of his life he began to use this book as a sort of filing cabinet for printed ephemera about London and a template into which he could insert his recollections about how it had changed in his lifetime. He probably meant it mostly as a memento for his family, and indeed his descendants added occasional notes into the 20th century.

Collinson was so important to the Library Company, that it comes as a surprise that we know so little about how he got involved with us in the first place. In March of 1732, as the Library Company was drawing up its first order of books to send to London, the minutes record that one member of the Board of Directors, "Robert Grace to expedite the Affair, offer'd to draw upon his Correspondent in London for such a Sum in Sterling as would answer the Money in the Treasurer's Hands, . . . and the Directors unanimously agreed to accept his offer of a Bill on Peter Collinson Mercer." In his *Autobiography* Franklin described Grace as "a young Gentleman of some Fortune, generous, lively and witty, a Lover of Punning and of his Friends." He was probably the richest of Franklin's friends; he helped finance his printing business, and later he was the manufacturer of Franklin stoves. Presumably Collinson was his correspondent for business rather than scientific affairs. When the books arrived in Philadelphia, there was a letter from Collinson to the Directors beginning "Gentlemen, I am a Stranger to most of you," and enclosing a gift of two books to encourage their project. In their reply they thanked him for assisting "in the Choice and purchase of our Books, and the valuable present you have so generously made us." With that assistance and that gift, Collinson became our agent. There is no sign that Collinson had any previous acquaintance with anyone else connected with the Library Company, or that Grace expected him to do anything besides cash our check. Why did he so enthusiastically embrace the project of an unknown group of colonial artisans? We do not know. Collinson went on to serve as our agent for more than thirty years without payment, supplying nearly a thousand books, many of them his gifts.

The most interesting of Collinson's gifts was a group of about thirty 17th- and early 18th-century pamphlets about America, which he sent in 1755. All of them are famous rarities, such as George Mourt's *Relation* (London, 1622), the first published account of Plymouth Colony; and *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia* (London, 1610), one of the earliest publications of the Virginia Company calling for the continuation of the colony. This magnificent gift was a testimony to his interest in the early history of America and to his hope that the Library Company would become a counterpart to his own Society of Antiquaries. We did not rise to his challenge. Franklin thanked him in a perfunc-

tory way for the “Curious” accounts of “the first Settlement of the Colonies,” but the gift was otherwise unrecorded, and nothing similar was added to the collection for a century. Not until the mid-19th century did we, along with a host of other libraries and collectors, begin to respond to the allure of early Americana. Many of the Collinson pamphlets were then placed on exhibition, which turned the title pages brown; and in the 1930s many were rebound, which erased other signs of provenance. Only recently, in the process of researching the Maitland acquisition, did we identify all the early Americana Collinson gave us and add provenance notes to our catalog records.

When and how Collinson first made direct contact with Franklin is another question. By the mid-1740s he was corresponding frequently on botanical matters as well as library business with our secretary Joseph Breintnall, but not yet with Franklin. As long as Breintnall was the person who signed all the letters the Library Company sent to London, Franklin may well have remained a “stranger” to him. The first certain correspondence between them took place in 1746, when Breintnall committed suicide and Franklin took his place as secretary. According to our Directors’ Minutes, Franklin wrote a routine letter about payment due for Library Company books to Collinson in May 1746. The letter itself does not survive, but presumably it mentioned Breintnall’s death. In October the minutes note Collinson’s reply, sent with a “Trunk of new Books.” Franklin left on a trip to Boston a few days later, and while there he saw electrical experiments performed for the first time. “Soon after my Return to Philadelphia,” as he wrote in his *Autobiography*, “our Library Company receiv’d from Mr. Peter Collinson, F.R.S. of London a Present of a Glass Tube, with some Account of the Use of it in making such Experiments.” Franklin biographers are all agreed there is no documentation of the tube’s arrival, but it was almost certainly in that trunk of new books because Collinson had written Breintnall back in May, not knowing he had died, referring to “the Glass Tube in the Trunk of Books” he had just sent. That letter was addressed to Breintnall, and Franklin may not have seen it; and so the tube was not noticed until he returned from Boston.

That tube was what started Franklin on his electrical experiments. Many of them were observations of the behavior of static electricity, and

the tube was a simple static generator. You simply rubbed it vigorously with a buckskin to give it a charge, which could be discharged in various ways. The account in the *Autobiography* continues, “I eagerly seiz’d the Opportunity of repeating what I had seen in Boston, and by much Practice acquir’d great Readiness in performing those also which we had an Account of from England [i.e., from Collinson], adding a Number of new Ones. I say much Practice, for my House was continually full for some time, with People who came to see these new Wonders. To divide a little this Incumbrance among my Friends, I caused a Number of similar Tubes to be blown at our Glass-House, with which they furnish’d themselves, so that we had at length several Performers.” The tube Collinson sent is lost, but we have one of those copy tubes, just as Franklin described it, “made here [in America] of green glass, 27 or 30 inches long, as big as can be grasped.” Ours is 32½ inches and covered with lengthwise striations made by vigorous rubbing with buckskin.

Collinson’s role in the publication of Franklin’s electrical experiments is also a bit puzzling. They were first written as letters to Collinson beginning in March 1747. At that point Franklin had no thought of their publication; he simply wanted to know if there was anything new in what he was discovering, and Collinson was the only person he knew in England who could tell him. After he sent the first letter, many months passed with no reply, and he began to worry that he had sent his observations off prematurely. In August 1747 he wrote to Collinson, “On some further Experiments since, I have observ’d a Phenomenon or two that I cannot at present account for on the Principles laid down in those Letters, and am therefore become a little diffident of my Hypothesis, and asham’d that I have express’d myself in so positive a manner. . . . I must now request that you would not expose those Letters; or if you commu-



Caspar Wistar, Glass Electrostatic Tube. New Jersey, 1746. Franklin had several copies made of the glass tube Collinson sent to the Library Company. This is one of them.

nicate them to any Friends, you would at least conceal my Name.” Nearly a year passed before he received Collinson’s terse reply in April 1748. “I was very fortunate to receive both thy Curious Experiments on Electricity. I have imparted them to the Royal Society to whome they are very acceptable and they are now in the hands of our Ingenious Friend Mr. Watson.” Collinson made no allusion to Franklin’s request for privacy, and as for anonymity, he did not even mention that Watson had already quoted from Franklin’s letters at great length in a paper he read before the Society in January 1748 attributing the quotation to “an ingenious Gentleman, Mr. *Franklin* . . . in *Pennsylvania*.” This paper was later published in their *Philosophical Transactions* and as a separate pamphlet.

His reply to Collinson in October 1748 was bland: “I am pleas’d to hear that my Electrical Experiments were acceptable to the Society.” He continued to send letters to Collinson, though at longer intervals, suggesting he was becoming more careful not to write anything he might regret seeing in print. His response to Collinson’s astonishing patronage continued to be cautious. It is important to remember that this may be the first time he had been named as an author in print in England. Even in America his writing was nearly always anonymous, pseudonymous, or presented as the work of a group. In his *Autobiography* he remembered the experience of his first scientific publication as painful. He said the letters were “read in the Royal Society, where they were not at first thought worth so much Notice as to be printed in their Transactions.” Another paper “on the Sameness of Lightning with Electricity” was read before the Society “but was laughed at by the Connoisseurs.” Franklin biographers are puzzled by these statements, given a mass of evidence that his writings were universally praised; but he may have been remembering the embarrassment he felt at the unaccustomed exposure.

In 1750 Collinson arranged for Franklin’s letters to be published by Edward Cave, the editor of the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, where some extracts from them had previously appeared. He announced this to Franklin as a *fait accompli*. When *Experiments and Observations on Electricity* finally appeared in April 1751, the preface by its editor John Fothergill made it clear that he and Collinson had dragged Franklin into the limelight. “It may be necessary to acquaint the reader, that the following observations and experiments were not drawn up with a view to their be-

ing made publick, but were communicated . . . as matters only of private amusement,” wrote Fothergill. “The Editor was therefore prevailed upon to commit [the letters] to the press, without waiting for the ingenious author’s permission so to do. . . . He was only apprized of the step that had been thus taken, while the first sheets were in the press.” Franklin’s reluctance to appear in the glare of international publicity was no pose. Needless to say, he got used to it; but when in later life he deliberately adopted the pose of the shy rustic philosopher, he may have been helped in his performance by remembering how it felt actually to be such a person.

Franklin and Collinson continued to correspond frequently on Library Company business and scientific matters. Their friendship grew stronger every year. Collinson published additional electrical experiments and continued to promote Franklin in the Royal Society, seeing that he was awarded its Copley Medal in 1753 and elected to membership in 1756. In 1757 the Pennsylvania Assembly sent Franklin to London to act as its agent in disputes with the Penn family, and only then did the two friends meet at last. Franklin spent his first night in London in Collinson’s house, and they continued to be firm friends until the latter’s death in 1768.

In 1770 Franklin wrote a letter to Collinson’s son Michael in which he attempted to sum up his father’s “Zeal and Usefulness in promoting Knowledge.” He, of course, mentioned the gift of the electrical tube and his encouragement of the electrical experiments, but he placed the greatest emphasis on Collinson’s activities on behalf of the Library Company, which he saw as radiating outward from Philadelphia to all the colonies. “The Success of this Library (greatly owing to his kind Countenance and good Advice) encouraged the erecting others in different Places, on the same Plan; and it is supposed there are now upwards of 30 subsisting in the several Colonies, which have contributed greatly to the Spreading of useful Knowledge in that part of the World, the Books he recommended being all of that kind, and the Catalogue of this first Library being much respected and followed by those Libraries that succeeded.” A year later, as he began his *Autobiography*, Franklin wrote in a similar vein, “These Libraries have improv’d the general Conversation of the Americans, made the common Tradesmen and Farmers as intelligent as most Gentlemen from other Countries, and perhaps have contributed in some degree

to the Stand so generally made throughout the Colonies in Defense of their Privileges.” Franklin made great claims for the importance of this, the first of his many foundations, but we should not forget that in his heart he knew his brainchild would never have been successful without the help of Peter Collinson.

We are deeply grateful to Trustees Davida T. Deutsch, who spotted Maitland’s *History of London* at the New York Book Fair, and Clarence Wolf, who negotiated the purchase, and to other members of our Board of Trustees for donating the funds to pay for it.

### *More Franklin*



Franklin Bache’s collection of books belonging to his famous ancestor was housed in homemade cloth wrappers like these when they were sold at his estate sale in 1947. Purchased from Stuart Karu, 2012.

Benjamin Franklin’s private library was probably the largest in America when he died in 1790. He bequeathed his books to his grandson William Temple Franklin, who sold them at a series of auctions in 1801 and 1803, dispersing them beyond any hope of recovery. Or so it seemed until our former Librarian Edwin Wolf 2nd glimpsed the key to reconstructing this lost library at the estate sale of Franklin Bache at Freeman’s in 1947. Bache, who was a Franklin descendant, had put homemade cloth wrappers around 172 books in the sale, each with a label on which he had typed LIBRARY OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Most of the books had no other sign of Franklin’s ownership, and they were knocked down for three to five dollars each. “Even the volumes with presentation inscriptions to Franklin or bearing his name in a contemporary hand on a cover,” Mr. Wolf later wrote, “went for prices which can only be described as dwarf low. What mass psychology convinced the audience at the sale that, in spite of evidence to the con-

trary, none of the books had really belonged to Franklin I do not know. Perhaps, it was Franklin Bache’s amateurish attempt to establish the pedigree by putting wrappers on all the books which shrieked the fact.” It didn’t take Mr. Wolf long to realize he had missed the opportunity of a lifetime. As he wrote in 1962, “I am now convinced that all these books came from the house on Franklin Court after its owner’s death, and were all part of Franklin’s library.” For the rest of his life he pursued the books that were in that sale, and what they taught him about how Franklin marked his books led him to many others. His catalog of Franklin’s Library, completed by Kevin Hayes and published by the Library Company in 2006, lists 3,740 titles, which he estimated to be about half of the library. But most of the books in the Bache sale eluded him because their buyers did not understand how important those cloth wrappers were, and they just threw them away.

Last year we acquired from the great Franklin collector Stuart Karu one of those elusive books, John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee’s florid adaptation of Sophocles’ *Oedipus* (London: for J. Tonson, 1735). Many of Franklin’s books had no discernible impact on their owner: no annotations, no references in his writings, and no way to know if he read them. That is not the case with *Oedipus*. In 1725, while Franklin was working in London, he wrote a deistical essay called *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity* and printed it secretly on his employer’s press. He soon regretted publishing the book, and in his *Autobiography* he regarded it as one of the “errata” of his London sojourn, on a par with his neglect of his future wife Deborah Read. The motto on the title page was five lines from *Oedipus*:

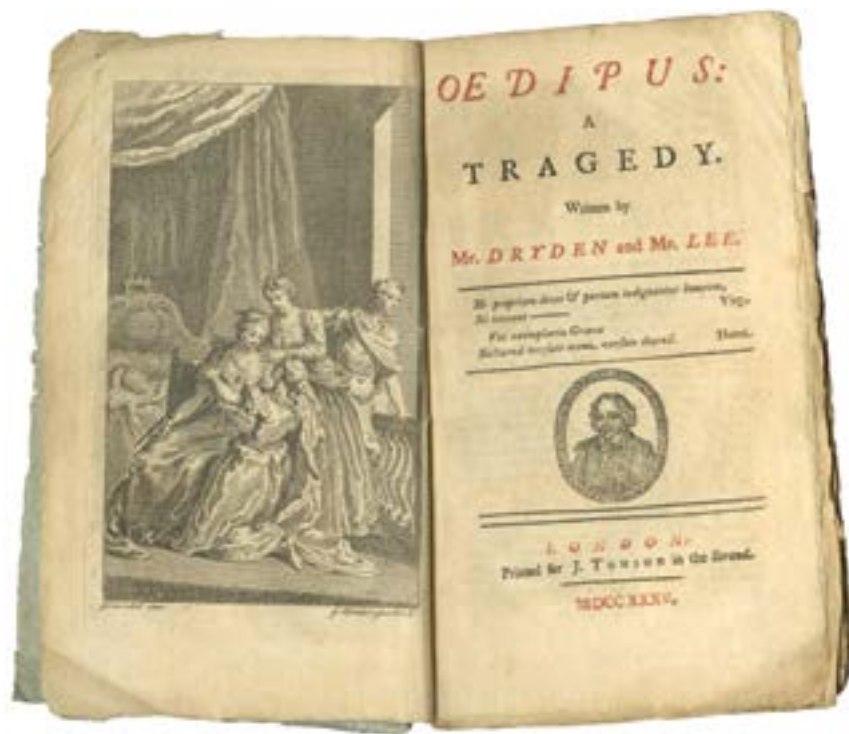
Whatever is, is in its Causes just.  
But purblind man  
Sees but a part o’ th’ chain; the nearest link;  
His eyes not carrying to that equal beam  
That poises all above

They are spoken by the blind prophet Tiresias just before he reveals to Oedipus that he is guilty of his father’s murder. In the first part of the *Autobiography* (written in London in 1771) Franklin quoted these lines



to epitomize the amoral philosophy of his youth. He misremembered the first line, confusing it with Pope's more famous (and more felicitous) "Whatever is, is right," which proves he did not have a copy of the play at hand; but the other four lines he remembered almost perfectly, though forty-six years had passed since he had first read them. His copy of *Oedipus* was extracted from a six-volume edition of Dryden's *Dramatick Works* published in London in 1735. It was a separate publication, never bound with the other plays in that set. Instead it was roughly stitched into a plain blue wrapper. This binding, or rather the lack of one, suggests that he ordered this one play specifically from London sometime in the late 1730s, after his return to Philadelphia and his marriage to Deborah. Perhaps it was meant as a reminder to himself and to his wife of how wrong he had been to neglect her.

In 2012 we also had the amazing good fortune to acquire two more



John Dryden and Nathaniel Lee, *Oedipus* (London, 1735), Franklin's copy, purchased from Stuart Karu, 2012.

books from the Bache sale, still in their homemade cloth wrappers. One is a 1773 Philadelphia edition of *The Judgment of Whole Kingdoms*, a pamphlet arguing the right of elected assemblies to depose an unjust king, first published in London in 1709 and several times reprinted in America just before the Revolution. It is easy to see why Franklin might have wanted to read it just before he left for London to represent the American colonies to Parliament. The other book is the printed *Journal* of the Continental Congress for 1783-84. There was quite a run of these annual journals in the Bache sale, all like this one in their original blue boards, and several bearing Franklin's name or other marks of his ownership. This newly discovered *Journal* has no signs of his ownership, however, apart from Franklin Bache's cloth wrapper. Indeed, there is good reason to doubt it was Franklin's because it has the signature of Richard Dobbs Spaight, who was a member of the Continental Congress in 1784, and the bookplate of James Asheton Bayard, whose uncle was a delegate. It seems likely that one of these two was the first owner. If the book did somehow find its way to Franklin Court before he died, he did not give it a place of honor in his library because the cover and a flyleaf are filled with childish doodles, including four attempts at a thirteen-star flag, two houses much like Franklin Court, and the date 1789.

Could the doodler have been one of the half-dozen Bache grandchildren who shared the house with Franklin? We will



Doodles by an unknown child in *Journal of the United States in Congress Assembled, Volume IX* (Philadelphia, 1784), possibly Franklin's copy, purchased from Stuart Karu, 2012.



never know.

Edwin Wolf chose his words carefully when he said that all the books with the Franklin Bache wrappers “came from the house on Franklin Court after its owner’s death.” It is a remarkable fact that of the 172 Franklin books in the Bache sale, seventy-seven were in original wrappers or boards, and forty-eight were inscribed by William Temple Franklin or his father William Franklin. It seems quite likely that unbound pamphlets like the two we just acquired and flimsily bound volumes like the set of congressional journals were not shelved in the grand formal library room Franklin added to his house after he returned from France, but instead were elsewhere in the house, part of a family library that was not sold off in 1801 and 1803. There is no way to prove this hypothesis, but it has the merit of explaining how these books stayed in the Bache family and how the memory of their illustrious provenance was passed down through the generations.

### *Still More Franklin*

Another example of a book from Franklin’s library that had a big impact on his life is the illustrated four-volume emblem book by Joachim Camerarius called *Symbolorum et Emblematum* (Mainz, 1702). He used it as a source of emblems and mottoes when he designed the first Continental paper money in 1775. On the next page are two examples showing how the Camerarius emblems were reworked on the bills. In the first example, he simply copied the original image. “Tribulatio Ditat” means “affliction enriches,” or “threshing improves it.” In the other example the rather complicated image of the original is simplified by zooming in on the two birds, an eagle and a crane, locked in mortal combat. The eagle (representing Britain) is the aggressor, but the crane (representing America) has made good use of his long bill, which has pierced the eagle’s breast. The motto “Exitus in Dubio est” means “the result is uncertain,” which was a good assessment of the state of America in 1776.

The massive amount of Continental currency printed in 1775 and 1776 led to inflation, which soon reached 4,000%. Congress responded to this disaster in 1780 by authorizing the states to issue their own money, which was redeemable with 5% annual interest at the end of



Two engraved emblems from Joachim Camerarius, *Symbolorum et Emblematum* (Mainz, 1702), Franklin’s copy; next to pieces of Continental paper money (Philadelphia, 1776) designed by Franklin.

1786. Because of their supposed intrinsic value, the new bills had a host of features meant to discourage counterfeiting. These bills used the same emblems and mottoes, but this time partly printed in red ink, and set against a black background of leaf prints made by a secret process that Franklin had invented in the 1730s. On the next page is an illustration of the two-dollar Massachusetts bill from this 1780 emission, with the same threshing image used in 1776. Normally two-color printing was done with two passes through the press but because the boundary between color areas passed through the middle of the wood blocks, it must have been done in one pass. Probably some sort of stencil was used here when

the ink was applied.

The color-printed bill shown here is one of 178 pieces in the Emil Cauffman Collection of Colonial American Paper Money, donated in 2012 by Hughes Cauffman. The collection includes bills of the colonial period and bills emitted by nine states and the U.S. during the Revolutionary War. The colonial bills are rarer, but the war-time currency is more interesting historically and artistically. Franklin chose emblems and mottos he thought would inculcate virtue in those who accepted



Massachusetts, Two Dollar Bill (Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers, 1780). From the Emil Cauffman Collection of Colonial American Paper Money, gift of Hughes Cauffman, 2012.

the currency as a patriotic duty. He did not attempt to create a nationalistic iconography, which was perhaps fortunate considering how distrusted and devalued this currency became. The 1780 state-issued bills were meant to end inflation by driving the Continental bills out of circulation. For example, tax collectors were instructed to consider one of the new dollars equal to forty of the old. But the public did not accept the new value, and before the entire currency system collapsed in mid-1781, the inflation rate had reached 22,500%. The 1780 bill pictured here was probably redeemed in payment for taxes. It was cancelled with a hole punch (visible in the picture) and stamped in red ink on the back “interest paid one year.” For some reason many of these cancelled bills were saved by state governments and found their way to collectors in the

20th century.

Franklin’s intriguing designs sparked enough interest to cause several newspapers to print explications of them, and a few regimental flags incorporated them. But as the value of the bills sank, they became a subject of mockery. In February 1778 *The Pennsylvania Evening Post* printed this poem by “A Maryland Loyalist” about the threshing emblem.

That thrashing makes rich the congress do know,  
Or else on their money they would not say so;  
But what kind of thrashing they do not explain,  
Whether beat by the English or beating out grain;  
And since we’re left dark, we may fairly conclude,  
That both will enrich them, and both do them good.

We are deeply grateful to Clarence Wolf for negotiating the purchase of the books from Franklin’s library and for facilitating the gift of the Cauffman collection. Mr. Wolf also gave us a large addition to the Harper and Hartshorne manuscript materials described in last year’s report, two books from the library of William Byrd of Westover (another great early American book collection reconstructed by his cousin Edwin Wolf), and other books and manuscripts too numerous to mention. Also too numerous to mention are the many books and graphics that were given in 2012 by generous donors, all of whom are listed at the back of this report. To all of them we extend heartfelt thanks.

James N. Green  
*Librarian*

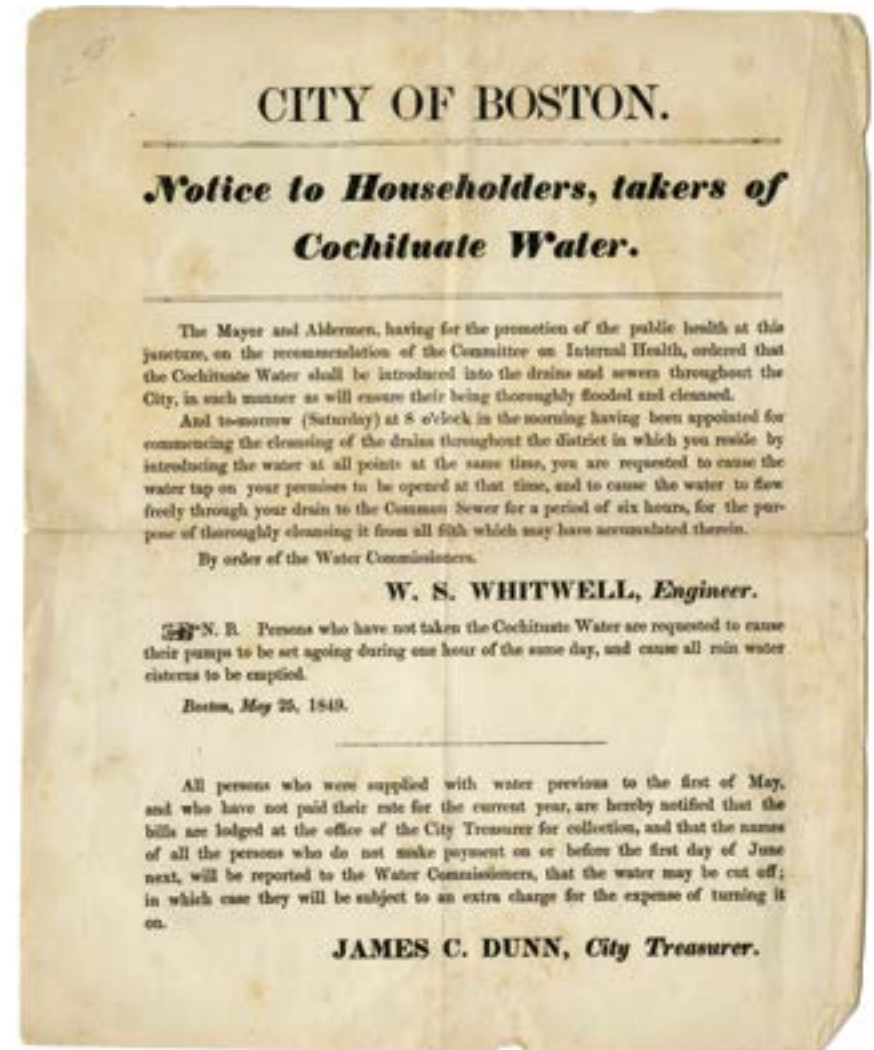


## *Gifts from Dr. Charles E. Rosenberg*

The generosity and commitment to this institution of Trustee Emeritus Dr. Charles E. Rosenberg have been well documented in our *Annual Reports*, and this year we once again find that his gifts warrant a section of their own. In 2012 Dr. Rosenberg gave nearly 650 volumes from his personal collection, works that he has used over the last half century to produce unparalleled scholarship on the history of medicine. Dr. Rosenberg's landmark work *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (Chicago, 1962) is represented here by a small broadside dated May 25, 1849. In an effort to combat the cholera epidemic of that year, Boston officials issued this "notice to householders, takers of Cochituate water" instructing them to "cause the water tap on your premises to be opened . . . and to cause the water to flow freely through your drain to the Common Sewer for a period of six hours, for the purpose of thoroughly cleansing it from all filth which may have accumulated therein." The city would simultaneously flood the drains and sewers with water from the Cochituate Aqueduct, which had just begun supplying water to Boston the previous year. In *The Cholera Years* Dr. Rosenberg describes how Boston's efforts at sanitation were ineffective at best, as the filth thus flushed from the drains was not then properly disposed of, but was left in the streets and waterways of the city.

To complement the works on cholera gifted from his own collection, this year Dr. Rosenberg also helped us purchase eighteen additional works on the disease. The earliest of these is from 1816, when cholera first appeared in India, and the latest, dated 1866, is a look at cholera in Ireland. These are primarily British imprints, documenting that empire's struggle with the scourge, which crossed borders and oceans with alarming speed through the 19th and well into the 20th centuries. They add to our ever-increasing collection of works on the spread, understanding, and treatment of infectious disease.

Sexual and family health is another area of our medical history collection that has been significantly enhanced by the gifts of Dr. Rosenberg. This year he gave us the first American edition, abridged by William Currie (1754-1828), of John Hunter's *A Treatise on the Venereal Disease* (Philadelphia, 1787). This small volume is of great interest to us



Boston Engineering Department, *Notice to Householders, Takers of Cochituate Water* (Boston, 1849). Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.

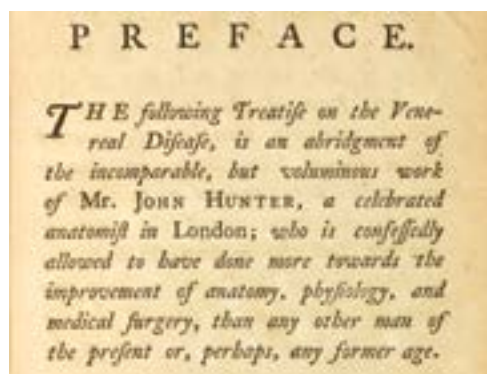
for several reasons. Hunter (1728-1793), the famous London surgeon best known for his groundbreaking anatomical work with illicitly disinterred corpses, first published his *Treatise* in London in 1786. The first American edition of the full text was not published until 1791. In fact, this abridgement is not only the first American edition of the work, but likely the first abridgement of it. The impressive speed at which this ver-

sion was made available in America is likely the result of Currie's stated mission to make Hunter's *Treatise* more accessible to the lay person and of more immediate use to the physician.

Hunter's original work covered nearly four hundred quarto-sized pages of text and was accompanied by an extensive index and a set of plates. In a pocket-sized 109 pages, Currie provided the most basic information on each diagnosis and its treatment, as well as a few representative cases from his own practice. Currie explained in his preface that he expected this abridgement, "on account of its size and price," to bring Hunter to a broader audience and thus, by providing "practical knowledge and real instruction . . . save the lives and preserve the health of numbers, who may have the misfortune to contract the disease through ignorance, or who might suffer from improper treatment."

This publication of Hunter's *Treatise*, therefore, is valuable evidence of what Currie saw as an urgent need in North America relating to sexual health and medical practice. But adding to the work's appeal to us is the fact that we did not already own a copy of this early Philadelphia imprint. Of course, we do not own copies of every early Philadelphia imprint, but we own all but a handful of the books published in Philadelphia in 1787, the year of the Constitutional Convention. The absence of this book from our shelves was therefore conspicuous. It was first noticed more than twenty-five years ago by then Curator of Printed Books (and now Librarian) James Green. The members of the Convention were granted

access to the Library Company's holdings, and Mr. Green was working to identify the books that would have been available to them. If any of those gentlemen had need of this work, they would have had to locate it elsewhere. Since Mr. Green's discovery, we have been on the lookout for a copy and now, thanks to Dr. Rosenberg's keen collector's eye, we have one.



Excerpt from Preface in John Hunter, *A Treatise on the Venereal Disease* (Philadelphia, 1787). Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.

Further evidence that collecting is Dr. Rosenberg's *métier* and our good fortune is his gift of a 1744 London edition of George Berkeley's *Siris: A Chain of Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries Concerning the Virtues of Tar Water, and Divers Other Subjects*. Berkeley (1685-1753), who served as Bishop of Cloyne from 1734 until his death, is recognized as one of the three great British Empiricist philosophers, along with John Locke and David Hume. In his writings, he rejected certain precepts of Locke and argued against the theories of Isaac Newton, while championing subjective idealism. His philosophy, which he referred to as immaterialism, was a major influence on Hume, Immanuel Kant, and the long line of philosophers after them who grappled with the relationship between mind and matter. Yet it was his work on the medicinal properties of tar water that proved to be his greatest success.

In *Siris*, Berkeley discussed the best sources and the proper preparation of tar water, which he believed to be a forty-eight-hour steeping of pine tar in cold water. He described the efficacy of tar water for treating everything from smallpox to scurvy, indigestion to erysipelas, and claimed to have successfully treated himself, his family, and his neighbors with the tonic. He then went on to defend immaterialism, to rail against gravity, and finally to assert that the concept of the Trinity is an ancient one, predating the life of Jesus. *Siris* proved to be Berkeley's best-selling work during his lifetime and spawned numerous reprintings and editions within months of its first publication.

We already held two copies of this second edition, and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania held a third. In comparing these three with the gift from Dr. Rosenberg, we found that no two are exactly alike. These copies will be closely examined to determine how many variant states of each sheet exist, and if any of the copies constitute a distinctly separate issue of this edition. But what we can say for certain is that the Library Company now owns three different settings of the title page, including one that, based on the width of the word "Siris," seems not to be located anywhere else. Furthermore, the table of contents that constitutes the last two pages of the text is different in Dr. Rosenberg's gift than in the other three copies, likewise for the press figures throughout the work. The bibliographer of Berkeley, Geoffrey Keynes, did state that resetting was done when the demand for the work was recognized as greater than

anticipated, but his entry for this work does not begin to describe the variations seen here.

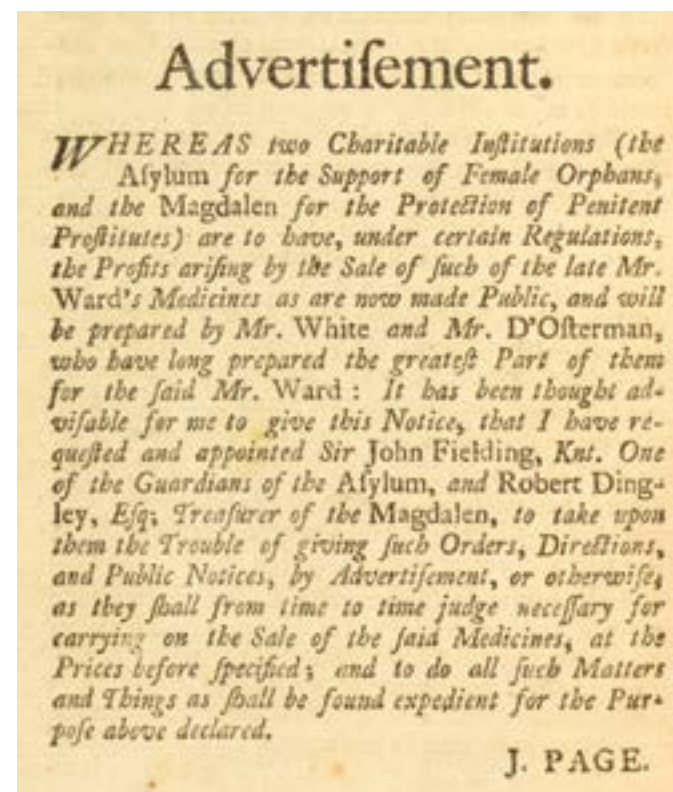
Further bibliographic analysis of copies of *Siris* could lead to a better understanding of its publication history, though the work of Keynes is already quite thorough. What is immediately obvious, though, is the incredible popularity of the work and the rapid pace at which the printers had to move in order to respond to demand for the text, both locally and abroad. Always providing its members with the most important works of the day, the Library Company acquired its first copy within a year of publication, on January 23, 1745. If Berkeley had been hoping that his philosophical ruminations would receive more attention if they were appended to the end of his discussion of the curative properties of tar water, he would have been disappointed. Besides the many copies of *Siris* that were rapidly produced was an abridgement, issued within months of the first edition, which included only the text on tar water, but with the addition of testimonials and a glossary. In another text published that same year Berkeley further clarifies the proper preparation and use of tar water. We hold copies of both of these, as well as several other 18th-century works on tar water.

Rivaling the popularity of medicinal tar water were the nostrums marketed by Berkeley's contemporary Joshua Ward (ca. 1685-1761). Ward, a chemist, was famous for his pills, drops, and sweating powders, as well as his tremendous generosity to the poor. Though never medically trained, Ward treated some of the most distinguished personages in England, including King George II. Before his death, Ward arranged for his "Book of Secrets" to be given to his close friend and Member of Parliament John Page (d. 1779). Dr. Rosenberg has given us a copy of the work Page produced from Ward's writings, published two years after Ward's death. In *Receipts for Preparing and Compounding the Principal Medicines Made Use of by the Late Mr. Ward* (London, 1763), Page explained that most of Ward's medicines were built on a base of specially prepared glass of antimony, with a variety of other compounds added in. These additions included iron sulfate, potassium nitrate, and mercury. While Page defended the use of mercury and stressed its safety, he denied the presence of arsenic in any of Ward's medicines, as alleged by a competitor.

Page marketed *Receipts* as an instruction book enabling people to

prepare Ward's treatments on their own. He acknowledged, though, that he left out much of what he found in the "Book of Secrets" and also emphasized that only by purchasing the authentic product could patients be assured of quality. Furthermore, he provided the reader with the prices of the products, and then explained why they were so much more expensive than competing products on the market. Among the reasons given for this difference in price was that the "net profits . . . will go towards the support of two laudable undertakings, the one, intended to preserve young destitute girls from prostitution and wretchedness; the other, to retrieve them from both." Even after his death, Ward still occupied the two spheres of his passion—medicine and charity.

Dr. Rosenberg's gift also includes writings against the use of patent



Advertisement from John Page, *Receipts for Preparing and Compounding the Principal Medicines Made Use of by the Late Mr. Ward* (London, 1763). Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.



medicines like Ward's, and against quackery generally. In *Observations on the Abuse of Medicine* (London, 1775), Dr. Thomas Withers (1750-1809) described the proper and improper uses of standard treatments, including blood-letting and blistering, and common types of medicines such as purgatives and sedatives. Withers wrote in a manner that was accessible to the general public in the hope that this work would produce widespread improvement in the practice of medicine. In a disconcertingly prescient statement, Withers explained that it is a "useful, if not a necessary thing to be informed how greatly the abuse of medicine contributes to the rise and progress of diseases." Nearly 250 years later, we see the proof of this borne out in the over-prescription of antibiotics and the emergence of drug-resistant bacteria.

Another British doctor who wrote in support of responsible medicine was Dr. William Wadd (1776-1829). His *Comments on Corpulency, Lineaments of Leanness, Mems on Diet and Dietetics* (London, 1829) came to us from Dr. Rosenberg this year. This work was an enlargement of his *Cursory Remarks on Corpulence* (London, 1810), first published anonymously. In *Comments*, Wadd described the many fashionable treatments for obesity in his time and in history. Wadd asserted that the overweight patient would rather take a potentially harmful pill or tonic than take moderate exercise and a smaller plate. Wadd offered no fast-acting miracle cure for weight-loss, though he was clearly aware of the negative effect that a sensible approach would have on his popularity. He wrote, "I know it is very difficult to command attention, by preaching on gloomy subjects, or the iron restraints of necessity."

Yet Wadd's work was still well received by physicians and patients alike. Much of this success was likely due to his playful and easy writing style, his abundant use of anecdotes, and the marvelous illustrations that accompanied his writings, drawn and etched by his own hand. Wadd was a beloved figure in the medical profession, as evidenced by his obituary in the *Gentleman's Magazine and Historical Chronicle*, which read, in part, "Few medical men had so little quackery about them as Mr. Wadd; with his patients he was candid, while his candour was that of a gentleman and a friend." In addition to his charming personality, artistic talents, and sound medical practice, Wadd was a keen, unbiased scientific observer. In this same work, he provided early descriptions of what we would now call

food intolerances or allergies. He described lactose and fructose intolerance, and allergic reactions to eggs, almonds, and strawberries. But he did not pretend to know the cause of these reactions. He simply reported them. Perhaps in time, Dr. Wadd would have explored these reactions to food in more depth and might conceivably have made some remarkable discoveries on the subject. Sadly, he died prematurely in a road accident, a tragedy that cut short the already distinguished career of a unique and



Illustrations from William Wadd, *Comments on Corpulency, Lineaments of Leanness, Mems on Diet and Dietetics* (London, 1829). Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.

gifted physician.

By far the largest group of gifts from Dr. Rosenberg in 2012 is that of works on mental health, to use a modern term. This includes works on psychology and psychiatry, as well as related fields of practice. Researchers will find this collection ripe with resources that trace the evolution of western psychology, including the impact of spiritualism, hypnosis, magnetism, and phrenology. Works on insanity make up the largest subset of the mental health texts. Most notable are the many first-hand

accounts of life in an insane asylum, with such titles as *My Experiences in a Lunatic Asylum* (by “A Sane Patient”) and *Fifteen Years in Hell: An Autobiography*. Nearly twenty-five of these insanity narratives predate Nellie Bly’s famous journalistic stunt.

In 1887, on her first assignment for the *New York World*, Bly (1864-1922) spent ten days undercover as an inmate at the notorious women’s lunatic asylum on Blackwell’s Island in New York City. Bly told of sane women unjustly locked away for being physically ill, or destitute, or unable to express themselves in English. Others were placed in the asylum by husbands or other family members under false pretenses and for their own purposes. Asylum patients, both sane and insane, were treated with shocking barbarity, deftly described by Bly and widely publicized by the *World*. Nellie Bly’s report led directly to a grand jury investigation, which resulted in a substantial increase in funding for and reforms in the care of the mentally ill.

Nellie Bly is often cited as a pioneer of investigative journalism for her work on Blackwell’s Island. But her assignment was remarkably similar to one taken on by Julius Chambers (1850-1920) fifteen years earlier. While working for the *New York Tribune* in 1872, Chambers conspired to have himself committed to the Bloomingdale Asylum, a private institution for the insane in New York City. Like Bly, he lived for ten days in the asylum, with all parties there believing him insane. Like Bly, he witnessed many atrocities inflicted upon the inmates, some insane but others as sane as he was. After his release was secured by his collaborators, his story was published in the *Tribune*, caused a sensation, and led to reforms. His full story was published in a narrative that reads like fiction but is a factual representation of the case.

A Detroit printing of this narrative came to us in Dr. Rosenberg’s gift. *A Mad World and Its Inhabitants* (1876) has the wonderful by-line of “An Amateur Lunatic” and, in a most theatrical style, tells of the experiences of “Felix Somers” in the “Baldric Lunatic Asylum.” The primary difference between Chambers’s investigation and Bly’s, other than their genders, is that Blackwell’s Island was a state-run asylum, whereas Bloomingdale was private. Clarifying the distinction, and foreshadowing Bly’s work, Chambers wrote, “Baldric’s had always been considered a place for ‘genteel’ lunatics, and however much a poor patient might suffer

from bad treatment at the asylum for paupers on Blackwell’s Island, the friends of the more fortunate inmates of Baldric’s might rest in peace.” As it happened, the reforms that resulted from Chambers’s report had the effect of bringing private institutions under the same scrutiny and regulations, such as there were, that controlled the state-run asylums. Fifteen years later, Bly finally brought attention to the “paupers,” and in turn improved the lot of patients at both public and private institutions.

Both Bly and Chambers were sane individuals intentionally infiltrating insane asylums in order to publish exposés. Their work reflected the many published narratives written by genuine former inmates. Most of these writers gave their motive as a desire to help unfortunate asylum residents by uncovering the iniquity behind the walls, revealing their suffering, and effecting reform. The earliest of these insanity narratives in the gift of Dr. Rosenberg dates to the 1830s, with the genre becoming increasingly popular through the 19th century. The narratives are written from a variety of perspectives. Some writers admit their insanity and the justness of their incarceration, citing varying levels of mania brought on by intemperance, financial ruin, the loss of a child, and other such misfortune. A few of them credited their time in the asylum with helping them regain their sanity, but the majority described conditions similar to those seen by Chambers and Bly.

The most sensational insanity narratives were written by people who regarded their stay in an asylum as an unjust captivity. Among the books in this gift are a few that tell of Christians imprisoned in asylums for their beliefs. In *The Cornets: or, The Hypocrisy of the Sisters of Charity Unveiled* (Baltimore, 1877), Mrs. Juliet Workman described being held in a Catholic “retreat” where the most common punishment was a head-bath, which today we would call water-boarding. Most of these writers accuse those who had them committed of doing so with evil intentions, sometimes for financial gain, sometimes to rid themselves of a burdensome relation, and sometimes to exert marital control. Among these, the case of Elizabeth Packard (1816-1897) stands out. Dr. Rosenberg’s gift includes five works by Packard, three of which we did not formerly hold, and one of which we held in a different edition.

In 1860 Mrs. Elizabeth Parsons Ware Packard was committed against her will to the Illinois State Hospital and Asylum for the Insane in Jack-

sonville. Her husband, the Rev. Theophilus Packard (1802-1885), was a very strict Calvinist. After many years of marriage, Elizabeth began to openly disagree with his religious views and to express her own. Upon this basis, Theophilus claimed his wife to be insane. In accordance with Illinois law at the time, Theophilus was able to have his wife locked away with only his own word and the agreement of the superintendent of the asylum. This he did, having Elizabeth imprisoned when the youngest of their six children was only eighteen months old. Three years later, upon her release, Theophilus again conspired to have her committed, but, until such time as he was able to do so, he made her a prisoner in their home. This, at last, was against the law, and so the case of Packard v. Packard went to court, wherein Theophilus was required to prove that Elizabeth was insane. Elizabeth was the easy victor.

Elizabeth Packard now began a campaign for the reform of laws governing the treatment of women and the insane. Her writings, which she began while still at Jacksonville, were fundamental in attracting supporters and effecting these reforms. In 1867 Packard saw the Bill for the Pro-

tection of Personal Liberty, which she wrote, passed in the Illinois state legislature. The bill granted every person the right to a public trial before being committed to an asylum. She continued her campaign, travelled the country, and saw similar bills passed in several other states, including Connecticut and Iowa. The influence of her work on behalf of the inmates of insane asylums cannot be overstated. She continued her work until her death at age eighty-one. While Bly and Chambers moved on to the next big story, Packard, and many others like her, told their stories again and again, to anyone who would listen. Theirs was a crusade to give voice to the unheard and to correct the injustices that allowed Americans to be incarcerated without trial, abused and tormented for years, with no means for securing their freedom. This is a part of our shared history that is little discussed. These narratives, and the hundreds of other works on mental health in Dr. Rosenberg's gift, are crucial documents for studying and understanding this remarkable chapter in America's story.

Rachel A. D'Agostino



Depiction of a “head-bath” from Juliet Workman, *The Cornets: or, The Hypocrisy of the Sisters of Charity Unveiled* (Baltimore, 1877). Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.



Illustration from Elizabeth Parsons Ware Packard, *Modern Persecution, or Married Woman's Liabilities* (Hartford, 1873). Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.



## Women's History: Reading, Writing, and Testifying in Court

### Reading

We have a strong collection of 18th-century periodicals, many of which were acquired at the time of publication, in the early decades of the Library Company's history. The titles often include words like "court" or "royal" because publishers recognized that their mostly middle-class readers aspired to a higher social class. To our delight, this year we were able to add the entire run of a short-lived London periodical, published specifically for women readers, which was not already on our shelves. *The Royal Female Magazine* (1760) came into the market on the heels of *The Royal Magazine, or, Gentleman's Monthly Companion* (1759-1771), volumes of which we have long had. Some of the contents of *The Royal Female Magazine* suggest that the editor Robert Lloyd, working under the pseudonym "Charles Honeycombe, Esq.," believed his readers would be interested in things American. For the 18th-century "aspirational reader," knowledge of the world beyond Britain would be good cultural currency, for possible use in polite conversation. The April 1760 issue, for example, has a hand-colored map entitled "The World According to the Latest Discoveries," which prominently depicts Baffin Bay with no hint of a Northwest Passage across the continent.

Not only did the magazine offer geographical information, but it also dealt with the perennial topic in women's magazines: romantic love. Shown here is the volume title page, indicating that the publisher gathered all the issues into a single volume and sold them thus, with a frontispiece. The frontispiece depicts an aristocratic couple, with agricultural workers gathering grain in the background. Note the verse:

What joy to wind along the cool retreat!  
To stop, and gaze on Delia, as I go!  
To mingle sweet discourse, with kisses sweet.  
And teach my lovely Scholar all I know.

An 18th-century reader might have recognized this as a stanza

from *Elegy XIII* by James Hammond (1710-1742), whose elegies first appeared after his death in 1743. One popular theory at the time was that Hammond died of love, after having been rejected by a woman, although it also was said that the woman rejected him because his intentions were not honorable. In any event, Hammond lived ten years after writing the elegies, so his supposedly lovelorn death would have been a protracted one! The elegies, however, lived on in anthologies, and—in this case—lent innuendo to artistic composition. We are grateful to have special funding from Trustee Davida T. Deutsch, given in honor of former Trustee Lisa Baskin, for this purchase of an early imprint related to women.

We also have continued to purchase material related to women with the Davida T. Deutsch Women's History Fund, now in its second year. In the 19th century, American women had many native periodicals to read. But the one that truly captured the market was *Godey's Lady's Book*,



*The Royal Female Magazine*, vol. 1 (London, 1760). Purchased with funds donated by Davida T. Deutsch in honor of Lisa Baskin.

edited by Sarah Josepha Hale (1788-1879). Mrs. Hale's own story is one that rivals fictional plots of women triumphing over adversity. In 1811 her mother and her sister died on the same day. In 1812 her father's business failed. In 1813 she married a young lawyer. The next years, during which the Hales had four children, were happy. But then her husband died in 1822—only four days before the birth of their fifth child. Through her writing Mrs. Hale attracted the attention of a man in Boston who wanted to start a magazine. After agreeing to become the editor, she published the first issue of the *Ladies' Magazine* in January 1828. A few months later, she moved to Boston and endeavored to make the magazine a success over the next several years. But there was competition—the *Lady's Book*, published by Louis Godey in Philadelphia. In 1836 Godey bought the Boston magazine and convinced Mrs. Hale to work for him. Mrs. Hale again



Francis Alexander, artist. Mrs. [sic] Hannah Adams (Boston: Pendletons Lith., 1828), in *Ladies' Magazine*, vol. 1 (1828). Lithograph based on painting by Chester Harding; the painting was presented to the Boston Athenaeum in 1833 as the “gift of several ladies.”

took a big risk and moved to Philadelphia, where she edited *Godey's Lady's Book* from January 1837 through December 1877—and became a major player in literary publishing. Sometimes biography is better than fiction.

We already had a good run of *Godey's Lady's Book*, but the earliest issue we had of its Boston predecessor was the fifth, for May 1828. This past year we were very fortunate to locate a copy of the entire first volume, with its frontispiece lithograph depicting Hannah Adams (1755-1831). Hannah Adams, like Sarah Josepha Hale, was impelled in her career by economic necessity. In 1828 Miss Adams (not “Mrs.”) was in her seventies. Mrs. Hale may have considered Hannah Adams an inspiring example of a woman who had been willing to take a risk on a career in letters and succeeded. But conventional modesty holds sway in Mrs. Hale's introduction. Writing in the third person, she characterizes herself as “trembling for an issue of an enterprise in which she reluctantly engaged. She would now hardly dare proceed, did not hope sometimes whisper —

... Our doubts are traitors,  
And make us lose the good we oft might win,  
By fearing to attempt.”

The fragment of verse that hope whispered to Mrs. Hale is from Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. Quoting Shakespeare was useful in establishing herself as someone who had the right education for the literary arena. It can be useful today to remember that one can sabotage oneself through self-doubt.

Some periodical editors sought to appeal to readers through their adherence to Christian values. The *Ladies' Repository*, published in Cincinnati, was edited by Methodist clergy. We acquired a copy of the volume for 1867, edited by the Rev. Isaac William Wiley. In the January issue, Wiley writes that he wishes “to provide a pure and elevat-



William Wellstood, engraver. *Our Father Which Art in Heaven*, in *Ladies' Repository*, vol. 27 (Cincinnati, 1867).



ing literature, adapted to the wants of the Christian family.” The artwork often reflected the magazine’s religious aims, as well. Shown here is a plate from the May 1867 issue. “Our Father Which Art in Heaven,” depicting a child being taught to pray by his mother, was an especially sentimental subject since many children had lost their fathers in the Civil War—thus “our father” easily could have two meanings, especially to a young child.

### Writing

We continue to seek narratives by women to add to the collection. Although the phrase “written by herself” does not guarantee that the text was unmediated (by friends, family, pastors, or other “helpful” editors), it does convey the idea that such writing was autobiographical. The brief first-person narrative *Remarkable Account of Mrs. Rachel Lucas* went through three editions (1806, 1809, and 1811). We recently acquired the 1809 Newburyport edition. In the pamphlet, Mrs. Lucas details her illness, which progressed from a simple toothache, which was treated with aggressive bloodletting (sixteen incisions followed by a warm bath), to chronic convulsive fits. In one episode, she fell and “parted the bones in [her] head.” She turns to prayer. Then she has a near-death experience; she is presumed dead for fifty minutes, during which time she “enjoyed unspeakable rapture.” After this she steadily recovers. The pamphlet lists the names of the six people who witnessed this instance of faith healing, and ends with an obscure minister’s testimony as to the veracity of the account. It joins a growing collection of accounts of women recovering from chronic illness through prayer.

We have also attempted to add transcripts of trials related to women (but more about that later). Of interest here is one with an appendix written by the defendant herself: *Trial and Defence of Mrs. Sally Thompson on a Complaint of Insubordination to the Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Evil Speaking and Immorality, Held before a Select Committee of Said Church in Cherry-Valley, June 10, 1830. To Which Is Annexed, an Exposition of Some Facts Relating to Her Former Movements and Encouragement in Said Society. Written by Herself* (Lowell, Mass., 1832). Mrs. Thompson wrote the appendix because the committee of Methodists who excommunicated her in Cherry Valley, New York, did not

allow her to testify at her own trial. According to Mrs. Thompson, various preachers had asked her to hold meetings and even participated in meetings at which she spoke from the pulpit—until a new policy barred her from continuing to do so. But people appealed to her directly for help, and she therefore defied the new policy and held meetings. She was very much consoled by the fact that between two hundred and three hundred people (presumably her supporters) attended the public trial on which she insisted. There appears to have been no specific problem with Mrs. Thompson’s preaching, on topics as ordinary as the Prodigal Son and the parable of the fig tree. The problem was that the Methodist hierarchy was trying to stop women from preaching in the 1830s, as in other Protestant sects. Mrs. Thompson apparently published versions of this pamphlet in 1837 and 1839—suggesting that she spent much of the decade attempting to vindicate herself.

Other autobiographical works, such as Maria Brooks’s novel *Idomen, or, The Vale of Yumuri* (New York, 1843), were decidedly secular. Never widely published due apparently to the book’s content, the copies of this “proof edition” are exceedingly scarce. Writing under her pseudonym “Maria de Occidente,” Mrs. Brooks tells the tale of a woman’s passionate love affair with a young Canadian officer and her despair when the affair ends. Scholars are still not certain exactly how much of *Idomen* is autobiographical. But the basic outline of the plot corresponds to events in Maria Brooks’s own (remarkable) life.

In the history of women’s rights activism, Lucretia Mott, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Abby Kelley Foster, Lucy Stone, and others who attended the national conventions have rightly gotten attention. But the movement proceeded on a local level as well. To our immense surprise, we were able to acquire a hitherto unrecorded pamphlet documenting the proceedings of a local convention: *Colloquy on Woman’s Rights, by the Young Ladies of the Palmyra Union School* (Rochester, N.Y., 1851). Here is an excerpt: “Resolved—That woman shall no longer be considered a plaything, nor a domestic animal, but an independent rational being.” Elsewhere in the publication, a Miss Parke recommends that a woman could be president of the United States and likens the male-only government to “a noble steamship with but one paddle-wheel.” One wonders whether Miss Parke, Miss A. H. Nickerson (who presided), or any of the

other articulate young women of the Palmyra Union School would have been among the more than two thousand people who attended the third national woman's rights convention in Syracuse, New York, in September 1852, and what they did in later life. For some perhaps the *Colloquy* became their "Declaration of Sentiments." We only have the transcript of this "convention" held by young women at their school. What we really need is more information about the participants—autobiographical, if possible.

Similarly, we sought to learn more about the owners of four friendship albums that Trustee Clarence Wolf gave us this year. Three of the



Inscription by Julia Morwitzer, in *Katie [Pollock?] Friendship Album* (1876-1881). Gift of Clarence Wolf.

albums were owned by young women whom we could identify fairly easily. But the fourth remains a bit of a mystery. Many of the entries, dated between 1876 and 1881, are addressed to "Katie," who seems to have classmates first at the Philadelphia Girls' Normal School and then at the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (which is now Moore College of Art). According to Joelen Pastva, the archivist at Moore, there were fifteen students enrolled at the Philadelphia School of Design between 1879 and 1882 who could be our "Katie." The most likely one was Katie Pollock, who graduated from the Philadelphia Girls' Normal School in 1878. At her graduation, the Committee of Industrial Art Education of the Board of Education awarded her a scholarship to attend the Philadelphia School of Design for Women. She is listed as a student at the School of Design from 1878 to 1881, but there is no evidence that she graduated. She appears in the 1880 census as Catharine Pollock, single, 21, on 1628 No. 17th St., Philadelphia, where she was living with her mother Annie Pollock (43), John Pollock (20), and four other family members. The fact that a John Pollock (her brother?) signed the album made us feel even more confident in identifying her as the owner.

Seven of the female inscribers in Katie Pollock's album include art-work in their entries. Among these women, Leone Benyaurd also attended the School of Design on a scholarship after having graduated from the Girls' Normal School (although the Board of Public Education's published report lists her as Leone E. "Bengaurd"). One of the finest entries is shown here—a watercolor by Julia Morwitzer. Morwitzer, who graduated from the Philadelphia School of Design in 1882, received a medal sponsored by the publisher George W. Childs for the best original design by a student at the school.

We would love to know more about what happened to Katie Pollock, Julia Morwitzer, and the other female art students they knew. Did any of them go on to have careers after receiving vocational training at the School of Design? Philadelphia engraver John Sartain characterized George P. Williams, as "admirably suited to [women's] nature and habits." How did that work out? For example, the evidence does not suggest that Leone Benyaurd (with her usefully unusual name!) had a career. As far as we can tell, Leone was single and living with her parents in

Moorestown, New Jersey, in 1920, and then buried in Moorestown after her death in 1943. But perhaps one of our researchers can locate information that sheds more light on her later life, and the lives of her classmates.

### *Testifying in Court*

This year we also sought to acquire trial literature—especially in cases where women spoke on the record. Of course, the most sensational trials were the ones that ended up in print. Viewed together, the published accounts suggest what elicited the greatest interest. Predictably, seduction, adultery, and other x-rated matters account for the vast majority, but slander, in at least one instance, rated publication. In the *Report of the Trial of Eunice Hall vs. Robert Grant, for Slander* (Elizabeth-town, N.J., 1821), the plaintiff, Eunice Hall, was suing Robert Grant on grounds that he destroyed her reputation—and the school she kept in Elizabeth, New Jersey. Grant had been one of the physicians who took care of a student of Hall's in the weeks before her death from what may have been sepsis ("gangre blisters" and fevers that left her deranged). The student, Selina Hueston, was characterized as "high-spirited." In fact, she had been expelled shortly before she became sick, after she and another student were caught watching Miss Hall tipping from a bottle of liquor that was "kept for the servants." Coincidentally, Selina's father, a "sea-faring man" who resided in the West Indies, had recently died insolvent and owing Hall money for Selina's tuition, room, and board. After Selina's death, Grant blamed Hall, calling her a murderer and vowing to destroy her reputation. In the next two years, the school did indeed decline. But, according to testimony, Hall had in fact moved to New York and bought a house for the vast sum of \$5,000. The jury decided in Hall's favor and awarded her \$250 in damages—less than the \$600 owed, itemized in the pamphlet's appendix—and significantly less than the \$10,000 which Hall had sought. One senses that the jury had trouble with the ostensibly hardhearted treatment of a recently orphaned young woman, despite Hall's attempts to explain and justify her actions. But they still thought it libelous for a decent (though perhaps mercenary) schoolmistress to be called a murderer. Our transcript makes interesting reading and includes lengthy testimony from Selina's classmates.

Equally intriguing is *Important Trial for Seduction, in the Superior Court of N. York, before Justice Oakley, Nancy Van Haun vs. Silas E. Burrows, on Wednesday 27th and Thursday 28th November, 1833* (New York, 1833). In these proceedings, Nancy Van Haun brought suit against Silas E. Burrows, charging Burrows with having seduced her sister Mary Carew. In the 19th century, fathers and husbands typically sued for loss of services, especially when women's employers got them pregnant. As Pamela Haag has noted in her book *Consent: Sexual Rights and the Transformation of American Liberalism* (1999), this practice can be traced back to feudal law. But this is the first time we've seen a sister suing the alleged seducer. And the circumstances in this case are particularly unusual. Apparently Nancy Van Haun (née Carew) and her sisters Mary and Maria had become wards of Enoch Burrows, the father of Silas Burrows, after their own father's death. Then in adulthood, soon after the death of his wife, Silas Burrows may have gotten Mary pregnant. In this 1833 trial he defends himself by maligning the character of all three sisters, claiming they are prostitutes. The result was a hung jury. In 1834 a second trial resulted in a verdict for Burrows, a wealthy New York merchant. One can easily imagine wealthy New Yorkers seeing the case as evidence of the dangers of taking orphans into their homes, and raising them together with their own children.

Another recently-acquired trial pamphlet relates to one of the most famous divorce cases in 19th-century America, *Dunham vs. Dunham*. Initially, Eliza Dunham sued her husband, Thomas Dunham, a wealthy Boston textile manufacturer, for abuse and neglect. Then Thomas brought a countersuit against Eliza, claiming that she was guilty of adultery (with her physician!). Our new pamphlet, *Report of the Great Divorce Case* (Boston, 1842), provides the details of the latter. The judge threw the case out due to lack of evidence—but the publisher rushed the testimony into print for a public that was eager to read about the scandalous behavior of the upper class.

The public also had a fascination with trials that involved alleged misconduct by members of the clergy, as we discussed at length in the 2011 *Annual Report*. This year, we added to our already-large collection. In the *Trial of Rev. Issachar Grosscup, for the Seduction of Roxana L. Wheeler* (Canandaigua, N.Y., 1848), we learn that the Baptist minister

taking care of the Wheelers' children in their absence took the opportunity to seduce and impregnate their seventeen-year-old daughter Roxana, a portrait of whom appears on the title page.

The jury awarded Roxana's father, John Harvey Wheeler, damages of \$950. The idea of the father receiving compensation for loss of his daughter's services definitely underscores how differently the law operated for women than for men at the time. But Roxana did get the opportunity to testify at her father's trial against Grosscup. According to her testimony, it was Mrs. Grosscup who prescribed pennyroyal and tansy for Roxana's "cold," after her husband had implored her to name another man the father. Both pennyroyal and tansy were abortifacients—which made her sick—and the baby was dead at birth. One can imagine the readers of the testimony being horrified that the minister solicited the aid of his wife in concealing his misconduct.

Another man administered his own poison. In 1853 John Hendrickson, Jr., was convicted of poisoning his nineteen-year-old wife, Maria, with aconite, more popularly known as wolf's bane. But the testimony reprinted in our new pamphlet *Trial of John Hendrickson, Jr.* (Albany, 1853) indicates that his family members helped him try to conceal the crime. We know our own 19th-century readers had access to information

on this case as it was summarized by John Swinburne, a New York physician, in his pamphlet *Poisoning by Aconite: Synopsis of the Trial of Hendrickson for the Murder of His Wife* (Philadelphia, 1862). Our copy, a reprint from the *Medical and Surgical Reporter*, is inscribed "from the author." It's good to know that our recent efforts to boost the Library Company's holdings in literature related to women and their activities complement material that we acquired when it was newly issued.



*Trial of Rev. Issachar Grosscup*  
(Canandaigua, N.Y., 1848).

Cornelia King  
*Curator of Women's History*

## *African Americana* *African Diasporic Travels*

This year's acquisitions comprised a number of influential writings on culture and self-determination in the black Diaspora by clergy and missionaries. Well-read in the available literature on African traditions, these men of the cloth stressed the importance of understanding Africa on an empirical level, both for the purposes of proselytizing and for the satisfaction of their own intellects.

Last year we wrote of a work by A.M.E. Bishop Levi Jenkins Coppin, *Observations of Men and Things in South Africa* (Philadelphia: A.M.E. Book Concern, 1905). This year we jumped back ten years and acquired *Glimpses of Africa, West and Southwest Coast* (Nashville, Tenn.: A.M.E. Church Sunday School Union, 1895) by Charles S. Smith, a minister who was elected bishop at the same time as Coppin. Born in Canada in 1852, Smith moved to the United States after the Civil War and pursued a varied career, ranging from teaching in Freedmen's Bureau schools to earning an M.D. from Meharry Medical College in Nashville and serving a term in Alabama's State House of Representatives. Smith devoted most of his life to the A.M.E. Church, to which, perhaps, his most important legacy was the establishment of the A.M.E. Sunday School Union in 1882 to promote Sunday school curriculum and training. Located in a five-story building in downtown Nashville, the Sunday School Union also published works on general denominational affairs, including Bishop Daniel A. Payne's *A History of the African Methodist Episcopal Church* (Nashville, Tenn.: A.M.E. Sunday School Union, 1891), a seminal historiographical effort edited by Smith and which we purchased in 1988.

*Glimpses of Africa* records Smith's impressions of African people and the continent's prospects for the future during a six-month odyssey of 3,000 miles. Hollis Read's *The Negro Problem Solved, or, Africa as She Was, as She Is, and as She Shall Be* (New York: A. A. Constantine, 1864) had planted in Smith a twenty-year-old desire to visit the continent. Additionally spurred by his concern for the future of black youth, Smith hoped that he would discover opportunities for jobs and social advancement for enterprising young African Americans, much as the American West promised new economic opportunities for white Americans.





"C. S. Smith and his Adopted Family of Dwalla Children," in Charles S. Smith, *Glimpses of Africa, West and Southwest Coast* (Nashville, Tenn., 1895). Purchased with funds from the Albert M. Greenfield Foundation.

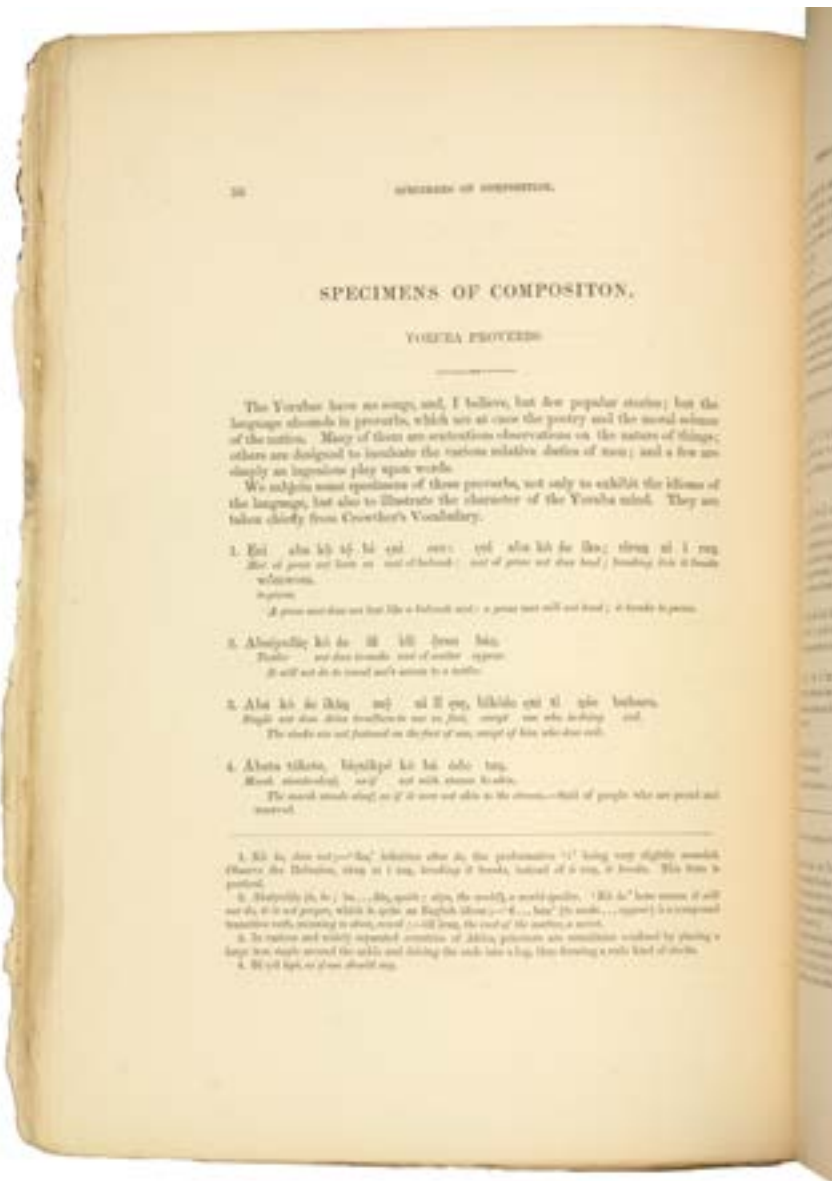
Smith took with him Bibles, hymn books, church and Sunday school class books, church histories, and reward cards for distribution among the A.M.E. missions, churches, and Sunday schools in Sierra Leone and Liberia. Adorned in his Knight Templar accoutrements, Smith also met with African kings and chiefs.

At the conclusion of his trek, disappointed by the lack of economic and industrial development in the countries on his itinerary, Smith felt that Africa was nonetheless ripe for missionary work. Upon his return to America, Smith travelled to A.M.E. conferences around the country, exhibiting his souvenir collection of "African curiosities" and more than one hundred photographs, many of which appear in *Glimpses of Africa*. Of interest to us here is the role of the first independent black church on the development of the independent Christian church movement in Africa.

In opposition to Smith's views, Edward Wilmot Blyden believed that the future of the African Diaspora lay in a return to the African continent, away from the racial discrimination and cultural erasure that blacks faced in Europe and the Americas. Blyden was one of the most important and influential of the 19th century's black intellectuals. In the recently acquired *West Africa before Europe: and Other Addresses, Delivered in England in 1901 and 1903* (London: C. M. Phillips, 1905), Blyden argued that Africa's development lay in a symbiotic confluence of African and European cultural and religious values.

Blyden was born in 1832 in St. Thomas, West Indies, of free and literate parents. He was a very bright young man and school authorities in St. Thomas tried to have him educated in religious seminaries in the United States. Racial prejudice closed that opportunity for him, but in 1850 the American Colonization Society sent him to Liberia for schooling at the new Alexander High School in Monrovia. By 1858, he was principal of the school and an ordained Presbyterian minister. He later pursued a busy career as a writer and lecturer in Great Britain and the United States. For a time, he was a correspondent, and then editor, of the *Liberian Herald*, where his articles supported race pride and black emigration to Liberia. His other writings, mostly speeches and essays, emphasized the nobility and culture of native Africans as well as promoting the education and economic development of Africans. *West Africa*





From Thomas J. Bowen, *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yoruba Language* (Washington City, 1858). Purchased with funds from the Albert M. Greenfield Foundation.

*before Europe* is the eighth work by Blyden to come into our collection; most were purchased as new works in the late 19th century.

This collection of essays reflects upon the effects of European colonization in Africa. Blyden, paradoxically, remained a supporter of European colonization as a partnership necessary to the redemption of Africa through education and commerce. He exhorted European imperialists to “think black” by maintaining native African religions, social structures, and institutions rather than replacing them wholesale with Western culture because “every race, it is now being recognized, has a soul, and the soul of the race finds expression in its institutions, and to kill those institutions is to kill the soul—a terrible homicide.” A polyglot, Blyden believed that language in particular played a vital role in understanding a culture. Fluent in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, English, and Spanish, he also learned Arabic in order to study the Koran and to communicate with local African chiefs and Muslim colleagues. Though a Presbyterian minister, he was highly appreciative of Islam and its centuries-old influence in Africa, particularly that faith’s emphasis on education and the absence of racial prejudice he witnessed among Muslims.

The preservation of African cultures through an understanding of African languages is exemplified by our next acquisition, Thomas J. Bowen’s *Grammar and Dictionary of the Yoruba Language* (Washington City: Smithsonian Institution, 1858), which is likely the first work on the Yoruba language published in the United States. This book is primarily a revision and expansion of the work of the Rev. Samuel Ajayi Crowther, a former slave who became an accomplished linguist and Nigeria’s first African bishop for the Anglican Church. A proponent of indigenous African culture and customs, Crowther’s linguistic scholarship helped ensure that African languages would not be replaced by those of European colonizers and missionaries. Among Crowther’s works were London imprints of primers for the Igbo and Nupe languages of West Africa, Yoruba dictionaries, Yoruba translations of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and published journals of his missionary travels, many of which are in our holdings.

Bowen used Crowther’s texts to learn Yoruba and to familiarize himself with local customs when he arrived in 1850 as the first white American Baptist Church missionary sent to what is now Nigeria. Bow-

en's *Grammar* included the addition of diacritical marks in accordance with the standards of the American Oriental Society and expanded sections on vocabulary, grammar, specimens of composition, and translations of Yoruba proverbs. Reliant upon the knowledge of native Africans, Bowen's publications, in turn, helped relay information about Africa to black Americans. In addition to his *Grammar*, Bowen was also the author of *Central Africa: Adventures and Missionary Labors in Several Countries*

*in the Interior of Africa, from 1849 to 1856* (Charleston: Southern Baptist Publication Society, 1857), a work that later influenced the black nationalist Martin R. Delany in his quest for an African homeland.

### *The African American Experience in Their Own Words*

Works by African American writers and institutions were the highlights of recent acquisitions. These spanned the 19th century, representing African American religious life and the post-war rise of black journalism and protest.

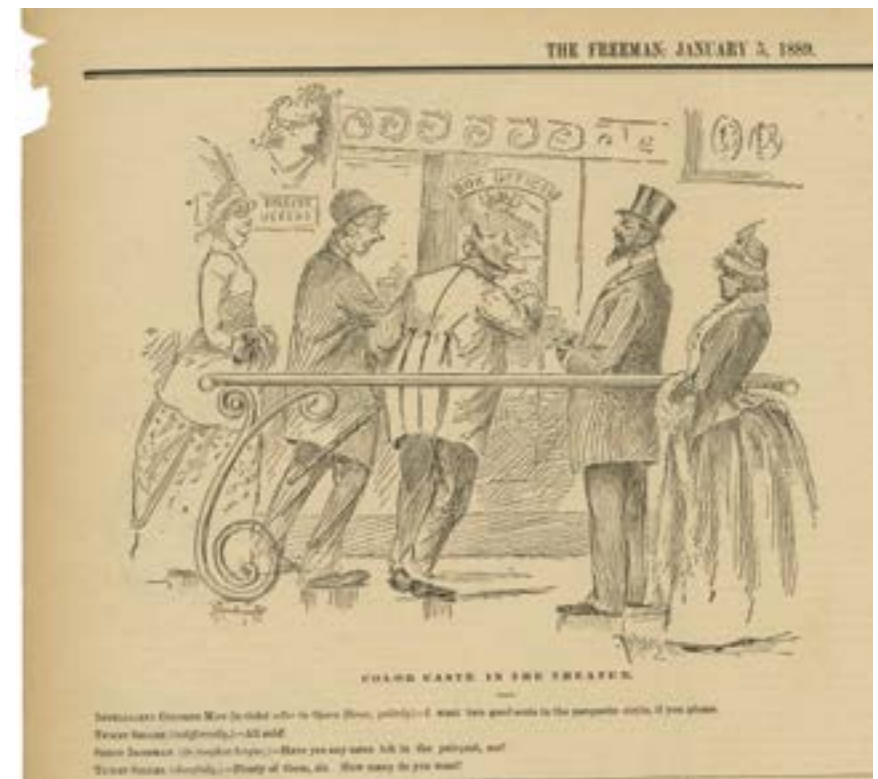
Despite being the child of a white mother and a father of African extraction, Lemuel Haynes was in many ways a quintessential New Englander: Connecticut-born in 1753, a Revolutionary War veteran, devout Federalist, and Congregational minister to white congregations in Connecticut, Vermont, and New York. He became one of the most notable Congregational voices of the early Republic partly



"The Union Sons of Johnson Society, of Philadelphia" (Philadelphia, ca. 1830). Ribbon purchased with funds from the Albert M. Greenfield Foundation.

because of his color, but also because of his powerful sermonizing. We recently added to our holdings of his work with a new sermon, *Divine Decrees, an Encouragement to the Use of Means* (Utica, N.Y.: Seward and Williams, 1810) delivered to the Evangelical Society, a Congregational philanthropy organized to help educate "pious and needy young men" seeking to become ministers.

Black Methodists are represented in a newly acquired ribbon created for "The Union Sons of Johnson Society, of Philadelphia" (Philadelphia, ca. 1830). This small textile depicts the Rev. Edward Johnson, who was among a group of parishioners to secede from Richard Allen's Bethel A.M.E. Church in 1820 to form the First Colored Wesley Methodist Church in Philadelphia. A sail maker by trade, Johnson was placed in charge of Wesley's congregation in 1822, holding various positions of



Gustave Verbeck, "Color Caste in the Theater" in *The Freeman* (January 5, 1889). Purchased with funds from the Albert M. Greenfield Foundation.

leadership until at least 1850. The ribbon's text likely refers to a beneficial society named in Johnson's honor. By 1838, more than eighty beneficial societies, many with religious affiliations, were active in the Philadelphia African American community. According to the 1838 census of Philadelphia blacks, the Union Sons of Johnson had dispensed \$550 in aid during the previous year.

While little is known about the congregation of the Florin A.M.E. Church, an admission ticket to a church fundraiser, *A Grand Tableau, Cake-Walk and Festival. Benefit of the Pastor of the A.M.E. Church* (Lancaster County, Pa., 1884), provides a tantalizing glimpse into the activities of a rural black church. With a population of approximately 2,800 African Americans in 1880, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, was home to roughly a dozen independent black churches, including the Florin A.M.E. Church, which was active there from 1858 to 1912.

We were pleased to acquire a handful of issues of an important African American news weekly, national in scope, *The Freeman: A National Colored Weekly Newspaper*, published in Indianapolis from 1884 to 1927. Pre-20th century African American newspapers are a major gap in our collection as they were rarely preserved. This was a heavily illustrated, lively journal, whose editorial statement proclaimed that "the illustrations of The Freeman are more than worth the subscription price." We acquired issues for January 5, February 15, July 27, 1889, and March 10, 1910. These scattered issues, with no continuity of coverage for individual events, will be of limited research value. However, they are of interest as an example of the burgeoning black press of the post-war period and we considered their rarity sufficient justification for their acquisition.

Another rare item among our purchases was Peter S. Blake's *My Views* (n.p., 1866?), a political broadside full of unrestrained language in defense of African Americans' right to equality. A free black barber from Wilmington, Delaware, Blake joined the U.S. Navy in December 1862 and was soon assigned to the monitor *Patapsco*, which supported the blockade of Southern ports. In March 1864, Blake wrote an impassioned letter to the editor of *The Christian Recorder*, reporting that he had been in more than sixty-five battles without injury and encouraging other black men to join the Union forces. Blake's good fortune remained

with him in January 1865 when a Confederate mine in Charleston Harbor sank the *Patapsco*, killing half the crew.

In *My Views*, Blake asserted the critical role that African Americans played, particularly during times of war, in helping to forge the nation. Blake's Civil War experience probably helped shape the sentiments that he vehemently expressed in this broadside. While acknowledging the "political thieves" who were attempting to exclude blacks from government, Blake celebrated the triumph of freedom of the "old Ship of State," which was "knocked about fearfully by the tornado of War." A frequent writer of letters to the editor of *The Christian Recorder*, Blake also published a version of this broadside in that periodical in March 1866, demonstrating its importance as a platform for black political thought. Although the extent of the broadside's circulation is unknown, Blake likely had it printed in protest of Democratic attempts in Congress and state legislatures to prevent black male suffrage.

*The Christian Recorder* piece and references within the broadside help to date this item's printing to circa 1866, despite a notation at the bottom that reads January 28, 1864. Perhaps most telling is Blake's defiant opening sentence, "That this is an exclusively white man's Government is as absolute and errant a political falsehood as was ever uttered." South Carolina Governor Benjamin Perry had opened his remarks at the state's constitutional convention in September 1865 with the phrase, "This is a white man's government, and intended for white men only." As a condition of Reconstruction, states of the former Confederacy were required to rewrite their constitutions in order to gain readmission to the Union. South Carolina audaciously produced a constitution that restricted voting and legislative office to white men. After Perry's speech, the phrase "white man's government" gained currency during debates about black suffrage, eventually becoming the Democratic Party's rallying cry in the 1868 presidential election. The term was further imprinted on the public imagination by Thomas Nast's 1868 political cartoon in *Harper's Weekly*, "This is a White Man's Government," which depicted a Reconstruction alliance of a New York Irish immigrant, a Wall Street financier, and Ku Klux Klan founder Nathan Bedford Forrest standing on the back of a prone black man.

Further confirming our doubts about the inscribed date of 1864 is





*Interesting Narrative of the Shipwreck and Captivity of Dr. Archibald Thompson, . . . His State of Slavery in Algiers . . . and the Doctor's Happy Release and Return* (London, ca. 1808). Purchased with funds from the Albert M. Greenfield Foundation.

Blake's reference to "the self-written requiem of that prince of cowards, James Buchanan," which seems to be an allusion to *The Administration on the Eve of the Rebellion* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1865) by Buchanan, Abraham Lincoln's immediate predecessor in the White House. Published at the close of the Civil War, Buchanan's book attempted to vindicate his administration's attempts to save the Union, laying the blame for the war on the influence of the Republican Party and intractable abolitionists.

Blake's spirited contributions to *The Christian Recorder* seemed to have ceased after the 1860s. He continued working as a barber until, sometime after 1880, he apparently secured a patronage position in the U.S. Interior Department, where he served until his death at age 63 in 1902.

### *Visualizing Slavery's Violence*

Visual imagery is one of the most immediate ways to convey the barbaric nature of slavery. Such was the case with two recent acquisitions whose violent frontispieces caught our eye. A large, folded aquatint engraving showing the public impaling of a fugitive slave fronts the lurid *Interesting Narrative of the Shipwreck and Captivity of Dr. Archibald Thompson, . . . His State of Slavery in Algiers . . . and the Doctor's Happy Release and Return* (London: Thomas Tegg, ca. 1808). Thompson served as a physician on a British slave ship before a shipwreck and capture by Arab slave traders relegated him to the same unhappy state of bondage as his African charges. Thompson plotted his escape until witnessing the gruesome punishment of impalement meted out to runaway slaves. Typical of the era's Algerine captivity narratives, Thompson's sensationalized tale is an unintended study in irony, relating the horrors of the enslavement of whites by Arabs while glossing over the atrocities committed by Europeans in the African slave trade.

The frontispiece engraving seemed stylistically familiar to another in our collection, and sure enough our new item turns out to be a companion piece to a work we purchased in 1984, *Curious Adventures of Captain Stedman, During an Expedition to Surinam, in 1773* (London, ca. 1808), which was also published by Thomas Tegg. These two works suggest pub-



lisher Tegg was pandering to the basest instincts of his readers. Similar in tone to the violence of our new work, our earlier purchase features a large aquatint engraving of the savage flogging of a voluptuous naked female slave.

A half-naked enslaved woman also appears under the lash in the frontispiece of our newly acquired *Authentic History of the English West Indies; . . . With the Condition and Treatment of the Negroes* (London: Dean and Munday, 181?). This dramatic engraving depicting one slave whipping another while a European planter watches, “as if Deaf to the piercings shrieks that rend the air,” sets a decidedly antislavery tone to the anonymously written pamphlet. As with the Tegg publication already in our holdings, *Authentic History* borrows from John Gabriel Stedman’s *Narrative of a Five Years’ Expedition Against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (London: J. Johnson, 1796), a two-volume work in our collection since its publication. Although set in the West Indies rather than Surinam, *Authentic His-*



*Authentic History of the English West Indies; . . . With the Condition and Treatment of the Negroes* (London, 181?). Purchased with funds from the Albert M. Greenfield Foundation.

*tory* echoes, almost verbatim, several gruesome accounts of slave punishments described by Stedman, including an eyewitness account of a slave being sadistically hanged alive by the ribs from a hook, an image that was vividly illustrated for Stedman’s *Narrative* by engraver William Blake.

Purportedly a twenty-year resident of the English West Indies, the author of *Authentic History* interspersed detailed descriptions of the islands’ flora and fauna with graphic but sympathetic commentary on the maltreatment of African slaves. The author painted a vivid picture of slave life, ranging from descriptions of slaves’ first moments of disorientation upon their arrival on the islands to observations on the dangerous working conditions on the sugar plantations.

Writing after Britain outlawed the slave trade in 1807, our anonymous author retreated from calling for the abolition of slavery despite being revolted by the institution’s endemic violence. Wishing to counter historians and slavery proponents who believed that blacks were devoid of human feelings, the author insisted that, “[s]tupified with grief [from being sold away from family members], the agonized negro silently bears his wrongs, and, for this tame submission to a power he cannot resist, he is called an insensible being.” The writer hoped that these accounts would sway public opinion in support of Parliamentary legislation to mitigate slaves’ suffering, an often overlooked position on the spectrum of early 19th-century antislavery discourse.

Krystal Appiah  
Curator of African Americana

## Victorian Commercial Ephemera

Historical advertising ephemera, sometimes small in size but always expansive in meaning, reflects in the most unassuming manner the economic and cultural shifts affecting the society of yesteryear. Typically both textual and visual, ephemera forms a large segment of our visual culture collections. In 2012 the Visual Culture Program (VCP at LCP) acquired a number of items of ephemera representative of the advertising methods used during the Victorian era. Both independent businessmen like itinerant calligraphers and well-established industries such as the newspaper trade relied on mass marketing, which assumed a central role in the commerce in consumer goods during the later 19th century.

### *Fixing the Attention of the Public: 19th-Century Trade Cards*



*Forepaugh's All Feature Show* (Philadelphia: Avil & Co., ca. 1887).

*David Heston, Manufacturer of Advertising Cards, Frankford, Philad'a.* (Philadelphia, ca. 1880).

*Strawbridge & Clothier* flip-up trade card (New York: Donaldson Brothers, ca. 1885), fully opened.

Trade cards, considered novel in the 1860s, had by the 1880s become a standard form of advertising. Typically produced as chromolithographs (lithographs printed with separately colored stones), the cards were a mainstay of the work of many late-19th-century lithographers. Lithography produced color printed works more efficiently than other techniques, and color printing added cachet to trade cards, making them desirable as collectibles and helping to attract repeat customers.

Commercial enterprises of all kinds ordered the cards in stock as well as custom designs to entice and persuade individuals to attend their performances, purchase the most stylish attire, or engage their professional services, as represented by these three Philadelphia advertisements from the 1880s. Easily transportable in a pocket or purse, these advertisements vary in design, size, and function, but they shared the goal of producing consumers.

For circuses like *Forepaugh's All Feature Show*, constantly on the move and needing to produce substantial profits from limited engagements, advertisements had to impress viewers immediately. Although overshadowed by the circus poster in historical studies, trade cards depicting and describing featured performers, such as an "equine jumbo," also flooded the towns in which Forepaugh's would soon arrive.



Verso of *Forepaugh's All Feature Show* (Philadelphia: Avil & Co., ca. 1887).

No longer well known, Adam Forepaugh (1831-1890) dominated the late-19th-century circus circuit along with his main rival P. T. Barnum (1810-1891). A Philadelphia native, Forepaugh began his career as a butcher and horse dealer before entering the entertainment business in the early 1860s, when he purchased an interest in a small menagerie. By the time of this circa 1887 trade card printed by Philadelphia firm Avil & Co., Forepaugh and Barnum operated the two largest circuses in the nation, crisscrossing the country on an agreed-upon schedule devised to avoid direct competition.

A businessman rather than a showman, Forepaugh enlisted his son Adam Jr. to be his ringmaster and master animal trainer. It was the younger Forepaugh who trained the intrepid pony Blondin to walk (in specially made rubber shoes) on a tight rope, and who most likely oversaw the care of the giant horse Nebo. Trained over several months, Blondin, named in honor of the French tightrope walker, performed with the nearly seven-



*Strawbridge & Clothier* flip-up trade card closed.

Blondin worked as a featured attraction at the circus until at least 1890, whereas the fate of Nebo remains unclear. Neither, however, was listed in an 1892 circular advertising the circus.

Strawbridge & Clothier, the preeminent Philadelphia retail institution of its day, also took advantage of the trade card trend to market itself. Despite fine trade card printers in Philadelphia, such as Avil, the dry goods store used the New York lithographic firm Donaldson & Bros., which specialized in clothing trade cards, to produce this circa 1885 “before-and-after” card.

Although everyday customers likely received the delightful promotion tucked in with their purchases, the flip-up card may have served another purpose as well. By the 1870s, Strawbridge & Clothier showcased

en-foot-tall Clydesdale in Philadelphia in 1887. The focus of more publicity than his supporting role in the trade card would suggest, Blondin first gained fame when Forepaugh’s announced that the nimble-footed horse would walk across Niagara Falls without a net in 1886. Although the blatant publicity stunt never took place thanks to the intervention of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, it surely served its purpose.

its new spring fashions with a well-publicized yearly “opening.” Perhaps our novelty trade card depicting smartly-attired boys dressed in light fabrics and colors circulated among the open-house patrons—and their children, who likely needed to be amused. In 1885, the possible year of our card, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, echoing the sentiment of the advertisement’s text, raved that “the garments shown by Messrs. Strawbridge & Clothier for children every season approach nearer and nearer to perfection.” Quite possibly, the spring shoppers, and more importantly their children, were treated to a “toy” they found as appealing as the season’s fine-quality stock.

Unlike the haberdasher, advertising card and label printer David Heston did not need a second party to create his circa 1880 advertisement. For a trade card advertising his trade cards—a meta trade card?—Heston forwent chromolithography in favor of color wood engraving. The bold pictorial details in his design were better realized through this relief printing process. Although genre scenes were dominant among trade card illustrations, job printers such as Heston often used ornaments, borders, and flourishes to represent their profession. Heston’s specimen reflects a shift in the job printing trade, influenced by the Art Nouveau movement of the late-19th century that sought to “aestheticize” the environment, toward the creation of unique and beautiful images even for an ephemeral work.

Although Heston never described his cards as art, he certainly had in mind the visual resonance of his designs when he claimed that “advertising cards are undoubtedly just the thing to effectually gain, and as it were, *fix* the attention of the public.” But ever the practical businessman, he continued, “as we are now enabled to get them up so cheaply, it will cost but a trifle, comparatively, to give them a thorough trial.” Writing during a transitional period for commercial artists, Heston shows a full awareness in his remarks of the way trade cards functioned. Designed to catch the eye through images first, and text second, the cards had become an essential business practice for the printer and his patron.

These three new additions to our trade card collections highlight the ability of historical commercial ephemera to shed light on 19th-century consumer culture. Through the collecting efforts of the Visual Culture Program, our holdings continue to grow in rich material such as this.



### *Wrapping Up Business: Victorian Advertising Envelopes*

As advertisements, vignette-size illustrations can often engage viewers as much as those that are poster-size. Beginning in the mid-19th century, manufactured envelopes began to be printed with such advertisements. A relatively new form of stationery, envelopes developed during the antebellum period in concert with a more regulated postal system. Postage rates were falling and delivery was being organized into designated routes. As more mail circulated for longer distances, the practice of folding letters into packets was becoming impractical and stationers debuted their new “wrappers.” In back rooms on slow, rainy days, clerks cut, folded, and glued. With the invention in 1853 of a successful folding machine by Worcester physician Russell Hawes, it was possible to mass produce envelopes to meet growing consumer demand.

As a consequence, forward-thinking businesses, galvanized by continuing advances in graphics printing, employed envelopes as a “modern” means for direct advertising, what today would be referred to as an advertising cover. Illustrations, usually devoid of an artist’s imprint, adorned the entire face, the back, and, most often, the return address area, known

as the corner card. Intended to be iconic of a business or service, images were most often exterior views, product specimens, or commercial trademarks. In our recent acquisitions, images of birds served this purpose for two very different business enterprises.

G. W. Leids, likely an itinerant calligrapher, presumably used his envelope adorned with a delicate calligraphic bird to complement the “ornamental pen-flourished cards” inside. Like mailings of today addressed to “Resident,” Mr. Leids addressed his solicitation only “To School Teacher” when he sent his advertising cover through the Philadelphia post about 1880. Inside were a dozen ornamental cards that teachers would give to reward students who had excelled in their school work. As opposed to Leids’s feathered creature, the illustrations on Wade & Henry’s 1872 envelope signified actual birds. The two puff-chested pouters were designed and signed by respected British bird artist and breeder Joseph Williamson Ludlow (1840-1916). Bird breeders and dealers, also known as poultry men, such as Joseph M. Wade (born ca. 1832) and William A. Henry relied on true-to-life representations by reputable artists for their livelihood. Partners between about 1871 and 1874, the two men participated in a trade governed by standards of perfection that were



*To School Teacher. 12 Variety Ornamental Pen-Flourished Cards, . . . On Receipt of 12 One Cent Stamps, Philadelphia, Pa. G. W. Leids, P.O. Box 2, 305 Philadelphia, Pa. (Philadelphia, ca. 1880).*



*Joseph Williamson Ludlow, Pigeons, Fowls, Birds and Cages, Wade & Henry, 49 North Ninth Street, Philadelphia (Philadelphia, ca. 1872).*



promoted in publications such as *Fancier's Journal and Poultry Exchange*. These periodicals highlight the attention to detail and diligence required of “fanciers,” as well as revealing the intertwined relationships between the bird enthusiasts Wade and Henry, the addressee on their envelope William Simpson, and the illustrator Ludlow.

New York pawnbroker William Simpson was also, not surprisingly, a poultry man. As recorded in an 1873 *Pet Stock, Pigeon, and Poultry Bulletin*, he served as secretary of the New York Poultry Society from offices at 27 Chatham Street, the address listed on the envelope. Although we may never know the content of the inquiry Wade & Henry made to the Poultry Society, we were able to surmise its 1872 date from the other inscription on the advertising cover.

An 1873 *Bulletin* also reveals the extended relationship between Ludlow and the Philadelphia breeders. Ludlow shipped pigeons to the partners that fall when “one carrier and one pouter died during the passage” across the Atlantic. Another 1873 periodical establishes that Ludlow created highly praised images for Wade & Henry’s trade catalog of that year. Ludlow’s work made the volume “not only valuable as a price list of stock, and poultry, and pigeon appliances and fixtures, but as a note book of references in regard to the characteristics of the varieties, as shown in the illustrations.”

Although small and easily taken for granted by most of today’s viewers, the pictorial work on 19th-century commercial envelopes often provides historical information out of proportion to its size. As the Wade & Henry envelope so aptly shows, everything about these advertising covers is specific and intentional. The acquisition of this genre of historical ephemera will continue to be a focus for our visual culture collections.

### *Just the Thing for Children (and Adults)*

Increasing circulation has been a perennial goal for the newspaper trade. In the latter decades of the 19th century, the addition of art supplements in Sunday editions served as one means of attaining this objective. While parlor prints appealed to adults, newspaper publishers targeted the younger generations (and desired future subscribers) with cutout toys, often paper theaters. In 1896 *The Philadelphia Press* issued these chromolithographed cutouts of a

circus elephant and the “Greatest Show on Earth,” the latter a “theater” type, printed by Boston firms in hopes of enticing their adult readers’ children.

Recent additions to our visual culture collections, the sheets harken back to the paper toy theaters first made popular in England in the early 1800s. Spurred by the rising popularity of the theater and by advances in



Armstrong & Co. Queen Jumbo. Art supplement to *The Philadelphia Press*, June 14, 1896.

printing, the European toys usually replicated the set designs of specific plays. Produced in the United States by the 1820s, the earliest American toy theaters required construction with wood frames. Less sturdy in design, although no less engaging of a child's imagination and construction skills, the newspaper art supplements relied on flaps and tabs.

Newspapers promoted the construction toys, which began to be widely produced in the 1890s, as must-haves in columns with headlines like "Just the Thing for Children." The columns also provided a means to identify and describe the cutouts more fully. For our costumed pachyderm printed in fine detail by Armstrong & Co., the column confirmed the animal's identity as Jumbo. (What other elephant would be portrayed?) However, the celebrated Barnum & Bailey Circus animal had died in 1885, eleven years prior to the date of the supplement. This seemed to contradict the idea that the print was a marketing device in the guise of a toy, but the conundrum was soon unraveled.

Our toy *was* "Jumbo": Queen Jumbo, a small-eared Asian elephant. Originally named Jenny, and often described as male, the eight-ton show animal, later renamed Big Bingo, became a part of the Ringling Bros. circus the year the toy was issued. As shown, she was often attired in South Asian costume for performances in which she would haul and push heavy



Forbes Co. "Greatest Show on Earth." Art supplement to *The Philadelphia Press*, April 12, 1896.

loads. After a career of nearly forty years, Jenny died in 1918. A broken heart, precipitated by the passing of her much smaller mate Baldie, was reported as Jenny's cause of death. Even in the afterlife, Jenny could not escape being on display. In 1919 her skull was donated to the museum of the Columbus Dental Society at Ohio State University.

Circus-themed art supplements appear to have been popular in 1896. The *Press* issued the cutout "Greatest Show on Earth" just two months before Queen Jumbo. An homage to the Barnum & Bailey Circus, which was touring Pennsylvania in the spring of 1896, the toy theater printed by Forbes & Co. was marketed as "the finest gift ever given away by any newspaper." Composed of the interior of the tent, the circus performers, the side show, and the ringmaster, the supplement contained ready-made all the elements of a make-believe performance with a "crowd on the seats . . . so natural that you can almost hear them crunching the peanuts and laughing at the clown's jokes." Forbes had designed a lively realistic scene, reminiscent of a theatrical print, which surely would have inspired a child (and an adult) to create an imaginary circus.

Like Armstrong & Co., Forbes produced theater posters as one of its specialties. Given the similarity in graphic design between theatrical advertisements and these cutout toys, the production of supplements certainly made sense for these firms. Additionally, the art supplements, syndicated in newspapers throughout the Northeast, fostered a more national market for their work. This exposure was especially appealing to chromolithographers at a time when more and more in the advertising trade were losing ground to photomechanical printers.

A child's toy and a promotion meant to retain newspaper subscribers, cutout supplements embody a form of popular print meant to appeal to people of all ages. Whimsical and detailed, the graphics continue to entrance contemporary viewers more than a century after they were initially produced. Prints such as these help us understand the visual culture of today through the visual culture of our past—the mission of VCP at LCP.

Erika Piola

*Associate Curator of Prints and Photographs  
& Co-Director, Visual Culture Program*

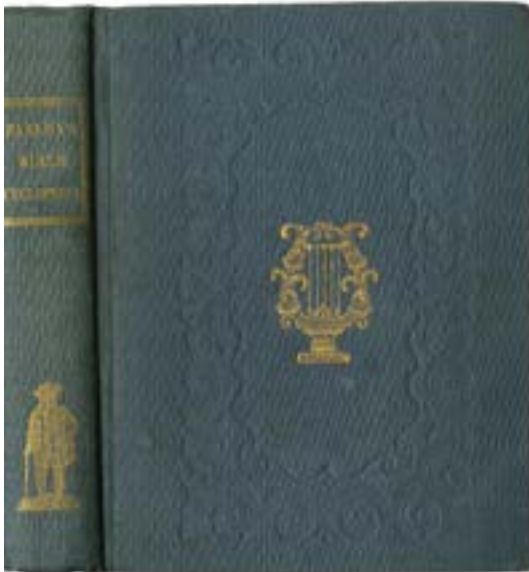


## Benjamin Bradley Bindings

This year we finalized the purchase of Todd and Sharon Pattison's collection of signed Benjamin Bradley bindings. It consists of 520 publishers' bindings—predominantly cloth, although some are leather—and its acquisition both broadens and enhances the Library Company's already excellent collection of 19th-century American bindings.

In June 2011 Todd Pattison gave a talk at the Library Company titled "How Do You Bind 3,000 Books in a Day? Benjamin Bradley and the Art of Manufacturing Publishers' Cloth Bindings." The talk, co-sponsored by the Delaware Valley Chapter of the Guild of Book Workers, made it very clear that he is the foremost scholar on Boston bookbinder Benjamin Bradley (1802-1862). Bradley operated his bindery at various locations on Washington Street in Boston from 1832 until his death in 1862. Mr. Pattison explained how a sea change was taking place in the book publishing industry, as some binderies in America transitioned to "manufactories" that were able to churn out large quantities of books on a daily basis. The introduction of book cloth as a covering material, the utilization of the case construction method to bind the books, and assembly line work methods that relied on unskilled labor were key elements in this process.

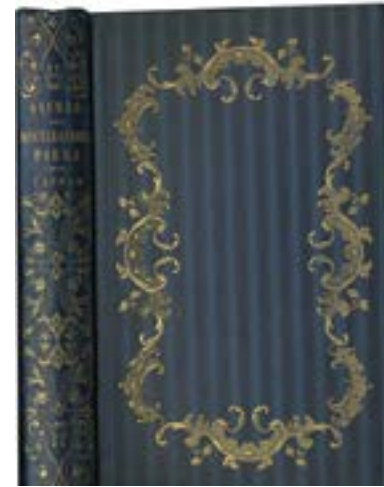
Bradley was particularly successful at this. By 1851 his bindery was considered the largest in New England, employing as many as eighty people, and his wealth was estimated at around \$100,000. He bound books for publishers not only in Boston, but also



Samuel G. Goodrich, *Peter Parley's Bible Gazetteer* (New York, 1836). Note the "B. Bradley" at the base of the gold-stamped lyre.

Philadelphia and New York. There was so much call for his work that two devastating fires at his bindery did not really slow his business significantly. Bradley also marketed his work by diligently signing most of his bindings. He did this more than any other American bookbinder and employed several methods to do it: stamping his name into the cloth, embossing it on the fly leaf, or applying printed tickets to the inside covers.

This collection allows us to study how publishers' bindings evolved during this fascinating period. It includes examples of some early cloth bindings that are charming in their almost naive style and craftsmanship. One can sense that cloth was a material new to bookbinders and that



William B. Tappan, *Sacred and Miscellaneous Poems* (Boston, 1847).

stamping on it was a challenge. The numerous volumes from this early period contrast with those from a decade later by which point the overall execution had clearly advanced to a very high level. By this time Bradley was importing book cloth from London, not only for his own use but also to sell to other bookbinders. This may explain the interesting variety of book cloth that he used. In fact, one of the most exciting features of the collection is the large number of books bound in striped or patterned book cloth. The Library Company has now almost tripled its holdings of these beautiful—and fairly scarce—bindings. The collection also contains many examples of gift books, including twenty-nine copies of *Rose of Sharon* from 1840 to 1855, all in different bindings.

Over the years, Todd and Sharon Pattison have been very generous with their carefully tended collections, either giving them to us or making them available for purchase. Both of them have a good eye for interesting bindings and perseverance in collecting. We are very grateful for their continuing generosity.

Jennifer W. Rosner  
*Chief of Conservation*

## *New in the Print Department*

Our collection of materials relating to popular medicine and the pharmaceutical trade continues to grow by leaps and bounds thanks in large part to the generosity of Trustee Emeritus (and former Board President) William H. Helfand. This year's gift of well over two hundred items from Mr. Helfand includes material for both the book and graphics collections. Works coming into the Print Department as part of this gift include labels, book and periodical illustrations, advertisements, display cards and signs, certificates, a trademark registration form, and a valentine. The bulk of this material dates to the late 19th century, but items ranging from 1840 to the mid-1920s are included.

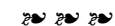
The medical profession has long attracted visual and textual satirists, and our new acquisition has a number of cartoons from late-19th-century humor periodicals such as *Puck* and *Judge* linking politics and medicine and mocking both. The cartoon reproduced here, "While the Quacks Disagree the Patient is Dying," appeared in the April 30, 1892 issue of *Judge*. In 1881 a group of artists had broken away from



Grant Hamilton, "While the Quacks Disagree the Patient is Dying," *Judge* (April 30, 1892). Chromolithograph. Gift of William H. Helfand.

the popular weekly *Puck* and established the rival weekly magazine *The Judge*. (The article was soon dropped from the title.) Like *Puck*, *Judge* featured chromolithographs on its covers and in center spreads and sold for ten cents an issue. Throwing its support behind the Republican Party helped the periodical achieve a great deal of success and surpass *Puck* in popularity. By the time our cartoon appeared, *Judge*'s circulation had reached fifty thousand.

*Judge*'s Republican-leaning audience must have enjoyed this cartoon from artist Grant Hamilton depicting the Democratic Party donkey on its deathbed despite the efforts of party leaders to save him. Democratic congressmen from all over the country put forth competing remedies for the dying donkey. Richard Bland from Missouri offers up Bland's Free Silver leeches; Roger Mills from Texas holds a Free Trade morphine syringe; while an opened case of Kentucky Congressman John Carlisle's All Free Trade pills provides yet another possible cure for the patient. The Democratic donkey apparently recovered enough to win the 1892 presidential election with candidate Grover Cleveland.



Siegmund Lubin (1841-1923) entered the silent film business when movies were in their infancy, and with his business acumen he went on to create one of the largest motion picture production companies in the world. Trained in Germany as an ophthalmologist, he immigrated to America in 1876 and settled in Philadelphia in 1882. With the purchase of a film projector in 1895 Lubin launched a new career. Within a few years he was making films in his own backyard and in Philadelphia's Fairmount Park and had developed and begun marketing his own film projector. In the early 20th century, Lubin began opening up movie theaters including houses in Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Reading, Pennsylvania. Views of several of Lubin's theaters along Market Street in Center City Philadelphia are already in our graphics collection.

The success of his multi-faceted film business encouraged Lubin around 1910 to build a large studio complex in North Philadelphia, officially named the Lubin Manufacturing Company, but often referred to as "Lubinville." This year the Library Company purchased a collection of



almost fifty photographs relating to Lubin's business that show interiors and exteriors of the buildings, actors and actresses, and the many activities carried out by hundreds of employees as they adjusted the lighting on the sets, distributed costumes in the wardrobe department, and worked in the laboratory. The Lubinville complex must have brought excitement to the residents of the nearby row homes as established stage and vaudeville actors and new rising stars made their way in and out of the studio. Of course, the real action was taking place on the film sets inside the studio, and our new collection includes a number of images of movies being filmed as well as stills from identified and as-yet-unidentified films.

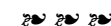
As did others in the early motion picture industry, Lubin created his movies on nitrate-based film, a volatile material if not housed in a controlled environment. Lubin stored his film in a brick and concrete vault, which, unfortunately, exploded on June 13, 1914. The resulting fire brought tragedy to the Lubinville complex and the nearby neighborhood with the complete destruction of sixteen homes, damage to many other



Collage from the Lubin Manufacturing Company Collection, early 20th century.

homes, and the critical burning and later death of a young boy playing nearby whose clothing ignited from pieces of burning film flying through the air. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* estimated the loss to the Lubin Manufacturing Company at \$500,000.

The Lubin Manufacturing Company struggled to recover in the aftermath of the explosion. New never-released films had been destroyed along with older films. With the outbreak of World War I, the foreign market for film distribution dried up. The overall quality of Lubin's films began to decline and his business floundered. Lubin closed production studios around the country over the next few years, but even that wasn't enough to save his business. In 1916 creditors seized both Lubinville and the Betzwood studio he had opened in the Philadelphia suburbs in 1912. By 1917 Siegmund Lubin had returned to work in his optical shop. North Philadelphia's Lubinville was converted to factory use. The Betzwood studio continued to make films under the leadership of new owners the Wolf Brothers, Inc. One of their productions featured a young Edwin Wolf who would later receive far more accolades as a bookman and as our Librarian than he did as a juvenile film actor.



Executed by Frank Hamilton Taylor (1846-1927) after an 1888 sketch by Richard Meade Bache (1830-1907), the ink, wash, and gouache given to us by Mr. and Mrs. John J. Nesbitt III and illustrated on the following page depicts a bucolic scene. Outbuildings are scattered seemingly at random among rather haphazardly located good-sized residences, while a narrow road winds through the area. Although *45th and Walnut* was written on the verso of this view, the precise location is more likely one block east at 44th and Walnut in West Philadelphia. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania holds a watercolor of a similar view done by David J. Kennedy in 1883 and identified as *Opening of Forty-Fourth Street, Between Walnut and Locust Streets*. The property belonged to Samuel C. Bunting, who is listed in city directories around that time as either a contractor or someone involved in the real estate business.

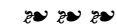
Amateur artist Richard Bache, the great-great grandson of Benjamin Franklin, lived nearby and may have been inspired to document the scen-



Frank H. Taylor after a sketch by Richard Meade Bache, *45th and Walnut, Philadelphia*, 1888. Ink, wash, and gouache. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. John J. Nesbitt III.

ery shortly before developers continued their relentless push west of the Schuylkill. No other works of art by Bache have been unearthed to date. Bache is better known as the author of several books on widely divergent topics including the adventure tale *The Young Wrecker on the Florida Reef* (1866), *Vulgarism and Other Errors of Speech* (1868), and a biography of his uncle, *The Life of General George Gordon Meade* (1897). In addition to his work as an author, Bache participated in the U.S. Coast Geodetic Survey.

For some unknown reason, Frank Taylor chose not to include this image in his published series of views of both contemporary and historic Philadelphia. Taylor, who began his artistic career as a reporter-illustrator and became head of the newly formed art department of the *Philadelphia Ledger* in the early 1880s, in 1915 issued *Ever-Changing Philadelphia*, a portfolio of twenty-four photolithographs of his own drawings. Views in this series included the original Bellevue Hotel, Rittenhouse Square, and a contemporary view of a bustling Sansom Street. He continued to add to the series and about 1922 a revised list appeared under the title *Old Philadelphia: A Series of Reproductions from Drawings by Frank H. Taylor*. By this point, the series consisted of 266 prints, of which more than 250 are in the Library Company's collection. Other repositories with significant Taylor collections include the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the University of Pennsylvania, the Philadelphia History Museum, and the Free Library of Philadelphia. We are pleased to have added this original Frank Taylor drawing to the known body of Taylor work located in institutions around the city.



In 2012 we added a great many works by Philadelphia photographer William Rau (1855-1920), ranging from a dis-bound scrapbook compiled by a former Rau employee to an album of family photographs to a selection of turn-of-the-century genre stereographs. Our new acquisitions help round out the picture we have of Rau's personal and professional life.

Our *Annual Report* readers are probably most familiar with the work Rau produced for the Pennsylvania Railroad, since that work was

featured in our 1991 *Annual Report* as well as a 2002 exhibition and accompanying publication. Rau had a long and multi-faceted career, traveling around the world as a photographer as well as capturing views much closer to home. When not on the road (or the railroad), Rau headed up a busy Center City studio whose work included photographing celebrities passing through Philadelphia—we have a wonderful Rau image of Teddy Roosevelt looking every bit the Rough Rider—as well as the more parochial documentation of special events and celebrations around the city.

Our new acquisitions include some items related to William Rau's work for the Pennsylvania Railroad. We now own a photograph of Rau's display at the Chicago World's Fair showing the large format images he took along the railroad lines in 1891 and 1893 and, as a gift from Frank Amari, Jr., the medal Rau received for this display. Rau continued to work for the Pennsy even upon completing these two major commissions. The photograph reproduced here, from the scrapbook pages of Rau's work,



William H. Rau, *Pennsylvania Railroad Dining Car*, early 20th century. Gelatin silver photograph.

shows the fine dining experience that early-20th-century travelers could expect while speeding along the railroad's well-maintained lines. Another dining room photograph and a view of a parlor car were also included in the scrapbook, acquired in part with funds from David Long.

As well as adding to our collection of commercial work by Rau, our new acquisitions also shed more light on his personal life. Our collection, for example, now includes postcards Rau sent from Europe to his family back in Philadelphia during a trip in the spring of 1900. "Dear Ruby," Rau wrote to his ten-year-old daughter on one postcard, "I am awfully glad to get your little note about the kittens and your new hat." His sweet message contrasts with the card on which it was written, with its image of satyrs frolicking with chorus girls amid the flames of hell. Perhaps Rau's postcard selection reflects the offbeat sense of humor apparent in his photographs of his dog Bob. In one image Bob is dressed in a workingman's apron with an oil can on his head, while in another photograph we acquired this year Bob, dapperly attired in a striped button-down shirt and tie, offers a holiday toast to Rau's customers. Produced about 1910, this holiday card was made at a time when Rau's photographic career was entering its fifth decade. William Rau, however, was still reaching out to expand his business in fresh and creative ways, rather than resting on his laurels as one of turn-of-the-century Philadelphia's most successful photographers.

Sarah J. Weatherwax  
*Curator of Prints and Photographs*

## *Service and Administration*

The first of the two major exhibitions we mounted in 2012 was *Capitalism by Gaslight: The Shadow Economies of 19th-Century America*. Guest curated by former Library Company Curator Wendy Woloson, the exhibition's tolerant look at criminal enterprise in 19th-century America had great appeal for the visiting public and was also popular with the cultural press, receiving mentions in both *The Philadelphia Inquirer* and *The New York Times*. Dr. Woloson displayed material on robbery, prostitution, gambling, counterfeiting, swindling, and other skulduggery in support of the argument that rapid and profound shifts in the country's demographic patterns and economy following the Revolution contributed to the flourishing of both legal and illegal commerce. She further promoted the notion that the entrepreneurial activities of many successful merchants conducting business above board may have been all but indistinguishable from those of fraudulent schemers. Along the way, she introduced us to an entire rogue's gallery of the underworld's most colorful and notorious figures, creating small trade cards with portraits and brief biographical sketches of thieves, prostitutes, snake oil salesmen, card sharps, counterfeits, and conmen that were available for exhibition visitors to take. About one thousand people came through our doors to view this exhibition between January and August.

Dr. Woloson was the featured speaker at the 2012 Annual Meeting in May and delighted Library Company members with further tales of the seamy underbelly of the Victorian metropolis. On June 4 and 5 she and Brian Luskey convened an impressive roster of scholars with similar interests in the borderlands between legitimate commerce and criminal activity for a two-day conference, the proceedings of which will be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

The year's second major exhibition—focused on renowned Philadelphia architect Frank Furness's work for the Pennsylvania, Reading, and Baltimore & Ohio Railroads—opened in September. Among documents of station designs, photographs of past and current commuter railway stations, and railway insignia, visitors to the exhibition delighted in a table-sized resin model of the Pennsylvania Railroad's erstwhile Broad Street Station, an engineering marvel in its day. Guest Curator and Penn

Urban Studies Professor George Thomas wowed a capacity audience at the opening with his powerful interpretation of the importance of industrial development in Furness's style. He was even able to shed light on some of the less traditional elements of the ironwork railing outside our own Cassatt House, identifying machine clips and industrial springs as inspirations. The exhibition was part of a citywide commemoration of Furness's life and work on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of his death. It was great fun hosting railway enthusiasts from around the region throughout the run of the exhibition and at the associated programs.

The "mini" exhibitions mounted in the cases at the entrance to the Reading Room have grown in number and artistic and scholarly ambition. In 2012 these efforts included the installation of original work in a wide variety of artistic genres by members of the Library Company staff, together with the items from the collections that inspired them; a display of early American advertising material showing the ingenuity and technical richness of the nation's earliest "Mad Men"; a sampling of some of the extraordinary material given to the Library Company in 2011 to accompany the Annual Meeting; a stunning assortment of gilt "black-and-gold" bindings; election broadsides from earlier eras to put November's national elections in historical perspective; and a whimsical collection of original toys created by Print Department intern Jesse Lentz based on traces of Victorian childhood found in our collections. Finally, Visual Culture Program Co-Directors Erika Piola and Rachel D'Agostino helped organize an off-site exhibition at the Philadelphia International Airport on the "Organization of Life in Philadelphia, 1870s–1930s," which opened in September.

In March, the Library Company hosted "Before Madison Avenue: Advertising in Early America." This was the Philadelphia leg of a two-part conference on the development of print advertising in the early American period; the first installment had been presented by the American Antiquarian Society's Center for Historic American Visual Culture. In June we held a Juneteenth conference on "Making Freedom in the Atlantic World," which combined scholarly papers on the theme of emancipation with a session on collecting African Americana and a workshop for K-12 educators. The annual PEAES Conference, this year a partnership with



London's Rothschild Archive, focused on the international networks of knowledge, capital, and credit that fostered economic development in North America. The papers presented at that conference will appear in due course in a volume from Penn State University Press.

Additional programs included a talk about her book *Black Gotham: African American Family History in the Nineteenth Century* by University of Maryland Professor Carla Peterson; a presentation on Italian ledger bindings by Eileen Wallace and one on "Practical Origami" by Bill Hanscom, co-sponsored by the Delaware Valley Chapter of the Guild of Book Workers; a talk about his book *Freedom's Cap: The United States Capitol and the Coming of the Civil War* by Guy Gugliotta; a presentation on representations of children in 19th-century American visual culture by Catherine Walsh, the 2012 William H. Helfand Visual Culture Fellow; a talk on Stowe House and the American Revolution by Jonathan Foyle, head of the World Monuments Fund Britain, co-sponsored by the English-Speaking Union; and a talk by Becky Diamond on her book *Mrs. Goodfellow: The Story of America's First Cooking School*. Altogether, almost three thousand people attended exhibitions, programs, events, and classes at the Library Company in 2012.

Several Library Company publications saw the light in 2012. *Philadelphia on Stone: Commercial Lithography in Philadelphia, 1828-1878*, the award-winning volume edited by Associate Curator of Prints and Photographs Erika Piola, capped off a very successful multi-year project devoted to the first fifty years of commercial lithography. *Phil Lapsansky: Appreciations* is a collection of more than fifty brief essays by scholars published on the occasion of Mr. Lapsansky's retirement after more than forty years of service to the Library Company. The pithy essays contained the contributors' reflections about Phil and their discussions of particular works in our collections—whether rare books, pamphlets, graphics, manuscripts, or ephemera—that have played an important part in their research.

We also decided in 2012 that it might finally be time to set aside some of our Philadelphia reserve and brag a little to a national—and international—audience. A series of fifteen paid advertisements in the *New Yorker* magazine teased readers from September through December with images of items from the collection—some renowned, some quirky.

Trustee Davida Deutsch, whose brainchild the ads were, was inspired by the Burma Shave signs of her youth. She and Development Director Molly Roth crafted cryptic legends for the items that enticed readers to a special website where longer essays explained the references and the importance of each item in the context of our collections overall.

Last year the Print Department and main Reading Room served 819 individual readers on a total of 2,294 reader-days. They paged 4,353 books, 3,636 prints, 374 periodicals, 255 newspapers, 318 broadsides, and 185 manuscript volumes. The staff made 818 photocopies and scans and 553 printouts of online material. They responded to 1,099 reference queries in writing (an increasingly large number of which are via email) and 747 on the telephone. The Print Department also received 439 orders for rights to reproductions, including 274 requests for a total of 886 previously unphotographed images.

We added 1,760 new catalog records to WolfPAC in 2012, including stack books and rare periodicals, Women's History and children's books, African Americana, and ephemera. We added 72 holdings records to the English Short-Title Catalogue, an international cooperative online bibliography. The ESTC began in the late 1970s, with the Library Company among the earliest and most faithful contributors. Edwin Wolf 2nd served on its advisory committee until his retirement. The Bindery treated 670 items; made 209 phase boxes, 25 cloth-covered clamshell boxes, and 112 mylar wrappers; and made 355 repairs, 8 recasings, 13 dry-cleanings, and 3 rebindings.

Ongoing efforts to build membership and other private support continue to show results: 576 Individuals made gifts to the Library Company in 2012, compared to 491 in 2011. For the year, we acquired 44 new Shareholders (13 as gifts), 29 new Friend members (11 as gifts), and 18 new Scholar members. The Internet traffic on all three Library Company domains—[librarycompany.org](http://librarycompany.org), [lcpimages.org](http://lcpimages.org), and [lcpdigital.org](http://lcpdigital.org)—totaled 295,702 visits by 195,522 unique visitors who made 741,747 distinct page views.

Facilities Chief Al Dallasta maintained his long track record of containing costs through diligent supervision of maintenance contracts, utility usage and billing, and purchasing, and by personally responding to alarms around the clock. He also performs a myriad of other essential

tasks for a wide range of Library Company needs.

Two staff members with long tenures left the Library Company in 2012, and we made some exciting new additions to the staff. Phil Lapsansky was named Curator Emeritus of African American History when he retired after more than forty years of distinguished service. He will continue to be a vivid presence for many researchers who have relied on his encyclopedic knowledge of the African Americana collections. And although Phil could never be replaced, we were pleased to welcome Krystal Appiah to the Library Company family in June as Curator of African American History and Reference Specialist. Ms. Appiah, who recently completed an IMLS fellowship at the Maryland Historical Society, has masters' degrees in History from Brown and in Library Science from the University of California, Los Angeles.

Chief of Cataloging Ruth Hughes also retired after seventeen years with the organization. During her tenure, she oversaw the beginnings of WolfPAC, our online public-access catalog and the retrospective conversion project that turned our catalog cards into online records. Ms. Hughes left her indelible stamp on systems throughout the library in addition to her admirable rare book catalog entries. We were fortunate to be able to appoint Holly Phelps, an experienced rare book cataloger who has been with the Library Company on special projects since 1986, as Chief of Cataloging.



Our research fellowship program, twenty-six years old in 2012, continues to grow. We awarded more than \$200,000 in stipends to forty-five fellows. These funds came from several sources: restricted endowments; renewable grants, such as the generous 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 William H. Helfand Fellowships, one in the history of medicine and one in visual culture. In 2012 we completed the fourth 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 numbers almost seven hundred, and the list of books they have published has surpassed two hundred.

**For the 2012–2013 academic year the Library Company and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania jointly awarded twenty-three one-month fellowships to support research in American history and culture.**

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fellows:

- ☛ Kelly Arehart, Ph.D. Candidate in History, The College of William and Mary; *Give Up Your Dead: How Business, Technology, and Culture Separated Americans from Their Dearly-Departed, 1780-1930*
- ☛ Dr. Richard Bell, Department of History, University of Maryland; *The Blackest Market: Patty Cannon, Kidnapping, and the Domestic Slave Trade*
- ☛ Peter Y. Choi, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Notre Dame; *Beyond the Great Itinerant: George Whitefield and Revivalism after the Revivals*
- ☛ Dr. J. Michelle Coghlan, Princeton Writing Program, Princeton University; *Culinary Designs: Food Writing and the Making of American Taste*
- ☛ William Coleman, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University College London; *Sung Down: Music and Political Culture in the United States from the Early Republic to the Civil War Era*
- ☛ Michael F. D'Alessandro, Ph.D. Candidate in American Studies, Boston University; *Staged Readings: Sensationalism and Audience in Popular American Literature and Theater, 1835-1870*
- ☛ Dr. Bert Emerson, Institute of Transdisciplinary Studies, Woodbury University; *Local Rules: The Alternative Democracies of Mid-Nineteenth-Century Fictions*
- ☛ Nicole Frisone, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Minnesota; *False Prophecies: Morris Milgram and the Market for Privately Developed, Racially Integrated Housing, 1947-1968*

- ☛ Stephanie L. Gamble, Ph.D. Candidate in History, The Johns Hopkins University; *Capital Negotiations: Native Diplomats in the American Capital from George Washington to Andrew Jackson*
- ☛ Jonathan W. Hall, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Montana; *Rabid Republic: Dogs and Men in America, 1700-1920*
- ☛ Maeve Kane, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Cornell University; *They That Made the Men: Clothing, Sovereignty, and Women's Work in Iroquoia, 1600-1850*
- ☛ Jessica C. Linker, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Connecticut; *"It is my wish to behold Ladies among my hearers": Early American Women and Scientific Practice, 1720-1860*
- ☛ L. Mairin Odle, Ph.D. Candidate in History, New York University; *Stories Written on the Body: Cross-Cultural Markings in the North American Atlantic, 1600-1830*
- ☛ Maureen Connors Santelli, Ph.D. Candidate in History, George Mason University; *"The Greek Fire": The Classical Tradition in America and the Greek War for Independence, 1720-1832*

The Society for Historians of the Early American Republic Fellows:

- ☛ Dr. Richard Godbeer, Department of History, University of Miami; *The Life and Times of Elizabeth and Henry Drinker*
- ☛ Dr. Anne Lombard, Department of History, California State University San Marcos; *Regulators and Legal Reform in Pennsylvania, 1763-1810*

The Barra Foundation International Fellows:

- ☛ Dr. Frances M. Clarke, Department of History, University of Sydney; *Minors in the Military: A History of Child Soldiers in America from the Revolution to the Civil War.*
- ☛ Dr. Zhang Tao, American Studies, Research Center, Sichuan International Studies University; *Confucius in Early America's Imagination of China*

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania McFarland Fellow:

- ☛ Thomas Sheeler, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Delaware; *Negotiating Slavery on Mason and Dixon's Line: Race, Section, and Union in Maryland and Pennsylvania before the Civil War*

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania McNeil Fellows:

- ☛ Shana Klein, Ph.D. Candidate in Art History: University of New Mexico; *The Fruits of Empire: Contextualizing Food in Nineteenth-Century American Still-Life Representation*
- ☛ Angel-Luke O'Donnell, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Liverpool; *Tangible Imaginations: Construction of American Identity in Philadelphia, 1764-1776*
- ☛ Sean Trainor, Ph.D. Candidate in History and Women's Studies, Pennsylvania State University; *The Culture and Economy of Men's Grooming in the Nineteenth-Century U.S.*
- ☛ Dr. Caroline Wigginton, Department of American Studies and Women's and Gender Studies, Rutgers University; *Epistolary Neighborhoods: Intimacy, Women's Writing, and Circulation in Eighteenth-Century North America.*

**The Library Company independently awarded an additional twenty-four fellowships, including the first Anthony N. B. and Beatrice W. B. Garvan Fellowship in American Material Culture, ranging from one to four-and-one-half months.**

The National Endowment for the Humanities Post-Doctoral Fellows:

- ☛ Dr. Michael Block, Department of History, University of Southern California; *New England Merchants, the China Trade, and the Origins of California*
- ☛ Dr. Marie-Stéphanie Delamaire, Department of Art History and Archaeology, Columbia University; *Drawing the Lines: Aesthetics and Practice of Translation in Nineteenth-Century American Visual Culture*
- ☛ Dr. Philip Stern, Department of History, Duke University; *Municipal Bonds: The Urban Corporation in the Early Modern British Empire*



The Albert M. Greenfield Foundation Dissertation Fellows:

- ☛ Kameika S. Murphy, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Clark University; *Currents of Liberty: Revolutionary Emigrés and Their Contributions to Afro-Caribbean Civil Society, 1760-1838*
- ☛ Stephanie Elizabeth Tilden, Ph.D. Candidate in English, Brown University; *Paper Boats: Archives of Disorder in American Maritime Literature*

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

- ☛ Marcus A. Allen, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Morgan State University; *Institutionalizing Black Capitalism: An Examination of the African American Depositors at the Savings Bank of Baltimore, 1850-1900*
- ☛ Christopher Bonner, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Yale University; *Making Citizenship Meaningful: Language, Power, and Belonging in African American Activism, 1827-1868*
- ☛ Abigail Cooper, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Pennsylvania; *"Until I reach My Home": Inside the Refugee Camps of the American Civil War*
- ☛ Dr. Brooke N. Newman, Department of History, Virginia Commonwealth University; *Island Masters: Gender, Race, and Power in the Eighteenth-Century British Caribbean*

The McLean Contributionship Fellow:

- ☛ Nicole H. Gray, Ph.D. Candidate in English, University of Texas at Austin; *Spirited Media: Promiscuous Materialities of Antebellum Reform*

The William Reese Company Fellow in American Bibliography:

- ☛ Dr. Matthew Shaw, Curator of North American History, British Library; *Read All About It!: The Invention of Newspapers in Britain and America, 1641-1865*

The Anthony N. B. and Beatrice W. B. Garvan Fellow in American Material Culture:

- ☛ Sarah Jones Weicksel, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Chicago; *The Fabric of War: Clothing, Culture, and Violence in the American Civil War Era*

The American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Fellow:

- ☛ Dr. Zara Anishanslin, Department of History, City University of New York, College of Staten Island; *Portrait of a Woman in a Silk Dress: Reframing the Landscape of Empire in the Eighteenth-Century British Atlantic World*

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

- ☛ Claire Gherini, Ph.D. Candidate in History, The Johns Hopkins University; *"Experiment and Good Sense Must Direct You": Managing Health and Sickness in the Plantation Enlightenment, 1730-1800*

The William H. Helfand Fellow in the Program in Early American Visual Culture:

- ☛ Allison Lange, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Brandeis University; *Pictures of Change: Transformative Images of Gender and Politics in the Woman Suffrage Movement, 1776-1920*

### **Program in Early American Economy and Society**

The Post-Doctoral Fellow:

- ☛ Dr. Ariel Ron, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley; *Developing the Country: Scientific Agriculture and the Roots of the Republican Party*

The Dissertation Fellows:

- ☛ Corey Goettsch, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Emory University; *A Nation of Peter Funks: Fraud in Nineteenth-Century America*

- ☛ Hannah Farber, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of California, Berkeley; *Early American Marine Insurance: Commerce, the Republic, and the Oceans*

The Short-Term Fellows:

- ☛ Sara T. Damiano, Ph.D. Candidate in History, The Johns Hopkins University; *Gender and the Litigated Credit Economy in New England, 1730-1790*
- ☛ Benjamin Hicklin, Ph.D. Candidate in History; University of Michigan; *"Neither a Borrower nor a Lender Be"?: Experiencing Credit and Debt in the English Atlantic, 1660-1750*
- ☛ Andrew Kopec, Ph.D. Candidate in English, Ohio State University; *Attacking Panic: The Financial Work of American Literature, 1819-1857*
- ☛ Dr. Susan Stearns, Department of History, Mary Baldwin College; *Streams of Interest: The Mississippi River and the Political Economy of the Early Republic, 1783-1803*

**Library Company/McNeil Center for Early American Studies  
Mellon Dissertation Fellows in Early American  
Literature and Material Texts:**

- ☛ Steven Smith, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Missouri; *A World the Printers Made: Print Culture in New York, 1783–1830*
- ☛ Sarah Scheutze, Ph.D. Candidate in English, University of Kentucky; *More Than Death: Fear of Illness in American Literature, 1775-1876*

John C. Van Horne  
*The Edwin Wolf 2nd Director*

## *Appreciation*

During 2012, 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.

### GIFTS OF \$100,000 AND ABOVE

Mrs. Benjamin Coates and Theodate Coates  
Judy G. and Laurence S. Cutler  
The National Endowment for the Humanities  
The William Penn Foundation

### GIFTS OF \$25,000 AND ABOVE

Anonymous  
Maude de Schauensee  
Davida T. Deutsch  
Albert M. Greenfield Foundation  
Martha Hamilton Morris (The Cotswold Foundation)

### GIFTS OF \$10,000 AND ABOVE

The Gladys Kriebel Delmas Foundation	Jeanette Lerman-Neubauer and
Mr. and Mrs. B. Robert DeMento	Joseph Neubauer
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### GIFTS OF \$5,000 AND ABOVE

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Beatrice W. B. Garvan	Philadelphia Cultural Fund
The Haney Foundation Trust	Thomas O. Stanley
Independence Foundation	John and Christine Van Horne
Charles B. and Lucinda Landreth	

## GIFTS OF \$2,500 AND ABOVE

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Pennsylvania Abolition Society	Lillian Tonkin

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Michael B. Mann	Michael Zinman
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Eugene and Joann Bissell	Tranda S. Fischelis
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Rebecca Weld Bushnell and	James D. Fratto
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 Herman Baron  
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 Hester Blum  
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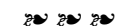
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Sidney and Ruth Lapidus	
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The Society is named in honor of Dr. James Rush, whose generous bequest in 1869 included works of art, the library and papers of his father, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and funds 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, 2012:

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Beatrice W. B. Garvan	J. Thomas Touchton
William H. Helfand	Frederic Trautmann
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