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Howell K. Rosenberg

Vice President
Maude de Schauensee

Secretary
John F. Meigs

Treasurer
Charles B. Landreth

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Rebecca W. Bushnell
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David W. Maxey
Elizabeth P. McLean
Martha Hamilton Morris
Charles E. Rosenberg
Carol E. Soltis
Seymour I. Toll
Helen S. Weary
Michael Zinman

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REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

The 2015 Annual Report reflects a range of exciting activities at Benjamin Franklin’s Library Company. As you will see in the pages that follow, our staff, board, shareholders, and supporters made this past year notable on several fronts. We might begin with the happy news that the Library Company completed major capital projects: upgrades to both the HVAC system and the exterior insulation envelope at the main building on Locust Street. With major support from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, through its Redevelopment Assistance Capital Program (RACP), as well as the McLean Contributionship, the project updated Library Company infrastructure and improved our energy efficiency, both of which will help save money now and in the future. Thanks to the generosity of the William Penn Foundation, we also upgraded the elevator system in the library. With a sleek new cab and updated machinery, the fifty-year-old elevator may well last another fifty years!

Capital upgrades of this nature are critical, for they allow the Library Company to continue functioning as a busy research and educational institution throughout the year. In 2015, nearly 5,000 people visited the main building, including over 800 researchers, roughly 2,220 exhibition visitors, and 1,700 class and events visitors. The main elevator is always in use, as our diligent staff constantly retrieves items for scholarly researchers from our stack floors. And the HVAC system is constantly adjusting to changes in humidity, weather, and clusters of people gathering on our first floor for events and exhibitions. With our capital upgrades completed, we can rest easier that the Library Company will remain a comfortable place to work, research, and learn. We are grateful to our foundation and state partners for making these projects possible.

For those who cannot attend Library Company functions, or who want to learn more about our collections and events from afar, our digital door is always open. And last year, more people than ever visited us online. We had roughly 344,000 unique visitors, eclipsing the record established in 2014. Overall, we had nearly 1.3 million page views. And over 50,000 people toured one of our dedicated online program and/or exhibition pages: abolitionseminar.org, lcpalbumproject.org, ephemeraonline.org,
and commontouch.librarycompany.org. It seems that our humble library is popular indeed. On top of this, our staff created a new social media initiative that posts daily updates on Library Company collections, documents, staff members, and projects on social media outlets such as Facebook, Instagram, Tumblr, Twitter, and Flickr.

On the fundraising front, we met the second annual goal for the National Endowment for the Humanities Challenge Grant. Part of a five-year campaign (2014-2018) to endow the Program in African American History, the annual target in 2015 was $300,000. With the generous support of trustees, shareholders and foundation partners, we ended up surpassing that goal. But that’s ok—the target for 2016 is even higher; it’s wonderful to have a head start on that next important goal. For more information on how to support the NEH Challenge Grant, please contact us or go to the website www.librarycompany.org.

On the acquisitions front, we were pleased to acquire several important items. At the top of the list, Trustee Clarence Wolf generously donated a rare copy of Watson’s *Annals of Philadelphia*. This edition is truly special. Known as the Joseph Mickle Fox extra-illustrated copy of the *Annals*, 1877-79, this edition of John Fanning Watson’s famous book is one of only 100 copies printed in a large paper format. Originally published in three volumes, Fox expanded it to twelve volumes (plus an index) by using a process known as “grangerizing” to paste into Watson’s book a host of historic items (maps, images, photographs). Among the roughly 1,300 items he added to the text, one finds gem after historical gem: a 1681 land receipt signed by William Penn, several hand-colored views of Philadelphia by William Birch, and the famous (but exceedingly rare) 1780 woodcut of Benedict Arnold being hanged and burned in effigy in Philadelphia (see p. 23). We are indebted to Clarence Wolf for making sure that the Library Company serves as the permanent home of this amazing publication.

We acquired several other treasures in 2015. With funds generously donated by Theodate Coates and Davida T. Deutsch, we were able to purchase a manuscript ledger kept by shopkeeper Mary Langdale Coates (1713-1770). The beautiful leather-bound volume illuminates store accounts from the death of Coates’s husband in 1748, when she assumed control of the business, to her own death in 1770. Coates’s shop was on
the west side of Second Street (north of Market), near both Christ Church and Benjamin Franklin’s book shop. The ledger provides a highly detailed picture of what must have been a very fashionable store. Clients included some of Philadelphia’s leading lights, such as Elias Boudinot, George Emmen, Jr., Timothy Matlack, Israel Pemberton, Sr. and Jr., Elizabeth Coates Paschall, Philip Syng, Joseph Shippen, Catherine Wistar (Caspar’s widow), and none other than Benjamin Franklin. This volume has already become a fixture on our donor and guest tours. We are proud to have it in our collection.

We also received a major donation from Trustee Emeritus Charles E. Rosenberg, who gave us seventy-five editions of Aristotle’s Masterpiece. This was not a text authored by the famed philosopher but rather a ghost-written handbook on pregnancy, childbirth, and sexuality in 18th- and 19th-century Anglo-American culture. A best-seller, the book educated midwives and titillated generations of other readers interested in female anatomy. The Puritans sought to ban the book, which had become popular with young men. With another eleven editions generously donated by Trustee Emeritus Michael Zinman, the Library Company now has about 140 editions of the book, almost certainly the world’s largest collection of Aristotle’s Masterpiece.

Charles Rosenberg also bolstered our Popular Medicine Collection by donating over 200 books and pamphlets relating to eugenics, the infamous movement of racial and medical science that gained traction in the early 1900s. This gift is especially important because most of the books come from the first quarter of the 20th century, which scholars are now busy re-examining. With renewed interest in the time and topic, we will certainly be adding to this important area of study in the future.

Finally, with funds donated by Trustee Emerita Davida T. Deutsch and others, we were also able to purchase a previously unknown book owned by Benjamin Franklin. The text is composed of seven pamphlets bound together for Franklin while he was in Paris in 1780. They all relate to English politics and the American War of Independence. The volume has the tell-tale Franklin shelf mark that Edwin Wolf identified fifty years ago. This is the only book with the shelf mark to come to light since Wolf’s death twenty-five years ago. We are pleased to have it back in Ben Franklin’s library.
On the events side, as you will see, the Library Company hosted a series of new programs in 2015, including a Madeira tasting and a Victorian striptease (both for educational purposes, of course). For the second year in a row, the Library Company Lecture in Honor of John Van Horne was a great success, as a packed house at the Union League heard renowned scholar Dr. Margaret MacMillan give a riveting talk on the enduring meaning of World War I. Not to be outdone, Harvard Professor and *New Yorker* staff writer Jill Lepore gave a terrific lecture on Jane Franklin (Ben’s beloved sister) at our 284th Annual Dinner in November. It was another great night to celebrate the Library Company’s many achievements.

But 2015 was not without its share of sadness. The Library Company lost several friends and supporters, each of whom touched our institution in a profound way. Longtime Trustee Susan Oliver Montgomery died in January after battling cancer. She had served notably on the Board of Trustees from 1985 to 2003, including a long-running role as Vice President. “Susie,” as she was known to friends and family, remained a valued Trustee Emerita until her death, supporting new initiatives and programming. She was a powerful force in the Philadelphia cultural community and will be missed.

Longtime shareholder and supporter Nancy Coates died in March. A member of one of the Library Company’s most distinguished families—her late husband Benjamin Coates’s ancestor Samuel Coates served as Treasurer during Franklin’s day—Nancy purchased her own share in 1992 and was a tried and true friend of the Library Company until her passing. Like Susie Montgomery, she supported many arts and culture institutions. We are proud that the Coates family has remained close to the Library Company through the years.

We were also saddened by the death in November of former staff member Ruth Hughes after a long battle with cancer. Please read James Green’s moving tribute to Ruth later in this report.

For an institution that has endured for nearly three centuries, it is not surprising that the Library Company has a long list of distinguished friends and supporters. It is comforting to know that those we lost in 2015 now belong to the ages and will not soon be forgotten here at the Library Company.

Howell K. Rosenberg, President
## Report of the Treasurer

*Year Ended December 31, 2015*

### Revenues, Gains, & Other Support

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### Expenses

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### Change in Net Assets

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<tr>
<td>(262,876)</td>
<td>(925,035)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>196,229</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>3,085,124</td>
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<tr>
<td>(262,876)</td>
<td>(925,035)</td>
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The complete financial statements, along with the report of our certified public accountants, are available at the Library Company.

Charles B. Landreth, Treasurer
If I had to choose a single word to describe this past year it would be motion—as in the Library Company staff and board were constantly in motion updating Ben Franklin’s fabled institution. Libraries may seem like quiet and even staid places. Not the Library Company in 2015. We planned more public events (with bigger speakers) than ever, which meant our staff was often busy planning a talk, lecture, symposium, or dinner. Even when providing scholarly support—a foundational part of our mission—the staff was often moving briskly about. This became clear in December, when we began an elevator upgrade in the main building. Having recently completed another major capital project (which surrounded the building in a new layer of exterior insulation and overhauled our HVAC system), we worried about undertaking another one so soon. But the elevator needed to be overhauled. And so, as winter loomed, we prepared for a month without our main elevator.

Rather than shut the library to scholars, however, the staff ingeniously devised a plan to page books the old-fashioned way: by going up and down the stairs. Several times a day, curators took requests from scholars and headed up the stairs; they returned with the sources scholars had traveled hundreds and sometimes thousands of miles to utilize. (Scholars could request material before the elevator upgrade started, but there is always more to mine at the Library Company.) On top of this, our facilities manager and staff were here before most people stirred, opening the front doors for elevator workers at 6 AM every day, including weekends. Thanks to the William Penn Foundation (which generously provided grant funds), we now have a beautiful new elevator cab. But thanks to our staff, no scholar (or rare book!) suffered during the elevator upgrade. Before I took the position of Director, I would never have believed that infrastructure improvement could be so inspiring. I now know better.

Of course, throughout the year, our staff remained busy on all fronts. In both the Reading Room and Print Department, curators
fielded hundreds of reference and research inquiries while also working with scholars every day and helping us give first-rate visitor tours several times each month. In Rights and Reproductions, our staff responded to the usual flood of requests to reprint Library Company material in articles and books, chapters and catalogs. The Cataloging Department added 5,346 new items to WolfPAC and upgraded hundreds of older (and inadequate) records from previous conversion projects. And the Conservation Department repaired 1,159 items while also hosting workshops for the Delaware Valley Chapter of the Guild of Book Workers.

At the Board level, trustees moved forward on still another property acquisition on Irving Street. By the time you read these words, the deal will be done. That means we will now control three buildings directly behind the Library Company. That would be an important development at any moment in our history, but it is a vital thing in the bustling Center City real estate market circa 2015. With property prices skyrocketing, the Board has protected the Library Company’s footprint and ensured that it will not get boxed in. Indeed, with several properties now in our possession—and thus a much broader development footprint at our disposal—the Library Company may finally follow through on Irving Street expansion plans (perhaps with new civic partners). Perhaps in the near future, there will be a vibrant new Library Company campus that better serves the needs of staff, researchers, and members of the informed public who attend our programs, exhibitions, and events. The development prospects are truly exciting.

As we look forward, it is well to remember that movement and change have long been a part of the Library Company’s heritage. Fifty years after our inception in 1731, Franklin’s humble subscription library for upwardly mobile figures in colonial Philadelphia morphed into a Founders’ library located at the heart of the new continental government; then, during the federal era, it served as the nation’s first library of Congress. After moving to its own building on Library Street, it also became, among other things, a reformers’ library, housing some of the most important books on African-American and women’s history. After moving to Broad Street in the late 19th
century (and opening a satellite location on Juniper), the Library Company had more space to operate but was often in the shadow of the Free Library. Although it was largely a members’ library by the early 20th century, the Library Company still had the capacity to instruct and inspire visitors. During World War I, library users consulted our many books and maps relating to European conflict and the Great War. Finally, in the mid-20th century, we became an early American research archive and moved to Locust Street, where we have been ever since. In each instance, the Library Company’s mission shifted as its physical surroundings changed.

Whatever we do in the coming years, the Library Company will draw on a history of forward motion that has allowed this great institution to adapt to new times, new audiences, and new understandings of the world. The Library Company is dedicated to the study of history, but it has never been stuck in the past.

Richard S. Newman, Director
Ruth Hughes

In Memoriam

Editor’s Note: The following memorial was given by Librarian James Green at the 284th Annual Dinner at The Union League. Ruth Hughes passed away on November 7th, 2015. She is survived by her husband, Jeffrey E. Toner, and her daughter, Kathryn H. Toner, as well as several siblings.

The Library Company family has lost a most beloved member. We mourn the death of Ruth Hughes, at the age of fifty-two, after a long and heroic battle with cancer. Ruth joined the Library Company in 1995 as a cataloger and was quickly promoted to Chief of Cataloging, and then Systems Librarian. She was the architect of our online catalog, WolfPAC, which went live in 1997. With this achievement, she brought us into the digital age and kept the Library Company on what was the cutting edge, with a succession of online migrations, retrospective conversions, system upgrades, grant funded cataloging projects, and our first ventures into digital publishing. She was also our representative to the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries (PACSCL), where she was the main force behind the creation of an online union catalog of the holdings of nine area libraries. (Today PACSCL comprises over thirty member institutions.) She was also active in the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section of the American Library Association (RBMS), and she was instrumental in bringing
the RBMS annual conference to Philadelphia in 2010. As co-chair of local arrangements she delivered the largest and most successful RBMS conference to date.

2010 was a banner year for Ruth. She was a long-time member of the board of the Friends of Oberlin College Library, and in 2010 our conservator Alice Austin formed a collection of 100 artists’ books donated by artists from all over the country, which was presented to Oberlin in Ruth’s honor. The Ruth Hughes Collection of Artists’ Books was displayed in a beautiful exhibition called Show and Bestow, first at the Free Library and again on the collection’s arrival in Oberlin. (Readers can see an archive of that exhibition online on the oberlin.edu website.)

Ruth retired in 2012, but she came back the next year to help us develop a new strategic plan. In that sometimes difficult process, she emerged as our institutional conscience, keeping us honest about who and what we are, as well as what we ought to be. After she joined our staff Ruth confessed to me that ever since her library school years at Drexel she had been, as she put it, a Library Company wannabe.

She loved this place with all her heart, and we loved her back.
2015 was packed with public events. From our first major event in February, a thrilling roundtable on African American civil rights struggles at Mother Bethel Church in honor of Black History Month, through December, when we gave a special tour of the new *Fashioning Philadelphia* exhibition to members of the Philadelphia Club, the Library Company hosted more public events than ever before.

Our 2015 exhibition schedule began with an important show on African American protest during the late 19th century: *The Genius of Freedom: Northern Black Activism and Uplift after the Civil War*. Organized by Curator of African American History Krystal Appiah, the exhibition garnered an excellent review in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* by respected journalist Stephan Salisbury, who noted that Ms. Appiah’s show illuminated the less well-known story—even among Philadelphians—of black struggles for justice above the Mason-Dixon Line after the Civil War. As Salisbury noted, the exhibition highlighted several key issues that remain “strikingly familiar” in the 21st century. To make the exhibition appealing to educators, Ms. Appiah worked with a group of K-12 teachers on lesson plans inspired by and linked to *Genius of Freedom* (they are now posted online at www.abolitionseminar.org).

In July, we unveiled *Fashioning Philadelphia: The Style of the City, 1720-1940*. Curated by Dr. Wendy Woloson, Associate Professor of History at Rutgers University, Camden, and distinguished author of several books on the underground antebellum economy, this exhibition surveyed Philadelphia’s role as a style capital between the 18th and early 20th centuries. Drawing on the Library Company’s extensive collection of items relating to fashion, clothing, textiles, and the iconography of style, *Fashioning Philadelphia* depicted the City of Brotherly Love as a true trendsetter in Anglo-American culture. By the 1800s, Chestnut Street became one of the most fashionable style corridors in the world for its many fine clothing stores, while greater Philadelphia was known for producing items that redefined American style: the hoop skirt, the Stetson hat,
parasols, and fine leather goods. Fashion commentary also took off in Philadelphia, which was home to Godey’s Lady’s Book and Peterson’s Lady’s National Magazine, two trend-setting style journals published before the Civil War. The editors of Philadelphia Style magazine were certainly impressed with Professor Woloson’s show, labeling Fashioning Philadelphia one of the city’s “Must See” exhibitions.

On the lecture circuit, we hosted several major speakers during the year. The Second Annual Library Company Lecture in Honor of John Van Horne took place on April 8 at The Union League and featured Dr. Margaret MacMillan, distinguished Professor of History at the University of Oxford, who offered a powerful talk on the road to, and the legacy of, World War I. At the reception preceding the talk, visitors could view a dozen of the Library Company’s magnificent World War I posters, which were staged prominently around the room. Some of these posters will be featured in an upcoming Library Company exhibition on World War I, which debuts in November 2016.
In May, the Annual Meeting featured a talk by Dr. Sally McMillen of Davidson College in North Carolina on famed women’s rights reformer and abolitionist Lucy Stone. The lecture, based on her new biography *Lucy Stone: An Unapologetic Life*, was recorded by C-SPAN TV and is now available on the C-SPAN website.

In June, Dr. Danielle Allen, Harvard professor and MacArthur Fellow, gave the annual Juneteenth Freedom Lecture on her recent book *Our Declaration: A Reading of the Declaration of Independence in Defense of Equality*. Then, at the end of June, we had a special weekend reception in honor of the ship *Hermione*’s arrival in Philadelphia. A replica of the vessel that brought the Marquis de Lafayette to America in 1780, the modern *Hermione* put in at ports along the Atlantic coast. The Philadelphia reception, co-sponsored by Lafayette College and Library Company Trustee (and proud Lafayette alumnus) Harry Cherken, was graced by the appearance of the Marquis’s lineal descendant, Comte Gilbert de Pusy La Fayette. After seeing the Library Company’s bust of his celebrated ancestor—executed by Luigi Persico, ca. 1825—Comte La Fayette asked, “How long have you had that bust of the Marquis? It is wonderful.” We replied that it had been here for many years—just as the Library Company had been around since the Marquis de Lafayette first came to America during the Revolution. He laughed and said that he was glad such a fine likeness of the Marquis was in the House of Franklin.

During the fall, we staged a string of interesting talks and events (including the Madeira celebration highlighted in a separate article below). In September, shareholder Barbara Fahs Charles offered a wonderful lecture on the history of carousel makers in Philadelphia.
and their legacy today. In October, the Library Company hosted a Victorian striptease before a sold out crowd of nearly 100 people. Performed by Barbara Darlin in the Reading Room, the striptease was actually an educational lecture on the types of clothing 19th-century women wore—from corsets made of steel and bone to wool dresses that shrouded women even in summertime—and the debates they have engendered since the 1800s. It was an informative event.

Finally, we closed the year with a powerful lecture by Harvard University historian Dr. Jill Lepore at our 284th Annual Dinner at the Union League. Author of several best-selling books and a staff writer at The New Yorker magazine, Dr. Lepore examined Jane Franklin’s life and times (which she had written about in her much-praised The Book of Ages: The Life and Opinions of Jane Franklin). While Benjamin Franklin traveled the world and won renown as an author, publisher, revolutionary, and statesman, his sister Jane Franklin struggled with motherhood, marriage, and family life in Boston. But Jane relished both her brother’s correspondence and the vibrancy of the written word. If Benjamin was the celebrated “ev-

Dr. Danielle Allen of the Institute for Advanced Study and Harvard University (far right) fields questions from the audience after her talk at the 2015 Juneteenth Freedom Seminar.
Dr. Lepore concluded, then Jane was “everyone else”: an average person hoping to survive in 18th-century society. Her life, no less than that of her more famous brother, should remain an inspiration to us all.

Following Dr. Lepore’s lecture, the Library Company created a special T-Shirt honoring Jane Franklin (still available for purchase at the front desk). The motto on the shirt comes from Jane Franklin herself, who once wrote: “I read as much as I dare.” Designed by staff member Concetta Barbera, the T-Shirt should appeal to everyone who delights in the pursuit of knowledge and learning in a troubled and uncertain world.

**Toasting the Library Company Madeira**

Anyone who loves the Library Company now has the opportunity to learn about a unique aspect of its past. This lesson does not come in the form of a book, however. Rather, it flows from a bottle: The Library Company Madeira, which made its public debut in the Fall of 2015. Imported by the Rare Wine Co., and produced on the island of Madeira (located off the coast of Portugal) by Vinhos Barbeito, this fine wine honors both the Library Company’s history and its historic connections to the Madeira trade. Inspired by Trustee Emerita Davida T. Deutsch, an ardent backer of the Library Company and wine enthusiast, this limited edition bottling of Madeira offers us all a chance to sample one of Benjamin Franklin’s great loves. “You will say my advice smelled of Madeira,” he once observed. “You are right.”

During the 18th century, Madeira occupied a central place in American food and festive culture. The Founders toasted the new Constitution with dozens of bottles of Madeira while the Library Company’s trustees—then known as directors—punctuated their meetings with generous pourings of the elegant wine. Americans’ all-consuming taste for Madeira had a profound effect on its production. In Portugal, Madeira houses shaped their product to American palettes by blending vintages. Even today, producers look back in wonder at American appetites for Madeira, which kept over 150
shippers busy by the mid-1800s (there are fewer than a dozen active in the 21st century). “If Madeira wine still exists today,” Ricardo Freitas of Vinhos Barbeito told The Wine Spectator recently, “it is because the Americans liked our wines so much.” Madeira toasts and soirées dotted the social landscape well into the 19th century, particularly in Philadelphia. Silas Weir Mitchell’s A Madeira Party, first published in 1895 and re-printed several times over the next few decades, testified to America’s ongoing love affair with Madeira.

Library Company shareholders loved Madeira, too. “By 1798, nearly 800 prominent Philadelphians had joined the Library Company as subscribers,” the back label of the Library Company Madeira reads, and “while most members were surely partial to Madeira, a half dozen or more earned their fortunes as merchants specializing in that exclusive beverage.” The label, written by Rare Wine Co. founder and proprietor Mannie Berk (with help from staff), focuses on Henry Hill, holder of Library Company share #538. Hill was perhaps the most famous Madeira merchant of his time. Supplying worthies ranging from John Hancock to George Washington, he made a fortune in the Madeira trade.

Madeira is now enjoying a renaissance, a fact we discovered in October at two events held to unveil the special Library Company Madeira. On a Friday evening, a dozen people gathered at Henry Hill’s former home in Society Hill (now officially called the Physick House after a later owner) for a sumptuous dinner featuring several rare 19th-century bottles of Madeira paired with food Philadelphians would have enjoyed back then: turtle soup, a selection of fine cheeses, fruits, and nuts, and a series of smaller meat courses. Madeira enthusiasts from Michigan, New York, and other locales celebrated Mannie Berk and Ricardo Freitas, both of whom discussed Madeira’s resurgence.
in American wine circles. To acknowledge their efforts to produce the Library Company Madeira, we gave each of them a Library Company share. Freitas was so moved at the gesture, he later wrote, that he placed his framed share certificate in the offices of Vinhos Barbeito.

The following day, nearly sixty people attended an afternoon gathering featuring wine experts, food and culture scholars, Library Company staff, and Madeira enthusiasts from New York, Boston, and Washington. During the symposium, Trustee Emeritus David Maxey told tales of Henry Hill’s business while wine expert Aaron Nix-Gomez discussed Madeira’s power in American viticultural history (see his comments about our event on his wine blog, Hogsheadwine.com). After Freitas and Berk talked about the Library Company Madeira, all present had a chance to sample it and raise a glass to toast their wonderful creation. It was a terrific afternoon that harkened back to Library Company days gone by.

Doubtless, Benjamin Franklin would have approved, for it was he who wrote, “I should prefer to any ordinary death the being immersed in a cask of Madeira with a few friends till that time, to be then recalled to life by the solar warmth of my dear country!”

The Library Company Madeira is available at State Liquor Stores in Philadelphia. Readers may also contact the Rare Wine Co. directly at: http://www.rarewineco.com.
Donor Spotlight: Watson’s Annals

As 2015 drew to a close, the annual gathering of our Junto (supporters of the acquisition fund) was treated to the unveiling of a truly wonderful gift from Library Company Trustee Clarence Wolf. Three weighty boxes came into the building and within these boxes rested thirteen pigskin-bound volumes comprising an extra-illustrated edition of John Fanning Watson’s *Annals of Philadelphia* (1877-1879). Joseph Mickle Fox (1853-1918), a Philadelphia lawyer and bibliophile, collected nearly 1,300 items to add to the original three volumes of Watson’s *Annals*. The insertions are virtually all rare and valuable. They include maps, pamphlets, autographs, portrait prints, landscape views, photographs, receipts, petitions and all sorts of other ephemera. Extra-illustration, especially of biographical and historical books, was a common practice among book collectors of the time, but Fox’s Watson was exceptional for the quality of the insertions and their sheer number, as well as for the way he arranged them. Every one of the 1,300 plates was bound next to a page of text that related to it, with just one exception, which Fox conscientiously noted. This set of Watson’s *Annals* shows his knowledge and love of Philadelphia and his discrimination in creating this remarkable assemblage. Fox’s work greatly enriches Watson’s efforts to tell the multi-faceted story of Philadelphia’s first two hundred years.

Choosing highlights from this treasure trove is a difficult task. Among the manuscript material we find two letters from Robert Morris from debtors’ prison, letters signed by members of the Logan family including James and Deborah, and a receipt for the transfer of Pennsylvania land signed by William Penn.

Rare printed material includes a 1773 broadside address from newspaper editor William Goddard *To My Fellow Citizens, Friends to Liberty, and Enemies to Despotism*, known in only one other copy, opposing the erection of market shambles on High (Market) Street and New Market; a 1784 petition expressing Quaker opposition to the opening of a Philadelphia theater; a broadside listing the order of procession in Philadelphia’s memorial for George Washington; a share certificate for the Philadelphia Linen Manufactory, printed by
Franklin in 1764, of which only three copies are recorded; a 1769 shareholder’s certificate for the Union Library Company of Philadelphia, known in only one other copy; Nicholas Biddle’s *An Ode to Bogle* (1865) the first edition of this tribute to the famous free black caterer; and the exceptional broadside reproduced here with an extraordinary woodcut depicting the hanging and burning of Benedict Arnold in effigy in 1780, known in only two copies.

The original artwork includes an 1834 watercolor of Robert’s Mill by William L. Breton, the original illustrator of Watson’s *Annals*; and an original 1818 pencil portrait of Dr. Caspar Wistar by John Neagle.

The portrait prints, mostly hand-colored, include every imaginable subject from the period represented by the works of many of the most prominent artists and engravers. The views, all hand-colored, include works by C. G. Childs, George Lehmann, over a dozen engravings by William Birch, J.C. Wild (including his four 1838 lithographs *Panoramas of Philadelphia*, and almost every other artist

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of the 18th and 19th century who portrayed Philadelphia subjects. There is also a copy of George Heap, *The East Prospect of the City of Philadelphia, in the Province of Pennsylvania* (1761).

Among the iconic maps are the first map of Philadelphia, Thomas Holme’s 1683 *Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia*; a map of Revolutionary military activity titled *The Seat of War in the Environs of Philadelphia* (1777) by Thomas Kitchin; and Scull and Heap’s *Map of Philadelphia and Parts Adjacent* (1752), the first rendition of this important map of the city.

There are also a number of original 19th-century photographs of iconic Philadelphia scenes, mostly hand-colored but also including several of subjects rarely seen, such as the demolition of the buildings on the site of the Union League and an interior of the Slate Roof House.

Clarence Wolf’s detailed inventory of the extra-illustrated material along with Fox’s own index volume ensures that researchers will have good access to all of the gems within this collection. We are gratified that Mr. Wolf decided to contribute this marvelous gift.

James N. Green, Librarian
Programs

Program in Early American Economy and Society

The Library Company’s four programs maintained a busy calendar of conferences, lectures, workshops, and other activities in 2015. The Program in Early American Economy and Society—PEAES—welcomed fifteen scholars throughout the year, more than its usual complement of post-doctoral, dissertation, and short-term research fellows. Every fellow offers a colloquium to the staff and resident researchers, and this year PEAES fellows spoke on several exciting topics. Jessica Blake from the University of California-Davis spoke about “Caribbean Taste, Production, and Regionalism in Early Republic New Orleans” while Emma Gallwey from Harvard spoke on “Public Credit in the Development of American Political Economy, 1776-1845.” We also heard from Erin Trahey of the University of Cambridge (UK), who examined “Women and the Making of Colonial Jamaica Economy and Society, 1740-1850,” and Rachel Knecht from Brown University, who discussed her project on “Quantifying the Economy in the Industrial Age.” These and other PEAES scholars make terrific use of Library Company resources while updating—and sometimes overturning—scholarly understanding of the early American and global economies. And the annual PEAES Conference, which this year focused on “Port Cities, 1500-1800,” proved to
be another great success. Co-sponsored by Temple University and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, the PEAES conference brought together nearly two dozen scholars and over 100 attendees for vibrant discussions of port cities and trade in the Atlantic World.

Visual Culture Program

The Visual Culture Program (VCP at LCP), co-directed by Erika Piola and Rachel D’Agostino, remained busy planning the major exhibition *Common Touch: The Art of the Senses in the History of the Blind*. Generously funded by the Pew Center for Arts & Heritage and curated by artist-in-residence Teresa Jaynes, the exhibition will run in 2016. It is inspired by the Michael Zinman Collection of Printing for the Blind. By juxtaposing her multisensory artwork with historical materials documenting the 19th-century education of the blind, Jaynes’ exhibition explores the nature, foundations, and limits of perception.

Well before *Common Touch* debuted, we launched the *Common Touch* website in the summer of 2015, which can be viewed at: http://commontouch.library-company.org. VCP co-director Erika Piola, who helped advise Ms. Jaynes, promoted the innovative exhibition at two major conferences: the Popular Culture Association/
American Culture Association Annual Meeting and the meeting of the Mid-Atlantic Popular and American Culture Association.

In other VCP news, the 2014-2015 William H. Helfand Visual Culture Fellow, Dominque Zino, offered a captivating talk on the iconography of the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial exhibition in Philadelphia. And Joanna Cohen won the 2015 Katherine C. Grier Prize for her article “Promoting Pleasure as Political Economy: The Transformation of American Advertising, 1800 to 1850,” which was featured in a special issue of Winterthur Portfolio (Summer/Autumn 2014) dedicated to essays from a joint VCP/PEAES conference from 2010, “Representations of Economy: Lithography from 1820-1860.”

On the collections front, VCP was bolstered by a major Print Department acquisition of two monumental collections of nearly 1,500 Philadelphia-related trade cards and complementary commercial ephemera, including billheads, circulars, and tickets. The Joe Freedman Collection of Philadelphia Trade Cards and the Richard and Rosalind Berman Collection of Philadelphia Trade Cards, purchased in part with funds provided by members of the Junto, document numerous firms, manufactories, and smaller trades previously unrepresented in our holdings.

Primarily dating between the 1870s and circa 1900, the collections contain many one-of-a-kind, custom illustrated rather than stock designed cards. Many of these pocket-size advertisements represent the only visual evidence of more modest, later 19th-century businesses operating outside the center of the city. Dozens more depict the work of prominent lithographers, like the Ketterlinus firm, studied for the VCP project Philadelphia on Stone. The cards aug-
ment our robust primary sources for the study of late 19th-century graphic design.

The trade cards also document prominent businesses in Philadelphia’s history. Among the collection of ephemera, researchers will find the advertising of firms still relevant in consumer culture like Wanamaker’s and Hires Root Beer side by side with those most recognizable in their day like Tetlow’s cosmetics, popular for their non-lethal, zinc-oxide based products. The collection is peppered with novel and engaging hold-to-light and metamorphic designs; idealized scenes of everyday life; and images of ethnic, race, and gender stereotypes popularly accepted in the visual culture of the period. The 2015 Junto donors’ generosity facilitated the preservation of hundreds of visual artifacts of fleeting and stalwart businesses vital to the understanding of Philadelphia economic history. We thank them!

Program in African American History

The Program in African American History (PAAH) had another banner year of public programming, fellowship activity, and intern-
ships. PAAH completed the second cycle of the Mellon Scholars Program, generously funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation to offer fellowship, workshop, and internship opportunities to both junior and senior scholars interested in studying early African American history at the Library Company. The program has already proven to be transformative for young scholars who want to pursue a PhD in an academic field or a career in archives, museums, and historic sites. Working closely with Curator of African American History Krystal Appiah and Program Director Erica Armstrong Dunbar, who is now the Blue and Gold Professor at the University of Delaware, a small group of interns and workshop participants gathers each June to immerse themselves in the wonders of the African Americana Collection. Participants work on research projects, get advice on graduate school applications and job trends, and learn from resident and guest scholars who visit their seminars. “It is an invaluable program for those of us who want to study and teach African American history,” one participant said just before leaving the Library Company in June.

PAAH was also delighted to see several new books added to the “Race in the Atlantic World, 1700-1900” series. Co-sponsored by the Library Company, the University of Georgia Press series now has over fifteen titles in its catalog, including Patrick Rael’s new history of American emancipation, entitled *Eighty-Eight Years: The Long Death of Slavery in the United States, 1777–1865*, and Jessica Millward’s moving study of an enslaved woman’s struggles in Revolutionary America, *Finding Charity’s Folk: Enslaved and Free Black Women in Maryland*. With all of this activity, PAAH is indeed becoming a national center for the study of early African American history.

**Program in Women’s History**

The Program in Women’s History, directed by curator Cornelia S. King, worked on several exciting projects in 2015. As part of Women’s History Month, the Library Company presented a lecture by former fellow Cassandra Good, who spoke on the theme of her
recent book *Founding Friendships: Friendships between Men and Women in the Early American Republic* (Oxford University Press), which examined the way salon culture helped undermine gender inequalities. Focusing on Benjamin Franklin, Elizabeth Graeme Fergusson, and lesser-known women whose friendship albums are in our collection, Good’s talk illuminated early American society from an important new perspective.

We were also pleased to host the opening reception for the 2015 conference of the Society for the Study of American Women Writers in early November. With perhaps more scholars studying American women writers than ever before, the Library Company was proud to bring participants together in the normally quiet Reading Room for a lively discussion of current and future research trends in the field. Many scholars consulted our wide-ranging collections during their week in Philadelphia, and we hope to see many of them again soon.

In the digital realm, Ms. King spoke at the “Women’s History in the Digital World” conference sponsored by Bryn Mawr College in May. In “Given a Bad Rap: The Women of 19th-Century Spiritualism,” King concluded that even though Spiritualism unraveled amid accusations of charlatanry, it should be incorporated into American social history, and especially into women’s history, because Spiritualism connects so clearly with the women’s rights movement and with broader ideas related to women’s agency in the world. The conference, part of Bryn Mawr’s Albert M. Greenfield Digital Center for the History of Women’s Education, live-streamed its keynote address to connect to a much wider online community. Like the Library Company, the Greenfield Digital Center sees a bright future in digital programming. We were glad to have the Library Company represented at this important conference. (For more on recent acquisitions relating to women’s history, see Ms. King’s essay in our acquisitions section.)
Like other libraries and archives, the Library Company expanded its Digital Humanities initiatives in 2015, enhancing user accessibility to our resources and connecting with a wide array of partners and projects. Early in the year, Library Company staff met with Laura Aydelotte of the University of Pennsylvania, who manages the Provenance Online Project (a digital humanities project identifying provenance in library collections and sharing such documentation digitally through images displayed on social media websites such as Flickr). Penn is expanding the scope of the project to include other area libraries and is now working with us to identify provenance markings, bookstamps, and bindings in our rare books.

We also collaborated with Penn on “The PACSCL Diaries Project,” a new initiative to facilitate digital collaboration among institutions that belong to the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries. Part of OPenn—“Primary Digital Resources Available to Everyone”—the Diary Project allows PACSCL institutions to improve online accessibility to various diary collections and rare primary source documents. As the name indicates, OPenn follows open data guidelines, meaning that all digital content is free and open to online users. As part of the Diary Project, the Library Company contributed digital images of Peter Collinson’s copy of William Maitland’s *History of London* (1739), along with metadata prepared by IT Manager Nicole H. Scalessa. Readers can see the images online in the Library Company section of OPenn: http://openn.library.upenn.edu/Collections.html

The Library Company launched several websites in 2015, further bolstering our digital presence. “The Morris Collection” documents the impressive and wide-ranging work of amateur photographer Marriot C. Morris, who captured indelible images of the Philadelphia and New Jersey region during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. (Please visit: http://www.morriscollection.library-company.org/)

We also debuted “That’s So Gay: Outing Early America,” an on-
line version of the very popular 2014 exhibition of the same name. The exhibition attracted over 2,000 visitors during its several-month run. It is now available at: http://www.librarycompany.org/gayatlep.

We would not have been able to complete these and other projects without a dedicated group of interns. For over a decade, the Library Company has welcomed a host of Digital Humanities interns. Hailing from a variety of institutions (from technical universities to liberal arts colleges), they bring a wealth of skill and energy to these tasks. That tradition continued this year with the arrival of several very creative interns. Kayla Hohenstein, a senior at Earlham College, uploaded select pages from the Collinson copy of William Maitland’s *History of London* onto our digital collections catalog, ImPAC, as well as Flickr. She also uploaded forty digital images of the Library Company’s Civil War-era song sheet collection onto ImPAC. David Zabliski, a junior at Haverford College, contributed thirteen stereographs from the Raymond Holstein collection to Flickr.
Kate Philipson updated the online version of our “Abolitionist Walking Tour: 15 Amazing Sites in Philadelphia.” Based on a National Endowment for the Humanities Summer Seminar for K-12 Teachers on the Abolitionist Movement hosted by the Library Company, the updated web tour is mobile friendly, easy to use, and compatible with several phones and devices. The “Abolitionist Walking Tour” is available free via the izi.travel website and app.

2015 also saw the Library Company’s social media initiative evolve into a formal Digital Outreach Program. Building on trends in special collections libraries across the country that seek to tell an institution’s story through social media dispatches, Arielle Middleman and Concetta Barbera created a Digital Outreach Program that shares library materials with the online community. Hoping to reach audiences well beyond academia, they filed daily stories about Library Company staff, collections, and documents. Each day had a specific theme and all dispatches circulated on key social media sites: Facebook, Instagram, Tumblr, and Twitter. Following best practices, they consulted with social media managers at the Uni-
versity of Iowa and the American Antiquarian Society to create a successful framework for consistent, collections-based social media programming at the Library Company.

The Digital Outreach Program officially launched in August 2015 with “Morris Mondays,” a theme first coined by Alison Van Denend, who worked on the Marriott C. Morris Photograph Collection project. Each Monday, Ms. Middleman and Ms. Barbera would feature something interesting from the Morris Collection on social media websites. Other days offered a different thematic focus. Many posts included short videos, images, and even stop motion photography. The results were quite promising. In less than four months the Library Company gained hundreds of new followers on Tumblr, Facebook, and Instagram. Followers included both members of the general public and library professionals interested in learning more about our collections, staff, and projects. And these connections were not merely fleeting; the posts led to several reference inquiries and conversations.

Like other institutions, the Library Company has learned that younger audiences increasingly process information through social media. It is important to keep pace with such trends and share our

Screen shot showing the Library Company’s most popular social media post of 2015, on the social media platform Tumblr.
story with people who know little about the Library Company and have never walked through our doors, but can now learn more by simply following us online.

Nicole H. Scalessa
*IT Manager & Digital Humanities Coordinator*

Nicole Joniec
*Digital Collections Librarian & Print Department Assistant*

Arielle Middleman and Concetta Barbera
*Digital Outreach Librarians*
A small collection of late 19th- and early 20th-century ephemera introduces us to the world of Dr. Edward P. Read, an African American pharmacist and patent medicine man. Among the ephemera are advertisements for tonics, empty packets of herbal remedies, a description of his Eureka Perpetual Calendar, and a notice of arrears to Read for unpaid dues to the A.O.H. Building and Loan Association. The collection documents Read’s bewildering range of enterprises—which included drug manufacturing, book publishing, broom and brush production, writing, and a medical practice—with locations in Lawnside and Readville, New Jersey; Petersburg and Kingsville, Virginia; and Baltimore and Readstown, Maryland.

Read employed promotional tactics similar to other patent medicine men and women, including vague and unproven claims of efficacy and copycat marketing techniques. One of Read’s signature patent medicines was Eureka Herb Tonic and Regulator, which “Rejuvenates, Invigorates, Strengthens Constitutions!!” His Mother Shield’s
Vegetable Compound—similar in name to Lydia Pinkham’s Vegetable Compound, one of the 19th century’s best known patent medicines—guaranteed to cure female complaints. Like other patent medicine men, Read shrewdly tapped into the American public’s faith in American Indian botanical remedies and mystical medical knowledge by naming one of his myriad companies the Powhatan Indian Herb Manufacturing Company. Our new acquisition contains handbills advertising Read’s Eureka Perpetual Calendar; a Chronological, Astrological, Maternity, Horoscope Chart, Ready Reference Church, Society, Business, Hotel and Professional Directory of Colored People (Lawnside, N.J., 1915). These inexpensive, mass-produced almanacs, calendars, handbills, and trade cards were popular forms of marketing for patent medicine men and their brands. In 2005, we acquired a similar example of such marketing, the Afro-American Almanac 1901 (Brooklyn, 1901), which contained illustrated testimonials by black customers satisfied with the products of Lyon Manufacturing Company.

Born about 1864 in Virginia, Read moved to Philadelphia in 1875. According to Read’s entry in the 1915 Who’s Who in the Colored Race directory, he received an M.D. from Baltimore University in 1889 and a degree of Doctor of Refraction at Philadelphia Optical College in 1899. Baltimore University was one of the worst ranked medical schools in the country during its two decades of existence from 1885 to 1905. Founded in 1889, Philadelphia Optical College also never built...
a strong reputation among optometry schools. Nevertheless, these two academic institutions allowed a black man like Read to have access to some sort of specialized medical education. The experiences of Dr. Nathan Mossell point to the difficulties that African Americans faced in pursuing medical careers regardless of educational pedigree. In 1882, Mossell became the first African American to earn a medical degree from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School but found that none of the city’s hospitals would grant admitting privileges to black physicians. African Americans in allied health professions, such as nursing and pharmacy, encountered similar racial discrimination. In frustration, Mossell founded Frederick Douglass Memorial Hospital in 1895 to help serve Philadelphia’s black community and to provide training opportunities for black doctors and nurses.

Read’s pharmaceutical enterprises also targeted underserved African American markets in Philadelphia and beyond. His Who’s Who listing noted that he opened the first drug store operated by a person of color in Petersburg, Virginia, a reminder of the rarity of such black professionals. By the 1890s, he had established businesses on Lombard and South Streets in the Seventh Ward, the heart of Philadelphia’s black community, which was extensively documented in W.E.B. Du Bois’s The Philadelphia Negro (1899).

Despite the presence of the black-run Douglass Memorial Hospital and its offshoot Mercy Hospital (founded in 1907), Read’s patent medicines likely appealed to black Philadelphians who could not afford to be treated by the medical establishment or chose to use alternative medicines. By 1930, Read was sufficiently successful that he and his second wife Alphonsenia owned their own home, which was valued at $15,000. Read continued to work as a pharmacist into his seventies, before dying of pneumonia in 1944.

The bookseller who offered the collection to us described Read as a purveyor of “quack remedies.” Indeed, his patent medicines as well as his questionable university degrees suggest that Read was at best a well-meaning self-promoter and at worst a charlatan exploiting his patients with fake remedies. However, this collection by a black man serving (or taking advantage of) a black community com-
plicates the study of patent and non-traditional medicine as well as offers new insights about health care options in black Philadelphia. Funds for this acquisition were also supplied by the Visual Culture Program.

Other notable African Americana acquisitions cover a variety of topics. African American print culture is a burgeoning subfield in history and literary studies, strengthened in recent years by a number of scholarly monographs, special journal issues, and conference proceedings, including *Early African American Print Culture*, resulting from a conference held at the Library Company in 2010. We hope our collections have also been instrumental in these scholarly developments, helping to address Elizabeth McHenry’s concern that “sources that reflect the reading practices and literary habits of African Americans … are relatively few and scattered,” as she wrote in *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African Ameri*


Born enslaved in Philadelphia in 1760, Allen acquired literacy in his late teens through the religious instruction and Bible study that also made him a convert to Methodism. After he purchased his freedom in 1780, Allen was an itinerant preacher to the region’s free black and enslaved communities. Allen eventually established the African Methodist Episcopal Church (which was formally founded in 1794) after leading a walkout of black Philadelphians from St. George’s Methodist Church due to racial discrimination. In addition to being the founder of the first independent black Protestant denomination, Allen was an abolitionist, writer, and community leader.

Within this context, Allen likely felt kinship with Flavius Josephus, a Romano-Jewish historian in the first century C.E. Josephus’s writings not only underscored the need for oppressed peoples to write their own histories but held forth the belief in divine retribution for earthly wrongs. Allen was a subscriber to the 1795 Philadelphia edition of *The Whole, Genuine and Complete Works of Flavius Josephus*. The appearance of a second edition owned by Allen suggests the extent to which Allen valued Josephus’s writings. Allen inscribed his name on the pages of this set in seven different places within the four-volume set, providing a visible marker of his erudition and ownership. Josephus was likely one of Allen’s intellectual inspirations, and this work offers tantalizing possibilities for re-examining the Classical influences on early African American thought.

Francis Philpot may have had Richard Allen and other abolitionists in mind when he wrote his anonymous self-published antislavery diatribe, *Facts for White Americans, with a Plain Hint for Dupes, and a Bone to Pick for White Nigger Demagogues and Amalgamation Abolitionists, Including the Parentage, Brief Career, and Execution of Amalgamation Abolitionism, Whose Funeral Sermon Was Preached at Washington on the 7th of February, 1839* (Philadelphia, 1839). As demonstrated by the unrestrained language in the title, Philpot, a proslavery Northerner, fervently denounced
abolitionists as amalgamationists who sought social and political equality for blacks. In Philpot’s view, Senator Henry Clay’s February 7, 1839, Congressional speech against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia signaled an important turning point against the spread of abolition. Philpot warned of blacks overstepping their bounds, citing actions by free blacks in the North seeking suffrage rights and by enslaved blacks in the South who potentially harbored “thousands of NAT TURNERS among them.” Philpot was particularly disgusted by Robert Purvis’s pamphlet *Appeal of Forty Thousand Citizens, Threatened with Disfranchisement, to the People of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1838), which has long been in our collections. Philpot considered Purvis’s eloquent appeal for black civil rights to be “a specimen of their [African Americans’] encroachments!” *Facts for White Americans* argued that slaves were better off than Northern free blacks and urged readers to support colonization for free blacks to Africa, where Philpot claimed that they were making fortunes in sugar cane and coffee. The pamphlet’s sentiments are well represented visually in our graphics collection in contemporary works such as Edward W. Clay’s lithograph *Practical Amalgamation* (New York, 1839), an anti-miscegenation cartoon depicting grotesque interracial couples courting in a parlor decorated with the portraits of prominent white abolitionists.

Our next item demonstrates that some Northern whites disagreed with Philpot’s colonizationist views and were interested in helping African Americans strengthen their roots in the United States. *Circular. The Undersigned Having Agreed to Act as a Committee in Behalf of the Society and Congregation of Colored People* (Brooklyn?, 1856) serves as an appeal to raise $1,600 to assist an unnamed black congregation which had recently moved into a new building on Devoe Street in Brooklyn. The church was established in 1830 as a society of interested individuals meeting in private homes, then formally organized into a church with a dedicated building in 1839. By the date of the circular, 250 to 300 people convened weekly for Sabbath services while fifty attended Sunday school. The fundraising committee featured several prominent white Brooklynites, including the city’s current and former mayors. On the verso of the
circular is an 1865 manuscript note from R. G. Thursby (one of the signatories on the printed circular’s recto) to local real estate developer Charles G. Havens. The note describes the dire circumstances of “John Smith (colored)” and his wife Mary, asking Havens to assist them if he can. While it is unclear if the Smiths were connected to the church on the recto, the note provides an example of Brooklyn’s interracial and interclass networks.

We close with a photograph of popular entertainers and conjoined twins Millie and Christine McKoy, who preferred the single moniker Millie-Christine. Born enslaved in North Carolina in 1851, the sisters were bought and sold several times throughout their childhood to owners who profited from exhibiting them as medical curiosities in both the North and South. Before their performances, the sisters often underwent physical examinations so that doctors could certify their conjoined status to the waiting audience. During their performances, the sisters danced, played the piano, recited poetry, and sang, earning them the nickname “the two-headed nightingale.” After slavery ended, the famous sisters continued to perform nationally and internationally, including for Queen Victoria in London. Free and in control of their own earnings, Millie-Christine purchased and lived on the North Carolina property where they had formerly been enslaved. This photograph was taken as they entered semi-retirement to spend more time at home, where they lived until their deaths in 1912.

Krystal Appiah, Curator of African American History
Aristotle’s Masterpiece

Aristotle’s Masterpiece was the best-selling guide to pregnancy, childbirth, and sexuality in England and America from its first publication in 1684 through the mid-19th century, and it stayed in print until the 1930s. Apart from the Bible and Pilgrim’s Progress, it is hard to think of another book that had such a long run. It was not written by Aristotle, of course, but his name was used to suggest deep learning and ancient wisdom, and it became a brand, almost a genre. Mary E. Fissell of Johns Hopkins University has identified some 372 editions of its various avatars. This year Charles Rosenberg gave his collection of seventy-five Aristotles and Michael Zinman gave us eleven more. William Helfand gave another seventeen editions in 2005. We now have about 160 copies, representing about 120 different editions; and we can say with some certainty that thanks to this unique collaboration with three great collectors, we have the largest collection of Aristotles anywhere.

So what can we learn from 120 editions of the same book? It makes some sense to say the same book because most editions copied a previous edition verbatim, so the book hardly changed over the centuries, despite several revolutions in medical practice, knowledge, and social mores. This sameness is the most striking feature of the collection, but only at first glance. When we have this many editions to compare, important differences begin to emerge.

The most obvious difference arises from the fact that in most cases Aristotle’s Masterpiece was actually a compendium of several different books, some also published separately, which were issued in various combinations. The four main books were Aristotle’s Masterpiece, describing “the secrets of nature in the generation of man”; Aristotle’s Experienced Midwife, described as “absolutely necessary for surgeons, midwives, nurses, and child-bearing women”; Aristotle’s Book of Problems, a catechism of “various questions and answers relative to the state of man’s body”; and Aristotle’s Last Legacy, at first a sort of fortune teller, but later evolving into a summary of the main points in the Masterpiece about sex, marriage, and childbirth. All of them were cobbled together from older books. The
Book of Problems was by far the earliest, with a manuscript history dating back to the 13th century, which accounts for Aristotle’s reputation as a sex expert. Some editions contain the first two of these parts, or the first three, with a general title such as Aristotle’s Complete Masterpiece; but the most common form is all four parts under a title such as The Works of Aristotle in Four Parts.

Another kind of difference emerges when we compare the texts of the various editions. As Mary Fissell has pointed out, there are four different versions of the Masterpiece alone. The first edition of 1684 was compiled from earlier works on midwifery, and on generation and monstrous births. It was so popular that in 1697, the London bookseller Benjamin Harris brought out an expanded version that incorporated a long section on how to treat women’s reproductive illnesses, called “A Private Looking Glass for the Female Sex.” This addition made it more of a self-help book, like those featured in our 1998 exhibition, “Every Man His Own Doctor.” (Harris, the originator of the New England Primer, made a specialty of publishing for the American market and even lived in Boston for a number of years, which perhaps accounts for Aristotle’s popularity in the colonies.) Then, sometime around 1710, a third version emerged, which continued this trend by adding a section of general medical recipes called “The Family Physician.” The first two versions began with a rather pious discourse on the benefits of marriage, but the third version drastically rearranged the order of the chapters so the book began with a discussion of sexual intercourse, more explicit than in the earlier versions. It also added some mildly erotic verse. All three versions continued to be published throughout the 18th and 19th centuries.

Presumably most readers did not know or care about the versions of Aristotle. But we can see how these different versions take different approaches to the perennial issue of what was proper to say in print about matters that were of deep concern to everyone and yet rarely discussed openly. And yet, what does it mean to talk about propriety or popular attitudes when the book itself was sold under the counter or by peddlers in the country (often with false or fictitious imprints) and read in secret and alone, or at least seldom
by men and women together. Much of the text is aimed at a female reader, anxious to learn about her body, but young men were just as likely to read it, and even though the text is not pornographic, men’s knowledge about women’s bodies was often regarded as fraught with danger. Jonathan Edwards certainly thought so in the 1740s, when he denounced several boys from his pulpit for taunting the girls of Northampton by saying things like, “You need not be scared, we know as much about ye as you, and more too.” They had been reading Aristotle.

Aristotle’s reputation as a bad book was based not only on the text in its many different forms, but also on the pictures. The anatomical diagrams that appeared in many editions were among the very
few images of female nudity available to non-elite readers in the 18th century, and the pictures of monstrous births that appeared in almost all editions were even more disturbing. The woodcut blocks from which they were printed were used over and over again, and when they wore out or another publisher wanted to enter the field, they were redrawn and recut. The first edition of 1684 has a woodcut frontispiece showing a hairy woman and a black child, meant to illustrate the old idea that what a woman sees during pregnancy can affect the appearance of the child. It seems the hairy woman’s mother looked at a picture of John the Baptist dressed in skins, and the black child’s mother, though she and her husband were white, happened to look at a picture of a black man. This image appears in
one place or another in almost all editions, serving as a virtual trade-
mark for the work. The 1697 edition, the Benjamin Harris version,
has a frontispiece depicting Aristotle, the famous philosopher, lost
in thought, surrounded by books, a globe, a skull, and other philo-
sophical appurtenances. Then in later editions, including our 23rd
edition (London, 1749), the two figures are combined: the woman
and the child are being examined by Aristotle, or at least they are
in the room with him, while he is busy writing. In our 31st edition
(London, 1776) the hairy woman has become a naked Eve, with a fig
leaf. In our London, ca. 1840 edition, the child is gone, the woman
is holding her diaphanous garment seductively, and Aristotle is try-
ing not to stare, protected as he is by the eye of Providence hovering
over his head-dress as he writes his book on the Secrets of Nature.

*Aristotle’s Master-Piece, Completed in Two Parts.* (London [i.e. New
York?]: G. Davis, 1846). Gift of Charles Rosenberg.

*The Works of Aristotle, the Famous Philosopher: In Four Parts* (New York:
Published for the Trade, 1849). Gift of Charles Rosenberg.
In the late 18th and early 19th century, we find much more variety in the images and in the medium. In our 1826 London edition the frontispiece and other plates are lithographs, a new technology seldom used at that time in popular books. The graphic style is unlike that of any other edition we have seen, almost reminiscent of William Blake; and the mood is decidedly creepy, with Aristotle looming over the woman like a predator, while she shrinks away. In this London [i.e., New York?], 1846 edition the bawdy image of the “amorous Widow” yearning for “forbidden fruit” shows the use of hand coloring. The final image from a New York, 1849 edition is a chromolithograph, and it is typical of Victorian attempts to rebrand the book as an accessory to blameless domesticity without changing the text.

With so many editions, it should be possible to construct genealogies of images as well as texts. We expected the three kinds of difference noted here (the permutations of the four parts, the versions of the text of the *Masterpiece*, and the various forms of the frontispiece) to map onto one another, but they do not at all. The family tree of Aristotles is astonishingly complex. Plus it seems likely that as we look more closely at this amazing collection, more differences will appear. We started by thinking they all looked the same, but now we are wondering if they are all different. These differences make meanings, but what those meanings are remains to be discovered.

*New England Primers*

In addition to his Aristotles, Michael Zinman also gave his collection of 178 American primers, ranging in date from 1754 to the 1870s. Most of them are New England Primers, which was the standard primer used not only in New England but in other colonies as well. The Anglo-American bookseller Benjamin Harris, mentioned above as the compiler of one of the early versions of *Aristotle’s Masterpiece*, compiled a sort of forerunner to *The New England Primer* called *The Protestant Tutor* (London, 1679), making him the link between two of the most popular early American books. (He was
also the publisher of the first American newspaper, *Public Occurrences*, Boston, 1690; but that cannot be reckoned a success because it was shut down after only one issue.) Harris’s *Tutor* was, as he wrote in a preface, meant as a counterweight to the “vast number of Popish Primers, Catechisms, [and] Manuals… dispersed like a General Infection among the youth of this Nation.” He was using the word primer in its earliest sense to mean a prayer book, relating to the medieval book of hours, prime being the first hour in Roman reckoning. But prime as an adjective also meant first, early, or youthful, so Harris’s primer was also an elementary school book. But above all it was a Protestant primer. About half of it consisted of gruesome descriptions of Catholic atrocities. When he fled to Boston in 1686, after the accession of the Catholic King James II, he rebranded the book as *The New England Primer*. He kept the prayer book and school book features, but pruned away the anti-Catholic propaganda, retaining only a poem by John Rogers, the first martyr under Queen Mary. Almost all editions include a woodcut of Rogers being burned at the stake with his wife and nine children looking on. Harris also added what became its most famous feature, the alphabet cuts with their plodding rhymes (“In ADAM’S fall, we sinnéd all”).

Primers are the rarest books of all, simply because they were all read to pieces as they were passed from child to child. We know of the early editions of *The New England Primer* only from advertisements and archival evidence. The earliest surviving copy was printed in Boston in 1727. The standard bibliography by Charles Heartman lists 213 editions printed between 1727 and 1800, which are known in 266 copies. That is an average of 1.24 surviving copies per edition. The printer Isaiah Thomas recalled that as an apprentice he helped produce an edition of 10,000 copies. Benjamin Franklin’s successor David Hall printed 35,100 primers between 1749 and 1766, of which only two copies are known. These numbers give some idea of the rate of loss.

The 178 Zinman primers join 60-odd others on our shelves, many of them previous Zinman gifts. This is one of the largest collections of its kind, and so once again we can ask, what can we learn from 240 copies of the same book? As with the Aristotles, the prim
ers are both all alike and all different. Take for example the alphabet cuts. The same twenty-four images were used over and over again. Ten of them first appeared in yet another book for children compiled by Benjamin Harris, *The Holy Bible in Verse*, the earliest known copy of which was published in Boston in 1717. By 1727, when the earliest extant *New England Primer* was published, they were cut on four long narrow blocks, six images per block. (The letters J and V were omitted from the alphabet.) The woodcuts in this edition of the primer were probably made by the artist and type founder Justus

Fox while he was still an apprentice. Among all the extant primers we find ten slightly different sets of these blocks before 1776, and many of them were used over and over again. These sets also moved from printer to printer. One set was used in New York in 1750, then in Boston in 1752, and then several times in Philadelphia from 1760 to 1774. Over much of that time the verses that went with each picture hardly changed, but as historian Kyle Roberts has noted, around the time of the Revolution, they changed radically. For example the K verse, “Our KING the good, No man of blood” became “KINGS should be good, No Men of Blood” and then “The British King Lost States Thirteen.” After the Revolution, the alphabet cuts and the martyrdom of Rogers continued to be the core of the content, but many other changes were made, as primer publishers struggled against the rising popularity of newer primary school books, including Webster’s spellers. After 1800 entirely new primers proliferated, with titles suggesting hopeful new market niches: The American Primer, The Evangelical Primer, The Franklin Primer, The Ohio Primer, The Girls’ and Boys’ Primer. The old primer barely held on, now published by the Massachusetts Sabbath School Society for use in areas where Sunday schools were the only free schools. In the 1840s a facsimile of a 1777 New England Primer became a steady seller, framed not as an actual school book but as a nostalgic memento of olden times. That was a blow from which the old primer never recovered, though it must be admitted that the 1777 facsimile is still in print, available for as little as $4.95 on Amazon – Prime.

James N. Green, Librarian
Happily 2015 proved another great year for the Art & Artifacts Collection. And fortuitously a new object, generously given by Beatrice Garvan, came just in time to be included in our *Fashioning Philadelphia* exhibition. It is a Staffordshire figurine of a smartly dressed Benjamin Franklin donning a blue jacket, vest with floral decoration, gold-striped breeches, and black shoes, carrying a tricorn hat in his left hand and, naturally, a newspaper in his right hand. Portrait figures were quite popular, and many ceramics of Washington, Lafayette, and Franklin were created for the American market. He makes a welcome addition.

In our ongoing efforts to conserve our extraordinary collection, we are pleased that *Still Life with Peaches* by James Peale is back on display after being restored. James Peale (1749-1831), younger brother of artist Charles Willson Peale, was an accomplished painter of portrait miniatures and later still lifes and landscapes. He was one of the first American artists to specialize in still life and is now deemed one of the founders of the American still life tradition. His complex arrangements of fruits and vegetables showed his skill at recreating different textures and degrees of translucence. Our painting is a fine example of his work. According to the inscription on the stretcher, the painting was a New Year’s gift from the artist to James Rush’s

*Figure of Benjamin Franklin (Made in Staffordshire, England, ca. 1830). Lead-glazed earthenware. Gift of Beatrice Garvan.*
wife Phoebe Ann (Ridgway) Rush. James Rush was Peale’s family doctor. The painting came to us with the bulk of Rush’s estate in 1869.

Painting conservator Carole Abercauph cleaned dirt, grime, and discoloring varnish off of the canvas, filled in losses, and applied a new coat of varnish. Frame conservator Bret Headley removed dirt and grime, replaced ornament losses, and gilded the frame.

If you can’t come in person to see this painting, take advantage of the technology that has made our objects available to anyone in the world. Digital Humanities intern Kate Philipson created a digital tour of the Logan Room, where many of our treasures are on display. The online tour is available on izi.Travel, a free app that can be accessed on any smartphone or computer. Every object in the room has been digitized and includes a brief description. This app is yet another way to invite people to the Library Company.

Linda August, Curator of Art and Artifacts
By the late 1840s, American gift books were so popular that publishers outdid themselves by offering them in an enticing array of binding styles. The Library Company has a wonderful collection of gift books, and even though space is at a premium in our stacks, we are sometimes happy to acquire a book we already have if it is in a different binding. These bindings are of great interest to anyone studying gift book publishing history.

This year, Todd and Sharon Pattison gave us a copy of *Women of the Bible*, published by Appleton in 1849. Bound in brown morocco with wide bevels on the covers, the binding is signed with “J.T. ALTEMUS BINDER PHILADA” embossed in the front flyleaf. Our other copy of this work is signed in the same way, but is in a relievo binding that came to us with the Michael Zinman Binding Collection in 1999. It has deeply embossed leather covers and was one of the first of its kind to be issued in America. Longman published *Gray’s Elegy* with patented relievo covers in London in 1846. *Women of the Bible*, though larger, has a very similar design with holly leaves and berries.
The following year, Appleton offered *Women of the Old and New Testament*, a “companion” to *Women of the Bible*. This book was also bound in innovative binding styles and was one of the first to be offered with papier-mâché covers. (During my research on papier-mâché bindings, I found nine different binding versions of this book at other libraries.) The Library Company has two copies, both leather with panels in different formations, and they are both signed by Joseph Altemus.

Joseph T. Altemus ran a bookbinding business that was known for his ground-breaking techniques. Unfortunately, he rarely signed his bindings. The Library Company now has seventeen signed Altemus bindings, most of them innovative bindings that include such features as raised panels, paper onlays, and an interesting use of bevels. Joseph Altemus died in 1853 and his son Henry took over his bindery. He added photo albums to their repertoire and the business later became the popular publishing house Henry Altemus & Co. His father’s work on the earlier gift books, though, is fascinating to study and tells us much about publishing during the mid-19th century.

Jennifer W. Rosner, *Chief of Conservation*
The Mary Langdale Coates Ledger

The most significant purchase of the year was a manuscript account book that shopkeeper Mary Langdale Coates (1713-1770) kept from 1748 to 1770. Her shop was on the west side of Second Street north of Market, close by Christ Church and Benjamin Franklin’s book shop. The ledger includes many remarkable entries documenting purchases by such well-known characters as Elias Boudinot, George Emlen, Jr., Timothy Matlack, Israel Pemberton, Sr. and Jr, Elizabeth Coates Paschall, Philip Syng, Joseph Shippen, and Catherine Wistar (Caspar’s widow). It gives a highly detailed picture of a shop that must have been an institution among the Philadelphia elite. But more importantly, it fully documents one of Philadelphia’s earliest and most prominent woman-owned businesses.

Mary Langdale Coates was herself part of the city’s Quaker elite. Her parents Josiah and Margaret Langdale were well-known English Quaker preachers, and her husband Samuel Coates was a brother-in-law of John Reynell, a prosperous merchant dealing primarily in manufactured goods from England, and sugar and liquor from the West Indies. Samuel Coates was a shopkeeper (and an early Library Company shareholder) who was poised to join the mercantile elite when he died in 1748, at the age of thirty-seven. Mary was just

Mary Langdale Coates, Account Book (Philadelphia, 1748-1770). Vellum binding showing red leather overbands.
thirty-five and might have been expected to remarry, but instead her Reynell in-laws, childless themselves, adopted her four small children. This launched a dynasty that continues to thrive (and to hold a Library Company share) to this day. Mary was thus released from the need to find a new husband, but she still had to make her living. Because she was legally a *femme sole*, that is, an unmarried woman with the right to own property and make contracts, she was free to run the Coates shop in her own name. Our ledger thus documents the entire extent of her business from the death of her husband to her own death in 1770, and all the accounts are in her hand.

The binding is a particular type used for ledgers. The vellum cover has heavy red leather overbands attached with decorative vel-

Mary Langdale Coates, Account Book (Philadelphia, 1748-1770), showing Coates’s account with Benjamin (actually Deborah) Franklin.
lum lacing. The spine was further reinforced with heavy threads made of gut, called tackets, which were laced through holes in the spine coverings. The result is a binding that opens flat and can be written in right up to the gutter. Ledgers had to withstand constant heavy use over many years, and as the brass bosses at the edges of these covers suggest, they were often left open on counter or desk and had to bear the weight of the arms of the person who wrote in them.

One of the more interesting accounts in the ledger is that of Benjamin Franklin. Leo Lemay’s edition of Franklin’s own accounts show he did regular business with Samuel Coates up to his death in 1748, but he did not open an account with Mary Coates until 1754, and that lasted only for five years. Most of the transactions occurred when Franklin was out of town or (after 1757) out of the country. This, then, seems to actually be Deborah Franklin’s account. (Deborah was a femme couvert, and her legal identity was subsumed under her husband’s.) Deborah bought a lot of sugar from Mary Coates, as well as a bit of rice and several miscellaneous lots of silk, linen, and ribbon. She also occasionally bought ready-made clothing, such as a bonnet, a pair of mittens, a fine gauze handkerchief, and, for her daughter Sally, a “habbitt.” Then after a long hiatus we find two final transactions on May 12 and June 9, 1759, when two packages of twelve pounds of sugar were sold to “his Negro woman.” Franklin’s life is as thoroughly documented as any colonial American’s, yet there are only a few references, some quite ambiguous, to the apprentices, servants, and slaves with whom he and his family lived. This ledger entry is an important addition to that number. It probably refers to Jemima, whose husband Peter had accompanied Franklin to London two years before. This entry reminds us that Franklin left behind a house full of women: not only Deborah, who would not live to see him return, and their thirteen-year-old daughter Sally, but also Jemima. En route to London Franklin wrote a will freeing Jemima and Peter in the event of his death. We do not know if he carried out his promise or even if Jemima ever saw Peter again.

The Coates ledger could not have been acquired without the generous support of Theodate Coates and Davida T. Deutsch. The
entire ledger has been digitized, courtesy of the American Philosophical Society, which holds a large collection of related Coates family papers. It will soon be available by a link on our website.

Other Gifts

Our former Board chair Beatrice Garvan moved house this year and offered us our pick of books from the library that she and her late husband Tony built together. Actually, there were books all over the house, but the formal library in the very much lived-in living room was a reflection of their shared scholarly interest in American art, decorative arts, architecture, and material culture—plus a few books about hobbies such as beagling and Irish folk lore. The Garvans gave us many books over the years, but there were a lot of good ones left. Among the most interesting of the sixty-nine books we chose were several late-19th- and early-20th-century folios on colonial American architecture and decorative arts, at least some of which, Mrs. Garvan says, belonged to Thomas Hastings (1860-1929) of Carrère and Hastings, the famous Beaux-Arts architecture firm. Among the older books was *New Designs in Architecture* (London, 1792) by George Richardson, who built very few buildings but achieved fame as an interior decorator and a teacher of architectural drawing. He published many books, and this book joins two others by him on our shelves: *The New Vitruvius Britannicus* (London, 1802), with seventy-two plates illustrating new British buildings; and the tenth edition of his *Aedes Pembrochianae* (Salisbury, 1784), a guide to the antiquities and objets d’art in Wilton House, then (and still today) the seat of the Earls of Pembroke. Mrs. Garvan also gave some actual objets d’art: a set of eight walnut chairs with leather seats in the right period style to go with the dining table in the parlor of the Cassatt House, and the lovely Staffordshire figurine of Franklin, described on page 53 of this report.

Among other gifts received this year was a small archive of letters, offprints, and research notes sent by Sue Allen, the historian of publishers’ cloth bindings, to the collectors Eric and Marjorie Rudd. Several of the letters relate to Sue’s census of bindings with gold
stamps cut by the master engraver John Feely (ca. 1819-1878), and they include photocopies of Feely designs found in our collection and sent to Sue by our conservators Andrea Krupp and Jennifer Rosner. One of Sue’s notes mentions how her census is “growing like Jack’s beanstalk mostly due to this very responsive last year student Todd Pattison and his wife who seem to go out book hunting every weekend!” Much of Todd and Sharon’s collection has been given to the Library Company, and Todd, then Sue’s student at Rare Book School, is now teaching her course most summers in Charlottesville. It really is a small world.

Roger Stoddard may have retired from Houghton Library but he has not stopped scouting for books, something he has done since he was thirteen years old. This year he gave a couple of dozen recent finds, including half a dozen books by the popular health writer William A. Alcott. We have a pretty good Alcott collection, but these were all new to us. He also gave a *New England Primer* (Walpole, N.H., 1814), one we did not have despite having just received 178 others from Michael Zinman. But the real gem of Mr. Stoddard’s gift is a nearly complete run of the rare book catalogs issued annually by the pioneer New York antiquarian bookseller William Gowans between 1842 and 1870. He issued twenty-nine of them in all, and this set lacks only no. 2 (1843) and the odd-ball no. 24½ (1867), which is supplied in a photocopy of the Harvard copy. Gowans issued other occasional catalogs, but these were the cream of his stock, which was huge: after his death in 1870 his executors sold at auction some 250,000 bound volumes, after eight tons of pamphlets had been sold as waste paper. Mr. Stoddard bought the set from another great bookseller, Richard Wormser, in 1968 for $85.

Here is a sampling of some of the other gifts of bibliophilic significance received this year. Antiquarian bookseller Joseph Felcone gave a copy of James Fenimore Cooper’s *The Heidenmauer* (Philadelphia, 1834) bound in original speckled sheep with the spine gilt, in near-perfect condition. This must be part of what the publishers Carey, Lea & Blanchard were advertising as the “Gilt” set of Cooper’s works, and it is good to know what these volumes looked like when they were new. Walter E. Smith, the bibliographer of Victo-
arian fiction, has developed a tradition of donating books described in his bibliographies that we don’t happen to have, if only because we often did not manage to get first editions of popular works when they were new. This year he gave British and American editions of novels by William Harrison Ainsworth, Wilkie Collins, Charles Kingsley, and—the subject of two of his bibliographies—Charles Dickens. Coincidentally another regular donor, Linda Lapides, gave a copy of Dickens’ *Barnaby Rudge* (Philadelphia, 1842) that at first seemed to be a duplicate of ours, but turned out to differ in several points. Dickens was so wildly popular that early American editions of his books were put together in great haste from serial parts, so the number of variants is astonishing. Trustee Emeritus David Maxey gave a copy of a classic in the literature of book collecting, Gabriel Peignot’s *Essai de Curiosités Bibliographiques* (Paris, 1804), with appropriate provenance: the book plates of the Duke of Sussex (1773-1843) with his shelf mark, and the modern Philadelphia bibliophile Brian Stilwell. It was also inscribed by the English antiquary Dawson Turner (1775-1858) and marked at 15 shillings, probably the price he paid at the sale of the Duke of Sussex’s library in 1845, where the prices were famously low. Our former research fellow Jessica Linker has discovered a pop-up flea market that has good books at incredibly low prices, and she has been on the lookout for the sort of book we like. So for example, when her fellow University of Connecticut graduate student Amy Sopcak Joseph, who is working on a publishing history of *Godey’s Lady’s Book*, was lamenting the fact that library copies of the magazine lacked their original ad-laden wrappers, Jessica turned up nine wrappered issues.

Finally, the Beverly Hills Americana collector Gary Milan gave an oversized legal form, a land lease (16 by 21 inches) printed in Lancaster by Francis Bailey not later than 1774, with an extraordinary woodcut header, with the first three words, “This Indenture made” in Fraktur-like calligraphy, embedded in a design recalling at once a basket weave, a musical staff, and a stone balustrade. Words won’t suffice so here is a picture.

James N. Green, *Librarian*
This Indenture Made (Lancaster: Printed by Francis Bailey, not after 1774.) Detail of printed lease form, filled out in manuscript. Gift of Gary Milan. This woodcut is 15½ inches wide. Note the wavy cut at the top, which makes this a true indenture.
Political cartoons are always of interest, and this year we purchased a wonderful carte-de-visite reproduction of a Civil War-era cartoon. *The True Story of the Capture of Jeff Davis* illustrates the oft-repeated story of the Confederate president facing humiliation as he attempts to elude detection by Union troops while wearing women’s clothing. Gibson & Co. of Cincinnati, a firm established in 1850 by four Gibson brothers that remained in the printing business into the end of the 20th century, published the cartoon in 1865 to meet the demand of an audience wanting patriotic imagery. Publishing the cartoon in a photographic version only widened the reach of its distribution. Other print publishers, including Currier & Ives, J. L. Magee, and the Kellogg brothers, issued more than fifteen versions of this scene for sale to Northern consumers eager to celebrate victory over the South. We have nine cartoons already in our collection mocking Jefferson Davis’s ignoble capture, including *Jeff’s Last Shift* and *The Confederacy in Petticoats*. Competing with themselves, Gibson & Co. also published a similarly themed print

*The True Story of the Capture of Jeff Davis* (Cincinnati: Gibson & Co., 1865). Albumen print carte-de-visite.
in 1865 entitled *A "So Called President" in Petticoats*. Surviving copies of the print version of *The True Story of the Capture of Jeff Davis* are rare, with only the Library of Congress known to hold a copy in its collection.

Twenty-first-century residents of the greater Philadelphia area have a variety of travel options to choose from as they travel back and forth between Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Some Delaware River bridges permit pedestrians and bikers as well as cars to travel across their spans. A ferry runs between Camden and Philadelphia. And travelers can also choose to cross the river via a commuter train. Yet few local residents realize that there may have been another option a century ago. Before 1920, civic officials seriously considered running a tunnel under the Delaware River. Library Company shareholder Ivan Jurin donated a blueprint of this proposed tunnel this year.

Vehicular traffic grew by leaps and bounds in the early 20th century, and both goods and people needed a more efficient way to travel across the Delaware River. In 1920, the New Jersey Interstate Bridge and Tunnel Commission and the New York State Bridge and Tunnel Commission obtained funds for the Hudson River Vehicular

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Tunnel Project (now known as the Holland Tunnel) and construction of a tunnel between Jersey City and lower Manhattan began in 1922. Further south along the Delaware River debate raged in the press and in the halls of government over the merits and pitfalls of building a tunnel or a bridge (or possibly both) to connect South Jersey with Philadelphia. The *Woodbury Daily Times* on January 17, 1917, declared that it would be impossible to properly ventilate a tunnel for any form of transportation but electric trains, thus preventing farmers from getting their produce to city markets and city residents from driving to the Jersey shore. “The vapors and gases emitted by automobiles,” stated the newspaper, “would so vitiate the atmosphere of the tunnel so as to make it absolutely beyond use for such traffic.” Bridge proponents eventually won the battle, and construction of the Delaware River Bridge (now known as the Benjamin Franklin Bridge) took place from 1922 to 1926. Later connections across the Delaware River were also all bridges. Even though a Delaware River tunnel never came to fruition, the building plan for it provides a fascinating glimpse into past civic debates over transportation and infrastructure.

When Philadelphia photographer James W. Williams (d. 1872) advertised his services as a talbotypist in this late 1850s example, the talbotype was already a somewhat outdated process. Introduced by Englishman William Henry Fox Talbot (1800-1877) in 1840, this paper-based process entails the creation of a paper negative, thus allowing multiple copies of an image to be made, and stands in contrast to the one-of-a-kind daguerreotype image produced on a metal plate. Hampered by patent restrictions, talotypes (also known as calotypes) never achieved the same commercial success as daguerreotypes in America. By the late 1850s albumen print photographs had begun to supplant both the talbotype and the daguerreotype. We were pleased to acquire this example of a Philadelphia talbotype this year, only the second one in our collection.

In order to produce a “correct likeness,” Williams requested that
his customers provide him with “a description of the color of the Eyes, Hair and general complexion” when leaving their daguerreotype to be copied in his studio. If Williams succeeded in creating a correct likeness of David Cadwallader (or Cadwalader), a Philadelphia businessman, he captured a relatively young man with copper-colored hair and piercing blue eyes. Williams, however, went a bit overboard with his application of color to Cadwallader’s talbotype. From the marble of the architectural column to the patterns on the tablecloth and the sitter’s vest to the gold of the sitter’s pinky ring, Williams seems determined to show off his coloring skill and to prove himself worthy of operating the aptly named Artists’ Emporium. To a public accustomed to seeing black and white daguerreotypes, the colorfulness of the talbotype must have seemed quite exciting and life-like.

Almost thirty years after we borrowed a copy of this print for our exhibition


*The Larder Invaded: Reflections on Three Centuries of Philadelphia Food and Drink*, we purchased one for our collection. Based on an 1822 painting by the English painter Edwin Landseer (1802-1873), Philadelphia artist Daniel Wiest (b. ca. 1842) designed this hand-colored lithograph about forty years later. (Landseer’s older brother Thomas had already created an engraving from the painting in 1836). Philadelphia print seller William Smith perhaps hoped to capitalize on Americans’ appetite for this lithographic version. Smith later published and distributed another one of Wiest’s works, a lithograph memorializing Abraham Lincoln, also in our collection. William Smith’s shop remained in business for about thirty years, publishing and distributing portraits as well as genre, historical, and religious lithographs and chromolithographs.

Sarah Weatherwax, *Curator of Prints and Photographs*
Women’s History

Taking potshots at 19th-century women writers became a favorite enterprise for 20th-century literary critics. Posterity has especially trivialized the writings of Emma Embury (1806-1863). According to her entry in the Dictionary of American Biography (1931), her poetry has the “vagueness of imagery, conventionality of theme, and unimpassioned fluency of all bad verse.” We do learn that she excelled as a salon hostess. Admittedly, the verse in her American Wild Flowers in Their Native Haunts (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1845) contains conventional poetic tropes such as plants representing the lifecycle (“As flowerets born but to blossom and die”). But the book appeared at a significant time, both for American literature and for publishing technology, and we’ve long sought to acquire a copy. Intriguingly, it also contains verse by better-known writers such as Elizabeth Oakes Smith (writing under her own name and also under her pseudonym Ernest Helfenstein). To produce some of the book’s twenty color plates depicting wild flowers, the lithographic firm of Lewis and Brown experimented with chromolithographic touches. In so doing, they were in the vanguard in the transition to color printing for lavishly-illustrated works on natural history such as this one. We anticipate readers examining the volume as an artifact of the lively literary culture of 1840s New York,

Color lithograph depicting the wood lily, with the thenunfinished Croton Aqueduct in the background, from Emma Embury’s American Wild Flowers in Their Native Haunts (New York, 1845). Purchased with the Davida T. Deutsch Women’s History Fund.
when Edgar Allan Poe, Frances Sargent Osgood, Elizabeth Oakes Smith, and many others participated in the salons hosted by Mrs. Embury, Anne C. Lynch (later Mrs. Botta), and other writers of “bad verse.” Our readers may also evaluate Mrs. Embury’s poetry in the context of her earlier book *Constance Latimer, or, The Blind Girl* (1838), the sale of which benefitted the New-York Institution for the Instruction of the Blind. Perhaps Emma Embury, situated as she was within important cultural, philanthropic, and technological circles of mid-19th-century New York, has been too easily dismissed. In any event, the volume takes its place on our shelves as an important 2015 acquisition that was made possible thanks to the Davida T. Deutsch Women’s History Fund.

We continue to acquire friendship albums on a regular basis, with a particular interest in those that complement existing holdings. The album owned by a young woman named Harriet Hiester (1806-1833) definitely does so. It contains entries dated between 1826 and 1830, some in lovely calligraphy, by male and female friends and family members in Philadelphia, Harrisburg, and elsewhere in Pennsylvania. Plus it contains five drawings, one of which is a pen-and-ink copy of an engraving depicting the Orphan Asylum of Philadelphia, which reproduces the engraved image (already in the collection) with eerie exactitude. But the stand-out feature of the volume is its elaborately stamped binding, which we have tentatively identified as the work of Philadelphia binder Robert Desilver (1779-1837). Because of the many intersections with our various research strengths,
half the cost came from the general acquisitions budget. Sadly we know that the album’s original owner, Harriet Hiester, died soon after her 1830 marriage, but we also suspect it survived precisely because the family kept it as a memento.

Friendship albums could be displayed in the home to show that their owners were persons of refinement. Displaying souvenirs of foreign travel could serve a similar function. Especially for wealthy Americans, embarking on a Grand Tour of European cities could be the capstone of an elite education. The Grand Tour could last a year or more, and cost many thousands of dollars. We recently acquired a curious book that a schoolteacher in Homer, New York, apparently self-published in 1876, with the title *United States Girls across the Atlantic*. At the time of the 1875 New York State census, Mrs. Harris was forty and living with her parents. The volume contains albumenized sheets that reproduce views of Scotland, London, Paris, Lucerne, Munich, Venice, Florence, Naples, and Rome. Our best hunch is that she and the photographer Henry D. Rumsey produced it with the hope that it would appeal to aspiring middle-class readers as a way for them to gain the elite learning one presumably acquired on a Grand Tour. Did Mrs. Harris herself go on a Grand Tour? If so, who were her two companions (one a young girl), when they departed on the Steamship *California* in Spring 1873 (assuming the first-person narrative is to be believed)? This book deserves further study.

People who have consulted our collections in the past are sure to find more to work with each time they return. We have long had a copy of Martha Meredith Read’s 1802 novel *Monima, or, The Beggar Girl* here on deposit from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, but this year we were very happy to acquire a copy of Read’s second novel *Margaretta, or, The Intricacies of the Heart* (Philadelphia, 1807), in which the title character is a single, well-to-do woman who must deal with a series of boorish suitors. Our interest in Read is twofold—her novels are far less didactic than other novels of the period, and the Read Family Papers is the largest manuscript collection the Library Company owns. Anyone working on Martha Meredith Read will likely consult both the Read Papers and her works.
More typically didactic are Susanna Rowson’s *Charlotte Temple* and Hannah Foster’s *The Coquette*. Because of their enduring popularity, we seek to acquire a copy from any early edition of either novel that we do not already possess. This past year, we added a copy of the 1811 edition of *The Coquette*. First published in 1797, it is a fictionalized retelling of the tragic events in the life of Elizabeth Whitman (1752-1788). A native of Hartford, Connecticut, Whitman eloped with a seducer and later died after giving birth to a stillborn child. Both *The Coquette* and *Charlotte Temple* appealed to readers’ fascination with “bad girls,” without offending moralists’ opposition to literature that didn’t teach good character.

Our work recovering gay history for the 2014 exhibition “That’s So Gay” continues. In October, I participated in a panel discussion that a local cable station broadcast. Curators of the numerous 2015 exhibitions that celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of gay rights activism in Philadelphia spoke about their projects. “That’s So Gay” served as a “prequel” to the 2015 shows. Now that we have identified so many items in the collection with LGBT aspects, we are seeking out more material to make it a research-worthy area of the collection. For example, our newly acquired copy of *The Remarkable Narrative of Cordelia Krats, or, The Female Wanderer* (Boston, 1846) would have filled out the section on male impersonators nicely. The pamphlet includes a full-page illustration of “Cordelia, as She Appeared in Male Habiments,”

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Cordelia Krats (or Stark) as a man, from *The Remarkable Narrative of Cordelia Krats, or The Female Wanderer* (Boston, 1846). Purchased with the Davida T. Deutsch Women’s History Fund.
which is reproduced here. The work purports to be a personal narrative by a young woman who defied her parents to pursue the man she loved, however it reads like sensational fiction. In it, Cordelia seeks to renew the thwarted romance with Edwin (whose hair “hung in ambrosial curls around his beautiful forehead”). After leaving home because her parents drove Edwin away, she cross-dresses, works as a sailor on a ship sailing from New York to New Orleans, and even goes with her “ship-mates” to a brothel “in order to lull every suspicion to sleep respecting [her] sex,” before finally reuniting with Edwin, who—we are told—is the “perfect model of manly beauty.” On its face, it’s a simple story of love lost and then regained. Or is it a mildly pornographic story about an unusually passionate heterosexual woman? Or is it a story of lesbian transgression? Or a story about a transgender individual exploring the fluidity of gender? Or, variously, all of the above? The text invites multiple readings, for sure.

The possibly fictional Cordelia Krats (or is her “real” name Stark?) is alive and well at the end of the “remarkable narrative.” However, in sensational literature, the female characters often suffer greatly or even die. Accounts of the murder of the definitely-not-fictional Helen Jewett (1813-1836) epitomize this. At the time of her death, there was a feeding frenzy among journalists. The press couldn’t publish enough about the beautiful New York City prostitute and the wealthy young swain who may have bought an acquittal after being charged with her murder. This past year we even acquired an 1880 pamphlet about the case, the cover of which is reproduced on the following page.

While we’re on the subject of prostitution, we must mention with pride a major acquisition that we have sought for many years: a strangers’ guide entitled *Fast Man’s Directory* (New York, 1853). This palm-sized pamphlet is a guide to houses of prostitution located mostly in New York City, plus one brothel per city for Boston, Montreal, Savannah, and seven other cities including Philadelphia. We checked the name of the Philadelphia madam (Miss E. Harris) against the names listed in our *Guide to the Stranger* (Philadelphia, 1849). She’s not listed, but her address (Blackberry Alley) puts her
in the same vicinity as numerous other brothels. As Wendy Wolo-
son suggested in her “Capitalism by Gaslight” exhibition, brothels
often clustered in one area of the city, and this is additional evidence
thereof. The publisher of *Fast Man’s Directory*, H. D. Eastman (pos-
sibly wordplay on “Fast Man”), claims that his work will be revised
and corrected quarterly. We only know that the survival rate for this
title is dismal. Our copy is the only one—in any edition—in an in-
stitutional collection.

Also in New York in 1853, Fowler and Wells were publishing
Hannah Gardner Creamer’s novel *Delia’s Doctors, or, A Glance be-
hind the Scenes*. In the book, Delia Thornton, a young invalid, visits
various doctors including allopaths, homeopaths, hydropaths, and
mesmerists, without being cured; her health only improves after she
gains a political consciousness. Fowler and Wells, who published
the first edition of Whitman’s *Leaves of Grass* two years later, spe-
cialized in works on phrenology, so we hope this title gets the at-
tention it deserves. We particularly noted the inclusion of mesmer-
ism. In the late 18th and into the 19th centuries, male mesmerists
typically “mesmerized” female subjects. Spiritualism gained trac-
tion in the middle of the 19th century, in part because of people’s
familiarity with the practices of mesmerism, and the claims of its
practitioners that it was a science. As an aside, we must note that in
1781 the French Academy of Science requested Benjamin Franklin
to serve on a commission to evaluate the scientific validity of Anton
Mesmer’s theory of animal magnetism. The report of the Mesmer
Commission (as it has come to be known) concluded that they had
not been able to prove Mesmer’s theory. But mesmerism continued
to attract believers.

While mesmerists generally were male, American Spiritualists
typically were female. We are particularly pleased to have—already
on our shelves—a very early pamphlet reporting on the Fox sisters and
the rappings they claimed to have heard, *A Report of the Mysterious
Noises, Heard in the House of Mr. John D. Fox* (Canandaigua, 1848).
This past year, we added Frances H. Green’s *Biography of Mrs.
Semantha Mettler, the Clairvoyant* (New York, 1853), *Instructive
Communications from Spirit Life, Written through the Mediumship*
of Mrs. S. E. Park (Boston, 1869), and Christiana Cawain’s *Woman, and Her Relations to Humanity: Gleams of Celestial Light* (Boston, 1892). In the latter half of the 19th century, Spiritualism attracted huge numbers of believers. (Contemporaneous estimates range as high as twenty million people.) Unfortunately, the Fox sisters and many other women practitioners ultimately did not hold on to the “new age” idealism that characterized the early movement, as Ann Braude showed in her 1989 book *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women’s Rights in 19th-century America*. Nonetheless, Spiritualism deserves to be studied because it connects so clearly with broader ideas related to the empowerment of women. It also connects with traditional assumptions about women’s nurturing role in child care, as shown in this stereograph depicting a female figure floating over a sleeping child.

Cornelia S. King, *Curator of Women’s History*
Fellows and Fellowships

Almost all our fellows publish the results of their research in scholarly articles and a great many publish books as well, sooner or later. The total number of books published by fellows based on their research here is well over 200. It is even more gratifying, however, that as our program nears its thirtieth birthday, we are beginning to see fellows returning to work on a second book, and even a third. This year’s fellows include three such returnees. Carolyn Eastman was a grad student at Johns Hopkins when she held her first fellowship in 1998, the result of which was *A Nation of Speechifiers: Making an American Public After the Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009). Now she is a professor at Virginia Commonwealth University, and her new and obviously related project is *The Strange Genius of Mr. O: Oratory and Transatlantic Celebrity in Early America*. Christopher Phillips was a grad student at Stanford in 2005 when he first came here as a fellow, working on what was to become *Epic in American Culture: Settlement to Reconstruction* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012). He now teaches at Lafayette College, and he is back this year as an NEH Postdoctoral fellow working on a new book, *The Hymnal before the Notes: A History of Reading and Practice*. Joseph Rezek was at UCLA when he won a one-semester dissertation fellowship in 2008, after which he continued to be a regular reader as a McNeil Center Fellow from 2009 to 2011. Now he is a professor at Boston University, and *London and the Making of Provincial Literature: Aesthetics and the Transatlantic Book Trade, 1800-1850* was published by Penn Press just this year. It had the distinction of being reviewed enthusiastically in the normally reserved *Times Literary Supplement*. The ink was hardly dry on this book before he returned as a one-month William Reese Company Fellow in American Bibliography working on a new book project titled “Early Black Writing and the Politics of Print.” And now, as we write this in the fall of 2016, Joe has returned yet again as a National Endowment for the Humanities Post-Doctoral Fel-
low working on this same project. These are just some examples of how a fellowship can become a life-long relationship, and how our collections can have large and sustained impact on the study and teaching of American history.

The Library Company’s 2015-2016 Research Fellows were:

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