



The Library Company
of Philadelphia



2007 ANNUAL REPORT

THE ANNUAL REPORT
OF THE
LIBRARY COMPANY
OF PHILADELPHIA
FOR THE YEAR 2007

Presented at the Annual Meeting
May 2008



PHILADELPHIA:

The Library Company of Philadelphia
1314 Locust Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107
2008

as of December 31, 2007

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FRONT COVER: Pennsylvania Central Railroad advertising, chromolithograph with albumen photographs (Buffalo: Matthews & Warren, ca. 1869). See pp. 68-69, below.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT	2
REPORT OF THE TREASURER	4
REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR	6
SOME GIFTS, SOME PUZZLES	8
AFRO-AMERICANA: ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE	16
LIVING ON THE EDGE	28
WOMEN AND SCIENCE	47
THE PATTISON CLOTH BOOKBINDING COLLECTION: THREE NEW ADDITIONS	63
REPORT OF THE PRINT DEPARTMENT	68
SERVICE AND ADMINISTRATION	79
APPRECIATION	92
THE JAMES RUSH SOCIETY	99
PUBLICATIONS	100

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

2007 was a year of catching our collective breath, after the whirlwind that was 2006, the year of Franklin – the Tercentenary of his birth and the Library Company’s own 275th anniversary.

The Report of the Director that follows provides a wealth of information about last year’s activities and acquisitions. I would like to tell you about a project that began in 2007 that I have been involved with and also acknowledge major donors to our collection.

Last year we received a \$75,000 grant from a special one-time appropriation by City Council to support capital improvements at non-profit institutions. This grant, supplemented with other funds, will underwrite a project to dramatically improve the public spaces of our forty-year-old building. The project began with a handsome awning over our front entrance and continues inside with major improvements in several areas. In the Reading Room and the Print Department there will be new tables that incorporate electrical outlets and data ports for our readers using laptop computers. New lighting throughout the first floor will aid readers, and new controls over the lighting will enhance our exhibition spaces. We will update our security system with recording cameras. We will also remove (but not dispose of!) one of the card catalogs in the Reading Room, allowing us to accommodate more readers during the day and more program attendees at other times. (And the Reading Room will be presided over by our magnificent painting *Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences*, reproduced on the back cover of this report.)

We of course have long paid a great deal of attention to our collections of rare books, pamphlets, and graphics; only recently have we begun to pay careful attention to our very significant collection of art and artifacts. Reference Librarian Linda August has been creating a database of about 400 individual items, ranging from paintings and sculptures to scientific instruments, furniture, cuneiform tablets, death masks of Napoleon and Washington, coins, medals, and artifacts of the 1778 Meschianza ball for British officers. Thus we look forward to reinstalling the Logan Room adjacent to our foyer with the Library Company’s great paintings and some of the eclectic collection described above, while retaining the use of the room as a welcoming reception

area. Information about all of these things, and images of them, will soon be accessible from our website.

Next year I will be reporting on our program of conserving some of our more significant paintings and frames. Through these capital and conservation projects we can enhance the experience of our readers and other visitors and at the same time honor our heritage as one of America's first museums.

We continued in 2007 to add to our permanent collection through purchases made with acquisition funds from several Trustees and other generous donors. But the most significant additions to the collection came through important gifts. These acquisitions are fully described by our curators and conservators in their reports bellow, but let me draw your attention to some of the highlights:

☛ Todd Pattison and his wife Sharon gave us a collection of eighty cloth-covered books with printed paper labels, a window into the evolution of book manufacturing during the shift from hand- to machine-production.

☛ Former President William Helfand gave us his collection of 166 19th- and early-20th-century comic valentines, which complement, geographically and chronologically, the group of comic valentines in our McAllister Collection.

☛ Vice President Charles Rosenberg gave us 101 items from his collections of popular medicine, including early medical periodicals from London, moral reform publications such as *The Anti-Tobacco Journal* and *The National Purity Congress, Its Papers, Addresses, Portraits* from 1896, which describes the organization's efforts to curb vice.

☛ Roger Stoddard, formerly of Harvard College Library, gave us an eclectic mix including manuscripts from a 19th-century pottery manufactory, an early booklet on tangram puzzles; rare Afro-Americana, and a scrapbook of Civil War and Reconstruction-related clippings from Southern newspapers.

So you can see that after surviving the year of Franklin, business-as-usual around the Library Company means continuing to build our collections and continuing to enhance the experience of those who come to 1314 Locust Street. I thank you all for enabling us to do this important work.

Beatrice W. B. Garvan, *President*

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

Year Ended December 31, 2007

	<u>Unrestricted</u>
REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT	
Dues & contributions	\$ 271,028
Grants	136,980
Interest & dividends	208,525
Realized gain on sale of marketable securities	340,909
Unrealized loss on marketable securities	(46,879)
Sales of Zinman duplicates	246
Library Services	<u>217,987</u>
	1,128,796
Net assets released from restrictions	<u>793,660</u>
TOTAL REVENUES, GAINS, & OTHER SUPPORT	<u>1,922,456</u>
EXPENSES	
Program	2,082,529
Management & general	365,656
Fundraising	<u>88,255</u>
TOTAL EXPENSES	<u>2,536,440</u>
CHANGE IN NET ASSETS	(613,984)
NET ASSETS, BEGINNING OF YEAR	<u>11,402,503</u>
NET ASSETS, END OF YEAR	<u><u>\$ 10,788,519</u></u>

<u>Temporarily Restricted</u>	<u>Permanently Restricted</u>	<u>Total</u>
\$ 21,000	\$ 37,220	\$ 329,248
616,027	-	753,007
25,000	628,802	862,327
-	918,365	1,259,274
-	(127,748)	(174,627)
-	80,882	81,128
-	246,922	464,909
<u>662,027</u>	<u>1,784,443</u>	<u>3,575,266</u>
<u>(301,745)</u>	<u>(491,915)</u>	<u>-</u>
<u>360,282</u>	<u>1,292,528</u>	<u>3,575,266</u>
-	-	2,082,529
-	-	365,656
-	-	88,255
<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2,536,440</u>
360,282	1,292,528	1,038,826
<u>436,849</u>	<u>17,902,875</u>	<u>29,742,227</u>
<u>797,131</u>	<u>19,195,403</u>	<u>30,781,053</u>

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

Robert J. Christian, *Treasurer*

REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

As our President has said, 2007 was the year *after* Franklin. There were, however, a few significant Franklin-related events that occurred last year. Our exhibition “Benjamin Franklin, Writer and Printer,” curated by Librarian James Green and Trustee Peter Stallybrass, opened in New York City at the Grolier Club in December. The main Tercentenary exhibition, “Benjamin Franklin: In Search of a Better World,” completed its travels around the U.S. and moved on in December to Paris, its final venue, where it appeared in a somewhat modified form with a great deal of local content on such subjects as ballooning and Mesmerism, and where it was seen by a fortunate group of members of the Library Company and the American Philosophical Society during their Paris sojourn in January 2008.

2007 was also the year we undertook a major new initiative – the Program in African American History – generously funded by a start-up grant from The Albert M. Greenfield Foundation. The Library Company’s interest in this field dates back to the 18th century, when we began to acquire works on the Western discovery, exploration, and exploitation of Africa; the rise of slavery and antislavery movements in America; the development of racial thought and racism; slavery and race in fiction and drama; the printed works of black individuals and organizations; and many other topics. The collection has grown over the years to the point where it now includes 13,000 titles and 1,200 images dating from the mid-16th to the late-19th centuries.

Our new program builds on a strong foundation of accomplishments, including our path-breaking 1969 exhibition “Negro History, 1553-1906”; the publication in 1973 of a catalog of the African American holdings of the Library Company and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (a new and expanded edition of which will be published in 2008); and periodic exhibitions, conferences, and other public programs devoted to this subject. The Greenfield Foundation grant provides for several short-term research fellowships; the acquisition, cataloging, and conserving of rare materials; and exhibitions and public programs.

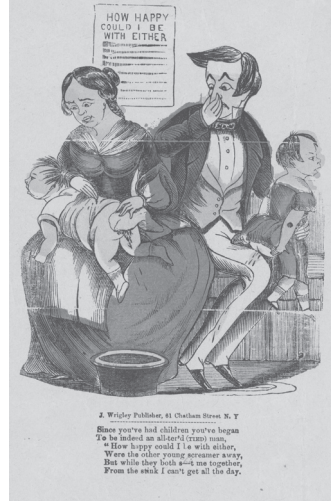
Perhaps the most important single item in our African American history collection – and one that tells us a great deal about our own institutional history – is not even a book or a print, but rather a painting. Toward the end of the 18th century, Samuel Jennings, a Philadelphia-born artist working in London, offered to provide – at his own expense – a painting for the Library Company’s new building, which he heard was being erected on Fifth Street below Chestnut. (See the back cover of this report.) He wrote to the Directors: “In regard to the subject, there are three, which I think would be applicable to the Institution: Clio – Goddess of History, and Heroic Poetry; Calliope – Goddess of Harmony, Rhetoric, & Heroic Poetry; or Minerva – Goddess of Wisdom & all the Arts,” but he also said that any other subject the Directors chose would be acceptable to him. The Directors – many of whom were Quakers and very much antislavery – replied that they had “considered the three Subjects submitted to their Choice, and readily agree in giving a preference to that of Minerva.” But since Jennings had given them “a more general latitude” in determining the painting’s subject, the Directors suggested replacing Minerva with “the figure of Liberty with her Cap and proper Insignia displaying the arts by some of the most striking Symbols of Painting, Architecture, Mechanics, Astronomy etc, whilst She appears in the attitude of placing on the top of a Pedestal, a pile of books, lettered with, Agriculture, Commerce, Philosophy, & Catalogue of the Philadelphia Library. A broken chain under her feet, and in the distant background a Groupe of Negroes sitting on the Earth, or in some attitude expressive of Ease & Joy.” Jennings’s allegorical painting, a powerful and colossal representation of “Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences” to the newly-freed slaves, measures five feet by six feet and was created expressly in response to the wishes of the Library Company’s Directors. It speaks volumes about the Directors’ deep-seated feelings and testifies to the long span of years over which the Library Company has concerned itself with slavery and race. The Jennings painting is arguably the most significant piece in our extensive collection of art and artifacts.

Some Gifts, Some Puzzles

This year many generous donors presented us with gifts that were always welcome but sometimes surprising and even puzzling in a variety of ways. The following are just a few examples of the puzzling kind of gift.

Trustee William H. Helfand gave three collections of mostly 19th-century printed ephemera, including 168 comic valentines. The comic valentines fit into Mr. Helfand's interest in proprietary medicines because they were sold in drug stores, or at least they were sold at his father's drug stores in the Logan and Oak Lane sections of Philadelphia when he was a boy. This collection nicely complements our holdings of some 650 American examples from the 1840 to 1870 period, because most of the valentines he has collected over many years are either later in date or British. On many of the late-19th-century examples the colors are printed, whereas the earlier ones were all colored by hand. Surprisingly some of the 20th-century examples are less colorful or not colored at all. The British ones are more likely to play on differences of class or status, whereas the American ones tend to satirize ethnic, occupational, or personality types. On both sides of the Atlantic, comic valentines were sour, not sweet, and they were given not to sweethearts but to people who deserved (in the opinion of the giver) to be called out for some trait or mannerism that made them unsuitable for matrimony or simply annoying. That much is clear from reading the valentines, but how the recipients felt about them, and what motivated the (surely anonymous) senders, remains something of a puzzle. Like much early American humor, it is hard to know what kind of laugh, if any, they were supposed to evoke. Does their disappearance half a century ago mark a change in social norms or just a change in how norms are expressed? Illustrated here are two pre-1870 American valentines new to the collection. One of them is mildly scatological and the other is an ethnic slur. One wonders whether John A. McAllister, the omnivorous collector who assembled our collection, drew the line with these particular valentines and rejected them as too extreme.

Last year we posted images of the McAllister valentines on our website, part of the first attempt ever made of a bibliography of the genre. The later valentines in the Helfand gift are in uncharted terri-



A Dutchman (N.p., ca. 1860) and *How Happy Could I Be With Either* (New York, ca. 1856). Gift of William H. Helfand.

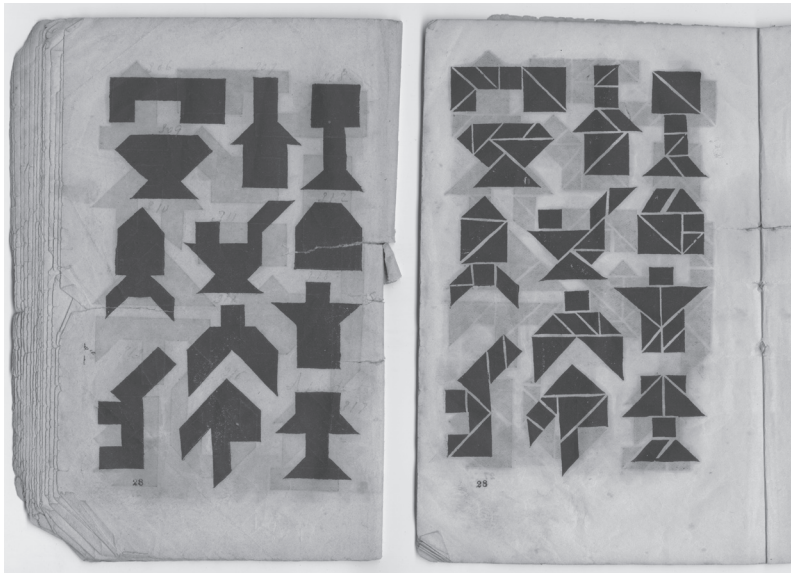
tory. Many of them are published by McLoughlin Brothers of New York, a firm that is not represented in the McAllister Collection, which suggests they did not get into the valentine business until the 1870s, though the imprint dates back to 1858. The firm became famous in the late-19th century for their striking color-printed children’s books. However, according to Laura Wasowicz of the American Antiquarian Society, they only started to experiment with color printing in the 1870s. None of our newly acquired McLoughlin valentines is printed in colors; all are colored by hand or by stencil. Thus they may represent part of this early experimentation with publishing colorful ephemera. Coincidentally we received two other valentines this year. One was part of a large miscellaneous gift from the Roughwood Collection of Don Yoder and William Woys Weaver. Called “A Squaller,” it shows a woman belting out a song at a piano, and it too bears the McLoughlin Brothers imprint. The other is a McAllister-era valentine called “The Abolitionist,” and it is described in the Afro-Americana section of this report.

The other printed ephemera in Mr. Helfand’s gift runs the gamut from giant posters to little handbills, and also includes billheads, stationery, circulars, and newspapers, ranging in date from the late-

18th century to 1900 and even occasionally into the 20th century. What appears to be the oldest is an undated handbill advertising the London distributor of Dr. Anderson's Famous Scots Pills. In our report for 1996 we noted a similar handbill printed in 1785 by Mathew Carey for a Philadelphia distributor of the same pills named Patrick M'Naughton. Our new handbill listed among many agents in the British Isles "Mr. Steven Cormick, in Philadelphia." We have been unable to locate either man in city directories, which in any case did not exist before 1785. The British distributors on our new handbill who were identifiable all turn out to be from about that same period. What is surprising is that the handbill was printed on wove paper, and in a type font using the round s in the roman and a long s in the italic, both of which point to a ca. 1820 date. Moreover on the back are fragments of two adhesive tax stamps of the Edinburgh stamp office, which the stamp expert Ken Apfelbaum says also date from the 1820s. It seems unlikely the handbill is a forgery – why would anyone bother? In fact we have two other examples of British patent medicine advertisements with 18th-century text but datable to the 19th century by their paper and type. These others reprint word for word ancient royal patents and testimonials from patients either long dead or fictitious to begin with. Printing the names and addresses of agents no longer in business seems far less useful, and possibly very confusing to customers. But the principle is the same; apparently as early as the 1820s the antiquity of the brand was a major selling point for patent medicines.

These handbills remind us of a dictum of Roger Stoddard's: "I know how difficult it is to expose the lies, omissions, and deceptions of printers. . . . Many books have yet to reveal their true title, author, place of printing, and date – to say nothing of their subject." Mr. Stoddard is another serial donor to the Library Company, and his gifts are quite often delightful puzzles of this very sort. This year he gave nearly a hundred pre-1900 books, including many tract society publications, chapbooks, and small town imprints. These are genres that often pose problems for catalogers. For example a run of the first forty-two numbered tracts published by the New York Methodist Tract Society from 1819 to 1822 were printed by at least three different printers who worked for the Society in successive years; but several of the earliest tracts in the volume have imprints of the later printers, and so may actually be

reprints. A copy of Henry St. Clair's pulp fiction *Tales of Terror, or the Mysteries of Magic* is dated Boston, 1835, on the title page, but 1833 on the original pictorial boards and 1834 on the spine label. One of the rarest and most valuable books is a tiny chapbook titled *The Story of Quashi; or, The Desperate Negro*. Neither the title page nor the wrapper (with a woodcut by Alexander Anderson) has a date, but the only other complete copy at the American Antiquarian has the date 1820 on the wrapper. Another volume is not so much a puzzle as a mystery: a scrapbook containing clippings relating to the Civil War and Reconstruction from various Louisiana and Texas newspapers from 1863 to 1867. Bound at the end is a four-page leaflet, *Letter from a Radical on the Freedmen's Bureau* ([Galveston, 1867]), with manuscript corrections. Was the scrapbook kept by the author of the leaflet? Was this "Radical" an African-American? Another scrapbook of newspaper clippings contains the 1847 serial publication in the *New York Evangelist* of Robert Baird's "Letters from Europe; Descriptive of a Tour in 1846-7."

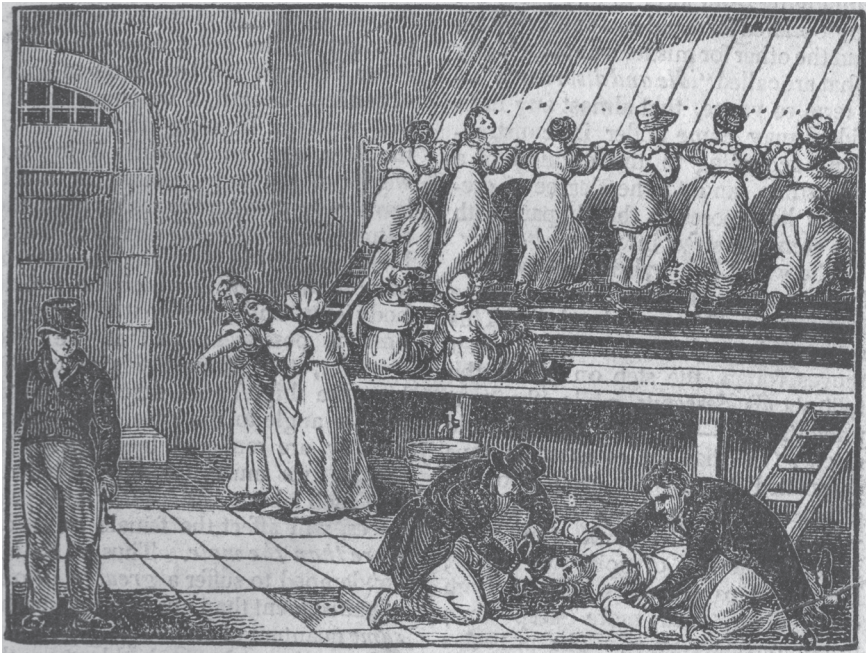


C. C. Chapman, *Scientific Amusements; for the old and the young, the grave and the gay. Designed for centre table and fire side recreation* (Philadelphia, 1844). The tangram puzzle is on the left, and the key or solution on the right. Gift of Roger E. Stoddard.

Here too we have manuscript corrections. Was Baird the compiler of the scrapbook? Were his “Letters” ever published in book form, or were scrapbooks like this one made up for his friends, as a substitute? Finally we have a book that is literally a puzzle, C. C. Chapman’s *Scientific Amusements* (Philadelphia, 1844), which includes the ancient Chinese geometrical puzzle called the tangram, along with the separately published key or solution. This brainteaser became popular in the West when Napoleon learned it from a China trader while in exile on St. Helena. It seems to have been introduced to the U.S. in about 1816 by a Philadelphian named James Cox; we have his library, including the only known copy (undated, with no title page) of what may be the first American key to the puzzle. Until now, however, we have not owned a copy of the puzzle itself. So many books are puzzles, but as Mr. Stoddard knows, one of the best ways to discover something like the truth about any publication is to look in the catalogs of contemporaneous publications issued by the book trade itself. Alas, these publications are themselves amazingly hard to find. In Mr. Stoddard’s gift is one of the earliest ones, *Wiley & Putnam’s Literary Newsletter*, published monthly from 1841 to 1847, this run lacking only the first issue. Bound with it are a dozen issues of *Appleton’s Literary Bulletin* for 1845. For a bibliographer these publications are in many ways more valuable than the books they document.

Even in the era of Google Books, 19th-century periodicals remain a bibliographical *terra incognita*. Trustee Charles E. Rosenberg’s gift for this year comprised some 120 titles in the field of popular medicine, including a number of popular periodicals, the ancestors of drug-store magazines such as *Prevention*. The earliest such periodical in America was the *Journal of Health*, published in Philadelphia from 1829 to 1833. The Rosenberg gift included some of its American successors, such as *The American Medical Times* (New York, 1860-1864) and *Hall’s Journal of Health* (New York, 1861), and also some English examples, such as *The Doctor: A Medical Penny Magazine* (London, 1832-1837). *The Doctor* was one of several spin-offs of Charles Knight’s famous *Penny Magazine*, which was launched just a few months earlier, and which began a revolution in cheap periodical publishing. The Rosenberg gift also included two earlier journals that may be among the first popular health journals published in English: *The Monthly Gazette of Health*

(London, 1816-1832) and the weekly *Medical Adviser, and Guide to Health and Long Life* (London, 1824-1825). Both were concerned with exposing some quack medicines and promoting others that seem just as useless, and they also reprinted extracts from reputable medical works and public health news from domestic and foreign newspapers. The *Medical Adviser* included a woodcut illustration each week. The one reproduced here accompanies an exposé of the use of female prisoners to operate a treadmill, a cylinder with twenty-four steps that turned as a team of women “climbed” its eighteen-inch-high “stairs” while holding on to a stationary rail. The women worked as long as ten hours a day, with breaks for meals and a five-minute rest period every twenty minutes. Their diet consisted of twenty ounces of bread a day with a little soup or gruel. The journal made no objection to the treadmill as such, but only deplored its application to the weaker sex. Both these journals are rare; we could find no complete run of the *Monthly Gazette* in any American library, and only two runs of the *Medical Adviser*.



Alex. Burnett, ed., *The Medical Adviser, and Guide to Health and Long Life*, No. 1 (London, December 6, 1823). Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.

Other recent gifts are puzzles awaiting patient scholars. Such is the collection of about fifty documents relating to the 143rd Regiment of Pennsylvania Volunteers during the Civil War given by Hank Klibanoff, formerly deputy managing editor for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, now managing editor of the *Atlanta Journal Constitution*, and recently winner of a Pulitzer Prize in history as co-author of *The Race Beat: The Press, the Civil Rights Struggle, and the Awakening of a Nation*. He is an old friend of our former print curator Ken Finkel, and it was on Ken's recommendation that Mr. Klibanoff decided to make this gift. The high point is a pocket diary for the year 1863, filled intermittently by Lt. John D. Musser, which covers his action at the Battle of Gettysburg. It is accompanied by two lead bullets, one supposedly Confederate and the other Union. The rest of the collection consists of general orders and circular letters relating to picket duty, ranging in date from February to June of 1863, that is, for the period just before the battle on July 1-3. The only later dated documents are a receipt for ammunition issued to Lt. Musser on July 10 and a receipt dated July 27 relating to his claim for a horse apparently lost in battle. There are also two undated sketches of fortifications. This collection gives a picture of an army routine that was shattered on the first of July and never reconstituted. The only material relating to the battle itself are Musser's penciled jottings in the diary, fuller here than elsewhere but more cryptic and smudged. One can make out "hard battle," numbers killed, tired troops, rotting corpses, "no rejoicing."

Donor Richard J. Wolfe, formerly curator of rare books at Harvard's Countway Library of Medicine, is a collector in a number of fields, one of which is early American drawings and water colors. He takes special delight in works by unknown but highly skilled artists, and one of his prizes is a charcoal drawing of "The Fountain of Elisha," signed M. Cordelia Burnap, August 1849. The drawing is good but what makes it special is the backing Mr. Wolfe found in the period frame: part of a printed dress pattern, titled *La Vone's Numerical Method of Cutting Ladies' Dresses* (Massachusetts, copyright by E. E. Kellogg, the date is missing). The name M. Cordelia Burnap is printed at the bottom of the design, perhaps as designer, perhaps as agent. The "numerical method" seems to be an early form of dress sizing. The design itself is generic, and any touches of fashion had to be added by the seamstress. Here is

rare evidence about how ordinary women made their clothes, but also another puzzle. We date the pattern to 1858 on the not very firm basis of an advertisement in the *New York Herald* for instruction in the La Vone method; and we have no idea who Ms. Burnap was, though she was clearly multi-talented.

How much further can this puzzle theme be sustained? David Doret gave us an actual puzzle, made of wood, which is described below in the report of the Print Department, but that is only one of some two hundred extraordinarily diverse and interesting printed and graphic items he gave this year. Steven Rothman gave a copy of the two-volume octavo *Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare* (Philadelphia: McCarty & Davis and Carey & Lea, 1824). This was the first edition printed from a set of stereotype plates that were reused for some fifty years, making this the dominant version of the Bard's works in America during the mid-19th century, and the first successful use of stereotype on a literary work. Simultaneously, the same publishers also issued an eight-volume 24mo stereotyped Shakespeare, seemingly from the same type. Just how and why they made plates in two sizes was a mystery until Rosalind Remer found the answer in the McCarty and Davis papers at the American Antiquarian Society. (It is too complicated to explain here, but see her 1996 book *Printers and Men of Capital* for details.) We have long had the 24mo edition, but in years of trying we never succeeded in finding a copy of the first octavo edition until Mr. Rothman walked in the door with one. These are just some of the many intriguing gifts we received this year. The names of all our donors of library materials appear at the end of this report under the heading "gifts in kind," and we are deeply grateful to them all.

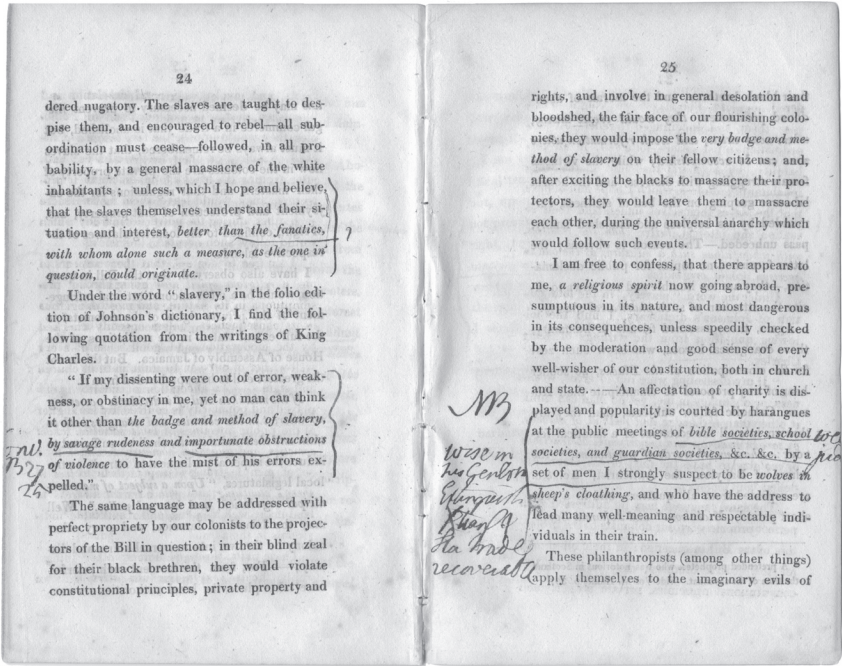
James N. Green, *Librarian*

Afro-Americana

Abolition of the Slave Trade, January 1, 1808

January 1, 2008, marks the bicentennial of the abolition of American participation in the African slave trade. The American action followed Great Britain's abolition of the trade in the spring of 1807. In both cases abolition was the result of years of antislavery agitation, a lengthy pamphlet war through most of the latter half of the 18th century, particularly in the years after the American Revolution. It was a transatlantic campaign, with British and American abolitionist writings crossing the ocean, informing and inspiring each other. For both the Americans and the British, abolition of the slave trade was regarded as a prelude to abolition of slavery itself, though a long time coming. It took nearly three decades of persistent abolitionist agitation after the abolition of the trade before Great Britain began dismantling colonial slavery in 1833; and of course it would be over half a century before American slavery died in the Civil War. We hold over 1,600 works documenting the antislavery struggle in the Atlantic world, published between the end of the slave trade and the end of American slavery, and as usual added several more this year.

James Stephen was one of the important British antislavery activists. A legal scholar and prolific pamphleteer, he was active in the campaign against the slave trade and colonial slavery. We hold fourteen works by Stephen and this year added three pamphlets owned by him opposing abolitionist measures to ameliorate slavery, all marked up by him. It is 1816, and Stephen and his associates in the African Institution are promoting plans to establish a central registry of all slaves in the colonies to help suppress the now illegal but still very active slave trade. The registry measure shows the transatlantic interaction of abolitionists, for this plan for an official register of slaves was a feature of the Pennsylvania Gradual Emancipation Act of 1780. The three pamphlets, all published in London in 1816, are *Observations on the Bill Introduced in the Last Session, by Mr. Wilberforce, for the More Effectually Preventing the Unlawful Importation of Slaves, and the Holding Free Persons in Slavery in the British Colonies; Negro Emancipation Made Easy; with Reflections on the African Institution and Slave Registry Bill*. By a



Observations on the Bill Introduced Last Session, by Mr. Wilberforce (London, 1816), showing James Stephen's marginalia.

British Planter; and J. W. Orderson, *Cursory Remarks and Plain Facts Connected with the Question Produced by the Proposed Slave Registry Bill*. Stephen's hash marks, underscoring, and marginalia helped him form his reply in his pamphlet *A Defense of the Bill for the Registration of Slaves* (London, 1816), which we have long owned.

Abolition in Action

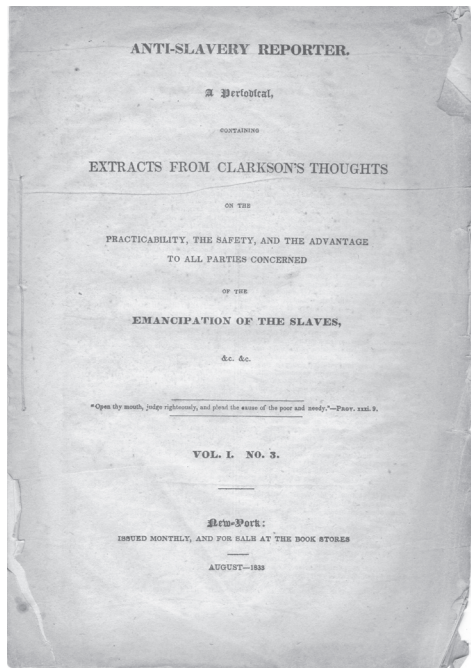
Perhaps the most notable of the antislavery pamphleteers was the British abolitionist Thomas Clarkson, whose active career spanned some sixty years. His early work, *An Essay on the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species, Particularly the African* (London, 1786), was one of the most important contributions to the antislave trade campaign. It was published in Philadelphia that same year and reprinted frequently. Clarkson was a tireless campaigner against the slave trade and against

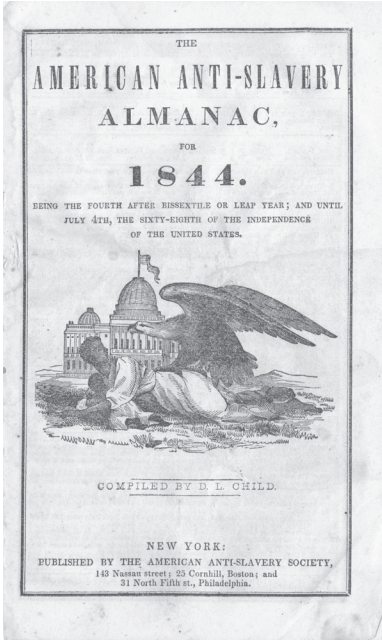
slavery everywhere, the grand old man of transatlantic antislavery who, in 1840, presided over the first international abolitionist gathering, the World Anti-Slavery Convention. A new acquisition is one of his essays as it appears in the American antislavery periodical *Anti-Slavery Reporter. A Periodical Containing Extracts from Clarkson's Thoughts on the Practicability, the Safety, and the Advantage to All Parties Concerned of the Emancipation of the Slaves. Vol. I. No. 3. August, 1833.*

The *Anti-Slavery Reporter* was the monthly journal of the recently founded American Anti-Slavery Society, published in fourteen issues from June, 1833 through August, 1834, ten of which are now in our collection. The *Reporter* was succeeded by the monthly *Anti-Slavery Record*, which featured the lively antislavery graphics that set off a fire storm of protest against “incendiary” literature and led to Southern efforts to ban these publications from the mail. Complementing the monthly journal and weekly newspapers like *The Liberator* and *The Emancipator* were the annual almanacs, published from 1835 through 1843, also enlivened with controversial graphics. With this year’s purchase of *The American Anti-Slavery Almanac, for 1844* (New York, 1843) we now hold seven of the nine published. This edition was edited by the abolitionist pamphleteer David Lee Child. Previous editions were edited by his more famous wife, Lydia Maria Child.

The explosion of antislavery publishing in the 1830s, driven by a rising militant movement exploiting high speed steam powered presses, forced the issues of slavery and racism on a mostly hostile American public. The 327

*Anti-Slavery Reporter . . . Vol. I.
No. 3. August, 1833.*



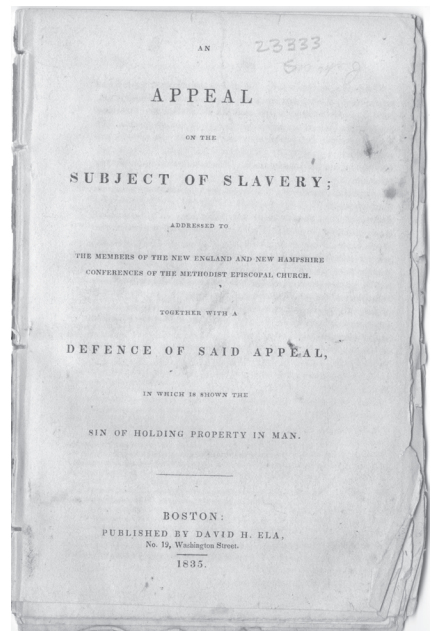


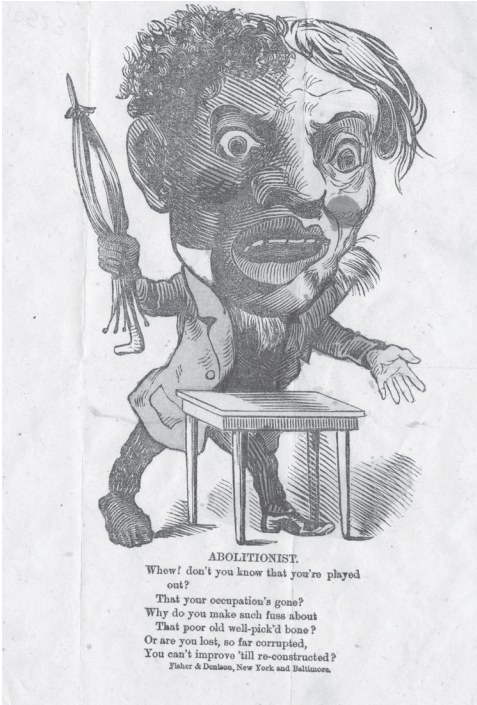
The American Anti-Slavery Almanac, for 1844 (New York, 1843).

antislavery titles from the 1830s in our collection speak to the volume. As both the product of and contributor to the evangelical ferment of this Second Great Awakening, antislavery arguments were largely religious and challenged the religious establishment that had made its peace with slavery in America. The issue drove a wedge through American religious communities. A new acquisition joins several others here charting the division among Northern Methodists.

Methodism was from its 18th-century beginnings opposed to slavery, defined by founder John Wesley as “that execrable sum of all villainies.” But Methodism’s growth in the South meant some accommodation with slavery and slaveholders, including some Southern Methodist clerics. It was an uneasy alliance, always questioned by many Northerners, and brought to a head in the turbulent 1830s. In our new pamphlet, *An Appeal on the Subject of Slavery*;

An Appeal on the Subject of Slavery; Addressed to the Members of the New England and New Hampshire Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Together With a Defence of Said Appeal, in Which Is Shown the Sin of Holding Property in Man (Boston, 1835).





Abolitionist. Comic valentine, (New York & Baltimore, ca. 1865).

Addressed to the Members of the New England and New Hampshire Conferences of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Together with a Defence of Said Appeal, in Which Is Shown the Sin of Holding Property in Man (Boston, 1835), a committee of New England Methodists scour the Bible and Wesley's writings to demonstrate the sinfulness of any association with slavery. One of their number, LaRoy Sunderland, would

in this same year publish one of the most influential works of religious abolitionism to counter proslavery religious writers, *The Testimony of God Against Slavery: A Collection of Passages from the Bible, Which Show the Sin of Holding and Treating the Human Species as Property* (Boston, 1835). We hold the expanded second edition of 1836.

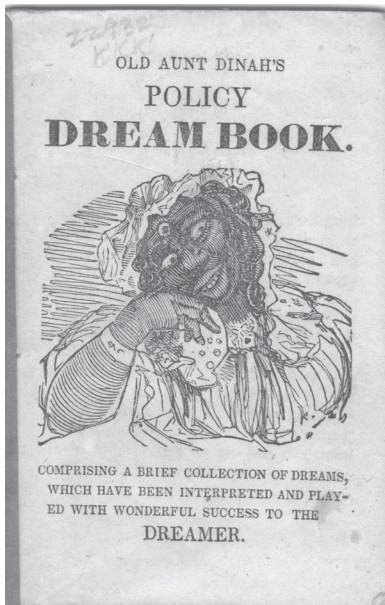
The militancy of 1830s abolitionism agitated more than just Methodists. The growing movement shocked most all of white society, not only in the South but in most of the increasingly racist white North as well. "Abolitionist" was a curse word for a raging fanatic bent on destroying the Union, promoting black equality and interracial association, and unleashing servile insurrection. They were beaten, mobbed, suppressed, and generally reviled in popular print culture, as in this late example, a comic valentine probably published in 1865.

We assume this dates from after the January 1865 passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, and it expresses weariness at continued abolition agitation for equal rights and black suffrage. "Whew! don't you know that you're played out / That your occupation's gone? / Why do

you make such a fuss about / that poor old well-picked bone?" Note our ranting agitator is depicted as half black and half white, what anti-abolitionists feared would be the fate of an abolitionized nation. But the recipient here was not meant to take this personally, for comic valentines are by their very nature always scurrilous. In our collection of some 650 examples, not one says anything nice about anyone. Elsewhere in this report, Librarian James Green writes of the genre in his discussion of a recently acquired collection. And you can see our massive collection of comic valentines on our web site via the ImPAC catalog.

Race Matters

Northern white racism was an indispensable support for American slavery, and denigration of African Americans in a myriad of forms like printed satire, graphic caricature, and minstrel performance was an equally indispensable support for racism. An interesting new item is clearly of the voluminous genre of cheap pamphlets of racist caricature and also reflects a fascination with African mysticism. *Old Aunt Dinah's Policy Dream Book Comprising a Brief Collection of Dreams, Which Have*



Been Interpreted and Played with Wonderful Success to the Dreamer (New York, ca. 1850) caught our attention because of a work we acquired in 1974, an incomplete and unique copy of *The Complete Fortune Teller &c.*, probably published in Boston around 1815.

The earlier work is Artemidorus revisited, one of many cheap editions of this ancient and standard guide to the meaning of dreams, this one given added cachet by its alleged au-

Old Aunt Dinah's Policy Dream Book (New York, ca. 1850).

thor, the “Old Witch,” or “Black Interpreter,” who is described in a biographical introduction as an enslaved African woman who gained her freedom by her talent for finding buried treasure and predicting the future. This brief biography is clearly fiction, concocted to dress up a much published work with the added authority of the mystical and mysterious. There are two other such works coming out of New England at this time, allegedly by an African American woman, one Chloe Russell, who is also described as the “Old Witch or Black Interpreter.” Both pamphlets appear with the title *The Complete Fortune Teller, and Dream Book*, one published in Boston, ca. 1822, the other in Exeter, in 1824. Is Chloe Russell our earlier OWBI? We really don’t know, but thanks to Dr. Eric Gardner of Saginaw Valley State University (a research fellow here in 2005), we have a photocopy of one of the Chloe Russell dream books, and a comparison confirms that the Russell text and our earlier 1815 text are indeed the same. This is suggestive, but it’s also true that these texts are the same as earlier dream books published in the late-18th century without any black attribution.

Chloe Russell/Old Witch or Black Interpreter’s works are traditional dream books that analyze dream themes to predict the future. Old Aunt Dinah’s book is quite different; it analyzes dream themes to determine numbers to play on the lottery, with directions regarding which order to play them. For example, in our earlier dream books, “If you dream you are caressed by an old person of the other sex, and seem to enjoy pleasure, you will have success in your worldly affairs.” Perhaps more practically, Aunt Dinah tells us that “to dream of sleeping with a young lady or gentleman, which would not be proper to do in reality, is very certain for [playing] fifty-one first, or the age of the person you dream you sleep with, and your own age last. This is a very good dream.” The Boston edition of Chloe Russell’s work carries a crude woodcut portrait, describing her as “a woman of colour of the state of Massachusetts.” Maybe it really is. Our new work has a portrait of Old Aunt Dinah, which it clearly isn’t. She’s a racial caricature that also appears in our collection as a comic Juliet in *The Almanac Comic, 1846* (New York, 1845).

In white popular culture, satire, caricature, and minstrelsy made blacks ridiculous. Racial science, pseudo-science and popular religion, particularly as it developed through the later 19th century, made blacks

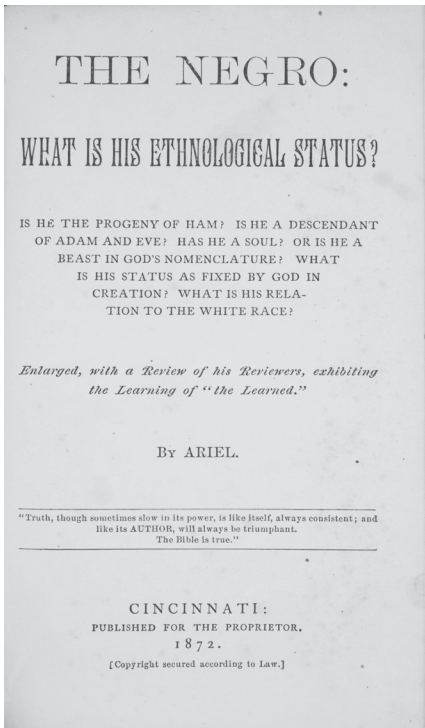
less than human. To our many works of racial and racist theorizing, religious and “scientific,” we added two interesting examples.

In 1867, Cincinnati publisher Bucker H. Payne, writing under the pseudonym Ariel, published a venomous racist tract, *The Negro: What Is His Ethnological Status?* (Cincinnati, 1867), arguing that blacks were a subhuman creation designed by God to be forever subordinate and subservient to whites. In fact, Eve’s tempter was not a serpent, but a black laborer created by God to tend Eden, and given the power of speech to better serve whites. Though Acts 17:26 tells us God “hath made of one blood all nations of men,” Ariel was one of many who championed the idea of separate creations of the various varieties of humanity, championing the superiority of the “Adamic race,” or whites over other colored, lesser beings. Though this notion of separate creation was enjoying increasing scientific support from such intellectuals as Louis Agassiz, Samuel George Morton, and Josiah Nott, it is an idea born of centuries of grappling with problems of Biblical consistency and interpretation, particularly the thorny question of just who

(or what) did Cain mate with out there east of Eden in the land of Nod, and who (or what) are his descendants.

Ariel’s pamphlet came into our collection in 1884 from an anonymous donor. He has been mentioned here occasionally in our reports on several replies to his work that we have purchased over the last several years. This year we added Ariel’s 1872 revision, *The Negro: What Is His Ethnological Status? . . . Enlarged, with a Review of His Reviewers, Exhibiting the Learning of “The Learned”*

Bucker H. Payne, *The Negro: What Is His Ethnological Status?* (Cincinnati, 1872).

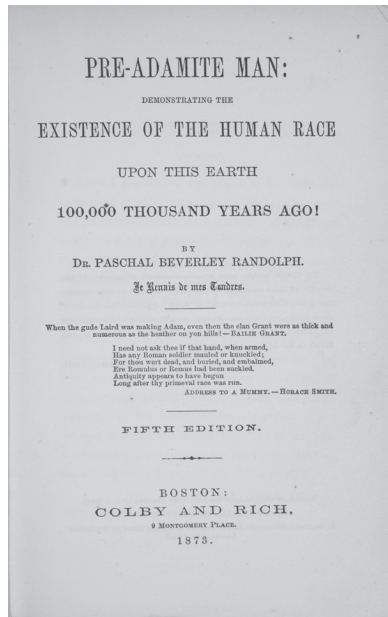


(Cincinnati, 1872). The forty-eight-page 1867 edition is here expanded to 172 pages as Ariel deals with his many critics, including those whose works we have added to our collection. The last page of our new acquisition features an advertisement for Ariel's forthcoming work, *The White Man: That He Is the Son of God, and He Alone Can Have Endless Life*. We find no other record of this work, suggesting that it may not have been published.

Pre-Adamite Man: Demonstrating the Existence of the Human Race upon This Earth 100,000 Years Ago! Fifth edition (Boston, 1873) is a fascinating addition to the separate creation literature by a fascinating author, one Paschal Beverley Randolph. Randolph was apparently of distant African ancestry. He identified himself as African American in his young adult life, championed abolition, denounced colonization, and served as a delegate to the National Convention of Colored Men in 1864. Later, in the post-Civil War period, he would disclaim that association, not actually passing for white, but rather declaring himself a citizen of the world, a “*sang melée*” in his words. He was of a mystical bent since his youth, wandering away from Catholicism to spiritualism and a life-long quest for lost arcane and mystical knowledge. He was an ardent student of ancient lore, modern geology, and ethnology, a world traveler, a champion of the free love movement, and finally a dedicated Rosicrucian, instrumental in establishing the movement in the United States.

Randolph argues something of a lost tribe position, that early man was white and European and peopled the planet, as he says, “100,000 years ago!” Ancient legends of lost and scattered people, and modern incarnations like the distinctively American Mormon movement led to his conclusion that

Paschal Beverley Randolph, *Pre-Adamite Man: Demonstrating the Existence of the Human Race upon This Earth 100,000 Years Ago!* Fifth edition. (Boston, 1873).

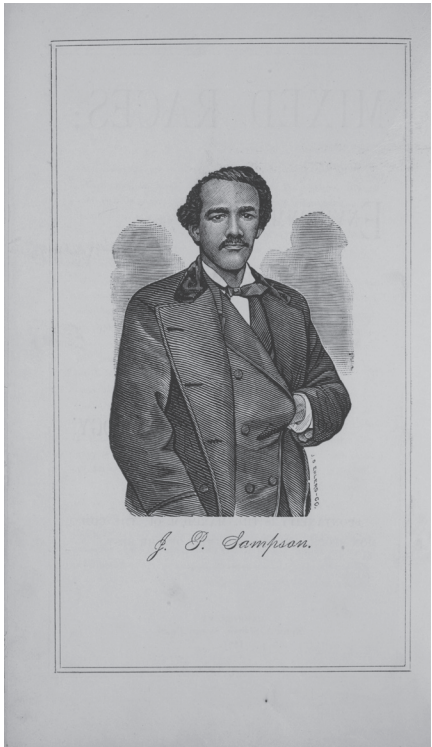


these ancient Europeans brought knowledge and civilization to other races across the planet. The civilizing of the ancient world and the European dominance of the modern world proved European supremacy among the people of the earth. “The present superiority of Europe,” Randolph argued, “is not a thing of accident - not mere fortune of war, or the transfer of material resources, but a thing innate, organic – a superiority of structure and function, a superiority of temperament and material, a superiority of blood and race.”

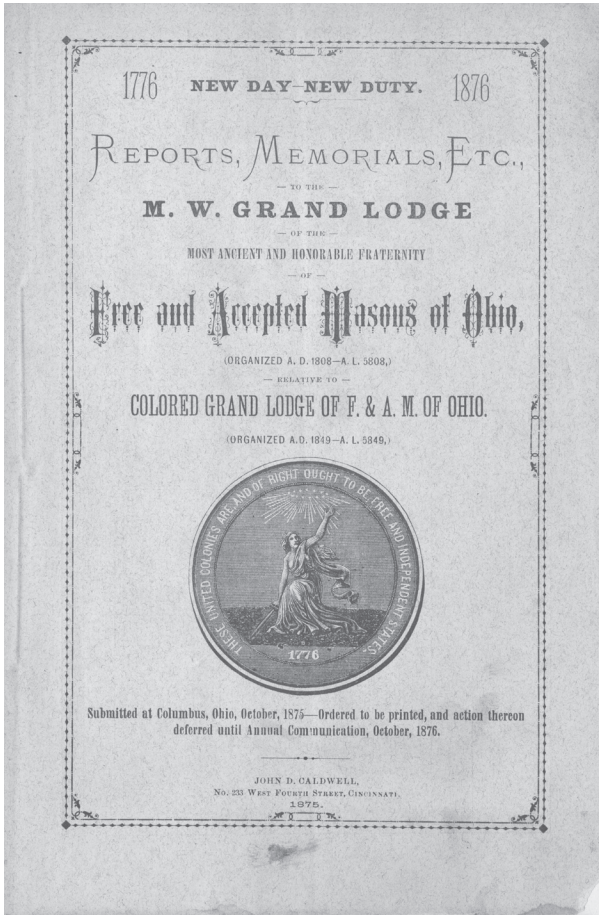
Many African Americans wrote in militant defense of black people from racist assaults of the period. A scholarly attempt to defend non-whites against much of the “science” used to defame them is John Patterson Randolph’s *Mixed Races: Their Environment, Temperament, Heredity, and Phrenology* (Hampton, Va., 1881). This is basically a phrenological text designed to guide the intellectual and physical development of youth, and concludes that there is no noticeable difference between “pure” and mixed-race people. Randolph was an African American professor at the Hampton Institute, devoted to the

education of African Americans and Native Americans, and the book was printed and bound by Hampton students.

And finally, we conclude with the subject of Masonry. African American Masons, first organized in Boston in 1775, had been under attack from white Masons through most of the 19th century as being not truly established and chartered Masons, and most white lodges refused to recognize their legitimacy. Our new acqui-



John Patterson Randolph, frontispiece portrait to his *Mixed Races: Their Environment, Temperament, Heredity, and Phrenology* (Hampton, Va., 1881).



New Day – New Duty. Reports, Memorials, Etc., to the M. W. Grand Lodge . . . of Free and Accepted Masons of Ohio . . . Relative to the Colored Grand Lodge of the F. & A. M. of Ohio (Cincinnati, 1875).

sition is a black response to this continuing assault, *New Day – New Duty. Reports, Memorials, Etc., to the M. W. Grand Lodge . . . of Free and Accepted Masons of Ohio, Relative to the Colored Grand Lodge of F. & A. M. of Ohio* (Cincinnati, 1875). The Ohio black Masons’ work presents a brief history of African American Masonry to demonstrate the historic legitimacy of the organization and urges white Masons to either accept the Colored Lodge as brothers or promote racial integration within Masonic ranks as a whole. There aren’t many published works from early black Masons, and the few I have seen (and which we

hold), no matter what their general intent, all feature a defense of their legitimacy in response to attacks from white Masons.

Regular readers of our *Annual Report* are likely familiar with our regular annual grouching about the exponential increase in the price of African American rarities in the last several years. This year is no different, but relief is in sight. Director John Van Horne in his report will announce the launching of our Program in African American History, with generous support from The Albert M. Greenfield Foundation. Greenfield Foundation funds will support public programs, educational conferences, an upcoming major exhibition and, most important, provide support for acquisitions. With our budget enhanced by Greenfield Foundation funds we look forward to plunging into the rare book market next year with considerably less trepidation and considerably more success.

Phil Lapsansky
Curator of African American History

Living on the Edge

The morning after *60 Minutes* broadcasted Leslie Stahl's interview with venture capitalist Tom Perkins, "The Captain of Capitalism," (on the deck of his yacht, the world's largest privately-owned sailboat), *Today Show* anchor Matt Lauer presented a piece about the upswing of pawnshop business in the wake of rising food and gas prices, upticks in unemployment figures and home foreclosures, and a sagging dollar on international markets. Economists debate not simply whether the country is, indeed, in a recession, but the impact that such a label might have on an already jittery economy. As the price of crude oil continues to rise, consumers of all classes are cutting back, using less gasoline by making fewer trips to the store and in turn purchasing less. Former necessities are now considered luxuries. And many are taking on supplemental jobs where they can find them.

The 19th-century economy, too, was marked by intense boom and bust cycles from which emerged a few clear winners and many more losers. Certainly, many attained comfortable lives through upward mobility and were able to stay afloat during hard times. Young men moved to cities to take jobs as clerks, hoping to become merchants. Through years of hard work, apprentices became skilled artisans and then eventually overseers of their own shops. Plowboys, with the help of their seasoned fathers, became experienced farmers in their own right, occasionally amassing enough land and capital to establish large meat, produce, and dairy operations that served entire regions. Although American capitalism often rewarded enterprise and entrepreneurialism, not everyone was destined to become a William Bingham or a Stephen Girard. Some people imprudently overextended themselves, ending up on a downwardly mobile track, while others never were worth very much to begin with. Demographic shifts brought new people from rural areas and foreign countries into the country's booming cities. Cut off from social and economic networks (and increasingly dependent on a market economy over which they had little control), people who were often unskilled or ill-suited for the work available made money any way they could.

Many people engaged in what historians have traditionally considered "fringe" or "marginal" occupations that fell outside "mainstream"

wholesale and retail economic activity. Fringe entrepreneurs had to be knowledgeable about the particular wants and needs of those living in the immediate vicinity, exercise a measure of flexibility in their commercial dealings (e.g., taking things in trade); and have connections, however tenuous, to larger social and commercial networks. Marginal operators possessed a liminal – that is, an in-between – status. They had not achieved economic success as traditionally defined and had no clear occupational affiliation. Yet they managed to subsist, if not succeed, in often inhospitable economic and social climates, requiring degrees of creativity and fortitude that went unacknowledged by contemporaries and by most historians today. Several new acquisitions made with funds from the Program in Early American Economy and Society add to these rich histories by documenting the many and often creative ways 19th-century Americans tried to make do during hard times.

Hitting the Streets

Our recent acquisition of the City of Boston's *Report of the Police Committee on Special Police Officers and Street Stands* (Boston, 1862) exemplifies how authorities at the time tried to categorize people working on the margins, articulating distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate commercial activity. In an attempt to control the use of the city's public space, Boston's Board of Aldermen ordered that the Chief of Police place in all public areas "sufficient details of regular Police to keep order." Officers would report to supervisors according to a clear hierarchy and wear uniforms to "inspire a wholesome respect for authority." Organizing the police force, though, still did not address the particularly vexing issue of what to do with the fringe entrepreneurs who conducted business on the Commons – the hawkers, fruit peddlers, and bootblacks who, albeit earning a living, were congesting the main thoroughfares and distracting pedestrians. The Board of Aldermen offered no easy solutions.

A fine line, they believed, separated the "aged dames, who have no other means of subsistence" from those who could "gain an equally abundant living somewhere else." The poor woman selling fruit in the park both remained out of the almshouse and served as a good example

to observers, embodying endurance and fortitude. Yet if the peddlers in the Commons were *too* economically successful, they enjoyed advantages over “the regular traders, who have to pay high rents and taxes.” Prohibiting children from hawking newspapers “would deprive many a poor family of subsistence from its profits . . . and the public of a ready source of information.” But children should also rather be in school and risked “demoralization” by spending so much time on the streets. Ultimately, officials put off making any decisions regarding street sellers, hoping to revisit the issue in the future with the intention of reworking the system to make licenses easier to obtain – even for minors – and distributing vendors throughout the city with more police officers to monitor them. Some things with street vendors never change!

The Boston report acknowledged that street vendors in European cities such as London and Paris added picturesque elements to the urban landscape; the effect, however, was not the same in America. But a less romanticized portrait of street people across the Atlantic comes from Henry Mayhew’s *London Labour and the London Poor: The Condition and Earnings of Those That Will Work, Cannot Work, and Will Not Work* (London, ca. 1864). We recently completed our set of this significant multi-volume work, filling in a surprising gap in the collection. Mayhew, a journalist and reformer, produced the most comprehensive and objective study of its time. The first volume of Mayhew’s work, for example, covers the “London Street-Folk” who sold every imaginable thing: herbal medicines, rhubarb, books, matches, fish, fruit, seeds, stationery, Hindu tracts, grease-removing composition, and birds’ nests. It is remarkable in its detail. Rather than ignoring (as so many contemporary Londoners must have done) the crippled man selling nutmeg graters, the man taking in used clothes for crockery, the one-legged street sweeper, or the bone-grubber (see illustrations on p. 31), Mayhew humanized them, describing their lives in crisp detail. He presented their financial statements, tallying income and expenses of various dealers, such as his five-page summary “Of the capital and income of the street-sellers of eatables and drinkables,” which included business transactions for sellers of pickled whelks (large snails), ham sandwiches, peppermint water, and elder wine. He also recorded the cries of roving peddlers like the Irish woman singing, “Sweet Chany. Two a pinny Or-r-ranges – two a pinny.”



THE BONE-GRUBBER.

(From a Photograph.)

No. 31.

21



THE STREET-SELLER OF NUTMEG-GRATERS.

(From a Photograph.)

No. 16.

R.

“The Bone-Grubber” and “The Street-seller of Nutmeg Graters,” from Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor. Vol. I: London Street-Folk* (London, 1864?).

Hitting the Road

Another fringe entrepreneur was the peddler. Historian Joseph Rainer dates the peddling tradition in America to the 1740s, when a Connecticut maker of tinware hired a peddler to sell his surplus to people living beyond the immediate area. Like others engaged in what were commonly considered marginal occupations (including junk dealers and pawnbrokers), peddlers were required to be licensed in many areas. Peddlers still traveled country roads and urban streets well after the end of the Civil War. We recently acquired *List of Peddlers Who Hold Licenses to Sell Foreign Goods in the State of New York* for the years 1869 and 1876. People were often suspicious about peddlers – their perceived foreignness due to their roving tendencies and their threat to local businessmen. The New York State Secretary’s annual *List of Peddlers*, in broadside format, was to be posted throughout the state

so that authorities could identify who was operating within the law and who was not. Although peddlers fell under the jurisdiction of the Overseers of the Poor, the law enabled citizens to arrest any peddler who did not produce his license “and convey him before a Justice of the Peace.” Irish names predominate on our two lists, and the lists also indicate whether said peddlers were traveling on foot (a \$20 license fee), with horses (\$30 for one, \$50 for two), or by boat (\$30). Another item in the collection, a circa-1880s

CHAS. A. GARDNER'S
NEW SONGS
Sung by him in "Karl, the Peddler,"

WORDS AND MUSIC

JACK IN THE BOX!
HER FADDER VAS AN AUCTIONEER!
A RECITATION
JERRY, THE NEWSBOY!

Printed & Published by Wm. A. Vaughan Co., 209 W. Dixon and Englewood, 11 & 13 Calumet Place, Chicago.

A peddler with his pack. From *Chas. A. Gardner's New Songs* (Chicago, ca. 1880s).

Chicago circular advertising the performance of the traveling theatrical show “Karl, the Peddler,” includes an illustration of a peddler on foot.

After the Civil War, manufacturers of all stripes, producing consumer goods at an unprecedented pace, still relied on the efforts of traveling sales agents, as evidenced by the many newspaper calls for “Agents Wanted!” We have made several recent acquisitions documenting this peripatetic occupation, including many items pertaining to the subscription book trade that flourished in the last quarter of the 19th century. These acquisitions complement our collection of nearly fifty salesman’s sample books. A packet of printed ephemera distributed by New York publisher E. B. Treat (ca. 1880s) was directed at these prospective agents. According to the enclosed printed letter, \$1.00 would secure “Outfit and territory” to sell either George E. Waring, Jr.’s *The Farmers’ and Mechanics’ Manual* or Erastus Haven’s *The Republican Manual of American Progress* (editions of which are in the Library Company’s collections). In addition to Treat’s appeal, the packet contains small circulars advertising other works offered by the publisher – typical subscription publishing staples consisting of fat compilations (usually hundreds of pages long) of religious writings, advice on business and etiquette, and general works on American history. Publisher Treat promised agents “liberal commissions,” their own territory, an inventory of works sold exclusively by subscription and not in bookstores, and the chance to earn upwards of \$3,000 a year in a respectable profession: “Clergymen, schoolteachers and others often leave desirable positions to engage in it,” claimed the publisher, who described it as “an honorable, lucrative, and healthy business.” It was not, insisted Treat, to “be in any sense confounded with peddling,” which was still considered the domain of poor ethnics.

Philadelphia subscription publisher William Garretson tried to attract a new corps of salesmen by giving them advice based on his own personal experiences as a book agent, allaying fears of the unknown. While ultimately commercial endeavors in their own right, Garretson’s printed circulars, *Leaves from My Experience as a Book-Agent* (Philadelphia, ca. 1872), reveal something of the true nature of the difficulties met by the traveling salesman. We recently acquired eleven pieces of printed ephemera put out by Garretson and his firm, including a set of small circulars offering personal advice to prospective canvassing

agents, who might be induced to sell Garretson's books as well. In his third installment the publisher recounts trying to sell subscriptions to Mississippians during "hard times," netting only ten subscribers after knocking on over 120 doors. Making matters worse, Garretson battled inclement weather while competing with another book agent also selling "a rival edition of the same work, or rather another condensation from the same English work" in the same area. Garretson persevered (this installment's take-home lesson), choosing to focus on a territory at the outskirts of town where the middle class lived, and visiting them when he thought they would be most amenable to his sales pitch, "to take people at their best."

Publishers of books to be sold through subscription were not confined to the northeast, for they flourished in emerging cities in the Midwest and West; many were based in St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati. Another new acquisition, *Success in Canvassing; A Manual of Practical Hints and Instructions*, was published by the San Francisco firm A. Roman & Co. in 1877. Claiming the text was "adapted to the use of book canvassers of the better class," the pamphlet's author Ebenezer Hannaford offered sound advice ranging from cultivating one's personal appearance to handling lost orders. He also included a two-page supplement of recommended responses to various objections if people insisted that they didn't have the money, that they were against subscription selling in principle, or that they were too busy to read. It was the sales agent's challenge to convert such resistance into sales using smooth talk and personal charm.

Hitting the "Tabloids"

The ability to capitalize on the out-of-the ordinary condition and experiences of others was also crucial to the success of other 19th-century entrepreneurs. In 1866, German immigrant Anton Probst axemurdered eight members of the Pennsylvania Deering family. (The motive was robbery.) The episode became one of the most sensationalized American tragedies of the time. Long before the days of the printed tabloids and reality television, publishers, creating their own popular culture, were able to profit from the horrific mass murder by printing transcripts of the trial embellished with accounts of Probst's life,

**THE HEAD
AND RIGHT ARM
—OF—
ANTON PROBST
THE MURDERER OF THE
DEERING FAMILY!
OF PHILADELPHIA,
WITH FULL
Certificates and Affidavits
OF AUTHENTICITY,
—BY—
THE AUTHORITIES OF PHILADELPHIA!
—AT THE—
NEW YORK
Museum of Anatomy
No. 618 BROADWAY, N. Y.,
(Three doors below Greer's Olympic Theater.)
The Beauties and Curiosities of
NATURE, SCIENCE AND ART,
are here exhibited side by side, at once combining a
MUSEUM OF ANATOMY
A CABINET OF NATURAL HISTORY,
and a
POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE.
In addition to the hitherto magnificent collection, the Proprietors have, at a
great expense, obtained from Europe and elsewhere, several thousands of New
and Interesting Objects in all the above named departments. They have also
procured an
OXY-HYDROGEN MICROSCOPE
by the aid of which, the
MINIATURE WONDERS OF THE WORLD
will be exhibited with
APPROPRIATE, INSTRUCTIVE AND AMUSING LECTURES
Each day at 2 1/2 and at 6 P. M.
At these hours, parties having admission to the Museum proper, will also re-
ceive a Ticket to the **NEW LECTURE ROOM** above.
The **Microscope** or **Microtome**, the transformation of **Sericles** into **Bone**, the
Dissection of **Plants**, and the **Construction** of **Muscles** and **Organs**,
are all beautifully shown and thoroughly explained. New objects in the
MICROLOGICAL WORLD!
"GREAT IN ITS LITTENESS,"
will be shown daily, so that the frequent visitor may, at each Lecture, see and
hear something new.
**THE STUDENT OF MEDICINE,
THE PHYSICIAN,
THE NATURALIST
THE MAN OF BUSINESS,
AND THE MAN OF LEISURE**
might assay in vain to find where they could spend a more profitable hour.
The beauties of
OSTEOLOGY, MYOLOGY, DERMATOLOGY,
and in fine, of every department of
SPECIAL SCIENCE,
both in their **NORMAL** and abnormal states, are here arrayed in their perfec-
tion.
The entire Museums of several Medical Colleges, and collections of Natural
History have been combined, and agents, in various parts of this and other
countries, are constantly on the alert to furnish new objects of interest.
Open for Gentlemen only, from 8 A. M. till 10 P. M. 12015a
The Museum is lighted by **Decries** (of London, Eng.) Patent Prismatic
Glass Illuminators.**

Selling grisly attractions. New York Museum of Anatomy, *The Head and Right Arm of Anton Probst* ([New York, 1867?]).

his confessions, and details of his execution; we have many such trial transcripts in the collection. Readers were both shocked and fascinated, and publishers, aiming to sate their appetite for the sensational, included graphic depictions of the murder scene, photographs of Probst, and grim details of each of the eight murders.

After Probst's execution the public was not quite finished with him. Doctors subjected the cadaver to a battery of tests, including dissecting the eyes to see if, according to popular theory, one's retina retained an imprint of the last image seen. (It didn't.) Probst's preserved head and axe-wielding right arm traveled from Philadelphia to join the collections of the New York Museum of Anatomy. Expecting to profit from one of the most horrific crimes of the 19th century, the museum announced this new addition to its collections via our recently-acquired broadside purchased with funds donated by Donald Cresswell. The 19th-century anatomical museum was a hybrid of the scholarly and dime museum, presenting oddities and often eroticized exhibits under the guise of education. For men only, anatomical muse-

ums contained “curiosities” ranging from fabricated creatures (similar to Barnum’s “Fiji Mermaid”) to wax replicas of female body parts. Often located in seedy city theater districts, anatomical museums were frequented by working-class men in search of titillating entertainment. In addition to Probst’s head and arm, visitors could see at the New York Museum, “miniature wonders of the world,” visible only through an “oxy-hydrogen microscope” and hear “Appropriate, instructive and amusing lectures.” Our new broadside joins several other pieces of ephemera related to anatomical museums in the collection, including descriptive pamphlets, handbills, and advertising broadsides for institutions from Philadelphia to San Francisco.

Closely related to the Probst broadside is another piece of exploitative “murder ephemera,” recently donated by the Roughwood Collection. It is a publisher’s circular advertising the book exposé *Mrs. Druse’s Crime*, “just out today,” the day of her execution in 1887 for murdering her husband three years earlier in rural New York. Druse’s nephew, whom she forced into helping dispose of the body, confessed to dismembering and burning it after neighbors reported smelling “offensive smoke” coming from the homestead. Mrs. Druse’s insanity plea was

rejected and she was found guilty of murder and sentenced to hang – the first woman in the state put to death since before the Civil War, and the last woman hanged before the state instituted the electric chair in 1890. Our new two-sided advertisement features illustrations from the book (which itself is quite rare, located only at Harvard). The verso is printed in German,

EXTRA! JUST OUT TO-DAY.

An Innocent Woman Hanged.

MRS. DRUSE'S CASE
and **MAGGIE HOUGHTALING.**


A Most Startling Confession

EXTRA!

REV. JOHN L. SILDEN.

“I hope she will end the hanging of crime by showing in the slightest doubt as to guilt. The law has no more right than the mob to take life. I felt certain that the wretched woman was innocent. A line like hers was a blot on a murderer’s name.”

Kerr, Agents & Co. Live on Broadway.



EXTRA!

Such is the statement pending all the time of the commission in regard to the hanging of women, especially on account of evidence that our book is in great demand and our agents cannot possibly get around with it more than this once. So be sure to get it now.

Kerr, Agents & Co. Live on Broadway.

Learning usually the pleasant way to the time which would save her one, the hot conduct others. See *Hilence of the Keeper* on the other side.

Never have there been any tragedies in real life that have excited such intense public interest. And what a horrible thing it is to find, after the arrant-hanging of the pleading, helpless prisoner, that another was the guilty one. Our book contains the full Death Bed Confession of the real culprit.

Price, 20 Cents.

Please keep this Circular till the Agent calls to-day. The book is sold only by him

15421 G. (KERR, AGENTS)

Nineteenth-century sensationalism. *Extra! Just Out Today: An Innocent Woman Hanged.* ([Philadelphia, 1887?]). Gift of the Roughwood Collection.

WORTH'S Palace Museum, 106 & 108 East 14th STREET

The GREATEST CURIO PARLOR ON EARTH
THE BROKEN NECK WONDER HAS STARTLED THE WORLD

BARNEY BALDWIN



Barney Baldwin, the only living man with a broken neck, is shown in this illustration. He is wearing a special headgear that supports his head from the back and sides, and a neck brace. This device is necessary because his neck is broken and he cannot support his head in any other way. The illustration shows him from the chest up, wearing a suit and tie. The headgear is a complex structure of wires and bands that encircle his head and neck. The neck brace is a vertical support that connects to the headgear and extends down to his chest. The illustration is a detailed black and white drawing, typical of the era.

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HE IS ALIVE! EATS AND DRINKS WITH A BROKEN NECK
And has been Exhibited to Millions of People in New Orleans, Chicago, New York and Boston.

If a body is suspended in a corset, the back of which is rigidly open, reaching from the hips to the back of the neck, where a flexible band of metal is riveted. This band supports the head, and is rigidly secured. The front of the head is held down and raised, and is rigidly secured. The weight of the head is then borne by the legs. The corset was designed by Dr. J. J. Taylor, of Chicago. The corset is made of Dr. Taylor's 18th Avenue, New York. Business is identified in remarkable degree, although the physical man can still maintain very great.



\$5,000 REWARD \$5,000

SPECIAL
Mr. Baldwin will pay the sum of five thousand dollars to any reputable physician or surgeon who, after making an examination of his case, does not pronounce his neck broken.

OUR CURIO HALLS Fairly Teem With MARVELS
Fathers and mothers do not fail to bring your little ones to see this remarkable man, for it is the first case of the kind in the history of the known world and it is something that the little ones will never forget.

**One Dime Admits to all Announced Attractions
OPEN CONTINUOUSLY FROM 10 A.M. TO 10 P.M.**

PLEASE BEAR
That we return three times over the amount spent with us and are content with small profit ourselves, so that our patrons are pleased.

THIS ONE FACT
Come prepared to see more for a dime than at any other like establishment on earth.

COPYRIGHTED 1888, BY BARNEY BALDWIN

McWILLIAMS PRINT, 51-53 ELM STREET, N. Y.

Capitalizing on the curious and odd. Worth's Palace Museum, *The Broken Neck Wonder Has Startled the World/Barney Baldwin*. . . ([New York, 1888?]).

indicating that a taste for the sordid was not limited to English speakers.

On a more light-hearted yet equally odd note is the playbill we recently acquired promoting a performance by Barney Baldwin, "The Broken Neck Wonder." For ten cents, people could go to Worth's Palace Museum in New York and see, along with other marvels, the man who "EATS AND DRINKS WITH A BROKEN NECK." Baldwin, a staple of the freak show and dime museum circuit, had formerly worked as a railroad conductor when, sometime in the late 1880s (accounts vary), he was thrown from the front of a train which then ran over him. Because his head was stuck between two railroad ties, the train simply flipped his body over at the neck, causing massive injuries including a broken spinal cord. That Baldwin survived at all was nothing short of remarkable, and his case was even featured in a turn-of-the-

century medical text, *Foreign Bodies in the Pharynx and Esophagus, Part 5 Anomalies and Curiosities of Medicine*, written by doctors George M. Goule and Walter L. Pyle. For the rest of his life he required a special apparatus to keep his head erect – a steel mask attached to metal braces affixed to a vest. Visitors paid for the opportunity to see Baldwin’s brace removed so that his head would fall to his chest. Baldwin died in 1913 from a fall down a flight of stairs. His obituary read in part, “The unusual character of his case, together with his good humor he always displayed, though he suffered constantly, made Baldwin a well-known character all over the country.”

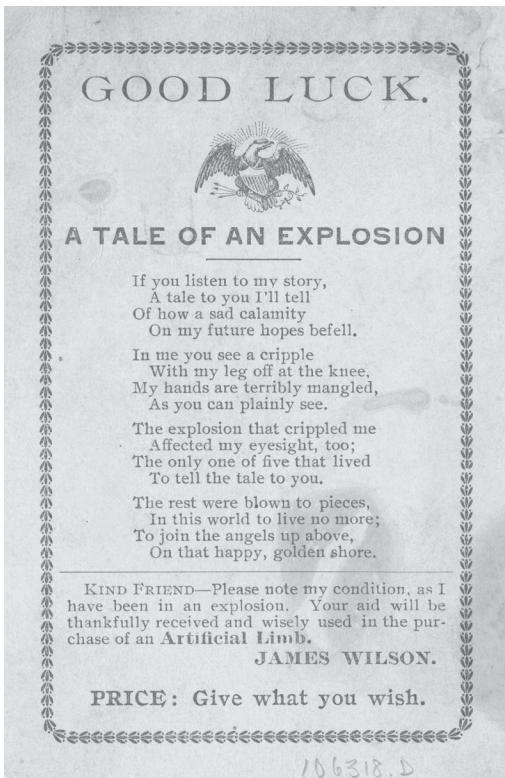
Begging

Many others who suffered tragic events of the ordinary variety also commodified their lives. In the past few years the Library Company has acquired several new pieces of mendicant literature – typically quite ephemeral printed circulars – that people would sell on the street for small sums of money, usually no more than a dime. Not only do mendicant appeals themselves serve as evidence of the ways disadvantaged people made their way in the world long before the era of disability rights, but they also contain text revealing the often harrowing nature of work before the days of occupational safety regulations. Many mendicant pieces were sold by the blind, such as the small printed entreaty *To the Public. For the Benefit of Henry McCallum, The Blind Man* (ca. 1850). He explains that he “lost his sight while working at the Blacksmith Trade. . . [and] is now left destitute of any mode of gaining a livelihood, and is obliged to ask the friendly aid and sympathy of the generous public to assist him on his sightless journey through life.” Many social commentators believed that purveyors of mendicant literature were simply beggars and should not be given alms. Others, however, argued that it was their only means of making a living. The pieces often tell, in verse, of dramatic events leading to tragedy, whether work-related accidents, or as described by Frank Kimball in his modest booklet *Please Remember the Disabled Soldier* (1875), from grave wounds suffered during the Civil War. They used guilt, religion, and general moral suasion to appeal to the public. James Wilson’s small printed pink card (ca. 1870) told of how he was the only one of five to survive an explo-

sion and asked people to give what they would so he could “wisely” use the money to purchase an artificial limb.

Purveyors of mendicant literature were not so marginalized to be unaware of the market and of their potential public. Appeals were quite formulaic, comprising autobiographies of the beggar, a solicitation for money, and often details about how the funds would be used. In this way mendicants defined themselves as once viable and productive members of the society, appealing to potential benefactors’ sympathetic nature while reassuring them that any money given would not be wasted on profligacy. Printed mendicant pieces were not unlike the “begging letters” that failed businessmen sent to Gilded Age magnates asking for money, described by Scott Sandage in his recent book *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America*. Although less personalized, printed mendicant pieces resembled begging letters written by hand in that the text “allowed these writers to narrate their own lives – to speak directly rather than letting their failures be told by credit reporters or bankruptcy lawyers or charity snoops.”

Sandage continues, “Beggars offered up their past to acquire the future.” We can see these strategies deployed even in the most humble mendicant circulars; taken in the aggregate – the Library Company owns dozens of examples – we can more clearly see how these pieces form a subgenre of what might aptly be termed “failure literature.”



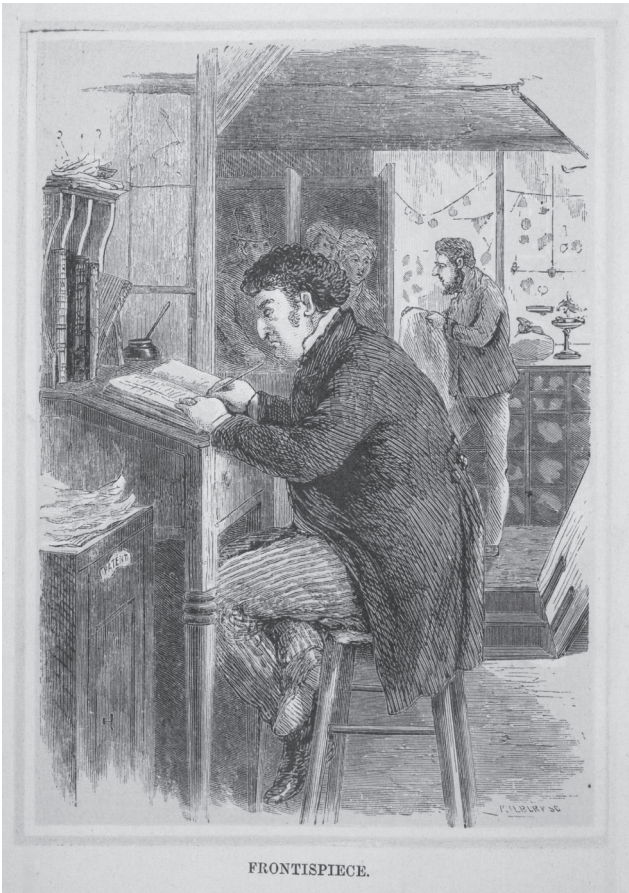
A bit of good luck could be had for a small donation. James Wilson, *Good Luck* ([United States, not before 1870?]).

Borrowing

People with no other financial options resorted to begging and borrowing, using the money to pay for the barest necessities. The rise of domestic manufactures in the 1830s and 1840s brought less expensive consumer goods to average Americans and so most people had assets, however modest, stored in the form of the material goods they had purchased. These goods could be used as collateral to secure small, short-term loans, and pawnbrokers began populating urban landscapes in greater numbers as the decades wore on, servicing a growing class for whom wages chronically did not meet expenses. The middling and lower classes did not have access to the extensive credit networks enjoyed by the merchant elite; nor did the few extant savings banks meet the needs of the working poor who needed cash loans on short notice. Pawnshops were among the very few institutions that provided the working poor with the cash they needed – to pay rent, purchase food, and cover unexpected medical expenses. In the 1830s philanthropists began urging local governments to establish non-profit pawnshops, similar to those in Europe, that would charge lower interest rates and provide an important financial institution for the down and out. It was an idea that did not catch on until the 1890s, although several cities attempted to establish such institutions throughout the 19th century. Prominent Philadelphians (such as iron merchant Stephen Colwell) founded the Chattel Loan Company in 1855 “for the purpose of loaning money on deposits of chattels as security, at a rate of charge not exceeding legal interest.” The Chattel Loan would be a “charity tending to the benefit and relief of necessitous and meritorious persons who are frequently obliged or induced to pledge their chattels at exorbitant rates,” according to the *Act of Incorporation* in our collection. A similar enterprise established four years later, the Pawnners’ Bank of Boston, was a more successful attempt at establishing a charitable pawnshop.

Any item that had value in another market, whether as constituent parts or as a whole, was potentially pawnable. Our recently purchased auction catalogue of unredeemed collateral from the Pawnners’ Bank (Boston, ca. 1863) contains an inventory of goods to be disposed of by auctioneers David F. McGilvray & Co. The articles were divided into broad categories including furniture, fire-arms, books, watches

and jewelry, and dry goods. The list of miscellaneous pawns included specialized tools and pieces of equipment either belonging to skilled artisans who were doing poorly in business or in possession of wives and family members of men who had gone off to fight in the war: a tailor's pressing machine and pair of shears; a set of engraver's tools; a tapping machine "in good order."



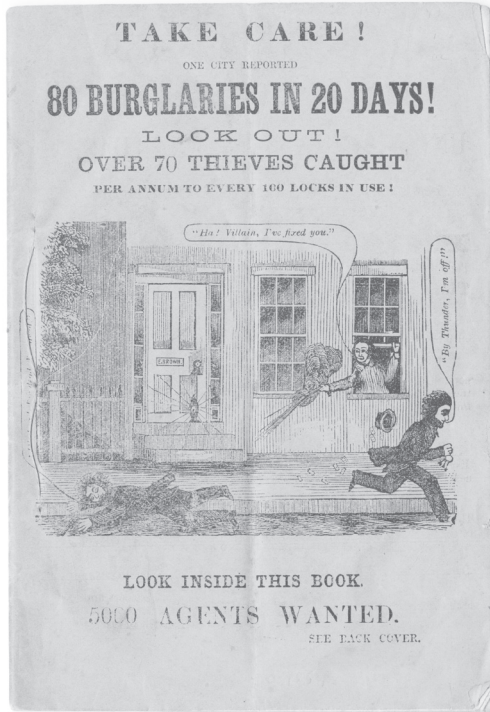
FRONTISPIECE.

A pawnshop interior. Frontispiece, Julia McNair Wright, *Our Chatham Street Uncle: or, The Three Golden Balls* (Boston, c1869).

Although pawnshops enabled the working poor to take advantage of the meager assets they did own and helped recirculate goods among secondary and tertiary markets, they were looked upon with opprobrium. Social commentators, reformers, and authors alike drew upon and reinscribed common (and often anti-Semitic) stereotypes regarding pawnbrokers, whom they deemed hard-hearted, greedy, and exploitative of the poor. One such example is another recent acquisition, Julia McNair Wright's novel *Our Chatham Street Uncle: or, The Three Golden Balls* (Boston, ca. 1869), recorded in only a handful of other institutions. Pawnbroker Solomon Moses Simpson, the Jewish main character, is depicted as a faithless money-hoarder who is constantly at odds with those around him. Simpson perpetually argues with his live-in niece Naomi, the product of mixed parentage (a Christian father and a Jewish mother). Pure and principled, the girl lectures the Simpson family about their lack of faith and greediness. A true Christian, she is surrounded by the corrupting, materialistic forces of Judaism. Uncle Solomon admits, "I cares only for piles monish." Naomi snaps at her cousin, "Don't talk to me about Jews and Gentiles. You all worship money; and it makes you hard as iron." In the end, Solomon Moses Simpson's shop goes up in flames. The conflagration proves a fatal blow to the pawnbroker, who to the very end is concerned only about "mein shops" and "mein monish." The frontispiece shows a typical pawnshop interior – in the foreground, Simpson hunches over ledger books, with pawners in the background inside privacy cubicles, and pocket watches hang in the window.

Stealing

Material goods with value were equally worthy of theft and fencing at pawnshops. During the 19th century professional thieves became increasingly adept at their art, whether robbing houses or picking pockets. Indeed, the new migration to urban areas yielded a new and often naïve crop of potential victims for thieves to separate from their money and possessions. An increase in local police forces helped, such as those deployed in Boston's parks to monitor street sellers. And by the 1850s New York City had formed specialized, organized police details that patrolled neighborhoods known for criminal activity. At the same



Capitalizing on fear. Ephraim Brown, *Take Care!* ([Lowell, Mass., 1857?]).

time that individuals were becoming more preoccupied with the safety of self and property, they were also increasingly fascinated by the more lurid aspects of crime and vice. The tabloid the *National Police Gazette*, for example, began publication in 1845 and remained in print well into the 20th century. And Allan Pinkerton established his eponymous detective agency in 1850.

Answering safety concerns at the personal level were entrepreneurs like Ephraim Brown of Lowell, Massachusetts, who devised a “Safety Alarm Detector” that could be attached to any kind of door lock and would sound an alarm if someone attempted to open the lock without a key. We recently acquired an early and unrecorded advertising pamphlet published by Brown in 1857 to promote his latest invention, reproduced above. It is a wonderful piece of Americana offering a little of everything – sensational tales, fear-mongering, and salesmanship – clearly influenced by publications such as the *National Police Gazette*

and city mysteries fiction, which described in rich detail activities taking place in the city's underworld. Brown's pamphlet included a statistical chart listing the number of inmates in twenty prisons who had been convicted of burglary, a mere fraction of those who "are *never detected*." His Alarm Detector would, ostensibly, prevent the criminal population from even entering a building; driving the point home, Brown's pamphlet contained seven pages of cautionary tales such as "A Robber Shot by a Clergyman," "Burglary in Charlestown," and "Attempt at Robbery and Murder." The illustrations, crude and humorous, show thieves being thwarted because of Brown's lock – one is shot dead by an alerted homeowner. In contrast, a house without Brown's Alarm is being ransacked: robbers exclaim, "There's money in these Pants," and "This closet's full of silver."

Ephraim Brown did quite well for himself in the burglary detection field, giving him the funds to leave his teaching position in Lowell, Massachusetts to become the proprietor of a crockery store in 1854. Perhaps learning from first-hand experience with petty thieves, he patented the safety alarm cash drawer in 1854 "from which," according to a local history of Lowell, "he derived large sums of money." Ten years later he helped found, and then became a long-time director of, the Lowell National Bank. In addition to investing heavily in local real estate, Brown was a trustee in the Central Savings Bank and one of the founders of the Howard Fire Insurance Company of Boston. It was the prevention of crime that paid after all.

Three other recent acquisitions show that theft deterrence remained a lucrative business throughout the century. An ephemeral handbill printed for Hall's Safe and Lock Co. (Cincinnati, 1874) reminded readers that "Burglaries Are of Every Day Occurrence." The company's circular defended its "long established reputation," which had been challenged by a rival firm claiming that Hall's safes were not in fact tamper-proof. There was much at stake: in business for over a quarter of a century, the company had established a successful manufacturing business that had made and sold some 50,000 safes. Our circular is the company's response to supposedly specious claims by "jealous and unscrupulous competitors (who are known to us)" about the vulnerabilities of Hall's products. In its defense, the company offered \$1,000 to the person who could prove that any of their safes had

been successfully violated. The following year, Herring & Co., rival manufacturers of safes, claimed in an advertisement in the *New York Times* that Hall's products, made of iron and steel, could be penetrated by drills and pumped full of explosive powder. (Herring & Co. eventually bought out Hall's Safe & Lock in 1892.) For companies such as Hall's Safe & Lock and rival Herring, reputation was everything when it came to selling expensive pieces of equipment. They needed to both convince businesses of the necessity of having a safe to begin with and also assure them that they were purchasing the right brand. Finally, the National Alarm Company's *Descriptive Price List* (Boston, 1874) included a specially-designed billy club for police fitted with an alarm that would "giv[e] a shrill and penetrating sound upon pressing a spring," according to our new acquisition.

Nineteenth-century Americans were involved with marketplaces that extended well beyond wholesale and retail exchange. Whether they took to the streets as peddlers and beggars, took to the stage as performers, or simply took things, many found creative and odd ways to make money to keep them afloat during good times and bad. As the Library Company adds to its collection of materials on the so-called marginal economies, we realize that because they directly and indirectly affected so many people's lives, they were not, perhaps, so marginal after all.

Wendy A. Woloson
*Curator of Printed Books and
Bibliographer, Program in Early America Economy and Society*

Women and Science

In recent years, somewhat surprisingly, we as a nation found ourselves debating once again whether men and women are endowed with equal aptitude for scientific study and research, and whether women are somehow more suited to some kinds of science (social, natural) and men to others (physical, mathematical). It is a debate our 19th-century forebears would have understood with only slight adjustments. Science was an integral part of the early-19th-century curriculum for both men and women and, especially as educators, many women wrote scientific texts; yet popular discourses of the period often castigated the character of educated women. At mid-century, a very few women became physicians amidst active opposition from the male medical establishment. The Civil War offered increased opportunity for women in medicine and also administration. After the war, some became administrators of social service agencies, which increasingly adopted scientific methodologies. But over the course of the century, the very definition of science shifted, and by 1900 the various scientific disciplines had become the exclusive domain of specialists, who typically were male. To some extent, the purported advances for women in the sciences often came together with the exclusiveness that professionalization entails. Arguably the removal of science as an activity for ordinary individuals has been a loss for all.

Notable among the many American writers who encouraged the study of science in the early 19th century was Almira Hart Lincoln Phelps (1793-1884), whose textbook *Familiar Lectures on Botany*, first published in 1829, sold an estimated 275,000 copies by 1872. In the Introduction, Phelps explains that God has created the variety of plants in categories which humans can comprehend through study. All other benefits are secondary to this religious purpose, which Phelps articulates throughout the text, and also in the concluding verse:

Each opening bud, and care perfected seed,
Is as a page, where we may read of God.

Phelps and others thus made science relevant to generalists of both sexes in the Christian culture of the day; scientific knowledge became a

hallmark of a good education; and ordinary educated men and women could hope to contribute new scientific knowledge.

This past year, we added Mrs. Phelps's *Natural Philosophy for Beginners* (New York, 1852), which was first published in 1838, but in general we were surprised and pleased to discover many similar titles already on our shelves. The Library Company already had volumes by Elizabeth Cary Agassiz (1822-1907) on natural history, Catharine Beecher (1800-78) on physiology, Antoinette Blackwell (1825-1921) on general science, Hannah M. Bouvier (1811-1870) on astronomy, M. Augusta Fairchild (b. 1834) on medicine, Lydia F. Fowler (1823-79) on physiology, Rachel B. Gleason (1820-1905) on medicine, Laura Johnson (fl. 1834-40) on botany, Graceanna Lewis (1821-1912) on biology, Mary Gove Nichols (1810-84) on physiology, Anna Maria Redfield on zoology, Emma Willard (1787-1870) on the circulation of the blood, and Eliza A. Youmans (b. 1826) on botany. Plus, *Godey's Lady's Book* included a column by Mrs. Sarah Josepha Hale (1788-1879) on chemistry.

Nina Baym, in her *American Women of Letters and the Nineteenth-Century Sciences* (2002), has examined the works of prominent women science writers, but more needs to be done to develop a fuller understanding of the gendered approaches and responses to science during the period. One particularly understudied topic is the women who became scientific illustrators. Orra White Hitchcock, wife of geologist Edward Hitchcock, for example, drew the illustrations for his 1833 geological survey of the state of Massachusetts. Almira Phelps's friend Thirza Lee produced the drawings for the plates in Phelps's *Familiar Lectures on Botany*. When the book appeared in 1829, both women taught at Troy Female Seminary, the prominent boarding school which Phelps's older sister Emma Willard ran in Troy, New York. The detail-rich frontispiece shown here indicates what crops thrive at various elevations and latitudes.



In the early decades of the 19th century, fiction, and especially juvenile fiction, typically was didactic, but only a very few writers promoted scientific learning for girls through the behavior of their young female characters. For example, Ellen Montgomery, in Susan Warner's

Top of Chimborazo 20000 feet from the level of the Sea. — Compare 18376 Feet.

Plate I.



Progress of vegetation at different elevations, corresponding with its progress in different latitudes.

Mrs. Lincoln Phelps, Familiar Lectures on Botany (Hartford, 1829), frontispiece by Thirza Lee.

Wide, Wide World (1851), evinces curiosity about the natural world early in the novel, and later applies herself to mastering botany from a textbook. Similarly, Caroline Westerley, in Phelps's 1833 novel by the same name, is a mouthpiece through which Phelps advocates training for women, in science as well as many other subjects. But these are the exceptions. Belle-lettrist writers were more likely to touch on social issues such as abolitionism, temperance, and philanthropy in their works.

As discussed in the 2002 *Annual Report*, novelist T. S. Arthur, best-known for his temperance novel *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*, was surprisingly sensitive to labor issues. Instead of finding women characters profiting from learning science, we found a pronounced antipathy toward non-working-class women, especially well-educated ones, in the more than twenty volumes by Arthur which we acquired this past year. For example, in his *Friends and Neighbours, or, Two Ways of Living in the World* (Philadelphia, 1856), a character named Mrs. Percy decides to save twenty-five cents a week by employing her washerwoman every other week instead of weekly – a plan her wealthy husband characterizes as “close,” i.e., stingy. Mrs. Percy also faults the woman for being old and slow, not realizing that poverty and hardship have aged her prematurely. She does have sympathy for the poor she has “read of” and the few cases she has noticed, but only “now and then” does she “descent largely” on how little opportunity she has of “bestowing alms.” Meanwhile, she is thrilled to save thirteen dollars a year at the expense of her washerwoman, money that “old Phoebe” desperately needs to keep her children from starving.

Another well-off wife in T. S. Arthur's fiction is Mrs. Margaret Jones, a character in *The Tried and the Tempted* (Philadelphia, 1876). Mrs. Jones has fits of melancholy on a periodic basis which affect her “like an attack of the measles.” Mr. Jones does what he can by hiring a waiter, a nurse, a chambermaid, a seamstress, and a cook, but his wife still suffers. As a desperate measure, they take a costly sightseeing trip, only to find the husband's business ruined on their return. His worst fear is that his wife, who was raised in wealthy circumstances and received “a good education,” would not be able to bear the shock. “But he did not know what was in her. Ease had suffered the rust to accumulate upon her real internal character.” Together, the couple de-

A PROPHECY.

"Ten years from this time no man will think of using other remedies, when sickness assails his frame, than those which cleanse and purify."

THE BRANDRETH PILLS

Cleanse and purify, and cannot injure. The weak become strong while they are used. We may use "bark," or any "tonics;" what is their effect? They bind the disease, the "foul humors," in the body, which ultimately become so great in quantity, that apoplexy or paralysis is the result; the patient then finds too late his mistake. How different are the consequences when the simple method of purifying the body with Brandreth's Pills is adopted.

Experience, that thousands of all human knowledge, has proved beyond doubt that this celebrated medicine and the human body are naturally adapted one for the other; by their aid the whole mass of the fluids, and even the solids, (for are not the solids made and renewed from the fluids?) can be entirely evacuated, altered and completely regenerated; and in a manner so simple as to give every day ease and pleasure.

The fact is, that hundreds of thousands have been cured of the most inveterate diseases by the use of these Pills alone. It is not well to enumerate the diseases by name. Let the afflicted with any pain, whether of internal or external origin, give this medicine ONE or TWO WEEKS' trial—there will be no necessity for any further persuasion afterwards; he is sure to continue it until a perfect cure is effected.

I have often found persons desirous to know how soon this medicine will cure them. It is impossible to say—it altogether depends upon the state of the blood and humors. One thing may be relied upon—that if the pills are persevered with according to the printed direction, which accompanies each box, the cure will be effected sooner than the patient could have expected. The many lingering chronic diseases we daily see, are owing either to mercury or bleeding, or to not having been properly purged in FEVERS, INFLAMMATIONS, COLIC, MEASLES, OR SMALL POX. It is utterly impossible for us to attain or keep health without sound purgings.

SCRIPTURAL PROOF

Of the propriety of using purging medicines.

The allusion to purging may be said, by many, to be spiritually applied in the following texts. But I would ask, What effect would they have in a figurative sense, unless confirmed by practical experience in the body of man?

Psalm 51. 7.—Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean, wash me and I shall be whiter than snow.

Psalm 65. 3.—As for our transgressions thou shalt purge them away.

Psalm 74. 9.—Deliver us, and purge away our sins for thy name's sake.

Mak. 3. 3.—And he shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver; and he shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver.

Matt. 3. 13.—He will thoroughly purge his floor, and gather his wheat into the garner.

1 Cor. 5. 7.—Purge out therefore the old leaven, that you may be a new lump.

2 Tim. 2. 21.—If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto heaven, sanctified and meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work.

Heb. 9. 14.—How much more shall the blood of Christ, who through the Eternal Spirit offered himself unto every spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works to serve the living God.

Heb. 1. 3.—Christ when he had by himself purged our sins.

Prov. 16. 6.—By mercy and truth iniquity is purged, and by the fear of the Lord men depart from evil.

Isa. 6. 7.—And he laid it upon my mouth and said, Lo this has touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away and thy sin purged.

Isa. 27. 9.—By this therefore shall the iniquity of Jacob be purged.

Ec. 24. 13.—In thy filthiness is lewdness; because I have purged thee and thou wast not purged, thou shalt not be purged from thy filthiness any more, till I have caused my fury to rest upon thee.

2 Pet. 1. 9.—But he that tasteth these things is blind, and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.

John 15. 2.—Every branch in me that beareth not fruit, he taketh away; and every branch that beareth fruit he purgeth it that it may bring forth more fruit.

Ec. 47. 12.—And the fruit thereof shall be for meat, and the leaf thereof for medicine.

Peter 1. 19.—Hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins.

Now, these are not all the texts which prove that purging and internal medicines are recommended in the sacred writings, but they are sufficient to establish the fact beyond all dispute. Except to the man who would endeavor to make the world believe that, by rubbing ointment all the good possible can be done to the human body, that can be done by the use of internal medicines. The people can judge and act for themselves.

FROM AMERICAN NEWSPAPERS.

The New York Evening Star says: Brandreth's Pills are a medicine which their own intrinsic worth will always secure for them a large and ready sale. They have deservedly a high reputation; and as a family and medicinal remedy it would be difficult to equal them among all the patent medicines of the present day.

The New York Commercial says: They remove all morbid humors and purify the blood.

The New York Sun says: Brandreth's Pills have been used among many of our friends, and in our own family we have used them nearly four years when we required medicine; in that period no Doctor save Dr. Brandreth has crossed our threshold, and no medicine besides the Doctor's Pills used. Our belief is, "keep your bowels and blood pure," and every kind of disease will be cured. (See 3d Page of Cover.)

Advertisement in Benjamin Brandreth, *Vegetable Purgation* (New York, 1845).

cides to let the servants go, and the "constant occupation" of taking care of the children and the house proves to be the "medicaments [Mrs. Jones's] case required." Housework therapy cured Mrs. Jones, although this time Arthur fails to descant on the effect that losing their jobs had on the servants.

In case any reader missed the theme that education takes away women's good judgment, a few of T. S. Arthur's stories spell it out explicitly. In *The*

Wedding Guest (Philadelphia, 1859), another female character loses her health. At a prestigious, unnamed boarding school, Mary Marvel studies from eight to ten hours a day, and excels. But "at the end of her first term, she comes home, looking as if she had had a fever," and returns home after graduation a semi-invalid dependent on Brandreth's pills, a widely advertised patent medicine. (Not unexpectedly, the Library Company has the advertisement for Brandreth's pills shown here; the Library Company has an extensive collection of such advertisements, largely thanks to the gift by William H. Helfand of his collection of proprietary medicine pamphlets.)

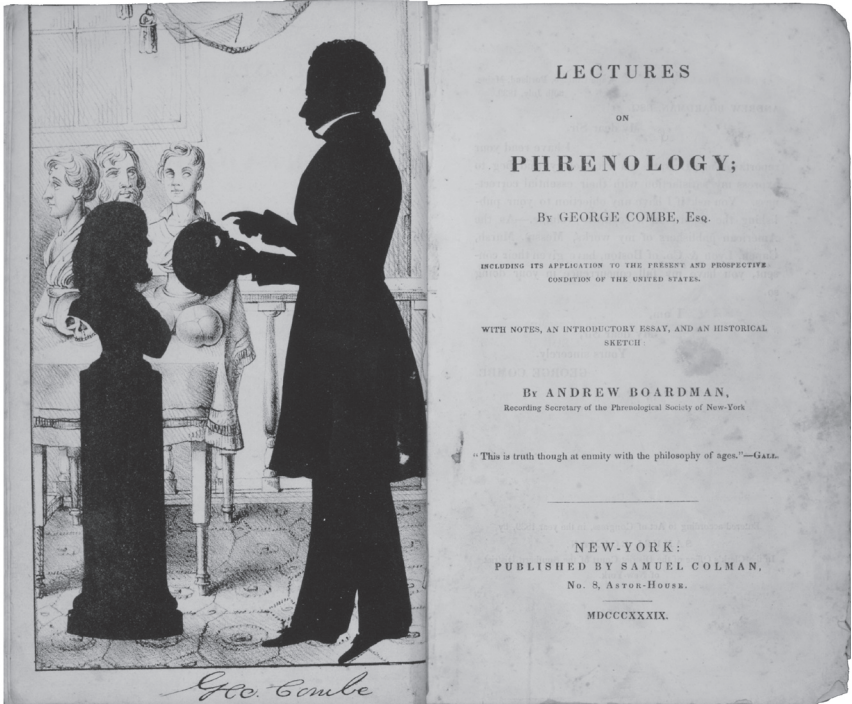
However, in the T. S. Arthur story, Brandreth's pills do not help the ailing young woman. She is restored to health by her husband encouraging outdoor exercise in keeping with his understanding of Scottish

phrenologist Andrew Combe's *The Principles of Physiology* (first edition, 1834), which he also gives her to read. This bibliographic intervention may even have saved her life since people had been saying she seemed "fit for Heaven" while she was ill. T. S. Arthur's stories suggest that education makes women silly, imbalanced, and ill. To varying degrees, their husbands can help. Science, in the form of Combe's *Principles of Physiology*, is useful when recommended by a man, but advanced learning generally is too rigorous for women. Studying at elite boarding schools such as Troy Female Seminary likely made many 19th-century women subject to similar prejudices, if not outright animosity.



Andrew Combe's *Principles of Physiology* would have been familiar to Arthur's audience. Tens of thousand copies of the book sold, many of them in the United States. But Andrew's brother George Combe wrote the book that became the huge phrenological bestseller: *Constitution of Man* (first edition, 1828). Historian Stephen Tomlinson estimates that by 1860 over 250,000 copies had sold. Phrenology, first formulated by Franz-Joseph Gall and later developed by Johann Spurzheim, both Germans, became one of the key theoretical bases for many 19th-century theories on education and reform after its popularization by George Combe. In 1852, educational reformer Horace Mann wrote that "Combe's 'Constitution of Man' is the greatest book that has been written for centuries." Just as Mrs. Phelps and others suggested that discovering God's rules was at the heart of botany, Combe suggested that the key to improving mankind was discovering the divine laws of physiology and being able to use them to reveal the capacity of individuals by reading the characteristics of the human skull.

Thus, T. S. Arthur's character Mary Marvel loses her health after disregarding the laws of phrenologically-informed physiology. In the story, the excesses of her academic study nearly cost her her life, because she should have balanced her intellectual pursuits with daily physical exercise. It is interesting to note that no phrenological exam was necessary; one senses that her husband's understanding of her limitations as a woman was the key to the cure. Phrenology often became the justification for sexism (as well as racism and other categorical judgments).



George Combe, *Lectures on Phrenology* (New York, 1839).
Gift of Charles E. Rosenberg.

For many, phrenology proved that women should not be expected to be intellectuals, although Spurzheim himself admitted that Mary Wollstonecraft was an exception.

In other cases, phrenology became the impetus for women's greater empowerment. Boston physician Harriot Hunt (1805-1875), who is often called the first woman to practice medicine in the United States, heard George Combe lecture in Boston in October 1838. In her memoir *Glances and Glimpses* (Boston, 1856), she writes that Combe's ideas were "bread for a hungry spirit, and water for a thirsty soul." In her career as a physician, Hunt became particularly interested in preventing disease through diet, exercise, and hygiene, but she made her name treating patients successfully after other physicians had failed. She also started the Ladies' Physiological Society in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1843, to encourage women to consider themselves their own physicians. If the group had no lecturer for a meeting, they read

from Combe's *Constitution of Man* or one of his other books to stimulate conversation and thought. Shown on p. 53 is an 1839 edition of Combe's *Lectures*, a gift from Charles E. Rosenberg.

Hunt, like many others of her day, wrote about the promise of science and technology. Having seen the introduction of steam power, telegraphy, and anesthesia, she writes of the future when machinery will do all the heavy work, thus making men and women equal. Hunt also delivered an address on medical education for women at the 1850 National Woman's Rights Convention in Worcester, Mass., extracts of which appeared in the proceedings of the convention – a publication which we are on the look-out for.

Hunt, a single woman, saw her relationship with medicine as a marriage. In 1860, she celebrated her “silver anniversary” after twenty-five years as a physician. One of our copies of her memoir, also a gift from Charles Rosenberg, has an invitation to the celebration attached to the endpapers. (Reportedly, 1,500 people attended the event, which was held at her Boston home on June 27, 1860.) One senses an energetic optimism in Hunt. In 1847, she had petitioned unsuccessfully to attend medical lectures at Harvard. Instead of dampening her enthusiasm, it served to galvanize her for bolder work. In 1852, writer Frederika Bremer visited her, and wrote in her two-volume account of the trip, *Homes of the New World* (New York, 1853), that “Miss H. [is a] very peculiar individual. People may have better manners, more tact, and so on, but it would be impossible to have a better heart; one more warm for the best interests of mankind, and more practical sagacity.”



Other women who aspired to be physicians also faced opposition. In 1847, the medical schools in Philadelphia were among the many that rejected the application of Elizabeth Blackwell (1821-1910). Blackwell, who became the first woman physician with professional training, received her medical degree from Geneva College in New York State, where her application was accepted in part because some had viewed it as a prank. Similarly, Ann Preston (1813-1872) was refused admission by Philadelphia medical schools in early 1850 because she was a woman. Later that year, Preston entered the first class of

the Female Medical College of Pennsylvania (later called the Woman's Medical College, then the Medical College of Pennsylvania, and now known as Drexel University College of Medicine). In 1853, she became a professor of physiology and anatomy at the college.

It is interesting to note that Preston's medical education likely included texts heavily influenced by George Combe's theories of phrenology. The 1851 catalog for the Female Medical College lists four textbooks for anatomy, one of which is "Morton," which would have referred to *An Illustrated System of Human Anatomy* (Philadelphia, 1849). Samuel Morton, like Harriot Hunt, was a fan of George Combe, and Morton's interest in phrenology led him to paleontology and, specifically, the measurement of skulls. In his *Crania Americana* (Philadelphia, 1839), for example, he argued that the physical evidence indicated that Native Americans were a distinct race, thus supporting the then-current idea that physical characteristics indicated five separate races. At Morton's invitation, Combe contributed the prefatory essay for the book. The Library Company holds some of Morton's personal papers, including two letters from Combe to Morton, plus a collection of "Mortoniana," donated by Charles Rosenberg.

The middle decades of the 19th century marked the beginnings of huge shifts in the relationship between individuals and science. Early on, studying science, especially botany, was considered a sacred obligation as well as an intellectual discipline, and both men and women might hope to make a contribution to a scientific field. Some men such as Morton pursued their science-inspired avocations and became leading scientific practitioners despite not occupying academic positions. But the increasing emphasis on professional education and accreditation would create a gulf between most individuals and science. And of course the greatest change came as a result of the general acceptance of Darwinian theory. With the resulting secularization of science, the theories which relied on the discovery of divine laws became outmoded in mainstream culture. Phrenology, central to much medical theory in the early 19th century, became embarrassingly old-fashioned, more a sideshow act than the full-service world view that it had been for the women of Hunt's Ladies' Physiological Society and countless others. Indeed, Morton was later cited by American supporters of slavery as a promoter of racism on scientific grounds, although Morton him-

self avoided drawing conclusions about the social implications of his work.

Many women devoted themselves to gaining professional status for themselves and others practicing medicine. After having overcome various hindrances to gain her own medical degree, Ann Preston helped found the Woman's Hospital of Philadelphia in 1861 – when the Philadelphia Medical Society would not allow her women students admission to the teaching clinics in Philadelphia (although in 1848 Elizabeth Blackwell had been allowed to work at Pennsylvania Hospital as part of her medical training). Especially after the Civil War, the male establishment frequently rallied against women's participation in the field. For example, in an 1870 circular in the collection (entitled *To the Contributors of the Pennsylvania Hospital*), George B. Wood, Horace Binney, Joseph Carson, Hugh L. Hodge, and thirty other men “unite in urging their fellow contributors [to] vote, on Monday, the 2d of May next, against the admission of Women to the Clinical Lectures of the Hospital.” George Bacon Wood (1797-1879) was a past president of the American Medical Society, a professor in the medical school of the University of Pennsylvania, and a wealthy man thanks to his best-selling textbooks. Horace Binney, then retired, had been the acknowledged head of the Philadelphia bar. Joseph Carson was a member and the curator of the American Philosophical Society as well as a leading writer on medical botany. And Hugh Lenox Hodge, in addition to being a member of the College of Physicians and the American Philosophical Society, was a leading writer on gynecology and obstetrics. These men and their peers felt so strongly on the subject of barring women from medical lectures that they published this circular letter to urge others to vote against their admission. As any modern development officer will confirm, the title alone implies a threat that these men would withdraw their considerable support from Pennsylvania Hospital if the institution were to be so unwise as to admit women to the lectures, as it had amid considerable controversy on November 6, 1869. (The Philadelphia Bulletin reported that the male students jeered the thirty women from Woman's Medical College.) This circular and many other items deserve further attention from medical historians to help understand why the incursion of women into the field of medicine met such resistance.

Thanks to gifts from Charles Rosenberg, we now have many official publications of the Woman's Hospital, including a run of the annual reports from the first (1862) through the ninth (1870). In 1862, the board of managers reported treating fifty-five patients. In 1870, the number was 3,478. The Woman's Hospital, which merged with West Philadelphia Hospital for Women and Children in 1929, closed in 1965. The Woman's Medical College, where Ann Preston studied, taught, and served as dean, lives on under the administration of Drexel University, a legacy of her work and the work of many other women administrators.



Ann Preston's biographers have given little attention to one of her other achievements: she started a training program for nurses at the Woman's Hospital of Philadelphia in 1863, when Civil War hospitals needed huge numbers of personnel. Preston advocated nursing as a suitable profession for refined women. Just as Catharine Beecher advised that the best housekeepers should know how to perform the tasks of their servants, Preston suggested that trained nurses also should know how to cook, clean, and perform other duties to be able to better supervise the working-class help who would actually carry out these menial tasks. In her book *Women at the Front* (2004), Jane E. Schultz reports that class differences were often a source of friction among the more than 21,000 women who served in Union military hospitals. According to Schultz, the non-elite, both black and white, generally did laundry, cooked, mended clothing, and performed other "socially stigmatized work," under the supervision of elite white women, thus suggesting that Preston's managerial model for trained nurses was common.

During and after the Civil War, some nurses wrote about their work caring for injured soldiers. These published memoirs typically represent relatively elite women's experiences because such women were more likely to have access to print. In recent years, we have added to the Library Company's already representative holdings. Some of these books are fictionalized accounts such as Louisa May Alcott's *Hospital Sketches* (Boston, 1863) and Charlotte E. McKay's *Stories of Hospital and Camp* (Philadelphia, 1876). Those issued during the war, such as Georgeanna



Sarah A. Palmer, *The Story of Aunt Becky's Army-Life* (New York, 1868).

Woolsey's 24-page *Three Weeks at Gettysburg* (New York, 1863), largely served to help raise money for the war.

Georgeanna Woolsey and her sister Eliza were among the elite women who returned their wages to the hospitals in which they worked, but for many women their war work was essential for their livelihood, and after the war they were left jobless. One such woman was Sarah A. Palmer, a cook for the 109th New York Infantry, known as "Aunt Becky." According to the preface of *The Story of Aunt Becky's Army-Life* (New York, 1868), the infantrymen talked of presenting a memorial to Congress asking for an appropriation of two thousand dollars to purchase her a home, but the idea of the book appealed to Aunt Becky ("Let those who would help me buy a book. Congress has enough of its own little bills to pay."). Shown here is one of the plates from the book, depicting Aunt Becky in her tent. (Plate opp. p. 187) Sadly, most of these memoirs never raised significant amounts of money, and for some who self-published they actually put the authors into debt, as in the case of Southerner Kate Cumming's *A Journal of Hospital Life in the Confederate Army of Tennessee* (Louisville, 1866).

Other Civil War titles were highly profitable, however. Sarah Edmonds's sensational *Nurse and Spy in the Union Army*, which appeared

under various titles beginning in 1864, purportedly is the autobiographical account of a Canadian-born woman who posed variously as a white female nurse, a male soldier, and male and female ex-slaves. The book sold some 175,000 copies, and Edmonds claimed that she was donating the royalties to the war effort, possibly to divert criticism of the sensational nature of the text. After the war, when Northerners led the way in creating the historical record, two massive volumes of collective biography appeared. Frank Moore's *Women of the War*, first published in 1866, went through five editions in less than five years, and Linus P. Brockett and Mary C. Vaughan's *Woman's Work in the Civil War*, first published in 1867, went through four editions. Both volumes featured the most prominent Civil War nurses and were illustrated with numerous steel-engraved plates. Shown here is a plate from Moore's *Women of the War*.



Frank Moore, *Women of the War* (Hartford, 1866). Gift of Charles G. Sower.



For many Northern women, their work during the Civil War was transformative. For example, Cornelia Hancock (1840-1927) went to Gettysburg in July 1863, soon after the battle, despite having been rejected for service by Dorothea Dix (1802-1887), the superintendent of Union Army nurses. Initially untrained, Hancock rose to a position of responsibility within three weeks. Funded by Philadelphia Quakers, Miss Hancock later served in hospitals in Virginia, where the huge numbers of casualties strained resources. After the war, again with funding from Philadelphia Quakers, she taught in a South Carolina school for freed slaves.

On her return to Philadelphia, Hancock became one of the founding members of the Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity in 1878. This past year, we acquired a compendium volume of pamphlets and ephemera the Society issued in 1879, which includes a handbill listing Hancock as the superintendent of the Society's Sixth Ward Association. The handbill, *An Appeal to the Citizens and Business Men of the Sixth Ward* (Philadelphia, 1879) explains how the Society operated:

We have divided the ward into sixteen districts, most of them composed of a single block; each of these is placed under the care of one or more lady visitors, who, with our Superintendent, visit every applicant at their homes, and by careful inquiry and observation learn their real condition, and the causes which have brought them to require aid.

Thus, the Society's mission was to coordinate city-wide services for the poor in Philadelphia. Women members visited people in their homes to collect data. We also have, thanks to a gift from Philadelphia bookseller Michael Brown, a sheet of unused tickets the Society produced to give beggars. Each beggar was directed to take the ticket to the local ward office, so their case could be investigated. Hancock was one of many women who developed skills during their Civil War service that they later applied to philanthropic endeavors.

Social reformers of subsequent generations such as Jane Addams

Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity.

CENTRAL OFFICE, 1602 CHESTNUT STREET.

These tickets are intended to be given to EVERY STRANGER asking relief. Persons presenting one of these tickets at the Ward Office will be promptly and kindly aided, in urgent cases pending investigation; and afterwards, if found worthy, the most appropriate available relief will be procured for their permanent benefit.

When requested to do so, the Ward Superintendent will report the result of the investigation. Persons desiring to aid the poor directly, may have meritorious cases recommended to them by the Ward Associations with suggestions as to wise and efficient modes of relief.

Those who desire the best interests of the Poor will not give to strangers at their doors or on the street under any circumstances. They will do better to send such sums of money as they can spare to their Ward Association, and may be assured that no case will obtain, or be refused, relief without good reasons. Giving to strangers only encourages imposture and fraud.

Citizens are cordially asked to visit the office of their Ward Association to inspect its method of work, to learn its aims, and to procure investigation tickets for their own use.

Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity.

INVESTIGATION TICKET.

The Superintendent of the Ward Association named on the back of this Ticket is requested to examine the claims of the Bearer to relief; or to direct the same to the office of the ward where he or she resides.

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1255 (2000)

Philadelphia Society for Organizing Charity. Sheet of tickets (1880). Gift of Michael Brown.

(1860-1935) and the nascent field of social work generally came to rely on comprehensive approaches and scientific methodologies for legitimization. As traditional science became less accessible to non-specialists, many women found their niches as professional administrators in areas we broadly define as social sciences today. And the social sciences, by association, are often considered feminine.

The Library Company's holdings support research in many aspects of the broad topic of women and science during the 19th century – including the women writers of textbooks popularizing science, the negative portrayals of the educated woman in popular culture, the careers of women in medicine during the years when the laws of phrenology were significant organizing principles, and the emergence of scientific methodologies in philanthropy. Of particular note are the generous gifts of Charles E. Rosenberg over several decades – books, pamphlets, periodicals, and broadsides which touch on science, medicine, and women's history, sometimes singly and sometimes in combination, showing how various scientific theories threaded through the larger culture in many thought-provoking ways.

Cornelia S. King
Curator of Women's History

The Pattison Cloth Bookbinding Collection: Three New Additions

Following last year's gift of decorated papers on 19th-century books, Todd and Sharon Pattison presented us this year with their collection of early-19th-century cloth bindings with paper title labels on the spine or the front cover, fifty-eight titles ranging in date from 1826 to 1840. This group embodies a transitional period of bookbinding and provides us with more evidence that links evolution of the "boarded books" of the late 1700s to the case binding typical of the 19th-century machine-made book.

Mr. Pattison's many years of hands-on experience as a book conservator give him a unique sensitivity to the book as an object, and he recognized that these unassuming and plain-looking books had a lot of stories to tell. Early bookcloth was thin and floppy, difficult to handle when wet, and impossible to gold-tool. During the 1820s and 30s binders had to invent new techniques and find new ways to assemble, and then title, the cloth-covered volumes. What we observe with delight in this collection are the experiments, mistakes, and transitional



A group of books with paper labels from the Pattison Cloth Bookbinding Collection.

constructions that resulted from this dilemma. That's what makes this collection so fascinating.

Current evidence suggests that the first publishers' cloth bindings appeared in England in 1823 and in America in 1825. Bookbinders quickly understood that the traditional leather-binding techniques that had been practiced for generations were not well adapted to the increasingly popular new binding material, bookcloth. In the traditional manner, called an "in-boards" binding, first the boards were attached to the text-block, and then the covering material was applied. The introduction of bookcloth into the bindery precipitated a new style of binding called "case binding," where the boards were assembled and covered to create a "case" and in a final step the case was attached to the text-block. A closer look at this group allows us an opportunity to appreciate publishers' efforts to adapt to the new material. What we find are different kinds of transitional and experimental binding structures. While the manufacture of bookcloth was being perfected, the "case binding" method of construction gradually became standardized, and "in-boards" cloth bindings of this early period gradually disappeared. It is very unusual to find an "in-boards" structure on publishers' cloth bindings after 1840.

Twelve volumes in the collection show evidence of "in-boards" structure done up in cloth. Binders experimented using flimsy bookcloth, but manipulating the glue-soaked cloth so that it could be "turned-in" at the edges of the boards had to be difficult and frustrating, and the awkward results show this very clearly. The clue to identifying "in-boards" bindings is located underneath the paper on the inside of the cover at the edge where it hinges open. Sometimes the paper, called the "pastedown" is translucent enough to reveal how the book was assembled. In the case of an "in-boards" binding, paper "waste sheet" is observed to be caught *under* the cloth that wraps around the edges of the board, as shown in this illustration. These experiments provide remarkable evidence of the restructuring of the bookbinder's traditional way of life in the bindery. They ought to be preserved, but without knowledge of their significance, let alone their existence, they can be easily overlooked.

In the Pattison collection, we also find early versions of what would later be called a "case-binding," the structure that came to exemplify

the 19th-century machine-made book. Early attempts at case-binding achieved varied levels of success. The cloth was sometimes applied directly to the spine, but the spine would appear thin and lumpy. In a more successful method, the case was built out of three pieces – two cover boards and a spine strip, joined by a piece of cloth. As the methods of case-binding evolved, the potential for a neat, cheap, efficient, and streamlined bookbinding process became clear. In the ultimate expression of a case-binding, the textblock was produced on one production-line, and the “case” was assembled and decorated on a parallel track, then joined to the textblock in the final step. Workmen quickly assembled flat cases, while other workers folded and sewed texts. The finished cases were then applied to the text and a label was stuck on for the title. By the early 1840s, new machines were invented which enabled the stamping of designs in gold right on the flat cases, and bookcloth itself was being manufactured in an array of decorative colors and patterns. The modest, plain brown books of the 1820s and 30s quickly gave way to the decorative stamped bindings that the better equipped binderies began to crank out.

Together on the shelf, the fifty-eight volumes in this collection are plain and unadorned, but unified in appearance by the neutral colors and soft finishes of the cloth covers. The earliest bookcloths tend toward shades of brown and buff, but sometimes a beautiful purple color is revealed on the inside edges where the original cloth color was protected from fading. There are also examples of blue and green bookcloth, but during the early decades of its manufacture the color range is fairly limited. Characteristic of early bookcloth is the soft, unglazed finish. A few examples of a starched and glazed finish stand out in this collection and give a hint of how sophisticated bookcloth was to become. Bookcloth was produced with a variety of textured and patterned finishes, called “grains,” which changed throughout the 19th century, and a familiarity with the evolution of these grain patterns can be very useful in dating a binding. There are a few early bookcloth grains in the Pattison Collection; of special note are two examples of “moiré” and four imitation “morocco” grains. Both patterns are among the earliest bookcloth grain patterns in existence.

Of course the paper labels are a prominent feature of this collection. Unlike leather binding finished with gold-tooled lettering on the spine,

early bookcloth could not be successfully or consistently gold-tooled. But how to convey the book's title, author, and other information such as volume number and price? Paper spine labels have a long history, as the boarded books with paper labels from the 1780s confirm, and these early-19th-century "transitional" cloth bindings are a continuation of that style. Again, the color of the paper labels is generally a buff, but some of the paper labels have a glazed and colored finish. Sometimes a larger label with a ruled or patterned border would be applied to the front cover, but simple title labels pasted to the spine embellish the majority of this collection. The paper label was soon made obsolete by new bookbinding machinery and improvements in bookcloth manufacture. The arming press stamped a heated brass die into the hard glazed surface of the book cover, and soon, with the addition of gold foils, a wild array of stamped titles and designs became a standard feature of 19th-century cloth binding.

A second gift from the Pattisons was a miscellany supplementing their previous gifts. It includes embossed leather bindings, dating from 1825 to 1855, some not in Edwin Wolf's bibliography *From Gothic Windows to Peacocks*; books signed by their binders mostly by means of paper tickets or stamps in the cloth itself; and books with decorated endpapers or ribbon embossed cloth. This gift amounted to another 111 items. And lest our readers think we are only interested in books for their covers, we hasten to add that many of these titles are new to the collection, and others will replace our copies that have long since been rebound.

A third Pattison acquisition was a purchase, not a gift, but nonetheless welcome: small books, some of which exceed the 10-centimeter (about 4 inches) limit usually used by collectors and librarians to define a true miniature. They are, however, defined by more than their size. There are some 190 of them and nearly all have spines that are generously gilt from top to bottom; and more than three-quarters also have gilt edges, compared with a rather small percentage of other publishers' cloth at this time. In other words, these books are not only small, they are precious, or at least their bindings made them look so. They were intended to be gifts, but inexpensive ones, appropriate for a parent to give to a child, a teacher to a pupil, or clergyman to a newly married couple. They were tokens exchanged by friends or family mem-

bers who might be embarrassed to give a more expensive gift book, or simply unable to afford them. The term “gift book” is usually applied to the literary annuals that went on sale toward the end of the year for Christmas or New Year’s giving. One of the first of these was *The Atlantic Souvenir*, published by Carey and Lea from 1826 to 1832. Plainly bound copies sold for \$2.50 and a copy in an embossed morocco binding cost as much as \$4.50. By contrast, these miniature books cost between 31 and 38 cents. Some of the little books in the Pattison Collection are classified as gift books by F. W. Faxon, the bibliographer of the genre, because they were issued annually, or because they have the word “gift” or its cognates in their titles. An example is *The Philipena, or Friendship’s Token*, which appeared with some variation in title from 1846 to 1852. The title (according to the preface) is “derived from two Greek words, signifying love or friendship, and a gift or token.” The “neat little volume” is “inscribed to all those who, in the trifling gift of a Philipena, would keep alive the flame of friendship and affectionate regard.” That other “trifling” books in the Pattison Collection were also gift books is less obvious. Take for example William B. Tappan’s *Late and Early Poems* (Worcester, 1849). It has a gilt spine, front, and edges and a chromolithograph title page, but is it not just a little volume of poetry? Perhaps, but it has one of the surest signs of a gift book, an inscription reading “Miss H. H. Bartlett, from a Friend, 1851.” Or how about *Famous Men of Britain* (Boston, 1856) with its very formal inscription “Miss Florentina Buxtons Book, Presented by her brother S. L. Buxton, Danby, Vt., March the 6th 1858.” The significance of the date is certainly implied. But was it a birthday? A wedding? A long journey? These books expand the genre of the gift book, and suggest that it is not so much the content as the binding that distinguishes gift books from other publications.

Andrea Krupp, *Conservator*

Report of the Print Department: Traveling through Space and Time

During the 19th century, American visual culture reflected the concerns of the age: pride in technological achievements, horror regarding industrial accidents, optimism about longevity and a heavenly reward, anxiety concerning temptation and the consequences of sin, patriotism for the new nation, and enthusiasm for culture and civic life generally. Our year's acquisitions touch on all these themes and more.

One of the main sources of national pride was landmark achievements in transportation, such as the linking of eastern and western railroad lines in 1869, thus making transcontinental travel possible for the first time. The Pennsylvania Central Railroad's gorgeous circa 1869 advertisement, featured on the front cover of this report, captures the heroic spirit that pervaded the industry. Pennsylvania Central (also known as the Pennsylvania Railroad) had much in which to take pride. By 1870 the Pennsylvania Central had pushed as far west as Chicago. With only five stops between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, the trip from Philadelphia to Chicago took a mere twenty-four hours. The Pullman Palace Car Company provided sleeping cars so travelers who could pay the price could expect both speed and comfort.

Matthews & Warren of Buffalo, New York, produced the advertisement, which we purchased in part through the generosity of Trustees Robert DeMento and Howell Rosenberg. Long-time readers of our Annual Reports may remember that we featured another Matthews & Warren print, a circa 1870 Franklin Printing Ink Works advertisement, in our 1993 report. The text along the bottom of our new acquisition reads: "Unequaled in Time" and "Unrivalled in Scenery." While speed may be a difficult concept to capture in an image, attractive scenery seems fairly straightforward. The accompanying images, however, are odd at least to 21st-century eyes. Traveling near Pittsburgh's East Liberty cattle yards (depicted in the large photograph on the left of the advertisement) presented passengers with the sight and smell of hundreds of head of cattle crammed into pens. "Looking down the Juniata, from Huntingdon" (the small photograph in the lower right corner) emphasized the tracks and the ramshackle structures along the railroad lines, rather than the natural beauty of the Juniata River. The view of

the bridge spanning the Susquehanna River north of Harrisburg does a better job in capturing the scenic countryside. These photographs may be the work of William T. Purviance, who became official photographer of the Pennsylvania Railroad in 1867. The small lithographic vignettes in the advertisement depicting well-dressed men and women approaching architecturally-imposing railroad stations gave potential passengers hope that their travel experience would enhance their social status in addition to providing transportation.

While the promise of speed could attract train travelers, speed could also have disastrous consequences as depicted in a lithograph donated this year by David Doret entitled *Awful Accident on the North Pennsylvania Railroad on Thursday July 17th, 1856*. A northbound excursion train filled with school children from Philadelphia sped up rather than pulling off on a siding to allow the regularly scheduled southbound train the right of way on the single track. The two trains collided head on near Ambler killing almost sixty people and injuring about one hundred. Newspaper articles described the grisly accident scene in grim detail, and prints provided a visual representation to the morbidly curious. The print we acquired this year emphasizes the physical damage done to the trains as they jumped the tracks. Black smoke fills the sky and swaths of applied red color draw the viewers' attention to the fire that engulfed the two trains. Another lithograph of the accident in our collection focuses on the human toll of the disaster with mangled bodies strewn about the scene, and includes a list of the dead and injured below the image.

Speed of a less destructive nature is the subject of another acquisition. Donated by the late S. Robert Teitelman, a long-time Library Company member, the 1836 lithographic cartoon on the next page satirizes the four presidential candidates: William Henry Harrison, Vice President Martin Van Buren, Daniel Webster, and Hugh Lawson White, each represented by a horse bearing his face. With the exception of Van Buren (a Democrat), these men belonged to the Whig Party, whose strategy for the 1836 election was to run candidates from different areas of the country against Van Buren in the hope that their regional popularity would keep him from winning the presidency. The final outcome of the race would then be determined by the House of Representatives. Each rider represents a different section of the coun-



Edward Williams Clay, attrib. artist, *Political Race Course-Union Track-Fall Races*, 1836, lithograph (New York: H.R. Robinson, 1836). Gift of S. Robert Teitelman.

try. Harrison's horse, for example, is ridden by a frontiersman, an appropriate symbol for a candidate hailing from Ohio. Harrison leads the race with Van Buren (ridden by Andrew Jackson, the President under whom Van Buren served) following close behind. Webster brings up the rear. The actual outcome found Van Buren handily winning the presidential race over Harrison with White and Webster coming in a distant third and fourth. Depicting candidates on racing animals was not unique to this cartoon. An illustrated 1836 Democratic election ticket from Ohio in the Library of Congress's collection shows the four candidates riding competing pigs.

An election year provides fodder for satirists, and artist Edward Williams Clay and publisher Henry R. Robinson took full advantage of the opportunity to mock the candidates and the issues in their work. Their collaboration produced at least four cartoons skewering election-year politics in 1836.

Moving not through space, but through one's time on earth serves as the focus of other material we acquired this year. We continue to add

Life and Age of Man and *of Woman* prints to our collection, including an undated variant given to us by David Doret of Albert Alden's 1835 engraving *Life & Age of Woman*, featured in our 2004 Annual Report. We also purchased a circa 1858 Currier & Ives print of *Life and Age of Man* complementing a slightly earlier Currier print of the same subject already in our collection. The circa 1900 German chromolithograph reproduced here depicts men moving through their life cycle in about the same way as in earlier prints. In this European example, also given to us by David Doret, life is divided into ten-year increments from birth to one hundred years, with men reaching their apex of power at age fifty. Unlike most American examples in which women care for infants and centenarian men, women, with the exception of Eve tempting Adam with an apple, appear in the German print only during courtship and the early years of marriage. *Life and Age of Man* prints and their female counterparts provided Christian men and women with a visual guide to appropriate behavior as they traveled through life. Presumably lead-



Das Stufenalter Des Menschen [Stages of Man], chromolithograph, ca. 1900. Gift of David Doret.

ing a good life led to longevity, although the reward of becoming the laughingstock of children depicted as the fate of the ninety-year-old in the German print seems not worth the wait.

Other prints indicate that those who stumbled away from a good Christian life and gave in to temptation faced a fate much worse than an abbreviated journey through life. Hideous torments and eternal damnation awaited life's travelers who strayed from the righteous path as depicted in our recently purchased print entitled *The Great Scene of Time and Eternity with the Friend of the Bible*. In 1864 leading Philadelphia printer P. S. Duval & Son produced this massive colored lithograph measuring over four feet wide by three feet high. Prints of this scale are rare, for they were extremely difficult for 19th-century printers to produce. This example was most likely used for didactic purposes; it is attached to a wooden dowel and is large enough to be seen by students even in the back of a classroom.

In *The Great Scene of Time and Eternity*, attentive students would have found a rich and complex scene very much in the tradition of genre prints known as "The Two Ways," "New Jerusalem," and "The Broad and Narrow Way." Men and women, crosses strapped to their backs, travel the uphill road to Heaven, depicted as a city with neo-Classical and neo-Byzantine buildings, over which angels carry biblical inscriptions. Adam and Eve luxuriating in Eden by the Heavenly path served as a constant reminder of the glories awaiting the pure of heart and deed. In contrast, the path to Hell is filled with travelers unable to avoid lust, greed, and other temptations lining the road and who find themselves slipping into the fiery furnace of damnation.

Unfortunately, we know little about the origins of *The Great Scene of Time and Eternity*. In a statement printed below the image, Henry Crone claimed copyright protection (on what, we are not quite sure, as neither the image's concept nor the printing process was original) and offered a \$400 reward to anyone reporting infringements. Federal census data identifies Henry C. Crone, a 42-year-old minister of the gospel, as living in Butler County, Ohio, with his German-born wife and three small children in 1870. Crone's children were all born in Ohio during the 1860s, so although Crone probably was living in the Buckeye state when the print was made, he may indeed have been the person who commissioned the print, since lithographer P. S. Duval &



The Great Scene of Time and Eternity with the Friend of the Bible, color lithograph (Philadelphia: P. S. Duval & Son, 1864).

Son had a professional reputation extending far beyond the Philadelphia area.

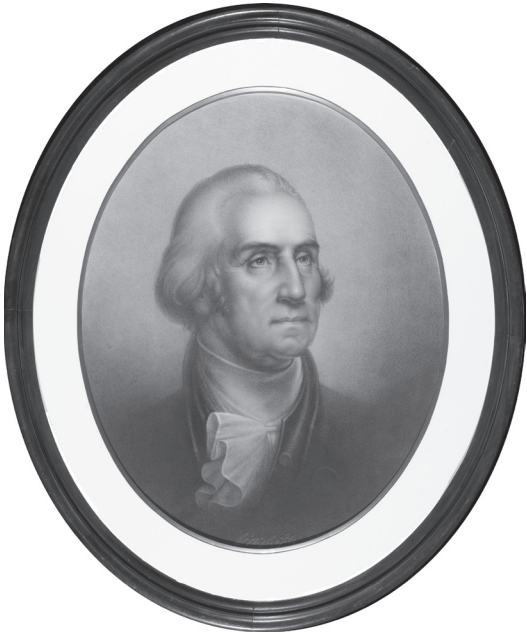
P. S. Duval & Son was, in fact, one of America's leading printing establishments. During the 1840s Duval had been one of the country's early experimenters in color printing. By the time of a devastating fire in 1856, Duval was operating the largest printing establishment in Philadelphia, running thirty-two presses able to print up to nine colors each. After the fire, which destroyed \$50,000 to \$100,000 worth of assets including stones, presses, and prints, Duval and his son, determined to rebuild the business, assured customers that "all works appertaining to the various branches of Lithographic drawing, Engraving, Transferring, Printing, plain and in colors, are executed in this establishment in the best style of the art." Employing most of these techniques, including color printing, transferring text from a printed Bible, and lithographic drawing "in the best style of the art," *The Great Scene of Time and Eternity* vividly demonstrated that the firm of Duval & Son had rebuilt their firm successfully.

The fire in P. S. Duval's establishment plays a part in the story of another recent Library Company acquisition. Donald Neiman donated the magnificent George Washington lithographic portrait illustrated here. Artist Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860) hired P. S. Duval to print and distribute the portrait in 1856. The project, however, seemed doomed from its inception. In an 1859 letter, Peale recounted the endless stumbling blocks he encountered with this portrait. His initial drawing on stone of Washington sustained damaged in a studio accident. That stone was salvaged, but had the misfortune to be in Duval's shop during his disastrous fire in which it was, according to Peale, "reduced to powder." Too strong an acid ruined Peale's next Washington portrait on stone. A third attempt also yielded disappointing results because of "the Printer's inexperience in treating so large a work." Dissatisfied with the appearance of Duval's printing work, Peale apparently acquired the prints from Duval and finished them himself with "Italian Crayon," creating what he called monochromic drawings. Rembrandt Peale then began advertising the monochromes for sale at \$25 each.

Rembrandt Peale was one of America's early experimenters in lithography, making his first attempt using the process in the mid-1820s. He may have welcomed the challenge of expanding his artistic

talents in a new direction. He probably also saw an opportunity to make money by reproducing his own paintings, particularly his recently completed *Patriae Pater* or “porthole portrait” of George Washington. Peale’s experiments with lithography proved successful, and in 1827 the Franklin Institute awarded him a silver medal for “the best specimen of lithography to be executed in the United States” for a portrait of Washington.

Peale returned to the subject of Washington time and again throughout his career. In antebellum America George Washington represented unity in a fracturing nation, and Rembrandt Peale began receiving numerous requests for copies of his Washington portraits. Near the end of his life, Rembrandt wrote to his brother Rubens: “[I] feel that my Vocation is to multiply the Countenance of Washington.” He also delivered popular illustrated lectures about Washington and his portraits to historical societies and civic organizations including a June 1857 lecture at the New-York Historical Society in which he displayed a Wash-

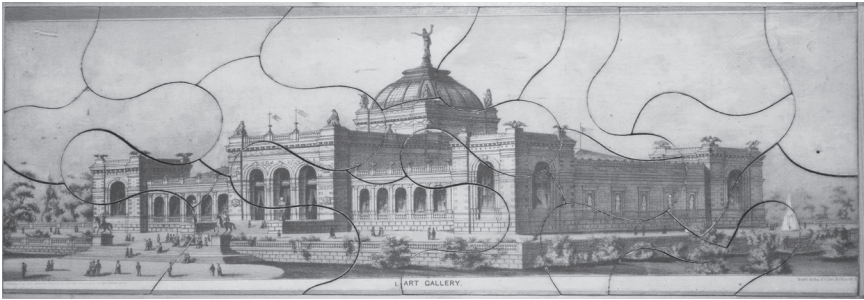


Rembrandt Peale, artist, *George Washington*, crayon lithograph (Philadelphia: P. S. Duval & Co., 1856). Gift of Donald Neiman.

ington monochrome like our new acquisition. Peale may have failed in his lofty attempt to create national harmony through an appreciation for a shared past under Washington’s leadership, but he certainly succeeded in demonstrating his skills in various artistic media as he sought to create a “standard national likeness” of George Washington.

Just as Rembrandt Peale in a small way tried to hold a splintering America together through a shared vision of the past, the Centennial Exposition in a bold, expansive way

tried to heal a shattered America by celebrating a vision of a bright future propelled by displays of the country's inventiveness and industrial might. As Centennial fervor swept the country, businesses saw the opportunity to use patriotic themes and images of the exposition itself to stimulate consumerism. David Doret donated the wonderful wooden chromolithographic Centennial puzzle illustrated here. Manufacturer George Chinnock of Brooklyn, New York, promised buyers "endless amusement" in their attempts to put together the five different puzzles offered as a boxed set. Each box contained views of the Art Gallery (reproduced here), Machinery Hall, Horticultural Hall, Agricultural Hall, and the Main Building, with each image cut into approximately twenty pieces. Perhaps keeping in mind the puzzle's intended young audience, the artist included colorful flags blowing from atop the buildings and fairgoers walking and riding around the paths surrounding the structures, giving the scenes a sense



"Art Gallery" from *The Great American Centennial Exhibition Puzzle Blocks in Sectional Parts*, chromolithograph (New York: Brett Lithograph Co., 1875). Gift of David Doret.

of liveliness and excitement. Mr. Doret also donated to our collection the same five chromolithographs as unmounted and uncut prints.

City dwellers and visitors did not have to attend the Centennial Exposition to see great works of art in Philadelphia. In 1876 the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, closed since the 1870 sale of its Chestnut Street building, reopened on North Broad Street in a newly designed Furness and Hewitt building. This year Trustee Martha Morris donated the late-19th-century watercolor reproduced on the previous page depicting the public enjoying an art exhibition in the Academy's splendid gallery space.



S. F. Yeager, artist, *Interior of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, ink, pencil, watercolor, gouache, late 19th century. Gift of Martha H. Morris.

Our recent acquisition is clearly signed by a S. F. Yeager (who remains an elusive figure), but it bears a striking resemblance to an illustration signed by Charles Dater Weldon reproduced as a wood engraving in the June 11, 1887, issue of *Harper's Weekly*. The Weldon illustration, entitled *A Free Sunday at the Philadelphia Academy of the Fine Arts*, and the Yeager watercolor both emphasize the crowd of well-dressed men, women, and children visiting the Academy's second-floor gallery. Parents point out particular art work to their young children, while other adults pensively gaze at the paintings or consult handy guidebooks for information about the art.

In 1880 Joseph Temple left a large bequest to the Academy specifying that half of the bequest's income be used to keep the Academy open free of charge at least one day a week. A few other Philadelphia institutions including the zoo, the Mercantile Library, and the Library Company had begun opening their doors to the public on Sundays, so the Academy decided to follow suit. The experiment was overwhelmingly successful, with the Academy claiming to have 15,000 visitors stopping by their first open Sunday afternoon. "In Philadelphia," declared the *Harper's Weekly* article, "the people seem to thoroughly appreciate the pictures, and one constantly hears their expressions of delight." We could say the same of our own readers in the Print Department.

Sarah J. Weatherwax
Curator of Prints & Photographs

Service and Administration

Our principal exhibition of 2007 was “In Living Color: Collecting Color-Plate Books at the Library Company of Philadelphia,” curated by Librarian James Green. This visually arresting exhibition surveyed the growth of our collection of color-plate books through the lens of the collectors and librarians who had acquired them, from the mid-18th century up to the present. The display included some of the finest color-plate books produced in Britain and America from the 1760s to the 1890s, featuring works by such artists as Mark Catesby, William Birch, Alexander Wilson, Joshua Shaw, John James Audubon, and Richard Bowdler Sharpe. Among the many other programs and exhibitions we presented last year were:

- ☛ a display of highlights from our Afro-Americana Collection mounted at Swann Auction Galleries in New York City in conjunction with Swann’s annual sales of printed, manuscript, and fine art African-Americana
- ☛ the annual conference of our Program in Early American Economy and Society on “The Panic of 1837: Getting By and Going Under in a Decade of Crisis”
- ☛ the annual meeting of our Junto group of supporters of our acquisition fund, which featured Trustee Michael Zinman speaking about his many collecting interests and gifts to the Library Company
- ☛ book launches for *The Oxford Companion to American Food and Drink*, edited by Andrew F. Smith; *In the Shadow of the Civil War: Passmore Williamson and the Rescue of Jane Johnson*, by Nat Brandt and Yanna Kroyt Brandt; and *A Nation of Counterfeiters: Capitalists, Con Men, and the Making of a Nation*, by former research fellow Stephen H. Mihm
- ☛ a members’ trip to the Philadelphia Museum of Art to see special exhibitions and tour the new library in the Museum’s recently-renovated Perelman Building, and a trip to Princeton University to visit the William H. Scheide Library and the University Art Museum

- our Annual Dinner featuring François Furstenburg, author of *In the Name of the Father: Washington's Legacy, Slavery, and the Making of a Nation*
- an appraisal day, at which experts from Doyle New York appraised books, manuscripts, prints, and photographs brought in by members

Also last year the Library Company was privileged to be selected by the National Book Foundation as the venue for the announcement of the finalists for the National Book Awards. We held two events on that occasion. “Winning Words: The History and Meaning of Book Prizes” was a three-way conversation among Harold Augenbraum, the director of the National Book Foundation; Carlin Romano, critic at large for the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and literary critic for the *Philadelphia Inquirer*; and James English, a University of Pennsylvania professor who wrote *The Economy of Prestige*, a book about cultural prizes. The following day we held the main event, the announcement of the finalists itself, with comments by University of the Arts professor Camille Paglia. Both events had enthusiastic audiences and garnered a great deal of publicity for the Library Company.

Work continued or concluded last year on several important cataloging projects. We finished a project that had been supported for several years by the National Endowment for the Humanities and the William Penn Foundation on the McAllister Collection of Civil War-era Ephemera, a huge gathering of roughly 50,000 Civil War-era posters, broadsides, pieces of ephemera, graphics, and manuscripts compiled by 19th-century Philadelphia antiquarian John A. McAllister (1822-1896). Among its many results is that the Library Company website now provides access to the twenty-nine McAllister manuscript collections via the finding aids (in addition to their individual catalog records in WolfPAC that also have links to the finding aids). These indispensable finding aids were created by the incomparable project archivist Sandra Markham, who has since moved on to the Beinecke Library at Yale. Already we have seen increased demand for the McAllister Collection thanks to these tools, most likely because their appearance on our website puts them within reach of Google. Of special interest have been the insolvency petitions in McAllister’s collection of Philadelphia court records. This highly successful project enabled us to make widely

accessible for the first time what is possibly the largest collection of printed items produced for the home front during the Civil War. And as part of the William Penn Foundation grant for the project, we have also acquired a new digital asset management system that will make digital images of our collection as accessible as our catalog records.

With the support of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation we are completing the retrospective conversion of several important parts of our holdings in order to add records to our online catalog. Last year our catalogers upgraded or created many records, giving us much better access to volumes in our bindings collections, our Wing (i.e., 17th-century) books, our sheet music collection, and the books from Franklin's personal library. By year-end 2007 only a few months remained before the successful conclusion of this multi-year project, which is for the first time making records for all of our pre-1880 printed works and most of our graphics collections accessible in the online catalogs.

In 2007, we also began a new NEH-funded project, which will result in our unique pre-1820 American imprints becoming part of the fully searchable Internet databases known as Digital Evans and Digital Shaw-Shoemaker, both marketed by Readex (now a division of News-Bank, Inc.). Holly Phelps is the principal cataloger for the Early American Imprints project, and she handles the communication with the English Short Title Catalog (ESTC) program as well, so our holdings will be represented in the ESTC catalog that is available worldwide via the Internet without subscription. Thanks to our many funders and our talented cataloging staff, the Library Company's profile in the research community is continually raised as our bibliographic records are added to international online union catalogs, and more substantive and descriptive information about our collections is added to our website.

Also in 2007 we embarked on another multi-year and multi-faceted project, funded by a generous grant from the William Penn Foundation, with additional support from the Independence Foundation. "Philadelphia on Stone: The First 50 Years of Commercial Lithography" will explore 19th-century lithography in Philadelphia by documenting the lives of lithographic artists and printers, and the work they produced. Over the next three years the project will examine the impact of a new method of printmaking on the iconography of the city in a period of tremendous growth and change. It will illuminate Phil-

Philadelphia's transformation from a seaport into a leading manufacturing center and the impact these changes had on the built environment and on its inhabitants by examining an important body of work visually documenting the city. The four major outcomes of the project will be:

- ☛ A survey of seven institutional collections for lithographic views of Philadelphia created by local firms in the first fifty years of commercial lithography (1828-1878), resulting in a digital catalogue of about eight hundred views
- ☛ A web-published illustrated biographical dictionary documenting the careers of over five hundred commercial lithographic artists and printers working in Philadelphia
- ☛ An exhibition at the Library Company on 19th-century lithography, on view from March to September 2010 with accompanying public programs
- ☛ A heavily-illustrated book containing a collection of thematic essays on 19th-century Philadelphia lithography by Library Company curators and other scholars in the field

There was a development that somewhat complicated our cataloging efforts last year – the merger of the organizations with the two major online bibliographical databases – the Research Libraries Group (RLG) and the Online Computer Library Center (OCLC), resulting in the integration of their two databases. Thanks to a concerted lobbying effort by the rare book community (which had been contributing very detailed cataloging records to the RLG database for decades), the new entity (called OCLC) now displays full rare book records, a feature not available in the “old” OCLC catalog.

The Library Company has continued to benefit from its association with the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries (PACSCL). With support from the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, PACSCL is conducting a survey of unprocessed and under-processed manuscript collections. The survey will analyze the physical processing and access needs of collections, and each collection will receive a research rating, intended as a way of prioritizing future fuller processing. Most of the Library Company's manuscripts are deposited at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and were included in that institution's own survey, but several collections, including the Library Company's

institutional archives, had not yet been surveyed. Over the course of the project, the survey team of Christine DiBella, John Armstrong, and Jenny Barr created brief records and mounted them in an internet accessible database. The survey results will form the foundation for future archival processing projects.



Our research fellowship program, now more than twenty years old, continues to flourish. From that first summer of 1987, when we awarded a handful of small stipends to support one month of research, the program has grown to the point where we now award about \$150,000 in stipends each year. These funds come from several sources: income from the endowment we began to build in the late 1980s to support the basic program; income from other endowed fellowship funds that allowed us to increase the scope of the program, such as the PEAES fellowships (not only short-term but also year-long dissertation and post-doctoral fellowships) and The Albert M. Greenfield Foundation Dissertation Fellowship; renewable grants, such as the support we now receive from NEH for post-doctoral fellowships; and annual gifts that support work in particular fields, such as the Reese Company Fellowship in bibliography, and the Helfand Fellowships, one in the history of medicine and one in visual culture. Through all these means, we keep a steady stream of researchers from many fields passing through our Reading Rooms and turning out the latest works of scholarship, and in the process further publicizing the riches that await anyone who visits 1314 Locust Street.

For the 2007-2008 academic year the Library Company and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania jointly awarded twenty-one one-month fellowships to support research in American history and culture, and the Library Company independently awarded an additional seventeen fellowships, ranging from one to four-and-a-half months.

The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Fellows were:

- Edward Andrews, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of New Hampshire: *Prodigal Sons: Indigenous Missionaries in the British Atlantic, 1640-1790*

- ☛ Marie Basile, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of California, Davis: *Churches Revised: Ethnic Communities and the First Great Awakening in Philadelphia*
- ☛ Dr. Michael Les Benedict, Department of History, Ohio State University: *"The Favored Hour": Constitutional Politics in the Era of Reconstruction*
- ☛ Catherine Cangany, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Michigan: *Frontier Seaport: Detroit's Transformation into an Atlantic Entrepot, 1750-1825*
- ☛ John Davies, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Delaware: *Class, Culture, and Color: The Impact of Black Saint Domingians on Free African-American Communities in the Early Republic*
- ☛ Dr. Janet Dean, Department of English and Cultural Studies, Bryant University: *Complex Marriage and Plain Talk: Free Love, Free Speech, and Sex Radicalism in the 19th-Century U.S.*
- ☛ Dr. Jeannine De Lombard, Department of English, University of Toronto: *Ebony Idols: Fugitive Slaves in Britain*
- ☛ Yvonne Fabella, Ph.D. Candidate in History, State University of New York at Stony Brook: *Jealous Creoles and "Priestesses of Venus": Gender, Race and the Negotiation of Identity in Colonial Saint Domingue, 1763-1789*
- ☛ Shona Johnston, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Georgetown University: *The Catholic Anglo-Atlantic in the Seventeenth Century*
- ☛ Dr. Daniel Mandell, Department of History, Truman State University: *"All Men Are Created Equal": The Evolution of the Concept of Equality in America, 1790-1860*
- ☛ Dr. Justine Murison, Department of English, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign: *States of Mind: The Politics of Psychology in American Literature, 1780-1860*
- ☛ Andrew Newman, Ph.D. Candidate in English, State University of New York at Stony Brook: *Language, Literacy and Native Land: Encountering the Delawares*
- ☛ Dr. Sue Peabody, Department of History, Washington State University: *Free Soil in the Atlantic World: Philadelphia Connections*

- ☛ Douglas Shadle, Ph.D. Candidate in Musicology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: *Bringing Music to a Nation: Philadelphia's Musical Fund Society and Its Patrons, 1820-1846*
- ☛ Smadar Shtuhl, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Temple University: *For the Love of One's Country: The Construction of a Gendered Memory, 1860-1914*
- ☛ Todd Thompson, Ph.D. Candidate in English, University of Illinois at Chicago: *American Satire and Political Change from Franklin to Lincoln*
- ☛ Emily Westkaemper, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Rutgers University: *Martha Washington Goes Shopping: Mass Culture's Gendering of History, 1910-1950*

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

- ☛ Dr. Nicole Eustace, Department of History, New York University: *War Ardor: Sex and Sentiment in the War of 1812*
- ☛ Dr. Sean Harvey, Department of History, College of William and Mary: *American Languages: Natives and Philology, Nation and Empire, 1783-1857*

The Barra Foundation International Fellows were:

- ☛ Dr. Matthew Pethers, King's College London: *Revolutionary Politics and the American Theater, 1750-1800*
- ☛ Dr. Maurizio Valsania, Department of History, University of Torino: *The Curse of History: Leaders' Distrust of American History, 1783-1828*

The McLean Contributionship Fellow was:

- ☛ Joseph Adelman, Ph.D. Candidate in History, The Johns Hopkins University: *The Business of Politics: Printers and the Emergence of Political Communications Networks, 1765-1776*

The Reese Fellow in American Bibliography was:

- ☛ Dr. Michael Winship, Department of English, University of Texas at Austin: *A History of the Book in America: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*

The American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies Fellow was:

- ☛ Matthew Garrett, Ph.D. Candidate in English, Stanford University: *Episodic Poetics in the Early Republic, 1787-1837*

The Fellow in the Program in Early American Medicine, Science, and Society was:

- ☛ Courtney Fullilove, Ph.D. Candidate in History, Columbia University: *"Chemical Compositions" in American Patent Practice, 1787-1862*

The Fellow in the Program in Early American Visual Cultures was:

- ☛ Dalila Scruggs, Department of History of Art and Architecture, Harvard University: *The Love of Liberty Has Brought Us Here: The American Colonization Society and the Imaging of African-American Settlers in Liberia, West Africa*

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

- ☛ Dr. Lucia McMahon, Department of History, William Paterson University: *Merely as the Equals of Man: Education, Equality, and Difference in the Early American Republic*
- ☛ Dr. Peter Reed, Department of English, Florida State University: *Captivating Performances: Staging Atlantic Underclasses, 1777-1852*

The Albert M. Greenfield Foundation Dissertation Fellows were:

- ☛ Will Mackintosh, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Michigan: *A Restless Nation: Travel and Social Mobility in the United States, 1790-1865*

- ☛ Joseph Rezek, Ph.D. Candidate in English, University of California, Los Angeles: *Tales from Elsewhere: The Transatlantic Circulation of Anglophone Fiction, 1800-1850*

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

The Post-Doctoral Fellows were:

- ☛ Dr. Jonathan Chu, Department of History, University of Massachusetts-Boston: *Where's Mine? The Legal and Economic Impact of the American Revolution*
- ☛ Dr. Michelle Craig McDonald, Department of History, Stockton College: *Regional Reliance: Coffee, the Caribbean, and the Early American Economy, 1765-1825*

The Dissertation Fellow was:

- ☛ Jeffrey Kaja, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor: *Economic Development and the Evolution of Transportation Systems in Early Pennsylvania, 1675-1800*

The Short-Term Fellows were:

- ☛ Joanna Cohen, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Pennsylvania: *"Millions of Luxurious Citizens": Consumption and Citizenship in New York and Philadelphia, 1815-1876*
- ☛ Joe Conway, Ph.D. Candidate in English & American Literature/American Culture Studies, Washington University at St. Louis: *The Hard Value of U.S. Fiction in an Age of Domestic Panic, 1837-1857*
- ☛ Dr. Max Edling, Department of History, Uppsala University: *Financing the Mexican War*
- ☛ Michelle Mormul, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Delaware: *Philadelphia's Linen Merchants, 1765 to 1815*
- ☛ Brian Phillips Murphy, Ph.D. Candidate in History, University of Virginia: *The Politics Corporations Make: Interests, Institutions, and the Formation of States and Parties in New York, 1783-1850*



Our staff continued their high level of public service and professional development. The Director continued serving on the Boards of the Benjamin Franklin Tercentenary (which will not complete its work until 2008) and the Civil War History Consortium; on the Advisory Council of the McNeil Center for Early American Studies; on the Editorial Advisory Board of the Charles Willson Peale Family Papers at the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; on the Academic Affairs Committee of Winterthur Museum & Country Estate; and on the Committee on Library of the American Philosophical Society. He also completed his term of service on the Board of the Abraham Lincoln Foundation.

For Librarian James Green, the celebration of the Franklin Tercentenary extended well past 2006. In 2007, he delivered a lecture on Franklin before the Colophon Club in San Francisco and at Rare Book School in Charlottesville. The latter was a special honor as the lecture was RBS's 500th lecture. In December, Mr. Green and University of Pennsylvania English professor (and Library Company Trustee) Peter Stallybrass created a variant edition of their 2006 Library Company exhibition "Benjamin Franklin, Writer and Printer" for display at the Grolier Club in New York. On the other side of the Atlantic, Mr. Green's essay "Benjamin Franklin, Imprimeur" appeared in *Benjamin Franklin, Homme de Science, Homme du Monde* (Paris Musées, 2007). He also delivered a paper on the book trade in early America at the conference of the Economic History Association in Austin and mounted the exhibition "Living Color: Collecting Color Plate Books at the Library Company," described above.

Curator of Printed Books Wendy Woloson presented papers at the American Studies Association's conference in Philadelphia (on junk shops) and at the annual symposium at the Historic New Orleans Collection (on sugar), as well as organizing a session at the Society for Historians of the Early American Republic conference in Worcester. Her article "In Hock: Pawning in Early America" appeared in *The Journal of the Early Republic*. Ms. Woloson also continued to teach printmaking at the Fleisher Art Memorial.

For the Cataloging Department, a significant event in 2007 was the merger of RLG and OCLC, mentioned above. The recent updating of cataloging rules and continually increasing pace of technological change have made staff development more important than ever. In an effort to keep up, Ruth Hughes, Holly Phelps, and Alison Warner attended the annual conference of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section of the American Library Association in Baltimore. Ruth Hughes then went on to the annual conference of the American Library Association in Washington, D.C. Over the past year, those three catalogers, supplemented by their colleagues Rachel D'Agostino, Cornelia King, and Linda August, cataloged 2,993 rare books, 409 stack books, and 88 periodicals. Of these, 1,391 titles required original records that were contributed to OCLC in addition to our online catalog WolfPAC.

In the Reading Room Phillip Lapsansky and his colleagues served 1,924 readers, in the process paging 5,235 volumes, supplying 6,393 photocopies, and answering over 900 phone, mail, and email reference queries. Mr. Lapsansky curated two mini exhibitions on African American history at the Swann Galleries in New York and represented the Library Company at the Civil War History Consortium and at Pennsylvania's Quest for Freedom program. Reference Librarian Cornelia King worked with volunteers Emily Toner and Edwin Thompson on the Women's Portraits website and the Comic Valentine records in ImPAC. Reading Room Assistant Linda August prepared the text for the online exhibition highlighting the Art and Artifacts Collection, with help from Ian VandenBeukel, an intern from Haverford College (see www.librarycompany.org/artifacts). Ms. August also curated the "Treasures from the Vault" mini-exhibit, which featured objects currently in storage.

The Print Department staff assisted 204 readers, pulled 3,078 items, answered 294 research inquiries, made 1,104 photocopies, and filled 398 photo orders with a total of 1,491 images. The entire departmental staff attended the North American Print Conference held in Philadelphia, at which both Curator Sarah Weatherwax and Associate Curator Jennifer Ambrose presented papers. The staff also all contributed entries to the *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photographers* (Routledge, 2007). Ms. Weatherwax represented the Library Company at the Print Council of America's annual meeting in Washington, D.C.

Ms. Ambrose took a studio class on stone lithography as part of the *Philadelphia on Stone* project that she leads and co-authored an article appearing in *Oil-Industry History*. Senior Curatorial Associate Erika Piola began surveying and cataloging the lithographic collections of the Library Company and other local repositories for *Philadelphia on Stone*. She also presented a paper about her work with the McAllister Collection at the joint conference of the Popular Association and the American Culture Association. Charlene Peacock, our Print Department Assistant, left us to pursue a master's degree in Library and Information Science at Rutgers University, and Linda Wisniewski stepped into that job in September. Ms. Wisniewski also curated a small exhibition at the library featuring a 19th-century photograph collection.

In addition to maintaining the Library Company's network and website, Information Technology Manager Nicole Scalessa created the online version of both the "Living Color" exhibition and the Art and Artifacts Collection exhibition. She attended a conference in Washington, D.C., sponsored by Network World on current IT issues and state-of-the-art products. Ms. Scalessa also was featured in *Piecework Magazine* in an article on collecting crochet work and implements; she has become a recognized expert in this area after curating the 2001 Library Company exhibition on 19th-century needlework and publishing several articles.

The Conservation Department – comprising Chief of Conservation Jennifer Rosner and Conservators Andrea Krupp and Alice Austin, aided for part of the year by Sharon Hildebrand – treated 706 items and installed two major exhibitions and numerous smaller exhibitions. They also undertook a project, generously funded by Michael Zinman, of scanning all 4,000 books in our Nineteenth-Century Cloth Database. Ms. Rosner and Ms. Krupp both spoke at the Seminar on American Bookbinding History, and all were active in the Delaware Valley Chapter of the Guild of Book Workers (with Ms. Rosner and Ms. Austin attending the Guild's Standards Seminar in Houston).

Many of our projects benefitted from the fine work of interns and volunteers. Josie Smith, a library school student at Drexel, worked with Ms. Hughes on descriptions of manuscripts related to economic history. Sarah Nathan, a Yale undergraduate, worked with Ms. Hughes on our Mellon-funded retrospective conversion project, and with Ms.

Peacock on requests for reproductions of items in the collections. Ian VandenBeukel, an intern from Haverford College's John B. Hurford '60 Humanities Center, assisted Ms. August on the online exhibition showcasing the Art and Artifacts Collection. Volunteers Selma Kessler, Louise Beardwood, and Ann Condon contributed more than 550 hours to the Print Department, creating collection inventories, rehousing materials, and researching lithographers through Philadelphia city directories for *Philadelphia on Stone*. Mrs. Kessler also curated a small exhibition featuring Philadelphia views on sheet music covers. And Emily Toner, an art history student at Brown University, and Edwin Thompson, a library school student at Clarion University, volunteered in the reading room.

Under the guidance of Development Officer Christina Deemer, Development Associate Sharon Thompson-Nowak, and Publicity, Events, and Programs Coordinator Debbie Shapiro produced the *Annual Report*, two newsletters, eleven mailings to the Library Company's 900+ members, ten e-newsletters, and fourteen grant proposals. They also coordinated more than twenty events. The members of the administrative team are remarkable for their resourcefulness, creativity, and grace under pressure.

Chief of Maintenance & Security Alfred Dallasta kept both the Library Company's buildings in tip-top order. In addition to the regular daily routine, there are always events, conferences, and seminars to plan for, so life is never totally calm. But Receptionist Charlene Knight helps keep the Library Company on a good course.

John C. Van Horne
Director

Appreciation

During 2007 the Library Company received, and acknowledges with gratitude, many contributions in the form of materials for the permanent collections, annual dues for operations, and grants and gifts for endowment, programs, and special projects, some of which are listed here.

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<i>James Logan, 1674-1751, Bookman Extraordinary</i> (1971)	\$15.00
<i>Made in America, Printmaking 1760-1860</i> (1973)	\$15.00
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<i>The Library of James Logan, 1674-1751</i> (1974; cloth)	\$45.00
<i>Quarter of a Millennium: The Library Company, 1731-1981</i> (1981)	\$30.00
<i>Philadelphia ReVisions: The Print Department Collects</i> (1983)	\$15.00
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BACK COVER: Samuel Jennings, *Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences*. Oil on canvas, London 1792. Gift of the artist.

