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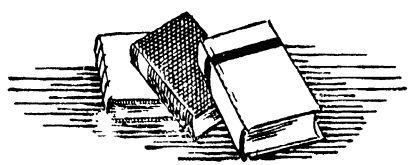
The Book in America

A History of the Making, the Selling, and the Collecting of Books in the United States

by

Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt
Columbia University

In Collaboration with Ruth Shepard Granniss, *The Grolier Club*
and Lawrence C. Wroth, *John Carter Brown Library*



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FOREWORD

SOME YEARS AGO an encyclopedic dictionary of all matters concerning the book was being prepared by the Hiersemann publishing house of Leipzig. When it came to collecting material on American developments the editors of the *Lexikon des gesamten Buchwesens* realized that there was very little reliable information available in German. They turned to American sources, and were surprised to see how many important questions remained unanswered. There was, to be sure, a voluminous and many-sided literature, but it was uneven in quality and somewhat arbitrary in its emphasis of certain periods and subjects and in the omission of others. The Colonial period, for instance, had been much more carefully studied and recorded than the nineteenth or twentieth centuries; then again, the developments of the last forty to fifty years had been more eloquently described than the whole of the last century. No comprehensive accounts of printing and the allied crafts and industries, of bookselling and publishing, of book collecting and the growth of libraries could be found, which showed their continuous development from colonial times to the present day.

Over six years ago the Leipzig publishing house asked if I would undertake the responsibility for a volume which would fill this gap—at least as far as the needs of European readers were concerned. This I agreed to, because the opportunity to contribute a study in answer to an actual need was tempting. Also, I welcomed the chance to render an account of experiences in the world of American books during my first years in this country. Very soon it became apparent that the responsibility was more than a single person could shoulder. Obviously, the assistance of experienced American authorities was called for. That Ruth Shepard Granniss and Lawrence C. Wroth agreed to collaborate was the best kind of encouragement which the arduous undertaking could receive. Their whole-hearted acceptance of the plan and their generous contribution of time, energy and of a great deal of patience made the book possible.

It should be explained that for the German edition the two sections of my collaborators, which were written in English, had to be translated, while my own section was written in German. For the present edition we go back to the English texts of Miss Granniss and Mr.

Wroth which, somewhat revised and amplified, thus appear for the first time in their original form, while my own section was translated and revised from the original German text.

The volume first appeared in Leipzig in the spring of 1937 and it can be said that it was well received. It has been carefully and sympathetically reviewed in the literary and bibliographical magazines of eight countries. Some American reviews, it is true, expressed a measure of surprise that such a volume should have first appeared abroad. To this I must say that at least as far as my own contribution, as editor and co-author, is concerned, I would never have dared at that time to sit down and write about American books for an American audience. To bring forth a somewhat elementary account, taking nothing for granted and building up from the simple foundations in the manner of a primer for the use of foreign readers, was a different matter, particularly when aided by such outstanding authorities of American book-lore. Somewhat surprisingly, it appeared that the very thing that had made this book possible and had made it suitable for readers abroad—namely, its explanatory character and the condensation of a great mass of information into a comparatively simple formula—made it also desirable for American readers. At any rate, there was sufficient interest from experts and critics in this country to encourage us in contemplating an American edition.

It was obvious that there would have to be changes, revisions, and additions. The problem was to do as much of this as possible without impairing the essential character of the work. Just what to include from the tremendous volume of information, which had in many cases never been organized before, was the constant problem before the authors of this book. Completeness of information we did not aim for, because that would have been impossible to achieve within the definition of the book. The question of space too had to be considered very seriously. We can only hope that in the majority of the cases our selection was a fortunate one. I am aware of certain omissions in my own part of the book, particularly in regard to recent developments in papermaking and bookbinding—and the brief note on book illustration is indeed brief—but this cannot be helped. On the other hand, the reader will find some slight overlapping here and there of the three

parts of the volume. This, too, was unavoidable and I do not believe that it will be found to be a serious defect.

In the preparation of this book the three authors have enjoyed the assistance and advice of not a few experts in the various fields which are treated in this volume. In particular, they found many valuable hints in the published reviews of the German edition. These suggestions have been carefully considered, and many additions and some changes were thus made in the present edition. If not all of the reviewers' suggestions were included it was because the character of the book demanded concentration and condensation rather than amplification.

Miss Granniss wishes to express her gratitude to Dr. Herbert Putnam, Librarian Emeritus of the Library of Congress, and to Henrietta C. Bartlett, Belle da Costa Greene, Josephine A. Rathbone, Henry W. Kent, Frederick Coykendall, William A. Jackson, Harry M. Lydenberg, George L. McKay and Keyes D. Metcalf, for having read with care her entire manuscript or portions of it. She is also grateful to many collectors and librarians who have generously answered questions and made valuable suggestions; and to Cecilia Garrard for her assistance.

Mr. Wroth is particularly indebted to the late George S. Godard of the Connecticut State Library, also to Clarence S. Brigham, and R. W. G. Vail, director and librarian respectively, of the American Antiquarian Society, and to Arthur Berthold in Brooklyn. He is grateful to Joseph Towne Wheeler for several generous communications on Colonial history; and for the information received from Barrows Mussey in regard to small-town publishers. Mr. Mussey has also contributed many titles to the bibliography of publishing firms.

Thanks are due to Frederic Melcher, on behalf of all three authors, for his support and encouragement in the preparation of this edition. Moreover, a word of special gratitude must be said for the interest which he has taken in the sections dealing with the history of the booktrade in my part of the volume. He has taught me much from the rich store of his knowledge, his recollections and his wide reading in that field of American life. If the account still will seem incomplete to some, as it undoubtedly will, it is not his fault.

Also, I owe a debt of gratitude to the late John Clyde Oswald; he and Harry L. Gage gave me valuable opportunities to gather first-hand

information on the printing industry of this country. Furthermore, I am indebted to Daniel B. Updike, T. Franklin Currier, Frank Weitenkampf, Ben W. Huebsch, Ernest Reichl, and many other members of printing and publishing houses and of libraries consulted. Anne M. Boyd of the University of Illinois Library School has made available the very useful results of student research in the field of American publishing history. It is also a pleasure to acknowledge much valuable help from members of the staff of the Columbia University Library and of students in the School of Library Service, including in addition to those mentioned in the text, Dorothy G. Hubbell, Helen Bolman and Martin Howes.

Our combined thanks are due to the late Leonard L. Mackall, who carefully went over the complete manuscript of the German edition. We are also very grateful to Janet Bogardus of the Columbia University Library for her painstaking preparation of the bibliographical section at the end of this volume, to George Salter for the drawing on the title-page and to Anne Richter for her editorial assistance.

H. L-H.

New York,
March 11, 1939

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THE BOOK IN AMERICA

PART I

BOOK PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION FROM THE BEGINNING TO THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES

by

Lawrence C. Wroth

INTRODUCTION

IN MOST ESSENTIALS of political constitution and governmental administration the English colonies of North America differed fundamentally from the establishments of France and Spain which lay contiguous to them. Whether proprietary colonies, philanthropic enterprises, or the establishments of chartered companies, each of the English colonies was a separate state, governed by an elective assembly sitting in its provincial capital. These representative bodies possessed the privilege of initiating local legislation, and, quick to protest the regulation of their affairs by Parliament, their enactments were subject, in theory, to no external restraint save the veto of king or proprietor. The French and Spanish colonies, on the other hand, were governed in local affairs by royal officers advised by appointed councils, while in matters of larger policy they were administered directly by edict of their kings from Fontainebleau or Versailles, from Seville or Madrid. The French and Spanish establishments nearest the English settlements—those in Canada, Louisiana, and Florida—displayed the characteristics of semi-military colonies of the Roman pattern, garrisons set down at strategic points of empire and nourished as a matter of course by the parent countries. The English system of self-governing, economically independent colonies, neither military outpost nor trading station, formed a congeries of individual states, weak and unwieldy in federation, but each self-contained and proudly conscious of its entity. It is this picture of the English colonies that the reader of the ensuing pages must keep before him, visualizing always a group of small, mutually independent states held together by common material interests, a common culture, and a common loyalty to the crown of England. In the knowledge of these facts and their implications lies the beginning of understanding so far as concerns the cultural history of the English in colonial America.

The establishment of the English colonies was a process conducted by many men urged by many motives throughout a century and a quarter of effort, a period of time extending from the settlement of Jamestown in 1607 to the foundation of Oglethorpe's philanthropic colony of Georgia in 1733. This slow formation of a group of colonies dependent

for livelihood upon agriculture, commerce, fisheries, and hunting was accompanied by a persistent opposition from other colonizing nations of Europe. On the Delaware and Hudson Rivers, the Dutch and Swedes for a short time disputed with English settlers the right to the soil; along the shores of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain and Lake George, the presence of the French set a barrier to northward expansion and actively menaced English security; to the southward, the Spanish military colony in Florida, which was an outpost of the strong Mexican and Cuban states, and the French in West Florida and Louisiana continuously threatened South Carolina and Georgia throughout their formative years; while to the westward, from Canada to Florida, the Indian, of his own volition or encouraged by France or Spain, forced the English American into perennial wars of offense and defense.

However distressing may have been the conditions of environment just described, they yet were rich in factors of ultimate benefit to the English in America. They compelled the colonist of whatever group, section, or creed to remain constantly alert to the dangerous circumstances of his position. They bred in the individual and in the communities a habit of self-awareness, awakening the dissimilar and widely extended groups to the recognition of homogeneity in interests, and intensifying in them a sense of geographical unity and of racial identity that became apparent in their actions long years before their separation from the mother country. One result of the self-realization thus enforced upon the English American, was the development in him of the habit of political thinking, of speculation as to the place of citizen and state in the economy of the larger world. Though isolated geographically from European affairs, he lived spiritually in the thick of them, aware of himself as an important piece in the game of world diplomacy and politics. When, therefore, we observe him developing a press and an intellectual habit more active than seemed essential to the needs of his pioneer life, we shall find in the external influences just spoken of a cogent explanation of the phenomenon.

Other influences than those of European thought and politics were effective in bringing into being an active and important press. Questions of religious doctrine and church polity, for example, compelled, of their very nature, public discussion, and demanded dissemination of

their premises. The unremitting struggle in several of the colonies between the liberal lower houses of assembly and the conservative governors and councils required the services of the press for statement and refutation of argument. The several governments of the decentralized empire constituted by the colonies had need of it, moreover, for recording their statutes, their assembly proceedings, and their administrative instruments. And, finally, the business interests of the communities gradually awoke to the effectiveness of the printed word in the advancement of their projects. United in defense and offense against the external forces of man and nature, divided among themselves on questions of religion, of the constitution, and of politics, vigorous in trade on land and sea, the English colonies of North America present to one looking back a picture of life intensely and shrewdly lived. It would, indeed, have been an extraordinary condition if, in that ferment of men and ideas, the press had shown itself anything but important in the life of the community.

It was inevitable that in a new land, faced by the immediate necessity of building a state and drawing a living from farm, forest, and sea, of adapting old traditions and theories to fresh conditions, the thinking of these people should have been at first utilitarian in character, and that in consequence their writing and publishing should have been of the same nature. Religious speculation and affirmation formed the only exception to this generalization until the eighteenth century brought greater ease of body and release of mind. But the early English Americans brought with them a great tradition in the form of a literature already distinguished and a language set in its final shape. During their period of hewing wood and drawing water, their brothers in England were expanding the realms of this common heritage of literature and philosophy. Though the Americans could not share that work, they remembered the racial culture left behind them and trained their children as befitted its inheritors.

Because of conditions of climate and natural resources the social and economic structure of the English colonies presented different faces in different sections of the country. These conditions so operated as to bring the New Englanders together in towns and to ensure for them in consequence a more closely-knit social and intellectual organization than existed at first in the middle and southern colonies,

where, from the beginning, agriculture had predominated as the basis of living. South of New England the farm or the plantation early became the economic unit, and the county rather than the town, the focus of political organization. It was inevitable under these circumstances that the chief intellectual manifestations should proceed from those urban communities of the North where the daily fret of mind upon mind in commercial life, in the town meeting, and in the church, produced tangible results in several forms of expression. It is natural, therefore, that we should look to New England for the earliest establishment of the press and for its greatest activity during the first century of its existence.

PRINTING IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD, 1638-1783

The Establishment of the Presses in New England

IT WAS THE RECENT foundation of a college in Cambridge, and the existence of plans for the conversion of the Indians among the London friends of the colony that encouraged the Rev. Jose Glover to purchase a printing press and carry it with him when he embarked for Massachusetts in the summer of 1638. With Mr. Glover went also Stephen Daye, who, although a locksmith by trade, became, in contracting for the operation of the press, the prototypographer of the English colonies. Because of the death upon the voyage to Massachusetts of Mr. Glover, his press and appurtenances came into the country in the hands of his widow. As the property of Mrs. Glover and her children, this first English-American press was set up in Cambridge, the seat of the College, late in 1638 or early in 1639, and from it almost at once began to issue pieces of importance, utilitarian and cultural, in the life of the community. The earliest issues seem to have been *The Oath of a Free-man*, a formulary used by the citizen in affirming allegiance to the government, and *An Almanack for the Year 1639*, compiled by William Peirce, Mariner. Neither of these is known to exist in an actual copy. In 1640, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* came from this press in the form of a volume in quarto of 148 leaves. The "Bay Psalm Book," to use the familiar designation of later years, was edited by Richard Mather, progenitor of the celebrated family of writing men of that name. Its significance was something more than religious in that it comprised a new metrical translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew into English and a preliminary discourse on the Psalms in public worship by its learned editor. This earliest printed book of the English colonies, therefore, was a work of literature, expressive of the intellectual and spiritual interests of the community which produced it.

The Cambridge press issued in ensuing years a series of works that bespeaks the quality of its service to the community—a book of the capital laws, it is believed, in 1643; small pieces relating to the scholastic activities of the college; annual almanacs; a second edition of the "Bay Psalm Book"; catechisms; a document relating to the troubles

with the Narragansett Indians; a platform of the prevailing Congregational faith; and numerous sermons and doctrinal treatises. It reached the highest point of its activity with the publication in 1663 of John Eliot's translation of the whole Bible into the Indian tongue, a work remarkable in the physical sense as an issue of a small press in a pioneer country, and supremely creditable, in its conception and execution, to its pious translator and to his supporters in England. One conceives the Cambridge press as having met fully in the course of its half century of existence certain routine demands of the surrounding community, and of having nourished perceptibly its intellectual activity. No other press of the whole colonial period partook to the same degree the qualities of the learned presses of Europe, or maintained so successfully the great traditions of the craft as an intellectual force in the midst of a new and rude environment. Its inability to show the production of any work of imaginative secular literature was not an item in its discredit. In New England, and elsewhere in a country of laborious living, that particular flower of the spirit came to blossom only in the relative leisure of the next century. Nor did that press concern itself to any extent with the material affairs of the people, with the farming, fishing, buying, selling, and building by which they lived. It had been established, Edward Johnson wrote in 1654, to advance the work of church and commonwealth. Within that limitation it was a successful concern, surpassing, it may be, the expectations of its founder.

After the first decade of its operation under Stephen Daye and his son Matthew, the work of the Cambridge press from the year 1649 until its dissolution in 1692, was carried on by Samuel Green. This printer is singled out for mention here because he was the founder of a dynasty of American printers. In Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia, descendants of Samuel Green were to be found for nearly two centuries continuously engaged in the activities of printing and publishing.

It was not to be expected that the flourishing city of Boston should permit the business of printing to remain forever the monopoly of its neighbor across the Charles River. In 1674 Marmaduke Johnson, an associate of Green's in the Cambridge press, secured official permission to establish an independent press in Boston. Johnson died before he was able to put his establishment into operation, but his press was

carried on from the year 1675 by John Foster, a graduate of the college at Cambridge. Foster was a successful printer and a versatile craftsman who practised occasionally the art of engraving on wood. The rude but effective cuts with which he embellished some of his books, notably the "Mapp of New England" in Hubbard's *Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New-England*, Boston, 1677, and his separately issued portrait of Richard Mather, dating from an earlier year, constitute the beginnings of wood engraving and, in the case of the map, of book illustration in English America.

It was in Boston, too, that the earliest newspapers had their origin. An abortive newspaper, suppressed immediately by governor and council, appeared from the press of Richard Pierce and Benjamin Harris in September, 1690, but it was not until fifteen years later that the *Boston News-Letter*, printed by Bartholomew Green, made its initial appearance on April 24, 1704.

The press of Boston was able to take care of the work of the colonies contiguous to Massachusetts until well after the turn of the century, but with the growth of New England in population and occupied area, the several inconveniences of that procedure became too great for effectiveness. Urged by officials of Connecticut, Thomas Short of Boston settled in New London in 1709 as the resident printer of that colony. Because of its proximity to the well-established and aggressive printing houses of Boston, the Connecticut press was slow in attaining importance. It was not until 1755 that James Parker established in New Haven, capital of the colony and seat of Yale College, the first newspaper of Connecticut under the title, *The Connecticut Gazette.*

Resentful of his treatment by the Massachusetts authorities on the occasion of some indiscreet publications, James Franklin, elder brother of Benjamin, in 1727 carried his press from Boston to Newport, Rhode Island, making that colony, too, independent of the Boston printers. Five years later James Franklin began at Newport the publication of a newspaper, *The Rhode Island Gazette.* This journal lived only a few months, but in 1758, Ann Franklin, his widow, in partnership with James Franklin, Jr., brought out the first issue of *The Newport Mercury*, a newspaper that as weekly or daily has continued publication to the present time. The first press of Providence, soon to become the chief city of Rhode Island, was established by William God-

dard with the support and active participation of his mother, Sarah Updike Goddard. Later, in New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, William Goddard attained fame as a skilled printer, as a newspaper publisher of extraordinary effectiveness, and as the founder, single-handed, of a private system of post-offices and riders which, in 1775, the Continental Congress declared to be the official postal system of the country, and which continues in operation today as the Post Office Department of the United States. His sister, Mary Katherine Goddard, as printer, and as editor of *The Maryland Journal* in the period of the Revolution, became the most distinguished of the several women who have been prominent in the history of typography and journalism in the United States.

It was again resentment against the undue severity of the Massachusetts authorities that led Daniel Fowle to take his press in 1756 to Portsmouth, New Hampshire, where he began almost at once the *New Hampshire Gazette*, a journal that thrives today after a history of publication for 182 years, the oldest newspaper continuously issued in the United States.

The Vermont press was established by Alden Spooner in 1778, though the town in which he printed, Hanover, then called Dresden, lay in a strip of debatable land claimed also by New Hampshire, which afterwards reverted to that state. The geographical area known as Vermont, therefore, has no claim upon this press, though the political entity of that name may rightly call Spooner her first printer and Dresden, New Hampshire, the seat of her earliest press.

Few first presses have issued in their very beginnings work of so great consequence to their supporters as the pioneer press at Dresden. The long-standing quarrel between New Hampshire and New York over the territory lying, roughly, between the Connecticut and the Hudson Rivers and known from the circumstances of its first settlement as the "New Hampshire Grants," was brought to an end when, in 1777, the settlers of the debatable lands took matters into their own hands and formed the independent government of Vermont. The Dresden press began at once the publication of documents and pamphlets essential to the very life of the newly born commonwealth.

The first press on the soil of Vermont, as now constituted, was that

which Judah Padock Spooner and Timothy Green established at Westminster in 1780.

The Maine press owes its inception to a partnership formed in 1785 at Falmouth, now Portland, between Benjamin Titcomb, a printer, and Thomas B. Wait, a bookseller. The most important work of this firm seems to have been its publication of the *Falmouth Gazette*. The chief interest in early Maine typographical history, however, centers about the printing office set up at Augusta by Peter Edes in 1795.

The Middle Colonies

The presses which have been mentioned in the foregoing section were the first printing establishments of the New England colonies. Boston has continuously maintained its supremacy as the chief city in that section, and its press has always been the most active and the most important of any in New England. It was, indeed, the most prolific press of the entire country until Philadelphia assumed the lead in publication soon after the middle of the eighteenth century. From the beginning of its operations, the press of the Pennsylvania city was the chief of those of the Middle Colonies. It was established late in the year 1685 by William Bradford, a son-in-law of the Quaker printer, Andrew Sowle, of London. The issues of the Pennsylvania press show a greater variety in matter than those of any other colonial establishment. In that Quaker commonwealth, with its later immigration from Scotland, England, and Germany, the conflict of races, creeds, and politics was at its sharpest. Throughout the eighteenth century the presses of the Bradfords; of Benjamin Franklin; of the German Sauers, father and son; of the German Seventh Day Baptist Brotherhood at Ephrata; of Goddard; Bell; and the Dunlaps expressed in book, pamphlet, and newspaper the active intelligence of a community rendered complex by the racial factors and varying creeds of which we have spoken.

The first paper-mill of the country was built in 1690, near Germantown, by William Bradford in partnership with Samuel Carpenter and William Rittenhouse. By this action Pennsylvania at once acquired a preëminence in the paper-making industry which it retained throughout the colonial period. The German printer, Christopher Sauer, the younger, imported type matrices and molds about the year 1770, and after 1772 diligently cast German letter for his own use for many

years, training in his foundry Justus Fox and Jacob Bay, one of whom cast on his own account a roman letter first used commercially in 1775. Fox went on with his newly learned trade, and soon after the close of the Revolution, type founders from England and Scotland made their way to Philadelphia. Pennsylvania had no serious rivalry in the early stages of the American type-founding industry. The geographical position of Philadelphia brought to it in 1774 the Continental Congress, whereupon that city became politically, as it had long been commercially, the center of a group of colonies now confederated for purposes of mutual defense. All these things combined to give special importance to the press of the Quaker colony and to make its issues numerically greater than those of any American city until its eclipse in the nineteenth century by that of New York. One of Bradford's successors in Philadelphia was his son Andrew, who, in 1719, began the publication of *The American Weekly Mercury*, the first newspaper to be established south of Boston.

The origin of the press in the little town on Manhattan Island which was destined to become the metropolis of the country and one of the greatest cities of the modern world traces to the disagreement between William Bradford, the first printer of Philadelphia, and the Quaker rulers of his community. Charged in the course of a local quarrel with printing seditious matter, Bradford was brought to trial and against him was cited by his accusers one of the clauses of the Parliamentary press restriction act of 1662, the only occasion upon which that statute, so rigorous in its application in England, was cited in the regulation of the American press. Through the influence of Governor Fletcher of New York, temporarily in jurisdiction over Pennsylvania, Bradford was released from his Philadelphia prison. In the late spring of 1693, he removed his press to New York, carrying thither an appointment from the Governor as public printer of that colony. In this year he issued, among a number of official documents, a small group of controversial pamphlets having to do with the cause he had championed in Pennsylvania, the first fruits of the vast publishing business which has since been a notable feature of the intellectual and commercial activities of his city of refuge. The first New York newspaper, Bradford's *New York Gazette*, did not begin publication until the year 1725.

Two sets of New Jersey Assembly publications were brought out in

1723 and 1728, at Perth Amboy and Burlington respectively, by neighboring New York and Pennsylvania printers, but the first permanent printing establishment of the colony was that of James Parker, an accomplished printer and publisher of New York who, in 1754, set up a press in his native town of Woodbridge. It was not until December, 1777, that Isaac Collins began at Burlington the publication of *The New Jersey Gazette*, the first newspaper of the colony named in its title.

In 1761, James Adams, until then a journeyman in the office of Franklin & Hall of Philadelphia, opened a printing establishment in Wilmington, Delaware. *The Delaware Gazette*, the earliest journal of the state, was begun by Jacob A. Killen, of Wilmington, in 1785.

The Southern Colonies

The first establishment of a press in one of the southern group of colonies occurred when in the year 1682 a printer named William Nuthead came to Jamestown, Virginia, under the protection of John Buckner, a wealthy merchant and landowner of the neighborhood. Before the press was well under way, the indiscretion of Nuthead in printing certain Assembly papers without permission of the Governor and Council was punished in February, 1683, by the temporary inhibition of his press. Ten months later this action of the local authorities was approved by a royal order prohibiting further printing in Virginia. It was not until 1730 that the press was permanently established in Williamsburg, then become the capital of Virginia, by William Parks, who at that time had been successfully operating a press in Maryland for four years. Parks's newspaper, *The Virginia Gazette*, was begun in 1736.

William Nuthead found greater encouragement for the practice of his craft in the neighboring colony of Maryland than had been offered him in Virginia. It is likely that he had removed his press to the Maryland town of St. Mary's City, the capital of Lord Baltimore's Province, soon after the coming to Virginia, early in 1684, of a new governor bearing the King's order prohibiting all printing in that colony "upon any occasion whatsoever." It has not been possible until lately to name any product of Nuthead's Maryland press of earlier date than the year 1689, when two important political documents are known to have issued

from it. Very recently, however, there have been discovered in the Land Office at Annapolis a number of printed blank forms of early date, among them several bonds bearing an unmistakable typographical resemblance to the only remaining unquestioned production of Nuthead's press, the *Address of the Representatives*, printed in St. Mary's City in 1689. One of these forms is filled in by hand with the date [31 August] 168[5]. There seems no reason to doubt, therefore, that Nuthead was in Maryland, operating his press by or before the month of August, 1685, several months, indeed, before William Bradford on December 28, 1685, announced in his *Kalendarium Pennsilvaniense* that he had established in Pennsylvania by this publication the "great Art and Mystery of Printing." The widow of William Nuthead, Dinah, removed the press in 1695 to Annapolis, the new capital, and in 1696 received from Governor and Council a license to print in succession to her husband. Dinah Nuthead was the first of a long succession of women to operate a press in colonial America. The earliest newspaper of Maryland was *The Maryland Gazette*, begun by William Parks at Annapolis in 1727. After the middle of the eighteenth century, the chief center of life in the colony became the relatively new city of Baltimore. The first individual to operate a press in that town was the German printer, Nicholas Hasselbach, who went there from Philadelphia in 1765. The earliest newspaper of the city was *The Maryland Journal*, begun in 1773 by William Goddard, a printer mentioned in several connections in this brief review of the beginnings of the American press.

The press in South Carolina was begun in 1731 by three printers acting independently of one another—Eleazer Phillips, Jr., Thomas Whitemarsh, and George Webb. None of these was able to establish himself firmly in Charleston, the capital city, though Thomas Whitemarsh remained there at work until his death in 1733. As we learn from the researches of Douglas C. McMurtrie, George Webb began well and, according to the evidence of the remaining imprints, was probably the first of the three to get his press in operation. Nothing is heard of Webb in Charleston, however, after his first month of residence, and Phillips died in his first year with little accomplished. In 1733, Lewis Timothy went to that city from Philadelphia under a partnership agreement with Franklin, his former employer, and began there the operation of a press which remained in the Timothy family for

nearly seventy-five years, passing successively into the control of his widow, his son, his daughter-in-law, and his grandson. Lewis Timothy reëstablished in 1734 *The South Carolina Gazette*, a journal begun by Thomas Whitemarsh in 1732 and carried on by that printer until his death in September, 1733.

The first printer of North Carolina was James Davis, who went from Virginia to Newbern in 1749. Two years later he began the publication of *The North Carolina Gazette*, the first newspaper of the colony.

James Johnston, a printer from England, initiated the Georgia press, to the best of our knowledge, with the publication at Savannah in 1763 of *The Georgia Gazette*. His first duty as public printer seems to have been to catch up with the recent activities of the Assembly, and in 1763 we find him publishing a series of separate acts of which the passage extended as far back as the year 1759.

Denis Braud, the first printer of Louisiana, began his press by the issue of a document of tragic import in the history of his people. The *Extrait de la Lettre du Roi*, New Orleans, 1764, announced to the French *habitants* of Louisiana the cession of their colony to Spain. The first newspaper of the colony was the *Moniteur de la Louisiane*, which began publication in 1794 in the establishment of another French printer, Louis Duclot.

Early in the year 1783, Dr. William Charles Wells, a loyalist refugee from Charleston, South Carolina, established a press in St. Augustine, Florida. He was soon joined in its operation by his brother John Wells, Jr., who, in Charleston, had been associated with his father, Robert Wells, in conducting the *Royal Gazette*. William Charles Wells began, probably with the issue of February 1, 1783, the publication of the *East-Florida Gazette*, a newspaper which enjoyed an existence of about one year, when, the Spanish having taken over Florida, Dr. Wells returned to England. John Wells went to Nassau in the Bahamas, where for the remainder of his life he continued in the business of printing and newspaper publishing. One of the early issues of the *East-Florida Gazette* contained in its imprint the statement that it had been printed "by Charles Wright for John Wells, jun." Charles Wright, evidently the practical printer of the establishment, is not heard of afterwards in American typographical history. In addition to the newspaper only two imprints of this press are known to exist, both of them, for dif-

ferent reasons, of importance. Their titles are: *Essay II, On the Nature and Principles of Public Credit*, an economic tract by Samuel Gale; and *The Case of the Inhabitants of East-Florida*, a document containing claims to compensation presented by the East Florida loyalists for the property loss they would suffer through the cession of their country to Spain.

In organizing the foregoing statement of the facts and circumstances attending the dissemination of the press in the colonial period of the United States, we have kept in mind cultural groups coterminous with the natural geographical divisions of the country. For purposes of chronology, it may be interesting to state the matter anew in the form of the following table:

Chronological Table: The Permanent Establishment of the Press in Each Colony

Colony	*Town*	*Year*	*Printer*
Massachusetts	Cambridge	1639	Stephen Daye
Maryland	St. Mary's City	1685 (August)	William Nuthead
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia	1685 (December)	William Bradford
New York	New York City	1693	William Bradford
Connecticut	New London	1709	Thomas Short
Rhode Island	Newport	1727	James Franklin
Virginia	Williamsburg	1730	William Parks
South Carolina	Charleston	1731	George Webb Eleazer Phillips, Jr. Thomas Whitemarsh
North Carolina	Newbern	1749	James Davis
New Jersey	Woodbridge	1754	James Parker
New Hampshire	Portsmouth	1756	Daniel Fowle
Delaware	Wilmington	1761	James Adams
Georgia	Savannah	1763	James Johnston
Louisiana	New Orleans	1764	Denis Braud
Vermont	Westminster	1780	Judah Padock Spooner
Maine	Portland	1785	Benjamin Titcomb and Thomas B. Wait
INHIBITED PRESSES AND PRESSES TEMPORARILY IN OPERATION			
Virginia	Jamestown	1682	William Nuthead
New Jersey	Perth Amboy	1723	William Bradford
New Jersey	Burlington	1728	Samuel Keimer
Vermont	Dresden (now Hanover), N. H.	1778	Alden Spooner
Florida	St. Augustine	1783	Wm. C. and John Wells, Jr.

The Colonial Press in Operation: 1638-1783

The dissemination of printing throughout the British colonies in America and its spread into provincial centers of England were, in point of time, almost exactly parallel movements. Because of successive parliamentary restriction acts, it was not until 1695 that any of the cities of England except London, York, and the two great university towns possessed permanent presses. Actually when the last inhibitory act expired in England in 1695 there were already in operation in the colonies the printing houses of Cambridge, Boston, St. Mary's City, Philadelphia, and New York, establishments which preceded by varying terms of years the first presses of such English cities, now important, as Liverpool, Birmingham, and Leeds. So much of a statement of circumstances is needed to place the infant American press in perspective in relation to the status of printing in the English world.

With the exception of the Massachusetts press, established in the interests of church and state, and enlarged through the missionary zeal of the New England Corporation, the first presses of English America were utilitarian in motive and practice. They were set up upon assurance of government patronage and without that patronage they could not have existed. The private employment of the press in those communities would have been insufficient in amount to keep their printers alive, and it was only as the commercial life of the country slowly developed that the government work became merely an incidental source of income to a printer who might be engaged in the publication of a newspaper, an annual almanac, legal manuals, business guides, separately printed advertisements, sermons, and finally, original and reprinted works of a literary character. The partnership of Franklin & Hall, for example, drew from the *Pennsylvania Gazette* a gross income about three times as great as that which it received from the government work. Indeed the newspaper income amounted to half the total receipts of the shop during the seventeen years of the partnership.

Employment by the government not only provided the early printer with a living, it gave him a distinction not ordinarily possessed by the proprietor of a provincial press. As public printer of New York, of Massachusetts, or of South Carolina, or of any other colony, he handled the business of a separate political division, of a commonwealth proud

of its entity, proud of its comparative independence of Parliament or of any restraint upon its actions save the will of the sovereign and their legality in the opinion of the attorney general of the realm. The English provincial printer, his counterpart in most other respects, knew no such relationship. William Parks, printer of Ludlow, England, lived under a government centralized at London and served by the King's Printer, resident in that city. Parks's relation to the English government was that of any other citizen in his position in life, but William Parks, public printer of Maryland and Virginia, by printing the laws, assembly proceedings, and minor utterances of two self-governing commonwealths maintained a position of dignity not commonly the possession of a provincial printer in a small way of business. That the responsibilities of his office stimulated him to exercise care and thoughtfulness in typographical performance is granted by everyone familiar with the volumes of laws and other public documents that came from the presses of the American government printer. Furthermore, the quality attained in the government work set a standard of excellence that influenced for good the whole body of colonial printing.

The Nature of the Printer's Equipment: The Printing Press

In the English colonies, as elsewhere throughout the world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the actual equipment of the printing-houses was very little different in its mechanical features from that used by the European typographers of the closing years of the fifteenth century. It might even be said that in all essential principles the equipment of the colonial American printer was even less elaborate than that with which Gutenberg of Mainz initiated the art of typography, for this printer of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had long ago given up the practice of casting his own type and, except in one instance later to be specified, did not even possess the tools and materials essential to that operation. Though the press had undergone minor mechanical improvements in certain places—in the Low Countries, for example—these were improvements in details of construction and in fixtures rather than in principles of operation. But the improved Dutch press, loosely described as the "Blaeu" press, was never generally adopted in England, where a press of an older type seems to have formed the reliance of the printer until the invention of the iron press

about the year 1800. The American printing-house was a replica in its equipment of the English establishment of the corresponding period, and the specimens that remain of early American printing machines are all of the variety which Moxon, in describing the Blaeu press, spoke of in 1683 as the "old-fashioned English press." With this machine the English and American printer worked happily enough until the early years of the nineteenth century. During the greater part of the colonial period the American printer was compelled to buy his presses from England, though there is evidence that an occasional printer, notably Christopher Sauer, the elder, of Germantown, was sufficiently skilled in mechanics to build presses for use in his own establishment. But the industry of commercial press building was of relatively late development. The earliest instance of its operation on record is the construction in 1769 of an especially fine press by Isaac Doolittle of New Haven for William Goddard, then printing in Philadelphia. Only six years after this we find two Philadelphia craftsmen advertising their ability to build good presses and to make other articles of printing-house equipment until then generally imported from England. Soon thereafter, in many places, the building of presses became in America a commonplace of manufacturing industry.

The Type

The types used by the American printer were, like his presses, generally of English importation until the early years of the Revolutionary War. In 1744, Franklin purchased a set of "founding tools" from England, but as he frequently imported type from that country in later years it has been assumed that he made no effort to put these tools to use in behalf of himself or others. Mr. Gustav Mori has recently reported from contemporary correspondence that about the year 1747, Franklin sold some type-founding equipment to the German brotherhood at Ephrata and made proposals for teaching them its use, and further, that at about this period, the Ephrata brothers asserted at the conclusion of one of their books that it had been printed with type of their own casting. But Mr. Mori has not named the Ephrata book in which this assertion was made. It is a matter of record that as early as 1771, Christopher Sauer, the younger, began making an excellent German letter with founding equipment imported from Germany. One

of the issues of his *Ein Geistliches Magazien* of that year bore at the end the declaration: "Gedruckt mit der ersten Schrift die jemals in America gegossen worden." It may be that this was the book Mr. Mori had in mind when he asserted that a statement to this effect had occurred a quarter century earlier in a volume printed by the Ephrata brotherhood. It seems unlikely that the younger Sauer would have claimed priority for his own locally cast letter if it had not been strictly entitled to that distinction. He could hardly have been ignorant of typecasting earlier than his own by an organization so close to him in time, space, and racial interests as the Ephrata monastery. But though Sauer continued to cast type in quantity, and was possessed of a complete letter-founding establishment when his goods were sequestrated by the Americans in the Revolution, his efforts in this direction were not part of the main stream of type-founding history in the colonies. The *fraktur* letter he made was an exotic product and remained an exotic product in a country in which the roman shape of letter was the standard in general use. We shall see in a moment, however, that his activity in type-founding indirectly affected the development of that industry in America.

The first roman type designed, cut, and cast in English America was that which Abel Buell, of Killingworth, Connecticut, produced in 1769. Aided by a subvention from the Connecticut Assembly, he prepared to manufacture type for sale, but because of personal instability he made no progress in his task until, in 1781, he began to cast type in quantity for certain Connecticut printers, who, because of the war with England, were not able to replenish their worn supplies of letter by new fonts from abroad. In the intervening years type-founding had become an active business in other hands in another part of the country.

It is uncertain to whom must be allowed the honor of establishing type-founding as a commercial enterprise of English America, for contemporary records are anything but clear on that point. But circumstances narrow the field of claimants to two journeymen employed by the younger Sauer to cast German letter for the printing of his great Bible of 1776—that is, to Justus Fox, a German mechanic and to Jacob Bay, a Swiss weaver. Both these men learned in Sauer's foundry the trade of letter casting, and soon proceeded on their own account from making *fraktur* to designing and casting the prevailing roman letter. Both claimed to be the "ingenious artist in Germantown" engaged in

type-founding, who, in 1775, was referred to in a resolution of the Pennsylvania Assembly which urged local printers to use American-made type rather than that imported from England. The contemporaries of Fox and Bay seem to have been uncertain as to which of them was meant by the terms of that resolution, and since their time no documents have been discovered which aid in resolving the doubt. The earliest use of the American-made type in question that has yet been identified was the printing of the first number, on April 7, 1775, of the *Pennsylvania Mercury*, a newspaper published by Story & Humphreys, of Philadelphia. It seems likely that this founder's work was slow in affecting the problems of his contemporaries among the printers. A letter, of December, 1782, in the William L. Clements Library, from George Lux, of Baltimore, to General Nathanael Greene, then in command at Charleston, South Carolina, requested that there be purchased for William Goddard the fonts of type left behind by any loyalist printers who might have fled the city because of its occupation by the Americans. The Wells brothers—William Charles and John—were probably in the mind of the alert Baltimore printer, but it is known that in leaving Charleston for St. Augustine those printers, or printing-house proprietors, had taken with them their types, so that Goddard did not find relief through their misfortune from a prevailing type shortage not yet relieved by the activities of the Philadelphia founders. Other fonts were cast by Fox and by Bay in later years, but responsibility for the development of American type founding did not long remain in their hands. The houses of John Baine and Archibald Binny, of Philadelphia, soon were carrying the industry far beyond the humble beginnings instituted by Sauer's journeymen.

The Ink

It is probable that the normal practice of the colonial printer in the maintenance of his ink supply was to import the ready-mixed product from English manufacturers. He was, we may be sure, little concerned with the assertion, made by Moxon in his *Mechanick Exercises*, of 1683, that manufactured ink was of inferior quality. Indeed he may have been among those printers who, too busy or too indolent to make their own ink, were, according to Moxon, willing that the product of the manufacturers should remain inferior in quality in order that they

might continue to have an old and reliable excuse for the poor character of their own printing. Isaiah Thomas records that in his time most of the ink used was of the manufactured variety, imported from England, and we should be willing to let the question rest with his statement if it were not that there is evidence in plenty of a contrary practice prevailing in some parts of the country. In 1723 we find Franklin making ink for the use of his master, Samuel Keimer, of Philadelphia. It is probable that the lampblack he used in the operation was locally purchased, for a petition requesting a monopoly of that manufacture was presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly on January 16, 1721/22 by Andrew Bradford, who alleged that he had "been at great Charge in bringing to Perfection the making of Lamp-Black." In 1733, Franklin purchased on his own account equipment for the manufacture of lampblack. Some years later Jonas Green of Annapolis wrote him ordering both lampblack and "varnish," that is, the linseed oil boiled to the point of viscidity which forms the other ingredient of printers' ink. In 1756, Franklin's lampblack house was rented from him by Anthony Ambruester, a German printer of Philadelphia, and even before this time another German printer, that universal mechanical genius, the elder Christopher Sauer, of Germantown, had been engaged in the manufacture of ink for his own use and probably for sale. The inventory of the younger Christopher Sauer, made out in 1778, names a "Lam black house" among his possessions.

It is likely that both the practices in question—importation and home manufacture of ink—prevailed throughout the colonies. In fact the partnership account of Franklin & Hall shows that firm purchasing in the same term of years, ready-made ink from England as well as large quantities of lampblack from local manufacturers. Doubtless the mixing of ink in their own shops was an economy in cash expenditure for the American printer and a means of occupying the spare time of apprentices, but whether moved by these or other considerations it is clear enough that ink-making continued to be one of the practices of the colonial printing shop throughout the eighteenth century. It is not certain when the making of printing ink for sale became a specialty in American manufacturing, but in 1792 and for years thereafter Mathew Carey and other printers of the Middle Colonies were buying supplies of ready-mixed ink from Justus Fox of German-

town, an individual whom we have already encountered as a pioneer in the making of type.

The Paper

In the year 1690, William Bradford, the Philadelphia printer, and Samuel Carpenter built a paper mill near Germantown and put it in charge of William Rittenhouse, German by birth and papermaker by trade. In the course of a few years this concern seems to have passed entirely into the hands of Rittenhouse, whose family continued for generations to manufacture paper in the same mill. This was the origin of a trade in papermaking which in later years became of great importance in Pennsylvania. In 1787 that state claimed forty-eight of the ninety mills then in operation in the United States, and in 1789 it was affirmed in Congress that the annual product of the Pennsylvania mills alone was 70,000 reams of paper. Necessity, as often happens, applied the spur to this industry. During the Revolutionary War, when English importations had been cut off, several other colonies, aided by government subsidies, became self-sufficient in the matter of paper supply. The earliest mill in the South was that which the printer William Parks, with aid and advice from Franklin, established at Williamsburg, Virginia, about the year 1743. Franklin, indeed, was deeply interested in the paper-making industry. In the later years of the century, he told the French traveller, Brissot de Warville, that alone he had established or helped establish no fewer than eighteen paper mills. His account books show him to have been a large and, presumably, a successful dealer in papers of all sorts—printing paper, writing paper, and the coarser papers for wrapping—and a dealer on an equal scale in linen rags, the raw material of paper manufacture.

It is not to be assumed that the establishment of these American mills rendered the local printers entirely independent of importation. The quality of the paper produced in them was not of the highest. It served admirably for newspapers, current broadsides, pamphlets, almanacs, primers, and ephemeral works generally, but almost invariably when one examines an American work intended for something more than current usefulness, its paper is seen to bear the signs of English or Dutch manufacture. The paper made in the colonial period was always "laid" paper. It was only in 1757 that Baskerville perfected in England the

process of making "wove" paper, and it was not until 1795 that Isaiah Thomas printed a small book of poems upon a locally-made "wove" paper, the first American specimen of that variety which has come to the notice of the historians of papermaking.

Labor and Working Conditions

The American printing craft remained in the household stage of economic development throughout the colonial period. The fixed element in the printer's labor supply was the assistance he might demand from members of his own family—his wife, his daughters, and his sons. The printer drew also into his service trained journeymen, who came to the new country either as free agents or under terms of indenture, but of course the chief source of his labor supply was the boy of the neighborhood whom he attached to himself through the apprenticeship system. As everywhere under this system, the boy worked without wages in return for his keep and for instruction from the master in the whole art of printing. His apprenticeship ended, his wages as a journeyman printer were distinctly better than those paid the practitioners of less exacting crafts. The wage scales of Franklin in 1754 and of Isaiah Thomas in 1792 seem to have been about the same, and these corresponded closely to the English scale of the period limited by these dates. The main elements in these scales were, roughly, payment to the compositor at the rate of a shilling a thousand ems, and to pressmen at the rate of a shilling a token. We are entering here into technicalities, but when it is understood that an expert pressman under theoretically perfect conditions might operate his press at the rate of a token an hour, that is, 240 sheets printed on one side, it becomes clear that his compensation for a day's work was moderately high. In this day of the fluctuating value of money, it is difficult to state in terms of modern currency the colonial journeyman printer's wages, but it seems reasonable to believe that, then as now, his was a well-paid craft.

There is little recorded evidence of labor troubles in the shops of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but our ignorance of the relations in this respect between journeymen and masters does not permit us to assume that the colonial period was a golden age in the American printing industry. Labor was just then beginning to organize in England and in continental Europe. So far as it concerned the printing

trade, the earliest impetus of the movement did not reach the colonies until the year 1776, when the journeyman printers of New York forced, by means of the strike, an increase of wages from their employers.

The Amount of the Printer's Equipment

The normal printing establishment of the period we are treating was small indeed in comparison to the shop of the present day. Even such excellently run and prosperous establishments as those of Franklin & Hall of Philadelphia boasted only three presses and a supply of type amounting in weight to about 4000 pounds, comprising eight fonts of as many sizes of letter. At the time of its sequestration in 1778, the establishment of Christopher Sauer, the younger, of Germantown, Pennsylvania, was, perhaps, the largest in the colonies. In addition to its four presses, it was, like the early European establishments, equipped to cast type and to manufacture ink. The normal printing office, represented by such establishments as those of Jonas Green, of Annapolis; John Holt, of New York; and William Rind, of Williamsburg, contained but two presses and about 2250 pounds of type, comprising four sizes of roman letter.

The Output of the Press—Amount and Typographical Quality

It was from the relatively ill-equipped printing houses just described that there proceeded an output which may reasonably be characterized as impressive, whether it be regarded from the standpoint of numbers, of intrinsic importance, or, and this is a matter of opinion, of typographic quality.

The chief burden of any typical printing office of the period was, of course, its weekly newspaper. In compiling a list of imprints it is customary to record a whole year's issue of a newspaper as a single entry. This practice is sensible and expedient from the standpoint of the bibliographer, but it does not convey a true understanding of the printer's activities, for obviously, instead of one item to his credit, a weekly newspaper should count fifty-two items, each representing many hours weekly of editorial and typographical labor. In our revaluation of this printer's activities, we must recall, too, that in compiling lists of imprints one necessarily may enter only such pieces as have survived in actual examples or in undisputed records of their

printing. It has been estimated on the basis of the manuscript Work-Book of Franklin & Hall in the New York Public Library, that the ratio between imprints of this firm recorded in bibliographies and pieces actually issuing from its presses is as 1 to 4.7. It is reasonable to believe that the same ratio holds for other establishments, and upon the basis of that ratio we must think of the total output of the American presses from 1639 to 1783 as numbering 86,000 instead of the 18,300 recorded for that period in Charles Evans's *American Bibliography*. Even this respectable figure, for the reason that a year's newspaper issues are recorded by Evans as a single entry, really gives no indication of the degree of the printer's activity. It may be that we shall be able to realize more fully his actual performance by examining in detail the output of the press of a single printer, choosing for the purpose that of William Parks of Annapolis and Williamsburg. In the fourteen year period, 1736 to 1749, inclusive, there are recorded for Parks's Williamsburg press approximately 100 items, excluding the fourteen annual single entries of the *Virginia Gazette*. Multiplied by the 4.7 which we have suggested as the ratio between what has survived and what was actually printed, we have 470 items, exclusive of newspapers, as the probable production of his press in this period. His newspaper output in the same term numbered fifty-two annual separate issues multiplied by fourteen years, that is, 728 productions of his press in addition to those usually counted. Each of these newspaper issues must have comprised at least 1000 copies, for we know that in this period Jonas Green, in the very much smaller neighboring province of Maryland, was distributing weekly between five and six hundred issues of his *Maryland Gazette*. If the suggested ratio, 1 to 4.7, is reasonably correct, the approximate output of Parks's Williamsburg press for the fourteen year period 1736-1749 was 1200 separate editions and issues of varying sizes, including 728 issues of a weekly newspaper, averaging, perhaps, 1000 copies to an issue.

The cold statistics just presented give body to the picture we are trying to obtain of the activities of a normal colonial printing house at work with equipment inferior to that of a small job printer of today. In the year 1737, for example, Parks is credited with nine titles exclusive of his newspaper. If his output in this year really was 4.7 times greater than this, still excluding the newspaper, he would have issued

an average of three items a month ranging in size from a single leaf advertisement, or government proclamation, to the closely printed octavo of 476 pages which came from his press in July of that year. In addition to this rate of a separate piece produced every ten days, there is to be counted the newspaper number issued concurrently every seven days. The various issues of this year would range in size of editions from about 100 copies of a local advertisement, through 500 copies of the large book mentioned, to the 1000 copies of each weekly number of the *Gazette*. One would say that this amount of production meant a steady day of labor for the printer and his two journeymen, for we must suppose that with himself engaged in gathering material for the newspaper and in correcting the press, he would have found it necessary to employ as assistants at least one compositor and one pressman. All these servants of the press would be fully occupied in the routine business of the establishment, and the compositor would doubtless be at work in all odd moments throughout the week setting the fresh news text of the journal, which occupied three, three-column folio pages, or in setting and revising its page of advertisements. On the day of issue the pressman would have an extremely full day's work before him in printing his 1000 copies. Even at the theoretical rate of a token an hour with two men at the press; that is 240 sheets an hour printed one side only, there would be consumed in printing the paper, at the very least, eight hours of constant activity one day a week. The rate was doubtless appreciably slower than this because of the inevitable delays of any train of work performed with imperfect machinery operated by human hands. But with his press in good repair and operated by competent workmen, it is likely that Parks would have been able to print in a full working day of ten hours the whole issue of 1000 copies of his four page folio newspaper. Folding, addressing, and distributing the newspaper are further operations that must be taken into account in a reconstruction of our printer's activities.

We are too condescending, perhaps, in thinking of the old wooden press of the colonial printing-house as an inexact instrument, laboriously and slowly operated. As its finer productions show, it was capable in good hands of producing excellent presswork, of giving clean sharp impression and exact register. And though it was laboriously operated, it does not follow that its operation was slow. Impelled by a sharp pull

at the bar, the platen moved quickly through its short descent, and the movements of the pressmen followed a set order and rhythm which, under theoretically perfect conditions, enabled them to print, with two pulls each, one side of 240 sheets every hour; that is, four sheets a minute, or one every fifteen seconds. This press may have been, as Moxon called it, a "makeshift, slovenly contrivance," but in its operation, the orderly method and persistence of the craftsmen triumphed over its imperfections.

The most tedious and difficult task that confronted a colonial printer of this period, or a printer anywhere in a small way of business, was the production of a book of a considerable number of pages. With only a single font of type of any given size available in his cases, he was not able to keep pages of metal standing, but must set a few signatures, print them, and distribute the type before he might proceed with the composition of the next group of signatures. A paper shortage during this process would therefore mean laying aside the job until another shipment of suitable paper had been received. Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*, printed by Jonas Green, of Annapolis, was something like four years in press, and an appreciable part of the delay in its production was attributed to the failure of a London agent to ship the paper ordered by the printer. A large rush order coming to a busy printer in the midst of a job of book composition, demanding the use of the type with which the book was being printed, would likewise necessitate a postponement of its completion. It is reflection upon such circumstances as these which causes the student to feel a special degree of admiration for the achievement of the colonial printer in producing so many books of notable size, whether measured by inches or by the extensiveness of their texts. On the one hand we find ourselves regarding such productions as the folio books of laws of printers in every colony, Green & Kneeland's edition of Willard's *Compleat Body of Divinity*, 1726, and the Ephrata Press edition of *Der Blutige Schau Platz*, 1748; on the other hand, there are to be considered the workmanlike, compact octavos in which William Parks set forth in 1737 Mercer's *Exact Abridgement of all the Public Acts of Virginia*, and, ten years later, Stith's *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia*, or in which Rogers & Fowle published in 1749 Douglass's *Summary of the British Settlements*,

and James Parker, in 1765, Smith's *History of the Colony of New-Jersey*.

It is a question as to whether the esthetic quality of the printing of a place or period should be judged by its normal product or by its best. If we are to judge the American press of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by its normal product, we shall be constrained to allow it small distinction either in design or execution. It partook throughout the seventeenth century, and the first half of the eighteenth, of the decadence in book design, in letter design, and in mechanical craftsmanship then current throughout the world. In the colonies, as elsewhere, its features were an undistinguished letter, poorly cast; the use, for the sake of economy in paper, of a type often too small for the letterpress area; a tendency to over-close setting of type; a disregard of the niceties of page proportion; hurried press work performed with wretched ink upon paper of which the chief virtue was its toughness. But in America as everywhere there were printers in this period who had not lost touch with the older traditions of their craft, and who, upon that basis, were able to build a typographical style which was an expression of the neo-classical spirit that pervaded the eighteenth century in literature, architecture, painting, and decoration. The balance, simplicity, proportion, and massing that characterized Georgian architecture and furniture found repetition in the designing of printers intent upon the production of works of consequence. The English and American printers of the eighteenth century were assisted also in the production of their finer works through being able to import book papers from Holland, and through the fact that in their time occurred a growth in skill among English paper makers. Above all were their purposes advanced by the improvement in typefounding that occurred in England through the agency of William Caslon, whose well-designed and exactly cut letters became available to the printing trade about the year 1734. There exist, however, no small number of American-printed works before that year in which the printer's sense of design, his skill in composition and the conscious dignity of his purpose resulted in the production of books for which no apology is necessary. As the century grew older, we find such printers as Franklin, James Parker, John Green, of Boston, Jonas Green, of Annapolis, and William Goddard, of Providence, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, producing books distinctly

fine in typographic quality. The *Charter of the College of William and Mary*, printed in 1736 by William Parks, of Williamsburg; almost any one of the thirteen editions of the Indian Treaties printed by Franklin; the *Charter of the College of New-York*, 1754, by James Parker, of New York; the *Pietas et Gratulatio*, 1761, by John Green, of Boston; Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*, 1765, by Jonas Green, of Annapolis are books of careful proportions, readability, and monumental dignity, displaying the work of the American printer at a best which was very good indeed. The headings of many newspapers were notably well designed, and broadsides printed by such men as William Goddard and Jonas Green often betrayed the quality of charm in the arrangement and display of types. Because of the utilitarian nature of his service, the colonial printer was not normally called upon to produce work in the tradition of what we call today "fine printing," but of his own volition or through circumstances, he engaged in such tasks often enough to convince us that the best practitioners of the craft in his time and place were not entirely outside the ancient tradition of excellence, that they were, indeed, neither insensitive to its spirit nor unskilled in the processes which had created it.

Characteristics of the Output

It is not necessary to make further explanation and apology for the paucity of works of pure literature among the issues of the American press of the colonial period. There was, indeed, an appreciable amount of verse found in its output, a sprinkling of literary essays, and a few imaginative works of other varieties, but, on the whole, the press of that pioneer country, as was to be expected, confined itself largely to the production of works that expressed the everyday concerns of a people struggling against the forces of nature, preoccupied intellectually, in some sections, with religious questions, and intent everywhere upon the maintenance of their freedom against foreign enemies and the development of a new liberalism in political thought. These problems were given expression in the press. A brief analysis of two years of the press of William Parks, of Annapolis and Williamsburg, to whom one returns again and again because he typifies, in many features, the normal printer of the country, serves to indicate the extent to which the general and particular problems of the colonies were being met by him and

by printers everywhere. There are recorded from his Maryland and Virginia presses in the years 1736 and 1737 nineteen separate items, exclusive of newspapers. These comprise seven official publications of the Maryland and Virginia governments; one original work on the treatment of the prevailing pleurisy; an original medical handbook; an abridgement of the laws of Virginia; a college charter; a piece of official printing for a neighboring government in which no press existed; a discussion of a locally engrossing economic question; a military manual; a book of poems; a reprinted religious treatise; a legal handbook; and two annual almanacs. To these must be added a newspaper of regular issue. This list is fairly typical of the product of leading printers of other colonies, though it lacks the sermons that would certainly have found place in the issues of a New England press, and its volume of original verse was an exceptional rather than a regular feature of publication. Furthermore, not every printer was, like Parks, a "publick printer," engaged in the issuing of official publications. In most colonies such an official existed, though in some places the government work was divided among two or more leading printers of the capital.

Through researches of Arthur Benedict Berthold, generously placed at our disposal, it is possible to present figures showing the proportions in which the several departments of knowledge found representation in the output of the press in the period 1639-1763. The figures for the whole country show the following percentages of the total production distributed among these classes of writings:

Theology	37.0	Education	3.5
Law	19.5	Science	1.5
Literature	19.5	Economics	1.5
Political sciences	6.5	Applied science and arts	1.0
Social sciences	4.5	Philosophy	.5
History	4.5	Bibliography	.5

The characteristic cultures of the three geographical sections of the country are suggested when we examine further Mr. Berthold's summaries and discover certain outstanding differences in their relative production in some of the categories named in the foregoing table. In philosophy, science, applied science, history, and bibliography, small categories in every section, there is hardly enough difference in percentages to be remarked upon, but in the other subjects, as displayed in the following table, a wider variance exists:

	New England	*Middle Colonies*	*Southern Colonies*
Theology	46.0	24.0	11.5
Education	4.0	4.0	1.0
Social Science	5.5	3 0	1.5
Economics	1.0	1.0	4.0
Political Science	3.5	11.0	9.0
Law (Statutes, Assembly Proceedings, Executive Utterances)	17 0	21 0	52.0
Literature	15.5	27.5	13.5

These figures have meaning only along the lines of the broadest generalization. In the case of publications in the field of law, certainly, it is misleading to cite them as indicative of sectional characteristics. Legal and governmental publications represent more than half the output of the southern presses because the total of that output was small while the number of governmental publications—statutes, assembly proceedings, proclamations—of their very nature, was relatively the same in the South as in New England and the middle Colonies. Their preponderance in this table may not be taken, therefore, as supporting the assertion, frequently made and probably true, that the chief intellectual concern of the South was in law and politics. That preponderance is, however, an indication that the interest of the South in theology, social science, and literature was less active or less widely permeative of its society than was the case in the northern sections of the country. In recording the high percentage of theological works issuing from the New England press, moreover, our table makes implications which stand the test of analysis. And it seems to be, furthermore, a reliable guide to the cultural life of the Middle Colonies when it asserts through its figures the wholesome balance in interests that marked the output of the press in that section, where theology, "law," and literature show almost the same percentages. Read with critical reservations, this table presents a reliable picture of the intellectual interests of the three main divisions of the country.

Staple Productions

In the colonial period, as at the present time, there existed certain species of publications that we may regard as staples of the press. Thus, because of the frequency of their mention by many printers in many generations, we are brought to realize the importance in their business of the sale of legal and commercial blank forms. Almanacs and primers

also were universally relied upon as regular sources of profit. We may take these forms for granted as staple productions and go on to speak of other kinds less well known in this association.

The legal handbook was important among the staple issues of the American press. *The Constables Pocket-Book* of Boston, 1710, and the recently identified *Conductor Generalis* of [New York, 1711], and the well-known edition of this title of Philadelphia, 1722, were the earliest of the kind to find publication. A new version of the second of these appeared in Williamsburg, in 1736, with the title, *The Office and Authority of a Justice of Peace.* A recent bibliography lists under their various titles some forty editions between 1710 and 1800 of legal handbooks of the two varieties represented by *The Constables Pocket-Book* and the *Conductor Generalis.* Legal handbooks of other sorts, *Every Man His own Lawyer, The Englishman's Right, An Essay on Crimes and Punishments, The Young Clerk's Vade Mecum* are works issued, chiefly for laymen, in communities where any man, regardless of his lack of special training, might be called upon to serve as justice of the peace, town officer, sheriff, or clerk of court.

Other kinds of books of a utilitarian character are found issuing from the various presses of the colonies with such frequency as to justify the description of them as staple productions. Following the publication by William Bradford in 1705 (some writers mention an edition of 1698) of *The Secretary's Guide, or, Young Man's Companion,* there were issued in numerous editions many handbooks of a similar character designed to give instruction to young men entering mercantile life. *The Dealer's Pocket Companion,* and *The Merchant's and Trader's Security* were specimens of commercial handbooks of the ready-reckoner variety which found frequent republication in a country in which education was not necessarily a possession of the shopkeeper's assistant. Household guides in the form of cook books began with the publication of *The Compleat Housewife* by William Parks, of Williamsburg, in 1742. *The American Instructor,* first brought out by Franklin in 1748, was a compendium in which were to be found sections treating most of the practical sciences already mentioned here as the subjects of separate works. The annual almanac, the New England Primer, and primers of other sorts, the book of hymn and psalm tunes, the moralized tale in chapbook form for children, the broadside

ballad, the separately printed advertisement are all staples of the colonial American press which, taken with the other types mentioned and studied in their perspective, aid in building up a livelier picture of colonial social life than may be attained from any other single source known to the historian.

In New England and to a lesser degree in the Middle Colonies, but to a very small degree in the South, the printed sermon was a staple of the press. It is customary by way of generalization for the critics of the modern age to speak in terms of mocking reprobation of the New England sermon as dry, as intolerant, and as breathing the message of a vindictive Jehovah. But not all these sermons, in truth, nor even the greater part of them, were of that description. The pulpit took the place in those serious communities of the newspaper, the magazine, and the public lecture of a later day. Through it ideas were conveyed to a people intensely interested in ideas, and though the underlying theology of the preachers might be harsh, the practical aspects of their teaching, as it emerged from their sermons, revealed, usually, gentleness of character, respect for human personality, a desire to elevate men beyond their material concerns, and a sympathetic appreciation of certain central facts of life which made it a creditable expression of the spiritual, as opposed to the material, life of the community.

Discussion of the staple publications of the colonial press is incomplete without special reference to the newspaper and to the periodical magazine which became so important a feature of American publishing in the later years of the eighteenth century. Attention to the main purposes of the newspaper, the conveyance of news of the outside world and the dissemination of local information through the medium of advertisements, told upon its development in the colonies to such an extent that an English writer of 1789 commented in these words upon the quality it already displayed at that time. "The newspapers of Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and Maryland," he wrote, "are unequalled, whether considered with respect to wit and humour, entertainment or instruction. Every capital town on the continent prints a weekly paper, and several of them have one or more daily papers." It is interesting to observe that the American newspaper assumed distinctive characteristics in editorial and typographical form in the early period of its development.

Between the years 1694 and 1820, there were published in thirty colonies and states a total number of 1934 newspapers. More than one-fourth of these journals failed to continue publication for a single year. Nearly 400 of them, however, ran for periods varying between five and ten years in duration, while an almost equal number maintained publication for periods greater than ten years. This was, indeed, a high mortality rate, but a more interesting reflection upon the figures is that the rate was not higher, even, than here shown in view of the difficulties under which periodical journals must be published in an undeveloped country. The statistics of the distribution of these newspapers illustrate also the distribution of the publishing business of the country over that whole term of years in so far as its three chief cities were concerned. Boston issued in these years 71 journals, Philadelphia 98, and New York 127. The great number of journals published in the western states in that period indicates the extraordinarily alert character of the newer communities; Ohio, between 1793 and 1820, published 90 journals, while Kentucky, beginning six years earlier could show a total of 84 publications of a similar character. With his country the stage of a great experiment in political and social theory, the American felt the need of keeping himself informed on public matters both for his own protection and in order that he might have his part in guiding that experiment to the point of success.

It is not to be understood that the colonial newspaper pretended, through editorial utterance, to be the maker of public opinion. It conveyed news and information, leaving discussion and judgment largely to the reader. Its correspondence columns, however, in some degree took the place of the modern editorial page, for the publisher himself, or some other public-minded person, writing under a pseudonym, contributed letters inimical or friendly to movements, persons, or administrations. By closing his columns to opponents upon one excuse or another, the publisher could control the political policy of his paper. It often happened that the too-free expression of sentiments in news or correspondence columns brought the publisher into conflict with local authority or with public opinion. Such respectively were the cases of John Peter Zenger, of New York, in 1734, and of William Goddard, of Baltimore, in 1777 and 1779. In the celebrated Zenger trial for libel the action brought by the government was defeated through the decision of

a court which affirmed that "in prosecution for libel the jury were the judges of both the law and the facts," thus establishing the germ in the English-speaking world of the idea of the freedom of the press within the limitations of truthful statement. When William Goddard found himself the object of indignity at the hands of his neighbors, because of his publication in the *Maryland Journal* of matter offensive to them, the Maryland Assembly gave him protection and brought his persecutors to the bar of the House for reproof, thus making an active principle of the phrase, written in the Maryland Declaration of Rights, "that the liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved." These two events, respectively considered, established in principle the right of the newspaper to express opinion in the face of administrative disapproval and of popular dissent, and, taken together, formed the basis in this country of the acceptance of the newspaper press as the Fourth Estate.

It is only of late years that scholars, by investigation of their content, have evaluated the early American magazine as a factor in social and cultural development, and in the development of a class of professional men of letters. Beginning in 1740-41 with the publication in Philadelphia, three days apart, of *The American Magazine* of Andrew Bradford and *The General Magazine* of Benjamin Franklin, and carrying through the year 1800, one finds that a total of 98 magazines and periodicals other than newspapers were published in the country. Principally the output of Philadelphia, New York, and Boston, these publications were for the most part vigorous in tone, hospitable to local writers, and of the first importance in developing literary tastes and pursuits throughout the nation. By far the greater number of them, about 60, were general and literary in character, while the remainder were either religious or political, or else devoted to the interests of farm and household.

The Size of Editions

It is difficult to reach general conclusions as to the size of editions brought out by the colonial printer. The subscription book, of course, was issued in an approximation to the number of subscriptions received in advance of publication. A staple product like an almanac or a primer would reach into editions of some thousands of copies to be disposed of

by the printer himself, by associated printers in nearby towns, and by hawkers and shopkeepers. In 1766, Franklin & Hall printed and sold 9,771 copies of *Poor Richard's Almanack*. In that year and the year before the same firm issued a primer in an edition of 2000 copies, and an edition of Dilworth's spelling book of an equal size. Works of original creation such as Colden's *History of the Five Indian Nations*, of New York, 1727, would generally come out modestly in an edition of 500 copies. It was better business, the printer felt, to be forced to reprint a successful book than to carry on his shelves a large "remainder" of a volume that had failed to make its way. In the Franklin & Hall Work Book for 1764 and 1765, and in the firm's partnership account of 1766, we find numerous entries naming sizes of editions that probably illustrate conditions prevailing throughout the country in that period.

Title	*Form*	*Edition*
Catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia	Book	400
Governor Franklin's Answer to the Charges	Broadside	1000
Dickinson's Address to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania	Broadside?	2000
Remarks upon a Message	Book	500
Advertisements relating to keeping streets clean	Broadside	2500
Galloway's Vindication	Broadside	400
Meditations	Book	500

Such figures as these indicate a wide range in the size of editions in the colonial period, and confirm the obvious reflection that then as now the number of copies printed in any case was determined by the nature of the work and the probable market for it. If there needs to be stated an average figure for editions of books and pamphlets of a literary or political character in the early and middle years of the eighteenth century, it would not be far out of the way to suggest 300 to 500 copies as probable. Such a figure does not apply to the exceptional books, long awaited and of known general interest. The first book from the press in the United States, for example, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, Cambridge, 1640, appeared in an edition of 1700 copies; the Eliot Indian New Testament, Cambridge, 1661, in 1000 or 1500 copies; the Mennonite Martyr book, *Der Blutige Schau Platz*, printed by the Ephrata Press in 1748, the largest book of the colonial period, was issued in an edition of 1300 copies. These were extraordinary undertakings, reflecting the confidence of the publishing agencies in the value of their productions. It is to be doubted whether similar

works produced today would be issued in larger or even in equal numbers.

Costs and Charges

The cost of the normal book to printer and to purchaser in the colonial period is ascertainable in enough instances to make possible general conclusions. It has been estimated that the cost to the customer of the *Remarks upon a Message*, a small book in octavo of 72 pages, mentioned above, was about 8½ pence for each of the 500 copies printed, and the printer's net profit upon the whole job about £6. Franklin & Hall charged the customer for this octavo at the rate of 50 shillings Pennsylvania currency (or 30 shillings sterling) a sheet for composition and press work; 14 shillings currency a ream for its five reams of paper; and 40 shillings currency for folding and stitching the edition. Twenty years later, in the years immediately after the Revolution, one finds a slight increase in printing charges. Franklin's 30 shillings sterling for a sheet of octavo with its much greater amount of composition and more tedious imposition, has become, in the bill of a Connecticut printer in 1784, 28 shillings sterling for a sheet in folio. This Connecticut printer paid a local engraver about 28 shillings sterling for engraving a copperplate of the state seal to decorate the title-page of the book. The cost of the paper was approximately 14 shillings sterling a ream as opposed to the ten shillings sterling charged by Franklin. Examination of the printing charges prevailing in London in the second half of the century indicates that the American charges were appreciably higher than those of the English printer. Journeymen's wages in London in the period specified were equal to or slightly greater than in America, but the American printer must import his type, his press, a portion of his ink, and a portion of his paper. His overhead, therefore, was larger than that of his English contemporary, and living in a land in which printing houses were relatively few, his selling price did not suffer greatly from the downward pressure of competition. Throughout the period of his partnership with David Hall, including many years in which he was merely a silent partner, Franklin received from the firm annually about £467 sterling as his half of the profits arising from an establishment in which the equipment was worth only £184 in the same money. One hesitates to attempt the statement of

these sums in terms of modern money, but it is obvious that a successful printing establishment of the Franklin & Hall class might be regarded as an uncommonly well-paying business.

The selling price of books, one concludes by means of extremely rough estimates, was about the same as that which prevails in our own time in the United States. William Parks issued a small book of poems—*Poems on Several Occasions*—in Williamsburg in 1736 at 15d. hard money a copy. This sum, stated in United States money, would probably be equal today, or in this general period, to about $1.50, a normal price for the current small book of original verse. Tennent's *Essay on the Pleurisy* of the same place and year, a small octavo of 46 pages, sold at 10½d. a copy, or about $1.05 today at the somewhat arbitrarily chosen ratio of money values of the years 1736 and 1938; that is as 1 is to 5. The huge Mennonite Martyr Book, comprising 1512 pages in folio, was sold in 1748 at £1 a copy. Such a volume in our period would be fairly priced at $25 or more. Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*, of Annapolis, 1765, a folio of 736 pages, on an imported paper, was intended by its promoters to be sold at £1 a copy. Today a book of relative quality would sell for a sum five times as great. Innumerable examples might be set forth without greatly altering the conclusion that the cost of books to the eighteenth-century American reader was not greatly different, relative money values considered, than to his descendant of the present day.

The Censorship of the Press

The operation of the Press Restriction Acts of the English Parliament did not extend to the American colonies. Before the expiration of the last of these in 1695, presses had been established without hindrance in Massachusetts, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. The interdict upon the Nuthead press of Jamestown in 1682 was the result of action by the Governor and Council of Virginia, reinforced by specific royal order. A Parliamentary restriction act was cited for the only time against an American printer, and then ineffectually, when in 1693 the Quaker magistrates of Philadelphia charged William Bradford with the violation of one of its provisions. The existence of the press in the several colonies was recognized and the machinery for its control set up by those royal instructions to governors which said "you are to

provide by all necessary Orders that noe person have any press for printing, nor that any book, pamphlet or other matters whatsoever be printed without your especial leave & license first obtained." Jealous of all prerogatives of the royal governors, the colonial Lower Houses of Assembly soon claimed the right to reprove and punish the printer who offended them; groups of individuals strongly entrenched in privilege occasionally were able to prevent the publication of matter affecting their policies; in due course the mob took upon itself the summary punishment of the printer who went against its current opinion; and, finally, the plea of libel in the courts provided an effective deterrent to indiscreet utterance through the press.

The censorship thus constituted, exercised now on religious or social grounds, now on political, continued to manifest itself occasionally throughout the colonial period. The regulatory power of the government came early into operation. In 1662 a law of Massachusetts required copy to be approved by a board of licensers before publication, and though there exists little evidence that this supervision often resulted in the suppression of books, yet it was probably at the instigation of these censors that books were occasionally prohibited publication by the General Court. *The Isle of Pines*, an amusing hoax, widely published in Europe, expressed in language, and dealing with incidents, of a sort not regarded as edifying by the stricter element in Massachusetts, was prohibited publication on moral grounds in 1668. An edition of the *Imitation of Christ* was refused publication in 1669 until its papistical tendencies should be subjected to revisal. The earliest newspaper of the colonies, the *Publick Occurrences* of 1690, was suppressed in Boston by Governor and Council after its first issue.

A special set of circumstances brought it about that certain governors of Massachusetts exercised with marked seriousness their prerogative of licensing the printing of books within their jurisdiction, so that we can point to a few instances in which American eighteenth-century books actually display an official "leave to print." On the verso of the title leaf of John Williams's *Redeemed Captive* of Boston, 1707, is a bold "Imprimatur, || J. Dudley," and, more specifically, in the same position in [John Colman's] *Some Reasons for the Setting up of Markets in Boston*, printed by James Franklin in 1719, appears: "Boston, Feb. 29. 1719. || Imprimatur, || Samuel Shute." It was as the result of action

against them by the Massachusetts Assembly that James Franklin and Daniel Fowle, in 1727 and 1756 respectively, removed from Massachusetts to other colonies. We have already spoken of the conflicts with authority of William Nuthead in Virginia and Maryland, and of William Bradford in Pennsylvania. The provost of the College of Philadelphia, the Rev. William Smith, for some weeks conducted classes in the Philadelphia jail, where he had been imprisoned for being concerned in the publication of matter regarded by the Lower House of Assembly as reflecting upon its dignity.

Class or group dominance often was as effective in preventing publication as government prohibition. The Mather influence in Boston weighed so heavily upon the local printers that Thomas Maule was compelled to apply to William Bradford, of New York, for the publication of one of his works; the Rev. Jacob Henderson of Maryland found it expedient in 1732 to fight the battle of the Maryland clergy through the medium of the Philadelphia press; and the clerical defender of the Two-Penny Act in Virginia, the Rev. John Camm, found the Williamsburg press so greatly in awe of his influential opponents that he was compelled in 1763 to send one of his pamphlets to Annapolis for publication.

The best remembered of the instances in which the offended populace, or organized minorities within it, took action against the press were those in which, in 1775, the Connecticut Sons of Liberty sacked the New York establishment of James Rivington, and, in 1777 and 1779, the Whig Club of Baltimore mistreated William Goddard and attempted to force his exile from the city.

But there was another side to the picture made by these acts of persecution. As early as 1696 a courageous Salem jury, though instructed by hostile and angry judges, pronounced Thomas Maule not guilty of libel against government, church, and ministry in the publication of his *Truth held Forth*, and vindicated his right to print fact, however disagreeable to those whom it might concern. The celebrated trial of John Peter Zenger, of New York, in 1735 is said to have "first established in North America the principle that in prosecution for libel the jury were the judges of both the law and the facts," but it has been brought out in a recent study by Matt B. Jones that the Maule jury, nearly forty years before, had taken exactly this stand with the same happy results for the

defendant. In 1774, the Continental Congress in its *Letter to the Inhabitants of the Province of Quebec* named the freedom of the press as one of the five invaluable rights enjoyed by the English colonies of North America. The Maryland Assembly in 1777 compelled the members of the Whig Club of Baltimore to apologize at the bar of the House for violating the liberty of the press, promised in the Declaration of Rights, by their outrageous treatment of William Goddard, proprietor of the *Maryland Journal*.

Despite the examples of press censorship that may be cited between 1639 and 1783, official action against the printer was the exception rather than the rule. Though the Governor's power over him was absolute in theory, yet it was in practice a power lightly and infrequently administered. Within very wide limitations of speech his press was free also from interference by the Assembly, and thanks to those circumstances it was possible that there should occur throughout the colonial period in America, in the fields of politics and religion, a steady progression towards liberalism in theory and practice. In the chapters of this section which treat the developments of the years 1784-1860, this discussion of the censorship of the press is resumed and carried into the period of the young Republic.

THE BOOKTRADE ORGANIZATION IN THE COLONIAL PERIOD

A DISTINCTION BETWEEN the functions of printer and publisher has been recognized everywhere from the early days of the trade in printed books. We conceive of the one as the technical producer, the manufacturer of the book; of the other, as the promoter who finds the money for its printing, and directly, or through agencies of various kinds, distributes the book to the public. This broad division of function still underlies normal booktrade organization in most countries of the world. It had an early beginning in the American colonies, where all its elements showed themselves fully developed in Boston in the second half of the seventeenth century.

By way of elaboration of this statement it is important to observe that in Boston, side by side with the dual organization just described, there existed an organization of a more primitive sort in which the functions of printer, binder, and publisher were united in the single person of the printer. And it must be emphasized that this more primitive system, in which a single establishment combined all the operations of manufacture and distribution, was the form of organization normal to the booktrade throughout the country virtually to the end of the colonial period. In Boston, throughout the late years of the seventeenth century, we observe such men as Bartholomew Green and Benjamin Harris printing books for others, or printing and selling them at their own risk, in the normal fashion of printers everywhere in the colonies. At the same time John Usher and several others of the town were acting strictly as bookseller-publishers, and Edmund Ranger was conducting a business in which he performed the functions of bookseller-publisher and binder. Neither in New York nor in Philadelphia, in that period or for many years afterwards, did any such complexity enter the trade. William Bradford, the prototypographer of Philadelphia and New York, was, in his own person or in the persons of his immediate employees, printer, publisher, binder, and bookseller, and Benjamin Franklin throughout his business career

united all these functions in the persons of himself and his staff of workmen.

The first bookseller of the colonies was Hezekiah Usher, of Boston, who, about the year 1647, added the selling of books to the general merchandise business in which he was then engaged. His relatively small dealings in books were greatly enlarged by his son John, who made bookselling his principal occupation. At the time of John Usher's greatest prosperity, there existed in Boston several competitors in his business. Neither Usher nor his rivals were mere retail booksellers; they were truly publishers, whose names appeared in imprints preceded by the distinguishing words "Printed for." Though the term does not seem to have been regularly employed in the colonies, it was the function of the London "stationer" which at the turn of the century was being performed in Boston by John Usher and the other important booksellers of the town. These men initiated projects of publication, financed them, and sold the product at both wholesale and retail.

The good fortune that attended the Ushers in the business of bookselling is accounted for by the combination of political, social, and intellectual factors which existed in the thriving town of Boston and the collegiate community of Cambridge, the seat of Harvard College, but no explanation of their success would be valid that omitted emphasis upon their own intelligence and fitness for the work in hand. Basing his career upon the foundation laid down by his father, John Usher carried the business far beyond its mid-century beginnings. He began publishing on his own account in 1669, in which year his father seems to have given over to him the bookselling and publishing departments of his business of general merchandising. In addition to his selling of large importations of English books and, doubtless, of large stocks of pamphlets and books from the local presses of Boston and Cambridge, John Usher was responsible in the next thirty years for the publication of several important New England writings and a large number of local works of lesser importance. Nathaniel Morton's *New-Englands Memoriall*, a book of definite importance as an historical source, bore the imprint "Cambridge: Printed by S. G. and M. J. for John Usher of Boston, 1669." A similar imprint appeared on the title-page of the *General Laws and Liberties of the*

Massachusetts Colony, of 1672, the first American book to be issued under an official privilege for exclusive sale. In 1675, a reissue of the sheets of this book appeared in London with an imprint bearing the names of Usher as publisher and Richard Chiswell as bookseller. Chiswell was a London stationer with whom over a period of many years Usher had dealings considerable in size for a colonial merchant of that day or even of a century later. John Usher was described by a contemporary who encountered him in 1686 as "very Rich, adventures much to sea; but has got his Estate by Bookselling." But active though the Boston booktrade was in this period, it is probable that most of its votaries were forced to be satisfied with a moderate living. Usher was a man of inherited means, who was bookseller, merchant, and politician at the same time. His prosperity is, accordingly, easily accounted for, but after all, the importance of his life for us is not what the booktrade of Boston did for him, but what he did for the booktrade. There is no doubt that he established the tradition of aggressive vigor in method coupled with dignity in the character of production that gave individuality to the Boston booktrade throughout the colonial period.

It has already been indicated that the Boston booktrade organization was rendered complete by the presence in that city of independent bookbinders not directly connected with a printing house. The earliest of these was John Sanders, bookbinder, who took the Freeman's Oath in 1636 and purchased a shop in Boston in 1637. Nothing is known of him after that year. One of the unanswered questions of the time relates to the degree of his activity as a binder, whether, indeed, he actually practised his craft in Boston or was engaged there in other pursuits. If he was living in 1640 and active in bookbinding, it is likely that he was responsible for the sound and workmanlike bindings in calf that appeared on the first real book from the press in what is now the United States, that is, the *Whole Booke of Psalmes*, of Cambridge, 1640. But whoever may have been the binder of that book, there is no question that some twenty years later, the trade of bookbinding, as a craft practised independently of the printing office, was in operation in Boston. The opportunity of binding the Eliot Indian Bible had brought to Massachusetts in 1663, as a permanent resident, one John Ratcliff. His emolument in this work was small, but after its comple-

tion, he continued to follow his trade in Boston for many ensuing years. During a large part of this time he engaged also in the business of bookselling and publishing, and we find that his rival and successor, Edmund Ranger, also combined in his business these two functions of the booktrade.

If we review the paragraphs just written we shall learn that almost every feature of the complex booktrade organization of the present day existed either in fact or in germ in seventeenth-century Boston. That city was neighbor to Cambridge with its vigorous young College; it was a prosperous port, the center of an economic life based upon agriculture, commerce, and fisheries; and finally, circumstances earlier spoken of brought it about that its people were readers and students to a degree unknown elsewhere in the colonies. Generations were to pass before a system of book production and distribution approximating in extent or in fineness of organization the system in operation in seventeenth-century Boston was to be found in any other American town. And in the other towns in the meantime—in New London, in Annapolis, in Williamsburg, even in New York and Philadelphia—the twin functions of the booktrade, production and distribution, were normally united in the person of the community printer, though at different times and places this duality of function seemed in the way of disappearing before the intrusion of the more complex form of organization. Such an instance occurred when a sermon by Thomas Bray appeared in Annapolis in 1700 with the statement in the imprint that it had been printed "By Thomas Reading . . . for Evan Jones Bookseller." This seems to have been the first appearance of an individual describing himself as bookseller and acting as a bookseller-publisher in any American town except Boston, but though Evan Jones appears in one capacity or another in connection with later Maryland publications, he seems never again to have described himself specifically as bookseller. Almost a century passed after his death in 1722 before the publisher, as a functionary distinct from the printer, appeared again in the booktrade of Annapolis or Baltimore.

It is obvious that many of these printing establishments had attached to them bookshops in which the printer disposed not only of his own publications but, in addition, sold books imported from London. The function of the American bookseller, indeed, whether simple book-

seller, publisher-bookseller, or printer-bookseller, was very largely the sale of the imported book, for the literary standard of the educated colonial American was higher than that exemplified by the product of his local press, which, it may be worth while to assert once more, was primarily utilitarian in its purpose. But on the booksellers' shelves of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and in the printing offices of these and the smaller cities were to be found, newly imported from London, the Greek and Roman classics and the favorite standard English works in history, theology, philosophy, and letters, together with current publications of English writers. In the *Boston Book Market*, Worthington C. Ford printed and analyzed a number of lists of books imported in the seventeenth century by John Usher, and others, with results that are confirmatory in a high degree of the accepted tradition as to the cultural status of that city in its early days. The examination in 1920 of numerous lists of private libraries by Thomas Goddard Wright for the purposes of his study, entitled *Literary Culture in Early New England*, again emphasized the high quality of the New Englander's literary interests. Later analyses of books imported by dealers in New York, Philadelphia, Annapolis, and Williamsburg, and examinations of the libraries of the gentry, merchants, and professional men of those cities and the country surrounding are leading students to conclusions not greatly different from those arrived at in regard to New England in so far as the more prosperous and better educated groups of those sections are concerned. It is hardly necessary to develop this thesis by illustration, nor is it necessary to catalogue here the contents of the colonial American bookshops, for in all essentials, except that of size, they must have been replicas of the London establishments of the period.

Bookselling Methods in the Colonies

The printing shop of the colonial small town became from its very nature a center of community life. To begin with, it was the clearing house of local information and the receiving station of news from the outside world. Its normal functions of newspaper publication and book and job printing brought to it many persons in the course of a day of business. And finally, because its proprietor was the chief local patron of the post-office system, he very frequently held the office of

postmaster of his town, thus adding another to the causes which made his shop a place of public assemblage. The presence of the townspeople in and about his establishment for such reasons as these encouraged him often to conduct in connection with his printing business a shop for the sale of articles of merchandise not definitely enough classified to find their way into the regular mercantile establishments, the small wares which a later period knew as "notions." On his shelves, if we may generalize from advertisements in the newspapers of all sections, might be found commodities as varied as cough medicine, sealing wax, chocolate, lemons, writing paper, pens, and fiddle strings. It would have been extraordinary if a shop with so diversified a stock had not also contained for sale books printed by its proprietor or taken on consignment from outside publishers, both of England and America. And again from advertisements, from imprints, and from other contemporary sources we learn that this was the case, that the progressive printer regarded his importation and sale of books as a service to the community almost as important as his printing. The bookselling department of the printer's business, therefore, formed an important addition to the agencies for book distribution provided by the separately maintained bookshop, the auction house, and the wagon of the chapman. One need mention specifically only the better known of such establishments—the bookselling departments of the printing houses of Franklin & Hall in Philadelphia, of Hugh Gaine in New York, and of Isaiah Thomas in Worcester.

In addition to the sale of books over the counter by printer or retail bookseller, we recognize in the colonies three other modes of distribution familiar in the European practice of the time—sale by subscription, by travelling booksellers, by auction. Let us give a few moments to studying the American adaptation of these methods of bookselling.

The Subscription Method

The publication and sale of books by subscription is a development of, or, rather, a cleavage from the ancient system of individual patronage of authors. It is in effect the exchange of the single patron for the many, the single patron, with his indefinite assurance of aid, for the many, with their pledges to purchase upon publication, at a fixed price, one or more copies of a proposed book. Instead of the dedication to

the single patron, the book contains under the subscription system a list of the many patrons who have made its publication possible. The older system of the single patron does not seem to have rooted itself in the colonies firmly enough to make necessary a consideration of it as a factor in the publication of books. Doubtless there were innumerable instances in which aid was given an author or publisher by individuals, groups, or public officials and public bodies, but there were few in which monetary assistance from an individual was acknowledged by the European method of printing a more or less flattering dedication at the beginning of the book. One notable exception to this general statement is found in connection with the publication of Thomas Bacon's *Laws of Maryland*, printed by Jonas Green, of Annapolis, in 1765. Failing for political reasons to obtain the support of the Assembly for his project, Bacon procured subscriptions from Lord Baltimore and some twenty gentlemen and merchants of the Province. Before publication, Lord Baltimore withdrew his subscription of £100 sterling from the general fund and gave that sum outright to Bacon in consideration of the proposed dedication to himself of the great book of laws. It is believed that his Lordship's honorarium was the sole emolument received by the compiler for his labors of seven arduous years.

The first use of the subscription system in English book publication occurred in the year 1617, when John Minsheu, tiring of the uncertain ways of the individual patron, asked subscriptions of the public towards the printing of his book, *The Guide into Tongues*. The new method of underwriting expenses ran side by side with the old for two more centuries, when the finer organization of the trade and the dissemination of education made possible the general practice of the present day by which the publisher risks his own funds and recoups himself through direct sale to the public. The subscription system is still an important factor in certain special departments of the booktrade, but the ancient method of dependence upon the individual patron is all but unknown in modern publishing.

The normal subscription procedure familiar to us today—the agreement of a group of individuals to take upon publication, at a prescribed rate, one or more copies of a proposed book—is that which in the eighteenth century began to show itself in the colonies as a feature of extraordinary importance in the marketing of books. Certain books

which in England would have been published in the regular course of trade must be assured a reasonable sale in advance of publication in an American community containing a relatively small number of cultivated people. Samuel Willard's *Compleat Body of Divinity* (Boston, 1726), with about 650 copies taken by 450 subscribers; Prince's *Chronological History of New England* (Boston, 1736), with about 1450 copies subscribed for; *A Collection of all the Acts of Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1733), with an uncompleted list showing only some 250 books subscribed for; and Thomas Cradock's *New Version of the Psalms of David* (Annapolis, 1756), with 501 copies subscribed for, are representative of the books in prose and verse which found their way into print through vigorous canvassing for subscriptions. The subscription lists printed in some of the earlier books of this character, in the Willard and Prince works, for example, are local, or, at the least sectional, in the distribution of the names which compose them, but occasionally in other books of the time, and generally in later years, the character of the lists became sensibly different. When William Parks published his collection of Virginia laws, a work of widespread practical usefulness, he was able to obtain subscriptions, in addition to those received from local purchasers, from officials and lawyers throughout the middle and southern colonies, from many ship captains of London and Bristol, and from merchants and gentlemen in various parts of England. According to an advertisement in the *New York Mercury* for November 21, 1768, James Rivington, the enterprising, and anonymous, publisher of Churchill's *Poems* (1768), brought together a list of 2200 subscribers. The lists published in the book are evidence that his canvassers had been busy in almost all the English-American colonies, including some of those located in the islands of the West Indies.

A case of book publication by subscription that possesses many interesting features was an outright piracy in 1774 by James Rivington, of New York, of John Hawkesworth's *A New Voyage Round the World performed by Captain James Cook*. This publisher, recently come from the London booksellers' world, had already gone into the business of importing and selling wholesale (we learn from a letter to Henry Knox, of Boston) Irish piracies of contemporary English books. It was only one further step to entering upon the pursuit of piracy on his own account. His proposals regarding Cook's *New Voyage* read in part:

"Whosoever would purchase the English Edition of the late Voyage round the World, must give Three Guineas for it; which excessive price has engaged James Rivington's Proposing to the public, a complete edition of that work, . . . in two volumes . . . excellent copperplate cuts . . . a new letter . . . a paper manufactured in this country . . . trifling price viz. one dollar and a half . . ." The publisher named in his prospectus, as prepared to accept subscriptions to the book on his behalf, representative booksellers in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Haven, Annapolis, Charleston, and the islands of Dominica, Antigua, St. Christopher, and St. Croix. He concluded his prospectus with a patriotic appeal of a sort not uncommon in the advertisements of printers in those years when the impending separation from England was in every man's mind. "The publication of the most esteemed modern books, at very low prices," he wrote, "will afford encouragement to infant manufactories of paper established in this province, tend to check the remittance of large sums annually, for European editions of authors, and will employ a great number of American Families, so that Mr. Rivington flatters himself a very general support will be afforded by the public to this undertaking, and the list of subscribers amply enlarged." An appeal from Rivington based upon the new American economic nationalism seems somewhat ironic when a few months later we see its writer mobbed and maltreated by his American neighbors for loyalist sympathies and expressions.

If Rivington had relied for his profit in the sale of this book solely upon advance subscriptions he would hardly have been encouraged to carry on the series of similar publications announced in his prospectus. His list shows subscriptions for only about 750 copies. At one dollar and a half each there could hardly have been much profit for him in the publication. One must assume that he expected a large post-publication sale of the book and that he counted upon his subscriptions merely as insurance against possible loss and as a means of advertising his project. From his letters to Henry Knox, of Boston, and from other indications, it is clear that this was the case, clear, indeed, that he planned a wide distribution of the book through the booksellers of other cities. It is probable that he offered each of them, as he did Henry Knox, the privilege of having his own name in the imprint as publisher, but so far as is known from existing copies of the book only one book-

seller fell in with this feature of his plan. The John Carter Brown Library possesses a copy of Volume II of the book which is made up of Rivington's sheets, supplied with a cancel title-leaf, bearing the imprint: "New-York: Printed for William Aikman, Bookseller and Stationer, at Annapolis, 1774." Except for the new matter in the imprint after the place of publication, this title-page bears the appearance of having been printed by Rivington from the same setting of type as that used for the issue bearing his own name. Clearly Mr. Aikman's only responsibility in connection with the Annapolis issue of the book was to sell it. He advertised it in the *Maryland Gazette* for December 1, 1774, without reference to Rivington's part in the work, as "This day is published, by William Aikman . . . price 16s. currency . . ."

The Book Pedlar

A picturesque mode of bookselling that prevailed in rural America of the colonial days, and still prevails there to some extent, was the hawking of books by chapman, pedlar, and specialist "travelling bookseller." The antiquity of this practice in the colonies is evidenced by an entry in the *Diary* of Cotton Mather, who, as early as 1683 (I.65), wrote, "There is an old Hawker, who will fill this Countrey with devout and useful Books, if I will direct him; I will therefore direct Him, and assist him, as far as I can, in doing so." And when in 1713 the Massachusetts Assembly passed an act against "Hawkers, Pedlars, and Petty Chapmen," he recorded in the *Diary* (II.283): "I must also assist the Booksellers, in addressing the Assembly, that their late Act against Pedlers, may not hinder their Hawkers from carrying Books of Piety about the Countrey." One concludes from this passage that the hawkers, at least in the time and place concerned, were employed as distributing agents by the larger booksellers of the city, forming another unit in the complex booktrade organization of Boston in their period. A similar condition existed elsewhere in the country at a later time. Another inference to be made from Mather's words is that a doubt existed in his mind as to the application of the law to the activities of the travelling booksellers, but it does not seem that he and the established booksellers were successful in persuading the Assembly to leniency towards that group. It is true that after its term of three years had expired, the law was allowed to lapse for a period of ten years, but in 1726, it was

reënacted without a time limitation. A curious reflection upon the state of the peddling trade of that time is found in the preamble of the act of 1713 in which it is recited that complaint had been made of the injury to regular trade occasioned by hawkers, pedlars, and petty chapmen passing through the country to sell merchandise obtained by theft at the time of the late desolation of Boston by fire, and by frequent robberies and thefts since committed, and further, that with such a source of supply open to them, many dishonest handicraftsmen had given up their trades and turned pedlar.

The pedlar seems about this period to have been an unpopular adjunct to the social and commercial life of the times, for in 1729, the Pennsylvania Assembly, with the Massachusetts law of 1726 as a guide, enacted a licensing law for "Hawkers or Pedlars," and placed in it a restriction upon sale by auction except when conducted by the regularly commissioned Vendue Master of the City of Philadelphia. We shall speak at some length of this Pennsylvania act in a later section. Enactments against hawkers and pedlars are found on the books of most of the colonies north of Maryland, though it seems to have been only Massachusetts that sought to eradicate them by an absolute prohibition of their activities. In most of the colonies the payment of a license fee was regarded as a sufficient indication of responsibility and a pledge of good behavior.

If one may judge from the practice of the professional travelling booksellers of a later period, notably of Mathew Carey's celebrated agent, Parson Weems, it is likely that this type of salesman carried with him a stock of well-known, standard works as well as large numbers of titles of that less weighty sort which took its name from the manner of its distribution. The "chap book," that is, the popular tale, ballad, or pious tract, published to be sold by the chapman, or hawker, formed a considerable part of the output of the American press. From a relatively early period certain printing establishments existed almost entirely for the production of books of this character, small books and pamphlets intended to instruct or amuse the children or the less well-educated members of the rural American communities. Isaiah Thomas tells us that the business of his first master, Zechariah Fowle, was principally the printing of ballads and small pamphlets. An interesting study could be made of the nature, extent, and chief centers of

this trade through the centuries. Rich material for such a study would be found in Evans's *American Bibliography*, and in such special bibliographies as Worthington C. Ford's *Broadsides, Ballads, etc., Printed in Massachusetts;* his *Isaiah Thomas Collection of Ballads;* and the *Early American Children's Books* of A. S. W. Rosenbach. The special nature of the chap book business appears in the following imprints of two editions of a pietistic tale known as *The Prodigal Daughters.* The first reads: "Boston: Printed and Sold by E. Russell . . . 1794; (Price Six Pence)—Where Town and Country Shop-keepers, Travelling-traders, &c. may be supplied with sundry Books, &c." In a later edition, the imprint reads, even more specifically: "New York: Printed for the Travelling Booksellers. 1799."

The Book Auction

A third important means of book distribution in the American colonies is found in the auction, or as it was called in colonial days and is still called in certain rural districts of the United States, the "vendue." The sale of books by auction, long in vogue on the continent of Europe, seems to have been initiated in this country in 1713, some thirty-seven years after the first employment of that method in England, that is, the sale by auction in October, 1676, of the library of Dr. Lazarus Seaman. It was on May 28, 1713, that "a good Collection of Books" was sold in Boston at "Publick Vendue." This earliest American auction to be held solely for the disposal of books was advertised by a printed catalogue of the titles, as were, indeed, eight of the nine book auctions which were held in Boston in the three-year period 1716-1718. From this time to the end of the eighteenth century, advertisements in the journals of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia are sufficiently numerous to convince one that the sale of books by the auction method was a widely accepted practice, though, in fact, a practice called into use with relative infrequency. There are recorded by George L. McKay, for this period of almost ninety years, 366 auctions held in the cities of Boston, Cambridge, Salem, Providence, Elizabethtown, Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore. Though representing only about four sales a year for the whole country, this number is nevertheless indicative of the acceptability to colonial bookseller and public of the auction method of book distribution.

In most of its principles, the early American book auction followed the lines familiar to us today. One observes in its practice, however, one or two variations from the normal that seem to call for particular comment. We encounter an unusual sort of book sale, for example, in reading an advertisement of April 11, 1744, in which Benjamin Franklin announced a sale by auction of choice books with the minimum price marked in each, and added that the sessions would be held daily at specified hours for a period of three weeks. That form of sale does not seem to have become general. The chief difference to be observed in practice between then and now is the employment of the auction as a means for the disposal of new books as well as of old. Of the 366 book auctions recorded by Mr. McKay for the period 1713-1800, no fewer than twenty were held for the purpose of dispersing new books or mixed lots of new books and old. Robert Bell, of Philadelphia, and Joseph Russell, of Boston, were the principal auctioneers making a feature of the sale of new books. It is probable that such sales were a means of disposing of publishers' remainders or of slow-moving stock, but it does not seem that they were the "trade sales" of the next century in which remainders were auctioned to retail booksellers. These new-book auctions were sales open to the public in which the stock was sold a book at a time to the highest bidder. Bell, at least, seems to have had an effective method for stimulating the sale of new books by auction. In the advertisement of a sale of 1770, he announces that the retail prices of the new books are printed in the catalogue and that each of them would be set up by the auctioneer at one half that amount. Though he concluded by saying that with the retail figures before them "gentlemen may see the advantage of buying by auction," it has been recorded by a contemporary that at Bell's sales the advantage did not always lie with the buyer. His skill in salesmanship was so great and his personality so engaging that he often succeeded in selling books "higher at auction than in store." It was his custom to hold auctions as far north as Boston and as far south as Charleston, South Carolina, transporting to those places collections of books, new and old, made by him in Philadelphia. A tradition preserves the memory of his dispersal in Philadelphia, of forty wagon loads of books which had formerly been part of the library of William Byrd, II, of Westover, Virginia, though the actual

details of this sale—date and consignor—have never been clearly determined by investigation.

It has already been told that in 1729 Pennsylvania passed an act licensing pedlars which included provisions against the unrestricted selling of merchandise by auction. The situation created by this act seems to have gone without effective opposition until the courageous and enterprising Robert Bell found that his business as an auctioneer of books was adversely affected by it. In January, 1773, appeared a broadside, clearly attributable to him, which called for the revision or repeal of a law which, the writer maintained, restricted the dissemination of literature. This *Observations relative to the Manufactures of Paper and Printed Books in the Province of Pennsylvania* seems to have been a successful protest. In the year 1774 a new law was enacted which rescinded the provisions of the act of 1729 in so far as they referred to books, removing "the Sale of Books, by Auction," says *Bell's Memorial* [*to the Assembly*], of 1784, "from every Restraint whatsoever." But during the Revolution, in 1777 and 1779, after profiteers had seen in the auction a method of enhancing the prices of commodities, other acts were passed placing all public vendues, not excepting those held for the sale of books, in the hands of the public auctioneer of Philadelphia. In 1783, this temporary act, made for the wartime emergency, was replaced by a permanent law of the same tenor. Bell protested most strongly to the next session of Assembly against an enactment that might result in "a Monopoly of the Book Trade," and alleged that his own efforts as a private auctioneer had added to the development of the arts, sciences, and manufactures in Pennsylvania. Bell declared, furthermore, that during the war, when the restrictions prevented him selling by auction in Philadelphia, he had "carried over-land at a very great expence several Tons of Books Manufactured in Pennsylvania, and sold them by Auction in the State of Massachusetts . . ." His protest, however, was without avail. The act remained upon the books and he was forced once more to take the road. He died in September, 1784, in Richmond, Virginia, in the course of a journey to Charleston, South Carolina, where he had planned to hold an auction. What effect the law of 1783 exerted upon the book-auction trade of Philadelphia is uncertain. There was evidently some loophole in it which enabled the book auctioneers to continue their

business for the time being. Throughout the months of 1784, preceding his death in September, Bell continued to hold book auctions in Philadelphia, and in that year also there were several sales by Alexander Boyd, one of the public auctioneers appointed in 1783. Three sales were held in 1785, and from 1786 to 1792 William Prichard, a bookseller, held numerous auctions, probably under public appointment. After that year, however, few sales were held in Philadelphia until the beginning of the new century. It may have been the continuance of this law upon the Pennsylvania statute books that was responsible for the eventual loss to Philadelphia of the chief book-auction business of the country, though the truth is that in the closing decade of the century the book auction business dwindled to small volume everywhere. When it began to flourish once more after the War of 1812, its chief activity was found to be centered in the cities of Boston and New York.

In a later section (pages 99-101), under the heading "The Expansion of the Booktrade," will be found a discussion of the greatly increased bookselling trade of the period 1784-1860.

PRINTING FROM THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION TO THE WAR BETWEEN THE STATES, 1784-1860

The Background of the Period

THE CITIZEN of the United States whose term of life covered the years from the close of the Revolution in 1783 to the eve of the Civil War in 1860 witnessed a series of significant historical events affecting the fortunes of his own country, and took part in the great economic change which gradually in that period altered the face of the world. In his youth and young manhood occurred the quasi-war of the United States with France, the war with Great Britain, and those with the pirates of Tripoli and Algiers—all of them waged in defense of the commercial rights and the dignity of the youthful nation. In his age he saw his country enter upon what many considered a war of aggression against Mexico, a war which resulted in the straightening of boundaries and the accession of territory desired by imperialistic groups since the Louisiana Purchase of 1803. When in the last year of this hypothetical citizen's life the South seceded from the Union, putting to the test a constitutional privilege long in question, it detached itself temporarily from a country of which the boundaries were then Canada, the Lakes, and the St. Lawrence on the north, the Atlantic on the east, the Gulf and the Rio Grande on the south, and the Pacific on the west. The small stream of pioneers which began making its way across the Appalachian ridge about 1750 had become by this time a great river with many branches, drawn to Oregon by furs, to California by gold, to the inland west and southwest by cattle and grain. The steamboat, the railroad, and the electric telegraph had come into being, and, in the factories and mills, steam was supplanting water power and the human arm as the source of effective energy. In that citizen's life of less than eighty years the territory forming the United States changed in size from the limitations of a narrow coastal plain to the vast area of half a continent; in population from something like three million inhabitants to more than thirty-one million; and in economic development from the agricultural stage to the industrial. In that period, also, the

center of population had shifted from twenty-three miles east of Baltimore to a point some twenty miles south of Chillicothe, Ohio.

In other fields than the material the country shared the great changes which took place everywhere in this period. Political liberalism invaded the chief countries of Europe, humanitarianism affected every walk of life, and the rationalism which had been gathering force throughout the eighteenth century became the dominant factor in human thought. Physical science was pointing the direction of philosophical thought and forming the basis of a new industrialism.

The year 1790 forms a starting point in the modern annals of the United States, which then still consisted of the original thirteen states and Vermont. The new Constitution had gone into effect only the year before, establishing by its provisions an integrated union of states with a centralized government in place of the loose federation of separate commonwealths under which the country had won its freedom. The government under the new order was still in the hands of the fathers of the country, of Washington, Adams, Hamilton, and Jefferson, a conservative group, though the spirit of French Jacobinism, working through the democratic philosophy of Jefferson, was soon to become a powerful element and to bring about disunion of thought and policy. Even in the first year of the operation of the Constitution, problems of interpretation arose, party lines began to form, and the slavery question to raise its head. The monetary system of the country was in the way of being placed upon a firm basis by Alexander Hamilton. The decimal ratio, with the dollar as its unit, had been adopted by the Continental Congress in 1785, though the British pound and the Spanish milled dollar, the "piece of eight," were still in frequent use as currency or as the basis of commercial calculations. Though the Indian disputed with some effectiveness much of the country between the Appalachian range and the Mississippi, the celebrated "Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory" had been passed without regard to his physical occupation of forest, prairie, and river. Nine out of every ten breadwinners of the country were still engaged in some form of agriculture, but the manufacturing industries and mercantile pursuits were becoming important factors in various parts of the nation. Ship building, fisheries, and maritime trade in New England, iron manufacturing in almost all sections, and paper

making in Pennsylvania were the first of those industries, which, in increasingly great numbers, were soon to begin drawing men from the cultivation of the soil.

In the New England states in 1790 laws existed requiring compulsory rudimentary education. The country as a whole was able to count fourteen colleges within its borders, claiming an enrollment among them of 1200 students. In that year the total periodical publication of the nation numbered 103 titles, of which eight were daily newspapers, seven were magazines, and the remainder were weekly or semi-weekly newspapers. The total population numbered 3,893,635 persons, of whom 694,280 were negro slaves.

Such a brief statement of conditions as has been given here must necessarily fail to mention many social and economic factors that affect the history of printing and bookselling, but it would be a serious omission from any such summary, to say nothing about the huge accretions to the population by immigration that occurred in the first half of the nineteenth century. Irish, Scotch-Irish, and Germans came in great numbers to work the new farming lands and to provide man power for the industries of the growing cities. Though retaining in some respects their native characteristics and cultures, the components of these groups were sufficiently like the original stock to be readily assimilated in the racial and social constitution of the land.

The Expansion of the Press

The physical expansion of the country was kept pace with by the expansion of its press, which in the period between the Revolution and the Civil War displayed the characteristics of the pioneer movement of which it formed a part. Over the Laurel Hills from eastern Pennsylvania to Pittsburgh and the Ohio Country; along the Potomac Route from Maryland and Virginia to the same frontier lands; through the Cumberland Gap from Virginia and the Carolinas to Kentucky; along the Great Lakes from New England and New York to the Northwest went by foot and wagon train thousands of hopeful men and women in search of farm lands and town sites. Now accompanying, now on the heels of this great folk movement, partaking of its physical hardships and its bright expectations, went ambitious and aggressive young men with printing presses and small supplies of type, packed

in wagons, on mules and horses, or in the bateaux which floated down the almost virgin rivers of the new country. The genius of this race of northern men, educated, or, in any case, coming from communities in which the school, the church, and the press were the outstanding social forces, seemed to demand the services of the printer for the expression of local needs and for keeping the communities in touch with the outside world. Elsewhere it has been said that the temerity of the Americans in separating from England and in setting up their own and different scheme of government had been an impetus towards stimulation of the national mentality. They felt that their experiment was on trial in the eyes of the world and that it behooved them to conduct it to a successful issue. These Americans of the West desired, therefore, to keep themselves informed of the affairs of their world and of the world beyond the mountains, believing that such knowledge was an essential step in the maintenance of their position. Wherefore to every forest-surrounded hamlet and to the isolated farms of the river bottoms came soon after their settlement the newspaper, the pamphlet, and the book of laws from some nearby press that had followed their inhabitants into the wilderness.

In 1786, Pittsburgh, or Fort Pitt, formerly Fort Duquesne, was a frontier river port of Pennsylvania, numbering some 300 souls. To this outpost of the new nation came, in the year named, two young men, John Scull and Joseph Hall, who at once upon their arrival set up the first trans-Allegheny press. On July 29, 1786, they began the publication of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, a journal now known as the *Commercial Gazette*, which has been published continuously ever since.

In 1786, also, John Bradford, then active in Kentucky as a land surveyor, was chosen to establish a printing house by a convention assembled at Danville to discuss and plan the separation of the country from Virginia. Almost at once the citizens of Lexington made over to him without charge a site within their town for the erection of his establishment. The transportation of the Bradford press and appurtenances from Philadelphia to Lexington by wagon, boat, and pack horse—is one of the notable episodes in the history of the press in America. While he awaited the arrival of his equipment, John Bradford sent his brother, Fielding, to Pittsburgh to learn printing in the newly established office of John Scull. When at last on August 11, 1787, the first number of the

Kentucky Gazette appeared in Lexington, its imprint announced that it had been published by John and Fielding Bradford. In the earliest known number of this journal, August 18, 1787, John Bradford informed his readers, in effect, that Kentucky had a future even though for the moment it was "in an infant state, harassed by the most savage enemies, having no profitable trade and being drained of money by its present intercourse with the Eastern parts of America." Under the unpropitious circumstances and amid the dangers of a genuine frontier, Bradford won slowly to the success he deserved as, in the words of his address previously cited, "the *first adventurer* in a business which has been chiefly instrumental in bringing mankind from a state of blindness and slavery to their present advancement in knowledge and freedom."

In November, 1791, George Roulstone and Robert Ferguson established in Tennessee at Hawkins Court House the *Knoxville Gazette.* In November, 1793, William Maxwell began at Cincinnati, Ohio, the publication of *The Centinel of the North-Western Territory.* Another great natural barrier was passed by the expanding press when, in 1808, Joseph Charless crossed the Mississippi and set up a printing establishment in St. Louis. In July of that year he issued a newspaper entitled the *Missouri Gazette*, and a few months later published a book of more than four hundred pages entitled *The Laws of the Territory of Louisiana.* The earliest Texas press was conducted under local Mexican auspices, as an aid to the revolutionary movement against Spain, by Samuel Bangs, a printer from Baltimore, who in 1817 at Galveston and elsewhere printed proclamations and broadsides of a political nature. In 1834, Ramón Abreu established a press, conducted by Jesús Maria Baca, in Santa Fé, New Mexico. In the same year the "farthest west" of the press of the United States was reached when Agustin Vicente Zamorano, who had come some years previously from Florida by way of Mexico City, set up at Monterey, California, a regular printing press, having until that time used a method of hand stamping for the production of blank forms. The San Francisco press was established in 1846, in good time to assume the responsibility thrust upon it by the "gold rush" of 1849. It was not until August, 1846, that *The Californian*, the first California newspaper, in English and Spanish, was begun in Monterey by the Rev. Walter Colton and Robert Semple, using for the purpose the old Zamorano press. One of the most roman-

tic episodes in this westward dissemination was the coming to Idaho in 1839 of Edwin O. Hall, a missionary-printer, who was sent at the expense of native Christian women of Hawaii to aid in the conversion of the Indians of the Pacific Northwest, particularly of the Nez Percé tribes. He brought with him from Honolulu a small press which he put immediately into operation, and in May, 1839, issued 400 copies of an eight-page book called the *Nez-Perces First Book: designed for Children and new Beginners.* This interesting production bore the imprint: "Clear Water: Mission Press. 1839." In February, 1846, John Fleming issued at Oregon City, Oregon, *The Spectator*, and in the next year an edition of Webster's *Elementary Spelling Book.* The foregoing record of establishment of presses names the significant stations in the geographical expansion of the printing art throughout the country before 1860. In numerous small places between the Alleghenies and the Pacific, since become important, presses were established at dates earlier than many of the "first presses" here named, but an attempt to record the dissemination of printing in the United States in greater detail would be simply to form a list of names and dates, tiring to writer and reader alike. Enough has been given of this sort of information to show that at the beginning of the Civil War, the entire country was so well served by the press that the locally produced newspaper and book were commonplaces of life everywhere within its bounds.

The Beginnings of Industrialization

There have been two great periods in the development of typography as a mechanical art—the last half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. The essential factor in the establishment of the art was the invention of the type mould, the instrument by means of which any required number of individual letters could be cast at will. The other implements, materials, and processes of the craft as at first practised were old and well understood—the designing and cutting of the type punches and the making of matrices were processes taken over from the engraver and die maker; the setting of types in the proper order to impress words and sentences upon a sheet of paper, a substance well known to Europe in Gutenberg's time, was but an extension of the scrivener's task; the press was an implement known to

the printer of wood cuts and but little different in mechanical essentials from the familiar wine press of every village. The type mould drew together all these constituents and created a new art upon the foundation they provided. At first laboriously practised, this art, sometime in the decade 1470-1480, made a surprising advance in mechanical operation with the invention of the chase, the device for locking in a rigid form two, four, eight, or a greater multiple, of pages of type in such arrangement that when impressed upon the sheet and folded according to plan, the printed pages would run in consecutive order. There was no further fundamental improvement in the art of printing for a period of more than three hundred years, when, in the first half of the nineteenth century, were evolved new principles in type casting and setting, in paper-making, and in press building which changed printing from an art to an industry, removing it from the household to the factory stage of development. The part taken in this second birth of the craft by American printers and mechanics, while less notable than that of their English, German, and French contemporaries, is none the less worth the attention of later generations.

The Development of the Printing Machine

The first change of moment in the improvement of the press after its taking form under Gutenberg and his immediate successors occurred with the development of the iron press by Earl Stanhope in the last year of the eighteenth century. The Stanhope Iron Press was not, indeed, the first of the modern presses but rather the highest development of the old-style machine. It looked backward to the perfection of old principles rather than forward to the creation of new. Its structural material made possible two things, the application of compound power to its impressing mechanism, whereby a stronger pressure could be exerted with less effort, and the fashioning of an absolutely true flat surface of any reasonable dimension, thus making it possible to create platens large enough to print one side of a whole sheet by a single pull of the bar, an improvement instituted in French presses by Annisson in 1783. Before that time even the smaller sheets had required two pulls of the bar and a movement of the carriage between each pull. The Stanhope press, therefore, and certain later machines, such as the Columbian, soon to be described, present themselves to

us as marking the apogee of the Gutenberg press. The modern press was to have its origin in the application of an entirely different set of mechanical principles to the problem of impressing inked type faces upon white paper. It discarded vertically applied force for rotary motion, substituting, in both inking and impressing operations, the cylinder for the plane. We shall return to the consideration of this fundamental change in process after we have discussed briefly the last phases of the ancient method. In a volume of the character of this it is impossible to go extensively into pictorial illustration of the many sorts of printing presses to be described in the following paragraphs. In the classified list of references at the end of this book are given under *Printing Manuals* and *Printing Presses* a number of books and articles in which are displayed photographs and drawings of many presses, old and new, with discussion of the details of their mechanism.

The press in use in the United States throughout the colonial period was the common wooden press of the English printers. Despite the praise of the Dutch or so-called Blaeu press by English and Scottish typographical experts, convinced of its stronger and more exact construction and its superiority in minor features of operation, it came into general use neither in England nor in the colonies. The only suggestion I have found in either country for the improvement of the common press came in the instructions which Benjamin Franklin sent to his press builder in England in 1753, in which in discussing the structure of the "ribs" or tracks upon which the carriage travelled back and forth beneath the platen, he wrote: ". . . I would have the ribs made not with the face rounding outwards, as usual, but a little hollow or rounding inwards . . . ; and the cramps made of hard cast brass, fixed not across the ribs, but longways, so as to slide in the hollow face of the ribs. The reason is, that brass and iron work better together than iron and iron. Such a press never gravels; the hollow face of the ribs keeps the oil better, and the cramps, bearing on a large surface, do not wear, as in the common method . . ." Even this sensible suggestion does not seem to have been generally adopted by the press builders of either country.

The American part in the development of the modern press was notable chiefly for the skill with which American press builders adapted and improved fundamental ideas imported from England. We hear

frequently of the Ramage press as an American improvement, but it seems difficult to point to a fundamental contribution to structure or operation by Adam Ramage. This individual was, nevertheless, an accomplished press builder whose establishment in Philadelphia in the first quarter of the nineteenth century supplied numbers of American printers with excellent presses of the old sort, and one who kept his product abreast of current development by the addition to its mechanism of new devices and principles which seem, in the main, to have been first developed and applied by others.

The most notable contribution of an American inventor to the improvement of the old flat-bed press occurred when about the year 1807, George Clymer, of Philadelphia, began the construction of his celebrated Columbian Iron Press. The early stages of the invention and use of the Columbian press are obscure. Writing in 1810 in the first edition of his *History of Printing in America*, Isaiah Thomas made no mention of it, though he was familiar with the excellent presses of the old type then being built by Adam Ramage of the same city. Indeed when in 1815, William McCulloch, a printer of Philadelphia, addressed to Thomas a series of communications intended to aid in a revision and enlargement of the *History*, he, too, was unable to give a description of the invention of his fellow townsman, affirming that he had never seen one of the new presses. But three years later, in Van Winkle's *Printers' Guide* of New York, 1818, testimonials to the value of the Columbian press are found signed by some nineteen New York printers, and by two well-known printers of London. But it is necessary to turn to the English printers' manuals of the years 1824 and 1825 for the first available technical description of the Columbian Press. It was in 1818, according to Hansard, that Clymer secured a patent for his press in England. Its advertisement in that country, we learn, had been accompanied by a great deal of what the present-day American describes as "ballyhoo." But despite this fact, wrote Hansard with his customary fairness: "the testimonials published in favour of this press are certainly of the most respectable character, and the private information which has been given me by clever workmen, . . . impresses upon my mind very favourable ideas of its capacity to produce fine and good work . . ." The year before, in 1824, Johnson had given a full account of the Columbian press in his *Typographia* and had de-

scribed a technical test in which it had come out victor over the Stanhope and other improved iron presses of the period. The factor of chief significance in the construction of the Columbian press was that it did away with the screw as the agency for the transmission of the impressing power, substituting the principle of the fulcrum with the power applied by a series of levers set in action by a bar. The Columbian press had many rivals in England. In America, Ramage and other builders—Peter Smith, for example, and Samuel Rust, who developed the Washington Press—produced machines of greater simplicity, but of similar principles, which gradually displaced the invention of Clymer. But when as late as 1866, Thomas Mackellar brought out a second edition of his *American Printer* he thought it worth while to include a picture of the recently popular Columbian Press. In connection with his account of it he wrote that "Hand presses are now restricted to country papers of small circulation, and to book-offices devoted to extra fine printing." I have given space to an account of the Clymer invention because, to my knowledge, it was the first effective and successful hand-worked, iron, flat-bed press to do away with the screw as the impressing power in favor of the principle of the fulcrum and lever.

Another American hand press must be described here because of the position occupied by its inventor in the general history of typographical development. In speaking of the early type-setting machines, we shall emphasize the contribution of Dr. William Church to modern printing practice. For the present we are concerned only with the printing machine of his invention displayed in England about the year 1821. In Hansard's *Typographia*, the press of Church is given three pages of description in connection with the other inventions which were to work in conjunction with it, the press being, in Hansard's opinion, the only practicable feature of the threefold invention. Church's press, though an iron handpress of the old flat-bed type, with the impressing power applied vertically, brought into use the new method of ink distribution by rollers, "without which," Hansard wrote, "no machine-printing would ever have succeeded." The following sentences from this same historian of printing methods briefly summarize the chief features of the Church press: "It may be as well," he wrote, ". . . to state, that the object of this press, as to the saving of labour, is that one

pressman alone shall perform the whole; he has only to lay the sheet on the tympan, and immediately apply his hand to the rounce, by the turning of which the forme is inked, the frisket and tympan turned down, the press run in, and the impression given: a reverse of motion reverses the process, and prepares for the next sheet. This press certainly turns out very excellent work, at somewhat less expense than a Stanhope, . . . but in its first cost is about double; and I do not find it possible to execute more than one fourth or, at most, one third more than those other presses worked by a man and a boy; . . ." Here, if properly developed and simplified, was undoubtedly a definite improvement in press building, but the fact is, the flat-bed hand-press with vertically applied power was never to undergo a much higher development than it represented. Progress in press building was to follow another line: the new era of the cylinder press had already begun.

The broad difference of principle between the machine press and the manual press with its vertical application of power both in the inking of forms and in their impression was based, in Hansard's words: upon "the substitution of two cylinders, or of one cylinder and a plane, for producing the impression, instead of the two plane surfaces of the ordinary, or Stanhope press; and secondly, the use of cylinders covered with . . . adhesive and elastic composition, for applying the ink to the surface of the forme of type, . . . which, in the old process, was laid on with large balls, or dabbers." The first appearance of the application of the cylinder to the mechanics of the press is found in the patent taken out in England by William Nicholson in 1790, the terms of which, Hansard affirms, "show that all subsequent attempts at machine-printing are but so many modifications of the same principle, . . ." The discovery of an elastic composition for covering the inking cylinder, instead of the skins proposed by Nicholson, and the refinement of the machinery by mechanics more practical than that inventor established the cylinder press in its various forms as the leading element of the new age in printing. The application to it of steam, and, later, of electricity, as the source of its motive force was an incident in its progress not connected with its basic principles.

It was on the flat-bed, steam-powered cylinder press of Friedrich König that an edition of the London *Times* of November 28, 1814, was run off in thousands of copies, the first large-scale demonstration of the

new principle operated by the new power. There is no need to call the roll of those English inventors who thereafter proceeded to perfect the cylinder press along the lines laid down by Nicholson and König. We are interested in the American contribution to this development and to the revolution it worked in the printing offices of the United States.

The activities of the house of Hoe have formed one of the chief contributions of the United States to the development of modern typography and have placed that name on the honor roll of the great printers and typefounders. The striking thing is that this has occurred despite the fact that the Hoe inventions have not been fundamental in the sense that the Nicholson patent for the introduction of the cylinder in impressing and inking was fundamental and subversive of earlier methods. But by a century of persistence in the further application of fundamental principles, the successive generations of that house have done more for the improvement of machine printing than any other agency of their times.

The Hoe firm was established in the United States by Robert Hoe of Leicestershire, England, in the year 1805. In association with Matthew and Peter Smith, Hoe formed a firm for carpentry and machine work which began soon to take up in New York the construction of printing presses of the old flat-bed and platen type. Their chief productions in this field were the Peter Smith press, devised by a member of the firm in 1822, and the celebrated Washington press, perfected in 1827 by Samuel Rust, who sold his patent to the Hoe firm. It should be remembered that these finely constructed hand-presses of iron—the Columbian, the Peter Smith, the Ramage presses, the Washington press—with their application of the principle of the toggle joint, or of the spindle and lever instead of the screw for making the impression, remained in regular use for certain kinds of book and pamphlet work for a great many years after the steam-operated, cylinder machines had been perfected for newspaper and other large edition work.

The Hoes took over also at least two presses that stood halfway between the old form of press and the new. The Daniel Treadwell press of 1822 was a power-press of the flat-bed and platen principle, and another and better of the same sort was that which Isaac Adams

of Boston devised in 1830 and 1836 and afterwards sold to the Hoe establishment.

The real contribution of the Hoes began when the first Napier cylinder presses reached the United States. This machine had been described by Hansard in 1825, punning pleasantly, as the "Nay-peer," and so for its time it seems to have been. In 1830 the firm of Robert Hoe began to study the Napier press and to build others along the lines of its construction. These were flat-bed and cylinder presses with the beds moving back and forth beneath the revolving cylinders, and with improved devices for automatic handling of the paper by "grippers" or fingers. The Hoes made various improvements in operation, and began to acquire an international reputation as press builders. But their great and individual contribution was the development of a press which dispensed with the flat bed and carried the type forms upon the cylinder itself, with supplementary cylinders giving the impression. In 1847, the first specimen of the "Hoe Type Revolving Machine," developed by Richard March Hoe, was put in operation in the office of the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*. Let us quote from the description of the features of this press given in 1902 by Robert Hoe the grandson of the inventor. "The basis of these inventions," wrote Mr. Hoe, "consisted in an apparatus for securely fastening the forms of type on a central cylinder placed in a horizontal position. This was accomplished by the construction of cast-iron beds, one for each page of the newspaper. The column rules were made 'V' shaped; i.e., tapering toward the feet of the type. It was found that, with proper arrangement for locking up or securing the type upon these beds, it could be held firmly in position, the surface form a true circle, and the cylinder revolved at any speed required without danger of the type falling out. Around this central cylinder from four to ten impression cylinders, according to the output required, were grouped. The sheets were fed in by boys, and taken from the feed board by automatic grippers, or fingers, operated by cams in the impression cylinders, and which conveyed them around against the revolving form of the central cylinder." The first of these presses was a Four Cylinder machine. Tended by four boys to feed the paper, it was capable of running off 8000 sheets an hour, printed on one side. A revolution in newspaper printing was the result of the introduction of this Hoe Type Revolving Machine into the

publishing houses of the world. As early as 1848 a press of this style was set up in the office of *La Patrie* in Paris, and in 1856 another of six cylinders was made for *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper* in London. Almost as soon as Lloyd's press was in operation the *Times* ordered two Ten Cylinder presses of this sort, and the Hoe Type Revolving Machine became the world's chief newspaper press. Another important factor in the development of this machine was the eventual application to its need of a method devised about 1820 of casting stereotype plates on a curve, thus doing away with the necessity of types of special shape as suggested by Nicholson and used in the early days of the Hoe Type Revolving Machine. At this point we must leave the story of modern printing machinery. The ultimate development in principle occurred in the last half of the century with the invention of the "perfecting" machine, by means of which were printed simultaneously both sides of a continuous roll of paper, automatically fed.

One need only look at the list of American patents for printing machinery granted between 1790 and 1860 to realize that the foregoing review of the subject has touched only upon what have seemed to the writer to be the main points of development. Innumerable devices and improvements have not been mentioned for obvious reasons. Color printing machines have been neglected and job presses have not been described, but enough has been said to indicate the beginning of an era, the opening of the industrial age in the printing craft.

Type-Setting Machinery

Though the enormously hastened development of the printing and publishing trade in the United States in recent times traces in the first instance to the invention of the cylinder press in its various forms, yet to an even greater extent perhaps, has it been effected by the introduction of the type-setting machine. There was no great advantage in being able to run off thousands of sheets an hour if type-setting could keep up with the presses only by the employment of an inordinately large number of compositors. In another section of this book the development of mechanical type-casting and type-setting machines will be traced, but it seems impossible to write of the period before 1860 without making the assertion that that development had its origin in the period in question in the form of an invention patented in Eng-

land in 1822, by Dr. William Church, an individual who was referred to in scorn by Johnson in his *Typographia*, in 1824, as an "American Theorist" who imagined he could "cram John Bull with anything." It has been said that the invention of the type-casting and composing machine, great step in progress though it was, in reality restored one of the primitive conditions of the printing trade, bringing back the making of type to the printing-office itself, whence it had departed when type-founding became a separate trade in the early sixteenth century. Furthermore it came back under conditions greatly to the advantage of the printing trade in so far as were concerned the increase in its productiveness and the general level, not the high level, of excellence in its output. Yet for all this the effort to bring it back, difficult in itself, was met by indifference, disbelief in its possibilities, and downright hostility.

The chief available source for knowledge of the Church invention of a practicable machine for the casting and composing of type is given by Hansard in the course of an article of fifteen pages in his *Typographia* of 1825, headed "The Printing Machines, and other Inventions relative to Printing, of Doctor William Church." Because of the sound mechanical principles and the prophetic character of the Church inventions, this doctor of medicine turned mechanic deserves more space than the present state of our knowledge enables us to give him. Through the coöperation of the staff of the Birmingham Public Libraries, however, it has become possible to assert that William Church was a native of Vermont who gave up the medical profession, moved to England where he lived and worked as a mechanical engineer from about 1820 to 1859 in the industrial city of Birmingham. Descriptions of his many patents are available, and the time of his death in Vermont, October 7, 1863, at the age of 85 years, is known, but the personal life, parentage, and the exact place and date of birth of this significant figure in typographical history have so far evaded discovery.

Church's invention, or inventions, comprised a type-casting machine which automatically distributed the finished letters, and fed them into a magazine from which they were drawn and composed by keyboard operation. After their use these types were not distributed by hand or machine, but were returned to the melting pot of the casting machine. The two pieces of apparatus, the casting and the composing

machines, were patented in England in 1822. A detailed account of both machines and the Church press with its interesting features is found in the pages of Hansard. Illustrations of the casting and composing machines are given in the modern pages of the great work by Legros and Grant entitled *Typographical Printing-Surfaces.* Unquestionably the three mechanisms taken together formed the most elaborate and largely conceived development in the art of printing since the original invention of Gutenberg, and though the system was subsequently developed and greatly varied by other inventors, its experimental operation by Church opened a new way to the printing trade of the world. One turns to several comments upon the Church invention in Legros and Grant's comprehensive work. In their chapter on composing machines we find these words: "The earliest and simplest form of composing machine, so far as the authors are aware, was that of Church, whose patent is dated 1822. . . . Though somewhat crude in construction, it is surprising how many features its conception embodies which have since become common and are retained in a large number of well-known machines subsequently designed." After quoting Sir Henry Bessemer's account of his own solution of the problem of setting type by machine, and commenting upon the fact that the later inventor was ignorant of the Church device, they continue: ". . . nearly twenty years before the period he alludes to, the problem of composing by machine had been propounded and solved by Church, whose machines were in actual operation when Bessemer was engaged by Young to carry out his ideas." And finally they speak of a fundamental contribution by Church to the new day in printing practice in these words: "In the opinion of the authors, without question the best method of distribution is that proposed by Church . . . a system which has been almost universally adopted in all modern type-casting and composing machines—namely, distribution through the melting pot."

Though there seems to exist little evidence as to the extent to which the Church inventions came into use in American printing offices, it is clear enough that their principles, and the construction by their inventor of an effective practical embodiment of them, influenced profoundly, if indirectly, the history of the printing art in the United States and throughout the world. Its contemporary reception varied from the contemptuous reference to it in the *Typographia* of John

Johnson, who was opposed to all mechanization of the art of printing, to a long and friendly account of the triple machine published in the *London Journal of Arts and Sciences*, quoted by Hansard. Somewhere in between lay the careful, critical examination and skepticism of Hansard himself. Perhaps the least to be forgiven by the inventor of all the contemporary references I have heard of was that in the *American Advocate and General Advertiser* for May 17, 1823, where the brief but comprehensive account of the machine is headed "Is This Not a Hoax?"

Paper-Making Machinery

It is not an unrelated circumstance that the chief modern developments in the processes of the printing art had their origin in the closing years of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century, for in that period all the old handicrafts began simultaneously to feel the effects of the machine in industry, and to envisage a new era as the result of its intrusion. As we have learned from an earlier section, the printing press completely changed its form and the mechanical principles of its operation in the period between 1790 and 1814. In relatively the same term of years occurred important advances in the hand-casting of type by means of automatic hand-molds and through the introduction of type-casting machines for the quantity production of foundry type. Almost coincident with these came in 1822 the first patent for a composing machine employing the basic principles of the machines with which the modern shop is equipped. It was in this period, too, that the third great change in printing development was effected, that is, the ability to manufacture paper by machine in great quantity and in sheets of any desired size.

The paper mills of Europe and America in the year 1800 hardly differed from those in which was made the paper for the first printed books. The earliest paper makers had found it necessary to macerate their rags by a tedious process of putrefaction and fermentation before placing them in troughs for beating by the stamping machine. But this method gradually disappeared from paper-mill practice after the invention of the "Hollander" about the year 1690. The principle upon which this Dutch machine operated in reducing rags to pulp, without the intervening process of putrefaction, was the rotation, inside a trough,

of a cylinder armed with dull metal blades which operated in proximity to a fixed metal plate composed of similar blades. The revolution of the cylinder created a back-wash which kept the rags passing and repassing beneath the blades until they were completely reduced to a fibrous pulp. The pulp was then led into a vat, and, whether stamping mill or Hollander had been employed in its making, its treatment was the same from that stage to the completion of the manufacture. Dipped from the vat by hand in a wire-bottomed, wooden-sided mold, it was formed into sheets by the dexterous handling of the workman, subjected to pressure between felts, dried and bundled into a ream for use in printing or writing, each sheet of the ream having been the subject of a separate and individual manufacture. With the exception of the improvement in the pulping process brought about by the Hollander, therefore, the mill of 1800 was little different in its processes or equipment from the mill of 1600 or earlier centuries, but in the late years of the eighteenth century a notable change was in preparation. In 1799 there was secured in England the first patent for the Fourdrinier paper-making machine, an invention of Nicolas Louis Robert, which in time was to alter completely the paper-making industry of the world and, by consequence, the industry of printing. This machine once more demonstrated the enormous change worked in the printing and allied trades by the application to their processes about this time of the principle of the revolving, horizontal cylinder. In its simplest terms the Fourdrinier is a machine in the operation of which an endless revolving wire band or web passes through a vat of pulp. This wire web takes up a thin layer of the pulp, shakes it laterally in order to cross and interlace its fibres, and delivers it to an endless revolving felt by which it is carried through "couching" cylinders for the removal of its moisture. Other endless belts then carry the newly formed paper through a second series of cylinders to complete its pressing and drying. The paper emerges in a continuous roll which, as in newspaper printing, may be fed directly into a press, or, for book work, cut into sheets of any desired size.

Very soon after the invention of the Fourdrinier, there was devised another paper-making machine, of different principle but of like effect, which was to share with it the revolutionizing of the industry. In 1809 John Dickinson took out a patent in England for a machine in which

a cylinder covered with a wire web revolved in the pulp vat and, taking up the pulp in a thin sheet, passed it on to other cylinders for couching, pressing, and drying, ultimately collecting the finished product in the form of a continuous roll. In 1816, Thomas Gilpin, a paper maker of Wilmington, Delaware, with his brother John and another partner, took out an American patent for a machine of this revolving cylinder principle. The Gilpin machine, differing little in essentials from the Dickinson, though it was less effective, was the first in this country to make paper in a continuous roll, for it was not until ten years after its earliest operation that the rival Fourdrinier machine was brought into the United States. Infringements and improvements upon the features of the Gilpin invention by other American manufacturers marked the course and direction of paper-making progress in this country for many years, throughout the period, indeed, in which the Fourdrinier machine was undergoing experimentation and extensive improvement in England. The important moment in the history of the cylinder machine was reached when, in 1830, the firm of Phelps & Spafford of Windham, Connecticut, constructed a machine of this type which made it possible "for the paper-maker to take in the pulp at one end of his machine, make the paper, dry it, cut it into sheets of the desired size and turn it out ready for finishing or packing at the other end of the machine."

The earliest importation of a Fourdrinier paper-making machine into the United States seems to have been about the year 1827. The first machine of that type to be constructed here was built in South Windham, Connecticut, in 1829. With the gradual improvement of the Fourdriniers, they slowly drew ahead of the cylinder machine, but both types remain in common use in the modern paper mill.

The New Materials of Paper-Making

With the development of paper-making machinery arose a problem that taxed the ingenuity of men of scientific mind for generations. Even before the time when the machines, with their great potentiality of output, were beginning to demand raw materials in large quantity, the supply of linen and cotton rags had hardly been enough to enable the paper mills to keep up with the printer's activities. The story of the search for a substitute material, of the experiments with some five

hundred substances susceptible of being reduced to a fibrous pulp, is a special chapter in the history of paper making and printing.

In order to review the earlier steps in the century-old search for a vegetable pulp paper, for that was the essence of the investigation, we turn naturally to Dard Hunter's recent article in the Dolphin *History of the Printed Book* where we learn of the early suggestion by René Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur who, in 1719, in an entomological study, instanced the nest of the American wasp as an object constructed of a paperlike substance made from wood fiber, and went on to lay down the broad principle of the use of wood-pulp paper for printing and other purposes. Jean Etienne Guettard's treatise on the materials of paper making, first published in London in 1754, was reprinted in Philadelphia by Robert Bell in 1777 in a collection known as *Select Essays Collected from the Dictionary of Arts and Sciences.* It was in 1765 that the first truly effective experiments in the manufacture of wood-pulp paper were made public. Between that year and 1771 Jacob Christian Schaeffer, a German scientist, published at Regensburg a treatise of six volumes in which were contained eighty-two specimens of paper made from wood and various vegetable products. This celebrated work, the *Versuche und Muster ohne alle Lumpen oder doch mit einem geringen Zusatze derselben Papier zu machen*, made clear the future direction of investigation into the materials of paper making.

The question was first prominently brought to the attention of scientific men in the United States when, in 1789, the agriculturist, Hector St. John Crèvecoeur, presented a book to the American Philosophical Society, of Philadelphia, printed upon paper made of the barks and roots of different trees and plants. Earlier than this Franklin had been interested in the manufacture of an "asbestos" paper, but it is not supposed that this product was intended for use in writing or printing. The experiments of the first sixty years of the new century were world-wide in distribution. In this country Matthew Lyon, of Vermont, among others, made usable paper from the bark of the basswood tree, and about 1830, Wooster and Holmes, of Pennsylvania, took out a patent for making paper pulp from wood. Most of the early experiments were based upon the making of pulp by mechanical means, that is by grinding and crushing, with an inevitable injury to the fibers. It was after 1860 that a chemical method of reducing the wood to pulp without destroy-

ing the fiber was brought to its highest development through what is known as the sulphite process. But before this end was reached, Hugh Burgess and Charles Watt, working for many years in England, succeeded in 1851 in making a good pulp by boiling wood in caustic alkali. Disappointed in the marketing of the product in England, Burgess moved to the United States where, in 1854, he secured a patent for his process and soon thereafter built a large mill in Pennsylvania for the manufacture of paper from a wood pulp made by what was soon known as the "soda" process. In its fundamentals at least, the problem was solved. It is not necessary to point to the fact that the seemingly inexhaustible forests of America soon brought it about that the United States became the center of the wood-pulp paper industry.

The dissemination of the paper-making industry throughout the country naturally followed the lines previously established in the spread of printing. When the century opened, it has been calculated, there were in existence about one hundred paper mills. The census of 1810 reported a total of 202 mills, producing annually some 425,000 reams of paper. Pennsylvania was still the center of this industry with 64 mills and an annual product of nearly 166,000 reams of paper of every description. The mills had by this time found their way into the new states and territories. In 1793 the first mill beyond the Alleghanies had been established at Georgetown, Kentucky, and in 1795, a second trans-Alleghany mill was set up near Pittsburgh. Sometime before 1810, as appears from an act of assembly of that year, mills had been established in Tennessee. So important did the encouragement of the industry seem to that frontier state that by the act of assembly just mentioned workers in the paper mills were exempted from labor on the highways and from attendance upon military drill. By the year 1840, more than four hundred mills were in operation in twenty states and the District of Columbia, with Pennsylvania still in the lead with eighty-seven mills.

Book Illustration

No single aspect of book production in the United States has been more consistently neglected by students of the subject than the illustration of books in the period before 1860. That neglect is not deserved. It has come into being through a species of nearsighted criticism which

ignores all artistic effort that has not "arrived." The spectacle of self-taught men striving to express themselves with brush or chisel or burin is of no interest in a critical approach of that character. Fortunately there are many people of humbler intellect and of greater curiosity and sympathy who find something worthy of consideration and study in early book illustration in the United States. Some of it was very good; much of it was conventionally second rate; but more of it, crude and unsophisticated though it was, had a rough sincerity and that same directness of translation which give interest to any form of artistic primitivism.

The first book of the United States to carry an illustration, Hubbard's *Narrative of the Indian Wars*, published by John Foster in Boston in 1677, was embellished by "A Map of New-England," a woodcut made by the printer himself, to whose hand are also attributed at least two separate prints in the same medium. A portrait of Increase Mather by Thomas Emmes, of Boston, appearing as frontispiece in certain copies of Mather's *Blessed Hope* of 1701 and his *Ichabod* of 1702, is the earliest copperplate engraving found in a book printed in the United States. Maps and plans by James Turner, Thomas Johnston, Henry Pursell, Amos Doolittle, and other competent copyists lend interest to several American books of the second half of the century. In 1777, a political cartoon engraved on copper appeared in Robert Bell's Philadelphia reprint of [Henry Williamson's] *Plea of the Colonies*, previously published in London without illustration. In the period 1775 to 1860 a large number of architectural works came from the press with plans, façades, fireplaces, and decorative motives pleasingly and capably engraved on copper, wood, or stone. Paul Revere illustrated the Newport, 1772, edition of Church's *History of King Philip's War* and the New York, 1774, edition of the *New Voyage of Captain Cook*. John Norman executed on copper the portraits of Revolutionary heroes which illustrated the Boston, 1781-1784, edition of the *Impartial History of the War*. William and Thomas Birch produced a memorable series of plates for their *Views of Philadelphia*, 1800, and their *Country Seats of the United States*, 1808. Isaiah Thomas's folio Bible of 1791 carried a group of fifty plates by Joseph Seymour, Samuel Hill, John Norman, and Amos Doolittle. Dobson's edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, completed in eighteen volumes in Philadelphia in the period 1790-1797,

was illustrated by 543 copperplate engravings by such artists as Scot, Thackara, Vallance, Trenchard, Allardice, and Seymour. With this publication American book illustration, it has been said, came of age. There was much inferior work done in the succeeding years, but the presence of crude work in an American book after 1800 meant that the best resources of the time and place had not been utilized by its publisher.

The earliest comprehensive source of information about the artists and engravers, and the artist-engravers, who contributed to the enrichment of the American book is William Dunlap's *History of the Art of Design in the United States*, published in 1834. Though the later work of David McNeely Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel*, is concerned only incidentally with the engraver upon wood and stone, yet it is to that admirable work we go for the background of our knowledge of the book illustration of the period between 1800 and 1860, a period in which the significant book illustration was accomplished by wood engravers and lithographers. A recent work, *American Book Illustrators*, by Theodore Bolton, carries the story from F. O. C. Darley's early productions in 1843 to the present time. Amos Doolittle, who died in 1832, was active in such work in the first quarter of the century. Alexander Anderson illustrated several works on copper in that period, but his contribution to the history of illustration through the wood engraving as contrasted with the woodcut was of such a character that he has been designated "the Father of Wood-Engraving in the United States." Anderson learned the "white-line" technique of Bewick and made it the basis of a notable achievement in book illustration by that process. In 1804 he redrew and engraved 300 of Bewick's own illustrations for the first American edition of the *General History of Quadrupeds*, and as an engraver on wood he continued to illustrate American books until two years before his death in 1870. John Warner Barber illustrated in wood-engraving numerous fine works of his own authorship on the architecture, scenery, history, and antiquities of various parts of the United States. Benson J. Lossing was another author whose historical works, *The Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, 1850-1852, for example, found rich embellishment from his own engravings on wood. Typical of the better travel books of the period was John Russell Bartlett's *Personal Narrative of Explorations*

nd Incidents in Texas, New Mexico, California, Sonora, and Chihuahua, New York, 1854, illustrated in wood engraving by several different craftsmen and in lithography by Sarony & Co., of New York, from drawings by the author and his associates. The book of travel and description, the general magazine, and the popular gift book "annual" support the feeling that far from being a negligible period in book illustration the two or three decades before the Civil War came close to realizing the Golden Age of that art in the United States. Certainly the normal illustrated book of that time, regardless of changes in conceptions of what is art, was a finer publication from the standpoint of the reproductive mediums employed than the normal illustrated book of the photographic age. William James Bennett in that period was making landscape and architectural renderings in aquatint, and, before him, William Charles had copied in colored aquatint Rowlandson's illustrations to the *Vicar of Wakefield* and the *Tour of Dr. Syntax.*

It was in this period, too, that lithography as a medium for illustration came to a high point of excellence in American books. The folio edition of McKenney & Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America,* of Philadelphia, 1834, was adorned by a series of Indian portraits by C. B. King, reproduced in color lithography chiefly at the establishments of Lehman & Du Val and J. T. Bowen, of Philadelphia, a magnificent employment of a process at that time still in its infancy.

In this period were working in various mediums John Sartain, William Rollinson, Peter Maverick, Asher B. Durand, and F. O. C. Darley, the last named an illustrator whose work, usually reproduced by wood engraving, spans the generations and carries into the period covered by the next section of the present history.

This cursory treatment of book illustration before 1860 pretends to do no more than remind the reader that the subject is rich and varied from the point of view of the biographer, the amateur of art, and the historian of the book and society.

Labor Conditions

An American employer of the later centuries, it sometimes seems, has every reason to look back upon the first hundred years or more of printing in the colonies as a true golden age in which the journeymen and apprentices were content with their wages and their hours of labor

and knew not the meaning of organization or the efficacy of the strike. It is improbable, however, that the conditions were invariably so ideal as this from the employer's standpoint, for there must have been occasions when temporary organizations of journeymen forced concessions from a master printer even in that period. The first association of the sort known to us, however, was a shop union by means of which the journeymen of James Rivington of New York, in 1776, forced from their employer an increase of wages. Ten years later in Philadelphia when the employing printers attempted to reduce the minimum earning of an individual to $5.83 1/2 a week, a temporary organization was formed by the workmen of the city to resist this action. The local union thus set up forbade its adherents to accept less than a minimum of six dollars a week, and, quite in the familiar manner of our times, agreed to support any journeymen who were thrown out of employment by their refusal to work for a smaller sum. These indications of the growing solidarity of printing-house craftsmen caused a ripple of uneasiness among the employers. In 1792 one of Isaiah Thomas's partners wrote him from Boston regarding the wage question: "the devil seems to have got into the journeymen." We come to the first genuine organization of workmen in the modern sense with the formation in 1795 of the Typographical Society of New York, succeeded in 1799 by the Franklin Typographical Society of Journeymen Printers. In 1802 was formed the Philadelphia Typographical Society, and thereafter local organizations began to arise here and there throughout the country. It was not until 1836 that these local societies, appreciating the strength to be found in confederation, merged to form the National Typographical Association, which in 1851 became the National Typographical Union. Later developments are dealt with in the second section of this book. An examination of the constitutions of the earlier Societies of journeymen shows that in them the principles upon which the later national body was formed existed either expressed or implied, that is, the right to demand the regulation of wages and hours of labor, objection to the employment of non-union men, and the necessity for the limitation of the number of apprentices.

It was not primarily as a buffer to the labor organization that the Typothetae of New York, an association of master printers, was formed in 1863, but rather as a means of controlling the unregulated and

wasteful competition among the printing houses of the period. None the less, the national organization, the Typothetae of America, which grew out of this local Society, has been vigilant in looking out for the interests of the employer when in conflict with the demands of labor, as well as in serving the general interests of the trade in ways hardly understood by the layman.

The hours of labor in the early American shops were long, but not longer, it is believed, than in those of England and Scotland. As the result of his arduous apprenticeship, however, the printer became a specialist craftsman and his wages were normally good in comparison to those of other workmen of his time. In the colonial period the customary payment for the compositor was a shilling for a thousand ems; for the pressman a shilling a token, that is, for 240 sheets printed on one side. This rate of payment varied little in the early part of the nineteenth century. In 1817, the New York Typographical Society demanded for its compositors the sum of 27 cents a thousand ems, and for its pressmen 33 cents a token. Except under unusual circumstances, no pressman on a morning newspaper was permitted to work for less than ten dollars a week. At this time the master printers were charging their customers 56½ cents a thousand ems on book work composition and the same sum per token on press work.

Literary Property, Piracy, and Copyright Laws

THOUGH A PROTECTION for a term of years granted by the General Court of Massachusetts in 1673 is sometimes referred to as the first American copyright, it must be observed that this was protection given the publisher of a book of laws against reprinting and sale by other publishers, the same sort of protection as that provided in England at the time by entry of a work at Stationers' Hall. To put it briefly, this first American copyright was a "booksellers' copyright." It was not the vesting in the author of that qualified ownership of his work (qualified, that is, as to duration) which we think of today as copyright. Moreover, it was an isolated action; the principle underlying it was not consistently pursued in Massachusetts or elsewhere in the colonies in the one hundred and ten years that passed before the establishment of the first American copyright law.

That there existed a sense of mutual obligation on the part of the printers in the colonies to refrain from reprinting one another's works seems certain, but there is nothing to show that this obligation took into consideration the author's right, directly or by assignment, to control the sale of his work. This conception, indeed, had not taken firm hold in England at the time of establishment of the earliest American presses. Throughout the colonial period in America, we find a constant reprinting of a popular work by various presses in various colonies, and, though this was undoubtedly controlled in some cases by agreement, there must have been many instances in which the reprinting constituted an outright piracy, an ignoring of moral obligation in the absence of a specific law, in which both publisher and author suffered the loss of potential profits. It is difficult indeed to understand what there was besides innate decency that kept the publishers of different colonies within reasonable bounds in this respect. They were aware that the laws of England gave protection to the members of the Stationers Company against the unauthorized reprinting of their books by competitors, and after 1710 they were familiar with the statute, the celebrated "8 Anne, Chapter 19," which transferred this protection from publisher to author. In

the absence, however, of either inter- or intra-colonial laws resembling these, other forces besides the moral concept of fair play must have been at work, for we read few complaints of piracy in the documents that have come down from the period. Perhaps the publishers of the time took such infringements of their rights as a hazard of the trade and kept silent about it, intending to recoup themselves for injuries by retaliatory action. But to prevent these piracies there were, of course, natural restraints always at work, producing agreements between printers of different colonies, between a publisher and several printers, or between an author and several printers by which reprinting occurred under mutually profitable conditions. Strongest among those natural restraints were common decency and enlightened self-interest, or, to put it differently, the operation of the Golden Rule and the recognition by the printers of their reliance upon one another for news exchanges, for certain sorts of advertising, and for tools and materials in emergencies. Furthermore must be counted the fact that each colony was not only a separate political entity, but socially and economically separate as well. The publications of Boston normally offered little temptation to the piratical printer of New York, because for reasons of situation the sermons, the religious controversies, the political disquisitions, even the literary essays of Boston were foreign literature to the people of New York. It was a different story, of course, when in the later period the political controversies became national in character in the face of some crisis that affected the colonies equally. When in the Stamp Act Controversy, Jonas Green of Annapolis published Daniel Dulany's *Considerations on the Propriety of Taxing the Colonies*, and at least three other printers in three other American cities and still another in London straightway each brought out one or more editions of that vigorous statement of the American position, what recourse was open either to author or publisher? Green may have had an agreement with Holt of New York for his republication of Dulany's treatise, but two of the other editions were issued anonymously, and it is probable that the anonymity was as carefully preserved from the Annapolis publisher as from anyone else. In one field of publication, that of the almanac, it is likely that fair dealing was the rule. Timeliness of issue was a feature in the publication of almanacs. The printer who failed to have his almanac for 1760 ready in November or December of 1759

could not expect satisfactory sale. Consequently he would not be able to wait for the appearance of a rival printer's almanac and then steal its contents for his own market. It behooved him, therefore, to employ his own almanac maker, or to retire from that field of publication. It seems clear, too, that the makers of almanacs were protected by this factor and by an even more powerful factor—the degrees of latitude and longitude. Between Philadelphia and Charleston there were differences between the times of sun rising and sun setting and the times of seed time and harvest. There would be, accordingly, variations in astronomical data for the almanacs of those two places or of any two so far apart as these. The almanac maker who supplied printers in each place was likely to be the only person capable of making the necessary corrections, and each printer must pay him as for a separate work. This, at least, is how I interpret certain entries in the Account Books of Benjamin Franklin, in which, in those days when he was still acting as silent partner and agent for printers throughout the middle colonies and the South, we find him in 1744 buying from Theophilus Grew, on behalf of William Parks, of Williamsburg, for £21, seven copies, unquestionably in manuscript, of the almanac of that Philadelphia mathematician. There is no entry to show how he or William Parks disposed of these copies, but a few years later we find Franklin sending a Grew almanac to James Davis, a printer of Newbern, North Carolina, and charging him £3 for it. One assumes that the seven copies of 1744 had been separately calculated for as many different localities. We may conclude on this point that a deal of piracy was prevented also by the practice that existed among printers of selling one another's works on consignment. The Account Books show Franklin sending books of his own printing northward as far as Boston and southward as far as Charleston. In the case of almanacs such consignments ran sometimes into hundreds of copies. The opportunity for a wide sale presented by the printing of an important political document encouraged him, as we know, to special efforts of distribution. The Indian Treaty of 1744 was of such interest and consequence to the home government and to the middle colonies that he consigned 300 copies to England, 131 to Jonas Green of Annapolis, and smaller numbers to the printers of colonies not directly concerned in the results of the conference in question.

This examination of the loose and fortuitous practice of an earlier period has seemed a necessary preliminary to an understanding of the beginnings of copyright legislation in the United States. The new point of view introduced by the earliest copyright law was the most important landmark yet set up in the history of American authorship and book publishing. It was this law which made possible in the United States the existence of the professional author and gave the necessary encouragement to great publishing ventures.

More than once in relating the history of American printing and publishing we have had occasion to give special consideration to the part played in events by the colony of Connecticut, one of the smaller political divisions of the group, founded by separatists dissatisfied with the hierarchical system of the Massachusetts colony, a community intensely self-contained, the seat of a vigorous intellectual life, and given, for some reason I do not pretend to explain, to experimentation and achievement in the mechanical arts and sciences. From this colony in 1769 we saw coming the printing press made by Isaac Doolittle, of New Haven, for William Goddard, of Philadelphia, the earliest press of the colonies made for sale. In the same year, in the person of Abel Buell, of New Haven, we recognize the first American to master the art of type-founding in all its processes. The earliest United States patent for a cylinder press of any kind is said to have been that which was granted to Apollos Kinsley of Connecticut in 1796. Between these later events there occurred an incident of greater significance than either when in 1781, before the close of the Revolution, the Connecticut Assembly hearkened to the plea of a distressed author and gave him copyright protection for a book.

Andrew Law was a graduate of what is now Brown University, then Rhode Island College, whose talents were early turned to the study of church music. In later years he was to be wondered at and admired, but not imitated, as the inventor of a new scheme of musical notation, but his books of tunes of the earlier period were set in the conventional note forms of his and our own times. In his petition to the Connecticut Assembly of October, 1781, he affirmed that the compiling, engraving, and printing of one of his books, *Collection of the Best Tunes*, of New Haven, 1779, had cost him the sum of £500, and that some unscrupulous persons had begun a counterfeiting of his work. He begged,

therefore, for the sole right of "imprinting and vending" an edition now in hand "for the Term of five years." Law stated the principle upon which all later American acts of copyright are based in his declaration "that the works of Art ought to be protected in this Country." Both the special and the general pleas of this petition were so far successful as to cause the Assembly to pass soon thereafter a special act to protect him in the publication of his *Collection of the best Tunes for the Promotion of Psalmody*, presumably of New Haven, 1781. It is likely that the success of the young musician in securing protection for his book of tunes was the incentive behind the application for a similar privilege which resulted soon afterwards in the all-important copyright legislation of the Connecticut Assembly of 1783.

By one of those satisfactory coincidences that sometimes happen, the actual establishment of the Connecticut copyright statute, the first in the United States, had its origin in the petition of a romantic figure asking protection for a romantic book. John Ledyard, known later to Europe and America as an exponent of somewhat grandiose, but at the same time, entirely sensible, visions of world exploration, was one of that band that went upon the celebrated Third Voyage in which Captain James Cook consolidated his fame as an explorer and lost his life. Returning to his home in Connecticut after some years of further wanderings, young Ledyard determined to publish an account of the tragic last voyage. It was only two years earlier that Andrew Law had obtained a special protection from the Connecticut Assembly for his book of tunes, and now in January, 1783, Ledyard appealed to the same sympathetic body for a similar right to the exclusive publication of a book which, published in Hartford in 1783, took the title *A Journal of Captain Cook's last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean.* The text of Ledyard's petition is here printed, it is believed, for the first time:

"To his Excellency the Governor and the Honorable the General Assembly of the State of Connecticutt

"The Memorial of John Ledyard Humbly sheweth that in the month of March 1774 the memorialist left New York in a Merchant Ship in which he sailed to Falmouth in Great Britain but finding his situation unprofitable & unpleasant in the ship to which he then belonged he proceeded to the city of Bristol hoping to mend it; he was however so unfortunate then as to be apprehended by a kind of Police in that city

who obliged him either to ship himself for the coast of Guinea or to enter the British Army. Your Memorialist, young, inexperienced & destitute of friends, chose the latter as the least of two evils: he continued in the Army untill early in the Year 1775 when he was ordered to Boston in New England: to this your memorialist objected being himself a native of that Country & desired he might be appointed to some other duty, which ultimately was granted: matters continued thus until July 1776 when the equipment for discovery came round from London to Plymouth & your memorialist esteeming this a favourable conjuncture to free himself forever from coming to America as her enemy & prompted also by curiosity & disinterested enterprise embarked in that expedition. In the year 1780 your Memorialist returned to London & after having solicited the Earl of Sandwich in vain for his discharge from the service he was obliged in October 1781 to take his tour of duty which was to America where he remained on board a British Frigate many months before he could meet with an opportunity to renounce the service & return to his country—he has now effected it and if he has acquired any merit by his conduct, his travels, or his writings they are all due to his country, & much more: but your Memorialist having lost his pecuniary assistance by his abrupt departure from the British is thereby incapacitated to move in a circle he could wish without the Assistance of his friends & the patronage & recommendations of the Government under which he was born & whose favour & esteem he hopes he has never forfieted: he therefore proposes as a matter of consideration to your Excellency and Council that he may be introduced into some immediate employment wherein he may as well be usefull to his country as himself during the War. He also humbly intreats the honourable Assembly to take into consideration a history of the memorialists last voyage round the world which he proposes to publish in a manner which he thinks will not only be meritorious in himself but may be essentially usefull to America in general but particularly to the northern States by opening a most valuable trade across the north pacific Ocean to China & the east Indies—and that the memorialist may have the exclusive right of publishing this said Journal or history in this State for such a term as shall be thot fit. & he shall ever pray Dated at Hartford this 6th day of January 1783.

"John Ledyard

"In the upper House

"Samuel Huntington Esq^{r}, and such Gentlemen as the lower House may joyn with him; are appointed a Committee, to enquire & examine into, and Consider the Subject Matter of the foregoing Memorial of Mr. John Ledyard, And make Report of their Opinion thereon to this present Assembly

"Test George Wyllys, Secret.

"In the Lower House, Col. Porter & Col. Mott are appointed to Join on the Subject above mentioned.

"Test Increase Moseley Clerk P. T."

The report of the Assembly's committee on Ledyard's petition is a document in the history of American authorship that deserves honor and attention. It reads as follows:

"Jan 1783

"Your Honours committee apointed to take into consideration The Memorial of John Ledyard prefer^{d} to this Assembly, take leave to report that in their Opinion a publication of the Memorialists Journal in his voyage round the Globe may be beneficial to these United States & to the world, & it appears reasonable & Just that the Memorialist should have an exclusive right to publish the same for a Reasonable Term, and as it appears that several Gentlemen of Genius & reputation are also about to make similar Applications for the exclusive right [to] publish Works of their Respective Compositions, your Committee are of opinion that it is expedient to pass a general bill, for that purpose and thereupon report the Annexed Bill.

"All which is Submitted by your Honours humble Servants

"Sign^{d} p^{r} Order

"Sam Huntington

"In the upper House

"The above Report of the Committee is accepted and approved

"Test. George Wyllys, Secrety."

The recommendation of the Committee for the passage of a general law so greatly appealed to the practical intelligence of the Connecticut legislators that in this same session of the Assembly they placed upon

the statute books of the State the memorable "Act for the encouragement of Literature and Genius" which became the model of the later copyright legislation of other states and finally of the Federal law of 1790. The preamble of the Connecticut law of 1783 stated in these words the fundamental principle of an author's equity in the product of his intelligent industry:

"Whereas it is perfectly agreeable to the Principles of natural Equity and Justice, that every Author should be secured in receiving the Profits that may arise from the Sale of his Works, and such security may encourage Men of Learning and Genius to publish their Writings; which may do Honor to their Country, and Service to Mankind. . . . Be it enacted . . ."

The act gave to any author of a book not previously printed, provided he were a resident of the United States, "the Sole Liberty of printing, publishing, and vending the same within . . . [Connecticut], for the Term of fourteen years, . . ." It then proceeded to provide a severe penalty for reprinting the book in that state, or importing into it copies reprinted elsewhere without the author's written consent. It stated the methods of registration, and provided further the right of the author to a second fourteen years of protection upon the expiration of the first term. The act went beyond its first purpose somewhat and stated that the right granted the author could be withdrawn by the Superior Court if he neglected to "furnish the Public with sufficient Editions" of his book, or offered it for sale at a price that might be judged greater than would provide him a reasonable compensation for his labor, time, expense, and risk of sale. Its closing section gives us a clear view of the state of a country still in the condition of a loose confederation of states, when it affirms that the provisions of the act should not extend to the "inhabitants of any other of the United States, until the State or States in which such Person or Persons reside . . . shall have passed similar laws in favour of the Authors of new publications, and their Heirs and Assigns." It is unnecessary to call attention to the likeness existing between this act of the Connecticut legislature and the "Act for the Encouragement of Learning" of "8 Anne, Chapter 19," of 1710.

In his entry of Charles Henry Wharton's *Letter to the Roman Catholics of the City of Worcester*, Philadelphia, 1784, Hildeburn (*Issues*

of the Pennsylvania Press) makes the following observation: "At the end, 'Entered according to Act of Assembly.' This is the earliest example of copyright in America I have met with." With this assertion repeated by Charles Evans, there is some danger that Wharton's book, which may, indeed, have been the first to contain within it a printed notice of copyright, may come to be regarded as the earliest copyrighted book of the United States under a state or federal law. That distinction belongs, I believe, to the Ledyard book even though it does not contain printed at beginning or end a notice of copyright.

This is a brief analysis of the first general law of any state of the United States for the encouragement of authorship, the act which eventually made possible the growth of a professional author class in the country. One does not find, except in the field of *belles lettres*, a great difference in intention between the authors of the unprotected and the protected periods. The historians, the controversialists, the publicists have been normally, in the later as in the earlier period, men who wrote with professional skill and purpose while supporting themselves in some gainful occupation—preaching, teaching, the law, medicine, or business. The copyright law gave comfort of a sort to these individuals, but it did not set them apart as a class. The change that came about was particularly to be observed in the realm of polite literature, for the writing of the poets and essayists of the earlier period was in general the work of amateurs, of occasional writers without incentive to the maintenance of concentrated effort. The possibility of ensuring to themselves profit from their labors worked a gradual change in the attitude of men of this group, creating finally the poet, the novelist, or the essayist, who, in whole or in part, gained his bread by his pen.

The example of Connecticut was quickly followed by other states. The enactment of its copyright law in January, 1783, was observed and taken to heart by Massachusetts, which passed a similar act in March of the same year. Maryland followed in April, and later in the year the states of New Jersey, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island placed similar laws upon their books. Delaware did not pass a copyright law and the last of the other twelve states to do so was New York with an act of April, 1786. Doubtless the general action of so many states in so short a period was brought about by the attitude of the national Congress, which in May, 1783, after the passage of the laws of Connecticut,

Massachusetts, and Maryland, recommended the adoption of similar laws by all the states. The new country was preparing to use all its forces—physical, moral, and intellectual—in its experiment in government. In 1787, the Constitution, which brought the separate commonwealths of the Confederation into a permanent federal union with a centralized government, declared in its first Article: "The Congress shall have power: To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors, the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries." This power was exercised at the second session of the first Congress held under the Constitution. On May 31, 1790, there was passed "An Act for the encouragement of learning, by securing copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned."

All the state acts and the national copyright act followed the English law in naming successive units of fourteen years as the duration of the author's exclusive privilege to his work, denying implicitly the theory of perpetual copyright. This theory was none the less maintained by some individuals, and it was only after an adverse decision of the Supreme Court in 1834 that it ceased to exist as a practical issue. Various later acts of Congress extended the provisions of copyright protection to prints and musical compositions, and in 1856 the right to control public performance of music and plays was granted the proprietors of copyrights.

International Piracy

The popularity of the English writers in America too often resulted only indirectly in financial profit to them, for the absence of an international copyright law made it possible for the American publisher to reprint their works without payment either to the English author or the English publisher. Where no law existed to protect an English book in the United States, the author of that book had, in fact, no "rights" in the fruit of its sale in this country. Actually the copyright act of 1790 protected the American publisher in the reprinting of an English book by the clause which limited the benefits of the law to citizens of the United States. The abuses and injustices under this system were innumerable, but the situation was not quite so completely without ameliorating factors as is sometimes believed. American publishers in

many cases paid considerable sums for sheets printed in England which they brought out under their own imprints, or purchased proof sheets and manuscripts from which they set their own editions of English works of fiction, biography, and travel. Many of the most popular English writers received fair treatment and considerable financial reward from their authorized American publishers, and under similar terms of use the works of certain American writers in their turn found publication in England. Materials for a study of the whole relationship of American publishers to English authors, and English publishers to American authors, are found in I. R. Brussel's two books, *Anglo-American First Editions, East to West*, and *Anglo-American First Editions, West to East.*

In assuming that the English laws did not protect English books in a country in which those laws did not operate, the American publisher had precedent from the colonial period. We have seen that James Rivington, a publisher with English upbringing and business experience, had no scruples about the reprinting in New York in 1774 of Hawkesworth's *New Voyage.* At about the same time we find him in treaty with Henry Knox, of Boston, about the sale of English books printed in Ireland. Naturally these were popular in the American trade because, as they were pirated editions, brought out in a country in which at this time, before the Act of Union of 1801, the English copyright law did not prevail, they could be sold by their publisher at a cheaper rate. In 1771, Robert Bell, of Philadelphia, whose previous training had been in a Dublin bookselling establishment, brought out, dated 1770, Volume III of Robertson's *History of the Reign of Charles the Fifth.* In an *Address to the Subscribers*, Bell defended himself against the charge of piracy in the publication of that book by reference to the Irish trade in the reprinting of English books "without rendering the smallest pecuniary regard either to Authors or to Booksellers." "The reason is obvious," he continues, "because the monopoly doth not reach beyond the limits of Great-Britain, and cannot extend into any country governed by an Assembly of Represenstatives . . ." Bell then quotes at length from Blackstone's Commentaries to the effect that Ireland, the Channel Isles, and the American colonies were "not bound by any acts of parliament, unless particularly named." The ingenious Bell concludes his address with these two paragraphs:

"Surely, the precedent of the people of Ireland's reprinting every work produced in London, and the great Lawyer Blackstone's authority concerning the internal legislation of colonies, are demonstrations of the rectitude of reprinting any, or every work of excellence in America, without the smallest infringement of the British embargo upon literature.—Is it not enough that their embargo prevents Americans from shipping their manufactures of this kind into Britain.—Would it not be incompatible with all freedom, if an American's mind must be entirely starved and enslaved in the barren regions of fruitless vacuity, because he doth not wallow in immense riches equal to some British Lords, the origin of whose progenitors are lost in the chaos of antiquity?

"The Editor hopeth, that the facts above exhibited are sufficient support for Americans, to persevere in reprinting whatsoever books merit their approbation, without leave or licence from the Bibliopolists or Monopolists of Great-Britain; he is therefore determined, as much as possible, to practise the advice contained in George Fisher's emphatic lines.

> "Since to the Pen and Press we mortals owe,
> All we believe, and almost all we know,
> Go on ye great preservers of these arts,
> Which raise our thoughts and cultivate our parts."

Inasmuch as this argument by the Dublin-Philadelphia bookseller, dated April 4, 1771, continued for more than a century to represent American opinion upon the subject of reprinting English books, it seems important to record it here at some length. In the light of it American piracy, encouraged in precept and example by Bell and Rivington, formerly British booksellers, is seen to be legal and almost respectable instead of an evidence of headlong, reckless greed. Though not so bad as this, however, it was bad enough, injurious to good feeling between the nations, and deterrent of American literary expression. Yet the final word must be that the free reprinting of English books in this country was a tremendous service to a people craving cultural enlightenment. Nor is there any question that the dissemination of an English author's works in this country was, in many cases, productive of great increase to his reputation, and, therefore of indirect value to him from the standpoint of financial benefit.

In the first half of the nineteenth century the trade in pirated English books seems to have been a specialty of the Philadelphia publishers, but, as will be shown in the second section of this work, the palm for this activity returned later to New York and the hands of a group which provided cheap and adequate reprints of English books for a tremendous proportion of the country's readers.

Censorship in the Later Period

In the discussion of the censorship in the colonial period we have shown that the idea of the freedom of the press was well understood by government and people, and that despite inevitable setbacks there had existed, within limitations, a free press which made possible a steady progression in liberal thought. The absence of a statement regarding the press in the Constitution was evidence neither of reaction nor indifference, but simply of the deliberate choice of its makers to regard the freedom of the press as a natural right of man outside the province of government to grant or withhold. But the people of the states, less subtle in their comprehension of the philosophy of government, successfully compelled the insertion of the principle in the first of the Ten Amendments of 1791.

It might have been supposed that so far as the United States was concerned the battle was won by this action of 1791, but the Sedition Law of 1798 brought the whole subject before the country in an unpleasant form. One provision of that law related to the printing of libels against Congress or the President, and it was not long before several editors were prosecuted under its terms. Benjamin Franklin Bache, of Philadelphia, grandson of Franklin, published matter in his *Aurora* which caused him to be arrested on the charge of libelling the President. Matthew Lyon, a congressman from Vermont, was found guilty on a similar charge, and Anthony Haswell, the printer and editor of Bennington, defending him in his newspaper, was brutally treated by an official oaf and sentenced under the law to serve a term in jail. Thomas Cooper, of Northumberland, Pennsylvania, editor of the *Sunbury and Northumberland Gazette* was another of those jailed and fined under the same law in 1800.

This persecution of the opposition to the Federalist government did not go without protest in print. One of the most pertinent of the ut-

terances against it was *An Essay on the Liberty of the Press*, published in Philadelphia in 1799, at the office of the *Aurora*, Bache's newspaper, under the pseudonym of Hortensius, which stood for George Hay, the Virginia lawyer who, in 1807, conducted the prosecution at the trial of Aaron Burr. *A Dissertation upon the Constitutional Freedom of the Press in the United States of America*, by an Impartial Citizen, was printed in Boston in 1801 by David Carlisle for Joseph Nancrede, the French publisher of Boston, later of Philadelphia, who is remembered as an active expositor of French liberalism in this country. In the absence of any suggestion as to the authorship of the *Dissertation*, it is not improper to suggest Nancrede himself. The Alien and Sedition acts expired in 1800 and 1801 respectively, having done an injury to their Federalist proponents to which, it has been said, the eventual downfall of their party could be traced.

It has been suggested that the pressure of adverse public opinion upon a publication agency (witness the destruction of Rivington's press and property in New York in 1775; the action of the Whig Club against Goddard in Baltimore in 1777; and the annihilation of the plant of Alexander Contee Hanson's *Federal Republican* in the same city in 1812) provided a censorship more effective and more frequently applied in this country than the operation of governmental restriction or persecution. It seems to be true that the history of Mob vs. Press is a fuller and more interesting one than that of the Press in conflict with Government. The people, yesterday and today, are concerned with the freedom of speech only when the utterance expresses, in general, their own views. In time of war and emotional stress of any sort the careful newspaper becomes the voice of the people. In the face of this fact theories regarding the liberty of the press become matter for academic discussion.

The Literary Background

The literary production of the period before 1860 is looked back upon affectionately even by those whom modernism has led far away from its concern in matter and form; by still others it is revered as the Golden Age, and well may it be so considered from many standpoints. The country by that time had passed through its period of formation, physical and political, through its period of poverty and arduous pio-

neer labor, and through its feeling of inferiority in the things of literature and art. It retained a sense of intellectual discipleship towards England, but so obvious is it that the men of this period were striking out for themselves as American writers, dealing with American subjects, that an affirmation of their American nationalism need hardly be made. Nineteenth-century American literature was not, as one school of critics has told us, "colonial" in matter and purpose even though its makers attempted to present it in a form and style that might not be disdained in any appraisal of English literature. Washington Irving was writing his legends of the New York countryside in *Rip Van Winkle* and the *Legend of Sleepy Hollow*; he turned to a larger study of American history in Knickerbocker's *History of New York*, and in his biographies of Columbus and Washington. James Fenimore Cooper was bringing the American Indian, the scout, the hunter, and the pioneer into American literature in *The Deerslayer*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, and in other stories of the Leather-Stocking series. His very first successful work, *The Spy*, had made the American Revolution the subject of a novel. John Pendleton Kennedy, less well remembered than these, was writing historical novels and sketches of manners with the South as their background. Hawthorne was the recorder of the old New England in his *Scarlet Letter* and *House of the Seven Gables.* Thoreau was preaching a philosophy of wide social implications with Walden Pond as the center of the world of his actual knowledge. Herman Melville in *Moby Dick*, *Typee*, and *Omoo* was telling tales of distant oceans seen by a youth whose New York and New England background could be forgotten neither by himself nor by his readers. In his address of 1837 entitled *The American Scholar*, Ralph Waldo Emerson set forth what Oliver Wendell Holmes called "our intellectual Declaration of Independence." In his writings generally, universal in philosophical scope though they were, Emerson was as American as his native Massachusetts. Francis Parkman, William Hickling Prescott, and George Bancroft, historians steeped in the history of the western continent, were chronicling a varied drama, played upon a stage that reached from Quebec in Canada to Lima in Peru. Among the poets Poe was a disembodied spirit so far as locale was concerned, but Longfellow, Whittier, and Lowell were American in spirit and matter.

The one book of the period that rivalled and surpassed the sales records of the modern best sellers was a picture of American life of immense propagandist value. Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe wrote her celebrated *Uncle Tom's Cabin* with little idea of its effect upon the opinion of her countrymen, but its pathos, its romanticism, its picture of the daily life of slave and master secured for it enormous distribution and brought the issue of slavery before the country in a fashion that all the efforts of Quaker, Abolitionist, and political orator had not been able to do in generations of effort. It was published by the firm of John P. Jewett & Co., of Boston, and it is estimated that 300,000 copies were sold in the twelvemonth after its first issue in book form in March, 1852.

It is no wonder that one looks back upon this period, teeming with books and periodicals, with the works of novelists, essayists, poets, and propagandists, a surprisingly large number of them of the quality that endures, as one of the most interesting in the cultural history of the nation.

The Expansion of the Booktrade

Probably the best way to convey an idea of the development of the booktrade in the United States in the period which we are now discussing is by a series of statistical tables. These tables are based chiefly upon Evans's *American Bibliography* and Roorbach's *Bibliotheca Americana*, sources which could not in the nature of their compilation be regarded as complete. Mr. Evans listed everything that a rigorous and long-continued search brought under his eye, but it has been calculated that there have disappeared four or five times more books of the period covered by him than he recorded as having been issued. Roorbach's list was rigidly selective, and in only a very limited sense can be taken to represent the total output of the press in his period.

The first of the tables is this which follows:

PERSONS AND FIRMS ENGAGED AS EMPLOYING PRINTERS, PUBLISHERS, AND BOOKSELLERS IN FIVE AMERICAN CITIES

	Boston	*New York*	*Philadelphia*	*Baltimore*	*Charleston, S. C.*
1773	30	13	16	1	3
1778	10	8	21	3	4
1792	30	19	47	15	10
1798	41	56	88	19	15

The figures above given portray the gradually increasing decentralization of the booktrade in the new country in the first two decades of its separate existence. In 1773, the figure for Boston is nearly twice as large as that for Philadelphia, its closest competitor, and only slightly under the combined totals of the other four cities examined. Five years later, the trade in Boston and New York, affected by the War of the Revolution, had shrunk to relatively small proportions, while in Philadelphia, for four years past the seat of the Continental Congress, it had appreciably gone ahead. In 1792, Boston had got back to its numerical position of 1773, but not to its leadership; New York had advanced; Philadelphia, the temporary capital and seat of the recent Constitutional Convention, had made a notable increase; and Baltimore and Charleston for the first time were making a respectable showing. In 1798, as the century was about to close, an increase had occurred in all five cities, but the significant features of that year were the rapid growth of the trade in Philadelphia and New York as compared to Boston, and the first hint that New York was to become in the book world a serious rival to the Pennsylvania city. The figures for a later period will point to the consummation of these tendencies.

The group of figures analyzed in the foregoing paragraph shows the number of individuals engaged as employers in all branches of the booktrade in five cities at various times from 1773 until the end of the century. Those now to be presented for the period 1820 to 1852 do not include printers unless they were also publishers, nor do they take account of bookbinders and retail booksellers. In other words, in this table for the later period we are concerned only with the publisher or, as he happened to be in many cases, the printer-publisher.

PUBLISHERS IN SIX CITIES, 1820–1852

Boston	147	Charleston	15
Baltimore	32	Philadelphia	198
New York	345	Cincinnati	25

By this time, as one sees at a glance, the booktrade had found its unquestioned center at New York; Philadelphia and Boston, the ancient rivals, were again approaching equality; Baltimore was advancing slowly; Charleston, still more slowly; and the West was beginning to surpass the South and to make itself a national factor with the publications of twenty-five firms in Cincinnati.

For the century and a half period 1639-1791, Mr. Evans recorded some 24,000 titles, including newspapers, almanacs, and assembly laws and proceedings, as the issue of the press of English America. Roorbach records this same number for the short period 1820-1852, omitting from his lists the specific categories just named as forming an important factor in Evans's total, and concentrating on works of literature, history, and the arts. He records the fact, also, that there were being published in the United States in 1850 four hundred and eighty-six periodicals, exclusive of daily and semi-weekly newspapers.

The Small-Town Publishers

From what has been said it may seem to the reader that the entire publishing trade of the first half of the century was carried on in the chief cities by the individuals and firms of whom we have been speaking. But that is not the case. These firms, in all essentials, were small-town printers grown big because their towns had grown big. In innumerable small towns throughout the country, which had been distanced in the race for size and importance by Boston, Philadelphia, and New York, active publishing was being carried on, as it had been throughout the colonial period, by the individual who combined in himself the functions of printer, publisher, newspaper editor, bookbinder, and bookseller. His product was largely confined to almanacs, schoolbooks, chapbooks, and reprints of favorite works of fiction, travel, and adventure, but first and last it formed a very large part of the reading matter of the residents in the small towns themselves and in the farms surrounding them. Various causes—railroads and a consequent quicker and wider distribution, the cheapening of the product through quantity production, the use of the stereotype process for the reproduction of standard books—hardly feasible on a large scale to the small-town printer—slowly brought it about that after the middle of the century this minor but important figure was stripped of his pride as a book publisher, retaining his newspaper and the local job work of his district as his chief means of support.

It would be invidious to name only a few of the individuals in a group of such size and wide geographical distribution. The greatest activity among those who composed it seems to have centered in rural New York and in New England "north of Boston"; that is, in Albany,

Poughkeepsie, Ithaca, Canandaigua, Cooperstown; in Walpole, Keene, Exeter, Claremont, and Concord, New Hampshire; Brattleboro and Bennington, Vermont; in Portland, Maine; and in a number of smaller Massachusetts towns. But that the small-town publisher existed throughout the country, though the New York and New England concentration was his strongest manifestation, one learns from a brief examination of the pages of Roorbach, where publishers are found to be located in Frankfort and Maysville, Kentucky; in Athens and Augusta, Georgia; in Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and in so many other places of like size and character that it would be a simple weariness to particularize them. We may hope that the extensive studies undertaken by Mr. Barrows Mussey upon the subject of the small-town publisher will be carried to the point of publication. We owe him thanks for most of the material on this important subject presented in the paragraphs above.

Characteristics of the New Publications

In the categories of knowledge represented by the American press at the close of the eighteenth century differences are found when comparing the output with that of the colonial period. The table below needs no comment, except the obvious one that instead of an intellectual interest closely confined to theology a more broadly-based culture, strong in its interest in literature and political science, was making its way in the country, accompanying, if not caused by, a notable physical growth and a striking experiment in political idealism.

		Classes of Product					
	Total	*Literature*	*Medicine*	*Music*	*Theology*	*Social Science*	*Political Science*
1778.....	461	17	7	8	37	15	12
1798.....	1808	203	38	16	244	62	143
Multiple of increase...	4	12	5.5	2	6.6	4	12

The Leading Publishers at the Turn of the Century

The New York booktrade in the year 1798 already comprised within its organization a number of individuals who were to be among its leading members in the first half of the new century. Among these we must name Evert Duyckinck, remembered today, when the books he published are all but forgotten, as a capable and industrious editor and writer; Philip Freneau, the best-known American poet of the period;

Hugh Gaine, an eminent printer of the colonial period, still vigorous after nearly 50 years of printing and publishing; Noah Webster, whose world-wide fame as a lexicographer has obscured his activity as editor and publisher; and Thomas and John Swords, who were to continue their activities well into the new century and help consolidate the position of leadership of their city.

In Boston there were the firms of Thomas & Andrews, of which the head was the well-remembered Isaiah Thomas of Worcester; Benjamin Edes; and the Russells. In Philadelphia, Robert Aitken, the publisher in 1784 of the first English Bible printed in America, was still conducting a firm that had been active and important for thirty years; Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, printer, publisher, and typefounder, was continuing the family tradition; three descendants of William Bradford, the city's first printer, were carrying on in their persons a still older and more persistent family tradition; Mathew Carey, who shares with Isaiah Thomas preëminence among the printers of the period, was building up a great business in the publishing of books and in the selling of them by subscription; Thomas Dobson had just brought to an end the most ambitious book project until then conceived this side the Atlantic, that is, the publication in eighteen large quarto volumes of the revised third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica.* Duane, Fenno, Folwell, McCulloch, and Poulson were some of those destined to become prominent in the typographical and publishing activities of the new generation; Moreau de St. Mery, politician, writer, and printer, and Pierre Parent were conducting their French presses for the benefit of the large French element in Philadelphia, augmented earlier in the decade by the refugees from Santo Domingo; Charles Cist, of Philadelphia, was carrying on the old tradition of German publication in the colony in which the Sauers, Steiner, and Armbruester had firmly established it in earlier generations.

The Music Publishers

In all these cities was to be found a new type of American publisher in the persons of those who devoted themselves to the publication of music, largely of secular music. In New York were Benjamin Carr, George Gilfert, James Hewitt, and John and M. Paff. In Boston was to be found the active house of P. A. von Hagen. Benjamin Carr con-

ducted a "Musical Repository" in Philadelphia as well as in New York, dividing the business of the first-named city with George Willig. From these shops and others like them issued in the period before 1800, notably in the period 1780-1800, a constant production of sheet music, both instrumental and vocal. Sonneck's bibliography, admittedly incomplete, comprises some 1300 titles of secular music for the period ending with the close of the century. These were the moderate beginnings of a trade that became enormous in the early years of the succeeding century.

The Leading Publishers of the Period 1800-1860

At different times in the period before 1860 arose certain bookselling and printing establishments that eventually became publishing houses of national and even wider fame. We have spoken more than once of the activities of Mathew Carey, who, beginning as a printer and bookseller in Philadelphia in the late eighteenth century, carried on into the nineteenth as one of the leading American publishers of books and periodicals. Carey was himself a writer on economic subjects and a citizen of importance who influenced the thinking of his time as well as the business of bookselling and publishing. His sons and his son-in-law and their descendants have carried on his business for the century and a half which has elapsed since its first establishment. Carey & Lea; Carey, Lea & Carey; Carey, Lea & Blanchard; Henry C. Lea; Lea Brothers & Co.; Lea & Febiger are a few of the firm names under which the printing and publishing house set up by the progenitor in 1785 has continued ever since to carry on a solid business in Philadelphia despite the fact that the chief activity of the book world for the greater part of the period has centered in New York and Boston. In 1836 was founded in Philadelphia the bookselling and publishing house of J. B. Lippincott & Co., which today carries on a century-old tradition of general publishing.

Charles Wiley established in New York in 1807 a bookshop from which grew a publishing house that still exists, though today, after a long period in which it won distinction in the general publishing business of the country, its activities are restricted to the publication of scientific books and journals. John Wiley, the son of Charles, formed a partnership with George Long, and when, in 1840, Long withdrew

from the firm, he replaced him with an individual celebrated in the annals of American publishing, George Palmer Putnam. The firm of Wiley & Putnam soon boasted a branch in London, mainly devoted to bookselling, under the charge of the junior partner. There Putnam came into personal relations with English authors and secured at first hand their works for publication by his firm in New York. It is said that his arrangements with Elizabeth Barrett and with Carlyle marked the earliest appearance in the publishing business of the "royalty" system for the remuneration of authors. In the case of Carlyle, the royalty for his *Cromwell* offered by Putnam was such as we understand by that term today—a straight percentage on the retail selling price of all copies marketed. Even earlier than this, Putnam had become a leader in the cause of international copyright, a cause which was later championed by his son George Haven Putnam, who, in 1909, could see in a new act of Congress something that approximated the successful consummation of the long struggle. Soon after its establishment of the principle of royalty payments, the firm of Wiley & Putnam dissolved, and the junior member set up the firm of G. P. Putnam that still carries on the business of publishing in New York.

In 1825, or, as some authorities maintain on good evidence, 1827, Daniel Appleton established a general store in New York which soon began specializing in the sale of books. In 1831, Appleton entered the field of publishing. Under the name of D. Appleton & Co. the firm carried on until its merger a few years ago with The Century Co. as the D. Appleton-Century Co. It has maintained throughout that period of more than a hundred years an admirable record in the publication of general literature.

The house of Harper began in 1817 with the printing firm of J. & J. Harper, comprising James Harper and a younger brother, John, which soon began the publication on a large scale of reprints of the works of contemporary and earlier authors. In 1833, the firm, by then enlarged through the addition of two other brothers, took the name of Harper & Brothers by which it is known at the present day. So nearly equal were the shares of the four brothers in the responsibilities of the firm that it was wittily said "Either one is the Harper, the rest are the Brothers." The wide interests of this firm, including the publication of several

periodicals bearing its name, are so well known as to make it unnecessary to dwell further upon the story of its activities.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the revival for a short period of the eminence of Boston as a publishing center. In 1821 Charles Coffin Little entered the bookstore of Carter, Hilliard & Co., an organization which, through its several proprietors, traced to the eighteenth century, and in 1827 he became a member of the firm, then reorganized as Hilliard, Gray & Co. He became senior member and soon thereafter formed an association with James Brown. The firm of Little, Brown & Co., so-called since 1837, thus is to be regarded as one of the few which carry back to the eighteenth century. At about the time of its formation in 1837 Boston was entering upon a fresh period of literary glory through the activities of that distinguished group of New England men of letters which comprised Hawthorne, Emerson, Thoreau, Whittier, Parkman, and others of a fame that has endured. The Old Corner Book Store, taken over in 1832 by William D. Ticknor, became a gathering place for bookmen and men of letters, and out of it soon came a firm of publishers, Ticknor & Fields, which had on its list the most distinguished of contemporary American authors. As the result of several combinations and changes of partnership, that house became Houghton Mifflin Co. which, with Little, Brown & Co., continues in Boston a long record of continuous publication of works of literature.

Bookselling Methods

The modes of distribution of books in the years between the Revolution and 1860 show little change from those elsewhere employed in that period—that is, distribution through the retail book shop, the subscription agent, the pedlar, and the auctioneer. Mathew Carey and Caleb P. Wayne, of Philadelphia, were prolific publishers of books to be sold by subscription. For both these men, but principally for Mathew Carey, worked the celebrated Mason Locke Weems, prince of American travelling book agents from 1794 until 1825, better known as "Parson Weems," creator of the story of the boy George Washington and the Cherry Tree, and as the author of biographies of Washington, Marion, Franklin, and Penn. With horse and wagon, Weems covered the eastern seaboard between Pennsylvania and Georgia. For

Wayne he sold nearly 4000 copies of Marshall's *Life of Washington*, collecting for him for that book alone the sum of $40,000; for Carey, innumerable copies of innumerable books, including an estimated 3000 copies of Carey's Family Bible.

The auction business, which almost disappeared in 1801 with the record of a single sale, began to raise its head about 1814, when there were held nine sales (eight in Boston, one in New York) of sufficient importance to require printed catalogues. For the year 1860, some sixty sales of a similar character are recorded, more than one half of them being held by the New York auction houses of Bangs, Merwin & Co. and George A. Leavitt & Co., the remainder almost equally divided between M. Thomas & Sons of Philadelphia and Leonard & Co. of Boston.

The more enterprising of the booksellers in the period before the Revolution had customarily issued in the weekly newspaper lists of their importations from the London publishers, and occasionally there were issued separately special lists of books of other sorts for sale. The earliest of these known to us was that well-remembered catalogue in which Duncan Campbell of Boston, in 1693, offered to the public by retail sale the library of the Rev. Samuel Lee. We have already seen that in the ensuing years there were frequent issues of catalogues of book auctions, but it was not until after the middle of the century that the booksellers' catalogue with lists of importations or of locally printed books for retail disposal began to assume importance as a means of selling books. After the Revolution this form of advertising booksellers' wares became a regular feature of the trade. I have before me an octavo of 32 pages issued about the year 1790 by Benjamin Guild of Boston in which are offered nearly a thousand titles of books of English, French, and French origin; some 40 pieces of music, principally instrumental; and seventeen charts of Nova Scotia and New England waters from the *Atlantic Neptune* of J. F. W. Des Barres. A finer analysis of the contents of this catalogue would show the numerical ratios of the several categories of knowledge represented among the books offered for sale. There would be, of course, a striking difference between the reading lists of that day and this, but the growth in popularity of the fictional form which has been chiefly responsible for this difference is so much a matter of commonplace knowledge that it need

not be emphasized by further reference. Of more immediate interest in this sense is the number of works found in this catalogue on the practical sciences; on a single page appear Glasse's *Art of Cookery*, Gordon's *Geographical Grammar*, Guthrie's *Geographical Grammar*, Hale's *Complete System of Husbandry*, Halley's *Astronomical Tables*, Haselden's *Seaman's Daily Assistant*, Harris *On the Globes*, *The Art of Hatching Fowls*, Hauxley's *System of Navigation*—all works necessary to a people of whom 90 per cent were still engaged in some form of agricultural pursuit, while many of the remainder gained their livings from the sea.

John Dabney's catalogue of books for sale, or circulation (in the manner of the modern lending library), of Salem, 1791, is larger than Guild's in size, but much the same in content. The catalogue of William Blake of Boston offered a similar assortment and, like that of Dabney, contained a section headed "Bibles, Dictionaries, Classical and School Books, Navigation Books, &c." This dealer also offered to form libraries for private gentlemen, schools, or societies. Mathew Carey issued in Philadelphia in 1795 a catalogue of his own publications which comprised 76 book titles and 58 maps and prints. An examination of Carey's list shows as its first ten numbers: a work of political reference, an anthology of verse, two romances, a miscellany for ladies, two works on the French Revolution, Plowden's *History of the British Empire*, a work of sentimental reflection, and an edition of Gay's *Fables*. It was stock of this varied character that Parson Weems, Carey's famous travelling bookseller, for thirty years carried through the Middle States and the South and disposed of with a curious mingling of the normal desire for gain and the conviction that he was acceptably serving God by distributing good books, whatever their origin or subject.

In 1797, John West of Boston, issued *A Catalogue of Books published in America*, the earliest American booktrade bibliography I have yet encountered. It contains 36 small octavo pages and offers more than 600 titles of current works of United States publication. The student has before him in small compass in such a catalogue material for a rich study of social and literary tendencies.

Some of the foregoing catalogues were unpriced. West's list of American books, however, has prices affixed to each title as does Carey's catalogue of his own publications. In 1802[?] Joseph Nancrede, a French bookseller of Boston issued a "Fixed-Price Catalogue" of his

stock, comprising, it seems, a larger proportion of learned works than is to be found in the others mentioned and, in general, a greater variety of topics. About the same time this bookseller issued his *Centinel Extra. Joseph Nancrede's fixed-Priced Catalogue*, a list of recent importations from London, forming a book in oblong quarto, comprising sixteen pages of three columns each, and showing a total number of something like 2000 titles. These Nancrede catalogues are noteworthy as marking the intrusion of bibliographical description into American bookselling, for after each title is a size notation, date, place of publication, and description of binding when that feature was sufficiently notable to deserve remark.

The publication of these catalogues, and of the auction catalogues already described, seems to indicate the existence of a state of vigor in the American trade in the closing years of the eighteenth century and opening years of the nineteenth. That this indication is not misleading seems to be the conclusion from the further particulars of that trade now to be related.

Bookselling and Publishing Organizations

One feature of the early nineteenth-century booktrade to be commented upon was the effort made by the booksellers everywhere in the country to form themselves into trade associations for mutual benefit, protection, and establishment of standards. As early as 1804 the Philadelphia Company of Booksellers was issuing a trade journal, comprising lists of books for sale by members of the company, entitled *The Library, or Philadelphia Literary Reporter*. The New York Association of Booksellers adopted in 1809 a constitution which attempted to regulate the booktrade in that city in the minutest details. A manuscript sheet appended to the only printed copy I have seen of the *Constitution of the New York Association of Booksellers* (1809) shows a membership of twenty firms and individuals. Even so far west as Lexington, Kentucky, efforts were made in 1805 to promote a similar organization among the booksellers of the frontier. In the same year an association was formed in Boston, which in 1808 took the name of the Faustus Association. The expressed objects of this Society were "the elevation of the printing art, the regulation of trade and prices, the preservation

of good fellowship in the profession and the formation of a Fire Society for the protection of printing offices."

An incident of great interest in the bookselling trade occurred when in 1802 Mathew Carey brought together the scattered associations and individual booksellers of the country into a scheme for the holding of an annual book fair after the model of the Leipzig and Frankfort fairs. The effort was successful as far as it went, bringing together for the first time large numbers of American booksellers and publishers and resulting in the temporary stimulation of their sales. Why it ceased to exist, probably with the fair of June, 1806, is one of the questions not yet satisfactorily answered. Out of this attempt to introduce the successful German system came, however, the earliest national booksellers' organization the country was to know, for at that first meeting of June, 1802, was formed what came to be called the American Company of Booksellers. The principles upon which the organization was based were: improvement in the physical quality of books for the sake of the reputation of the trade; avoidance of interference with one another's publications; discontinuance of importations of books already published in this country in good editions; approval of the Literary Fair; and the formation of local booksellers' associations. The organization was in the hands of sensible and intelligent men—Carey, Gaine, Andrews, Swords, and others of their type. Its program widened somewhat two years later when it offered gold medals as rewards for the best American-made paper, and best American binding and ink. With this association the organization of the American bookselling trade was well begun.

Conclusion

In the foregoing condensed statement of the history of printing and bookselling in the United States from 1639 until 1860, the author has been compelled to use his own judgment as to what names, events, and tendencies were of the greatest significance in that history. It is his earnest hope that his readers will agree with his choice of essential factors and forgive the omission of many things that might have been brought into a more highly elaborated work.

The trade which has been reviewed in these pages has been in the United States an even more important factor in national development,

if that is possible, than in other countries, for in most places in the colonies the conditions of life at first obviated the possibility of any but rudimentary intellectual development. After that early period of primitive living and thinking, the cultural spirit had to be recaptured in a few short generations of conscious effort. Church and school and press labored to restore the lost background. Not the least effective of these valiant agencies was the press.

PART II

BOOK PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION FROM 1860 TO THE PRESENT DAY

by

Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt

INTRODUCTION

THE CIVIL WAR, ostensibly the conflict between a liberal, progressive North and a feudal, traditional South, had far-reaching social and economic consequences. It brought about the victory of the new industrialism of the North-Eastern states and of the large agrarian Western states over the older slavery economy of Southern plantations.

Already in the course of the War those powers were gaining momentum which, after the close of the conflict, found unprecedented opportunities awaiting them. Their successful realization brought boundless prosperity. It can be said that in European countries, too, for instance in Great Britain, and in Germany after the War of 1870, the fruits of industrialization were ripening. But we must not forget that in the United States these developments coincided with another and quite unique unfolding of energies. I mean those powers which arose from the completed colonization and settlement of an entire continent. To grasp and to exploit for the first time the huge western territories, to conquer finally the aboriginal Indian population, to embrace the vast natural resources and to attempt a first economic consolidation of the country—those were the big important tasks of the reunited nation. A symbol of completed conquest, the Union Pacific railroad, joining East and West, was finished in 1869 and soon a network of railroad communication spanned the entire continent.

In the new symphony of triumphant material achievement the quieter voices of the scholar, the poet and the philosopher appear to have been drowned. It takes a fine ear, and an intimate knowledge of the older literary traditions, to perceive that these voices were not altogether silenced. The late Vernon Louis Parrington, one of the keenest critics of the American mind, has drawn for us a convincing picture of the older American idealism and romanticism, of the stunned retirement of its surviving leaders in New England, and of the first timid attempts at a spiritual revolution. He has pointed out the growing importance of the new American literature in combating the powers of rank commercialism, particularly towards the end of the century. The American novelist, especially, more than the theologian, the scholar

or the political philosopher, begins to raise his voice against purely materialistic ideals.

It would, however, be a great mistake to conceive of this period as having relegated its cultural concern to a few conscience-stricken individuals. On the contrary, the decades following the Civil War are in many regards highly productive from the point of view of intellectual achievement. When Abraham Lincoln became President of the United States in 1861, the number of public schools in existence was very small; but by 1880 there were about eight hundred and at the turn of the century there were over six thousand schools in the country.[1] In 1876 the merchant Johns Hopkins in Baltimore founded a university bearing his name which became at once an educational power of the first magnitude. Land grant colleges came into being; the higher education for women began. At the same time the older colleges and universities, through generous endowments from the hands of private donors, experienced very decided encouragement and increase of their effectiveness. The activities of collectors in many fields broadened and deepened, and museums and libraries with their very liberal support grew almost over night from modest beginnings into substantial institutions. Public libraries developed on a scale which left far behind them any of the similar European efforts. The critical beholder of nineteenth century American civilization will find, then, that this age of materialism certainly did not neglect culture, but that it approached it in its own materialistic manner.

It is from this situation that we can take our clue for an understanding of the development of the book in that period. To really appreciate the achievements of those decades one must look primarily at the amazing technical and industrial developments in printing.

This is, however, no easy matter. In the foreword to this volume the uneven nature and quality of the published studies in this field has been mentioned. With the middle of the nineteenth century we reach a particularly critical point. By and large, the interests and energies of bibliographers and other students of these matters have centered upon the Colonial period, both in collecting material and in interpreting the assembled facts. Later on, consistent and comprehensive attempts have been made only to describe the modern period begin-

[1] According to Charles and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization*, 1930.

ning with the nineties. For the intervening decades, one has to turn mainly to practical printing manuals and to two encyclopedias of printing published in that period. Then there are miscellaneous sources, such as biographies of prominent printers and publishers, histories of firms issued upon an anniversary occasion, sales catalogues of printing press manufactures, of typefounders and binders, the U. S. patent lists, and early numbers of the trade periodicals which began to appear during those years.

This means that we have to reconstruct the picture of an unusually lively and active period of development from innumerable small pieces which lie before us in no order whatsoever. Is it asking too much to hope that such a first attempt as ours is, will not be judged too rigidly and exactingly in all its details?

One other thing I should like to explain about the pages which follow this introduction. I have said in the foreword that they were first written for a German audience, more familiar with conditions in the European countries than with American traditions. For that reason I had attempted to emphasize those aspects that differ characteristically from conditions abroad. I think it would be a mistake altogether to give up this element of comparison in the present edition. Many things on the following pages must be familiar, and more than familiar, to many of those who will read them. Some of the very fundamental things in our lives are, after all, familiar to us, too familiar, in fact, to be easily recognized. Yet, there is a certain definitive value in recognizing them. If I can convey, then, a sense of what is characteristically of this country in its way of dealing with books, I shall be satisfied that I have not altogether failed.

The differences which the European observer will notice first seem to be small and not very significant details. Yet, I think they have a definite meaning, and can be taken as the outward symptoms of certain deep-rooted traditions. Once these are recognized, those first disconnected observations reveal themselves as parts of what I think is a basic condition.

Ten years ago, when I came to the United States to live, and began to explore the world of books, I found myself frequently misled by captions in the newspapers which read something like this—"Publishers Convention to Open on Monday," or "Society of Illustrators holds its

Spring Show." I expected news of book publishers and book illustrators, and what I found, of course, were stories about newspaper publishers and magazine illustrators. In Europe, a "publisher" was always a book publisher. You had to say "newspaper publishers" if that was what you meant. Then, on my first visits to the printing plants here I was amazed to find that most books were printed from plates and only a few from type. In Europe, only newspapers and some magazines were printed from plates. Also, I marvelled at the dominating position of the linotype in book production. Linotypes as I had known them were used for newspapers, rarely for books. Also, I was told about the strength and importance of the typographical unions, and I wondered how and why they had come to be so powerful.

When I visited some of my new friends in their houses in the suburbs I noticed on the train that everybody was buried in his favorite newspaper or magazine, and at the house there were many magazines in the living-room and everybody could help himself. There were some books too, on the living-room shelf. But I saw that very few people had a room set aside as a library or study, with the walls lined with books, and the doors closed, such as those I had known. I met authors and literary agents and was surprised how important, financially speaking, the short story and the magazine market was to them.

The publishers, too, seemed to watch very carefully the serial rights of books which they contracted for. Books to be reprinted in a periodical? In Europe, it had always been the other way round. And why did they think that newspaper publicity for their books was so important? At home, I had learned that it did not pay to advertise a book in a daily paper. It was the bookseller's job to sell the book to the public. All you could do was to sell your book to the bookstores. Thus I learned, again with amazement, that there were many cities, large and small, in America, which seemed to get along without a regular bookstore, without a place exclusively or even primarily devoted to the selling of books, and, incidentally, a social center for all people with literary and bookish interests. In this I saw one of the reasons why public library service in this country has come to play such an important part in many communities and why it has developed so amazingly in the last seventy years. I had heard about that, but nobody

had explained that the library was really doing many of the things in an American town which in Europe the local bookstore was doing.

The conclusion was inescapable. Obviously, in America, the newspaper and the magazine were more important, from almost every point of view, than the book. Of course it would be absurd to say that the periodical press in Europe was not of immense importance too. But the world of the book had its own independent traditions there, which were older and more substantial than the world of periodicals. Here, the book seems to live in a sort of dependence—not quite on its own, a somewhat patronized appendix to its more powerful brother, the periodical press. Today I still believe that there is a great deal in this, and what I have learned of the history of printing in North America has confirmed my belief. It has shown me what I think are good reasons for this basically different attitude towards the book in Europe and in America. One need only consider under what different conditions, for what different purposes, printing was introduced and was spread in the two continents! In Europe, printing was started in settled communities that were centuries old, and as a mechanical means of duplicating from the accumulated wealth of manuscript collections, the literary heritage of the Classical and the Medieval World. In America, printing almost immediately became an instrument of the active westward expansion of a nation and an important factor of colonization.[2] The European press primarily nourished thought; the American, action. In Europe printing from the very beginning meant "books," in America almost from the start "newspapers."

It is interesting to speculate what would have happened if printing had started in Europe not when it did, but something like a thousand years earlier. I like to imagine that its story would have been somewhat like the adventurous saga of the American pioneer presses crossing westward over the Rhine and south over the Danube on improvised rafts, across the Alps and the Pyrenees on horseback, carried along by the powerful tribes that were pushing into western and southern Europe from the East and the North when the structure of the Roman Empire began to give way. Charlemagne could have issued

[2] The fact that printing started in Colonial America under academic auspices is no contradiction of this, because the Cambridge Press was exceptional rather than typical in nature.

his governmental decrees regulating the administration of his vast Empire through the Government Printing Office at Aachen, and Bishop Alcuin, as head of the Imperial Type Foundry at Tours would have cast the first shining new Carolingian minuscule types. But this is an idle dream. As it happened, the true political powers of the press were not realized in Europe until long after the invention of printing. It took the great religious conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries really to drive the lesson home. In fact the periodical press in Europe got under way, roughly speaking, about the same time that printing was introduced in the territories now called the United States.

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF PRINTING

The Spread of the Printing Press

IN THE FIRST PART of this book it has been described how closely the printing press followed in the footsteps of the early settlers on their dangerous and adventurous migration to the West. It is no mere chance that by the middle of the nineteenth century when the first great wave of settlement had spent itself, the establishment of first printing presses in the new states and territories was practically an accomplished fact. We learn from Douglas McMurtrie's detailed studies of this development that there were only three states left in the Northwest, which by 1860 were still without a printing press. Printing started in Montana in 1862; in Wyoming in 1863; and in North Dakota in 1864. We know that, of course, presses continued to be established in new places and that printing offices already established in a given locality moved to some other place. To some extent these movements may be interpreted as a bringing up, so to speak, of the rear guard of the western advance. But it also means that the normal process of change is now taking place in the new territories which at all times and in all places ties men to a locality for a while and then releases them again.

The spreading of the printing press in North America, it is safe to say, was completed before the Civil War. Quite another process of evolution is now coming to the fore and is entering into its most significant phase: the gradual replacement of craftsmanship by machinery and the thorough industrialization of printing and its allied branches of the graphic arts.

The Industrial Revolution

The mechanization of the nineteenth century is by no means the first thoroughgoing revolution in bookmaking. The very form of the book today, a series of pages between covers, is the result of a radical change which took place toward the beginning of the Middle Ages and replaced the classical book-roll in favor of the medieval codex. Compared with that first important change, the fifteenth century invention of printing seems to have much less affected the actual form of the

book. It is more a change of production method and it does not really alter physical appearances until about a hundred years later. Comparably, the mechanization of book production in the nineteenth century did not produce an immediately noticeable change in the physical appearance of books. Only gradually did the new production methods make themselves felt in the style of book designing. There can be no doubt that in the three centuries between 1500 and 1800 not nearly as many technical changes took place as in the decades between 1800 and 1890. America's share in this development becomes increasingly important as the century progresses. In the beginning, American printers and inventors, with very few exceptions, showed little initiative, relying on the British and on the continental European example to start the ball rolling. By the middle of the century, however, America had caught up with European developments. The printing industry began to emancipate itself from the European precedent, adapting the new inventions to suit conditions in this country. More independent improvements and original inventions followed and by the second half of the century we see America advanced into a position of industrial leadership, contributing processes and machinery developed in this country, and destined to affect the printing industries all over the world.

To describe single inventions, to interpret the patent lists and to weigh the evidence of priority claims belongs among the most difficult tasks in typographic research. The temptation to embark on a careful evaluation of the American contribution is great; but in the general description of conditions and developments which this book attempts to offer such a detailed account would be out of place. I should like to show in detail the industrialization of one particular branch of the book industry, but for the rest ask the reader to be satisfied with a more general account of developments.

Bookbinding

Of all the many book crafts which in the nineteenth century have undergone radical changes, bookbinding, until quite recently, has received the least attention.[1] Until quite recently, it was impossible to gather

[1] This is the reason why some years ago I suggested to J. W. Rogers, of the Queens Borough Public Library, that he attempt a study of this process. The re-

from any of the many books on bookbinding something about this most interesting process of industrialization. J. W. Rogers distinguishes four important phases in this development. "In the first phase," he says, "we find bookbinders performing all their processes with hand-manipulated tools. Next we find bookbinders, under the pressure exerted by the increased speed of printing machines, seeking methods of simplifying and speeding up their processes while still being forced to work largely with tools. Our third stage is that in which machines are introduced from time to time to handle some of the processes while the balance of the processes are still done by hand. The last phase is that in which the great majority of the bookbinding processes are performed by machine, a phase which marks the complete breaking away of the great modern industry of edition binding from the parent craft of hand bookbinding."

It was in England, early in the nineteenth century, that the first step towards the mechanization of binding was taken. Cloth was introduced as a practical and inexpensive new covering material soon after 1820 and was readily accepted everywhere. When, exactly, American binders adopted the new material is hard to say. There is evidence that they did not wait long. Mr. Rogers has found a copy of *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, published by J. and J. Harper in 1827, and bound in half purple cloth with paper-covered boards, which, so far, is the earliest known example of the use of cloth in American bookbinding.

Another innovation proved of even greater importance in the development of mechanical binding and in the rise of the American bookbinding industry. It was the casing-in process, which took the place of the older and more complex process known as boarding, and constitutes the chief structural difference between edition binding and hand binding. In hand binding the signatures of the book are sewn over bands or cords and these in turn are attached to single cut boards and the whole is then covered and lettering and decoration applied. In casing-in, the book is sewn separately and the case made separately, and then both are joined by first pasting to a hinge and then

sults of his investigation were submitted as a master's thesis to the Faculty of the School of Library Service, Columbia University, in February, 1937, and have since been printed in the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* for 1938. The bookbinding section in the German edition of this book was based on a typewritten copy of Mr. Rogers's thesis, the present account on the *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* article.

by pasting down the endpapers. It is important to note that casing-in did not originate as a machine process, but had a preliminary period of manufacture by hand. On the basis of books examined, it can be said that casing-in by hand started in America sometime between 1825 and 1835, that is to say, during the same decade which brought cloth as a binding material to America. Logically enough, binding establishments concentrating upon edition work began to be organized towards the end of that same decade. For instance, in 1834 Benjamin Bradley started his shop in Boston.

The first invention of a machine actually designed to take the place of a hand process was made in England in 1823, very close to the date of the other innovations mentioned. It was a rolling press, designed to supplant the hand process of "beating." It seems reasonable to assume that this machine was introduced and used in America although so far no evidence has come forth. Sometime during the century the so-called smashing machine was invented in America, which served the same purpose.

Hydraulic presses, replacing the older standing presses, were manufactured in England before 1835 and were used in America by 1857 at the latest.

Other important inventions solved the problem of stamping design and lettering onto bookbinding cloth. In 1832 an embossing press (also called "arming" or "stamping" press) was invented in England, the principle of which was the same as the one underlying the modern machine of today. In America, embossing presses were made as early as 1838, and by the same firm which still manufactures them, the T. W. and C. B. Sheridan Company. They, too, were the first firm to apply power to a bookbinding machine, producing a steampower stamping press about 1845.

During that same year the first patent was granted for a hand operated backing machine. Although numerous attempts were made to design a machine which would supersede the rounding and backing of books by hand, no really successful machine seems to have been introduced until later in the century. It was the Crawley rounder and backer, first patented in 1876, and perfected by 1892, which as Mr. Rogers says "solved, mechanically, two of the hand processes requiring much skill on the part of the hand binder."

Practically all our modern folding machines, which can fold a sheet of paper in any way desired with incredible speed, are based on the invention of Cyrus Chambers, Jr., of Philadelphia. He took out his first patent in 1856, and followed this up with many changes and improvements. Other groups, too, were interested in developing this important machine, and sufficiently different solutions were found to justify the founding, in 1880, of the well-known Dexter Folder Company in Des Moines, Iowa.

One of the most important hand operations that sooner or later would have to be turned over to the machine was the sewing of the folded signatures of the book. It was here that an American invention conspicuously solved the problem and produced a machine which was eagerly accepted by edition binders in America and all over Europe. David McConnell Smyth, of Hartford, Conn., invented the first thread sewing machine for bookbinding and manufactured machines for the exclusive use of the Appleton firm of publishers in New York. Curiously enough, the patent lists contain no record of this first and most important invention, although they do reveal a series of further improvements. In 1880 the Smyth Manufacturing Company was formed for the purpose of producing and distributing commercially the various types of sewing machines gradually developed.

These various sewing machines allowed, and they still allow, the sewing over bands or cords, although the trend has been decidedly in favor of sewing directly from signature to signature. The use of cords or bands, basic principle of all good hand binding, was, of course, not at once eliminated. In fact, a machine was invented to perform at least one of the operations then customary in sewing over cords, namely the cutting, or rather the sawing in of grooves into the back of the book, in which to "sink" the cords, thus allowing for a flat back appearance. By 1856 a sawing machine, made up of a series of small circular saws, was in common use with the bookbinders of that time, although the Smyth sewing machine with its elimination of cords and bands soon made this process obsolete.

One of the most ingenious American inventions was the case making machine. As mentioned before, edition binders in the 1830's had started to make separate cases by hand. Not, however, until the last decade of the century were machines invented which would auto-

matically cut the boards for the sides and the back of the book, cut the cloth, paste it onto the boards and neatly fold it over the edges. The first machine was introduced by the T. W. & C. B. Sheridan Company in 1893, a similar one by the Smyth Manufacturing Company in 1896. Although we do not now know into which machines his inventions were incorporated, A. Bredenberg deserves to go on record for his four patents taken out between 1892 and 1893.

The logical sequence to this invention was the casing-in machine, which took the completely "forwarded" book and the completed case and joined them together into the finished product.

One other major invention perfected before the turn of the century, was the gathering machine, for which patents were granted in 1888, 1890 and 1893. This machine solved mechanically the assembling into book form of the loose folded signatures, an operation which comes after the folding and before the sewing of the book.

If one rehearses in one's mind the traditional sequence of operations in hand binding, one realizes with amazement that there is not one left, of major importance, which could not now be done by machine. Soon after the beginning of the twentieth century a completely mechanized production schedule was practicable. There were, of course, further inventions and improvements, such as the automatic fixing of endpapers to the first and last signatures, and the combining of certain separate operations into one new one. Further improvements and further adjustments are now under consideration and will be considered by the engineers of the future; but the bulk of the job of mechanization seems to have been completed.

That a country which has contributed so enormously to the solution of industrial bookbinding problems should not have found much time to cultivate artistic hand binding, is not astonishing. As a matter of fact, there have been a number of attempts and experiments in that direction, some of them quite recently. But they do not warrant a detailed account. The bibliography at the end of this volume will show the reader where to turn for information on American hand binding.

Typesetting and Typefounding

The most significant American contribution to the development of printing was made in the field of mechanical typecasting and type-

setting. It is true that that elusive Yankee, Dr. William Church (see page 72), went to England to have his astounding inventions patented and, that, on the other hand, Othmar Mergenthaler was born and trained in Germany. Nevertheless, one can say safely that it was American inventiveness, mechanical skill and persistency which really solved the pressing problem of mechanical typesetting. Parallel with the progressive experiments in these fields the traditional craft of typefounding witnessed for some time after the Civil War a very considerable boom. There seems to have been no end to the establishing of new firms and to expansions among the older ones, at least until the problem of the composing machine was finally settled.

The traditional roots of the industry, the reader will recall, are found in Philadelphia, where the two Scotsmen, Archibald Binny and James Ronaldson, established what Carl P. Rollins has called "the first type foundry in the United States to achieve permanency." In 1806 they issued *A Specimen of Metal Ornaments Cast at the Letter Foundry of Binny and Ronaldson*, probably the first American Typefounders' specimen book ever issued. They followed this, in 1812, with the *Specimen of Printing Types, from the Foundry of Binny and Ronaldson*. In 1833 their typefoundry was in the hands of Lawrence Johnson and George F. Smith. Through further changes of owners and partners the name of the firm towards the middle of the century became Mackellar, Smiths and Jordan, one of the leading, if not the leading concern of the 60's, the 70's and 80's. Thomas Mackellar was a most energetic personality, full of knowledge, and a good business man. The firm now consisted not only of the typefoundry, but had also its own printing and stereotyping plant, and handled the publication of books on typography. Mackellar himself wrote a very successful practical manual called the *American Printer* which was first issued in 1866, and lived through a great many editions. This book, among other things, contains much valuable information about the status of typefounding in those years. In the tenth edition, of 1876, Mackellar mentioned twenty-four typefoundries then in existence in the United States; seven of them in New York, three each in Boston and Philadelphia, two each in Baltimore, Cincinnati and in the state of California, and one each in Buffalo, Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis and Richmond. We sympathize, under the circumstances, when we hear him complain

about too much competition. He also complained about the unfavorable effect of David Bruce's typecasting machine. As another innovation, he mentions the method of reproducing type faces by electrotyping. But he did not then seem to see any danger lurking there. It is very interesting, by comparison, what he has to say on this point in a later edition, that of 1885. He mentions there that the number of typefoundries in the meantime has gone up to thirty-one. Then he goes on (page 27): "The protection now afforded by the patent laws having checked the piratical production of matrixes by electrotyping (except in plain faces, a practice still pursued by unprincipled typefounders), the leading founders in this country have been encouraged to produce types of new styles which in beauty and ingenuity surpass those of foreign origin."

Those who are familiar with the type production of those years will be inclined to take the statement about the beauty of those types with a grain of salt. But ingenious they certainly were, and especially the advertising typefaces of that day deserve attention as important stepping stones in the new art of advertising design, then evolving from the accepted traditions of book and newspaper typography.

Like most other American typefoundries, Mackellar, Smiths and Jordan were absorbed by the American Typefounders Company, when that firm was organized in 1892, thus forming a continuous link from Binny and Ronaldson down to the present organization. In 1892 Henry Lewis Bullen was appointed joint manager of the New York branch of the American Typefounders Company. In his *Discussions of a Retired Printer*[2] he has interesting details about the founding of the company. "The American Typefounders Company is a consolidation of twenty typefoundries. On starting business in 1891 it had probably matrixes for over two thousand series of type. Discarding duplications, it had matrixes for about seven hundred and fifty series of distinctive type faces. In 1900, nine years after starting, it issued a complete general specimen book, containing the salable residuum of its type faces—525 series of job and thirty-seven of body type. Not long after it had to face the lining system proposition.[3] In 1903 it issued

[2] Reprinted in book form by his company from the *Inland Printer*, July 1906.

[3] A system of standardization which made it possible to align different sizes of type by the use of 1-point leads or their multiples, and to align all faces of a given size, whatever their character, with one another.

a quarto (292 pp.) preliminary specimen book of lining type. It now, in 1906, issues its *American Line Type Book*, and it is a safe assumption that its contents represent every series it finds salable enough to go to the expense of changing to the line system."

In 1908 Mr. Bullen laid the foundation for his famous Typographical Library and Museum, in Jersey City, and since 1936 in the custody of Columbia University. I shall always remember my first visit, ten years ago, a letter from Gustav Mori of Frankfurt in my pocket. The crowded subway under the river—the glaring hot streets on the other side—riding through rows of shabby wooden shacks on a screeching trolley car—the humming factory building—and then the perfect seclusion of that library—cool and silent—the light filtering into the room through painted glass windows, shutting off the view over endless tracks and loading platforms. And there, amidst the books and broadsides, the old presses and composing sticks, the shrewd, wise, kind, human face of Henry Lewis Bullen, welcoming, and, at once, conducting you to his treasures. He died, over eighty years old, on April 27, 1938.

The real story of American typefounding has yet to be written. When in 1937 R. Hunter Middleton brought out a tiny volume entitled *Chicago Letter Founding* many students of typography must have wondered why they had never thought of Chicago as a center of typefounding and why they had never heard of Robert Wiebking. This man came to America with his father, Herman Wiebking, in 1881, bringing along from Germany a matrix engraving machine. Robert decided to make his living by cutting punches and matrixes. But he also found opportunities to design type, and the list of his designs, as communicated by Mr. Middleton, is impressive. More interesting even is his association with Frederic W. Goudy, for whom he engraved many of his early designs, and whose own method of type production he undoubtedly influenced very decidedly. Wiebking also engraved the matrixes for Bruce Rogers's famous Centaur type, and, later in his life, he was associated with the Ludlow Company.

If a man of such achievements has until recently remained unacclaimed, are there not many others, little or not at all known, who have made important contributions to the cause of the graphic arts in America?

There is general acknowledgment throughout the civilized world of what America has contributed to the development of typesetting and typecasting machinery, but perhaps it is not sufficiently recognized how early men in this country (and of this country) directed their attention to these problems. The modern composing and casting machines are ingenious combinations of the best technical solutions of a number of single problems. Chronologically first comes the invention of typecasting machines. The Englishman William Nicholson's comprehensive patents of 1790 already contained typecasting by machine. Among the immediate successors of Nicholson one finds an American, William Wing, with an invention of 1807. Another important solution was contributed by the younger David Bruce in New York, whose typecasting machine of 1838 was taken up in many countries, for instance in Germany, and was successful enough to threaten the traditional trade of typefounding. This David Bruce is the son of George Bruce, who, together with his brother, the elder David Bruce, started the first typefounding establishment in New York. The firm was originally a printing house and among other distinctions has to its credit the introduction of stereotyping into America. Further inventions and improvements of typecasting machinery were made throughout the nineteenth century, in America and abroad.

The first important invention in the field of composing machines was that of Dr. William Church, who went to England from America and by 1822 had invented a machine which was already combined with a casting arrangement! His patent has been carefully dealt with in the first part of this book. Between 1840 and 1850 further inventions and improvements took place, until in 1853 W. H. Mitchell in Brooklyn invented a machine which was the first real commercial success.

Lynn Boyd Benton, for many years collaborator of the American Typefounders Company, has been acclaimed as one of the great typographic inventors of the century for his matrix boring machine, patented in 1885. Benton's Pantograph, as it is briefly called in the industry, is an automatic borer attached to a pantograph. With this machine the original design is cut first into a large metal stencil, and from there engraved directly and in the desired size into the matrix or into the steel punch. The machine eliminates not only the traditional punch-cutting by hand, but it also makes it possible to engrave various series

of types from the same design. From an artistic point of view both these elements are sources of danger. On the other hand, the pantograph is an accurate tool of reproduction, and the speed with which it has made it possible to produce matrixes has been of fundamental importance in the development of modern typecasting and composing machinery. It is only fair to say that in recent years the users of the Benton Pantograph have taken great pains to overcome the artistic limitations of this machine.

A similar machine was developed independently from Mr. Benton's invention by Robert Wiebking in Chicago, using a model which was brought to America from Germany by his father in 1881, and became the basis of the Ludlow Company's matrix engraving method.

Anyone who wishes to study these developments in greater detail should look at J. S. Thompson's *History of Composing Machines.* There he will find descriptions and illustrations, for instance, of the Empire Composing Machine, with its Empire Distributor, and particularly the Paige Compositor, an interesting, but much too complicated, predecessor of the Linotype. In 1872 James W. Paige had worked out his invention, but not until 1894, when the Chicago *Herald* for a brief period tried out the new machine was it finally tested and abandoned. It was this machine that Mark Twain was so interested in and which, incidentally, cost him such a great deal of money! The Linotype Company took over the patents and the machinery.

Like all other great inventions, the Linotype has a somewhat involved origin. The urgent need for a simplification of the printer's daily burden dictated the brilliant invention of Othmar Mergenthaler. The printer's task had rapidly grown into gigantic responsibilities, and he needed substantial help. During the seventies the pressure in the composing room increased rapidly, and a number of experiments were started which did not at once yield material results. A group of men had combined to cope with these problems, and they had drawn into their confidence a mechanical expert in Baltimore. This man in turn drew in an employee, Othmar Mergenthaler, the watchmaker and mechanical genius who immigrated as a youth from Germany. Mergenthaler collaborated with the Virginian, Charles T. Moore, who had already participated to a considerable extent in the previous experiments. Step by step the many obstacles were removed, the many problems solved, and in 1884

Othmar Mergenthaler's famous invention had reached a stage where it could be practically employed. First use of the machine was made by the New York *Tribune* and a number of other newspapers from 1886 on.

The Monotype machine, today the favorite instrument of the British quality printer and equally popular on the European continent, is also an American invention. A number of single patents, and a final patent for the Monotype Composing Machine and the separately operated Casting Machine were taken out by Tolbert Lanston of Washington in 1887. He was aided in the technical execution by William S. Bancroft. Further improvements were made during the following decade. In 1893 a Monotype was shown at the Chicago World's Fair, and towards the end of the nineties the machine came into general use.

Of the several inventions and enterprises which followed the development of the two most important machines, one of them, the Typograph was also developed during the nineteenth century. This machine was invented by John R. Rogers, a former collaborator of Mergenthaler, and it was constructed in the workshops of Fred E. Brights in Cleveland. In 1890 the Typograph made its debut. The Ludlow, a machine which casts large size type for display purposes on single lines, was invented by Washington J. Ludlow in 1906, and developed by a company headed by William A. Reade. The Intertype appeared on the American market in 1913 and has been accepted in other countries as well, for instance in Germany, where it was introduced in 1925.

With a short glance at the construction of new types of printing presses, at the development of the paper industry and the introduction of photomechanical processes of reproduction, the most important phases of the graphic arts industrialization will have been reviewed. First, however, a word should be said about stereotyping and electrotyping.

Stereotyping and Electrotyping

Stereotyping and electrotyping are two fundamentally different methods of achieving the same end: to produce solid and rigid printing plates, flat or curved, from forms set up of single types or slugs. By the first process a papier-mâché mold is made from the type and metal plates are cast from this mold; by the second process an impression of the type is made in wax, a thin shell of copper or nickel is deposited

in this mold by electrolytic process and melted type-metal cast into the back of this shell. Neither of these two processes was invented in America, but they were quickly and universally adopted here. In fact, they were and they still are used more extensively here than in Europe.

Stereotyping was brought to America by David Bruce, when he returned from a visit to his British homeland sometime between 1811 and 1813. He established the first American stereotyping plant in New York, but found sharp competition at once in New York, then in Philadelphia, and very soon in all important centers of printing. The new process was first used for books which had to be reprinted frequently in large editions with little or no changes, such as catechisms, Bibles and certain text-books. Then came literary works of lasting popularity, such as the masterpieces of English literature and the most popular books by Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper. As stereotyping and electrotyping became less and less expensive, printing from plates was more and more extensively adopted, until it practically superseded the printing from type.

Joseph A. Adams, a wood engraver connected with Harper's, was responsible for the early practice of electrotyping in America. The first electrotyped plate was used in 1841 in *Mape's Magazine* in New York, and it very soon got ahead of stereotyping. Electrotyping was generally superior in that it furnished a plate of greater resistance which did not show wear so quickly, but it also had a special advantage which at that time mattered a great deal: it made it possible successfully to reproduce the ever popular wood engravings, which had not come out very clearly in stereotyping.

There were many reasons for the prompt success and the universal adoption of stereotyping and electrotyping in nineteenth century printing. The most important one was the solution of a problem which had puzzled the designers of the new rotary printing presses: how to mount a form of type on the surface of a cylinder. Stereotyping arrived in the nick of time, the simple answer to a very difficult question indeed. In newspaper work stereotyping has remained in supreme command to this day and all over the world. But the practically exclusive use of plates not only in newspaper and magazine printing, but also in book production, is a condition peculiar to America. Most European printers still prefer to print their books directly from type.

The advantages of plates in magazine and newspaper work and in much commercial printing are obvious, and perhaps more obvious there than in book production.

Printing Presses

The American contribution to the development of printing presses up to the time of the Civil War has been carefully described in the first part of this book. The account there culminates in a description of Richard M. Hoe's famous Type Revolving Machine. For its time that press performed marvels. Yet, it left many urgent problems unsolved. Important improvements and additions were soon to follow. It is illuminating to hear the voice of a nineteenth century observer, who in 1888 wrote thus:[4] "The development of the fast newspaper press, with its numerous excellencies, has been the work of the Hoe firm. The eight and ten-cylinder press looked like a finality, but it was not, and was comparatively shortlived. The web perfecting press, which prints both sides at once from stereotype plates that can be duplicated to any extent desired, thus making it possible to set several, and even many, presses at work at once on the same edition, and on a continuous roll (or web) of paper requiring no feeders, cutting the paper so that it will open like a book, pasting the loose parts, printing from two to twelve pages, as desired, or from four to sixteen, and inserting and pasting the supplements, and finally folding and counting the papers—that is the King of printing machines."

The making of this machine, of course, came about gradually. We owe to Mr. Henry Lewis Bullen an interesting account[5] of the introduction of curved stereotype plates. "When our Civil War began, the circulation of many newspapers outran their printing facilities. In 1861 the New York *Tribune* had the highest circulation and the largest press-room equipment. Thomas Rooker, superintendent of printing for Horace Greeley and his partners, had been investigating the new *papier-mâché* process of stereotyping which had been used by the London *Times* since 1856. Richard March Hoe was consulted. He

[4] In an article in *The Paper World*, February, 1888, entitled: "Evolution of the Printing Press. Progress of Invention and Mechanical Achievement that reads like a Story of the Fancy."

[5] *Richard March Hoe and the Evolution of Fast Printing Presses*, in: *The Inland Printer*, Sept. 1922.

advocated the continuation of the use of one form, and proposed to build for the *Tribune* a twenty-feeder type-revolving press, with an output of 50,000 impressions an hour. This press would have been 36 feet high, and would have necessitated a new building. Rooker finally had his way, which was to duplicate the form by stereotyping, so that two or more might be printed simultaneously. This new method was the beginning of the end of type-revolving presses. On August 31, 1861 the New York *Tribune* was printed from curved stereotyped plates, the first used in America. The type-revolving presses printed from curved plates as easily as from type forms, and their sale went merrily on."

It was not until 1876 that the Hoe firm abandoned the manufacture of these type-revolving presses, having turned their attention, since 1871, to the construction of their own web-perfecting machines.

The idea of printing a newspaper from a continuous roll of paper seems first to have occurred to William Bullock. This ingenious inventor, born in 1813 in Greeneville, Greene County, New York, at one time in his varied career was a patent attorney in Philadelphia, and in that capacity secured a patent for Arsene Legat's invention of a platen machine for printing wall paper from rolls or webs of paper. He started a series of experiments, in which he utilized curved stereotype plates, and by 1865 he had successfully completed the construction of his web-perfecting cylinder press which would print from a continuous roll on both sides of the paper. He died in 1867. An important improvement after his death was the addition, in 1868, of a folding apparatus. Nevertheless, the firm had a difficult time with its patents. In 1873, for instance, they sued the New York *Times*, which had bought an English Walker Press, which, the Bullock people believed, infringed on their patents, and in 1878 the Bullock Company won their case.[6] Eventually, they were absorbed by the Hoe firm.

The role which that firm played throughout the nineteenth century has been a very remarkable one. The firm had been founded, the reader will recall, by Robert Hoe (I, 1784-1833), whose son Richard M. Hoe (1812-1886) had developed the Type Revolving Machine. Richard's brother, Robert Hoe (II), was also a member of the firm, and so was

[6] According to a clipping from the *New York Sun* of 1878, in the American Typefounders Library.

the second Robert's son, Robert Hoe (III, 1839-1909), the bibliophile, who printed and published, in 1902, *A Short History of the Printing Press and of the Improvements in Printing Machinery from the Time of Gutenberg up to the Present Day*. The firm enjoyed through a period of many years the active collaboration and advice of Stephen D. Tucker. This man's share in the development of American printing machinery has been considerable.[7]

It would be a very worthwhile undertaking for someone to make a really comprehensive study of American power presses. A great deal has, of course, been written. I do not think though that anyone has succeeded, or even attempted to demonstrate the many successive and competitive endeavors in the several important branches of the industry in a single reasoned account. For instance, the Hoe firm, although conspicuous in its domination of the field, was by no means the only important firm. There was A. B. Taylor's factory, where Andrew Campbell after many reverses and vicissitudes was accepted as collaborator in the fifties. Campbell's Country Press of 1862 has been called "the first low-priced cylinder press giving perfect register and doing good work," and brought him independence and the chance to make other important contributions.

The Cincinnati Type Foundry and Printing Machine Works built successful cylinder presses, for which in the seventies they enjoyed an international reputation. Another important builder of presses was Robert Miehle, whose first difficult steps were taken sometime after 1886, when he vainly offered his invention to eastern press builders. Today the "Miehle Vertical" is a household word in American printing.

Another development, quite separate from the construction of large cylinder presses principally designed for newspaper printing, was the building of small job presses. There was, in 1830, the Ruggles Card Press of S. P. Ruggles of Boston, followed by small platen presses designed by Seth Adams; there were in the 50's, 60's and 70's the presses

[7] The American Typefounders Library has two interesting typewritten manuscripts which are worth while studying. One is Stephen D. Tucker's *Narrative of His Life Long Connection with R. Hoe & Co., New York*, written in 1913; the other one is a *History of R. Hoe & Company, New York*, also by Stephen D. Tucker, copied accurately from the original manuscript in the possession of Stephen D. Tucker's son, Edwin J. Tucker, and given by him to the library in 1913.

of George P. Gordon, of F. O. Degener, and Merritt Gally's Universal Press; in the 80's and 90's the Golding Press and James Colt's Armory Universal Press, Wellington P. Kidder's and Albert Harris's presses, and later on, the Kelly Press, more like a miniature cylinder press than a regular job press.

Yet another development in press building was brought about by the various photomechanical methods of reproduction, which very soon demanded special types of presses for each of the important new processes. When that exhaustive study of American printing presses, which we hope will be attempted by some student of typographic development, is completed, it will be possible to compare American construction with the corresponding developments in Europe and to see more clearly in what presses and processes America made its own original contributions. Then too, it will be easier than it now is to answer another important question: Which of all these many presses developed in America in the nineteenth century were used for book printing? One would perhaps find that a great variety of presses were used. There is no reason to believe that all book printers abandoned their older presses, if they still filled their needs. Particularly in the case of fine printing older types of presses continued to give excellent service. R. R. Bowker, in an article on bookmaking, which was published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in July 1887, particularly mentioned "The Adams Steam-press, invented by Isaac Adams, of Boston, 1830-36, and still much used for fine work . . ." On the other hand, the responsible book printers were keenly aware of the changes which they themselves witnessed during their lifetimes. John Wilson, for instance, the son of the famous Cambridge printer, in an address to the Master Printers' Association of Boston,[8] said this: "It was on a Stanhope press, in 1840, that I first tried my hand as an apprentice, 2,000 copies being considered a good day's work. On that same press, about 1843, I assisted in printing a sixteen-page octavo tract of 100,000 copies on the 'Corn Law or Free Trade Question,' by Richard Cobden, whose memoir we lately printed in our office in Cambridge. This was a formidable number to print on a hand press, for it took fifty days to print the edition. To-day, on a two-revolution press, we could print the edition in a little over five days, and on a Hoe perfecting

[8] Reprinted in *The Paper World*, 1888.

machine in five hours! De Vinne of New York prints, cuts and folds 32 pages, 8vo., of the *Century Magazine*, on Hoe's new perfecting machine, at the rate of 3,000 copies an hour . . ."

Papermaking

It is futile to try to imagine what would have been the development of high power cylinder presses, or, for that matter, of the entire graphic arts industry, if the papermakers had not been ready to supply paper in the shape of continuous rolls and in the quantities that were now needed. Mr. Wroth has shown in the first part of this book how the new papermaking machines were speedily brought to the American continent, how they were put to prompt use and how American papermakers took their share in the search for new raw materials and in finding effective ways to turn them into useable pulp. Their search for new materials, as a matter of fact, continued well into the second half of the nineteenth century.[9]

Of the four great staples, rags, straw, jute and wood, surviving in varying degrees the rigid tests of practicability, wood proved the most important. Mechanical methods of decomposing its fibres into pulp were fully developed by the end of the Civil War, but one was well aware of the shortcomings of a process which so badly affected the strength and length of the individual fibres. Instead, chemical decomposition was resorted to, and during the sixties America saw the perfection of these methods. The soda process had been first developed and patented in England by Charles Watt and Hugh Burgess. Their first American patent was granted in 1854, and became the basis of Burgess's forty years of successful managership in the United States papermaking industry.

The important invention of the sulphide process goes to the credit of the American, Benjamin C. Tilghman. It is true that he was not at once successful in this country. His invention was recognized, however, in Sweden, in England and in Germany, where it became the basis of Mitcherlich's patents. Curiously enough, it was only through the introduction of the Mitcherlich patents into America that Tilgh-

[9] Much valuable information on this and other points is found in Lyman Horace Weeks's *History of Paper-Manufacturing in the United States, 1690-1916.*

man's experiments were first recognized in his own country. Other methods of chemical decomposition were developed later on.

The next important question is how this new kind of paper was received and how it was introduced into use. Dr. Harry M. Lydenberg, the Director of the New York Public Library, has answered this question. In a study on the early history of paper,[10] André Blum tells how paper was introduced into Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but was not used at once for an entire book. Rather, it was used intermittently with the conventional parchment. On this point Dr. Lydenberg, who translated the book into English, comments as follows: "This cautious and experimental use of old and new was repeated more than eight centuries later when American newspapers began in the late nineteenth century to substitute wood-pulp paper for the regulation rag stock used hitherto. As parchment and paper were used in alternate sheets in Spain in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so in America in 1868-78 the newspapers began with wood pulp by alternating rag and wood stock, sometimes sheets of each in the paper issued for one day, sometimes using wood stock for a week or ten days, going back to rag for a while, sometimes using a mixture of rag and wood, with numerous variations."

It is reasonable to assume that wood-pulp paper began to be used for books at about the same time that it made its appearance in newspaper printing. At about the same time the printers of fine books began to show a preference for ever smoother papers. One of the reasons for this was undoubtedly the fact that the wood engravings by that time were cut with remarkably fine and numerous lines. At about the same time the practice of printing from moistened sheets was abandoned. The introduction of photomechanical line engraving, and particularly of halftone engraving, soon after that, further emphasized the trend towards smooth and shiny papers, culminating in the production of special coated papers, made specifically for the printing from halftone plates. Other special papers for various new printing processes were developed in the twentieth century.

One spectacular aspect of nineteenth century papermaking was the growth of the industry. Mr. Wroth has shown in his part of this book that in 1840 somewhat over 400 mills were being operated in 20 states

[10] *On the Origin of Paper.* New York, R. R. Bowker Co., 1934.

and that by 1860 this number had increased to 555 mills, recorded in the census in 24 states. The next two decades saw further steady expansion, 677 mills in 31 states and in the District of Columbia being recorded by 1870, and, in 1880, 742 mills in 29 states and the District of Columbia. By 1890 the number of mills had dropped, but it has been proved by L. H. Weeks that at that time in a lesser number of mills than in 1870, more capital was invested, more people employed, and the value of products was larger. The outstanding development in the nineties and for a decade thereafter was the concentration of capital and the consolidation of many individual firms into a few very large concerns. This movement extended well over into the twentieth century before it settled down fixedly into a permanent condition.

As the process of industrialization advanced, the old methods of papermaking by hand went into decline. By the middle of the century, according to Weeks, "nearly all the mills, particularly those that were newly built, had been equipped with Hollanders, Fourdriniers or cylinders and other machinery. Even the old single-vat mills had come into line and there remained few of importance that any longer made pretence of manufacturing paper by hand." Before 1880 hand-made paper had nearly disappeared as an American product. In 1897 the mill of the L. L. Brown Paper Company in Adams, Mass., was the only one left to make paper by hand, and even that kind of work ceased there in 1906.

Surprisingly enough, the outlook for hand-made paper does not look as hopeless today as it must have looked in 1906. William Morris's valiant attempts to rescue from oblivion the various hand processes have had most surprising success in many countries. Papermaking by hand today is once more a well established branch of the industry. In America, Dard Hunter has done a great deal to promote the interest in hand-made paper, both by the actual operation of a mill, and by his eagerly collected books. Hand-made paper from all over the world can be bought in America today.

Of great interest is the fact that America's share in the development of new processes and machinery for papermaking, and the place of its industry in the world trade is an exact parallel of its history in other branches of the graphic arts.

Before the middle of the century this country had shown little orig-

inality in the invention and construction of machines. For instance, wires for the Fourdrinier machines continued to be imported from England for twenty years after the first Fourdrinier machine was set up in the United States. Not until 1847 was the first wire woven on an American loom. In that same year the first dandyroll was made in this country. The first American felts for paper machines were made in 1864. Just as in the other branches of the graphic arts the middle of the century marks a state of approximate equilibrium between Europe and America, preparing the way for America's forging ahead after the Civil War.

Paper export, for instance, before that time had been negligible in quantity and in value. But soon a slow and steady rise set in. In 1870 about half a million dollars' worth of paper was exported, rising to a million and a half in 1881, to five million and a half in 1900, and seven million and a half in 1910.

Armin Renker, noted German authority on papermaking, and the son of an old family of paper craftsmen, gladly acknowledges America's leading position in the industry. "If the Americans," he writes, "double the width of their seven meter machines, if their paper travels over the screen with the speed of a Pullman train, there will be nothing left for us, but to follow."

Photomechanical Reproduction

It is obvious to everyone today what a tremendous influence the camera has had upon the printing press and upon the book. Within a hundred years photography has completely revolutionized pictorial reproduction. The changes brought about in this field are perhaps more radical than in any other branch of the graphic arts. At the same time the future seems less predictable and more mysterious here than anywhere else. In papermaking, in printing presses, in type setting and casting and in bookbinding, one can say, the traditional old methods have been mechanized, the human element greatly reduced, the speed of production increased, its cost decreased. In pictorial reproduction, photography has done all this and something more besides. It has eliminated manual labor in transferring onto the printing plate the artist's drawing or painting, and has made speedy and inexpensive reproduction of pictures possible. But the camera and the lens do

more than that; they make the pictures themselves, directly from nature, and they then transfer them onto a printing plate.

Within little more than fifty years photomechanical mehods have been introduced into all fundamental processes of reproduction. In relief printing, for instance, photomechanical line engraving and halftone engraving have been added to the traditional woodcut and wood engraving methods. In intaglio, copper engraving and steel engraving have been developed into the modern photogravure and rotogravure processes. In planographic printing, lithography, the youngest of all "traditional" processes, has been adopted as the basis of photo-lithography and of offset printing, while collotype is the planographic process most intimately connected with "pure" photography. The most spectacular results have been achieved in photomechanical color printing.

The definitive history of all these amazing developments has not been written. Already it is difficult, if not impossible, fully to disentangle the amazingly intricate pattern of overlapping inventions and experiments. Certain processes are clearly visible as the contribution of a single distinguished personality, others have been solved by several men within a very short period of time in widely separated places. For that reason, it is very difficult to say just what the American contribution has been, both in regard to priority and value. To answer this accurately, technical details would have to be discussed which lie far beyond the scope of this volume. If one wishes to make a general statement about the share of this country, one should emphasize the skill and promptness in adapting newly found principles to practical use, in the designing, production and distribution of useful, time-saving machinery and equipment and in the training of experienced workers in certain of the new processes.

One need only recall America's share in the general development of photography to realize that there is a firm basis for contributions in any specialized application of photography. Robert Taft's recent volume *Photography and the American Scene* is a splendid monument of American achievements in photography.

The publication of Daguerre's original manual in 1839 threw open the gates to what had been a temple of secret magic. The manual appeared in August and already in November a translation was pub-

lished in the *Journal of the Franklin Institute* in Philadelphia. That city immediately became a center of photographic interests and it has retained a leading position throughout the years. But also in New York and Boston invention and practice immediately set in. The first great contribution of international importance was the amazing series of photographs of the Civil War taken by Alexander Gardner and others for Mathew Brady. News photography since those days has remained an American specialty. This country also saw the first reproduction of a photograph in a newspaper, a picture entitled "Shanty-Town," published in 1880 in the March 4th issue of the New York *Graphic*, by a halftone process developed by Stephen Horgan. Edward Muybridge's fundamental work in the photography of animal locomotion was started in California and carried on in Philadelphia under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania. Edison and his associates and rivals made very important inventions in the field of motion picture photography. Another inventor in the field of photography was a New Jersey minister, Hannibal Goodwin, who was granted a patent for a celluloid film in 1887.

The contribution of the Eastman Kodak Company, both in their scientific research, and in the development of amateur photography, lately concentrated upon still and motion color photography, need only be mentioned to be appreciated. Since the turn of the century American photographers are found among the leading exponents of artistic photography and they have done much to remove traditional prejudices, and secure recognition for their field as a legitimate form of art.

In the development of photomechanical processes Americans took an early share. In his book Taft mentions particularly the early experiments in photolithography of Joseph Dixon, and, somewhat later, of Cutting and L. H. Bradford of Boston, who actually patented a process of photolithography in 1858. Probably the most important contribution of American inventors in photomechanical reproduction centers around the development of the halftone process. I have already mentioned Stephen Horgan's success in printing a photograph in a newspaper of 1880. This achievement was, of course, not brought about over night; rather it was the result of many years of experimentation. Overlapping both in time and scope with Horgan's work were the

experiments of Frederic Eugene Ives.[11] At Cornell, in 1877, Ives had perfected a relief process of line engraving based upon a swelled gelatine relief from which a plaster cast was made, which in turn was transferred by stereotyping onto the printing plate. This process, while a feasible solution, did not prove as important as his invention in the following year of his "halftone" photoengraving process. He first solved the necessary breaking-up of the halftones of his copy into single, printable units by a series of V-shaped lines, adapting a basic principle of wood engraving to photomechanical reproduction. He later resorted to the use of a crossline screen, whereby the halftone negatives were made directly in the camera. By 1886 he had perfected his method to a point that he could introduce it as the regular process of reproduction at the printing firm with which he was connected. In that form it became the basis of the system still in universal use. Also in 1886 he made an important contribution to the etching of the printing plates by working out his "baked enamel copper-etching method."

In 1881 he had turned his attention to the production of three color halftone plates—a most important attempt to link color photography to the printing press, which he followed up in 1890 by patenting his process of composite heliochromy.

Max Levy, of Philadelphia, made further improvements in the field of halftone printing. Around 1890 he perfected an etched sealed glass screen for use in the camera, and later he introduced his acid-blast etching machine. These devices were universally acclaimed by makers of halftone plates as substantial aids in securing better results.

After the turn of the century, American contributions were made particularly in the field of offset printing. In several countries experiments with that process had been carried on, particularly in printing upon metal surfaces. W. Rubel applied the offset principle to paper, and around 1904 he built the first offset press at the Potter Printing Press Company.

Organization of the Industry

The organization of working men in the printing industry started very early in America. In many regards this development is considered

[11] A brief but careful account of his career by Edward Epstean and John A. Tennant appeared recently in the *Journal of Applied Physics*, vol. 9, no. 4, April, 1938.

as epoch-making in the history of labor organizations.[12] Some of the most important steps in the consolidation of working men took place before the process of mechanization had really begun to set in. Industrialization, of course, has encouraged the movement, but already in the last decade of the eighteenth century we find some definite evidence of the future trend. During that period, for instance, the employees of New York printing houses formed an organization in order to promote collectively their economic interests. One need only consider the fundamental influence of the periodical press in this country to understand what a powerful weapon lay in the hands of the men who were directly responsible for the functioning of this vital, complicated organism.

The most important steps in organizing first the journeymen printers of the various cities, then in consolidating the various local units into a "National Typographical Union," had been taken several years before the Civil War. In the period after 1860, as the result of including the local Canadian unions, this "National Typographical Union" became the "International Typographical Union." After 1870 a change in the structure of the organization took place, whereby a division by types of activities rather than by geographical districts was favored. This led, in 1894, to the establishment of mutually independent unions of compositors, pressmen and of bookbinders.

The employers organized much later. It was Theodore Low De Vinne, America's foremost printer of the nineteenth century, who took the initiative. Around 1860, while a young man of little more than thirty years, he undertook to bring together the New York owners of printing houses. Other cities followed their example, and from the various "Typothetae" and "Employing Printers" groups, there formed itself, in 1887, the powerful "United Typothetae" organization with De Vinne as the first president.

[12] The development of unions in the printing industry is one of the few phases of nineteenth century American printing history which has been satisfactorily dealt with in book form. Emily C. Brown's *Book and Job Printing in Chicago*, Chicago, 1931, is an exhaustive study of the subject, covering the most important new printing center in the nineteenth century, which developed independently from the traditional centers of the Eastern seaboard.

PRINTER AND BOOK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THEODORE LOW DE VINNE, whom we have just referred to as the most significant American printer of the nineteenth century, was a man of unusual effectiveness and foresight. We may think of him as a characteristic representative of the best and most substantial typographic tradition of this country, which in the field of book printing has always shown a decidedly academic character. Printing started in this country under academic auspices, and one is tempted to look upon that first press in Cambridge as one among the group of scholarly presses which humanism and renaissance brought forth in the countries of the old world. But not only these first printers were members of a republic of letters; Isaiah Thomas, the foremost printer of his period and founder of the American Antiquarian Society, and, in our own time, Daniel Berkeley Updike, are scholars as much as they are printers.

John Wilson and Joel Munsell

Before we turn to De Vinne, and to his contemporaries and successors, two men should be dealt with who preceded him as capable and cultivated printers, full of enthusiasm for their chosen profession and forever in search of new means of improving their work. They were John Wilson (1802-1868), who immigrated from Scotland, and Joel Munsell (1808-1880), of Albany.

For some reason or other, Joel Munsell, that interesting and versatile printer, seems to be almost forgotten today. His work as a printer, as much as his literary activities, shows very clearly the active part which he took in the typographic world of his day, and his interest in the traditions of the craft.

In the typographic style of Munsell's printing one can sense the growing aversion to modern face types and the kind of book design based upon their use. First in England, in the collaboration of the Pickering publishing house with the Chiswick Press, then in all English-speaking countries as well as on the European continent, this reaction against classicist typography set in. The modern face types of Bodoni and Didot, and especially their mechanical, hackneyed descendants

became the object of criticism. The original Caslon types and other old style designs were taken up again and put to good use. In his fine printing Joel Munsell reveals what must have been an intimate knowledge of the good English printing of his day. There is the same reminiscent note of sixteenth century decoration, there is the red and black on title pages, and there is careful composition in good Caslon type. In these efforts, as well as in his careful presswork and discriminating choice of paper, Munsell stands far above the level of the ordinary printer of his time.

This is all the more remarkable, because Munsell did not think of himself at all as a "fine printer" in our sense of the word. He did, to be sure, issue an occasional limited edition on special paper. But he was really a very busy trade printer who produced a considerable volume of book printing, including such utilitarian items as directories and agricultural guides. In these jobs he was satisfied with the ordinary book types of the day, and the conventional composition. But his work is usually careful, and here and there one finds a touch of red or a little ornament, betraying his true inclinations.

Munsell was also active as publisher and bookseller. He brought out many works on American history and some works on the history of the graphic arts, which he printed in his own shop. He was his own bookseller and once, in 1868, when he wished to sell his typographic library, he published a sales catalogue of his collection.

Munsell's books about printing are interesting fragments. His *Typographic Miscellany* came out in 1850. It contained short essays on all conceivable aspects of the graphic arts. From Gutenberg to the origin of the Dollar sign, from papermaking history to an account of publishing in his time, from printing presses to the niceties of the letter "H," he travelled back and forth across the typographical map. His main interest is in American books and printing. On papermaking he published a separate study, *Chronology of Paper and Papermaking*, first printed in 1856, and reissued several times with slightly varying titles and contents.

Both Munsell and Wilson had completed the larger portion of their work before the Civil War. The typographic style of both men's books are in some regards quite similar; they reflect in each case certain features of English book designing of that period. When one

considers the success and the influence which John Wilson has had in this country, it is important to note that he immigrated from Great Britain not as a young beginner, but as a mature craftsman with much experience back of him. He was no doubt an important living link between British and American typographic taste in the middle of the nineteenth century.

He was born in Glasgow, on April 16, 1802, and in that city was apprenticed to a printing firm, where after some years he became foreman. In 1823 he accepted a position as foreman of a large printing and publishing firm in Belfast, Ireland. During his time there he published his famous book on punctuation, which since then has gone through a great many editions. Other subjects on which he wrote were Unitarianism and poetry, Robert Burns in particular. From 1833 on he was proofreader for *The Manchester Guardian*, and by 1840 he owned his own printing plant, where his son, John, joined him. In 1846 they decided to go to America, and landed in Boston on October 6, 1846. For a time father and son worked in the Dickinson Printing office, but in 1847 they started out on their own. Steadily their confidence and competence grew, and their activities soon expanded. Twenty-four gentlemen of Boston raised money for the purchase of their first Adams Power Press. In 1865, at the close of the war, Welch and Bigelow in Cambridge were moving to bigger quarters and offered to John Wilson & Son their former premises. So they settled in Cambridge and there enjoyed the confidence of President Eliot of Harvard, and did much of the University's printing. But not only official University printing and jobs for the faculty made father and son feel proud of their work. From their very beginning in Boston they had enjoyed the patronage of famous members of the Boston literary group, the poets, scholars and ministers. They printed for Charles Francis Adams, senior and junior, for Josiah Quincy, Edward Everett, for George Ticknor, James F. Hunnewell, and it was in their shop that Mary Baker Eddy's *Science and Health* was first printed. In 1866 the elder John Wilson was given a Harvard M.A., and two years later on August 3, 1868, he died. His son continued for some ten years, and in 1879, after Mr. Welch's death, he and Charles E. Wentworth bought the University Press, continuing under the firm of John Wilson & Son.

Theodore Low De Vinne

De Vinne (1828-1912) was one of those fortunate human beings, whose every enterprise was apparently crowned by success. In the more than eighty years of his active life he was privileged to participate in all the significant developments in his field, and often to determine the course of events. As early as 1850 he entered the printing firm of Francis H. Hart, and soon he was made a partner; after Hart's early death he became his sole successor. Thus he found himself early in a position of responsibility, at a time when the old order of work had broken down everywhere, and the mechanization movement was rapidly gaining momentum. Fortunately, he brought and maintained towards the amazing developments, an attitude not of critical antagonism, but of intelligent evaluation. Equipped with rich technical experience and a deep understanding of the traditions of the printing craft, he carried the right standards in himself. Thus he became a most valuable link between the old and the new. He was not exactly talented in an artistic way, but throughout the years of his activity he maintained a fine standard of taste in all the products of his press. This was, as a matter of fact, as much as anyone could have done during those revolutionary decades. In the matter of style, he threw his weight against the degenerate modern face types which were then dominating the field. He favored old-style type designs and "transitional faces." Although he was not himself a type designer, his advice was listened to, and certain type faces were produced under his direct influence. He observed closely the effects of new methods and materials upon the old standards of composition and press work. When he, like everyone else, was forced to abandon the moistening of paper before printing, he took great pains to compensate for the loss of quality by other means of impression control.

The part which he took in the economic organization of the industry has been described earlier. Another of his activities, that of bibliophile and pillar of the Grolier Club will be discussed later in this volume. A word remains to be said, however, about his contributions to the literature of typography. Perhaps the most important work from his pen is his *Invention of Printing*, published in 1876, the result of very careful reading and thinking. Coming from one so intimately acquainted with all technical details of the craft, his words were as

illuminating in their day as the later publications of German scholar printers such as Wallau and today of Otto Hupp. De Vinne's book is still read, at home as well as abroad. His typographical manuals, except where later developments have made parts of them obsolete, are full of useful and valuable advice for the practical student of the graphic arts.

Much has been written and published about De Vinne. A most intimate picture of the workings of his famous press, of the people that were part of it, the books that were made there and those who visited there, was published only a few years ago. In 1936 the Columbiad Club brought out a chapter from the autobiography of Frank E. Hopkins, born March 30, 1863, in New York City, who joined the De Vinne Press in the fall of 1888, first as proofreader for the *Century Magazine*, then in a responsible position in the office. Years later, in 1896, in the attic of his house at Jamaica, Long Island, Mr. Hopkins started a small private press which he named the Marion Press.[1] There was no other thought in his mind than the pursuit of a hobby and the entertainment of himself and a few friends. But success was so immediate and conspicuous, that it led to a friendly parting from the De Vinne Press. Without any conscious ambition in that direction, and certainly with no desire to emulate William Morris, the Marion Press thus became a forerunner of the many private presses that sprang up in America in the early 1900's in the wake of the Kelmscott Press.

Walter Gilliss

An outstanding younger contemporary of De Vinne was Walter Gilliss (1855-1925), the able founder and director of the Gilliss Press. In his bibliophile inclinations, in the typographic style of the books he printed, and in his choice of technique and material, he closely resembles De Vinne. He, too, wrote on the subject of printing, but without quite the historical and scientific penetration of De Vinne. In his memoirs, however, where he permits us a lively insight into the inception and growth of his press, he has contributed an important record of American fine

[1] The Queens Borough Public Library is preparing a volume which is to contain a historical sketch of the Marion Press and a bibliography of its publications, by Thomas A. Larremore and Mrs. Amy Hopkins Larremore, daughter of the late Mr. Hopkins. The book is to be edited and printed by Mr. J. W. Rogers of the library staff with the type and hand press originally used at the Marion Press.

printing of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Among the earliest orders which he got for his press were jobs for St. Thomas Church and for student papers at Columbia College. Gradually he was given more important magazine and book work. He printed *Art Age*, one of the first art magazines to include the graphic arts within their scope. The Gilliss Press soon enjoyed a high reputation for the quality and taste of their printing, and publishers turned there when they wanted a particularly handsome and distinguished looking volume. For many years Mr. Gilliss printed the catalogues of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Some of his best work was done in the printing of illustrations, where he continued to use hand made paper. But he did not despise innovations. He took up halftone printing early in the game, paying particular attention to the selection of the most suitable papers for the purpose.

Like Mr. De Vinne, Walter Gilliss was an active member of the Grolier Club, and later on in this volume, the reader will find an account of his lasting friendship with William Loring Andrews. Walter Gilliss was a conservative in matters of typographic taste. When William Morris set the printing world on fire with bold realizations of his dreams of medieval craftsmanship, the young men in America who wanted to be printers listened attentively and followed suit. Gilliss, to judge from his work, ignored the trend. Until the end he continued to work in the manner which he had developed for himself in his formative years. He was over forty when the new school made itself felt here, and he saw no need to change then. So he carried over into the new century ideas and ideals of another period.

Other Printers

It is no easy matter to add to our account of the most distinguished printers of the period an adequate description of the other men and the presses who deserve to be remembered for their activities in book printing. Obviously, something should be said about the share of the various towns and about the heads of at least the most important establishments. The existing literature is elusive. The many studies of McMurtrie, and of others interested in tracing nineteenth century developments, rarely reach well into the second half of the century. The late John Clyde Oswald's *Printing in the Americas* does carry on,

but the emphasis there is not so much on chronological evolution as on geographical units. Also, it is extremely difficult to decide which of those printers were sufficiently interested in the production of books to have made a lasting contribution. In wide sections of the country the emphasis was simply not on book printing but on newspapers and magazines. To be sure, the typical newspaper printer did issue an occasional volume of state laws, or print a book for a local society or church, or even a volume of poetry. But that is a very different thing from active and regular work for a publishing house. We must also consider the fact that although the printing profession attracted men of considerable ability, it did not always hold them. There is an impressive list, made by Mr. Bullen in the American Type Founders Library, of famous American printers. It is to be noted, however, that they have become famous not as printers, but as editors, lawyers, politicians and legislators, as soldiers and merchants.

The following account, for all these reasons, is in no way complete and I suspect that men of rather differing caliber are grouped together on these pages.

As in the colonial period and during the years of the young republic the centers of book printing remain in the cities along the Atlantic seaboard. In New England, Boston and Cambridge of course lead, but there are a number of smaller centers in Massachusetts, in Rhode Island and in Connecticut, where respectable book printing was done. New York has come to the fore and it can now be seen on its way to become the center of the entire book and printing trade of the country. Philadelphia and Baltimore have noticeably receded. Beyond the Atlantic seaboard centers of importance are few and far between. Ohio, Illinois and Missouri stand out in the Middle West and California on the Pacific coast.

In Cambridge and Boston a number of excellent book printers should be mentioned. One steady factor was the presence of Harvard University, always an important customer for any ambitious printer of that region. Early in the nineteenth century William Hilliard printed for the college, and his firm with its traditions passed through many hands. It would be a mistake, I believe, to think of the successive owners of this firm as nothing but university printers. They took a good share of work for other customers, particularly for the important

book publishers. On the other hand, the University was under no obligation to have all their printing done with them.

This condition is well illustrated in the case of the firm of Welch, Bigelow, & Co., who in 1859 acquired the University Press, but retained the identity of their own organization. A very considerable portion of the literary production of those fruitful years saw the light of day in that printing office, and the modest little line "Printed by Welch, Bigelow, & Co." is found in many important works of the period. In 1865 they moved to larger quarters and it was then that they invited John Wilson & Son to take over their former premises at Cambridge and to buy some of their equipment. We have already told how John Wilson & Son were brought within the orbit of the University. In 1879, John Wilson, Junior, joined forces with Charles E. Wentworth to buy the University Press from Welch, Bigelow, & Co.

Some years before that date, apparently in 1871, the University established a small printing office of its own for the printing of examination papers, circulars, posters and other ephemeral pieces. It was from these modest beginnings that the present Harvard University Press took its origin.

In the same year, 1871, a printer from Germany set up his business in Boston. Carl H. Heintzemann is fondly remembered today by D. B. Updike and by C. P. Rollins, who worked as a young man at the case in the old Heintzemann printing plant. Like Munsell, he was a practical printer who handled a large volume of work but who never denied himself the satisfaction of printing a volume with special love and care when an opportunity presented itself.

Another important press was the Riverside Press in Cambridge, created in 1852 by Henry Oscar Houghton (1823-1895). Like the Harper brothers, young Houghton built his future on the foundation of a printing press when, in 1849, he entered into a partnership with Bolles, under the name of Bolles & Houghton. Printing and publishing was their aim and the establishment of the Riverside Press marks an important step in the successful development of one branch of the firm's activities, which has been a steady influence for quality and dignity in book production. Other Boston and Cambridge firms of that time were Rockwell & Churchill, headed by Horace Tyler Rockwell (born 1838) and the Mudge printing firm. Then there were offshoots

from these presses. Josiah Stearns Cushing (1854-1913) had been apprenticed to Welch, Bigelow & Co.; he started on his own in 1878, specializing in the production of school and textbooks, and undertaking an occasional limited edition.

William M. Cubery, born 1836, had been apprenticed to the Riverside Press, and in his memoirs he tells with pride of his personal acquaintanceship with some of the great literary figures of the Boston of that day and of the careful work done at the press. In 1860 he went to California, where in 1866 he opened his own printing press. Full of indignation he speaks of the hasty, superficial and low grade work performed by the printers of California, which he compares very unfavorably with the solid standards of New England.

A good example of the smaller New England printing centers is Andover, Mass., with its Andover Press. Even before the Civil War this press had specialized in the careful execution of theological works, including the printing of books in exotic type faces. In the state of Connecticut, Newton Case (1870-1890) should be mentioned, who lived and worked in Hartford, traditionally a center of school and text book printing. In New Haven, the firm of Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor, founded in 1859, undertook to print for Yale University. Wilson H. Lee came to New Haven in 1875 and specialized in the printing of directories, starting with local communities, but soon attracting orders from many places in the East.

The most significant printers of the City and State of New York have already been mentioned. The presence of important publishers in the city accounts, of course, for quite a number of other firms there. The Trow Press, particularly, founded by John Fowler Trow (1809-1886), an enterprising and progressive man, was a large and well equipped plant, which had been started by Mr. Trow and his partners before the Civil War. Here was printed the great Washington Irving edition of the sixties, published by Putnam. The press owned a good selection of Greek and of Near Eastern types, partly German importations, which secured for the press a share in the production of important scholarly works. Trow's foreman, Peter Carpenter Baker (1822-1889) started out for himself under the firm of Baker, Godwin & Co., who in 1866 purchased the law publishing business of John S. Voorhis, and continued under the name of Baker, Voorhis & Co.

Then there were Corydon A. Alvord (1813-1874), who specialized in de luxe editions and in careful printing of illustrations, Edward O. Jenkins (1817-1884), John Johnson Hallenbeck (1820-1891), Joseph J. Little (1841-1913), the founder of the J. J. Little and Ives Company, and Howard Lockwood (born 1846). Some of the firms founded by these men have survived till today, partly under altered names or in connection with later partners.

In Albany, the seat of Joel Munsell's activities, there was also John Davis Parsons, whose firm of Weed & Parsons belongs among the most substantial printing plants outside of the great cities. In Troy, too, there were busy printers, and in Rochester, Ezra R. Andrews (born 1828) made a name for himself. Even in those days the big publishers began to realize that they could get their printing done at cheaper prices by employing provincial printers.

Further south, in the famous old printing center Philadelphia, we find the printer Conger Sherman (1793-1874), and, particularly, the Collins firm, headed by Tillinghart King Collins (1802-1870) and his brother, P. G. Collins. This printing press produced for the Federal Government some lavishly illustrated works, which at the time attracted much attention. In Baltimore there was William Kent Boyles (1816-1884). In Washington the Government Printing Office was started in 1861, with the appointment of the first "Superintendent of Public Printing."

Going west one finds that, in these years particularly, St. Louis seems to have developed into a center of considerable interest. There we find Richard Ennis (born 1833), George D. Barnard (born 1846) and William L. Becker (born 1847). In Cincinnati, along with the firm of Charles J. Krehbiel (born 1849), there was particularly Oscar H. Harpel, who deserves to be remembered. He issued a specimen book, which is really a very quaint document of both book typography and job printing of that day. Printed in a very decorative and colorful manner, it bears the following information on the title page: *Harpel's Typograph or Book of Specimens Containing Useful Information, Suggestions and a Collection of Examples of Letterpress Job Printing Arranged for the Assistance of Master Printers, Amateurs, Apprentices, and Others, by Oscar H. Harpel, Typographic Designer and Printer. Cincinnati, Printed and Published by the Author 1870.* Five

years later, in 1875, he published his *Poets and Poetry of Printerdom: A Collection of Original, Selected, and Fugitive Lyrics, written by Persons connected with Printing.* He includes verses by Alexander Anderson, Horace Greeley, and, of course, Samuel Woodworth's "Old Oaken Bucket." The little volume is of great interest and value, because it contains a short biographical sketch of each printer-poet fortunate enough to have been included. It makes one realize how much forgotten material about interesting men and their work is waiting to be resurrected. I might mention another valuable source of information here. The New York Historical Society has a collection of printers' trade cards, given by Mrs. Bella C. Landauer, which the student of American printing history must not overlook.

Chicago, in the decades following the Civil War, was busily growing into an industrial center of first magnitude. It was during these years that the foundation was laid for some of the large plants that form the backbone of the printing industry of that city today. It is important to note that at one of the most substantial of these firms, namely at the Lakeside Press, distinctive efforts were made and are still made, towards good book production and fine printing. The Lakeside Press was organized by Richard Robert Donnelley (born 1836), who came to Chicago in 1864, where he associated himself with a firm that in 1870 was made into the Lakeside Printing and Publishing Company, later to be known as the Lakeside Press. Among the other printers, Philo Foster Pettibone (born 1841) seems to have been particularly interested in book printing.

In California something very interesting happened. As elsewhere on the frontier, printing had started to serve the immediate, practical needs of the settlers. But there was something in the soil and in the air that allowed literature and authorship to grow early roots, and it made it possible for some of the printers to make real books. A notable example is "The Excelsior Book and Job Office, Whitton, Towne Company, Projectors," organized in San Francisco in 1852, and the name changed in 1858 to Towne & Bacon. They produced a large number of books and pamphlets of historic significance and bibliographic importance. Their imprint is found on many cherished California items, for instance on Bret Harte's *Lost Galleon,* of which they made an attractive duodecimo in 1867. In 1860 they had published Theodore

H. Hittell's *Adventures of James Capon Adams, Mountaineer and Grizzly Bear Hunter of California*, illustrated with wood engravings after Nahl's designs.

Another San Francisco printing office was established by Francis Blake in 1853, and changed in 1855 to Blake & Moffitt. They brought paper, ink and other equipment from the East, and in 1868 they joined forces with Towne & Bacon to form a paper supply house which, under the name of Blake, Moffitt and Towne, is still active on the Coast. We have already mentioned William M. Cubery, former Riverside Press apprentice, who came and opened his own press in 1866.

It was a logical development that some of the important printing presses of the nineteenth century should gradually grow into publishing firms, and some instances of this have been mentioned. On the other hand, it happened that certain firms originally founded and developed as publishing houses, should add their own printing press to the plant. The establishment of the Knickerbocker Press in New Rochelle, for instance, is due to the initiative of the Putnam publishing firm, which expanded in 1891 and keenly felt the need for a larger production department.

American Book Design in the Nineteenth Century

Before going on to an account of publishing and bookselling activities after the Civil War, it might be useful to recall the chief physical characteristics of the book of that period.

By and large, the aspect in the nineteenth century is fairly stable up to the seventies. The style of bookmaking is simple and somewhat uniform. Typographic design is dominated by the use of modern face types. This meant that the printers could count upon a somewhat mechanical looking, but, on the whole, consistent and clear typographic system which allowed quite a range of variety and differentiation within one main type family. Add to that the fact that the ever present wood engraving practically monopolized pictorial reproduction. There was its range of light and heavy strokes, of somber or airy tones which could be deliberately controlled to fit the color and tenor of the numerous modern face types employed, and which demanded a very similar treatment in presswork and paper selection. This style of typography, which we may call "late classicist" and "early ro-

mantic," had replaced the Colonial mood in American typography at about the same time that it made its appearance in England, towards the end of the eighteenth century. It lasted until late in the nineteenth century. Between 1830 and 1880 it was the universal style in use for the average, everyday book printing. It was among the men described above as the American scholar printers, that there began to show itself a different trend, particularly in the cases where a book was planned as a specially fine and careful work. One can almost go so far as to say that the rejection of modern face types in favor of old-style typography is the symbol of the struggle for the preservation of individual, personal taste in printing against mechanization and standardization. There enters also an element of national tradition into this struggle. In their mathematical precision of structure and of detail, these modern face types are essentially Latin in character, even if they have been used, and are still used very effectively in England and Germany, as well as in America.

The "Modernized Old Styles" which came into vogue in the early seventies attempt to reconcile the two diverging tendencies, by combining elements of both into one. De Vinne, for instance, favored these tendencies and used these types quite frequently.

But other aspects of the book changed, too, around 1870. De Vinne has pointed out that it was then that printers ceased gradually to moisten their paper for printing, because it did not seem to them worth the time and effort. To counterbalance the loss in quality of presswork, they began to favor calendered papers. This was also practical in getting the most out of the wood engravings which were still going strong, and were cut to display an amazingly delicate play of the finest lines. When around 1880 halftones made their appearance, the days of the wood engraving were, of course, numbered, but the smooth papers remained in favor; soon, the coated papers, essential in the successful printing from halftone plates, were generally accepted.

The wealth of new processes and of new materials which besieged the judgment of the ordinary printer brought about a confusion of standards in America very similar to the European decadence of typographic taste. There had to come a general reform of craftsmanship and the active protest of a group of progressive young American publishers to bring about a clarification of these conditions.

PUBLISHING AND BOOKSELLING 1860-1890

The Literature of the Period

IT CANNOT BE SAID that the decades following the Civil War were particularly productive of outstanding new literary personalities. It was important that the American authors whose works were published in magazines and books were making very real efforts at intellectual and artistic independence, and that the American scene was at last coming into its own as a worthy subject. But the many adventurous tales and sentimental short stories, the local color and the dialect literature of those days show little indication of the single power and brilliance which was soon to distinguish the modern American novel. On the other hand, one must not forget that in the previous generation, this country for the first time in its history, had produced a literary school of world-wide importance. The powerful effects of the New England Romanticists and Transcendentalists were not spent, their spirit lingered on. The old works and new of Emerson, of Poe and Longfellow, of Hawthorne, Thoreau and Melville were still being printed and were still being read. It was now that the first Collected Works of the authors of that group were published. But the older masters, too, the books of Cooper and Irving, were still in favor.

Of the outstanding literary figures of the latter nineteenth century, Walt Whitman had been heard even before the Civil War, but the years 1865-1891 saw the rich harvest of his matured talent. They were also his fellow-printer Mark Twain's best years. Perhaps because they were both so deeply rooted in their native continent, and surely because they penetrated beyond superficial appearances, their work has stirred men and women the world over. Emily Dickinson received posthumous publication and acclaim in the nineties. Henry James, Mark Twain's somewhat younger contemporary, seems to us today not so much the exponent of his own times, as the pioneer of a new generation of American novelists. To the publishers of his day he appeared as a literary problem child, not in the quality of his work, but in his limited public appeal. The sales figures of his novels look

small indeed when compared with those of Mark Twain, who was a master at meeting the popular taste of the reading public.

This reading public was growing considerably during those years. Large portions of the public were now reading for the first time, magazines at the start and then an occasional bound volume. The days after the Civil War were the great days of the semi-literary family magazine, and here it was that the new generation of national authors first spread their wings. There were the political poets of the Civil War, then the local color and dialect authors, who soon arose in every part of the country. Then, too, began the Wild West stories, producing, among many others, a Bret Harte, whose fame has lasted.

And then, we must not forget that the works of American authors, whether in magazines or published as books, still form only a fraction of the total reading matter of the American public. It has been estimated that in the year 1820 only about thirty per cent of all books published in this country were written by American authors; in the year 1840 the proportion was about half and half, and in the sixties the share of native authors had risen to about eighty per cent. These figures would indicate an interesting, close relationship to the growing American independence which we have been able to trace in the development of the various graphic arts industries. But it should be pointed out that the above estimate includes the entire production of school and text books, which after the turn of the century shows a very considerable increase. The literary taste of the period can perhaps be estimated more accurately from a table of the best sellers of the period, compiled by Edward A. Weeks.[1] Disregarding school and text books entirely, he included those books which from 1875-1933 were published in editions of 500,000 copies or more. The table contains those books published between 1875 and 1895 in the United States which qualified as best sellers.

We see from this that of the ten books most popular between 1875 and 1895, five books were written by four American authors (Mark Twain, Lew Wallace, Margaret Sidney, Edward Bellamy); four are the work of a British author (Anna Sewell, Robert Louis Stevenson, George Du Maurier, Ian Maclaren); and one, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, is by a British author emigrated to the United States.

[1] In a lecture given at the Columbia University Institute of Arts and Sciences, and published in *Publishers' Weekly*, April 21, 1934.

Mark Twain, *Tom Sawyer*. 1875	1,500,000 copies
Anna Sewell, *Black Beauty*. 1877	1,000,000 copies
Lew Wallace, *Ben Hur*. 1880	1,950,000 copies
Margaret Sidney, *Five Little Peppers and How They Grew*. 1881	1,090,000 copies
Robert Louis Stevenson, *Treasure Island*. 1883	1,000,000 copies
Mark Twain, *Huckleberry Finn*. 1884	over 1,000,000 copies
Frances Hodgson Burnett, *Little Lord Fauntleroy*. 1886	503,000 copies
Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward*. 1888	over 500,000 copies
George Du Maurier, *Trilby*. 1894	1,000,000 copies
Ian Maclaren, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*. 1894	over 500,000 copies

We should also consider that the direct importation of English books by English authors must have played an important role. Certainly, whether in original editions or in volumes republished in America, the entire range of English literature was available. There had been Scott, followed by Dickens and Thackeray, then by George Eliot, the Brontës, Mrs. Gaskell, Wilkie Collins, Trollope, Meredith and young Hardy. There were the great later romantic poets, Tennyson and Browning, the Pre-Raphaelites, Swinburne, Rossetti and Morris. There was Ruskin, the philosopher of art, and Carlyle, the philosopher of history, and all of them followed by a host of lesser talents.

The situation was unique, with no real parallel in modern times. England and America were bound together by the common bond of language and tradition, although they were at different stages in their historic and cultural evolution. This relationship of the two countries must be constantly remembered if one wishes really to understand the American booktrade in the nineteenth century. It can thus be readily understood how important the question of international copyright became at this period, and to what extent the struggle for a satisfactory legal regulation of the literary trade would influence conditions and developments.

International Copyright

The foundations of copyright legislation in Colonial times and the situation in the days of the young republic have been discussed in the first part of this book. The most important step after the Civil War was the passing of the Copyright Act of 1870, which took the place of all previous single regulations. The Librarian of Congress in Washington was now appointed to be "Copyright Officer," to receive a

printed title-page of every book before its publication, and, within ten days after publication date, two copies of the complete work.

The Library of Congress owes to this regulation a rather unique collection of literary "dreams that never came true." They have in their possession today the deposited title-pages for many books which never passed beyond the stage of the author's manuscript, if they went as far as that. There are, of course, a large number of unimportant plans recorded, but also some very interesting ones which are not known except in those deposited title-pages.

It is of distinct importance to note that the first new step in the international field of literary property after the Civil War was the establishment, in 1868, of the International Copyright Association, which probably owes its origin to the occasion of Charles Dickens's second trip to America in 1867. Beginning with this date the demands for America's participation in an international arrangement became articulate, and hardly a year passed without the proposal to the Washington legislators of a new scheme or some revised older plan by a member of Congress. Three presidents successively went on record in favor of a regulation which would heal a rather painful wound in international intellectual relations. Sermons were preached by ministers on the subject, appealing to the conscience of the educated classes. In 1883 a new association was formed, the "American (Authors) Copyright League," followed in 1887 by the "American Publishers Copyright League."

In spite of all these sincere efforts the matter was postponed again and again. Not until 1891, over fifty years after the first proposal of 1837, was a measurably adequate law passed. And even then it was not ideal, not free from certain awkward limitations. America did not become signatory to the Berne Convention, which had been developed in 1886 and had become effective in 1887. That agreement provided automatic mutual protection of literary property for the authors of all countries that were members of the Convention. The American law did not provide for "automatic" protection (copyright on creation) and was only effective in regard to countries, which specifically agreed, by separate treaties, to protect American authors. Also, it made obligatory three formalities in order to obtain copyright: to print a

notice of copyright in the book, to register and deposit and to observe the "manufacturing clause," that only those works were to be protected which were set up and printed in the United States.

It is difficult to understand why a measure so universally desired by public spirited individuals and by professional associations of undoubted integrity should have been held off for so long. It is difficult to gather clearly from the published accounts of the controversy who really lead the opposition to the law so successfully, and by what means the legislative body was kept inactive over such a long period.

Congress did postpone the matter again and again. Quite likely there was not much interest then in a matter of so specialized a nature and of such apparently limited importance—compared at least with other more obviously pressing problems. It is possible, too, that the old aversion of American politicians to enter into international commitments may have played a part in their failure to act more promptly. More important was the fact that the true nature of the issue was not clearly recognized. Apparently the matter of copyright protection was confused in people's minds with the matter of protective tariff.

In certain cases we do know who protested against international copyright legislation. In 1872, for instance, the publishers of Philadelphia went on record against it, claiming that "Thought, when given to the world, is, as light, free to all." This is a very clearcut repudiation of the basic moral principle upon which all protection of literary property rests. Why the Philadelphia group should have taken such a stand becomes perhaps more evident from their further reasoning. Copyrighting, they felt, was a matter of domestic law. Any foreigner, they said, could get protection of his literary property by becoming an American citizen. "The good of the whole people and the safety of republican institutions would be contravened by putting into the hands of foreign authors and 'the great capitalists on the Atlantic Seaboard' the power to make books high."

In the same year the house of Harper in New York publicly opposed international copyright legislation, mainly for the reason that it would raise the prices of books and would thus interfere with the education of the people. The average English fiction, one must remember, was published in London in three volumes at 30s. But by 1878 the firm had changed its attitude. They themselves now submitted the draft

of a bill in which they appeared in favor of the law, stressing at the same time a strong protection of the interests of American publishers.

The compositors' unions and other labor organizations in the printing industry opposed international copyright because they felt its effects would damage the interests of those employed in the book manufacturing industries. It was at their instigation mainly that the manufacturing clause was embodied in the law of 1891.

The International Copyright Act of 1891 remained in force until the Copyright Code of 1909 was passed. This took the place of previous laws and regulations and covered in its scope not only literary works, but also works of art and music. The manufacturing clause of 1891 was not only retained, but reinforced by demanding that foreign books, in order to enjoy legal protection in the United States, had to be not only set and printed, but also bound, in this country. One important exception to this rule, however, was included in the law upon the insistence of R. R. Bowker. Original works of authors in other than the English language were exempted from the manufacturing clause, and could be copyrighted by registration and the deposit of a single copy of the edition of the country of origin. But the Code of 1909 was a disappointment to those who had hoped that America would join the Berne Convention, or at least make fully equivalent arrangements with other nations. The United States still demanded the depositing in Washington of actual copies of any work for which protection was expected, the specific printing into books of any language of a copyright notice in English, and the manufacturing requirements for works in the English language. Professional and trade associations as well as responsible individuals have continued, and are continuing today, their efforts on behalf of a fully automatic copyright and American membership in the Berne Convention. Unfortunately, the situation has become vastly more complicated from the fact that protection of literary property is bound up in law making with the protection of works of art and of music. Photography and the motion picture, the phonograph and the radio have presented problems of unprecedented complexity and the advent of television will not make things easier. It is to be hoped that the efforts of those who at the time of publication of this volume are working for an effective and fair revision of American copyright laws, will be crowned with success.

However, let us return to the period 1860-1890. The fact that in spite of many sincere efforts almost the entire century passed before an international copyright agreement became effective was a major factor in the history of the booktrade of those years. There was such apparent confusion and casualness in publishing methods that one sometimes wonders how it was possible for the various firms to live through these decades without utter ruin, and, as a matter of fact, with a frequently very favorable balance.

To simplify the complicated picture of conflicting tendencies and counteracting interests, it is perhaps best to consider the effects of these conditions upon the various groups likely to be affected. One might say that there were altogether six different groups to be considered. These are first the authors, second the publishers, and third, the public—these three groups existing in each of the two countries, America and England. The situation in the retail booktrade will be taken up later on.

Of these groups, the English public is hardly affected and can therefore be left out of consideration. The groups most unfavorably affected were probably the English authors and the English publishers. For under the law as it stood, there was nothing to prevent an unscrupulous printer or publisher in the United States from reprinting any work of an English author without any compensation to author or original publisher. Undoubtedly, there was a great temptation here to ruthless and quite safe exploitation with an excellent prospect of profit. However, in actual practice, certain restrictions came to be set up, for not only the English publisher and the English author had no protection, but also the reputable American publishers had no legal weapon whatsoever against their less scrupulous competitors. This led to bitter price-cutting battles of amazing proportions. Entire novels were printed on the cheapest paper in miserable print, often in the form of serial issues and at ridiculous prices, sometimes as low as twenty or even ten cents for an entire novel.

It was not only a question of competition between publishers of the same city, but also between the publishers of one city and another. Something has been mentioned of the animosity which Philadelphia publishers felt toward their ever more successful New York competitors. In the rivalry to bring out pirated editions of the most popular

English novels the New Yorkers often had the advantage, for the reason that the ships bringing first copies of a novel from abroad came to New York first. They exploited their lead with ruthless vigor. A publisher would often take the English book to pieces, distribute the parts to a number of different printers for composition and presswork and have his edition out within twenty-four hours after the arrival of the first copies from England!

There was one way of tempering this disgraceful struggle. The American publisher could arrange to buy from his English colleague advance sheets of a new novel before it even appeared in England, and therefore before his American competitors in his own or any other city could possibly get hold of a copy. The reputable houses welcomed this arrangement, not only for their own protection's sake, but because it made it possible for them even without legal obligation to pay their share to the English publisher and author. As a matter of fact, considerable sums were paid in this manner for advance sheets of important English novels. The Harpers paid £1250 for Dickens's *Great Expectations*, and £1700 for a novel by George Eliot. The great American houses realized the advantages of this arrangement. They voluntarily respected each other's arrangements with British publishers and refrained from going after a competitor's British authors. This was the backbone of the so-called "trade courtesy" which over many years took the place of legal arrangements and which served its purpose well enough for a time. It was, of course, no adequate substitute for a real law which would embrace everybody. In his *Memoirs of a Publisher*, George Haven Putnam tells how even publishers of the first rank would occasionally break the rules of trade courtesy, when the temptation proved too great, or when one publisher had had a quarrel with another one and saw an opportunity to even the score. The worst offenders were, of course, the outsiders, the avowed literary pirates, who specialized in reprinting works which showed signs of success on the lists of the reputable American houses. These pirates worked with a small overhead; they never paid royalties or other compensation to the English publisher or author; they printed in the cheapest fashion and, furthermore, they cashed in on the publicity which the reputable publisher had already started and in which he may have had invested considerable sums. Thus the delicately

established equilibrium of forces was once again upset. Particularly in the seventies and eighties the unscrupulous reprinting grew to such proportions that even the big houses had to enter extensively into the cheap reprint field in order to maintain their markets. The paper-back series of those days, such as the Chicago "Lakeside Library," and the "Seaside Library" and "Franklin Square Library" in New York were land-marks in this struggle. "Unrestricted publication of cheap pirated books did not come about without a more or less gradual beginning, however," says Raymond Howard Shove, who has made a detailed analysis of these developments.[2]

The lack of legal protection for literary property had also very unfortunate effects upon the American authors. As long as it was possible to print the works of the most famous English writers and poets at ridiculously low costs, hardly a publisher in this country would consider encouraging unknown young American authors. Authorship as a profession, in fact, did not really become possible in America until after 1891, the date of the international copyright agreement. The comparatively indifferent standard of letters between 1860 and 1890 was surely not only due to cultural conditions. The best proof of the damaging effects of the bad conditions prevailing during most of the century was the appearance of vigorous new talent among American writers soon after the law of 1891 had been passed.

In still another way American authors were often victims of these lawless conditions. Occasionally English publishers would reciprocate the bad treatment which they had received from their transatlantic colleagues by pirating in turn those works of American authors which promised success with the English public. In these cases, too, the American author was the party most unfavorably affected.

The last group which remains to be considered is the American public. The prevailing conditions were advantageous to them so far as the prices of books kept getting lower and lower, and the books of even the most distinguished authors could often be had for but a few cents. But these volumes were not particularly desirable as possessions, for not only were they produced without any love or care as to physical appearance, but their texts were anything but authentic in many

[2] In a study entitled *Cheap Book Production in the United States, 1871 to 1891*, a University of Illinois master's thesis, published in 1937.

instances. English books issued as cheap reprints in America during those years were often ruthlessly cut and altered to adapt them to the supposed taste of the public. The English authors had, of course, no say in the matter and saw themselves not only deprived of their royalties, but, on top of that, had to swallow their indignation over mutilation of their work.

There was also from all this a real loss to the American public because of the fact that the American author, as we have just explained, had such a slim chance of success. Under better conditions, much of interest, value and beauty might have been produced during those years in America, by men and women who, as it was, realized that the profession of letters would not offer them a livelihood.

Another disturbing factor in the complicated play of forces was the nearness of Canada. This important section of the British Empire is bound by innumerable threads of economic, industrial and cultural bonds to the United States. The Canadian book market has frequently been a bone of contention between the publishers of the various countries, and the triangle England–United States–Canada is always carefully watched whenever European and American publishers contract for a book.

The effects of the lawless copyright conditions in yet another direction need to be discussed. In the *Cambridge History of American Literature* one of the most important effects is declared to be the predominance in America of the magazine over the book. As thus stated, I am inclined to take exception to that statement. In the introduction to this second part of our volume, I have tried to point out how the supremacy of the periodical press over the book is a basic condition, founded in the early history of America and a surviving trait of the Colonial spirit. It goes back, probably, to times when copyright questions had no influence at all. True it is, that the absence of international copyright arrangements, together with other factors, had a very encouraging effect upon the publication of newspapers and, particularly, upon magazines. Also, the industrialization movement of these years with its tremendous lowering of prices was really of greater benefit to periodicals than to books.

It is not to be wondered at, then, that the family magazine with literary leanings witnessed a new era of prosperity. The older group

of magazines of the fifties, such as *Harper's Magazine*, *Harper's Weekly* and *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, was added to, soon after the Civil War, by new enterprises of both the older and the newer firms. There was hardly a leading publisher who could get along without a magazine. In the memoirs of the great publishers of those days one finds it explicitly stated as a sound business rule that books alone do not pay.

General Characteristics of American Publishing

The three decades following the Civil War brought about a marked change in the character of American publishing. It was decidedly a period of transition. Most of the important existing firms, one recalls, had been founded in the years before the middle of the century. Immediately after the Civil War there still lived and worked the fine old gentlemen of the "good old days" of American publishing. There were the brothers Harper, George Palmer Putnam, William Henry Appleton, and the first Charles Scribner. They were assisted by their sons and future successors, by the younger generation of Harpers, by George Haven Putnam, William Worthen Appleton, the second Charles Scribner. These men had inherited the traditions of their fathers, they were keenly interested in their profession and were men of taste and culture. They took an active share in the intellectual life of the community, were members of the various literary and academic clubs, trustees of institutions of higher education. Their firms flourished and grew. But they gradually grew away from the older type of personal family business, approaching a new kind of large scale publishing organization, which began to dominate the picture. With this development there emerged clearly those characteristics which are typical of American publishing to the present day.

European publishing, by and large, is carried on by firms which cultivate a certain well defined subject or group of subjects. There is, above all, the truly literary publisher, who surrounds himself with a group of authors of definite literary standards—and, as a rule, the authors of a given publishing house are of approximately comparable standards, though of course they differ in caliber. They can almost be said to form a literary school. There is continuous, direct, personal contact between the literary publisher and his authors. The imprint of

such a publisher on a book is a guarantee for a certain minimum level of quality, and the acceptance of a new author by this publisher is a very important matter in his professional standing.

Very few publishers attempt to devote themselves to more than one important field, and a few minor supplementary fields. Alongside of the literary publisher, in the sense just described, there is the scholarly publisher. In England there are the great University Presses, and a number of large publishers of similar organization and interest. On the Continent, for instance in Germany, the University Press is hardly known, but in its stead one finds a large number of scholarly and scientific publishers who are quite specialized in their interests. Thus law, medicine, theology, economics, sociology and government, fine arts, the drama, music, and also children's books are cultivated by publishers almost exclusively devoted to one of these fields. Textbooks on the various subjects are published either by the firms who rule in these fields, or by some textbook houses. There are, of course, also "general" publishers in European countries, but they are the exception rather than the rule.

In America, on the contrary, a large proportion of the publishers whose names are familiar to the public are general publishers. They build up their business by publishing in many fields whatever promises success. As they expand they add departments devoted to various special subjects and thus accumulate a variety of experiences. Most of the large nineteenth century firms in America included on their lists novels, biography, travel and discovery, poetry, popular science, history, politics, economics and business, music, gift books and children's books, and, of course, magazine publishing.

A few types of books are more generally in the hands of specialized publishers. First in volume and importance, there are the school and text-book publishers, and the religious book houses, which contribute a numerically very considerable portion of the entire output. Then there are the medical publishers, the law book firms, two groups where we find early signs of concentration in a few large organizations, the publishers of technical books and certain other specialized firms, such as the music publishers and the play publishers who form independent groups. Of course, some of these fields are cultivated also by the general publishers in their special departments, such as school and text-

books, religious literature, plays, and children's literature. In other words, it can be said that in Europe most firms are special publishers and only a few follow a policy of general publishing, while in America most firms are general publishers and only a few devote themselves to specialized interests.

The geographical distribution of nineteenth century publishing in the United States is easily recognizable. New York, without a doubt, occupied the leading position, with Boston in the second and Philadelphia in the third place. This closes the list of the centers of national importance. From the rest of the country only Cincinnati and Chicago really need to be added, each important as the seats of great special publishing firms, and Indianapolis with the Bobbs-Merrill Company as a solitary example of successful general publishing outside one of the great centers. Even before the Civil War Cincinnati had played its part as a center of publishing for the West and for the Southwest. It was also an important center of typefounding and of retail bookselling. Chicago, young and quickly expanding, was gradually moving into a strong position. St. Louis and Milwaukee, while primarily printing centers, still enjoyed a certain importance for their publishing activities. California held its own as a local center. But the new trend towards large-scale publishing is unfavorable to all but the biggest centers among them. The new type of business, utilizing the new speed of communication and transportation in its far flung net of travelling representatives, and in its extensive publicity campaigns gravitates towards centralization in a few focussing points, and, foremost, in New York.

The Great Publishing Houses

New York

The largest and most influential New York publishing house in the nineteenth century was also the oldest of the group. As early as 1817, the brothers James and Joseph Harper, compositors and printers, had opened a modest printing establishment in New York which in the course of thirty years witnessed a really fantastic development. When the Civil War broke out, the House of Harper, then in the hands of the four original brothers, James, John, Joseph Wesley, and Fletcher, was actually one of the most successful publishers of the world. Their

lists of novels, their standard editions of world literature, their school-book series, all embodying progressive principles of selection and of marketing, had received a most favorable reception everywhere; the various series were continuously expanded and new groups successfully added.

Harper's Magazine, one of the first monthly periodicals with illustrations, had started in 1850, and *Harper's Weekly*, which appeared since 1857, had become a veritable household institution. In 1853 the firm underwent a devastating fire, but this meant a really welcome opportunity for the erection of a fine new fireproof building, and the purchase of much up-to-date printing equipment. With untiring energy and courage the Harper brothers looked confidently into the future.

During the war the publishing house had kept its own staff of reporters and artists at the front, who in words and pictures furnished a most lively record of events. The illustrations of *Harper's Weekly* during that period are first-class source material. Some of their wood engravings—we are still in the days before halftone printing—were based on Gardner's famous photographs of the war, but the majority of the cuts were made from drawings of the staff illustrators sent in from the front.

The magazines of the Harper firm, as a matter of fact, were the true life nerve of the enterprise. Soon after the war, in 1867, there began to appear *Harper's Bazaar*, the famous literary fashion magazine, which to this day, though under other ownership, enjoys a world-wide reputation. The first number of *Harper's Young People* appeared in 1879. This was the heyday of the Victorian novel, and serialization of two or three different English novels appeared simultaneously in the *Magazine*, the *Weekly* and in the *Bazaar*. The close contact with English publishers, and the opportunity continuously to test, in these magazines, the taste of the reading public, and gradually to influence it, was a very great advantage to the book publishing departments, too. All the successful English novels which had first appeared in one of the magazines came out later in book form. Also, the contacts of the magazine editors with the new generation of American authors, with the national and regional authors, with the chroniclers of the war, with Wild West story-tellers, with California mining-story writers, and last but not least, with the literary representatives of the conquered

South, all these contacts turned out to be of great value to the Harper book publishing interests. Also, the Harper magazines played some part in the political life of New York, city and state, as well as of the nation. The powerful caricatures of Thomas Nast, the famous political cartoonist, have helped to increase the influence of the firm. This, too, brought certain definite advantages for the book publishing end of things, because it helped in securing official orders for school and text-books.

The authentic source book for the history of the firm are the memoirs of J. Henry Harper, a grandson of Fletcher Harper, the youngest of the four original brothers. *The House of Harper*, published in 1912, is an impressive volume of almost 700 pages, illustrated with fine portrait engravings. Written in the form of a chronicle, the book is full of the most interesting information on the literary, social and political history of nineteenth century America. Among many other things, there is a very fair description of the somewhat unfortunate part which the firm played in the question of international copyright. The very detailed account of the matter is written with the understandable desire to vindicate the position of the firm, yet the story is so accurate and impartial that it is of great historical value. The author of this monumental volume published, in 1934, a second book entitled *I Remember*, in which he recorded his memories of friendships and contacts with men and women of his own time—with Mark Twain, Woodrow Wilson, Theodore Roosevelt, William Dean Howells, Bret Harte, Henry James, James McNeill Whistler, Ellen Terry. He died in January 1936 in Paris.

Like the house of Harper, D. Appleton & Co. is a very old firm which dates back to 1825 and had developed from a bookstore. In 1848 when the founder retired (he died a year later) Appleton's was one of the great publishing houses of the world. The business was carried forward by the four sons headed by William H., one of the strong figures in American publishing history. Their *New American Cyclopedia* was brought to successful completion during the Civil War. Here, too, the decades between 1860 and 1890 saw great changes, changes which eventually were to turn the old, personally conducted firm into a large, impersonal business organization, comparable in structure and fields of interest to the other large publishing houses.

Appleton, too, developed inexpensive series of English and American fiction, entertainment such as their well-known "Town and Country Library." There were also voluminous books on foreign travel and scenery, such as *Picturesque America*, edited by William Cullen Bryant, *Picturesque Europe*, *Picturesque Palestine*. Particularly important from a scholarly point of view were some of their medical and scientific publications. Sir William Osler's *The Principles and Practice of Medicine* appeared first in 1892 and had reached by 1925 an edition of over 300,000 copies. Under the editorial direction of Edward L. Youmans the works of the great group of English scientists, Darwin, Spencer, Huxley and Tyndall were published in America by Appleton as well as the International Scientific Series and notable books in the field of education. Of the famous Webster's *Blue Back Speller* many millions were sold.

The part played by Appleton in the publishing of Lewis Carroll's *Alice in Wonderland* was very interesting. The book was to appear at Macmillan's in London in the year 1865, to be illustrated with wood engravings of the brothers Dalziel after the brilliant drawings of John Tenniel, which, in turn, were based upon the author's own charming amateur sketches. When the book came off the press, author and illustrator were so disappointed with the way the wood engravings had been printed, that they demanded the cancellation of the complete edition. Macmillan then printed a new edition which was completed towards the end of 1865 and appeared with the date 1866. But Appleton's, William Worthen Appleton having seen the book in London, bought the entire first printing, cancelled the title-page and put in their own title-page, dated 1866, like the official definitive English first edition. Thus the true first edition was really sold here in America! Of the original edition with the original English title-page intact, there exist only a very few very rare copies.[3]

The important publishing house of Putnam, too, is an old firm. George Palmer Putnam came to New York in 1829 as a bookseller's apprentice. In 1833 he entered the firm of Wiley & Long as a partner which then became Wiley & Putnam. During the Civil War Putnam placed himself at the disposal of the government, and only in 1866

[3] For details see the *Catalogue of an Exhibition at Columbia University to commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Lewis Carroll.* New York, Columbia University Press, 1932.

returned to his publishing activities. During that same year his son, George Haven Putnam, entered the firm as a junior partner, followed in 1871 by his brother, Bishop, and in 1872 by another brother, Irving. The firm's name now became G. P. Putnam's Sons. Old Mr. Putnam was particularly interested in reviving *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, which he had started in 1853. The time seemed good for developments in that direction. But other publishers, too, had made the discovery that magazines were important to their business, and much to his disappointment Mr. Putnam had to abandon the magazine after a few years. *Putnam's Magazine* was bought up by Scribner's, who had been more fortunate with their *Scribner's Monthly*. George Palmer Putnam died in 1872 and left the business in the hands of his son, George Haven, and his brothers. Under their direction the firm developed very quickly on a broad scale, in line with the trends of the time. The firm also played an important part in the industrial development of the book manufacturing industry, so characteristic for these decades. Many of the large publishing houses, such as Harper, Appleton, Lippincott and Houghton, Mifflin & Company had their own manufacturing plants. Upon the initiative of Bishop Putnam the Putnam firm founded the Knickerbocker Press in 1874, which started as a complete manufacturing department for the publishing firm, and developed so successfully that it was made into a separate organization. It was moved, in 1891, to New Rochelle, where the Knickerbocker Press began to accept work for other firms as well.

In one important regard the house of Putnam differed very decidedly from some of the other large publishers. George Palmer Putnam, and after him his son, George Haven, during all of their lives were unreservedly devoted to the cause of international copyright. One after the other, father and son devoted their untiring efforts to the fight for this vital reform, and there was no committee, no proclamation, where the name Putnam did not figure prominently in favor of American participation in an international agreement. It should be added, that the firm was ready to face the consequences of this attitude and to refrain from unauthorized reprinting of English authors. This led, on the other hand, to an early and systematic encouragement of American authors. Before the Civil War Putnam's had published a new and complete edition of the works of Washington

Irving, which saved that author from the peculiar oblivion which sometimes beclouds the memory of a great master almost immediately after he has reached the culminating point of productivity and popularity. *Putnam's Magazine* had from the start been intended for the publication exclusively of American literature, which may, of course, have been one of the reasons why this publication could not survive the competition of other less scrupulous magazines. In the eighties Putnam published a valuable series of the writings of the men spiritually responsible for American Independence, men like Alexander Hamilton, Benjamin Franklin and George Washington. They also developed their long and widely read series "The Stories of the Nations" and "The Heroes of the Nations."

An account of the great publishing firms of the nineteenth century would be incomplete without mentioning the house of Scribner. This firm, by the way, seems to be the only one of the group which has not as yet followed the custom so popular among that generation; namely, publish an account of its own history.

This history goes back to the firm of Baker & Scribner, founded from the outset as a publishing house. The first partners were Isaac D. Baker, who died in 1850, and Charles Scribner the elder, who after his partner's death took Andrew C. Armstrong and Edward Seymour as partners into the firm, changing its name to Scribner, Armstrong and Company. A separate organization, Scribner, Welford & Co., developed the handling of English importations. The elder Scribner died in 1871, and in 1878 A. C. Armstrong retired from the business. The firm was then called Charles Scribner's Sons and the direction of the business fell first to J. Blair Scribner, the oldest son and then to the second son, Charles Scribner, who expanded the firm's activities and its reputation. Of particular interest were the magazines of the firm. A special department was organized to cultivate the magazine field, which became a quite independent unit. *Scribner's Monthly* was founded in 1870 by Roswell Smith with the assistance of Dr. John G. Holland and Charles Scribner. The older Scribner magazine *Hours at Home* was abandoned in favor of the new enterprise, which was organized for that purpose under the name of Scribner & Co. Ten years after the elder Scribner's death, in 1881, the second Charles Scribner and Dr. Holland retired from the magazine firm, and their share was taken

over by Roswell Smith, the original founder of *Scribner's Monthly*. Smith wanted a new name for the magazine and for the firm to run it, and he hired Dr. Holland as chief editor. Thus the famous *Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine* came to life. It was published by the Century Company, and appeared until the year 1930, when it was merged with the *Forum*.

The Scribner firm, in the meantime, had by no means abandoned the lucrative magazine field, and in 1886 they presented to the public a new periodical called *Scribner's Magazine*, published by the Scribner Publishing Company, and continued today though under other ownership.

Very much an exponent of the new publishing trends of those years, the juvenile magazine *St. Nicholas* made its appearance in 1871. This paper too was a child of Roswell Smith's fertile brain, but at the same time it was the continuation of numerous smaller publications in Boston, Chicago and Philadelphia, proving once more and in its own particular field, the leadership of New York. One must not speak of the *St. Nicholas* magazine without mentioning its rivals, *Harper's Young People* which became *Harper's Round Table*, and, from Boston, *The Youth's Companion*, and *Wide Awake*.

The Century Company, founded in 1881, was one of the fine substantial imprints. Frank H. Scott, its president for many years, was one of the distinguished leaders of New York publishing. This company published Nicolay's *Life of Lincoln* and *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* and such best-sellers as *Mrs. Wiggs of the Cabbage Patch*, well remembered by the trade. Because many of their volumes were planned by De Vinne, their books were distinguished in format. The *Century Dictionary* was also one of their great enterprises. In 1933 the company was merged with Appleton.

Dodd, Mead and Company was founded originally as a religious book house by Moses Woodruff Dodd in 1840. In 1870 his son, Frank H. Dodd, and his nephew, Edward S. Mead, took over the business as Dodd and Mead. They had many spectacular successes as with the novels of E. P. Roe, Amelia Barr, and Ian Maclaren. They undertook the fine *International Encyclopedia*.

An important part both as a publisher and as an organizer of the American book trade was played by Frederick Leypoldt. Born in

Stuttgart, Germany, in 1835, he came to America in 1854. He began his career by taking a position with F. W. Christern and five years later he started a bookshop in Philadelphia. During the Civil War he entered the publishing field with translations of foreign books, some of which he had himself put into English; he wrote under the pseudonym of "L. Pylodet," which will be easily unscrambled by the skilled practitioner. In 1864 he opened a publishing house in New York and in 1867 he joined forces with Henry Holt. Their new firm, which was called Leypoldt & Holt, did not last very long, the partners separating in 1868. Mr. Holt carried on the book publishing as Henry Holt & Co. Leypoldt now turned to those fields where he was to make his most important contributions: the publishing of bibliographical magazines and of booktrade periodicals. He abandoned his *Literary Bulletin*, when in 1872 he had the opportunity to become editor of a generously conceived and comprehensive organ for the entire American booktrade. The *Publishers' Weekly* first appeared in 1872, and it took the place of two older magazines, the *American Literary Gazette* and the *Publishers' Circular*, which had been started as early as 1852. Leypoldt was fortunate in his intimate knowledge of the organization of the German booktrade, with its century old traditions and its well-weathered system of trade relations. The new magazine appeared as the official organ of both the Publishers' Board of Trade and the American Book Trade Association. From its very start the magazine proved its importance and usefulness as the mouthpiece of the entire American booktrade.

The office also took an active interest in the public library field, which was just entering upon a most important phase of expansion. After Frederick Leypoldt's death, in 1884, Mrs. Leypoldt carried forward for thirty years the direction of the bibliographical work of the *Publishers' Weekly*. Richard Rogers Bowker, who had been in earlier association with Mr. Leypoldt on his periodicals, became the head of the firm, and he too carried on with unusual vision and enterprise. Mr. Bowker was active in many directions; it was he who with Melvil Dewey in 1876 had founded the *Library Journal* and a few months later he helped to found the American Library Association. He also took up the fight for international copyright legislation with energy and vigor. His book on the subject has become a standard.

Mr. Bowker died in 1933,[4] and Frederic G. Melcher, who for some years had been co-editor of the *Publishers' Weekly*, became the head of the R. R. Bowker Company.

Henry Holt, who had been associated with Leypoldt for a while, founded in 1868 the house of Henry Holt and Company and remained its head until his death in 1926. His cultured and well-informed mind was a steady influence toward quality and scholarship; yet the firm reached popular markets with such best-sellers as *The Prisoner of Zenda* and *Honorable Peter Stirling*. Among its enterprises was the "American Science Series" and notable among the authors was William James. In 1923, Mr. Holt published *The Garrulities of an Octogenarian Editor* which sheds much light on nineteenth century publishing.

Another concern founded in those years and active today is the house of Stokes. It was founded by the present head, Frederick A. Stokes, in 1881, two years after his graduation from Yale and one year after his first introduction to book publishing. Like the Putnam firm, Frederick A. Stokes has made very particular efforts to seek out and encourage promising young American authors, which at the time was an exception rather than a rule among New York publishers. The firm has also shown an early interest in art with the publication of large and costly collections of etchings by American artists, and has made successful efforts in the publishing of books for young people.

One of the smaller New York publishers was G. W. Carleton, who had started publishing in that city shortly before the Civil War. He had *Les Miserables* translated and it appeared and sold hundreds of thousands of sets. A similar experiment with some of Balzac proved a failure. Characteristic American humor came out under the Carleton imprint: Artemus Ward, Orpheus C. Kerr, Josh Billings and the vastly popular novels of Mary J. Holmes, Augusta J. Evans and Marion Harland. In 1866 he was joined by George W. Dillingham, who later succeeded him.

Carleton was the publisher of J. C. Derby's *Fifty Years among Authors, Books and Publishers*, that mammoth source book on the

[4] To perpetuate his memory the Richard Rogers Bowker Memorial Lectures have been established, an annual institution at the New York Public Library "as an aid and stimulus to the study of book publishing in the United States and the mutual problems of authors, publishers, librarians, readers, all makers and users of books."

history of the American book trade. A chapter of the 700-page volume is devoted to Carleton's activities as a publisher.

E. P. Dutton & Co. commenced activities in New York in 1869. The firm had been founded in Boston by Edward P. Dutton, as a small book shop particularly devoted to the sale of the religious books of the Episcopal Church. In 1865 Dutton with Charles A. Clapp purchased the famous Old Corner Book Store in Boston. This interesting old place had been started in 1828 and has passed through many hands. It has been observed that several of the Old Corner's owners afterwards became publishers and the shop came to be looked on as a breeding place for American publishers. Among Dutton successes was the spectacular sale of Phillips Brooks sermons, and recently the A. A. Milne books. Important to its publishing history has been its connections with E. Nister of Nuremberg and with J. M. Dent & Co., of London, as developed by the firm's present head, John Macrae.

Yet another New York Publishing house, the Thomas Y. Crowell Company, had its origin in Boston, where it had developed from the bookbinding establishment of Benjamin Bradley, which in turn had been founded in 1834. It was in this firm that, perhaps for the first time on this continent, cloth was used commercially as a binding material. Thomas Young Crowell embarked upon his career there in 1856 as an assistant, working up to a partnership, and after Bradley's death, to the sole ownership of the firm. Crowell began publishing in New York in 1876, but the Boston bookbindery remained the property of the firm until 1900. It was moved to New York and given up, after a fire, in 1919. In 1890 Crowell refused to join the big consolidation of reprint houses. Their *Red Line Poets*, the famous series of books printed on tinted paper with red rules around the columns of type, was the first conspicuous success of the house. In 1885 Crowell's interest and enthusiasm for Russian literature began to show in his publishing program. Tolstoi was translated and brought out, and afterwards Gogol. Thus Crowell became an early sponsor for modern Russian literature in America.

Although the English firms who opened branches in New York will be discussed later, there is an early pioneer in that movement who should be mentioned now. The earliest New York branch of an English publisher was the Macmillan agency, started immediately

after the Civil War by George Edward Brett. Toward the end of the eighties, when his health was giving out, old Mr. Brett was able to lean on his energetic son, George Platt Brett, for assistance and support. The younger Brett took over the reins after his father's death. In 1896 the American branch separated from the English mother house, and under the name of The Macmillan Company of New York, it became a separate corporation. The story of its development to be the largest publishing house in the country is chiefly of the twentieth century.

Boston

Perhaps the most prominent Boston publishing house toward the middle of the century was Ticknor & Fields. They have been the publishers of many of the "flowers of New England." Like the Dutton firm later on, they sprang from the Old Corner Book Store. This venerable old shop at the corner of Washington and School Streets had been occupied in 1829 by the publishing and bookselling firm of Carter, Hendee & Company. William D. Ticknor, then employed in the banking business, bought this bookshop in 1832 and the firm of Allen & Ticknor emerged, changed in 1835 to William D. Ticknor, in 1843 to William D. Ticknor & Co., in 1845 to Ticknor, Reed & Fields, and in 1854 to Ticknor & Fields. Ticknor died in 1864 and was succeeded by his son, Howard M. Ticknor, who edited for the house the famous periodical, *Our Young Folks*. In 1868 James T. Fields, with a new partner, founded the firm of Fields, Osgood & Co., noted particularly as the publishers of the *Atlantic Monthly*. Three years later Mr. Fields retired and Benjamin H. Ticknor, second son of William D., joined in forming the firm of James R. Osgood & Co.

In 1864 H. O. Houghton, who had founded the highly successful Riverside Press in Cambridge, had combined with Melanchton M. Hurd, then a partner in the old New York publishing house of Sheldon, in establishing the New York publishing firm of Hurd & Houghton. Other partners were Albert G. Houghton, Horace E. Scudder and George H. Mifflin. The name of H. O. Houghton was retained for the Cambridge business.

It was this firm which was merged in 1878 with Mr. Osgood's firm, resulting in the house of Houghton, Osgood and Company. There

were thus combined in one organization some of the best New England literary traditions, including the rights to many important books and authors of the Romantic and Transcendentalist movements, as well as the publication of the *Atlantic Monthly*. In 1880 the firm became Houghton, Mifflin & Co., changed in 1908 to Houghton Mifflin Company.

Another active Boston publishing house of today goes back in its beginning to the early 19th century. Little, Brown & Company carried this name already in 1837. Like other Boston publishing houses here mentioned they have emphasized quality rather than quantity in their publishing program. They became the publishers of Parkman and developed a law book department. Late in the nineties they absorbed another well-known Boston firm, Roberts Brothers. Under the direction of Thomas Niles, a man of fine taste in books, Roberts Brothers had published Louisa May Alcott, Helen Hunt Jackson, Edward Everett Hale and had launched the famous Wormeley edition of Balzac, the first complete edition in America.

We shall presently hear of the Boston publishers who specialized in texts and school-books. Juvenile literature and books for Sunday School use too were published in Boston on a large scale. There were in particular two firms, well remembered today, which should be mentioned here because they were also general publishers.

Lee and Shepard was established under that name in 1862. William Lee had been a junior partner in the old Boston firm of Phillips, Sampson & Co., who had published Emerson's *Essays*, but had turned down *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, because they did not want to hurt their Southern trade connections. Charles Augustus Billings Shepard, too, had grown up in the book world. He had been a senior partner of Shepard, Clark & Brown, which discontinued business in 1859. Lee & Shepard built up an enormous list of children's books and were very successful with Sunday School literature. They published Sophie May and Oliver Optic, also Francis H. Underwood's handbooks of English and American literature and the *Golden Floral* series of popular hymns and ballads, gotten up as holiday gift books. Their New York firm, Lee, Shepard & Dillingham, had merged into that of Charles T. Dillingham in 1875, who became a well-known wholesale bookseller.

D. Lothrop & Co. was established in Boston in 1868 by Daniel

Lothrop (1831-1892) to cater to the needs of Sunday Schools and to specialize in juvenile literature. Previously Daniel Lothrop had developed a chain of drug stores where he had been successful with books. In 1850 he had bought a bookstore in Dover, N. H. His publishing venture saw rapid expansion in the 70's and 80's. The popular juvenile periodical, *Wide Awake*, was started in 1875 and became *St. Nicholas*' chief competitor. The second Mrs. Lothrop, who wrote under the pseudonym of Margaret Sidney, was the author of *The Five Little Peppers*. This firm also published about 175 books by "Pansy." At the end of the century D. Lothrop & Co. brought out *Eben Holden*, one of the great best sellers of the last generation. The firm's merger with Lee and Shepard to form Lothrop, Lee and Shepard Company took place in 1904.

Philadelphia

One of the most important publishers in Philadelphia after the Civil War, and still active, is J. B. Lippincott and Co. Joshua Ballinger Lippincott had entered the book business in the employ of a bookseller named Clark, whose firm he purchased in 1836. At that time he made a specialty of publishing religious works, some of them issued as finely bound de luxe editions. In 1850, he boldly purchased Grigg & Elliott, an important old firm of retailers and jobbers. The house now expanded its publishing program, and joined the ranks of the big general publishers. Lippincott published books in practically every field of literature, as well as medical and educational textbooks. Successfully they weathered the difficult war times and managed even to put up a new building. In 1885 a joint stock company was founded, and when the following year old Mr. Lippincott died, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Craig, as president, assisted by his brothers, Walter and J. Bertram, the latter still living and chairman of the board of directors of the company, though the active direction of the business has passed to his son, Joseph Wharton Lippincott. *Lippincott's Magazine* was started in 1868 and continued in the hands of the firm until 1914 when it was sold to McBride-Nast and discontinued. Swinburne, Oscar Wilde, Conan Doyle, Turgeniev, Jack London, and Brander Matthews were some of the authors whose writings appeared in the famous Philadelphia magazine. The good relations of the firm with English

publishers and authors date back to a trip of J. B. Lippincott to England in 1851, and they were cemented by the establishment of a London branch office in 1875, which is still functioning.

The shift of the center of book publishing to New York during the latter half of the nineteenth century has left many once well-known Philadelphia firms without successors. There existed in the seventies a string of flourishing publishing houses, publishers whose names are practically forgotten today. There were, for instance, the firms of Kay & Brother, R. F. Cunningham & Son, T. B. Peterson & Brother, and Sower, Potts & Co. Porter & Coates became Henry F. Coates and they were the publishers of immensely popular boys' books by Ellis, Castlemon, and Alger. By the end of the century the list was absorbed by the rising house of John C. Winston & Company.

Important Special Publishers of the Period

The trend of the times is marked very clearly in the history of the famous old publishing house of Lea & Febiger in Philadelphia. Founded in 1785 by Mathew Carey, the venerable old firm has seen many changes. The house had been among the leading American publishers of Sir Walter Scott, it had been prominently associated with the development of subscription bookselling, and it had manifested, long before the middle of the century, a warm interest for native American authors. Cooper and Irving had the Carey imprint and Edgar Allan Poe's first collection of short stories, for instance, appeared in 1839 under the imprint of Lea & Blanchard. Mathew Carey was succeeded by his son, Henry Carey, and his son-in-law, Isaac Lea, and they by that fine scholar and citizen, Henry C. Lea. Towards the middle of the century, and this is of symptomatic importance, the competition of the New York publishing trade began to be felt rather keenly. Particularly the rising star of the house of Harper caused so much concern, that the old Philadelphia firm decided upon a change of policy. The general publishing activities were gradually reduced and a concentration upon the medical book field was aimed at. In 1851 the first step was made in this direction and since then the firm has occupied an important place among the leading medical publishing houses of the country. The present firm name of Lea & Febiger was

adopted in 1907, when Christian C. Febiger joined the brothers Lea as partner.

Another old publishing house in the field of medicine and science in Philadelphia, which is still active today, is the firm of P. Blakiston's Sons & Co., started in 1843.

New York was and still is the seat of a number of important special publishers in various fields. However, it is very important to note that there has been no particular concentration of special publishing in New York City. In marked contrast to the trends observed in general publishing, many of the houses devoted to a particular, well-defined field have been founded in various centers throughout the country, where many of them have remained to this day.

Most of the special publishing houses which we find in New York after the Civil War have their roots in establishments founded earlier in the century. One of the oldest scientific book houses in the country is that of John Wiley & Sons. John Wiley was the son of the old New York publisher, Charles Wiley. He had started independently from his father in 1828, had joined with George Long in 1832, and in 1833 with George Palmer Putnam, until 1848 when the partnership was dissolved. In 1865 John Wiley admitted his son, Charles, to the business and in 1875 his son, William H., to form the imprint John Wiley & Sons. At one time they brought out American editions of John Ruskin, but "scientific text-books and industrial works" were their main line of development. Science, technology and business are today the fields extensively cultivated by the old firm.

The oldest American medical publishing house long known as William Wood & Co. grew out of a small bookstore which Samuel Wood (1760-1844) established in New York in 1804. He soon began to publish a series of primers and juveniles, some of which were illustrated by Dr. Alexander Anderson. The medical interests were developed by a son, William Wood, who followed in 1817 two brothers who had previously joined the firm. The store became the resort of noted physicians and the importation of medical works, mostly from England, was gradually supplemented with the firm's own medical publications. William Wood's son, William H. S., joined the firm in 1863 and the name was now William Wood & Co. In 1866 the *Medical Record* started to appear and other journals, including pharmaceutical

trade journals, followed. Medical reference works and medical encyclopedias became the specialties of the house. Gilbert C. Wood, grandson of William, died in 1931 and the house became a division of The Williams and Wilkins Company of Baltimore the following year.

Another old New York firm is the Orange Judd Publishing Company, specializing in books on farming, gardening and kindred subjects. The firm traces its ancestry to the bookselling and publishing business of Charles M. Saxton, founded in 1836. Many publishing firms of the day issued occasional books on farming and agriculture, but Saxton seems to have been the first publisher in the country to specialize in books of this type.[5] When his firm took over the publication of the *American Agriculturist*, Orange Judd, who had been connected with that magazine since 1853, came along. He became the editor and publisher of the magazine and soon he made himself independent. Upon Saxton's death in 1864, Orange Judd bought out his business and combined the Saxton and Judd lists, including the *American Agriculturist*, into one publishing venture and gave the firm his own name. His brother, David W. Judd, assumed control when the company was reorganized in 1883. In 1899 George E. Eiermann took charge.

The business of P. J. Kenedy & Sons, in New York, designated in 1895 as "Publisher to the Holy See," was taken over by Patrick John Kenedy in 1866 upon his father's death, after he had assisted in the business for six years. The firm devoted itself to Catholic authors whose work did not seem to find a place on the lists of secular publishing houses; they published novels dealing with Catholic life, ascetical and apologetic works, books on Ireland, a complete series of textbooks in the parochial school field, and annual Catholic directories. A leader in the publication of devotional books was John J. Murphy & Co., of Baltimore, the city of the first American Cardinal.

Another religious book house of New York was established there by Fleming H. Revell. In 1869 he had started to publish in Chicago *Everybody's Paper*, a religious monthly. The fire of 1871 destroyed his entire establishment, but he started afresh and was so successful with sermons, tracts, and other writings by Moody and similar evangelists that in 1887 he established a branch in New York, followed by

[5] According to *Publishers' Weekly*, February 15, 1936.

other branches in Toronto, London and Edinburgh. He moved his family to New York in 1906 and some years later established the headquarters of his business there. He was succeeded in 1929 by his son, Fleming H. Revell, Jr.

Funk & Wagnalls, best-known for their dictionary publishing, also began as a religious book house in New York. In 1876 Isaac Kaufman Funk, a clergyman by profession, started publishing. He was joined in 1878 by Adams Willis Wagnalls. They developed a program of religious and moral books, specializing in inexpensive books for the clergy and in religious reference works. In 1912, their *New Standard Dictionary of the English Language* was published after years of work. Its editors provided many of the reference books for the Funk list.

David Van Nostrand started his publishing activities in the field of engineering and science sometime around 1848. Born in 1811, he had been an assistant and after that, a partner of John P. Haven, the New York bookseller and publisher. Later he was active in engineering in the South, but returned to New York and to bookselling and publishing on his own. In 1869 he began the publication of *Van Nostrand's Eclectic Engineering Magazine*, later merged with *The American Railroad Journal* to become *The Railroad and Engineering Journal.*

The well-known law publishing firm of Baker, Voorhis & Co. came into existence under that name when Peter C. Baker, whom we have already met as an old time New York printer, purchased in 1866 the law publishing business of John S. Voorhis.

The firm of Samuel French, the largest publisher of plays in New York, was founded in 1830. Another well-known publishing house in this field is Walter H. Baker & Company of Boston, founded there in 1889 with an affiliate in New York, The Fitzgerald Publishing Company, successors to the old house of Dick and Fitzgerald.

Alfred Smith Barnes was the founder of the school-book concern of A. S. Barnes & Co., which succeeded in establishing its dominant position in practically every branch of that business. Barnes had started in 1831 with D. F. Robinson of Hartford, who moved to New York in 1835. In 1838 Barnes formed a partnership with a mathematics professor, Charles Davies, and returned to Hartford to establish his own firm. In 1844 he moved the company to New York. It was his idea to issue national series of standard books in every department of

education. His son, Alfred Cutler Barnes, joined the firm in 1858, was made partner in 1865, and head of the business in 1888. The educational departments of the firm, together with those of a number of other big firms, were consolidated in 1890 to become the American Book Company. The old name of the firm was continued as a publishing house specializing in physical education, now directed by John Barnes Pratt.

Continuing our journey over the map in search of special publishers, we find in Hartford, Connecticut, and in other New England cities traditional centers of school-and text-book publishing. G. & C. Merriam Company of Springfield, Mass., is of course famous as the publisher of *Webster's New International Dictionary*. In 1797 Dan Merriam and his brother had founded a newspaper in West Brookfield, Mass. and had branched out into miscellaneous publishing, including successive editions of William Perry's *Royal Standard English Dictionary*. Upon Dan Merriam's death in 1823, his sons George and Charles joined their uncle in the management of the business, which they moved to Springfield in 1831, and where, the following year, they founded G. & C. Merriam Company. Upon Noah Webster's death in 1843 they bought from J. S. & C. Adams of Amherst the unsold copies of his dictionary and the right to publish it in the future. That was the foundation of their fortune. The dictionary in its many editions has remained the main enterprise of the firm to this day, but they have also in the past published Bibles, school-books, law books, and other volumes of similar nature.

In Boston, too, several important publishing houses specialized in school- and text-books. One of the most prominent firms was founded in 1867 by the brothers Edwin G. and Frederick Ginn, and it has remained in the front rank to this day. Edwin Ginn happened to meet a young student of the Harvard Law School, who in 1876 had graduated from Amherst. His name was George A. Plimpton. Ginn was so impressed with the young man's ability that he invited him to join the business. Young Mr. Plimpton accepted and took charge of the New York office. In a few years he was made a member of the firm and upon Ginn's death in 1914, he became head of the business, re-retiring in 1931, five years before his death.

In 1874 Ginn & Company had accepted young Daniel Collamore

Heath as partner, who later on, in 1885, severed his connections with the firm and founded his own business, at the head of which he remained until his death in 1908. His main interest was in the natural sciences, in chemistry, economics and in foreign language classics.

Another leading text-book house founded in Boston is the firm of Silver, Burdett & Company, established there in 1885 by Edgar O. Silver, after a short apprenticeship with the Appletons. The firm later moved to New York City. One reason for the rapid success of this house can be seen in Mr. Silver's interest in new methods of musical instruction. In the course of time the firm developed other fields of interest, and it is today among the leading text-book houses of the country. Of similar substantial character is the house of Allyn & Bacon, located on Beacon Hill's educational center.

As we leave the publishing centers of the Eastern seaboard and turn towards the West, we find that Cincinnati, Ohio, in the days after the Civil War played a considerable part as a publishing center. We have already heard of that city's importance as the seat of type-founding and of printing establishments, and a little later something more will be said of the general place of Cincinnati in the booktrade of the country. In publishing, religious books and school- and text-books were a Cincinnati specialty.

There was, for instance, the old Van Antwerp Bragg Company, one of the main contributaries of that all absorbing stream, the American Book Company, which we shall discuss later on. Then there were Chase & Hall, Hitchcock & Walden and Robert Clarke & Company, the latter specializing in the field of drama and the theatre. This firm remained active until 1924, when, via their successor Stewart-Kidd Co., Appleton in New York bought up their rights. Robert Clarke & Company also had a well-organized retail department.

The picture of Chicago special publishing is dominated by the firm of Rand, McNally and Company. The house originated in 1864 when Andrew McNally, who was born in Ireland in 1836, joined forces with William H. Rand, a printer from the Pacific Coast. It is almost superfluous to say that their enterprise was crowned with unusual success and that they have remained to this day the most important American publishers of atlases, guides and children's books, combining as it were, the activities of a Baedecker and Perthes into one great concern.

Chicago, while being a natural depository point for every large educational house and the place of manufacture for enormous editions, is the home office of such well-known text-book houses as Scott, Foresman & Co., Row, Peterson & Co., Benjamin H. Sanborn & Co. and Callaghan & Co.

An interesting special publishing firm was started in Milwaukee a few years after the Civil War. In 1870 the Morehouse Publishing Company was founded, and in 1884 they opened a retail store there. They were among the leading religious publishers and booksellers of the country, and have continued steadily to this present day. In 1935 they opened a store in New York, and recently Edwin S. Gorham, Inc., was merged with Morehouse to form the Morehouse-Gorham Company.

There is no room in this volume to do full justice to the publishing of the various kinds of theological works in America. This is a pity, because it is a very characteristically American story. The publishing of the Bible, of prayer books and liturgical works, of theological studies and of all kinds of devotional literature occupies, of course, an important part in the publishing annals of every European country. But the singularly important role of the church in the making of the American nation and the tremendous number of different religious denominations and creeds in existence here has lent unique color and vigor to religious publishing and bookselling. P. Marion Simms' careful study of *The Bible in America*, an excellent, comprehensive volume, tells of the activities of the regular religious publishers as well as of the various scripture-distributing agencies, such as the American Bible Society.

One of the largest religious publishing organizations, the Methodist Book Concern, is also one of the oldest existing publishers in America. Since its foundation in 1789 it has seen a truly astonishing development. It was founded for the purposes of furthering Christian education through the distribution of moral and religious literature, and in order to take care of the publication, the manufacture and the sales of such literature. Accordingly, the nation-wide organization of the Methodist Book Concern includes today every type of production and distribution agency. The profits from these various activities are collected in a fund designated for the benefit of Methodist ministers,

their families and survivors, and for the "traveling supernumeraries." The large protestant churches, Methodist, Baptist and Presbyterian, divided territorially by the War between the States, built up important publishing and bookselling organizations centering in the North at Philadelphia and New York and in the South at Nashville. Other religious organizations have followed the same plan, one of the largest being the Christian Science Publishing Co. of Boston, issuing books, magazines and a daily paper.

Sales Methods and Book Outlets

Having made ourselves acquainted with the structure of the publishing business and with some of the representative firms, we should now attempt to answer the question, how the books of these publishers reached the public. Once again a glance at European conditions is tempting, because the comparison is illuminating and instructive.

In Europe, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a large majority of all books sold to the public were sold through regular bookstores. These bookstores, as a rule were part of a well organized system, based on the particular traditions prevailing in each country. The most orthodox conception of what a regular bookstore should be like, existed in Germany. To become a bookseller you had to serve an apprenticeship of from two to four years, during which time you were thoroughly trained in the organization of the publishing trade, in ordering, shipping and accounting methods, in selling books to customers and, last but not least, in the appreciation of literature and in bibliographical methods. After your apprenticeship you became a junior and later a senior clerk, and if you had luck or some financial backing you became a partner or went into business on your own. If you wanted to become a publisher you would also be advised to start your career by serving a retail bookseller's apprenticeship. There were also opportunities for more formal theoretical training, such as the Leipzig School of Bookselling, which was a sort of booktrade academy.

The oldtime German bookseller considered himself a servant of literature and he was proud of his training and his literary judgment. He would have felt it beneath his dignity to handle anything but books, and possibly magazines and music. Stationery in particular he felt to be outside of his realm. In England, this feeling was not as

strong, although there, too, if the store did sell stationery, the tendency was to set aside a separate room for these things. It can also be said that there was, and is, very little contact between the individual publisher and the book buying public. The publishers did not encourage direct sales to the readers of their books, but concentrated on selling to the many bookstores throughout the country.

In America, after the Civil War, the question of well-trained bookstore clerks was one of the problems that worried responsible members of the booktrade. That all was not well may be gathered today from the frequent discussions of training conditions in the trade journals. *Publishers' Weekly*, for instance, in its issue of October 25, 1873, published an appeal for the improvement of working conditions and a better training system. The article contained detailed information on the Leipzig School of Bookselling, with the implication that something of the kind should be started over here.[6]

The feeling that books by their nature were something rather special and that they should be sold separately and treated differently from other merchandise was the exception rather than the rule in America. To those who think of the drugstore sale of books as a characteristic evil of these degenerate post-war days I should like to quote the title-page of *Geyer's Reference Directory*, published in 1889, which has the following wording: *Geyer's Reference Directory of the Booksellers and Stationers of the United States and Canada. Including all Dealers in the Book, Stationery, Paper, Toy, Fancy Goods, Notions, Picture and Picture Frame Trades, including a complete list of Wholesale Druggists and the Purchasing Agents (Stationery) for Railroads, Also Book Publishers, Bookbinders, Lithographers, and Manufacturers of Stationers' Specialties. . . . Also Containing a List of All Paper Mills in the United States and Canada, giving Daily Capacity and Kinds of Goods Manufactured. 1889. . . . Published by M. Shirley Geyer, 63 Duane Street, New York.*

This is an interesting and amusing example of the hodge podge of trades with which the booksellers' profession was mixed up and it gives some idea of the variety of outlets through which books in those days reached the public. The paper mills in this volume are listed in a group by themselves and for this reason the book is particularly

[6] See page 240 for later developments along these lines.

interesting as a source for that branch of the graphic arts industry. But otherwise it is quite impossible to gather from the miscellaneous collection of names and firms any idea which of the listed establishments were booksellers, and where in the United States they were located. Nor have I found in any other publication a satisfactory survey of retail firms in the second half of the nineteenth century. Anything like a complete account is therefore out of the question, nor would the scope of this volume permit it, if it were available. On the following pages are listed merely a few of the firms that were genuinely concerned with the selling of books in those days and which, in one form or another, have survived to the present time.

In the same way in which the old-time Boston publishers were more readily comparable to the literary publishers of Europe than other firms in this country, so did the booksellers of old Boston provide perhaps a closer analogy to European bookshops than the stores of other cities. We have already encountered the Old Corner Bookstore, that famous breeding place of publishing houses. When E. P. Dutton went to New York in 1869 to become a publisher, he sold the store to A. Williams & Co. In 1883 it passed into the hands of Cupples, Upham & Co., became Damrell & Upham in 1887, and in 1902 it was incorporated as The Old Corner Bookstore. Very little is really told by these dates and names. They are cold compared with the vivid recollections of those whose memory goes back to those days. Anyone who wants to know what bookselling was like in Boston then, should not neglect to read Charles E. Goodspeed's delightful *Yankee Bookseller*. Even though it concerns itself mainly with later developments, one finds much that illuminates the old traditions. Goodspeed speaks primarily of rare book dealers, though not exclusively. He mentions for instance De Wolfe, Fiske & Company, then on Washington Street, now on Park Street, a store that sold new books to individuals and to libraries and acted as a wholesaler for small-town booksellers, which was a more profitable line of business then than now.

Cornhill was for years a center for New England retail bookselling and so was nearby Washington Street, where not only the Old Corner but Little, Brown; William H. Piper, Estes & Lauriat and W. B. Clarke Co. were located.

In other cities of New England, too, we find bookstores "with a

history." Israel Witkower's bookstore in Hartford, Connecticut, for instance, was founded in May, 1835. Seven times in the first century of its existence did the shop change its name and three times it was moved to a new location. Abraham Lincoln, Mark Twain, and Harriet Beecher Stowe were among the regular customers of the store. When Jenny Lind came to Hartford in 1881 to sing in a church, her manager rented the shop to sell his tickets. He sold twice as many tickets as there were seats in the church. When people realized that they had been taken in, there were broken windows and show cases. No permanent damage was done, however, as any visitor to the store today can see.

In New York, in the days before the Civil War, the bookshop of Stanford & Swords had been famous, particularly for its religious books. Later the firms of C. S. Swords & Company and D. G. Francis developed from this store. Bartlett & Welford was a popular meeting place for collectors and literary men in the forties. In 1849 John Russell Bartlett withdrew from the firm, which continued as Scribner & Welford.

When, as the century turned, Dutton's and Putnam's had their two great bookshops on 23rd Street near Madison Square, when Scribner's was just below Madison Square on Fifth Avenue and Brentano's was just above, this section was indeed one of the retail bookselling centers of the world.

The story of Brentano's, retailers for eighty years, is an interesting record of three generations of American bookselling. The business was founded by August Brentano, a young immigrant from Austria, who in spite of the handicap of a slight physical deformity carved out a brilliant career for himself. In 1856 he was still selling newspapers on Broadway, but early in the seventies he was the owner of "Brentano's Literary Emporium." In 1873 his nephew, Arthur Brentano, then aged fifteen, joined his uncle in the business. When Arthur Brentano celebrated his eightieth birthday in the spring of 1938 he celebrated it by selling books at Brentano's bookstore, as he had done for the last sixty-five years. As assistant to his uncle, August, he had been joined early by his two brothers, August and Simon. In 1882 the younger generation took charge, with August, Jr., as president. In 1899 the bookstore was incorporated. In 1924 Brentano's moved up-

town to the new retail center and undertook to extend their branch system, which had already included a large store in Washington. The depression led in 1933 to financial difficulties followed by successful reorganization.

It is of interest to note that in 1897 Brentano's opened a publishing department which was active until 1933. They were the publishers of the Merrymount Press edition of Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography and American publishers for George Bernard Shaw.

One of the mainstays of Brentano's to this very day has been the store's rich stock of books in foreign languages, imported from the various European countries. New York has always been a market for European books and the New York booktrade has always welcomed into its midst the importers of books from abroad.

The oldest of the existing firms along these lines is the B. Westermann Company. It was established as early as 1848 by the brothers George and Bernhard Westermann, as a branch of their German publishing firm in Braunschweig, which is still active there. August Buechner was admitted to partnership in 1855 and in 1869 Ernst Lemcke, another able assistant, became a partner.

Around 1924 a consortium of twenty German publishers joined the German-American interests who wished to see the continuation of the old firm. In 1926 Ernest Eisele, who had been the manager of Brentano's foreign department since 1903, became the head of the B. Westermann Company. Some of the men who have in later life become the heads of importing concerns which are still prospering today, received their early training at Westermann's.

Ernest Steiger, for instance, the founder of the New York book importing firm of that name, entered the employ of Westermann sometime before the Civil War and he remained with them for ten years. Another member of the staff, who subsequently established himself in a similar branch was Gustaf E. Stechert. He founded his firm in 1872 and established purchasing offices in Leipzig, in London and in Paris. In 1889 Alfred Hafner, who had been trained in Switzerland, entered the Stechert firm. He became the manager in 1899, and later took in his two sons, Otto H. and Walter A. Hafner, as partners. The retail store of the firm is only one of the many departments of the large concern

today. They supply European books to a large number of universities, colleges and public libraries throughout the United States.

An importing firm of more recent date is the Weyhe Galleries. E. Weyhe came to New York from Europe in 1914 and turned his attention particularly to the field of art, to private press books, illustrated works, and to prints, adding to his imported stock the best American work produced along these lines, and giving constant encouragement to young artists of this country. He has also made a name for himself as a publisher of books on modern art and in organizing together with his associate Carl Zigrosser, interesting exhibitions at his galleries.

In an attempt to search out and mention here good booksellers in other parts of the country one does best not to insist too much on the distinction between real booksellers and those stores which handle, along with other things, books. Apart from the old centers of culture along the Atlantic coast it is particularly in the Near West and in the Middle West that one finds, in the days after the Civil War, a good many bookstores. Missouri, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin seem to be pretty well provided with retail outlets and Ohio, with Cincinnati as the center, exceptionally so. Among the bookstores of that city the James Book Store Company has an interesting history. The firm goes back to a foundation of the year 1831. No railroad had then crossed the Alleghenies, and, situated as it was on the banks of the heavily freighted Ohio River, Cincinnati practically dominated the Middle West. At the same time it was the gateway to the South. Uriah Pierson James and his brother commenced with a printing shop and a stereotyping establishment, and developed—like the Harpers in New York—into quite an important publishing house. Everybody in the Mississippi Valley knew the brothers James, and they were often referred to as "the Harpers of the West." The bookstore was opened around 1840 and, still in the hands of the James family, it enjoys a great reputation today.

Another Cincinnati bookstore of the old days still in operation was opened by Robert Clarke in 1863. In 1910 the firm was taken over by W. K. Stewart and John G. Kidd, and today it is called John G. Kidd & Son. We have already spoken of the publishing department of the Clarke firm.

That these old firms have been able to hold their own to the present day is all the more remarkable because Cincinnati as a city lost much of its former influence and power in the further course of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the seventies, however, this was not yet apparent. Together with New York, Philadelphia, and Boston, Cincinnati was a great center of the booktrade. It was a popular convention place, where in 1873 the "Booksellers Protective Union" was founded, which soon developed into the "American Book Trade Union," and then into the "American Book Trade Association." This organization took the place of the "New York Publisher's Association," founded in 1855, which functioned under the names of "The Publishers Association" and "The Book Publishers Association" until 1861. The main task of these organizations was to clarify the conditions of the trade and the relationship between the publishers and the distributors of books. The chief problem that had to be coped with was the mutual price cutting between publishers, jobbers and retailers. Very serious efforts were made by responsible men in the trade to establish a comprehensive organization which would bring about a satisfactory solution of these difficulties. These attempts, however, brought no lasting satisfaction. We shall hear more about this presently.

Another old Ohio firm still active today should be mentioned here: The Burrows Brothers Co., Booksellers, Stationers, Engravers, of Cleveland. The store was founded there in 1873.

In Indianapolis there was the old Bowen, Merrill store which grew into the publishing firm of Bobbs-Merrill Company, but the retailing continues as the W. K. Stewart Company.

The largest bookstore west of the Alleghenies was A. C. McClurg & Company, Chicago. It started as S. C. Griggs & Company in 1840 and became McClurg's in 1886 and developed as the most famous bookstore of the West. Its "Saints and Sinners Corner" was a rendezvous for Eugene Field and others. It was sold out in 1930, but its big wholesale house continues. The famous international bookstore of A. Kroch although not founded until 1907 rapidly became a significant outlet through the Middle West. The Fred Harvey chain now headed up in Chicago spread from Kansas City to cover the Santa Fe route.

In the Far West, too, in California and in what was then Washington Territory, there were of course, "booksellers and stationers." An

astonishing light is cast upon the position of the California bookseller of those days by a circular directed from the booksellers of the coast to the publishers of New York. It was printed and commented upon in *Publishers' Weekly* of January 3, 1880, in the following manner:

THE SAN FRANCISCO CIRCULAR

The following extraordinary circular, the second part of which seems to be a satiric commentary on the first, has been issued from San Francisco to the Eastern trade.

San Francisco, December 8, 1879.

At a meeting of the Stationers, Drug, Notion, and Music Dealers' Board of Trade, held November 21, 1879, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we, the members of this association, are determined that from this date we will not purchase, or permit to be shown to us, any class of goods from any traveller or resident agent of a manufacturer, publisher, or jobber.

Resolved, That in our purchases (which we will make through our representatives or by order) we will make it a rule to accord the preference to houses who do not send travellers to this coast, or employ resident agents.

Resolved, That the secretary be instructed to have the foregoing preamble and resolutions printed, and to forward a copy to each of the manufacturers, publishers, and jobbers known to our trade.

Signed,

ISAAC UPHAM, *President.*
J. S. HEBBARD, *Secretary*

In connection with the above resolution the wholesale booksellers and stationers desire further to say: First.—That this market belongs to us, and we request that Eastern publishers and manufacturers keep their travellers away.

Before the days of railroads, when it took twenty-five days to reach New York, and thirty-five days to reach European markets, we enjoyed a comparative monopoly; but now, no sooner do we think to have a "corner," than in steps some meddlesome traveller, and likely as not telegraphs to you for goods, and our little "bonanza" is spoiled.

If a new concern starts, and we smooth our hands in glee, thinking to unload at a good handsome profit, again your traveller steps in and "gives us all away" by placing the party in direct communication with the manufacturers, and, we now repeat, this thing must be stopped.

While we are at it, we also desire again to call your attention to a circular from one of our leading book houses of this coast, demanding of the publishers twelve months' time and 50 percent discount. We think it ought to be conceded in order to help them keep up their magnificent book establishment. As to the second circular issued by this same house, warning Eastern publishers and manufacturers that it would not be safe to give credit to any other house but

themselves, they have privately informed us that they now think that circular was ill advised, and desire to "take it back."

In conclusion, we trust we shall see no more of your travellers or resident agents. If we do, you may rely on it we will not keep your goods.

You ought to be satisfied to stay home, and be content with such orders as we bring or send to you, and let us do the travelling.

We would advise you also to issue a similar circular to the trade in London and Berlin, and keep out those foreign interlopers; give them all the "cold shoulder," as we will do to travellers out here, and then we will have a "soft thing" all around.

Very respectfully yours,

THE WHOLESALE BOOKSELLERS AND STATIONERS OF SAN FRANCISCO.

Fully to understand this resolution to boycott Eastern publishers if they sent travelling representatives to the Coast, one should not overlook the fact that although the resolution was passed at a meeting of the Stationers, Drug, Notion and Music Dealers' Board of Trade, the communication to *Publishers' Weekly* was sent in and signed by the wholesale booksellers and stationers of San Francisco.

J. K. Gill started business in Salem, Oregon, in 1866 and moved to Portland in 1871 to become the largest outlet in the Pacific Northwest. By 1885 Lowman and Hanford were established in Seattle and four years later John W. Graham in Spokane, and 1891 Kendrick-Bellamy opened in Denver.

The southern states of the Union, and the Southwest in those years were not so well off for bookstores. By and large, these same regions have today fewer retail book outlets. There are, of course, a few notable exceptions. Hansell's opened in New Orleans in 1876, Legerton's in Charleston in 1888, Bell in Lynchburg in 1897, Mills in Nashville in 1892 and before the end of the century, 1898, the now influential chain of Whitmore and Smith in Nashville, Dallas and Richmond started up.

We have made rather a point of showing that few booksellers showed any hesitation in adding other lines of goods to their stores. On the other hand, there were several types of shops which carried, among other things, books. There are, first the borderline cases of the "stationers" and the "newsdealers," which carried some books in addition to their stock of paper and writing materials, newspapers and magazines, sweets, cigars and cigarettes. There is also the interesting fact, that already in those days the mixed warehouses or "drygoods stores" handled books. We shall see presently, what a troublesome precedent

was established by the inclusion of books in the stock-in-trade at these establishments.

The various retail outlets had, in the main, two sources of supply. They could buy either directly from the publisher, at the usual discount of from 40 to 46 percent, or, they could buy their books from a jobber whose business it was to keep a large and representative stock from many publishers for the convenience of the retail trade. In the nineteenth century there were in existence a small number of strong and very energetic wholesalers, most of them located in New York.

A good picture of the functions of the jobber can be gathered from an advertisement of Charles T. Dillingham, New York, in the *American Bookseller*, volume 23, 1888, which appeared five times from April to June upon the occasion of the firm's removal to larger quarters. It says there:

"We desire to call the attention of our customers and the trade generally, not only to the better warehouse room we possess for the display of the most extensive stock of books in every department of literature to be found in the country, but also to the great facilities for the prompt dispatch of all business intrusted to us, from a single 'pick-up' to that of one hundred cases, or from one volume to the thousand; offering, as we do, greater advantages to the trade as a jobber than can be found anywhere else, and always carrying a full stock in all descriptions of books. It is unnecessary to assure booksellers that we sell at the lowest prices possible; oftentimes lower than the publishers will; in fact, selling much lower than 'we like to do.'"

The activities of the jobber, like those of the bookseller were often not confined to books, nor were books necessarily their most important commodity. The American News Company, for instance, was, and still is, primarily a central source of supply for the newsdealers, but the firm also served as a wholesale house for stationers and booksellers and developed steadily a system of regional deposits of great efficiency. The firm also had its publishing department from where since 1875 there was issued *The American Bookseller, A semimonthly Journal devoted to the interests of the Book, Stationery, News, and Music Trades.* The files of this periodical are today a very valuable source of information for the booktrade conditions of those years.

The various sales methods so far discussed have in common that in them the ultimate consumer buys his books not from the publisher directly but through various types of retail outlets. There were in

addition methods by which the publishers would sell their books directly to the reader.

For instance, there is the subscription method of bookselling, a well established institution in America, the early history of which has been told in the first part of this volume. Subscription bookselling continued to show a vigorous and healthy growth throughout the nineteenth century. There were certain publishers who sold their products exclusively in this manner, employing a well developed system of travelling agents. We have here a legitimate method of book canvassing, which seems to have met with very little, if any, objection on the part of the retail trade. Gift books and sets of collected works of an author, text-books of an encyclopedic character, and children's publications were the regular stock-in-trade of subscription bookselling. Also the books of some of the very popular living authors were published in this manner. A good number of the books of Mark Twain, for instance, were published during those years by the American Publishing Company in Hartford, Conn. The volumes are marked on the title-page: "Sold by Subscription only."

A typical pioneer in the subscription book business was the famous Boston firm of Estes & Lauriat, established in 1872 by Dana Estes and Charles E. Lauriat, who had both entered the Boston booktrade sometime in the latter fifties. They played a large role in the publishing of popular illustrated works in paper parts; Guizot's *France* and Duruy's *Rome* were phenomenally successful. They also realized that there was a market for well edited and finely produced editions of the best English and French authors. Their set of the Waverley Novels was edited by Andrew Lang, and they published Thackeray, Carlyle, and one after another every standard author of general appeal.

In 1898 the partnership was dissolved. Estes carried on in the publishing end of things under the imprint of Dana Estes & Co. until his death in 1909 and in 1914 the list was bought from his sons by the rising house of L. C. Page and Co. The retail store became the Charles E. Lauriat Company. After the older Lauriat's death in 1920 his son took control and remained active, both as bookseller and a publisher of books on yachting and all matters of the sea, until his death in December 1937.

In the old firm developed Walter M. Jackson, genius of subscription and mail order methods. In the nineties he branched off from the old house, sold hundreds of thousands of sets of Ridpath's *History of the World* through newspapers, joined forces with Horace Hooper, flower of Chicago's subscription and mail order enterprise, and in London bought from A. & C. Black all rights in the old *Encyclopedia Britannica* for which they proceeded to organize an international half-price sale as a London *Times* edition. They laid the basis for a thirteenth edition of the Encyclopedia under the sponsorship of the University of Cambridge and the sale of this edition by direct mail campaigns was a high peak of mail order publishing.

We must not stray too far from our general discussion of nineteenth century sales methods. The reason why there seems to have been no objections raised against the subscription form of direct sales from publisher to customer was that as a rule only books were handled that were not available in the retail trade. Also the distribution of retail outlets was so uneven throughout the country, that the agents of the subscription houses found ample territory in which they did not have to compete with any other sales method. Less popular were the publishers who sold indiscriminately to the wholesale and retail houses as well as to the customers directly. This seems to have been a very common practice in those days, which led to much friction and instability of trade conditions. Here, too, there were borderline cases. Libraries primarily, then ministers, professors and teachers were considered as special book customers entitled to special discounts, then as now. In introducing new school or text-books it was the practice to sell copies at a specially reduced price directly to these preferred customers for a stated period, although it was a question how long a time was justified in each case.

The Struggle Against Price-Cutting

Considering the confusing variety of means and ways to sell books to the public, one can understand how difficult it was to tighten the all-too-loose organization of the trade. There were so many opportunities for unfair competition and competitive price-cutting. One particularly disrupting practice, the annual trade sales, we have not mentioned. Although in procedure this was a kind of book auction, the trade sale should not be confused with the regular practice of

book auctioning, such as it is described in this volume on pages 54 and 339. The trade sales were a clever method of the publishers to clear their stock. Once a year, usually in January, a conference of various representatives of the publishing and bookselling world was held. Upon this occasion the publishers sold their slow moving stock at auction and also the plates of out-of-print books. One could buy very cheaply there. Records show that sometimes for as little as from twelve to fifty dollars a publisher or perhaps a printer could pick up the complete printing plates of a book. Thus it was possible, by using the cheapest paper and paper covers, to sell at ridiculously low prices books which perhaps were still part of the stock of a retail book dealer. This might also be the case with the remaindered stock. The supply bought up on these occasions by jobbers and retailers, on the other hand, lasted often for months, and stood in the way of the purchase of the new books issued by the publishers.

The trade sales originated in the first half of the nineteenth century; 1824 is considered the date of the earliest one. They took the place of regular book fairs which Mathew Carey, inspired by the example of the Leipzig fair, had originated. He had been the secretary of the "first Literary Fair ever held in the United States" in 1802 with Hugh Gaine presiding. It had been the hope of those who had urged the fair that ways and means might be found to meet the serious competition of English books by raising the standards of book manufacture in America. Gold medals had been offered for the best specimens of printing, the best sample of home-made printing paper and ink, and for the best piece of American binding executed in American leather—all these things interesting forerunners of our current annual "Fifty Books of the Year" competition.

The first fair had been sufficiently successful to result in the recommendation that further fairs be held semi-annually in New York in April, and in Philadelphia in October. Later, time and place of the meetings were changed, but at least until 1806 these fairs continued to take place. Charles L. Nichols in his essay on "The Literary Fair in the United States"[7] says: "The primary object of the book fair was to facilitate the exchange of books published in the different sections of this country by exhibiting them at these gatherings and taking orders

[7] In *Bibliographical Essays: A Tribute to Wilberforce Eames.*

for them and . . . the plan worked well for several years. Later, in spite of the precautions taken by the officers of the organization to raise the standards, the market was flooded with large editions of poorly printed books which came into competition with the finer and more costly issues of the better publishers and these, largely in the cities, withdrew from the organization."

The trade sales, which came to take the place of the regular, legitimate book fair, were a true expression of the ever-growing trend towards cheaper production and competitive price-cutting. Conditions grew so bad after the Civil War, that early in the seventies a serious attempt was made towards a reform. In 1873, as a preliminary tentative step, "The Bookseller's Protective Union" was formed in Cincinnati, which paved the way for the formation, in February 1874 in Cincinnati, of "The American Book Trade Association." On this occasion the following important resolution was passed: "As retailers, jobbers and publishers, we pledge ourselves to maintain and protect publishers' retail prices." At the next meeting of the Association, held in July of the same year at Put In Bay, Ohio, it was recognized that the only effective way of reform would be to kill the "trade sales" and substitute a legitimate semi-annual book fair in its place. This is the text of the resolution passed at that time: "*Whereas*, the late controversies, and distractions existing in the book trade, and the custom which has grown up on the part of the publishers and large city dealers of selling books to private consumers at very nearly the same rate at which the local bookseller can purchase them, has rendered it impossible for the local dealer to successfully invest his capital in a stock of books to meet and develop the wants of his own section; and if this evil is not checked at no distant day the whole business of selling books must fall into the hands of large city dealers or peddlers, greatly to the detriment of local communities; therefore be it . . . *Resolved*, that in view of the insufficiency of the present system of trade sales, and also of commercial travelers to meet the wants of the trade; that in lieu thereof this Convention appoint a committee with power to establish and conduct a semi-annual Book Trade Sale or Fair, at which the publishers shall offer their books during the period of the sale or fair at special terms to the trade."

So a fair was held in New York in July, 1875, a supplementary one

in October, 1875, and two more in 1876. But the history of Mathew Carey's fair early in the century repeated itself—it did not last. "By the time of the third fair," writes Phyllis Bentley,[8] "the old love of the trade sale was strong in the veins of many participants; they seemed to recognize that the orderly fair was the better way, but to miss the auction that gave zest; and so, for this third fair, they reverted to just a hint of the trade sale,—a kind of post-fair auction, limited to titles not listed in the catalogs of the fairs. However, this was the re-introduction of the trade sale element." At least for thirteen years, until April, 1890, the trade sale continued, twice yearly.

The failure to establish an all embracing organization of the book-trade and a fixed price level resulted in constant complaints of one group against another. The retail booksellers were annoyed because the publishers sold directly to the public at considerable discount; particularly the bookstores in college towns felt the competition of the sale to students directly from the publisher or through special agents. Also there was the direct sale to Sunday Schools, to ministers, teachers and even high school students, all of them enjoying special discounts.

There was besides this the competition of one kind of retail store against another, aggravated by the existence of fly-by-night cut-rate bookstores. Nor was the holiday sale of "gift books," especially at Christmas time, and to a lesser degree at Easter time, really a healthy thing for the trade as a whole. These plush-covered family Bibles and illustrated folios and volumes of picturesque views were published as nothing but gift books; they appeared spasmodically to occupy important shelf space which might have been used to better advantage for books of more permanent value at times when many people came into the stores, and they disappeared immediately after the holiday. Moreover, there was an annual cropping up of holiday bookstores, established solely to cash in on the Christmas trade and to draw customers away from the regular bookshops.

Of particular interest is the fact that even in those early days the dry-goods stores—ancestors of the modern department stores—had hit upon the idea of using books as loss-leaders to attract people to their store. They did not mind it if publishers, in order to protect the legiti-

[8] In an unpublished report on "The Book Fair in the United States."

mate booktrade threatened to cut their discounts. Their profits did not come from selling books anyway.

To boycott such members of the trade who sold to or bought from firms who did not play fair is a recognized universal remedy under such circumstances and we know that it was continuously under consideration. "The practical cure of the evil is today in the hands of a half dozen publishers and one jobbing house, and so soon as they give up throwing the responsibility each upon the other, the evil will be cured, not before," wrote someone at the time. But then again, as someone else pointed out once in the *American Bookseller*, was it fair to boycott a leading New York jobber because he had sold books to a dry-goods store in Boston, when on the other hand a leading publisher, also in New York, sold directly to a Boston dry-goods store?

The average retail price of a novel in those years moved between $1.25 and $1.50, quite a reasonable price level. The only trouble was that these fair prices were a beautiful ideal rather than a practical reality. How the average near-bookseller felt about prices, and, incidentally, about copyright, and how a responsible trade paper reacted to his attitude, can be gathered from an article which appeared in the *American Bookseller* in 1888,[9] and reads: " 'A Retail Bookseller' writes to us of International copyright as seen from the retailer's point of view. He regards anything that will do away with 'cheap books' as detrimental to the retailer's interest, 'for,' he says, 'I can more easily sell three hundred twenty-five cent novels than twenty-five copies at $1.50 of the best authors.' He finds that many buy of him one novel a week at the low prices who would never buy at all at former prices. He thinks that the American author who complains that he can get a hearing only in the magazines ought to be satisfied with the extended audience so obtainable. Perhaps the American author would agree with him if *to be read* was the single purpose of a literary career.

"It is probable that the interests of the retailers," the article goes on, "like those of authors and publishers, would be greatly helped by the tremendous stimulus to literary production in this country that would follow the enaction of an International copyright law. The American author is bursting with good, saleable material, but there is a dead weight on his head and hundreds of stolen foreign books are

[9] "Retailers and Copyright" in Vol. XXIII, No. 4, of the *American Bookseller*.

annually dumped to make it heavier. When the law enables him to go to an American publisher and have his work considered on its merits in fair competition with foreign books, American literature will take a fresh start, and American retail booksellers will handle books far better adapted to the tastes of their customers than the trash turned out, in default of anything better, even by respectable publishers. 'Intense Americans' hold up their hands in horror at the 'Anglomaniac'; yet, when the American reader is fed with books that give him only English models, English notions, and English expressions, the wonder is that he retains anything at all that is distinctly American. A well-known English writer has said that the world never saw such an example of voluntary bondage to foreign thought as the Americans subject themselves to by their folly in respect to copyright.

"As to the price of books in the future, whatever the law, retail booksellers may trust to that to regulate itself. If 'cheap books' have come to stay, as they very likely have, books will continue to be cheap. No publisher or author will care to see his books remain on his shelves, for lack of meeting the ideas of the reading public as to what the price should be. There will be more books written, books better worth reading, and more books bought and sold than ever before; and the retailer, the publisher, the author, and the reader, will each share in the benefit. It is for all concerned a clear case of 'Honesty is the best Policy.' "

PUBLISHING AND BOOKSELLING SINCE 1890

The Turn of the Century—New Writers, New Readers

IN THE German edition of this book I have attempted, at this point, to describe somewhat the mood of optimism which prevailed in America at the end of the last century—to explain, in other words, why the nineties were gay. I have spoken there of the progress in foreign policy, of the acquisition of new territories, of the magnificent achievements in industry and business and of the enjoyment of the large fortunes which had been made. All this is too well known to need rehearsing again before an American audience. Well known, too, is the fact that the very decade which is popularly remembered as the gay one, saw, from 1892-1898, one of the country's worst business depressions. The first symptoms of a critical attitude towards the age of materialism have been carefully studied. Anti-trust laws, election reforms, fight against corruption, rising taxation of the great fortunes, increasing organization of labor, minimum wage laws, use of government funds for public purposes—these are the first steps in the new orientation of the country early in the twentieth century. These steps had been preceded in the nineteenth century by discussions, which were carried on particularly in the theological field. The emancipation of science and philosophy from the previous narrow dictatorship of the church was of great consequence. But also among the theologians themselves interest in social problems began to be felt. The universities, on the contrary, defended in closed formation the conservative point of view. But gradually in academic circles, too, a more critical attitude arose. Important authors devoted themselves to the study of the social theme, from a philosophical and theoretical point of view. Literature itself began to take up the subject. Particularly in the new novel and in the short story, fresh powers of thought and of expression broke forth.

An entirely new generation came to the fore. Henry James and William Dean Howells can perhaps be called the most prominent pioneers of the movement. They were joined by such popular authors as Hamlin Garland, O. Henry, Stephen Crane, and Jack London, who

had risen successfully above the level of the "local color" tradition, and had made themselves heard in England and on the European continent as well as at home. They were the pacemakers of entire new schools of writers, of whom such men as Dreiser, Hergesheimer, Sinclair Lewis, Upton Sinclair, and Sherwood Anderson, were well-known abroad. Others were better known at home, such authors as Edith Wharton, Willa Cather, Robert Herrick, James Branch Cabell, Edgar Lee Masters, and E. W. Howe. But whether nationally or internationally recognized, the main thing about the new generation of authors was that it existed. There can be no doubt that the passing of the copyright law of 1891 had done much to release these forces. It had freed the American author from the humiliating necessity to compete constantly against English authors under the most unfavorable circumstances, and to see their writings used as stop-gaps in magazines that were often patronizing rather than encouraging in their attitude.

The rise of the novel and the short story after the passing of the copyright act is most interestingly reflected in the publication statistics. In the decade 1890-1900 the number of new fiction titles published each year shows a slow but steady increase. In 1894 the figure is 729, in 1900 already 1278. The next year, in 1901, the figure is almost doubled, to 2234. In this record year the total amount of fiction published makes up as much as 27.4 percent of the entire book production of the country. During all of the decade 1900-1910 the figure remains at a steady high figure. However, from 1911-1916 the annual output sinks again to about 1000 editions, approximately the level of the nineties. In 1914 fiction makes up only 8.77 percent of the total output.

These figures seem to indicate that the new opportunities for authorship began to attract new talents and, in a general way to stimulate the reading of fiction, until in 1901 this movement reaches a culmination point. Then saturation seems to occur, followed by a decade of stability, and then a slight reaction.

Also of interest is the share of subjects other than fiction in the publishing output of those years. The table on the following page shows the figures for characteristic years.

Interesting, too, is the fact that while 1901 was the record year for fiction, the highest publication figure all around was reached in 1910. One notices on the chart that particularly the group "General Litera-

ture, Essays," shows an enormous increase. Fred E. Woodward[1] has pointed out, that in 1909 an unusual number of anniversaries were celebrated and that this has influenced the production figure of the following year. The year 1909 saw anniversary celebrations of Calvin, Samuel Johnson, Haydn, Mendelssohn, Gogol, Tennyson, Mrs. Browning, Fitzgerald, Darwin, Gladstone, Lincoln, Poe, and Oliver Wendell Holmes.

International Classification	*1890*	*1900*	*1901*	*1909*	*1910*	*1914*	*1915*	*1916*	*1922*	*1931*	*1932*	*1934*	*1935*	*1936*	*1937*	*1938*
Philosophy	11	101	114	197	265	408	338	322	269	296	264	213	185	120	152	104
Religion	467	448	533	903	943	1032	800	755	593	786	687	602	588	710	811	821
Sociology, Economics	183	269	257	628	784	1038	726	767	436	632	650	674	691	535	753	838
Law	458	543	540	591	678	507	255	274	163	126	109	62	93	149	149	148
Education	399	641	560	467	423	268	237	324	125	255	248	179	266	332	334	313
Philology					200	330	293	259	211	264	194	189	197	222	297	295
Science	93	184	292	620	711	677	550	639	315	452	387	384	435	481	473	525
Techn Books (Useful Arts)	133	153	197	775	707	669	463	595	410	354	219	194	219	390	342	454
Medicine, Hygiene	117	218	292	756	544	542	425	516	258	419	380	350	298	406	485	390
Agriculture, Gardening	29	76	65	204	200	371	285	383	57	93	75	57	85	140	130	136
Domestic Economy					132	135	137	157	49	81	75	79	57	110	93	89
Business	.	.	.	..	150	229	252	272	231	299	148	159	193	234	318	359
Fine Arts	135	167	216	269	245	310	226	238	103	221	189	164	209	230	302	287
Music	..	.	..	..	100	112	72	113	44	80	65	52	80	127	92	124
Games, Sport	82	51	70	109	145	194	109	127	80	170	182	134	175	243	230	213
General Literature, Essays	183	543	710	1136	2042	732	409	461	337	494	387	359	446	560	337	561
Poetry, Drama	168	400	448	671	752	902	741	860	494	711	573	561	594	808	754	744
Fiction	1118	1278	2134	1098	1539	1053	919	932	1089	1942	1988	1899	2039	1899	1896	1663
Juvenile	408	527	595	712	1010	633	594	670	514	1018	718	601	670	843	967	1041
History	153	257	283	542	565	581	758	754	428	487	465	487	447	753	934	857
Geography, Travel	162	192	220	474	599	542	483	354	254	387	278	264	212	345	327	366
Biography	218	274	418	563	644	604	548	469	367	775	685	485	548	699	660	662
Humor and Satire	42	34	46	73	..	..	.	.	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Miscellaneous	.	..	31	113	42	141	114	110	36	65	69	50	39	100	76	76
TOTAL	4559	6356	8141	10901	13470	12010	9734	10445	6863	10307	9035	8198	8766	10436	10912	11067

This table is based upon compilations published annually in the *Publishers' Weekly*. A word of explanation should be added here. The total for the year 1916 and for a number of preceding years includes pamphlet material; for 1914 for instance 1662 pamphlets, 1532 for 1915, and 1941 for 1916; after that date pamphlets are no longer included. The adoption of the Brussels Classification in 1910 accounts for certain changes in subject groups; for instance for the separate listing, from that year on, of Education and Philology, and of Domestic Economy and Agriculture, previously listed together as Domestic and Rural Economy. On the other hand, groups sometimes listed separately, such as Reference in 1901, and Military and Naval Science in 1916, are here included in more general groups.

The Literary Publishers of the Nineties

The international copyright regulation of 1891 had a beneficial influence not only upon the new generation of American authors, but it also clarified and furthered the relationships towards the English literary circles. The American publisher of an English book now was not dependent any more upon the good will of his colleagues, but he could rely upon the government's legal protection. This clarification of conditions must have been one of the reasons why a number of

[1] In his *A Graphic Survey of Book Publication, 1890-1916*, Washington, 1917.

enterprising young literary men in Boston and Chicago decided to become publishers. There arose in the nineties a number of small publishing houses, which had in common their determination to publish only works of literary quality and to bring out their selections in an attractive and distinctive format. They were somewhat influenced in their ideas as well as in their methods by such London publishers as Elkin Mathews and John Lane.[2] The program of two outstanding young American publishers of this group, namely, Stone & Kimball in Chicago and Copeland & Day in Boston, shows quite clearly what they were after.

Herbert Stuart Stone, born in 1871, the son of a distinguished journalist, met his future publishing partner [Hannibal] Ingalls Kimball (1874-1933) in Harvard College. They helped to get out a student paper, both in characteristic roles, Stone as an editor, and Kimball as business manager. In 1893, while still in college, they made their publishing plans public. The first book issued jointly with the imprint Stone & Kimball was a bibliography of American first editions, compiled by Herbert Stone. From the start they emphasized their policy of accepting only manuscripts of literary merit, which were to be brought out in careful and artistic form. In August, 1894, the firm moved to Chicago. They took with them their literary-artistic magazine, *The Chap-Book*, begun in May of that year in Cambridge. They received contributions, among others, from Aubrey Beardsley, Max Beerbohm, and Georges Pissaro. No less an artist than Toulouse-Lautrec was among those who designed posters for their publications; Will Bradley and Bertram Goodhue were distinguished among their American artistic collaborators. Among the authors on Stone & Kimball's list were Hamlin Garland, whose *Main Travelled Roads* appeared with a foreword by William Dean Howells, George Santayana, with an early volume of *Sonnets*, Gilbert Parker and Robert Louis Stevenson.

Even to the present-day beholder, the books of this publishing house have the fresh charm of the personal and the individual, and seen against their nineteenth century background, they do represent something new and striking. Their typography is unpretentious yet attractive with the brightly-colored endpapers and amusing bindings

[2] An article by A. J. A. Symons in *The Fleuron*, vol. VII, 1930, deals with the typographic aspects of this reform. It is entitled *An Unacknowledged Movement in Fine Printing: The Typography of the Eighteen-Nineties.*

in rich ornamental and floral patterns of the period. Most of the books were printed by John Wilson in Cambridge and at the Lakeside Press in Chicago.

In 1896 Kimball purchased the entire business and removed it to New York, but in 1897 the promising enterprise came to a premature end. Ingalls Kimball then founded, in New York, the Cheltenham Press, where he succeeded in applying the new typographic ideas and inspirations of the period to commercial and advertising purposes.

Stone immediately entered publishing again in Chicago as Herbert S. Stone & Co., with the assistance of his younger brother, Melville E. Stone, Jr. He won George Bernard Shaw for this venture, and so it came that Shaw's authorized American editions appeared from Chicago. The firm, which also published the magazine *House Beautiful*, continued until 1905.

A very similar experience was that of Copeland & Day on Cornhill in Boston, conducted by Frederick Holland Day and Herbert Copeland. They began their activity in 1895 and their enterprise did not outlast the turn of the century. In their literary offerings they were at first quite dependent upon Mathews and Lane and the famous *Yellow Book* magazine.

Their volumes, too, were largely done by the University Press in Cambridge, under the direction of the younger John Wilson and William Dana Orcutt. Mr. Updike has said of these books that they belong among the best printed volumes of their day. Small and light, they are real reading volumes, favorably distinguished in their charming bindings from the drab mechanical carelessness of the ordinary editions of those years. Here, too, one finds the use of color and ornament, gold or silver stamped upon simple cloth covers; or boards completely covered with paper, gray or in colorful ornamental patterns.

There were other publishing houses who fell in with these tendencies, either in literary program or in the colorful decoration, for instance, in Boston, the new firm of Lamson, Wolffe & Co., a partnership which lasted only a year or two, and, somewhat more permanent, the house of Small, Maynard & Company, which survived well beyond the turn of the century.

In Chicago, alongside with Stone & Kimball, Way & Williams followed suit. W. Irving Way was a well known bibliophile, friendly

with English collectors, and himself a writer on printing and binding. Chauncey Williams, graduating from Wisconsin University put a considerable sum of money into this publishing firm. Between 1895 and 1898 they issued a number of handsome volumes, designed by some of the best men of the private press movement. They shared the fate of the other young publishers of the decade and had to cease operation after but a brief period of experimentation.

It is a somewhat melancholy fact that these enterprising individualists could not make a permanent impression. From the standpoint of physical excellence alone, their volumes might have become the turning point towards better trade book design. From the literary point of view, too, the continuance of a group of individualists in publishing would have been desirable. However, economic conditions both within the realm of the publishing business and, in a wider sense, in the printing industry favored not the small, personal enterprise, but big, expanding business organizations. Sidney Kramer, who has made a special study of the publishers of the nineties[3] feels that it was in the main a certain lack of commercial enterprise in each case, which ended these ventures.

Not lacking in commercial enterprise and fully as individual and discriminating as the young men just discussed was Thomas Bird Mosher, the much discussed sea captain and literary pirate in Portland in the state of Maine. Nonchalantly he disregarded the rights of British authors and proceeded with the good old custom of printing anything that pleased him without asking for permission and without paying a cent of royalty. Said Richard Le Gallienne: "He waylays the unprotected copyright with such grace that it hardly seems like piracy at all. In fact I suppose, technically speaking, it is not. Else Mr. Mosher would not be permitted to delight us with perhaps the daintiest editions at present being published by any publisher." The praise is hardly exaggerated. Mosher was a fanatic believer in the value of cultivated and individually thought-out book designing. His diminutive volumes are most inviting, agreeable to hold and to read. Almost all of them are set in Caslon type, a little red or green on the title page and a delicate

[3] In connection with a *History and Bibliography of Stone & Kimball and Herbert S. Stone*, which is soon to be published by the Black Cat Press. I wish to acknowledge gratefully that his manuscript has been consulted both for the German and the present English edition of this book.

decorative headband on the opening page. They are mostly bound in white vellum paper or in grey paper over thin boards with a little printed label for the title on the back. Mosher's printing was done by Smith & Sale or by George D. Loring, both in Portland.

His first book, an edition of George Meredith's *Modern Love*, appeared in 1891, when after restless seafaring years Mosher was nearly forty years of age. Without asking too much what the public liked, he indulged in the luxury of following his own taste, and he was successful—obviously so because his taste was good. He started a selection of contemporary English poetry, politely called *English Reprint Series*, including, among others, poems of Rossetti, Swinburne and Morris. His famous *Bibelot Series* appeared 1893-1897, and from 1897-1902 he brought out *Reprints from the Bibelot*, with a special emphasis on the writings of William Morris. From 1895 on to his end, there appeared a further colorful string of lovely little books. He died in 1923 "the potential author of one of the most fascinating autobiographies that was never written." (Christopher Morley.)

American Branches of English Publishers; The University Presses

More durable than the publishing experiments of literary young men in the nineties were the branches of English publishers established in America. The idea suggests itself that these enterprises, two of which were started in the same year 1896, were encouraged by the copyright legislation of 1891. Obviously, the sale of English books in America assumed at once a more promising and secure aspect, now that piracy was a thing of the past. As a matter of fact, there are evidences that a certain fear of the competition of British publishers had previously played a part in delaying copyright legislation for such a long time. Only a few years before the bill was passed there appeared in the *American Bookseller*, an article which actually warned against the threatened "invasion" of the London publishers.

If we look closely, however, we see that the establishment of these branches was really just another logical step in a development which had an older origin. These branches were devoted not so much to the propagation of novels and books of a general nature, as to the promotion of scholarly works, school- and text-books, and the special fields of theology and medicine. In these fields even in the days before the

Civil War there had been a steady influx of the books of certain English houses, and in the second half of the nineteenth century Cassell & Co., George Routledge & Sons, Frederick Warne & Co. and Thomas Nelson & Son had maintained flourishing New York branches. Nelson played a special part as publisher of American Standard Bibles and in the first adaptation of the loose leaf to reference books. The American market was so important then, that it had a very decided influence upon the publishing program of these firms even in England; it also led to the frequent invitations of American scholars and educators to write a book for them to publish. In line with this policy the establishment of a New York branch was a logical step towards the reinforcement and further development of these connections. It made it possible, to add to the books imported from abroad special editions for the American market actually produced in this country, and even to publish, with a measure of independence, books by American authors calculated primarily for the sale in America.

We have already mentioned that as early as 1869 George Edward Brett had founded the New York branch of the London publisher Macmillan & Co. In 1890 his son, George Platt Brett, became American partner of the firm, which in 1896 was incorporated as a separate American house under the name of The Macmillan Company with Brett as president and under his guidance it became the largest publishing house in the country. In 1931, five years before his death, he was succeeded by his son, George P. Brett, Jr., while the second son, Richard, became treasurer. The new generation has to its credit the all-time high for new novels in *Gone With the Wind*, they own their large building on lower Fifth Avenue, and have established branches in five American cities, and in Toronto. They are the representatives here, not only of their maternal English house, but also of the Cambridge University Press, represented in this country by F. Ronald Mansbridge, and of other English firms.

Macmillan has played a significant part among contemporary American publishing firms as one of the most important scholarly publishers. The firm belongs definitely in the "quality group," meaning that they maintain a definite standard of merit in all their general works. Various special departments enjoy the advice of experienced authorities. There are, among others, departments for theology and medicine, a special

outdoor department devoted to sport, travelling, agriculture, gardening and the like. Their juvenile publishing was the earliest to be organized as a special department.

Longmans, Green & Co. founded their New York branch in 1887. The English house goes back into the early 18th century: young Thomas Longman, in 1724, bought the publishing business of the late William Taylor who had published among other books the original edition of Daniel DeFoe's *Robinson Crusoe* in 1719. Through six generations down to our own times the house has remained in the hands of the Longman family. Under their imprint had appeared books by Coleridge and Wordsworth, Scott, John Stuart Mill, Macaulay, Disraeli, the *Edinburgh Review* and *Longman's Magazine*. In Colonial days already the American connections of the Longman firm were lively and lucrative, and later on *Longman's Magazine* enjoyed the collaboration of such distinguished Americans as William Dean Howells, Henry James, Bret Harte and Brander Matthews. In the hands of Charles J. Mills and then of his son Edward S. Mills, the New York house acted as agent for the English mother firm, but from the start it sought and found the collaboration of American authors of rank. William James, the philosopher, wrote for Longmans, and for years Brander Matthews was active as literary adviser and friend of Mills. Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson each wrote a volume for their series *Historic Towns*. Other successful series were the *Epochs of American History*, the *American Teachers Series*, and the *American Citizen Series*, to which A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard College, and E. R. A. Seligman, the famous economist, contributed. Along with these series of a more general cultured and scholarly level the firm maintains a broadly organized text-book department.

The transatlantic trade of the famous Oxford University Press had reached very considerable proportions even years before the establishment of an American branch. Their business here had been in the hands of Macmillan in New York. But when, in 1896, that branch became incorporated as a separate American firm, John Armstrong (d. 1915) took charge of the business. The main income of the firm has been from selling the Oxford Bibles imported from England, which required extensive stock and experienced travelling representatives throughout the country. There is also the important responsi-

bility of marketing the general Oxford list and standard series and the task of preparing the great Oxford standard works for the American market. This entails a revision of the dictionaries, and of most of the school and text-books. In the course of years the independent publishing activities of the New York branch have reached considerable proportions, including the manufacture of many volumes here. The New York Oxford Press, now directed by Paul Willert, has its own department of children's books and medical and music book departments. Since 1935, when Longmans moved to the same building as Oxford, the business and sales departments have been coordinated.

John Lane, the famous English publisher, started an American branch in 1896, of which J. Jefferson Jones became the manager. When this venture came to an end in 1922, the American rights were taken over by Dodd, Mead & Company. J. J. Jones became an editor at Lippincott's.

The religious book house of Sheed & Ward is a notable addition, in its New York branch founded in 1933, to Catholic publishing in America.

Another successful English publisher to experiment with a New York branch was Jonathan Cape, who organized here in 1929 with Harrison Smith as his American partner. Two years later the partnership became Jonathan Cape and Robert Ballou Inc. and in another year the business was discontinued.

The rise of American university presses runs parallel both in time and in purpose with the establishment of American branches by English publishers. They have in common the promotion of scholarly books and of the better kind of text-books. In each case there were a few isolated pioneering efforts, but the full force of the movement was not felt until after 1891. The existence and the functioning of these university presses is very much an Anglo-Saxon tradition. Oxford and Cambridge, the outstanding examples of academic printing and publishing in the Old World, have no counterpart in stability and importance on the European continent. In America, their example was followed early. It is perhaps not quite correct to call the first printing press in Cambridge a "University Press," although by the intention of its founders and through many personal and local ties it was something very much like it. At any rate, it did establish an early tradition of

printing and publishing in Cambridge, Mass., a tradition which has never ceased.

The present organization known as the Harvard University Press arose from a printing office apparently established sometime in 1871 for the modest purpose of producing certain minor printing jobs for the University. In 1892 President Eliot appointed T. Bertram Williams, formerly of the Riverside Press, as Publication Agent. In 1876 circumstances made it advisable for Williams to take complete responsibility for the work of the printing office, and from then on the University embarked upon a program of more general publishing. Mr. Williams was succeeded in 1908 by Charles Chester Lane, formerly of Ginn and Company. The establishment of a course of instruction in printing in the Graduate School of Business Administration served to emphasize the need for a University Press, and in 1913 President and Fellows formally authorized the establishment of the Harvard University Press, which is today directed by Dr. Dumas Malone, with David Thomas Pottinger as associate director. The gradual evolution and expansion of this organization is characteristic of the way in which the modern University Press has come into being in many places. It is therefore a little complicated to establish exactly and without ambiguity the chronology of the various foundations.[4] Apparently the first University Press established as such in the United States was the Johns Hopkins University Press, founded in 1890. Three years later, Columbia and Chicago followed suit. The Chicago University Press, it is interesting to note, was organized at the same time that the University was called to life. This press for some time has been experimenting with the method of bringing out certain of its works in cooperation with other general publishers, such as for instance with the Garden City Publishing Company, with D. C. Heath & Co., and with Whittlesey House.

In 1905 Princeton entered the field, followed in 1908 by Yale. As in Harvard, academic instruction in printing gave the press an added function in the university's life. Carl P. Rollins, the well-known typographer and critic of fine printing, who came there in 1918, has cooperated with the Librarian of the College and with members of the

[4] A comprehensive study of scholarly publishing in this country was issued in 1929 in mimeographed form by Donald P. Bean, under the following title: *Report on American Scholarly Publishing with Exhibits.*

faculty in offering to students interesting opportunities to observe and experiment with printing and book production methods.

Presses have also been established at the universities of Pennsylvania, Michigan, California, Stanford, Minnesota, Cornell, North Carolina, Duke, Louisiana State, Oklahoma, Texas, New Mexico and Pittsburgh, and it is likely that more will be established in the future. This development may perhaps be interpreted as part of a trend away from general publishing towards more closely defined fields of activity and also as part of a new trend toward regional publishing. The University Presses are the most prominent representatives of this movement; but in addition there are such firms as the Caxton Printers in Caldwell, Idaho; the Countryman Press at Weston, Vt.; the Stephen Daye Press at Brattleboro; Binfords & Mort in Portland, Oregon, and the Bruce Publishing Company in Milwaukee.

Twentieth Century Publishing Firms.

While in the nineties new firms were still being founded in Boston and Chicago the turn of the century brings the unchallenged leadership of New York in the booktrade of the United States. With the exception of certain new foundations in the field of special publishing and of the recent trend toward regional publishing just mentioned, no really important general houses were established outside of New York after 1900. The continued importance of Boston and Philadelphia as publishing centers lies in the carrying on of some of the great firms founded there during the nineteenth century. In New York, too, the most important of the older houses lasted into the new century, some of them after a very thorough reorganization which brought them into the hands of new personalities. In their business organization these firms follow, of course, the demands of the altered conditions, although their program on the whole remains conservative.

It has been only natural, that new publishers, as they appeared, should depend more upon the writings of the new generation. Laurence T. Gomme[5] says this of the literary atmosphere in the early 1900's: "Literature had emerged from the pure estheticism of the *fin de siècle*, and although poetry, essays and fine criticism were the pre-

[5] In his article "The Little Book-Shop Around the Corner," in *The Colophon*, Vol. II, new series, no. 4.

dominating interests, a more robust expression had found itself. It was not that revolt was in the air so much as that progress called for new evaluations and opportunity for younger reputations."

There were also new classes of readers. The turn of the century brought about a noticeable influence of the large immigration waves upon the intellectual life of the country. Particularly in New York, but in lesser degree elsewhere in the country, the influence of the Italian, the German and Scandinavian, the Russian and Jewish element, and of numerous smaller groups began to be felt. The intellectual needs of the educated among these groups, although naturally interested in absorbing the Anglo-Saxon traditions, continued to look for contact with the civilizations of their home countries. The program of some of the new American publishers shows the influence of these demands.

Among the new publishers two young men, Mitchell Kennerley and Benjamin Huebsch were particularly responsive to the new conditions. Of Mr. Huebsch's career as a publisher we shall hear more later on. Mitchell Kennerley, who had received his early training in England, decided to become a publisher in 1907. At the same time he established, as a retail outlet for his own publications, The Little Book-Shop around the Corner, where he brought Laurence T. Gomme into partnership. Around 1908 Kennerley bought *The Forum* and the publishing firm grew so rapidly that he sold the book-shop to Gomme and Donald Vaughan who carried on there until 1917. An important friend of Mr. Kennerley's was Frederic W. Goudy, who named one of his best known types "Kennerley." Among his early authors were Edna St. Vincent Millay, D. H. Lawrence, Joseph Hergesheimer and Walter Lippmann with his *Preface to Politics*. In 1915 Mr. Kennerley became the director of the Anderson Auction Company which in 1929 was merged with the American Art Association.

At the turn of the century the first large new foundation to accomplish permanence, the firm from which eventually the house of Doubleday, Doran & Co. emerged, stands in its program about midway between the older and the newer school.

The large organization of Doubleday, Doran & Co. in its early roots goes back, on one side, to the ability, the energy and the literary flair of an Irishman, Samuel Sidney McClure. Born in the old country in 1857 he spent his youth in Indiana, and in 1882 he edited *The Wheel-*

man, the house organ of a Boston bicycle factory. In the winter 1883-84 McClure for a time was working with Mr. De Vinne, and in the fall of 1884 he founded, in his name, the first American newspaper syndicate. In 1893 there followed *McClure's Magazine*, a pioneer in the ten and fifteen cent magazine field. Here he began really to explore his literary leanings. He took a special interest in O. Henry and in a number of English authors of distinction—Kipling and Stevenson, for instance.

In 1897 he joined forces with Frank Nelson Doubleday, the firm of Doubleday & McClure Company being the outcome. The collaboration, however, did not last very long; in 1899 McClure withdrew and combined with John S. Phillips. McClure, Phillips & Co., though it developed a fine list, did not last more than about five years, when they were absorbed again by the Doubleday enterprise.

Frank Nelson Doubleday was born in Brooklyn in 1862. A powerful and creative personality, he had enjoyed an early start in the world of books and printing, since it was in his parents' home that he successfully conducted a little job printing establishment. He entered into the Scribner firm as an apprentice, and in the course of time became business manager of the resurrected *Scribner's Magazine*. He remained with this house for twenty years, until the founding of his publishing house with McClure in 1897. This connection brought into the new firm a number of very valuable authors. Kipling in particular was the first great success, and he has been called the cornerstone of the firm. O. Henry's short stories, as they appeared in the magazines and newspapers, had already made his name famous. Collections of these stories were published by Doubleday. The contribution of Mrs. Doubleday should not be forgotten, for under the pseudonym of Neltje Blanchan she supplied the house with *Bird Neighbors*, sold in enormous editions, and *Nature's Garden*. The firm also developed the American sale of Joseph Conrad. Selma Lagerlöf was another of the successful European authors, who shared honors on the Doubleday list with the native Booth Tarkington, Stewart Edward White, Upton Sinclair, Sinclair Lewis, Gene Stratton Porter, Edna Ferber and Christopher Morley. After the separation from McClure in 1899, Doubleday entered into partnership with Walter Hines Page, who later was ambassador to Great Britain, and from 1900 on the firm was called Doubleday, Page

& Co. Page had been occupied with the editorship of the *Atlantic Monthly* and now edited *World's Work* for the new house while *Country Life* was another important enterprise. We owe to Page in his book, *A Publisher's Confession,* a lively picture of bookselling and publishing during those years. He has a characteristic way about him of seeing people and things which lends a hard reality to his account. He writes consistently from the business point of view.

Success was with the Doubleday colors from the very start, and the house grew rapidly in size and importance. The publishers had their offices in New York, and their manufacturing kept a number of concerns busy. As time went on, the need and the desire for an own plant made itself felt with increasing acuteness. The year 1910 brought the decisive step: transfer of the organization to Garden City, Long Island (except a small Madison Avenue office), and the establishment there of a complete manufacturing plant. This was an unusual step, but success justified the courageous move. The grounds were purchased in March, 1910, and by September the rumble of the presses could be heard in the well planned wings which were surrounded by beautiful gardens. Only recently, in 1938, the publishing firm returned to New York. The manufacturing department then became incorporated as a completely separate organization under the name of the Country Life Press Corporation.

When in 1920 Doubleday, Page & Co. had taken over a large part of the shares of the big London publishing house of William Heinemann, they had brought about there, too, the removal of the plant to a suburb. The control of the Heinemann firm was returned to English hands in 1933.

Always experimenting the firm began the policy of publishing reprint series of older works, such as the Star Dollar Books, the Sundial series and the De Luxe Series. They also put many new books into series such as the Crime Club and the Dollar Mystery Club. A subsidiary, the Garden City Publishing Company, was organized in 1920 to devote itself exclusively to the low-price book field. In 1920 also, a finely conceived juvenile department came into existence. The year 1927 once more brought a new partner to the firm, resulting in changes of organization and of the firm's name to the present form of Doubleday,

Doran & Co. Arthur Page, the son of the late Walter Hines Page, withdrew from the organization.

The new partner, George H. Doran, had grown up in the American booktrade and at the time of the merger with Doubleday he could look back upon many successful years in the publishing business. He brought out a volume of memoirs in 1935. *Chronicles of Barabbas* has the quotation from Byron on the title-page "Now Barabbas was a publisher." The satanical streak which, fortunately, is not confined to the title-page secures to these memoirs an almost unique position. They are refreshingly free from the sentimental garrulity which seems to befall worthy and shrewd business men when they come to contemplate their own achievements. Publishers' memoirs, although the work of men who have spent their lives with books and authors, usually provide no exception to this rule; George H. Doran's book does. It is full of intimate observation and personal touches.

After an apprenticeship in the theological book field in Chicago Doran started out in business for himself in Toronto, soon adding a branch in New York. In 1908 he settled altogether in New York and headed the George H. Doran Company, the strength of his first list being based on close connections with Hodder and Stoughton of London. The early years were successful and prosperous. An important early hit was Arnold Bennett's *The Old Wives' Tale*, issued in 1909, which secured a respected place for the young house among the older publishers. The first years of the World War brought new enterprise and new plans, with war books as a specialty of the firm. Towards the end of the war Mr. Doran felt the need for younger collaborators who would be ready to take some of the responsibilities. His son-in-law, Stanley M. Rinehart, Jr., son of Mary Roberts Rinehart, became a member of the firm and so did John Farrar, the young but experienced editor of *The Bookman*, with his enthusiasm and literary common sense. The epoch of post-war prosperity which started around 1924 found the Doran firm well prepared.

The merger with Doubleday in 1927 included a plan for placing the actual management of affairs into the hands of the younger generation—Doubleday's son, Nelson, and his collaborators on the one side, and Farrar and Rinehart, with his younger brother, on the other. F. N. Doubleday and George H. Doran were to advise and generally super-

vise rather than take active part in the management. In spite of the firm's generous proportions the collaboration of so many outspoken personalities proved impractical. In 1929, unconscious of the impending depression, the young men of the Doran group left the firm and founded their own publishing house in New York City. Almost over night Farrar & Rinehart made a go of it, and the overwhelming success of Hervey Allen's *Anthony Adverse* brought financial security and the prospect of a bright future in times which everybody felt were difficult indeed.

One of the most talented and enterprising of the young American publishers had emerged some years previously from the fold of Doubleday, Page & Co: Alfred A. Knopf, who had entered there in 1912 after completing his studies at Columbia University. In 1914 for a short time he joined Mitchell Kennerley and in 1915 he went into business for himself. The program of Mr. Knopf showed from the start a distinct leaning towards European, and especially Russian literature. Tolstoi, Gogol, Dostoievsky and Gorky appeared on the list, together with Spaniards, Frenchmen and Scandinavians; Knut Hamsun leading this latter group. They have published Nietzsche and Thomas Mann. Since the great German author's immigration to the United States, Mann's writings have taken a dominant place on the Knopf list. Of English authors Beerbohm, Bridges and the Anglo-American, T. S. Eliot should be mentioned, and Cather, Hergesheimer and Mencken from among the many distinguished American authors.

With this splendid program Knopf may perhaps be called the most outstanding representative in America of the really literary publisher. He shares with his European colleagues, who have influenced his policy to some extent, the interest not only in his authors, but also in the design of his volumes and the desire to give each of them a distinct, attractive garment which will make them readily recognizable as members of his book family. "The Borzoi" has come to mean something in this regard. In retaining W. A. Dwiggins as a consulting designer he had set a pace, within the realm of the "trade book," for that type of collaboration between the free lance artist and the publisher's production department.

Chronologically the next foundation, the firm of Boni & Liveright, established in 1917 by Albert Boni and Horace Liveright, appears on the scene with a similar, exclusively literary and progressive program.

Chief concern of the new firm was at the start the "Modern Library," a generously conceived reprint series of masterpieces of contemporary world literature, including, however, certain older works which the publishers considered of vital importance to the present generation. The volumes, selling originally for sixty cents, were uniformly printed in a pleasant, pocket-size format with attractive endpapers and flexible covers.

In 1918 Boni & Liveright were joined by Thomas Seltzer, who had recently come from Russia and had made a name for himself as translator of Gerhard Hauptmann and of Russian and Polish literature. He separated from them in 1920 and established himself as Thomas Seltzer, Inc., with a brilliant list of authors, including Ford Madox Ford, D. H. Lawrence, Waldemar Bonsels, Arthur Schnitzler, for whose *Casanova's Homecoming* he fought a valiant censorship battle, and Evelyn Scott's *Escapade*. It is a very interesting thing about his publishing career that he achieved financial success with books of literary merit, but when he tried the popular fiction field, he failed. His firm was taken over in 1926 by the Boni's, until in 1935 he once more ventured forth for himself.

In 1918 Boni and Liveright had separated, the firm, however, retaining its original name until 1928 when it was changed to Horace Liveright, and again Liveright, Inc., and Liveright Publishing Corporation. Liveright's reputation attracted able collaborators, Julian Messner, T. R. Smith, Isador Schneider, Bennett Cerf, and Richard Simon. Among their authors one finds Theodore Dreiser, Eugene O'Neill, Edgar Lee Masters and Rose Macauley. Gradually their program expanded beyond the literary field, including books on economics, sociology, pedagogy, and psychology.

Boni in the meantime took to travelling in Germany and Russia, where he engaged in journalism and literary agent work. Back in New York he purchased in 1923, together with his brother, Charles, the New York firm of Lieber & Lewis, and called the new firm Albert and Charles Boni. The house goes in for both American and European authors, among them Upton Sinclair, Thornton Wilder, Will Rogers, Carl Van Doren, from at home, and D. H. Lawrence, Proust, Unamuno, George Brandes, Paul Wiegler, from abroad. In 1929 they started a new venture, not tried before in that manner—the publishing, in cheap

fifty-cent editions, of good books in paper covers, attractively gotten up from designs by Rockwell Kent, which went out into the world under the name of the "Boni Paper Books." The plan was, however, not a success.

The Modern Library until 1925 remained in the hands of Boni & Liveright, and then was sold to Bennett A. Cerf, then vice-president of the house, who incorporated a separate firm to carry on and extend the sale of the Library. Donald Klopfer joined the new firm, which in their program retained the earlier definition of the series. In 1927 Cerf and Klopfer expanded by starting Random House. Their very first book under this new imprint, Voltaire's *Candide*, with brilliant illustrations by Rockwell Kent and printed by Elmer Adler at the Pynson Printers made a lasting place for itself as one of the outstanding illustrated books of the decade. Quite like the English Nonesuch Press or the Golden Cockerell the men at Random House have succeeded in combining lively literary interests with fine typography and decoration. In recent years the firm of Smith & Haas was merged with Random House. Smith & Haas in turn was the successor of the firm of Jonathan Cape & Harrison Smith, founded in 1929.

We are apt to forget, with the effect of the economic crisis still fresh in mind, what a time of golden opportunities the years preceding the fatal 1929 had been. 1924-1928 was a regular boom period in American publishing, as in many other fields of enterprise. But before telling of the firms established during those years, one house which started in 1919 must first be mentioned. Harcourt, Brace & Co. (for the first year Harcourt, Brace & Howe, until Will D. Howe transferred to Scribners) was organized by Alfred Harcourt and Donald Brace who had previously been connected with the old firm of Henry Holt & Co. At this time Holt excelled in scholarly works and in text-books, with a general program of a rather conservative nature. During his connection with Holt, Harcourt attempted to bring his somewhat more modern point of view to bear upon the firm's editorial policy and in order to have more scope for their creative ability he and Brace, after an unsuccessful attempt to buy the general trade department of the firm, went into business on their own. Their first striking successes were John Maynard Keynes's careful study of post-war conditions, *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, Sinclair Lewis's *Main*

Street, and Lytton Strachey's *Queen Victoria*. All three works gave to the public and the trade at once a clear picture of what the firm wanted to do. To the publishers these first successes brought the means to carry on along the lines which the partners had laid out for themselves; that was, to publish a moderate number of books each year of as high quality as possible, with the hope that careful selection and continuing effort would result in a comparatively long life and large total sales for each title. Our friend "Barabbas" is quite eloquent on the subject of this particular publishing house and he rates Alfred Harcourt as one of the most farsighted and penetrating minds among the living generation of American publishers. Mr. Harcourt was chosen to deliver in 1937 the second of the R. R. Bowker Memorial Lectures; he spoke on "Publishing Since 1900."[6]

The procession of new personalities which entered the publishing field during the prosperous 1924-1929 period was led by a former collaborator of Boni & Liveright, Richard L. Simon, and a young journalist M. Lincoln Schuster. Nobody today needs to be told who Simon & Schuster are. If one can perhaps say that Knopf is the most typical representative among the successful young firms of the literary publishers, Simon & Schuster represents perhaps most clearly the type of the success-publisher. They have made a specialty of books dealing with scholarly, artistic and scientific subjects in a popular and easy manner. Will Durant, Abbé Dimnet, Thomas Craven, Hendrick van Loon are some of the bright stars on their list. But other things come into the picture. One fine day in 1924, the story is, an elderly aunt called up one of the two partners to ask if her nephew could not send her some unsolved crossword puzzles to keep her busy over a boring week-end. This started an idea, and by 1926 the house of Simon and Schuster had sold over a million crossword puzzle books! In 1930 they followed the depression trend towards cheaper books by bringing out a series of one dollar volumes in paper covers, but like Boni, withdrew from the experiment. They were also among the first to recognize the public appetite for more pictures and fewer words. A glance at the number of the Simon & Schuster imprints among the best-sellers of the last fifteen years shows this very clearly.

In 1925 two other publishing houses were founded. One of them,

[6] Published by the New York Public Library in 1937.

the John Day Company, so named after the famous early English printer-bookseller, was started as a general publishing firm by four young men, Richard Walsh, Guy Holt, Cleland Austin, Trell Yocum. Books on progressive education was one department of their business. In 1931 came the great success of Pearl Buck's *Good Earth*. This author became active in the business as vice-president. Richard Walsh, whom she married is the president and the only one of the original four still active in the business.

The other 1925 foundation was the Viking Press, so called to symbolize enterprise, adventure and the joy of discovery. Within the first year of its life the firm took into its fold B. W. Huebsch and the firm which he had started around 1905. Mr. Huebsch had cultivated an important circle of early modern Europeans. He had brought out in America Gerhart Hauptmann and Sudermann, Strindberg, Chekhov and Gorki. He had published James Joyce, the Irishman, and Sherwood Anderson, the American. This literary program continued to be cultivated within the framework of the new Viking Press, other authors, of course, being added to the list. Among their other series is a group of books on contemporary political and economic questions, and, since 1933, a very active juvenile department. Viking Press, following the tastes of its president Harold K. Guinzburg, believes in well designed books.

In the following year, 1926, William Morrow & Company, W. W. Norton & Company and the Vanguard Press sprang up. W. W. Norton came into the general publishing field from an unusual angle. The firm is the outgrowth of a publication office at Cooper Union in New York, organized originally to bring out in a permanent form some of the interesting lectures given there as part of the Cooper Union program of adult education. The firm had outgrown this framework very rapidly and had developed into a healthy independent enterprise. During its first five years Norton's resisted the temptation to publish fiction.

Vanguard Press too is the outcome of special circumstances. When Charles Garland inherited a considerable fortune his acute social conscience prompted him to refuse it for his private use and, instead, he established with it the "American Fund for Public Service," which he devoted to the promotion of the labor movement in this country.

Within this organization the Vanguard Press was called to life in 1926, and it gained independence with James Henle at the head when the original Garland foundation was dissolved.

William Morrow, born in Dublin, had joined Stokes as an editor in 1906, after six years in the magazine field. In 1925 he established his own imprint for a successful general publishing house, which since Morrow's death in 1931 has been directed by Thayer Hobson. Three women have been active in the development of this firm, Frances Phillips, Emily Street, and Eva Colby. The books of Mr. Morrow's wife, Honoré Willsie Morrow, have been conspicuous on their list.

In 1928, at the culminating point of the post-war boom, Covici-Friede began their activity as publishers of works of a bibliophile nature, venturing into the limited editions field, and specializing on works of unusual character which would not fit readily into the normal program of a general publisher. Pascal Covici had published previously in Chicago under his own name. The new house was sufficiently successful to weather the storm of 1929. In 1938, however, this firm came to an end.

In 1933 the publishing firm of Reynal & Hitchcock was organized "to publish a small but distinguished list covering many fields," including some fiction, but with the emphasis on such subjects as political economy, social science, history and biography. Eugene Reynal had joined the Harper firm in 1926, and in 1930 he had become head of Blue Ribbon Books, a cooperative reprint house organized by Harper and a group of other publishers, of which Reynal purchased complete control in June 1933. Curtice Hitchcock had joined the Macmillan staff in 1924 and, in 1931, the Century Company.

The reader of these pages, will understand, I hope, that this rapid chronicle of modern publishing firms is not intended to be complete either in the number of houses listed, nor in the information given for each publisher. It is an attempt to illustrate the general trend of the times with some characteristic examples. But even within this limited plan we must not overlook the specialized publishing organizations of today, nor the carrying on of great old publishing firms.

Contemporary Special Publishers

Significant from a general point of view is the fact that the important publishing houses in special fields are not as closely concentrated in

New York as are the general houses, a condition which had already developed in the course of the nineteenth century. But in contrast to the earlier existence of quite a number of small firms there has come about a decided concentration into large, powerful concerns, that are highly organized. The law publishing business, for instance, is largely concentrated in the hands of three big enterprises, the West Publishing Company in St. Paul in Minnesota,—a veritable Ford enterprise,—the Bancroft Whitney firm in San Francisco, and the Lawyers Cooperative Publishing Company in Rochester, New York.

Concentration in the school and text-book business is best illustrated in the case of the American Book Company, which, like the American Type Founders Company in its field, is the outcome of a merger of a considerable group of previously independent enterprises. The firm originated in 1890 from the amalgamation of the educational departments of A. S. Barnes & Co., Ivison, Blakeman & Co., D. Appleton & Co., Van Antwerp Bragg & Co., and Harper Brothers. The absorption of departments from all these firms with their rights and connections and good will into one organization, brought about an almost formidable concentration of power. It secured for a time for the new firm a practical monopoly in the public school field, where sales are made from the publisher directly to the board of education in the various states. The firm today has offices and branches in New York, Cincinnati, Chicago, Boston, Atlanta, Dallas and San Francisco. This great amalgamation of 1890 had the effect of starting up new competition and of strengthening it, through new text-book organizations and new educational departments in general publishing offices.

In New York City there is a large organization which may be taken as an outstanding example of the modern scientific and technical publisher. This firm originated in 1909 through the merger of the book department of the McGraw Publishing Company and the Hill Publishing Company, Martin M. Foss becoming director of the book business. The firm's even larger enterprises are its technical periodicals. From the very start the systematic attention of the editors was directed towards engineering and industrial management. For the decade 1910-1920 this was a fortunate choice, corresponding to an ever increasing demand. Within twenty-five years the McGraw-Hill publishing company had published over two thousand titles! The firm developed its

special policy of retaining academic instructors and other experts in the various fields as special advisers. This was found a great help in determining the quality of manuscripts considered for publication and in editing them in acceptable form, and it had of course, also a helpful influence upon the sales. The firm has gone far in training its staff by courses designed to familiarize them with the many special fields cultivated by the firm. In their various book departments and in their extensive magazine family McGraw-Hill covers today approximately the following subjects: mathematics, physics, chemistry, astronomy, botany, zoology, pharmacy, agriculture and forestry, metallurgy and mining, general engineering, chemical and electrical engineering, radio, transportation and aviation, the textile world, business management and salesmanship.

In 1930, McGraw-Hill entered the general publishing field by establishing its Whittlesey House, with Guy Holt who had been partner in the John Day Company as director. He has been succeeded by George Stewart, then Hugh Kelly. In 1931 the McGraw-Hill building was completed, one of the most beautiful and original of the New York skyscrapers, with Raymond Hood as architect.

Somewhat comparable in scope, if not in size, is the old Baltimore house of Williams & Wilkins. They entered the field of scientific and medical book-and-periodical-publishing in 1909, the same year that McGraw-Hill started out. Edward B. Passano, who had joined the firm in 1897, was the president. In 1925 he incorporated the Waverly Press as the firm's printing department, allowing for the carrying on there of a considerable volume of printing for important institutions and foundations. In 1933 Passano helped to organize the publishing firm of Reynal and Hitchcock of New York as a member of their board of directors.

Outstanding publishers in the bibliographical field are R. R. Bowker & Company, whose history has already been told, and the H. W. Wilson Company, also in New York, with its extensive series of cumulative catalogs and scores of other tools indispensable for libraries and bookstores.

Among the special firms the Derrydale Press has made quite a mark in trade history because of the success with which Eugene V. Connett has cultivated the field of sporting books, carefully printed and illus-

trated editions for the library of the bibliophile sportsman. Because he has made a specialty of books on anthropology and ethnology and particularly on the American Indian, and because he has paid attention in his program to the beauty and interest of the American scene, J. J. Augustin should be mentioned here. Young Mr. Augustin, the descendant of a long line of German printers, whose ancestry and firm traces back in direct descendancy to the mid-seventeenth century, has established a small publishing house in New York a few years ago.

Time and space permit no further attention to other publishers that are doing unusual and interesting work. There are, of course, many whose lists have the characteristics of special publishing whose history is involved in the chronicle of the nineteenth century general houses. Nor is it possible to do more than just mention one important trend in the field of special publishing which is particularly noticeable in school and text-books. I mean the increased interest in the physical design of these volumes, the gradual dawning of the truth that ugliness and dryness in text-books though certainly an evil, is certainly not a necessary one. These and other worthwhile efforts and interesting trends were ably set forth by Frederick S. Crofts in the third of the R. R. Bowker Memorial Lectures, entitled *Textbooks are not Absolutely Dead Things.*[1]

The Older Firms Carry On

Stimulated by the competition of the younger newcomers in the publishing field, many of the older nineteenth century firms are carrying on today with renewed vigor and energy. In fact, it can be said that practically all the important old firms are still in business today, even though many of them have undergone a thorough metamorphosis.

Two of the most substantial older houses, Harper and Appleton, were facing very serious difficulties at the end of the last century. Harper & Brothers was given a new lease of life by the banking house of Morgan, represented by Geo. B. M. Harvey, with the Harper tradition represented by Thomas B. Wells and Henry Hoyns. In 1931 Cass Canfield became president. As in the old days every month still brings a new issue of *Harper's Magazine*, the sole survivor of the large

[1] Published by the New York Public Library, 1938.

magazine family of the firm. Along with a continued policy of general publishing, juvenile literature, medical, text-book and religious works are still particularly well represented on the Harper list. But they, too, have followed the trend of the times and business books became an important department.

D. Appleton & Co. was also reorganized by bankers at the turn of the century and the old house has been rebuilt with a modern point of view by John W. Hiltman. The most important event in the recent chronicle of the firm was the merger, in 1933, with the old Century Company, which resulted in the present Appleton-Century Company. W. Morgan Shuster and Dana Ferrin thus were brought to the new organization. The firm recently called attention to the fact that sixteen books from the first list of the old Century Company are still in print today. Century's first catalog in the general book field was issued in 1891 and contained in all forty-two items. The sixteen books still in print include volumes by Theodore Roosevelt and Joel Chandler Harris, Palmer Cox's "Brownie Books" and the *Century Dictionary*, now the *New Century Dictionary*.

Houghton Mifflin, in Boston, and Little, Brown & Co., also in Boston, have come under the direction of entirely new groups of capable men. At Little, Brown & Co. Alfred McIntyre has succeeded his father, James McIntyre, in the direction of the business and the last Brown has retired. A Houghton (Alfred H.) is again president of Houghton Mifflin, with Ferris Greenslet as editor. Both firms have remained true to their original devotion to literary quality without, however, sacrificing worthwhile opportunities to strengthen their broad financial resources. Little, Brown has its perennial best seller *The Boston Cooking-School Cook Book*. Fanny Farmer's household classic sold, in the fall of 1934 at the rate of about 1,000 copies a week. The total edition today exceeds one and a half million copies. Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* also goes on and on.

E. P. Dutton & Co., for long years remained in the hands of old Mr. Dutton, who lived beyond the age of eighty and relinquished the reins only with his death in 1923. The publishing division of the firm then came into the capable hands of the Scottish-Virginian, John Macrae. In 1936 they published a book by Van Wyck Brooks, *The*

Flowering of New England. By December 1937 it was reprinted for the forty-first time.

Until a fairly recent date, the old house of G. P. Putnam's Sons was in the hands of the founder's family. At the turn of the century we find Major George Haven Putnam in command, who, born in 1844, had entered his father's business, it will be remembered, in 1866. During his directorship five grandsons of the founder came into the firm at various times: Sydney H. and Edmund W., sons of Irving Putnam, Robert F. and George Palmer, sons of Bishop, and Major Putnam's son, Palmer Coslett. George Palmer was especially active. It may be added here that Herbert Putnam, the distinguished Librarian of Congress, who became Librarian Emeritus in 1939 after forty years of active service, is a brother of George Haven Putnam.

After Major Putnam's death in 1938 Palmer Coslett took over his cousin, George Palmer's, share and two additional members were taken into the firm. They were Melville Minton and Earl H. Balch, who had built up since 1924 the firm of Minton, Balch & Co. This house was now merged with Putnam's, although its imprint has been retained for some publications. After Irving Putnam's death in 1931 the remaining members of the Putnam family gradually retired and the control of the firm passed completely into the hands of Messrs. Minton and Balch. In February 1930 a business coordination was brought about with the house of Coward-McCann, which had been established in 1928 by Thomas R. Coward and James McCann. The Coward-McCann list of publications has remained a separate entity. Another firm recently to be added to the Putnam operating group is the John Day Company.

An excellent opportunity to study the publishing activities of the house of Putnam during its hundred-year history has been offered to the public by the issue of *An American Reader*, edited by Burton Rascoe and selected from Putnam publications since 1838 to "reflect implicitly the growth and development of American ideas, the growth and development of American publishing."

Among the old New York publishing firms Thomas Y. Crowell; Dodd, Mead and Co., and Charles Scribner's sons are in the hands of the third generations of the original families.

Thomas Y. Crowell was succeeded after his death in 1915 by his

sons, T. Irving and J. Ogden Crowell, and now by the son of the former, Robert L., the new president of the company.

The present head of Dodd, Mead & Co. is Frank C. Dodd, nephew of Frank H., while his cousin, Edward H., is chairman of the board with the fourth generation, Edward H. Dodd, Jr., now in the business.

In 1927, three years before his death, Charles Scribner was succeeded as president by his brother, Arthur H., and five years later the third Charles came to the head of the great departmentalized business which his family had built up. Scribner's is one of the few houses which continues to operate its own manufacturing plant.

The only important older house still in the hands of the original founder, is the company started in 1881 by Frederick A. Stokes. He is today assisted by two sons, Horace W. and Brett, with George Shively, formerly of Bobbs-Merrill. The firm has maintained its policy of quality rather than quantity with remarkable consistency. They have continued the fine arts field, and have maintained a strong children's book department under Helen Dean Fish. The most brilliant success of post-war years were memoirs of some of the leading personalities of the World War, Lord Grey's *Twenty-Five Years*, and General Pershing's *My Experiences in the World War*. President Masaryk's *The Making of a State*, as well as Norman Thomas's *Human Exploitation*, were published by Stokes. Mr. Stokes has always been active in the organization of the booktrade, as president of the American Publishers' Association and in the organization of the National Association of Book Publishers. He was honored, in the fall of 1935, with the invitation to deliver the first of the R. R. Bowker Memorial Lectures.[8]

As one of the very few general publishers carrying on outside of New York City today one might mention the Bobbs-Merrill Company, in Indianapolis, which has developed from a bookstore started in that city in 1838. With such successes as the popular *When Knighthood was in Flower* they put new vividness in best seller technique in the nineties.

Very likely the oldest of the publishing organizations existing today is the Methodist Book Concern, which was started in 1789.

[8] *A Publisher's Random Notes*, 1880-1935. New York, The New York Public Library, 1935.

Booktrade Organization and Sales Methods

There were two main drawbacks in the book business of the nineteenth century. One was the absence of an international copyright legislation; the other one the vain struggle for a system of uniform prices. The first source of trouble, as we have seen, has been largely cured. The second one has not been solved, although some substantial progress can be reported. There is no lack of good will and some very serious efforts have been made to eliminate the evils of unfair competition, but it is difficult to say today how final the present solutions are.

Those interested in these questions will do well to glance back at the sections describing sales methods and the struggle against price-cutting in the nineteenth century. Things are happening today on a vastly enlarged scale, and the single factors that make up the picture may bear different names and somewhat altered features, but fundamentally there is really very little change. Present conditions, I believe, are understood more fully and more clearly, when seen against the background of the last century. And again, a glance across the sea, at the development of the booktrade in the old countries offers interesting comparisons.

Although such countries as England, Germany and France enjoy the advantages of settled traditions and well-worn trade customs, the nineteenth century also brought some very serious difficulties. There, too, price-cutting threatened to disrupt the trade, and in the seventies and eighties, when conditions were particularly discouraging in America, very similar trouble was encountered in the various European countries.

Because they had the most highly developed trade and ancient traditions and because of a congenital love of order and precision the German booksellers and publishers were the first to bring into effect a lasting system of price control. After a hard struggle the "Boersenverein der deutschen Buchhändler" brought, in 1888, all members of the booktrade into a close union, membership in which became a vital necessity for every publisher, wholesaler and bookseller. The breaking of the rules which governed price maintenance and discounts, could lead to exclusion from the "Boersenverein"—equivalent with economic ruin, because no publisher was allowed to sell to a non-member book-

seller, and no bookseller could buy from a non-member publisher. England followed suit with its famous "Net Book Agreement," which was accepted in 1899 by the British retailers who had been organized locally in 1890 and nationally as The Associated Booksellers of Great Britain and Ireland in 1895 on the one hand, and The Publishers' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, organized in 1896, on the other. The Net Book Agreement provides too for the black-listing of any rule-breaking members among either the publishers or the retailers associations. In 1931 members of the government, suspecting a limitation of free trade, investigated the system, but reached the definite conclusion that it furthered the public interest.

France in the structure of its booktrade resembles America perhaps more closely than England or Germany, in the variety of retail outlets and the offering of books to the public in mixed and nonchalant assortment with all kinds of other merchandise. Accordingly, it has been difficult to enforce an all-inclusive price level. The legitimate booktrade, however, and the majority of publishers, observe the rules, which were laid down by them in 1892. The publishers are organized in a "Syndicat des Editeurs," the retail booksellers in a "Chambre Syndicale des Libraires de France. Union des Syndicats des Libraires de France." Both these associations are members of the all-embracing "Cercle de la Librairc," which was founded in 1847 and includes all branches of the graphic arts and the book industries and trade.

It can thus be said that by 1901 an effective system of price maintenance had been put to work in three important European countries. In America, developments took a different turn. There always have been, and there are today, serious and organized efforts towards universal price maintenance. But conditions peculiar to this country, and to this country alone, have stood in the way of a definite settlement. By and large, these are the same basic conditions that determined the trend of events in the last century. The press was established in American colonial days as a periodical press, an organ of action, of opinion and of news, rather than of contemplation, of recreation and study. The people of America were readers of newspapers and magazines rather than of books. This is still largely the case. Only in 1934 the magazine *Redbook* announced that each of its numbers, along with its other contents, would contain a full-sized novel, which, separately, would

cost $2.00 or $2.50, but was here included in the 25 cent price of the magazine. *Publishers' Weekly* intervened in the interest of the booktrade and was able to prove that the magazine was actually printing revised, shortened versions of the novels in question. But the incident does prove that even in our times the public apparently feels no objection to getting their novels in magazine form. In the nineteenth century this attitude had been one of the reasons which had made it so difficult for the regular bookstores to get established in many places, with the result of a most uneven distribution of retail outlets throughout the country, then and now. It brought about the offering of books to the public alongside with newspapers and magazines, and incidentally, with all sorts of other merchandise then and now. In the first Bowker Memorial Lecture Mr. Stokes told his audience, in 1935, that there were then about 50,000 dealers in this country who handle books, as against a mere 1,500 dealing primarily with books, and that among those probably a mere 500 dealt really intelligently with books. In the nineteenth century these conditions had forced the publishers to rely on their own magazines rather than on the local booksellers to carry their imprint into far away places and this had fostered the direct sale from publisher to reader-consumer, a practice which shows today no signs of declining. We need only look at the form in which the old institution of the book fair was reborn in this country in the new century. We have told in an earlier chapter, how the year 1876 saw the end of the legitimate book fair, established originally to combat the undesirable trade sales. The new book fair movement may be said to have started in 1919 with the inception, that year, of the book week idea and, the same year, with the successful Marshall Field book fair. It is a popular, almost a casual movement, which has no permanent identical sponsor year in and year out, and no rigid schedule. We have seen its culmination in the *New York Times* National Book Fair in November 1936 and 1937. The characteristic thing about it, in which it differs both from the old Leipzig fairs and from the nineteenth century American traditions, is that now the publishers foregather and display these wares not for the trade to buy, but for the public to see!

Although decidedly a bid for attention from the makers of books directly to the public, the booktrade as a whole looks very favorably upon the idea of the book fair. I think I am not mistaken in saying that

both the wholesalers and the bookstore people in the New York area were highly pleased with the success of the Times book fair.

There is a general feeling that anything that will put books in people's minds will help the trade. There are many consistent efforts today to train people to read—and to buy—books. The book section of the daily papers have successfully been supplemented with radio reviewing and radio dramatization of literature. Particular efforts are made to reach the young people, through the radio at home and in the schools and colleges. For instance, the University School, an experimental progressive school of the Ohio State University at Columbus, had adopted a policy of free and wide reading for its students. It has been estimated that the members of the graduating class of 1938 have each read an average of about 70 books a year. In spite of the booktrade's traditional scepticism of books and readers statistics, Dr. Louis R. Wilson's recently published *Geography of Reading* has been studied carefully by many of those concerned with the reading habits of this country. It is a volume of carefully collected data on the distribution of books through the various channels with statistics of library expenditures for books per capita of the population in the various regions, on the distribution of rental libraries, of juvenile book departments, and the sale of encyclopedias. One thing that the maps provided by Dr. Wilson show very clearly, is that the states in which most books are sold, are the same ones which enjoy good library circulation. A similar map, entitled "A Bookman's Idea of the United States of America" has been compiled from figures supplied by *The Saturday Review of Literature* and from data in O. H. Cheney's *Economic Survey of the Book Industry*. It shows the share of each state in the total book purchases of the nation. The striking thing about this map is that it still shows exactly the same relationship of "strong" and "weak" regions that we have described in our section on nineteenth century booktrade conditions (pages 193-199). The "strong region" extends along the Atlantic seaboard from Maine to New Jersey, and west through Pennsylvania, and Ohio, as far "out" as Wisconsin and Illinois, leaving Minnesota, Iowa and Missouri as border territories. The other parts of the country, with the striking exception of California, and a noticeable rallying in Texas, are "weak." This uneven distribution of readers, together with a traditional preference for magazines, and resulting in both uneven distribu-

tion and in a disturbing variety of retail outlets has been one of the main reasons that has made a unified organization of the trade and an effective control of book prices so difficult. It will be well, before describing in some detail the struggle for price maintenance, to glance briefly at these various outlets for books today.

If one would ask a representative of the American News Company, that mammoth wholesaler of books, who, in his opinion, buys the books today, he could point to some very staggering figures for books sold through retail channels other than regular bookstores. The Baker & Taylor Company, on the other hand, take pride in being the largest firm of jobbers catering to the regular booktrade. They do sell to department stores and drugstores and sometimes to single persons, but the individual owners of bookstores, along with libraries, are their biggest customers.

To avoid misunderstanding, I should say again that "regular bookstore" in this connection refers to a shop which deals either exclusively, or primarily in books, and where owners and employees see something more than just merchandise in the books which they sell. There have always been efforts to maintain these standards in the booktrade. For instance, there have been a series of experiments to provide training schools for booksellers. B. W. Huebsch, of the Viking Press, has been prominently associated with this movement for a dozen years. There was, first, in 1912, a lecture course at the old Liberal Club, under the auspices of the Booksellers' League of New York. Then there were evening lectures at various bookshops and, 1915-17, Mr. Huebsch organized courses at the Y.M.C.A. Night School, and, later on, at the evening sessions of the College of the City of New York. These experiments came to a close in 1926, but they stimulated the trade while they lasted and caused the faithful to spread the gospel of education. Bessie Graham's class in bookselling in Philadelphia evening high school was one of its several interesting offshoots. For five years from 1928 a three weeks' course in bookselling was conducted at the Summer School of Columbia University by Frederic G. Melcher, Marion Dodd and Sarah Ball.

It is obviously impossible here to attempt even the briefest enumeration of the "real" bookstores operating throughout the country. Such an account could well be made into a book by itself. It would have to

trace the continuing today of venerable old stores of the nineteenth century (which to some extent has been done on pages 193-199); it should survey in detail the history of the retail departments of the great New York publishers and the personalities in charge there; it should take stock of the new foundation of good individual stores in the new century, the development of such big city chains as Womrath's and the Doubleday Doran Bookstore Chain, Brentano's branches in the various cities and Fred Harvey's chain in the West and the Southwest.

Department stores, steadily expanding their lines of merchandise, began to install books in the 1880's, Wanamaker in Philadelphia being the first in the field. For many years a book department was used to attract trade to other lines by price-cutting, as described elsewhere, but as time went on there came an increasing recognition of the public's appreciation of good book service. Today in many cities there is very good bookselling in the department stores and they account for a large percentage of American book distribution.

One distinctly encouraging feature today is the fact that not a small number of bookshops have been started on a modest scale by well educated people with a real love of books and good taste. A whole string of these "personal bookshops" are growing steadily in importance and influence. Women have played a conspicuous part in this development. The personal bookshop today is found in the heart of the great cities as well as in the suburbs and in the country, where it is sometimes located in an old barn, in summer resorts, at the crossroads of the tourist trade in the South and the Southwest, on the Caribbean islands as well as in the American possessions in the Pacific. The personal bookstore has become particularly significant in the small college town, because of the opportunity there to influence the taste and to spread the reading habit among educated young people. Marion Dodd's Hampshire Book Shop in Northampton is an excellent example. She is the author of a series of articles entitled "Along New England Book Trails," in the monthly *Yankee* magazine, which describes the literary tradition of the various New England States, and in which much attention is paid to the bookshops in each region. Marion Bacon's shop at Vassar and Geraldine Gordon's Hathaway House at Wellesley are among the other attractive college shops. College stores on a hundred

campuses give sometimes perfunctory but often very effective support to the sale of trade books as wells as the customary sale of text-books.

A lively and interesting account of her experiences with a personal bookshop of twenty-five years ago is Madge Jenison's *Sunwise Turn, a Human Comedy of Bookselling.* It takes a good deal of courage and financial backing to carry such a venture beyond the critical first few years and to gain a permanent foothold in the trade.

The traditional subscription method of selling books develops many book markets more effectively than can bookstores. It is considered as a comparatively friendly form of competition. There are today a great many kinds of book purchases by mail order and on the installment plan that come under the name of subscription selling. Practically all encyclopedia purchasing is today on the subscription basis from canvassers; a large sale of dictionaries is through this channel, as is the case with many standard sets and children's classics. There is, on the one side, the door-to-door canvassing of the firms who still send their representatives into every city, town and hamlet, and on the other side, the summer squads of boys selling the Bible and the History of the World War. Often the remainders of cheap series of books in sets are thrown on the market through shortlease stores and auctioned along the business thoroughfares of the large cities.

There is the highly special art of selling by "direct mail" through display advertising or more often by prospectuses, and the sale of collected works in combination with magazine and newspaper subscriptions. In this case books are sold near production cost, the expense being charged against the paper's promotion account, to increase the number of readers of the paper.

Again there is the tremendous outlet for books through rental libraries which has had a great increase in the twenties and early thirties. Rental or circulating libraries are an old institution and until recently they were in bookstores or run by the same type of persons. In 1900 Seymour Eaton gave this method of book service a great fillip by starting his chain of Booklovers Libraries which evolved into the Tabard Inn Libraries and then failed. Arthur Womrath picked up the idea and built up a successful New York chain on the pattern so many emulated. In the 1920's a rash of rental libraries started, mostly in chains which were serviced from some central point. Prices range from one

to five cents a day, with an average of ten cents for three days. In recent years the tide of expansion has been receding.

Newsdealers carried books in the old days, and they still do it today. One special form of the news stand which does a particularly active book business today is the railroad bookshop, an outgrowth of modern transportation, and, by the way, a universal phenomenon throughout the world.

A unique American institution, however, is the drugstore. I remember the story about a flapper who went into a bookstore and asked for lipstick, but quickly excused herself when she realized her mistake: "I'm sorry, I thought this was a drugstore, I saw books in the window." Nor can I refrain from reporting on these pages that Liggett's was recently selling Roosevelt's *On Our Way* and Hoover's *Challenge to Liberty* for nineteen cents each, but would give you bicarbonate of soda for nothing—ushering in, no doubt, a new sales era with drugs as loss-leaders for books! The modern drugstore sale of books developed as one of the ways to dispose of publishers' remainders. No publisher can accurately estimate just what printing to make of each book and there is a constant overflow of "remainders" which after a few years must be sold off at a price. These used to be sold wholly through catalog houses and department stores. The depression increased the number of books to be dumped and an extra market has grown up, which now follows its own rules, has its own distributing agents and, last but not least, pretty much its own public.

Of great trade importance has been the production of low-priced reprint editions from used plates, of items previously published in a regular trade edition, a custom already developed in the nineteenth century. Soon after 1900 there began, along with the reprinting of already published titles, the production of new books particularly for this market. The firm of Grosset & Dunlap, for instance, developed upon this basis into an enterprise of first magnitude. Just before 1900 there were still in vogue certain 25 cent series of new copyright books in paper covers. Grosset & Dunlap began by buying up large lots of such editions and binding them in cloth at 39¢ and 50¢. Soon the partners began making direct contacts with the original publishers and printing and binding their own editions. Upon this principle the firm has developed into one of the greatest suppliers of books, not only to

the general trade and department stores, but also to drugstores, newsstands, five and ten cent stores, etc. Grosset & Dunlap also have their own authors, especially in the juvenile field, whose books sometimes reach fantastically large editions. They have done interesting, if not esthetically successful, experiments with the photographic illustration of fiction, using when available motion picture "stills," taken from the screen version of the book. They have an amazing edition of *Alice in Wonderland*, illustrated with motion picture stills from the Hollywood "Alice" photoplay which are based on the original book illustrations by Tenniel.

The plan of fiction reprints, or "popular copyrights," was also adopted by the old firm of A. L. Burt, publishers of long lines of popular series and recently absorbed by Reynal & Hitchcock. Individual publishers made sporadic experiments in starting their own reprint line, but all soon fell back on selling such rights to either Grosset or Burt, who energetically developed the market. This resulted in marketing methods vastly different from those in England, where every publisher made his own series to the confusion of the bookseller.

The issuance of such a cheap reprint of a regularly published edition is not necessarily the cut-throat competition with the original edition that it may look. By trade agreement fiction does not go into reprint form until one year after publication, non-fiction two years. Even when both editions are on sale simultaneously they do not necessarily harm each other. There seem to be circles here which do not touch, or which overlap only slightly. How else would it have been possible for the Whitman Publishing Company of Racine to do what they did with the rights for *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*? When it became apparent that Walt Disney's marvelous motion picture cartoon in technicolor would become the film of the year, Samuel Lowe of the firm flew to Hollywood and bought the complete book rights, cheerfully paying a good price. Equally cheerful, Harper and Brothers bought from them the rights for a regular trade edition, which they sold at $2.00, while at the same time David McKay of Philadelphia contracted to issue an edition at $1.00 and Grosset & Dunlap one at 50¢ a copy. *Snow White* also appeared in the five and ten cent stores in several editions. No one was apparently the worse off for it. As a matter of fact, the Harper edition, of which 5,000 copies had been

printed, was the first to be sold out, and it disappeared, I understand, before the picture even came to New York. This is perhaps the most striking illustration of the fact that there do exist in the booktrade alongside of each other entirely different orbits which have no mutual influence.

One does not feel quite so sure whether this can be said of the book clubs, which represent yet another post-war phase of bookselling through other than the traditional booktrade channels. The book club idea was born in Germany as *Publishers' Weekly* has pointed out,[9] and brought to America as an adaptation of magazine subscription and mail-order methods to the marketing of current books. After much debate, book clubs were closely defined in Germany and made to harmonize with other bookselling methods. It was specified that books sold by a club should be distinct in format and that the term "club" should be clearly defined in trade practice and to the public. In America the price comparison slant of the club advertising has kept the booksellers in varying states of critical opposition.

A book club was first projected in America in 1921, and in 1926 both the Book-of-the-Month Club and the Literary Guild got under way, followed by a host of others, some of which gained a foothold, while others failed or were absorbed very soon after their inception. Though there was misgiving among the bookstores as to the effects of the clubs, the size of the orders placed for each title selected diverted the attention of authors and publishers from the fundamental difficulties which might come up. Clubs organized for the sale of books in special fields, such as religion and economics, or the Limited Editions Club, devoted to finely printed and illustrative works of world literature, or the Modern Age Book Service, another recent venture in the paper cover field, have created no particular anxiety. The price competition of the largest club, the Book-of-the-Month, with nearly 200,000 members and using printings of from 60,000 to 100,000 a month, was in the form of premium books, one to each person who signed up for at least four books a year and a book dividend of one for each two books as purchased. This gave the subscriber seven books for the price of four, thus raising the question of price-cutting.

[9] *Publishers' Weekly*, July 17, 1937.

The Struggle for Price-Maintenance Goes On

The reader of this volume already knows that the price-cutting evil is an old one, with roots that go back to the days when dry-goods stores first discovered that books lent themselves particularly well to serve as loss-leaders for their other merchandise. Even in the 1880's this unwholesome practice had reached proportions big enough to worry the legitimate booktrade, whose members cast about for the means to curb the evil, without finding an adequate control. In the depression that followed the panic of 1893 chaos reigned, with the average price for fiction as low as $1.50, but customers in the East expecting and getting a 25% discount. The year 1900 saw renewed efforts at price control with the founding that year of the American Booksellers Association, followed the same year by a corresponding organization of the publishers in the American Publishers Association. The stated purpose of these two organizations was to establish and to maintain a uniform level of prices.

The chief adversary of this policy was the New York department store, R. H. Macy & Co., which in 1902 sued the American Publishers Association. The legal battle raged for years, but the publishers won out in the courts of the State of New York. Their decision, however, was not accepted by Macy, who appealed to the federal courts and finally, in 1914, the United States Supreme Court condemned the organization of publishers for the purposes of price maintenance as an offense against the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. With a verdict of $140,000 in favor of R. H. Macy & Company, the American Publishers Association, after meeting the payment, dissolved in 1914. Not until 1920 did the publishers organize again, when the National Association of Book Publishers was founded, which, however, cautiously refrained from any participation in price maintenance discussions. The organization was devoted to the general promotion of the interests of the publishing trade, paying special attention to standardization of production and distribution methods. In 1931 the organization published a comprehensive *Economic Survey of the Book Industry, 1930-31* by O. H. Cheney. The association was reorganized in 1937 as the Book Publishers' Bureau.

The price maintenance efforts showed no progress. Macy continued

to use books as loss-leaders and to undersell bookstores and book departments which observed the retail prices set by the publishers, and other department stores finally began to follow suit. Macy's announced policy of selling goods whenever possible at 6% less than elsewhere would occasionally involve two stores in a regular book price-war. When another department store undersold Macy, they in turn would undersell that store, so that, for instance, volumes of the "Modern Library," published at 95¢ were selling at one time for as little as 11¢. Bookstore owners with a bitter smile admitted that they could buy stock more cheaply at these sales than from the publishers.

When Franklin D. Roosevelt became president of the United States in March, 1933, one of the suggestions of the New Deal for bettering the economic condition of the country was the National Recovery Administration. In line with the procedure established in other industries and trades, the booktrade too was charged with the responsibility of establishing a code of fair practice. The booktrade code was accepted in April, 1934. The main provision of the code contained the clause, that the price of newly published books must not be cut within the first six months after publication date. The effects of this regulation were immediately noticed and the regular trade all over the country felt the advantages of the new stability. On May 27, 1935, while in session at their annual convention in New York the members of the American Booksellers Association learned the distressing news, that the United States Supreme Court had declared all codes unconstitutional. Again the booktrade faced the ruins of their efforts for a healthy organization. As was to be expected the price war was at once resumed and in October 1935 prices were so low that some New York City bookshops actually did cancel their orders with the publishers and sent their boys to the loss-leader department stores to buy stock.

However, as it turned out, the situation was to be relieved from another angle. In hearty cooperation with retailers in other lines of business the booksellers had striven earnestly to promote the movement towards fair-trade legislation. In New York State, the Feld-Crawford Fair Trade Act had been approved on May 17, 1935, following earlier experiments in California, and similar laws were passed in other states. The act was created for the purpose of protecting trademark owners, distributors and the public against injuries and uneconomic trade prac-

tices. In effect it provided protection of prices for goods of identifiable character and sold in open competition which had been purchased under contracts signed between producer and retailer. One June 25, 1935, Edmund S. McCawley, president of the American Booksellers Association and William H. Ingersoll, former president of the famous watchmaking firm, and one of the founders of the American Fair Trade League, presented to the heads of thirty large New York publishing houses a carefully prepared model contract, which was recommended for universal adoption. The contract contained the important provision that those booksellers who had failed to sign and who, after due notice, interfered with the operation of the contracts by underselling price protected items would be held liable at law. The important test of the Feld-Crawford Fair Trade Act came for the booktrade when Doubleday, Doran & Company, who had signed price-protecting contracts with the Doubleday, Doran Bookshops, Inc., brought action to restrain R. H. Macy & Co. from offering certain books at a lesser price than that fixed in these contracts.

Much to the consternation of the booktrade the New York Supreme Court held that Section 2 of the Feld-Crawford Act, upon which the price-protecting contracts were based, was unconstitutional and when, on January 7, 1936 the New York State Court of Appeals upheld the decision of the lower court, it looked once more as though all the efforts on behalf of a better organization of the booktrade had been in vain. But the year 1937 brought encouraging developments. Because on cases appealed from the states of California and Illinois the United States Supreme Court had upheld Fair Trade Legislation in a strong clear-cut decision, the New York Court of Appeals, on March 9, 1937 reversed its adverse decision in the Doubleday-Macy case and upheld the Fair Trade laws in New York State. The United States Supreme Court held that Fair Trade Laws did not violate the Constitution and Congress passed the Tydings-Miller bill to the effect that the Sherman Anti-trust Laws could not be applied to the situation and that Fair Trade contracts could be maintained in interstate commerce. By February 1939 forty-four states had passed Fair Trade Laws and contracts under the laws were used by practically all trade publishers.

Everyone who had followed the rapid succession of events knew

that the next move would come again from the chief user of books as loss-leaders, from R. H. Macy & Company. The loss-leader had proved too important a business builder to be abandoned without bitter struggle. Few people, perhaps, realize that Macy "has a gross business in all lines that is larger than the entire trade book publishing business of the United States and the firm has every incentive and every legal aid in fighting the battle to continue the loss-leader practice."[10]

Macy's Red Star Book Club, launched in March 1938, was the answer. It was based on a clause in the recommended fair trade contract which exempted the book clubs from the effects of the price protecting contracts. This exception had, of course, been inserted for the benefit of the clubs already existing, but with unerring instinct Macy recognized the loophole and showed neither hesitation nor lack of skill in using it. In practical effect they were now cutting prices not by reducing the individual volumes, but by using the book dividend idea of the established book clubs. They offered the purchaser of at least four books credit for one fourth of the total amount paid, to be applied toward a fifth volume, a sum usually sufficient for a free purchase of the book. By April 1938 a group of publishers recognized a remedy in revising their fair trade contracts, eliminating the book club exemption clause, a step not directed against the book clubs but an attempt to strengthen the fair trade situation. Any difficulties that might thus arise between publishers and book clubs were to be overcome by exempting from price-protection the items chosen by clubs from the publishers' regular lists. Other publishers followed suit and sent out revised contracts to booksellers in all states where fair trade laws were in existence. Even some of the special publishers fell in with the trend. Also, particular efforts were made to convince booksellers throughout the country, some of whom had been slow in recognizing the importance of the contract, that although the book-trade in the large centers was primarily affected, the matter was one of national importance.

The Rare and Second-Hand Book Trade

One branch of the booktrade has been and is today very little affected by the struggle that has been described in the foregoing pages.

[10] *Publishers' Weekly* editorial on May 8, 1937.

The rare and second-hand book trades follow pretty much their own rules and traditions. Not that there is any lack there of excitement, of competition, and of fluctuation of values. However, the influences which stir the rare book trade are usually quite different from those which affect current fiction, non-fiction and children's books. The rare book dealer has fewer customers than the dealer in current new books, but these customers have higher average purchasing power and it is the curtailment of the incomes of the wealthy which disturb his business. Rare book values change, but perhaps more slowly than in the general trade. New trends develop not so often in response to reviewing and to publishers' advertising as from the more slowly noticeable but more steadily effective influence of the collector and the scholar. The development of the American rare book trade, and along with it, that of book auctions, is more closely linked to the rise of the great collectors and the founding of great libraries than to the history of the general booktrade. The real story of its achievements is told in Miss Granniss's account in this volume. The following pages do not attempt to anticipate that story. A few facts about some of the leading personalities and firms are merely put down here as a matter of record. Not all these firms are necessarily dealers in only rare old volumes, such as medieval manuscripts, early printed books, Americana, books in fine bindings and beautifully illustrated, or famous for their association with distinguished persons and collections in the past, or valuable literary manuscripts and autographs. The rare book trade and the second-hand book trade touch each other and overlap. Along with the trade in exceptional values the dealers often cater to the more modest collectors and sometimes the trade with inexpensive old books of all conceivable kinds is combined with rare book selling.

Traditional centers of the second-hand book trade are New York, Boston and Philadelphia. One of the early nineteenth century representatives of this profession in America was William Gowans, who came to New York in 1828 and stayed there until his death in 1870. Another second-hand book dealer of the pre-Civil War period was James A. Garfield, friend of Washington Irving, James Lenox, Longfellow and Poe. Joseph Sabin is perhaps better known as bibliographer and distinguished expert of American books than as a rare book dealer. He was, in fact, active not only in that capacity, but also as a book

auctioneer, an importer and a publisher. He went into business for himself in 1864, and during his long and busy life was one of the driving forces back of the public library movement. He died in 1881.

A rare old character, to judge from the accounts of him, must have been John Bradburn in New York. He specialized in travel works and books about the sea. He used to visit the captains of the incoming vessels in their cabins, and there and along the waterfront he did his best business. Another old-timer, T. H. Morrell, specialized upon the history of New York and the War of Independence. Purely importers of rare books from abroad were Timothy Reeve & Co., who sold to individual customers as well as to the trade. Wiley & Putnam were also active importers. One of their best customers was James Lenox.

Until November 1934 there still lived one of the leading antiquarian book dealers of the great pre-war period, Robert H. Dodd. For many years he had been the manager of the retail and rare book department of Dodd, Mead & Company. His excellent personal and business connections placed him in a strategic position at a time when some of the great collections were being made in this country. He had a substantial share in the building up of the famous Hoe collection, and the Church collection, too, acquired much of its material from Mr. Dodd. His influence was further enhanced by his able choice of collaborators and the excellent training which he gave his men. For him worked many young people who later on, as independent dealers, have played and are playing an important part in the rare book trade. There were George H. Richmond and William Evarts Benjamin, and, particularly, James F. Drake, now succeeded by his two sons James, Jr., and Marston, and George D. Smith, former leader in auction triumphs. Luther S. Livingston, too, worked for a time under him. Later, when Dodd, Mead & Company concentrated upon its publishing activities, he became Mr. Dodd's partner in the new rare book firm of Dodd & Livingston. After a few fruitful years of collaboration, he was honored in 1914 with the appointment to be the first librarian of the new Harry Elkins Widener Collection in the Harvard College Library. However, after only a few months of active service, premature death ended his career. His wife, Flora V. Livingston, took over his duties, and is still librarian of the collection.

One book man who can look back today upon many busy and suc-

cessful years is Ernest Dressel North, of New York and New Jersey. Charles Sessler, who died in Philadelphia in 1935 after nearly sixty years of bookselling, had among his many other important customers, the Huntington Library and the Widener Collection. Near Philadelphia, too, lives A. Edward Newton, one of the best-known of collectors, who has done much to popularize and romanticize book collecting. And what shall I say about the inimitable Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach? How can one describe in a few words the treasures that surprise a visitor to his shops in Philadelphia or New York; the many things that he has done, and said, and written (and written both entertainingly and convincingly, I may say) about the sanities and follies of rare books; the publication of a catalogue of American children's books in his private collection and his encouragement of bibliographical studies? And about Gabriel Wells, important international figure in the handling of rare items and who for a time owned Sotheran's famous London shop.

Lathrop C. Harper, who gathered so much of the material for the William L. Clements Library and who specializes in Incunabula and in Americana, is well-known not only to the collectors in these fields but also to every European dealer who comes to New York as a kind and helpful friend and adviser.

It might be added here that Emil Hirsch and Walter Schatzki, two of the best of the old German rare book-trade, one of the older generation, the other of a younger, recently settled in New York to join a group which includes, among its interesting figures, E. Byrne Hackett of The Brick Row Book Shop, M. Harzof of G. A. Baker & Company, Richard Wormser, David A. Randall of Scribner's, Alfred Goldsmith, Ernest R. Gee, Philip C. Duschnes, Whitman Bennett, Michael Papantonio and Geoffrey Gomme, manager of the late Edgar H. Wells' shop; and, to mention but a few of the dealers who are interested in specialized fields: Alfred W. Paine, whose books on navigation and the sea are displayed among some fine old sailing ship models; the Weyhe Galleries, a national mecca of art books; and in the field of Americana, C. E. Everitt, Adolph Stager of the Cadmus Book Shop, and Edward Eberstadt; also, the famous autograph firm of Thomas F. Madigan, Inc., whose late owner was one of the most experienced authorities in the difficult field of autographs. There are numerous second-hand dealers

not primarily committed to the rare book trade and in whose shops the more modest collector, student and reader can find what he is looking for. Among these are the Argosy Book Stores, Dauber & Pine, and the Raven Book Shop.

In the old days the huge stock of Leggett's on Chambers Street marked the center of the second-hand trade. Then Henry Malkan on lower Broadway rose and fell. Leggett's was succeeded by Ammon & Mackel and today busy Thoms & Eron is near the same spot, while the name of Mendoza continues on Ann Street. P. Stammer's was the starting place of many of the lower Fourth Avenue school of second-hand booksellers and Schulte's Book Store has set the pace in this low-priced field. A similar though smaller group has centered on 59th Street near Lexington Avenue. These spots are the bookhunter's paradise.

When the manuscript of the German edition of this book was sent off, Charles E. Goodspeed's *Yankee Bookseller* had not yet appeared and I feel very keenly what a contribution this book makes and how much it tells that one could not have found elsewhere. Mr. Goodspeed has real sense and judgment in what he calls "traffic in old books," not only in his own business, but in the way he sees the complete picture, clearly sensing and expressing what belongs and what does not. The Boston trade, on the whole, has been carried on along less expansive and less conspicuous lines than in New York, but this, Mr. Goodspeed explains, "should not be attributed to a lack of enterprise. Not more than a few drops of the golden shower which irrigated the metropolis in normal times or dazzled the streets with its plentitude in days of super-prosperity ever fell in Boston. . . . There has never been a volume trade of rare books in Boston sufficient to make profitable such a stock which, in value, might amount to half a million or more of dollars." But there is nevertheless a fine tradition of dealing with rare and old volumes in Boston. There is Burnham's Bookstore, where Richard Lichtenstein entered in 1858, eleven years old, eventually to become the proprietor and then for many years dean of the Boston old book trade. He was preceded in that honor in the nineties by George Emery Littlefield, specializing on Cornhill in Americana and in genealogy, his store the center of an entire generation of collectors. On Cornhill, too, was N. J. Bartlett & Company, center for bookish Episcopal clergy, in

whose shop would be found "all the volumes which Bostonians bought fifty years ago when the ambition to organize a general library of fine books was more common than it is now."

Then there was the rare book department of Estes and Lauriat, that many-sided house of varied interests and activities, whose retail establishment became the Charles E. Lauriat Company. Andrew McCance's old place is on Ashburton Place near Goodspeed's. He was a close friend of P. K. Foley, high authority on American Firsts whose Hamilton Place shop had been famous of old.

Goodspeed himself, a disciple of Ruskin, and moved by many interests which he shared with the Stone and Kimball generation, learned some of his early lessons in the New York trade. He established himself in Boston in 1898 and in 1911 took Frank H. Valentine, until then with De Wolfe & Fiske, as salesman and partner.

It is impossible to mention in these pages the hundreds of rare and second-hand stores throughout the country. A few of those are named whose individuality has helped to make trade history and who stand for the solid aspects of the trade. There is Charles E. Tuttle in Rutland, Vermont; William Todd in Mount Carmel, Connecticut; in Philadelphia, William J. Campbell and Leary, Stuart & Company, whose proprietor, Edwin S. Stuart, became governor of Pennsylvania; there is W. H. Lowdermilk in Washington, D. C.; Gittman's Book Shop in Columbia, South Carolina, and the Americus Book Company in Americus, Georgia. In Michigan, there is Schuman's in Detroit, and Forest H. Sweet in Battle Creek; in Indiana, R. E. Banta in Crawfordsville; in Illinois, Walter M. Hill, with a long record of important sales to great collectors, and Wright Howes, both in Chicago; in California, Dawson's Bookshop and Jake Zeitlin, both in Los Angeles, and in San Francisco, the Post Street area is a famous rare book center with Paul Elder, Newbegin's, Howell's and Gelber-Lilienthal.

A Note on Censorship

One of the reviewers of the German edition of this book commented on the fact that the story of censorship had not been carried on beyond the eighteenth century and that this might leave a reader with the mistaken impression that after the acquittal of John Peter Zenger, we lived happily ever after. Lack of space was the very trivial but very

pressing reason for that omission. Although in the present edition the problem of space is also serious, it does seem important to give at least a very brief account of the further developments on the battlefield of censorship.

The acquittal of John Peter Zenger in 1734 was the first important recognition of the freedom of the press in the English-speaking world. Since that time the press in the United States has enjoyed comparative freedom. It is most interesting to observe that in this important regard, too, the world of the book has been somewhat less fortunate than the periodical press. True enough, the rights of political freedom of thought and of expression have been recognized for the book as well. But on quite different grounds—namely, those of obscenity—authors, publishers and booksellers have suffered severely. Charges of obscenity were often all the more harmful because they were indirect, and they involved a concept which is hard to define, highly subjective and rapidly changing.

Censorship of literature on the grounds of obscenity has been carefully studied and a great deal has appeared in print. An excellent, searching and exhaustive book has been written by Morris L. Ernst and William Seagle, entitled *To the Pure, A Study of Obscenity and the Censor*. Both in his writing and through his courageous battles in the courts as attorney for publishers, Morris Ernst has done more, perhaps, than any other single person, to combat the evil effects of unintelligent censorship.

The first Federal department to be entrusted with the fight against obscene literature was the Federal Customs. The Tariff Act, passed in 1842 and in force since then, commanded the customs to refuse admission of obscene books into the country. Since the law merely invested the Customs with the right to seize and destroy the volumes in question without further penal action to either sender or receiver, their censorship has been felt to be of a comparatively harmless kind. However, the responsibility of Customs inspectors to decide which books were obscene has led to serious errors in judgment. Only a few years ago Ernst Weyhe in New York was summoned by the Customs Authorities because a shipment of obscene pictures addressed to him had been received. It turned out that a portfolio of reproductions of Michel-

angelo's frescoes in the Vatican Chapel had offended the modesty of the officials.

The amazing figure of Anthony Comstock is prominently associated with the nineteenth century movement against the obscene in literature. The Comstock Acts were passed in 1868. Under Comstock's influence there was organized, in 1873, the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, which by a special act of the sovereign legislature of the State of New York was given the rights of search, seizure and arrest. Other regions followed quickly, with the Western Society for the Suppression of Vice in Cincinnati, and the New England Watch and Ward Society in Boston. Also in 1873 Anthony Comstock secured the Postal Censorship laws, which granted to the Post Office the power of excluding obscene books and pictures from the mails. Earlier efforts in that direction had been vehemently and successfully combatted, for instance President Jackson's attempt in 1835 to bar anti-slavery literature from the mails. Now it was in the Federal Postmaster's discretion to decide when he should interfere.

The law of 1873 offered one loophole. It forbade the sending of obscene books through the mail. This, theoretically, kept open the possibility of distributing prospectuses by mail which allowed a bookseller to invite customers to his store to purchase the books in question. Although under the existing state regulations and through the watchfulness of the vice suppression societies this was but a slim possibility, an amendment was passed in 1888 which excluded the sending of obscene letters through the mail.

In 1881 a Boston district attorney threatened criminal prosecution for an edition of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*, first published in 1855, unless it was expurgated. The publisher withdrew the book, but a Philadelphia firm a little later issued an edition as originally written.

In 1908 Boston convicted Elinor Glyn's *Three Weeks*. Later on, Sinclair Lewis's *Elmer Gantry*, Upton Sinclair's *Oil*, and Theodore Dreiser's *An American Tragedy* were the objects of criminal prosecution. Usually, however, a notification from the New England Watch and Ward Society to an informal Boston Booksellers' Committee was a sufficient means of suppression. Upon learning which titles had been objected to, the booksellers when notified, promptly withdrew copies of these books which they may have had in stock.

In New York, D'Annunzio's *The Triumph of Death* was prosecuted in 1897, but the jury refused to convict. Dreiser's *Genius* was suppressed there in 1916. In 1923 it was published openly in New York with a jacket which announced that it had been suppressed at the instigation of the Society for the Suppression of Vice. The case is typical of the more liberal attitude found in New York courts. Of fundamental importance was the growing realization, that although theoretically a book could be banned if it contained isolated obscene passages, the whole book should really be taken into consideration to arrive at a just decision.

Early in the 1930's a New York publishing house felt that the time had come for a major legal test of the increasingly liberal attitude toward so-called obscene literature. Previously, no publisher in America had dared to publish James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Copies had been smuggled into the country from Paris where it had been published by an American girl from a bookshop she called Shakespeare & Co. and circulated with a certain amount of secrecy. Random House now purchased from Joyce the rights to an American edition and prepared to defend this important and sincere study of conscious and subconscious thinking and acting. In order to introduce their case into the courts they decided to import a copy. "The reason," wrote Bennett Cerf of Random House,[11] "that we chose to fight our case against the Government through the expedient of importing a copy and having it seized by the Customs was for the purpose of economy. Had the Government refused entry of the volume and had its claim been sustained by the courts, we would have been out only the cost of this single copy plus, of course, the advance that we had paid Mr. Joyce and legal fees. The other alternative was to set up the book in America and publish it and then wait for our tilt with the Government. This, of course, would have been a very expensive way of doing things. Once we had decided to import a copy and have it seized, it became essential that the book actually be apprehended and not slipped through in one way or another. We therefore were forced to the somewhat ludicrous procedure of having our own agent at the steamer to make

[11] In a letter of May 21, 1935, written to the author of these pages in connection with the donation of the imported copy and a copy of the court proceedings to the Columbia University Library.

sure that our property was seized by the Government." The book was seized and Random House, with Morris L. Ernst and Alexander Lindey as attorneys, brought suit against the U. S. Government. On December 6, 1933, Judge Woolsey decided in the Southern District Court of New York that the book was not obscene and could therefore be imported into the United States. "In Ulysses, in spite of its unusual frankness, I do not detect anywhere the leer of the sensualist. I hold, therefore, that it is not pornographic," wrote the judge in a memorable review of the case. Upon an appeal by the United States on August 7, 1934 the decision of the District Court was affirmed.

BOOK PRODUCTION SINCE 1890

The Artistic Revival of the Nineties

THAT POWERFUL MOVEMENT of protest against industrialism and mechanization which in England found its most forceful expression in the personality of William Morris, was felt in America with hardly less vigor, by all those who were at all susceptible to that kind of argument. Among those in America who followed Ruskin and the pre-Raphaelite brotherhood in both their literary and artistic endeavor, the ideas of William Morris spread like wildfire. How their enthusiasm for personal, individual assertion in literature and art tempted a group of young people into publishing, when the settlement of the copyright question in 1891 had cleared the atmosphere, has already been told. It was in the design of the books of such publishers as Stone & Kimball and Copeland & Day that these new tendencies found a natural first field of application. There was one artist in particular to whom the new trend brought the chance to exercise his talents and energies; Will Bradley, who in 1895 founded the Wayside Press in Springfield, Mass. Bradley was active also as art director of the *Century Magazine*, and as editor of *The American Chapbook*[1] issued by the American Type Founders Company, of personal little serials like *Bradley, His Book* and of other casual publications. He loved color and he loved rich, ample ornament. He reveled in the succulent borders, the quaintly shaped initial letters surrounded by decorative encasements, which the fashion now allowed and demanded of him. In his staunch support of Caslon type he showed a more sober side. All his work carries the stamp of a free and forceful personality. He did not confine himself to book decorating and getting out periodicals. The type specimen books of the American Type Founders Company for many years showed the mark of his personal taste, and his posters and other commercial art work are eagerly sought by collectors of fine printing today.

The American Type Founders Company had been quick to sense the new trend and they brought out types and ornaments closely based

[1] This *American Chapbook* is not to be confused with Stone & Kimball's *Chap Book* mentioned on page 211.

on the material designed for the Kelmscott Press. Rapidly the gospel spread throughout the country, much of it though in somewhat thoughtless imitation.

One printer who closely followed the example of William Morris was Elbert Hubbard with his Roycroft Shop in East Aurora, New York. His products were marketed through the far-reaching channels of a well organized mail-order business and they enjoyed a tremendous popularity in this country. Elbert Hubbard deserves credit for showing to many people the elementary fact that the printed page could be the object of artistic endeavor, even if his own work was neither original nor really in very good taste.

There were several other smaller presses which followed along, among them, for instance, the Cranbrook Press in Detroit, managed by George D. Booth.

Will Bradley's adaptation of the new style to the purposes of commercial printing was not the only instance of its kind. Those who are interested to see how the William Morris formulas, in particular, were utilized for advertising purposes, should look at the attractive examples in a little publication of Ingalls Kimball's Cheltenham Press *The first ten years of the Cheltenham Press: 1897-1908. Being an Account of various problems in Printing and in Advertising and of their solution.* One sees there very clearly of what fundamental importance the new creed in decorative book typography has been for commercial printing. Today, the situation is completely reversed. Modern printing for commerce not only has caught up with book printing, but it is often much freer and more progressive.

Modern Fine Printing in America

It is generally recognized today that the most lasting contribution of William Morris was perhaps not so much the particular volumes which he produced and the way in which he printed them, but in the example and stimulus which he gave to printers in the countries of Europe and in America. It is certainly true that the impression which he made upon three young Americans who were then contemplating a career in the graphic arts, was of the greatest importance to them. If nothing else, Daniel Berkeley Updike, Bruce Rogers and Frederic W. Goudy have this in common that their first steps were taken under

the strong influence of William Morris and the Kelmscott Press. He had the power to attract and fire the imagination of the young. I once heard the late Rudolf Koch, in a lecture at Frankfurt, give a vivid recollection of the Morris influence and that of other English private presses upon the young typographic artists of pre-war Germany. He went on to describe how these men, trained in the new schools of the arts-and-crafts movement and filled with the ideals and ideas of the creed, went out into the world to take their share in the day's work; how they met the old-time craftsmen in the printing houses like strangers, talking a different language; but how gradually they got to know and to understand each other; and how out of private press ideals and art school education on the one side, and the traditions of faithful craftsmanship in the great printing houses on the other there grew a broad and powerful movement which rejuvenated the entire printing world in Germany and was embraced by all the important book publishers.

In America the initial stimulus was exactly the same, and the hopes and efforts of the younger generation were directed towards very similar achievements. We have learned of the frustration of these trends in the field of publishing. Whatever may have been the reasons, the early failure of the literary publishers of the nineties had, I am convinced, far-reaching consequences in bookmaking. It delayed the improvement of trade books, a matter of vital importance, for at least twenty years. As it happened, the normal publisher's product remained untouched by the new ideals in the graphic arts, and it continued, almost without exception, as a purely industrialized product of large concerns, conceived in terms of the publishers' commercial requirements. Not until after the World War did the idea of a well-made book occur to the trade publishers.

During the nineties it was only natural, then, that the energies of the young men interested in printing as an art sought other means of expression and other channels than the trade book. So it came about that America in the new century saw a strong private press and limited editions movement. The program of these presses to some extent reflects the general literary trend of the day, with a special emphasis, of course, on the choice and the select. But there is also another influence noticeable, namely, the personal taste and the ambition of the

patron of private presses. Much autobiographical material, memoirs and family histories, genealogy and the like was put into the hands of the printer for private production and distribution. Along with individual customers the presses enjoyed the patronage of universities and libraries, of the various churches, and of business and industry.

The term "private press" and "fine printing" in this connection, should not be interpreted too narrowly. It is not only a question of books set by hand, and printed upon hand-made paper on the hand press; rather it is the entire realm of printing with love and care, of not large editions of a book for other than ordinary trade distribution.

Of the three outstanding young men who were attracted to printing in the nineties, it can be said that D. B. Updike developed primarily as a printer, Bruce Rogers as typographer and type designer, and Frederic W. Goudy chiefly as type designer.

Daniel Berkeley Updike represents the happy example of a printer who has become completely identified, by inclination as well as by reputation, with his press. In years of closest association with a small group of collaborators, foremost among them his partner John Bianchi; in the careful selection of types and decorative material of pleasing design and quality; and in the wise limitation of his Press to proportions conveniently managed, Mr. Updike forged himself a tool that he could use with remarkable effectiveness. There is a certain something present on each page and each broadside printed at the Merrymount Press, that escapes definition, a certain quality of readability and typographic grace that is unobtrusive but quite unmistakable. Nevertheless, tasteful composition and good presswork are to Mr. Updike never an aim in themselves, but always a means towards an end.

In the spring of 1880 Mr. Updike had found a position with Houghton, Mifflin & Co., where he had after a time, a hand in the layout of advertisements and prospectuses which attracted attention to his particular abilities and eventually led to his working at the Riverside Press in Cambridge, under the direction of Mr. Mifflin. During his twelve years with the fine old firm he collected knowledge, experience and self-confidence. When there was the immediate prospect of an important printing commission, he decided, in 1893, to start his own printing press. From the very beginning he was successful.

It is quite impossible to attempt on these pages a review of even the

most outstanding books that have come from the Merrymount Press in the forty-odd years of its existence; but a few words on the main trend displayed in them will be in order, not only because they may help to illuminate Mr. Updike's achievement as a book designer, but also because of the general significance of these typographic moods in American fine printing.

While still connected with the Riverside Press, Mr. Updike was asked to prepare a special decorated edition of the *Book of Common Prayer* which had been printed by Mr. De Vinne in a workmanlike, but somewhat uninspired, manner. Mr. Updike had to invent a scheme of decoration that would be graceful and yet fit in with the book as a whole. He asked Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, the gifted young architect and designer, to help him. Later, Goodhue did more designing for the Merrymount Press. There was particularly the "Merrymount" type face which Goodhue designed for another important piece of ecclesiastical printing, the *Altar Book* of 1896. This time, border decorations, initials and the body type were the work of the same artist, and Anning Bell's illustrations fitted in well, and that unity on a monumental scale, which circumstances had denied Mr. Updike in the *Book of Common Prayer*, were this time achieved by him.

The more immediate influence of William Morris, who in his turn had drawn on the inspiration of fifteenth century manuscripts and early printed books, soon gave way, in Mr. Updike's work, to the influence of other historical styles of printing and decoration, which he studied very carefully. One can actually speak of a sort of American revival of the renaissance in the early days of this century, not only as a typographic fashion, but as a matter of scholarly and literary interest. Updike had occasion to print a translation of Condivi's biography of Michelangelo, of Benvenuto Cellini's autobiography (for Brentano in New York) and the famous Humanist Library with books by Leonardo, Petrarch and Erasmus. Here was a genuine opportunity for some fine period typography, and T. M. Cleland and W. A. Dwiggins contributed some of their earliest work for this series. Some of Mr. Updike's most interesting period work was done in the colonial manner, with its careless looking (but artfully planned) title-pages in a naively crowded mixture of type faces and sizes, its elaborate head and tail pieces, its introductory matter in old fashioned italic, the text in read-

able Caslon. But a good deal of the work at the Merrymount Press was done in no consciously planned style at all, but in simple and natural continuation of that fine tradition which had started at the Chiswick Press, was brought to this country by John Wilson, was handed on to De Vinne and then to Updike. In yet another regard one can look upon Mr. Updike as the successor of De Vinne, namely in his capacity as a distinguished scholar and author on the history of his own craft. His *Printing Types*[2] is an exhaustive study of the most important of the printer's working material, but it is at the same time an excellent account of the development of book designing.

One of the most important commissions of the press was a new edition of the revised *Book of Common Prayer* of 1928, an outstanding achievement in the field of liturgical printing, which was completed in 1930. Details about the many interesting problems encountered, and, needless to say, solved, in the printing of this and of many other books are told by Mr. Updike in his *Notes on the Merrymount Press & Its Work* which he wrote as an introduction to a complete bibliographical list of the books printed up to 1933.

Quite in contrast to Updike's steady work at the head of the Merrymount Press, Bruce Rogers has never tied himself down too firmly. Born in 1870 in Linwood, Indiana, he first became interested in the graphic arts during his student years at Purdue University. Quite early he had acquired a remarkable store of experience in handling typographic jobs both in book and in commercial printing. The year 1894 was decisive for his career: he met Joseph M. Bowles, the editor of a magazine called *Modern Art*, who introduced him to the work of William Morris. When the magazine moved to Boston, Bruce Rogers went along. There George H. Mifflin offered him a position at the Riverside Press which he accepted. In 1899 the "Riverside Press Editions" were started, a plan which was to give the brilliant young typographer a chance to show what he could do on an important scale. Later came traveling in Europe, and a year in New York City, fruitful particularly in collaboration with Henry W. Kent of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Then there came a year spent in Montague, Mass., with Carl Purington Rollins, crowned by the appearance of

[2] First published by the Harvard University Press in 1927, and a second edition, with supplementary notes and at a reduced price, in 1937.

Ives's translation of Guerin's *The Centaur*, set in Bruce Rogers's new Centaur type. In 1916 he took another trip to England, and a short period of collaboration with Emery Walker in London was followed by an invitation to advise the Cambridge University Press in typographic matters. Then there followed productive American years, which brought collaboration with the Harvard University Press, and his relations as typographic advisor to William Edwin Rudge in Mount Vernon, near New York. Again, important achievements of recent years were the result of his collaboration with the Oxford University Press.

Though his work is best known among bibliophiles and students of fine printing, his reputation has grown far beyond these intimate circles. The public knows of Bruce Rogers as a great American book designer in the grand decorative manner. But he has done many other things besides. There are, for instance, his little water colors, which he has made from time to time during the last forty years. Almost without exception they are landscapes, quietly seen at a fair distance, delicately balanced in composition and detail, and animated by a gentle glow. There is no visible change here in "style" throughout the years, just a quiet, private competence which remains true to itself all the time.

The same thing is true of Bruce Rogers' work as a type designer. Modestly he will not admit that he has done anything more than take a fine old Venetian roman, that of Nicolas Jenson, and adapted it to modern usage. This was many years ago, and he has gone quietly over his type again and again, gently eliminating certain beginner's mistakes, balancing weight and color, adding new sizes, fitting it to the composing machine—until this once historical Centaur type has become a really contemporary typeface, because it has come to say so closely and so nobly what its living maker wanted it to say.

In great and obvious contrast to this mastership within self-imposed limitations, his work as a book designer and decorator shows the greatest possible range. Bruce Rogers' very first attempts, art work for his Indiana Alma Mater, betray the influence of the eighties. Then clearly set off against them, there is the influence of William Morris, quickly tried and quickly forsaken. Thereafter, he gets rapidly into his stride and within a very few years we see him work out his own personal solutions; the true Bruce Rogers emerges.

In Europe, early in this century, the British and the Continental book artists, who were saturated with mediaeval and renaissance traditions felt that they must forge ahead and struggle for an independent modern style. In America, the newly gained mastership of great historical styles in printing seemed too good a thing to throw away so readily. Bruce Rogers becomes the recognized master of "period typography." But he never just imitates the master printers of the past, he always gives something of his very own. Basking in the sunlight of the New England Renaissance, his work at the Riverside Press has the warmth of complete harmony between text and format. Petrarch, Ronsard, Sir Philip Sidney, John Donne! Their words become actors on a stage which he has prepared with wise and loving hands.

Bruce Rogers has never owned a printing press, private or otherwise, and though he has worked with many institutions, he has always been free, it seems, to do the things that he likes best—live in the country and, better yet, be out in a sailboat. So whenever his work called for an expression of rural felicity, or when a book was to be made about ships and the sea—the log of an old sailing vessel in colonial days, or a novel by Joseph Conrad or Melville—he gave of his very best.

His work has a decidedly infectious quality. His period typography has frequently been imitated by the younger and sometimes the lesser person, yet it has never lost its freshness. This is so not only because of the natural superiority of his work over that of most of his followers, but also because he has steadily gone on to new fields of endeavor and to tasks of increasing importance. What could be said of American fine printing in the pre-war days—that it preferred not to swim against the stream of the great typographic traditions and to venture into the field of modern experimentation—cannot be said of the present decade. Bruce Rogers would be most unwilling, of course, to accept a nomination as an outstanding modernist in typography, and not many people would suggest it either. Yet it is true that his example has done more, I think, than most people realize, to close the chapter of period typography, when its possibilities had been fully exploited and its limitations recognized. One need only think of the two most important books which he made in recent years, the Homer and the Bible. The Homer breathes, of course, a very authentic classical spirit; but it has nothing to do with the way books were made and with

what they looked like in ancient Greece. And the Oxford Lectern Bible, in its monumental format may perhaps recall early printing days. Yet, in the beautiful clarity and simplicity of the text pages, in the total absence of typographic ornament, and in the general aesthetic economy of means his Bible, as his *Odyssey*, is certainly "functional," if by that is meant the complete coordination of printing to the intentions of the text. In that sense the Bruce Rogers Bible and his *Odyssey* are as modern as the Bible and the *Odyssey* themselves are modern.

Many articles and books have been written about Bruce Rogers. The most complete record is the catalogue of an exhibition of his work which was shown at the Grolier Club in the winter of 1938-39, and which is listed, with some of the earlier publications, in the bibliography at the end of this volume.

Very early in his career Frederic W. Goudy recognized the inferiority of printing types in general use in the 1900's and with the patience and energy which has stayed with him through the years he set about, almost single-handed, to correct the situation. With so many excellent type faces available today, it is hard to realize what this meant at the time when he started. And it is easy to forget how many people in America owe him thanks for having first opened their eyes to the possibilities of type design and fine printing.

He was born at Bloomington, Illinois, in 1865 and spent student and apprentice years in Chicago. Like some of the other typographic artists who have done much for book printing, he started his career as a commercial artist. When he could not find the letters he wanted in the printer's case, he drew them. Gradually he became more and more interested in type. But he first engaged in private printing. Very much under the influence of William Morris, he started in 1903 his Village Press in Park Ridge, Illinois, which he took East into Massachusetts the following year and to New York in 1908. There a fire destroyed all his property and equipment and he had to start all over again. It was around this time that the designing and the actual production of type began to take more and more time from his other interests. The devoted support and collaboration of the late Mrs. Goudy to a large extent were the reason that he was able to continue to be a printer and to reestablish at Marlborough-on-Hudson the Village Press in an old mill—only again to be burnt out in 1939.

The number of the types designed and cut and cast by him is today well over a hundred—a most interesting contrast to Bruce Rogers' concentration upon one type design. Mr. Goudy, early in his career decided not to count too much on the cooperation of type foundries and he worked out his own method of production which combines some of the elements of traditional craftsmanship with much that was developed more recently—such as the use of the pantograph.

Unlike the type faces of many practicing designers today Mr. Goudy's types do not originate from the realm of calligraphic experience, but are drawn in outline. He has explained[3] how the beauty of an old manuscript is often the stimulus of a new design. The world of the Gothic and the Renaissance have influenced him, as has the art of ancient Rome, particularly in its inscriptions. The names of some of his type faces "Forum," "Trajan," "Hadrian" testify to his almost naive admiration for the glory that was Rome. There is a rich variety in his type faces, which range all the way from inscriptional stateliness to friendly and homelike italic, from the even gray of a carefully balanced book Roman to the crisp light and heavy of liturgical Gothic. He has done some very fine Gothic type. His *The Alphabet, Fifteen interpretative designs drawn and arranged with explanatory text and illustrations*, first published by Mitchell Kennerley in 1922, is on the shelves of many students of lettering and printing.

Fine book printing, to be sure, depends on the intelligent forming of a plan, on tasteful selection of materials, and on skillful and conscientious execution. However, there is no single material so important for the eventual success of a book as the type face chosen for the job. It is unfortunately impossible to include in the present account the work of those firms and individuals who have contributed type faces of lasting importance, or to review the rapidly changing fashions in typographic style. Such an account should consider the Cheltenham and the Cloister types; the revivals of historical designs by the American Type Founders Company, by Linotype, Intertype, Monotype and Ludlow; the contributions of these companies to typographic refinement; the work of such men as Benton, Orcutt, Cooper, Cleland, Bernhard, Dwiggins, Trafton and others; the importation of many excellent

[3] In an article in *The Dolphin*, Vol. I, entitled "On Designing A Typeface."

typefaces from abroad by the Bauer Type Foundry and the Continental Typefounders Association.

In reviewing those presses which within the last thirty years have made unusual efforts to produce books of lasting typographical distinction it will be best to proceed geographically.

It is only natural that in New England one should find the strongest traditional influences, the closest ties with the past. Immediately upon entering the New York area, the picture changes. Here, in the metropolis, one finds reflections of probably every single tendency in contemporary typography of America as well as of the various European countries. These trends often exist alongside of each other without visible conflict and cultivated by quite different groups. There is continued readiness for the new and combined willingness to experiment. The West, by and large, cannot be said to have developed recognizable regional characteristics. Both the New England love of tradition and New York's cosmopolitan attitude can be seen reflected there. Some now see indications that the Middle West with Chicago as a natural center may become a focussing point of a strong, native American school of taste, in the realm of the graphic arts as in other fields. But it is perhaps a little early for such an interpretation of certain individual efforts. On the Pacific Coast, in California, there are recognizable signs of a regional school of fine printing. There is a succession of enterprises there that have depended upon each other for inspiration and guidance, with something very close to a community of ideals. It may be that the colorful and generous quality of the best of Californian printing is somewhat due to the climate. But at least of equal importance, I should think, is the existence there of an old, settled cultural foundation, nourishment to be derived from the formative power of the Latin race. If this is true, one should look for similar developments in the Southwest, where Indian, Spanish and Anglo-Saxon traditions seem to live on in a unique condition of mutual tolerance and fructification. As a matter of fact, there is at least one enterprise in Santa Fé that would justify such anticipations.

Our brief survey of individual printers and presses of distinction takes us first to the Northeast of the Union. In Portland, Maine, we find the successful continuation of local traditions. Old Thomas B.

Mosher had shown a very unusual flair for delicate and appetizing bookmaking. Today, the Southworth-Anthoensen Press, headed by Fred Anthoensen, and successor to the firm which Constant Southworth had inherited from his father, cultivates the solid New England traditions in printing. That their taste should have been influenced by the Merrymount Press, the strongest typographic power in the New England region, is perhaps only natural.

There is no need to stress again the contributions of D. B. Updike and Bruce Rogers in the typographic achievements of Boston and Cambridge. Both men had successively been connected with The Riverside Press which continues to be the manufacturing division of the Houghton Mifflin Company. The Riverside Press has described its recent history in *The Annual of Bookmaking 1927-1937*, published by *The Colophon* office. This volume, although not exactly a reasoned account of that decade, presents fresh information about some of the well known presses, and, perhaps most valuable, accounts of several new enterprises which started within recent years.

The story of the Harvard University Press in Cambridge has been told among the University Presses. The Yale University Press, closely linked in aim and organization with the college, enjoys the typographic directorship of a very experienced and capable man. Carl Purington Rollins, like other distinguished men in his field, is a disciple of William Morris. He was particularly impressed with Morris' emphasis on the social importance of the modern printer as a craftsman. Rollins had organized the Montague Press, in Montague, Mass., which became the organ of the small town's community life. It was during that phase that he enjoyed the companionship and collaboration of Bruce Rogers. In 1918 Rollins came to Yale and it was apparent that he would stand with his feet firmly on the ground. The competence of the Yale Press shows itself not only in the steady maintenance of typographical standards, but also in difficult and complicated tasks, such as bibliographies and the like. Scholarly works with a complex body of documentary material, such as plans, maps, tables, photographs, are handled in a manner both technically sound and aesthetically pleasing. Rollins himself is keenly interested in the complete picture of the graphic arts in America today, and is a recognized authority on that subject. He has frequently collaborated with the American Institute of Graphic

Arts in the annual selection of the "Fifty Books of the Year," has conducted a typographic column in the *Saturday Review of Literature* and has repeatedly contributed appraisals of contemporary American book production to various typographic yearbooks.

Not so very far from New Haven, in the countryside back of Stamford is the Overbrook Press, which comes as close to being a private press in the real sense of that word as any similar establishment in this country. Frank Altschul, the proprietor who prefers to remain in the background, has a clear conception of what a private press could and should be today. The Overbrook Press both prints and publishes its selections, alternating from illustrated editions such as *One More Spring* or *The Happy Prince and Other Tales*, to brief texts of political or economic significance, such as the *Adverse Report of The Committee on the Judiciary* or *An Exchange of Letters* by Thomas Mann.

Another personal press in Connecticut is Hawthorne House in Windham, which was established in 1932 by Edmund B. Thompson, a former Rudge disciple, and once associated with Peter Beilenson. The press has become known for the delicate beauty of its small-sized volumes, many of them treating with matters of local tradition. Here is a genuine "regional press."

In the New York area the variety of printers and presses even within the group committed to fine book printing is great. It includes the free lance typographic artist, the small individual press, and the large industrial printing concern with an interest in the limited editions field. One of the first free-lance artists who since the turn of the century has done excellent work for various printers and publishers is Thomas Maitland Cleland. Born in Brooklyn in 1880, he did not take his formal schooling and art education very seriously, but preferred to find his own way. He did some of his early work, before the World War, for the Merrymount Press; for instance title-page decorations for the "Humanist Library." Like Updike and Bruce Rogers he drew inspiration and nourishment from the great decorative traditions of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. His mastery of historical ornament lends a stately yet personal charm to his title-pages and border decorations, his period illustrations, his bookplates and publishers' marks. Even his commercial work, such as railroad and motorcar

advertisements, he has endowed with the cavalier grace of the eighteenth century, in a supreme indifference to anachronisms he cheerfully committed.

A discussion of New York owners of presses must begin with two men who have died some years ago and each of whom in his own way has done much valuable work—Hal Marchbanks and William Edwin Rudge. Hal Marchbanks came as a young man to New York from Texas. He was active in the printing department of the Hill Publishing Company, which later on he bought, when John A. Hill joined forces with James McGraw in forming the McGraw-Hill publishing house. This was the origin of the Marchbanks Press. Although primarily engaged in printing for commerce, Hal Marchbanks' sustained insistence upon quality in composition and press work, his determined preference for only a few typefaces which he loved and knew—Caslon and Scotch Roman foremost among them—has contributed a distinct note to American fine printing. Some of the most colorful and lively work of the press was done in collaboration with talented artists such as Fred C. Cooper, A. Allen Lewis and many more. Marchbanks was a master of letterpress printing in color, his posters and charming monthly calendars are the pride of those who own them. Marchbanks believed in high prices, but was most liberal personally. Many a printer who is on his own today, owes to him his first opportunity to play with type and to pull a proof.

Under the direction of Roland Wood, and with John Fass as the responsible typographic designer, the Harbor Press in New York has become well known for the quality and taste of its printing, which has included some charming little volumes of local New York interest, published under their own imprint. There is a flavor of good breeding and tradition in their typography, which is pleasantly mixed with a sense of humor and intimacy.

The late William Edwin Rudge deserves particular recognition in these pages because in the course of many successful years at the head of a large industrial plant he made a point of cultivating fine book printing. He had a keen interest in new technical developments, particularly in the field of pictorial reproduction, and he gathered around him a staff of unusually able and promising people. A visit to the Rudge plant in Mount Vernon was a real experience. Low buildings, which

looked more like a country estate than a printing plant, in pleasant suburban surroundings, with a group of small dwelling houses for the older members of the staff, a private railroad track leading to the loading ramp where an old iron hand press braved the elements in rain and shine. Inside, there was the large, well stocked composing room, there was Linotype and Monotype, a complete equipment for the "Aquatone" variety of offset printing, a row of small job presses for rapid four color relief printing, a variety of middle and large size cylinder presses, an excellent hand bindery, a rich typographic library, and a cafeteria restaurant. Among the many important commissions carried out there in the course of the years, two large undertakings are of particular literary interest. When some years ago important and completely unknown manuscripts of Boswell, Doctor Johnson's famous biographer, came to light at Malahide Castle in Ireland, William Edwin Rudge was commissioned by Ralph H. Isham, the owner of these precious papers, to bring out the complete text, illustrated with many facsimile reproductions from the papers. Another major commission was the printing of a complete edition of Milton's works for the Columbia University Press.

Rudge had been both wise and fortunate in his collaborators. He very clearly saw the importance of the designer within the framework of the large industrialized plant. Of the collaboration of Bruce Rogers we have already spoken. A similar position was held there for some time by Frederic Warde, whom one may consider Rogers's outstanding disciple. He is the author of a bibliography of books printed by Bruce Rogers. Warde's "Arrighi" typeface, the successful revival of a fine calligraphic Italic type of the Renaissance, is used as a companion Italic with Bruce Rogers' "Centaur." Warde combines artistic interest and ability with an unusual scientific curiosity about printing. His knowledge of paper, ink and presswork together with his typographic taste lend a particular distinction to his work. In recent years Warde has associated himself with an old-time firm of upstate New York printers, under the imprint of McFarlane, Warde & McFarlane. He is also typographic advisor to the Oxford University Press in New York.

A successful Rudge disciple is Peter Beilenson of the Walpole Printing Office in New Rochelle. Beilenson first printed for himself in

1928, using the imprint Peter Pauper Press, a year before the depression. In the fall of 1929 he and Edmund B. Thompson, also formerly of the Rudge staff, established the Walpole Printing Office. Thompson left in 1932 to start his own Hawthorne House in Windham, Conn. The Walpole Printing Office, where a steadily increasing number of volumes have been printed each year, works for its own imprint, for private customers and for publishers and rare book dealers.

Another Rudge alumnus of considerable typographic ability, who held a responsible position in the large organization, is Melvin Loos. He came to the Columbia University Press after the death of William Edwin Rudge in 1931. The Rudge plant was liquidated in 1936, when the two sons, who had previously started out for themselves, took over the name and trade mark of their father's organization.

Elmer Adler's Pynson Printers enjoys the distinction of being the most substantial and progressive of the New York printing presses exclusively devoted to fine book work. Relatively late in his career Mr. Adler took up printing, and from the start he devoted his energies to the artistic and creative aspects of book production. Broadminded and international in taste he has collaborated with Rockwell Kent and other American artists, and with such men as Lucian Bernhard, Richard Floethe and Hans Alexander Mueller from Germany. In his selection of type faces he has shown a similar cosmopolitan taste. He has made particular efforts in the production of limited illustrated editions of great works of world literature, adding, however, occasional smaller volumes at moderate prices. He has printed both for publishers and for his own Pynson Printers imprint. The most notable of his publishing ventures is *The Colophon*, a bibliophile quarterly started in 1930, for which he devised the interesting scheme of inviting different designers and presses to plan and produce the articles, reserving a share in each issue for the Pynson Printers. Thus *The Colophon* has become a singular monument of contemporary American printing.

In recent years the Pynson Printers have printed and published Dard Hunter's various volumes on the art of papermaking by hand. Dard Hunter has travelled far and wide to record the existence of old-time paper craftsmen in the modern world, to collect specimens and to illustrate their various processes.

In several regards the existence of the Spiral Press in New York is

encouraging to those who look for sincerity and originality in typography. Too often, one finds either a somewhat strained effort to be different and "modern" at the expense of sound execution, or one finds meticulous craftsmanship that is uninspired and over traditional. Joseph Blumenthal, of the Spiral Press, has submitted himself to the rigid discipline of personal craftsmanship. He has designed his own "Spiral Type," which was cut for him at the Bauer Type Foundry and, incidentally, has been taken over by the Monotype Corporation; he has learned the operation of a handpress with Dr. Wiegand of the famous Bremer Presse in Munich; he has printed books on moistened sheets of handmade paper on his own handpress in the country that are a sheer delight to the eye and the hand. But he has also gone on to apply his experience to the successful production of books for publishers in his small, but well equipped modern plant in the big city. He has also made a specialty of printing exhibition catalogues for museums and art dealers.

Melbert B. Cary, Jr.'s private printing press goes by the name of the Woolly Whale. It was founded in 1928 "merely as a means of experimenting with type and paper and as a pleasant method of turning the annual problem of providing Christmas gifts for one's friends into the highly delightful experience of choosing, designing and preparing Christmas books for them." The press on several occasions has enjoyed the collaboration of Frederic Goudy.

In turning from New York to other places where books have been and are being printed with exceptional care and success one realizes that it is more often a matter of an individual printer or firm than a local tradition. Those who know the twentieth century development of the graphic arts in America think, for instance, of the city of Baltimore in connection with Norman T. A. Munder, who has made some remarkable efforts there in the field of fine halftone printing. They think of Pittsburgh because of the existence there for many years of Porter Garnett's Laboratory Press, an educational experiment conducted in connection with the Carnegie Institute of Technology and its important department of printing. Like Joseph Blumenthal, or Warren Chappel, who has studied punch cutting, typecasting and wood-engraving with the late Rudolf Koch in Offenbach, Garnett is a firm believer in the fundamental training value of personal craftsmanship.

Here and there throughout the country, institutions of higher learning are beginning to realize their opportunities in awakening typographic taste and the appreciation of well-made books. We may look to university presses in places as far apart as North Carolina, where W. T. Couch at Chapel Hill is in a position of responsibility, and the University of California (Samuel T. Farquhar), or the press of the University of Oklahoma, for the spreading of the gospel of good bookmaking.

The progressive and independent character of some of the good printing done at Chicago today testifies to the existence there of a group of enterprising and forward-looking typographers. However, their effect is seen more clearly in commercial printing than in either limited editions or trade books. The best work in the field of fine printing still comes from R. R. Donnelley's Lakeside Press, that great old establishment which has existed now for nearly three quarters of a century. The remarkable thing about this giant organization, where the New York City Telephone books are forever revised and reprinted, and where the 14th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* saw the light of day in 1929, is that it has maintained throughout the years a high standard of taste and competence in fine book work. In 1903 there appeared the first volume of "The Lakeside Classics," a series of Christmas volumes inaugurated "to present to the friends and patrons of an old-established press an occasional book of the best English prose, representing in its mechanical details the ideals of that press in workaday bookmaking." Since then, the Lakeside Classics have appeared annually, "–a pleasant habit on the part of the publishers and a sort of vested expectancy on the part of the friends and patrons." The influence of William A. Kittredge, who came West from New England to take charge of the Lakeside Press typography, is responsible for the progressive character of many recent Lakeside books, and in particular for a series of very interestingly printed volumes, for which W. A. Dwiggins, Rockwell Kent and others made the illustrations. The huge plant on the shore of Lake Michigan houses, along with its complete technical apparatus, a small but well selected typographic library, exhibition halls and an own school for apprentices. Also in Chicago is the Black Cat Press, directed by Norman W. Forgue, who

prints and publishes books on bibliographical and typographical subjects, with a particular interest in the local Chicago traditions.

Turning now to California one is struck with the satisfactory and promising existence there of something like a real school of fine bookmaking. It is not merely a question of one or two individuals who like to play with type and presses, but the gradual unfolding and branching out of enterprises which seem to thrive on the same soil and on similar nourishment, though they differ otherwise. There seems to be a "genius loci" which even in the nineteenth century had tempted some of the restless pioneer printers to turn from their newspaper printing to bookmaking.

The pioneer and dean of modern fine printing in California is John Henry Nash. Years ago, he must have felt the influence of the Kelmscott Press and, back of it, of Ratdolt and other fifteenth century printers, keenly and spontaneously. He set out to print in the grand medieval manner, as have many other private press printers, but he never freed himself from what in his case became a rigid and, eventually, a frigid pattern. Nash has never learned to unbend and to admit some warmth and humor or intimacy onto the pages of his books. But he evidently gave his patrons what they wanted, for he was enormously successful. It would be ungracious to deny that John Henry Nash has had a decided influence, and that in his manner he has done much to prepare the way for the younger generation,—demonstrating the possibilities of private press printing and publishing for individual patrons.

The brothers Edwin and Robert Grabhorn in San Francisco, the leading figures of the younger California group, are among the most capable book printers in America. Like so many others they, too, emerged from the realms of eclecticism, from the initial stimulus of William Morris and the cult of Colonial typography. They have steadily developed and progressed upon the path of natural and contemporary articulation. If they, occasionally, strike a note of gentle historical allusion, they do it with such grace and independence, that it turns out, in the end, to be more a piece of Grabhorn printing than anything else. In their literary program, too, they have gone their own way. Their particular field is the adventurous, colorful and ever changing panorama of the life and history of the West and the Far West.

Their recent series "Rara Americana," attractive alike in contents and in format, already contains a number of volumes of lasting value.

The Grabhorns, in turn, have influenced a further group of typographers and printers. I am thinking particularly of Helen Gentry, who a few years ago left California and came East to New York. She has a very particular knack with what we might call the modern chap book, diminutive formats, clear, well defined colors in connection with sound and strong little woodcuts, bold type with plenty of air to breathe. In association with the Holiday House imprint she has brought into the nursery tiny books, which the children love and which at the same time are acceptable to even the hard-boiled aesthete.

Ward Ritchie, who graduated from Occidental College, Los Angeles, in 1928 and studied books and printing both at home and abroad, started a private press early in the thirties. In Oakland at Mills College the Eucalyptus Press is doing highly creditable work.

In the Southwest there is the Rydal Press in Santa Fe, directed by Walter Goodwin. The press was established in 1933 in response to the enthusiasm of a group of resident authors who felt the need for a local press that would make them less dependent on far away centers of printing and publishing.

It would be possible to go on and mention a number of other private presses and printing firms which in one way or another have been active in the field. Unfortunately, considerations of space make this impossible. Detailed information about these developments is found in Will Ransom's *Private Presses and their Books* and in Irvin Haas's *Bibliography of Modern American Presses* which appeared in 1935. However, the picture of contemporary fine book making would be incomplete without at least the mentioning of two publishing organizations which have made a particular point of encouraging the printers of this group. Random House, whose publishing policy has been described earlier in this volume, combines a lively interest in literature with a great deal of understanding for good typography and fine printing. Toward the beginning of its career, the firm was the American representative of the Nonesuch Press and successfully issued many finely printed limited editions. In recent years they have been noted for attractive trade book production.

The Limited Editions Club, a bibliophile publishing house organized

on a yearly subscription basis, sends to its members each month a volume designed to represent a valuable work of literature artistically printed, illustrated and bound. The club has gone out of its way to engage the best designers and printers not only of this country but from all places where worthwhile work is being done today. The series thus presents an interesting cross section view of contemporary methods and styles and certain of the volumes are real monuments of the arts of the book today. The Limited Editions Club has among its members many persons who have not previously concerned themselves much with book collecting and the appreciation of fine printing, and there can be no doubt that in this regard the club is doing some real pioneering. On the other hand, the point of view of "worthwhile investment" is one of the talking points in the club's promotion campaigns. From here stems an element that is not always agreeable in the format of the books: the visible desire to look worth the subscribers' money, or more.

From time to time the club holds a competition in book illustration or in essay writing on the subject of fine printing. The director of the club, George Macy, has also undertaken the task of publishing a new typographic yearbook, *The Dolphin, a Journal on the Making of Books*, of which three volumes have appeared. In some regards the *Dolphin* has taken the place of Stanley Morison's famous *Fleuron.* However, it does not direct itself to printers and typographers primarily, but to the book collecting public in general, and the members of the Limited Editions Club in particular. The *Dolphin* is read by printers and typographers as well, and it offers a much needed platform for the discussion of technical, artistic and historical questions.

The Heritage Press, another division of George Macy's publishing organization, pursues a policy that is very similar to the Limited Editions Club in its literary and typographic aspects, except that the editions are not limited and the prices more moderate. There are some very interesting books in this series. In recent years, the famous English Nonesuch Press has been added to this group of bibliophile publishing activities.

An organization whose steady influence from year to year has been a factor of great significance in book production is the American Institute of Graphic Arts. The Institute was organized in February

1914, when the United States was invited to participate in the famous international "Bugra" exhibition of graphic arts in Leipzig. Although it was too late then to arrange for a representative American participation, the Institute became a permanent organization "to stimulate and encourage those engaged in the graphic arts; to form a center for intercourse and for exchange of views of all interested in these arts . . . and generally to do all things which will raise the standard and aid the extension and development toward perfection of the graphic arts in the United States."

Of the many stimulating activities the annual selection of the "Fifty Books of the Year" has probably been of greatest influence in book production. The first selection was made in 1923, and was so successful that the idea since then has been taken up in many European countries. One of the important aspects of the annual event is the opportunity to compare the "limited editions" and the "trade books," which has shown that trade books in their own way can be made as attractive as many of the books produced under special circumstances, and that books are not attractive simply because they have been done expensively. The "Fifty Book" exhibitions which are reviewed, discussed and criticized each year, have done much to break up antiquated traditions which stood in the way of a normal and natural development toward contemporary expression; they have also helped to curb too violent activities along the lines of experimentation.

To provide a platform for detailed discussions of the problems of trade book design the Book Clinic has been organized some years ago by the American Institute of Graphic Arts in New York. The idea has been taken up in several other cities. A recent offshoot from the Book Clinic is the Textbook Clinic which has undertaken the very real task of removing the barriers which have prevented text-books from sharing in the revival of trade book design in the twenties and thirties.

The Trade Book

A description of the design and production of contemporary trade books is difficult because there presents itself a picture both uneven and changing. Only within the last ten to twenty years has there been a noticeable improvement of standards and even today there are publishing firms which have remained indifferent in the matter of attrac-

tive and intelligent designing of their product. The difficulties which stand in the way of more rapid and general improvement frequently arise from the organization of production. The physical preparation of the average trade book is the job of the publisher's manufacturing department which, however, does not necessarily have final authority in deciding the details of production. The word of the sales department, often in the person of an influential traveling representative, carries a great deal of weight. In some instances this can be a rather disturbing factor, particularly when the staff of the publisher's production department, as is sometimes the case, consists of people without any particular typographic training and taste, and where the emphasis lies solely on meeting production schedules and in saving as much money as possible. In such cases much of the responsibility for design and execution falls, of course, to the printer. It is not infrequently a matter of chance whether anyone, in the course of the production of a given book, has had the opportunity to visualize ahead of time the final, combined outcome of the various manufacturing stages. Quite often a book is pushed through without a plan, and it is easy to imagine the result in cases where printing, binding and the jacket are in the hands of separate firms who know nothing of the other features of the book. All that matters, under such circumstances, is low production price, speed and an effect, which will help to sell the book. Good taste is only one of a number of devices which the publisher who is essentially indifferent in these matters, may employ as a means to interest the public in a book. In many cases the most important thing still is that the book must look its price, and possibly a little more than that, so that the customer feels that he is getting more than his money's worth. Binding and jacket are designed not to give permanent satisfaction to the reader, but merely to attract attention in the window and on the counter. Even with publishers who have in other regards fallen in with the trend towards better made trade books, the binding has remained a rather drab affair until quite recently. The last years, though, have seen some very real improvements in book jackets and binding. One bad habit, that has stubbornly persisted on a still quite general scale is the bulking of paper, which adds artificially to the weight and thickness of the volume; also the deliberate roughing up the edges of the pages, simulating the deckle edge of handmade paper is one of the gentle

deceptions still fairly common today. One should further consider that all trade books are printed rapidly from plates, and that in the case of a best seller, speed of production becomes the paramount factor in determining the kind of presswork to be employed.

The question may arise in the mind of the reader why the less happy aspects of contemporary trade book design should be dwelled upon. For one thing, it is difficult to write of current conditions with the same detachment with which one describes past developments. As a matter of fact, such a detachment is undesirable when one believes, as I do, that to give information about unsatisfactory conditions is one way of inducing a change to the good. Also, these difficulties are typical not of the entire realm of trade book production today, but of those circles that have not as yet been reached by the reform movement of the post-war period.

It is not easy to understand why this reform should have set in so late. Once more one cannot help but regret that the improvements in trade book design which the literary publishers of the nineties had brought about failed to make a lasting impression. The fact remains, whatever may have been the reason, that when these personal publishing ventures came to an end around the turn of the century, the interest in trade book design died down completely. Neither the older nineteenth century publishing houses which were now reorganized and in new hands, nor the newly established firms, such as Doubleday, Page and others felt any appreciable interest in raising the physical quality of their trade books.

So everything had to be done from the start when people began to realize what had been overlooked. The real pioneer of the modern trade book reform is William Addison Dwiggins. In 1915 he brought out, together with his cousin Laurence B. Siegfried, a pamphlet entitled *Extracts From An Investigation Into the Physical Properties of Books As They Are Now Published*, a flaming protest against the current indifference and neglect.

Dwiggins, who was born in Martinsville, Ohio, in 1880, had studied in Chicago and came east to Boston in 1904, where from 1917-18 he was an acting director of the Harvard University Press. He also worked for the Yale University Press, designing jackets, endpapers, bindings and posters. Then his influence began to be felt among the New York

publishers and Alfred A. Knopf in particular recognized his power and his skill. Dwiggins also worked in the limited editions field, where his brilliant designing and illustrating attracted a great deal of attention.

He gives perhaps of his very best as a calligrapher. His hand-lettered title-pages, running heads, picture captions and book backs, in slanting delicacy, have an individual touch which cannot be imitated. He is also very much interested in ornament, where he has been daringly independent. His bindings have paper covers in warm, soft shades and strong black calico backs with delicate gold lettering and very rich decoration. Most of his designs, by the way, are really much too original and too personal, to be ideal solutions of the book designing problem; but they have a power of their own which is always refreshing and wears well. Dwiggins is undoubtedly the most talented book artist of the middle generation in America. He has had the satisfaction to see the effects of his efforts on the younger book designers as well as on publishers. Not that he has actually been imitated very much in the way in which Updike or Rogers have been imitated—but his wonderful way of working with plenty of white space, his attainment of strong effects with often the most sparing means, all this has been a most salutary and inspiring influence.

Most of the typographers and designers who are responsible for trade book design today are, like most of the publishers, located in New York. Their functions and activities differ in accordance with their positions. They are either publishers' manufacturing men, such as, for instance, Arthur Rushmore, John Benbow, Milton Glick, Evelyn Harter, Sidney R. Jacobs, Philip Van Doren Stern, Anthony P. Tedesco; or associated in various ways with printing and binding firms, such as, for instance, Ernest Reichl, Andor Braun, George Salter, who specializes in book jackets, Richard Ellis, who has come to trade book production from the realm of the private press, and Paul Johnston, also known as author and publisher on matters of typographic and bibliophile interest. There is also a chance for the free lancer in the field, and specialization upon certain fields is not infrequent. Robert Josephy has made an outstanding success of free lance book designing. John Begg specializes in the planning of text-books.

The designer employed by a publisher has the welcome opportunity

to follow up his designs through various stages of production and to preserve, in case of corrections or change of plans, the harmonious entity of the work, although this does not mean that he is always the final authority in matters of production. Also he is often burdened down with such an overwhelming mass of routine and detail work, that he sometimes has no time, at least during office hours, really to develop a plan for a given volume. Much depends in such cases upon a quick eye, a rapid sketching hand, luck and the chance to make corrections at various stages of the manufacturing process. Particular conditions prevail, of course, when the publisher has his own manufacturing plant.

The free lance typographer has the possibility to concentrate upon worthwhile projects and to select such jobs which will give him an opportunity to solve an interesting problem in an interesting way. But. of course, he has got to make a living, and sometimes he is glad to get any work at all. The most disturbing element, once he is at work, is the lack of opportunity to see his plans carried consistently through the various manufacturing stages. Not infrequently the services of the free lancer end upon his delivering the layout, and he may not see his work again until it appears, often with arbitrary changes, in the final product. Since he is judged by his products this can be quite a hardship. At the basis of this practice is an older notion, fortunately on the wane, that design is an element which can be deliberately attached, in the form of a fancy title page and a little ornamentation here and there, to an otherwise routinized production. There are, even today, a number of publishers who are satisfied with this procedure. However, such publishers as Alfred Knopf and the Viking Press have long ago recognized the value of careful and attractive book design, not only of individual volumes, but of their entire list. There is no doubt that the number of publishers is increasing, who realize that a certain consistency of style and quality does much to identify the individual volumes in a desirable way with the general policies of their firms.

A large portion of the country's trade book production lies in the hands of a comparatively small number of book manufacturing concerns which are definitely organized for this work. These firms include in or near the Metropolitan area, the H. Wolff Book Manufacturing Company; J. J. Little & Ives; the Van Rees Press; the American

Book-Stratford Press; in New Jersey, Quinn & Boden and the Haddon Craftsmen, in Camden, New Jersey, where this book has been printed. The George Grady Press in New York City works primarily for institutions of higher education. Then there is a considerable number of small town printing firms, which work for the New York publishers such as, to name only a few, E. L. Hildreth & Co., in Brattleboro, Vermont; the Plimpton Press and the Norwood Press in Norwood, Mass.; Braunworth & Company in Bridgeport, Conn.; Vail-Ballou in Binghamton, New York; and the Kingsport Press in Kingsport, Tennessee. The Athenaeum Press in Boston occupies an important position in text-book production; Taylor & Taylor in San Francisco, established in 1896 as the E. D. Taylor Company, is another outstanding example of a book printing firm in a big city other than New York.

Printing firms at large have recognized the value of trained typographers and artists, whose constant watchfulness and enthusiasm have done much to raise the general level of production and to demonstrate that an attractive and distinguished format is not necessarily a luxury.

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A BRIEF NOTE ON AMERICAN BOOK ILLUSTRATION SINCE 1860

BOOK ILLUSTRATION does not play a very important part in the development of the book in America. It does not influence the course of events in the sense in which the woodcut, for instance, has influenced the books printed in the fifteenth century, or in which the copper engraving became part of the essential structure of the book in the later renaissance.[1]

That the work of early American engravers on copper and wood, the rise of steel engraving and lithography after 1800, and nineteenth century pre-photographic illustration are nevertheless worthy of the attention of students and collectors, has been made clear by Mr. Wroth in an earlier section of this volume.

Mr. Wroth has already mentioned Felix Octavius Carr Darley, the outstanding American illustrator of the mid-nineteenth century. His illustrations for Washington Irving (1848 and 1850) and for Hawthorne (1879) are outline drawing in the general classical manner, but with a good deal of attention to local detail; they appeared as lithographs. For his famous Cooper illustrations (1859-61) the best banknote engravers of the day were employed. As the publishers explained, this was the first attempt to introduce into book illustration the deep cutting and the clear, detailed linework that was customary in banknote engraving and which was obtained at about double the price paid for ordinary steel engraving.

Banknote engraving was a distinct American specialty, drawing into its realm some of the best talents. The portraits and the ornaments on the paper money and securities of the nineteenth century are done with extreme skill and a great deal of love. Every stamp collector knows the series of portraits of the American presidents. Even today, as a glance at our paper currency will reveal, steel engraving carries with it the ornamental traditions of the romantic period, an interesting example of an apparently inseparable liaison between a technique and the artistic fashion dominant at the time of its first flourishing.

[1] Source material for a more detailed study of illustration is listed in the bibliography at the end of this volume.

Within the realm of the wood engraving the development led to a rapid technical refinement, simultaneous with the loss of much of the genuine character of that process. Soon after the middle of the century, wood engraving became purely a method of reproduction with little artistic character of its own. At the same time the artists who drew the pictures emancipated themselves from the engravers, who became more and more technicians only.

An entire group of artists and engravers collected around the Harper publishing firm to such extent, that one can almost speak of a Harper school of wood engraving. These artists and engravers worked mainly for the many magazines of the firm. Elsewhere, too, it is impossible to distinguish in the work of the time book illustration from magazine illustration. Among the most capable engravers of the latter nineteenth century we find William James Linton, A. V. S. Anthony, John P. Davis, Frederick Juengling, Richard A. Mueller, John Tinkey, Henry Wolf and Timothy Cole, who died only in 1931.

An important book publication of Harper's to which many artists and engravers contributed, had been the Bible of 1843, illustrated with no less than 1400 wood engravings. Similar voluminous works appeared now, such as Appleton's *Picturesque America*, published 1872-1874, which still contained a number of steel plates along with the much more successful wood engravings. Among the many artists of this group, Benson J. Lossing, with his *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution* has already been mentioned by Mr. Wroth. His book of travels and of views *The Hudson from the Wilderness to the Sea* (1866) combines graphic charm with the interest of the subject matter. Lively and natural illustrations, somewhat uneven in artistic quality, are found in David Hunter Strother's *Virginia Illustrated*, which Harper published in 1871 under Strother's favorite pseudonym "Port Crayon."

The books with wood engravings of this period show the same organic fitting together of picture and text which the collectors enjoy in the European books of this period. In the course of the 70's and 80's a new style of book illustration came about. There appeared an increasingly free and sweeping pen and ink manner, which coincided with the change from wood engraving to photomechanical line engraving. The surviving wood engraving soon began to reflect the tonal

gradations of photography and of photographic halftone engraving. There are late wood engravings by Timothy Cole, which one may almost look upon as manual reproductions in wood of halftone engravings.

Winslow Homer, with his talented, if sober illustrations, stands midway between the older and the newer school. Also Edwin A. Abbey, the illustrator of Robert Herrick's poems (1882) and of *Old Songs* (1889) shows in his manner the change from the old school of careful, detailed line work, that was intended to be cut in wood, to the new freedom of pen and ink illustrations, which were easily reproduced photomechanically.

The best representatives of the pen and ink school in this country are at the same time specialists of the American scene. One feels in their work the love and warmth of personal observation, and a knowledge of detail, which compensates for an occasional lack of originality and artistic consistency.

Genuine illustrations, in the best sense of the word, are E. W. Kemble's pictures for Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn.* Once you have read an edition with his illustrations, you will continue to see the people and the scenes of this book as Kemble saw them. Kemble reveals himself as an observing expert of the life of colored folk in the South in his illustrations for Joel Chandler Harris's *On the Plantation, A Story of a Georgia Boy's Adventure During the War.* Harris's famous Uncle Remus stories were illustrated by another member of "the free pen and ink school," A. B. Frost, whose humorous pictures for that book have not been forgotten. His illustrations for H. C. Bunner's *The Story of a New York House* are a little more reserved. Into this group belongs also C. S. Reinhart, who made, for instance, amusing and freshly drawn sketches of travel and summer resort life for Charles Dudley Warner's *Their Pilgrimage* (1893).

A distinguished connoisseur of Indian and Western life is Frederic Remington. For Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, for instance, he designed innumerable marginal drawings, which show details of Indian life with such exactness and expert knowledge, that they may well be considered as reliable ethnological source material.

In the eighties we encounter the first monumental illustrations reproduced by the aid of photography, in a somewhat weighty sym-

bolic and classical style, such as Will H. Low's Keats illustrations of 1885 and 1886 and the rather awkward illustrations for Rossetti's *Blessed Damozel* by Kenyon Cox, which appeared in 1886. In this group belongs also the Rubaiyat edition of 1884, handwritten and decorated by Elihu Vedder in a manner somewhat reminiscent of Blake, but so full of ornamental allusions and hidden symbols, that the decorations have to be explained in detail at the end of the volume.

Howard Pyle is the most representative American illustrator of the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries. His first work appeared in *Scribners' Monthly* in 1876 and for many years his illustrations were a leading feature of *Harper's*. Upon his death in 1911 he left behind him a very many-sided and voluminous body of work. His early academic training brought him under the influence of the Pre-Raphaelite school of black and white drawing; then, for a while, he practiced the realistic and free pen and ink manner; but he soon returned to mediaeval allusion and to symbolic representation. The development of four color halftone printing stimulated his painting interests, and for a while he fell in with the artists who like Rackham and Dulac explored the possibilities of photomechanical color printing. The flexibility of his style is equalled in the variety of his subjects; he has revived in his pictures the colonial period and the Revolutionary Wars; the middle ages; pirate life and Indian warfare; fables, fairy tales, and allegory. Even today he is one of the most popular of all American illustrators.

The amazing Joseph Pennell (1860-1926), prominent etcher and painter of the impressionistic era, achieved remarkable success in illustration. He left behind a substantial body of work to testify to his brilliant, nervous talent.

Charles Dana Gibson, who illustrated both magazines and books, made pen and ink drawings which will always be remembered as witty and spontaneous documents of a definite era of American life.

Illustration early in this century seems to lack direction and distinction. It appears that comparatively little work done during those years is likely to survive. The contemporary school of book illustration, too, does not present itself as clearly outlined as the nineteenth century, but that may be due in part to the lack of perspective. One aspect of modern American book illustration that appears to be characteristic

is the success in the fields of travel and adventure. In books of discoveries, in tales of the sea for young people and for older ones, the American illustrator is greatly at his ease. These subjects are presented in a great variety of technique and style. Rockwell Kent, himself an ardent sailor and explorer, is a purist, who believes in the clear discipline of black and white drawing, carefully placed into the text. His sophisticated and witty drawings for *Candide* belong among the best illustrations of today. Valenti Angelo, too, is much concerned with the aesthetic unity of text and picture, and there lives in his work a feeling for symmetry and harmony that is the heritage of the Latin race. William A. Dwiggins has done excellent things in the field of book illustration. His drawings for Poe's *Tales* and for Stevenson's *Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde* are masterpieces of intelligent and discreet interpretations. Anyone interested in the eternal question of what illustration should, and what it should not be, ought to read his *Form Letters: Illustrator to Author*, published in 1930. Dwiggins has always understood very nicely the sparing use of a little color along with black and white illustrations. More recently, in line with the printers' increasing skill in handling color in the press, his color work has gained in strength and breadth, and his Rabelais illustrations and the pictures for Robert Nathan's *One More Spring* are masterpieces of modern color printing.

Particularly interested in the woodcut, black and white and in color, are A. Allen Lewis, J. J. Lankes, Charles W. Smith and several others. Lynd Ward has made many contributions to book illustration, and has developed in America the idea of the picture novel, which originated with the Flemish artist, Frans Masereel.

European artists have forever been well received and quickly made to feel at home in America. They usually bring along a developed sense of style, competent craftsmanship and definite knowledge of the possibilities and limitations of book illustration. America has offered them not only the chance to show what they can do, and an opportunity to make a living, but has often inspired them with new ideas and fresh powers of perception and of expression. It is so long ago since Rudolph Ruzicka came as a boy of eleven to America from Czecho-Slovakia, where he was born in 1883, that nobody thinks of him as anything but the recognized American master of colored wood en-

graving. His inborn sense of color and line, his solid and intelligent workmanship, his integrity and modesty have won him universal respect and admiration. The colored wood engravings in his *New York*, his *Fountains of Papal Rome*, both issued in 1915, the *Newark* volume issued in 1917, illustrations for Washington Irving, 1921, La Fontaine, 1930, Thoreau, also 1930, and his contribution to *Three Monographs on Color*, 1935, are his most important works to date.

At various times during the post-war period successful German illustrators have come to make their home here. There is, for instance, Richard Floethe, George Salter, Fritz Eichenberg, and George Grosz. Two outstanding German masters of the woodcut and of wood engraving, Hans Alexander Mueller and Fritz Kredel are living in America now.

Boris Artzybasheff came here from Russia, and his decorative eccentricities have pleased collectors of book illustration as well as the children, for whom he has made some very successful picture books.

The thing that surprises one again and again is the number of artists and designers, who, without cultivating this field particularly, have occasionally turned to illustration and been remarkably fortunate there. For instance, Grant Wood has illustrated a book, and Percival Goodman's drawings for *The Golden Ass*, Limited Editions Club, 1932, are interesting and beautiful.

The revival of aboriginal American art in the hands of the Mexicans has added a striking and unusual note to contemporary book illustration. Covarrubias and Orozco have led the way with some interesting experiments in color. They depend, like other free artists, upon the progress in photomechanical color printing.

Pure photography, too, is gradually making a place for itself in American book illustration. Books have, of course, been illustrated with photographs for many years now. This is the natural medium today for pictorial documentation. But the use of artistic photographs to illustrate and interpret literature is new. Edward Steichen, for instance, has been successful with his photographic illustrations of *Walden*. We are far from anything like perfection, but the experiments deserve attention and encouragement.

In children's illustration all the tendencies outlined above are reflected. Many of today's illustrators work in both the adult and the

juvenile field. There is also a large group of men and women who devote their time and energy exclusively to children's illustration, which is a very active and expanding field indeed.

In book illustration, too, the privileged position of the newspaper and the magazine in American life has been a very important factor. The illustrator finds far better financial returns for his work in the magazine field, where his drawings are reproduced in editions far outnumbering any figures that he might hope for in the book world. It is no wonder, therefore, that many illustrators accept the standardizing and often commercializing influence of work for the magazines and, of course, for the advertising world. It can probably be said that the best graphic talents, the people who can, or could do some of the most interesting work, do not always find their way to book illustration. For instance, how much talent is hidden, successfully, I admit, but nevertheless noticeable, in the comic strip! And one must not forget that amazing wonder child of the comic strip, the singing, dancing, colored motion picture cartoon. In the hands of Walt Disney and his faithful collaborators, the technicolor film has become a most happy and spontaneous field for the graphic phantasy and wealth of imagination of the American illustrator today.

PART III

AMERICAN BOOK COLLECTING AND THE GROWTH OF LIBRARIES

by

Ruth Shepard Granniss

INTRODUCTION

IN THIS BRIEF SURVEY of American libraries we shall look first at the ownership of books by individuals, not only because of the logic of this point of view, but also because, to a surprising extent, the public libraries of America have been the outgrowth of the generosity and wise provision of private collectors of books; in fact, so closely are the two classes interwoven that inevitably the history of private libraries contains much which belongs to that of public institutions, while many a distinguished library now open to the public is best described together with the story of its collector-founder.

Wills, inventories of estates and correspondence, published and unpublished, show that many of our early settlers owned and treasured books. They brought them when they came and added to them as opportunity offered. Thanks to the publications of the American Antiquarian and State Historical Societies, particularly those of Massachusetts and Virginia, and of other learned bodies,[1] much of this manuscript information is available. For New England, too, Justin Winsor, Franklin B. Dexter, and George Littlefield, in various works,[2] and James Goddard Wright, in his *Literary Culture of Early New England*, have set forth the results of study of original sources so satisfactorily that later writers must inevitably acknowledge a debt to them—an acknowledgment which is herewith made with gratitude.

Obviously, the books owned by the first settlers were brought from Europe, and even after the introduction of printing in 1638 there was a steady flow of books from the mother country, as the correspondence of the Winthrops, Henry Dunster, Roger Williams and others shows. We know, too, that the Winthrop family received the catalogues of the great German book-fairs and made purchases from them. When we realize that the main products of the seventeenth century Massachusetts press were psalm books, laws, sermons and controversial writings and that it had no rival on this side of the Atlantic until William Bradford

[1] Particular mention should be made of the *Transactions* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts and the *Quarterly Historical Magazine* of William and Mary College.

[2] See Bibliography at end of volume.

established his printing press in Philadelphia in 1685, it is not surprising that book buyers continued to demand foreign products and that the Term Catalogues from London were scanned eagerly.

From Worthington Chauncey Ford's study of *The Boston Book Market, 1679-1700,* in which he based calculations of importations upon invoices of books sent from London to John Usher, bookseller of Boston, we learn that the largest number of books so imported were religious and school books, while a fair proportion pertain to the arts, history, travel and literature, with a number of classics and some romances. Drama is usually conspicuous by its absence!

Fifty years after Stephen Daye began to print in Cambridge that eccentric London bookseller, John Dunton, paid his visit to the New World, with the double object of collecting bad debts and selling books. His *Confessions* and letters, though not always reliable, give entertaining glimpses of both the buyers and sellers of books whom he encountered.

Almost simultaneously with the establishment of the first printing press came John Harvard's bequest of his books and money toward forming a library for the college, founded at Cambridge in 1636, which was to immortalize his name. An early attempt had been made to establish a college at Henrico in Virginia and books had been gathered for a library there, but the plan was abandoned after the Indian massacre of 1622. The so-called public library, started in Boston in accordance with Captain Robert Keayne's will providing for the erection of a "town-house," and occasionally mentioned in the town records, has a somewhat vague history during the seventeenth century. Hence, aside from private collections, Harvard College Library remains the only important one in the Colonies until the establishment, shortly before 1700, of the Library of King's Chapel, Boston, the College of William and Mary in Virginia, and Dr. Bray's parochial libraries.

PRIVATE LIBRARIES: THE SEVENTEENTH AND EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The Earliest Collections

VIRGINIA, home of the earliest permanent settlement and rich in tradition, falls behind New England in its number of outstanding collections of books, owing in part, perhaps, to the late introduction of printing into that state. Records and inventories of estates, however, show a very high average of small libraries, containing up to one hundred volumes. That cultured statesman, Richard Lee, dying in 1664, left a distinguished library for his time; and Edward Ball, Henry Randolph and other Virginians possessed goodly numbers of books.

The final establishment of William and Mary College in 1693 added to the spread of culture and gave new zest to book buying. Many families, however, continued the habit of sending their sons to European universities during the eighteenth century.

Several of the Southern colonials used handsome armorial bookplates, evidently brought from England, and the titles in their lists reflect their Cavalier proclivities in a greater variety of subjects and a more worldly tendency than is found in the colonies farther north.

Probably the best collections in Virginia were gathered toward the end of the seventeenth century by the great landowners, Ralph Wormesley of Rosegill and William Byrd of Westover. The will of the former, once a student at Oriel College, Oxford, was probated in 1701 and shows a large and varied library. Among its four hundred volumes were *Hudibras*, *Don Quixote*, the essays of Bacon and Montaigne, and the works of Fuller, Herbert, and Waller, while the drama was represented by Beaumont and Fletcher, Davenant and Jonson.

William Byrd (1674-1744), a man of much personal charm, was president of the Council of the Colony and its great patron of art and literature. Heir to a large estate, and friend of many prominent men of his day, he was a Fellow of the Royal Society of London and author of what are now known as the *Westover Manuscripts*, published in 1841. His library of some 3,600 volumes contained the works of most

of the important English writers from Chaucer to his own day, as well as Boccaccio and Rabelais, "all neatly catalogued by his amusing librarian," Mr. Proctor, whom Byrd addressed in a letter as "Most hypercondriack Sir."[1] A manuscript catalogue of Byrd's library was bought from N. G. Dufief and bequeathed to the Library Company of Philadelphia by William Mackenzie, and a sale catalogue of his books was advertised as published in *The Virginia Gazette* of December 19, 1777.[2] That Byrd loved his books is evidenced by the phrasing of the well-known quotation from his writings: "A library, a garden, a grove and a purling stream are the innocent scenes that divert our leisure." He may be said, however, to belong to the second generation of American collectors, and it is necessary to turn from the pleasant picture evoked by him to the early days of the Pilgrims and Puritans on the rocky coast of New England. Records consulted show little bookish history in the intervening Atlantic coast colonies before 1700.

Possibly because they have not been studied in relation to what books they possessed, we know only that the comfortable burghers of New Amsterdam bequeathed their Bibles as heirlooms, but mentioned few other volumes in their wills. However, as O. A. Bierstadt remarks in *The Library of Robert Hoe*, they "probably added occasionally to the bliss of their pipes by dipping into vellum bound folios fresh from Old Amsterdam."

Two of the most interesting of the seventeenth century records of books in New York and New Jersey pertain to women—the Widow Bronck of Emaus, New York, whose inventory in 1643 included Danish books, and Elizabeth Tatham of New Jersey, who left 552 volumes in 1700. Halfway between these two ladies, in point of time, ranks Mrs. Willoughby of Virginia, who left over one hundred volumes in 1673. At about the same time John Allen of Woodbridge, New Jersey, had a small library of medical, religious and historical works. An occasional armorial bookplate evidences regard and care for books, a case in point being the handsome plate of "William Penn, Esq^{r}. Proprietor of Pennsylvania."

[1] See R. C. Beatty's *William Byrd of Westover*. Boston, 1932, pp. 184-5.

[2] See Byrd's *Writings*, edited by J. S. Bassett, New York, 1901. "Appendix A" reprints the catalogue from a copy of the original manuscript given to the Library Company. The present location of a number of Byrd's books is given by C. L. Cannon in *The Colophon*, Spring, 1938 (see Bibliography).

The large proportion of university men among the New England colonists has often been noticed. On the shores of Massachusetts Bay, within a few years after the first settlement, were nearly one hundred Oxford and Cambridge men, many of them possessors of advanced degrees, giving to the young colony, says Professor Wright, "a cultural tone unique in the history of colonization."

Even among the Pilgrims of Plymouth, few were without books and it is interesting to observe that the three leaders—Elder Brewster, Governor Bradford and Miles Standish—owned the greatest numbers. When William Brewster died in 1644 his collection of books was probably the largest and most diversified in New England. It contained nearly four hundred volumes, the late dates of many of them showing that the beloved Elder continued to buy books throughout his busy life. In the inventory, together with many volumes of theology, we find editions of Bacon, Raleigh, Wither, Decker, Hakluyt and Machiavelli.

William Bradford, the energetic governor of the colony, to whom we owe the *History of the Plimoth Plantation*,[3] left only about eighty volumes, but his writings abound in quotations which show familiarity with many other authors. Even the doughty soldier, Miles Standish, left some fifty books, including the *Commentaries* of Caesar, whom he emulated.

Turning to the Massachusetts Bay Colony,[4] we find the young clergyman, John Harvard, dying at thirty-one and leaving his books (from three to four hundred volumes) and half his estate to the newly founded college at New Towne (Cambridge). Other owners of libraries who were active in the development of Harvard were Henry Dunster, its first president; Thomas Dudley, governor of the colony; the Reverend Thomas Shepard, to whom Chiswell, the London dealer, sent large shipments of books; and Governor John Winthrop. Important

[3] The manuscript has a romantic history, from the time when it was stolen from the Prince collection until it came to rest in the Massachusetts State Library. It was not printed until 1856, when Charles Deane, owner of an important collection of Americana, edited it for the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[4] According to Lawrance Thompson, writing of *Collectors of Colonial Massachusetts* in *The Colophon* (Autumn, 1936), William Blaxton, or Blackstone, comes first in point of time among owners of books in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This eccentric settler brought with him from England one hundred and eighty-six volumes, which he later carried to Rhode Island, where, with all his possessions, they were burned by the Indians shortly after their owner's death.

gifts of books were sent from London to the new college by Sir Kenelm Digby, perhaps interested by his friend, the younger Winthrop, who shared his taste for collecting and for the study of alchemy and chemistry.

The journal and letters of Governor Winthrop bear many allusions to his library and to consignments of books from Europe. In 1640 he wrote that his son, John Winthrop, Jr., had over one thousand volumes in a storeroom in Boston. The son, a widely travelled diplomat, afterwards governor of Connecticut, was an active member of the Royal Society of London, and made large additions to the Winthrop library, receiving and using the catalogues of the German book-fairs. The library contained an unusual number of books in foreign languages (Ronsard, Pascal and others), while John Winthrop's interest in medical studies, practical chemistry and mechanical devices is indicated by the large proportion of scientific works, including occult subjects. Nearly three hundred volumes, survivors of the Winthrop library, were presented by a descendant to the New York Society Library.[5]

Among outstanding theological collections were those of John Eliot, Thomas Hooker and Roger Williams—all English university men, with more breadth of vision than many of their fellows. Another theological library, in which the classics had an important place, was that of the Reverend Samuel Eaton of New Haven. Returning to England in 1640 he gave his books, including the works of Plutarch, Virgil, Sir Thomas More and Erasmus, to New Haven.

In 1693, Duncan Campbell published in Boston a catalogue of the collection of the Reverend Samuel Lee of Bristol, Rhode Island, which may be the earliest printed catalogue of books in British America. The books (one thousand volumes, showing great diversity of subject) were to be sold by Campbell and the announcement created a great sensation, augmented, doubtless, by the sad fate of the owner, who had been captured by a French privateer on his return to England and taken prisoner to St. Malo, where he died. A copy of this catalogue is in the Prince Collection in the Boston Public Library.

[5] Some of the chemical and medical works were exhibited at the Pennsylvania Hotel, New York, in connection with the Tercentenary of American Chemical Industries, April, 1935. The accompanying pamphlet on Winthrop's *Library and Learning* is of interest.

All of these New England collections sink into insignificance beside the one begun by Richard Mather in 1610 and continued by four generations of Mathers, especially by those two distinguished divines and voluminous writers, Increase and Cotton, father and son. The library, which, except perhaps for that of William Byrd, ranks as the first actual "collector's library" in the New World, probably contained in Cotton Mather's time about four thousand volumes and "a prodigious number of manuscripts." John Dunton, the visiting English bookseller, reported that it was the best sight he had seen in Boston and even went so far as to say that, "as the famous Bodleian Library at Oxford is the glory of Oxford University, if not of all Europe, so Mr. Mather's library is the glory of New England, if not of all America."

Increase Mather (1639-1723), with a degree from Trinity College, Dublin, was president of Harvard and a buyer of books on science and politics, keeping lists of the books which he read. His son, Cotton, the author of more than four hundred and fifty books, many of them controversial, seems, in spite of his austerity and credulity in witchcraft, to have had the true collector's passion for books. "I have a mighty thirst after the Sight of Books, now and then published in Holland," he writes; he speaks in his diary of the "Darling of my little enjoyments"; and again he registers his gratitude to God for his "Exceedingly well-furnished Library," "a library exceeding any man's in all this land."

In course of time what was left of the Mather library descended to Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker, who gave certain volumes to the Massachusetts Historical Society and who, at the instance of Isaiah Thomas, historian of printing in America, presented the remainder to the American Antiquarian Society, which Thomas had founded at Worcester. A list of the books of Increase Mather, written by himself, is in the Boston Public Library, and other lists are incorporated in J. H. Tuttle's essay on *The Libraries of the Mathers*, 1910.

William Gwinn Mather, of Cleveland, spent many years gathering a library of writings by or pertaining to his great forbears, occasionally issuing important biographical and bibliographical monographs. His collection was purchased in 1935 by Tracy McGregor of Washington, collector and philanthropist, who originated and, dying in 1936, en-

dowed what is known as The McGregor Plan for the encouragement of book collecting by American college libraries.[6]

A contemporary of Cotton Mather and William Byrd was Samuel Sewall, diarist, preacher, abolitionist, merchant and quasi-bookseller, treasurer of the town of Boston, as well as manager of its printing-press, judge of the Supreme Court, and probably, next to his friends the Mathers, the most noted New England book collector of the early eighteenth century. His diary and letters contain many allusions to the books which he read and acquired, both at home and abroad. The diary proves that he was generous both in giving away and lending books and that he carried them upon his travels (he makes special mention of the works of Thomas Fuller and Ben Jonson) and read them while waiting for appointments, even, as he records, when he was awaiting a lady to whom he was about to make an offer of marriage.

Both Increase Mather and Samuel Sewall used printed name labels as bookplates, a custom which seems to have been introduced in America by Henry Dunster, first president of Harvard, for whom three were printed in England. In 1933, R. W. G. Vail, librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, contributed to the *American Book Collector* a study of these little seventeenth century book-labels, twenty-six of which he described, nearly all of them having been made for Harvard graduates, after the fashion set by the first president. Mr. Vail raises an interesting question concerning the label reading, "Steven Day. January II, 1642," which, if it can be identified as belonging to our first printer, may prove to be a very early piece of American printing. Other dated labels of interest are those of John Cotton, at one time librarian of Harvard, the Reverend John Williams of Deerfield, Massachusetts, who was taken captive by the Indians, and lastly that of a woman, Hannah Sutton, which seems to have been made about 1700.

From Thomas Prince (1687-1758) to the Republic

When Chief Justice Sewall died in 1730, his funeral sermon was preached by that eminent scholar, the Rev. Thomas Prince (1687-1758), who, at the early age of seventeen, had begun collecting his splendid library of colonial books and manuscripts. For the greater part of his

[6] See *The McGregor Plan*, published by the American Historical Association Committee on Americana for College Libraries, 1937.

life Dr. Prince was pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, and it was to the care of this church that he bequeathed his colonial library, having already deposited there his collection of the writings of New England divines. Unhappily, a portion of the library was destroyed in the early days of the Revolutionary War and some of the volumes were scattered. In 1866 the remainder, with the exception of a few which were sold by the trustees, were taken from storage in the belfry of the church and placed in the custody of the Boston Public Library, the deacons of the church acting as trustees under Dr. Prince's will. As bound when received, they consisted of 1899 volumes, including the Bay Psalm Book and both editions of Eliot's Indian Bible. They reflect the taste and judgment of the scholarly and bookloving clergyman who collected them, as he said, "from a public view, and with the desire that the memory of many important transactions might be preserved which otherwise would be lost." Some of the scattered volumes were recognized by Dr. Prince's printed label, dated 1704, and restored to the collection. After two incomplete catalogues the Boston Public Library published a comprehensive one in 1870, with an introduction by Justin Winsor. In 1858 an historical book club was named in honor of Thomas Prince, and the publications of the Prince Society are worthy memorials of a great collector.

The French and Indian wars of the middle eighteenth century and the unrest of the years preceding the American Revolution were not conducive to book collecting, and we find few private collections of note, though libraries of moderate size were naturally becoming more general.

Important collections of the period are the libraries of James Logan, Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Hutchinson and Samuel Johnson, first president of King's (Columbia) College. James Logan, who as a young man had been William Penn's secretary, was reputed a very learned book collector. Dying in 1751, he left to the city of Philadelphia his library of over three thousand volumes, later merged with that of the Library Company, of whose founders he had been an early adviser. The Americana collection of Thomas Hutchinson, loyalist governor of Massachusetts, was ranked by Winsor next to those of the Mathers and Thomas Prince. Unfortunately, much of it was destroyed by a mob which sacked his Boston home in 1765, the papers which were saved

resting today among the state archives of Massachusetts. The remains of Samuel Johnson's fine collection are preserved in the Columbia Library. A cherished volume is one wherein is written in his hand what appears to be a sermon on "The Oeconomy of the Redemption of Man by Jesus Christ explained." On sixteen pages at the back of the volume he has written a catalogue of his books, entitled: "A catalogue of my Library with the value of each Book Aug. 15, 1726." The list is arranged by sizes, and he has actually given the value of each book.

The Library Company of Philadelphia, described by Franklin as "the first circulating library in America," was founded largely through his youthful efforts in 1731. A self-taught man, Franklin was ever foremost in forwarding educational institutions. A visit to his private library was described in 1787 by Manasseh Cutler, who wrote: "It is a very large chamber, and high studded. The walls are covered with bookshelves filled with books; besides there are four large alcoves, extending two-thirds of the length of the chamber, filled in the same manner. I presume this is the largest, and by far the best, private library in America."

Franklin's books were disposed of very carefully in his will, in which he mentions a catalogue, now unfortunately lost. Books bequeathed to the American Philosophical Society, to the Library Company and to the Academy of Arts and Sciences are still owned by those societies in Philadelphia. George Simpson Eddy, in his paper on *Dr. Benjamin Franklin's Library*,[7] tells of interesting discoveries concerning the vicissitudes of the volumes left to Franklin's grandson, and later in the hands of the bookseller, Dufief. Today, Mr. Eddy states that he has discovered titles of some 1,500 of the 4,276 volumes reported in the inventory of Franklin's property at the time of his death. They consist chiefly, he says, of works on science, travel and history, dictionaries, transactions of learned societies, etc., with a few classics, while an occasional finely printed book from the press of Baskerville or Ibarra reminds one of Franklin's life-long interest in typography.

Meantime, American engravers were coming to the fore, and bookplates by Nathaniel Hurd, Henry Dawkins, Peter Rushton Maverick and Amos Doolittle perpetuate names of book owners which might

[7] See Bibliography for Part III, for descriptions of this and other important works mentioned hereafter in the text without further reference.

otherwise be lost. Hurd produced at least thirty plates which he signed, among them two for Harvard College, while what is probably the first dated plate engraved in America was made by Dawkins for John Burnet in 1754.

Among over sixty bookplates signed by the prolific Peter Maverick are those of the Society Library and the Van Rensselaer and Livingston families of New York. The latter is said to outstrip any other American family in the number of bookplates made for its earlier members.

Amos Doolittle's plates for two societies of Yale College and for the Social Library of Weathersfield, Connecticut, remind us that the eighteenth century saw the founding of several of our great colleges (Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and the Universities of Virginia and Pennsylvania), as well as the practical development of community libraries.

The Early Presidents as Book Collectors

Passing from the Colonial era to the Republic, we find that several of the early Presidents of the United States were veritable book collectors.[8] Although Worthington C. Ford, in his introduction to the *Inventory of the Contents of Mount Vernon*, is inclined to consider President Washington an owner rather than a collector of books, the story of his library will always be an interesting one. We know that he had some nine hundred volumes at Mount Vernon, many of them gifts of friends and admirers, and that the majority of the books which he read dealt with war and husbandry. The library contained also the best editions of the English classics and many of the volumes were bound in calf, with emblematic tooling, by his Philadelphia binder. Many, but not all, contained his bookplate. The books were left to a nephew, Bushrod Washington, who added to them.[9] In the course of time a large part of the collection was acquired by the American bookseller in London, Henry Stevens, who was about to offer them

[8] See Rosenbach & Brigham. *The Libraries of the Presidents of the United States* (in Bibliography under *Book Collecting: General.*)

[9] The most important sale of Washington's books was by Thomas in November, 1876, when many of the volumes were bought by John R. Baker. Baker's library was sold in February, 1891, by Henkels, who had disposed of many of Washington's effects in the preceding December and who in 1891 and 1892 held various sales of "final relics" and books of Washington (see *American Book Auction Catalogues* by G. L. McKay, 1937, Nos. 2159, 3900, 3921, 3950, etc. Hereafter, references will be made to this work by the initial "M" and the number therein given to the sale).

to the British Museum. In order to save them for this country a number of Boston and Cambridge collectors, pre-eminently George Livermore and Charles Eliot Norton, raised the necessary sum by subscription. They also secured a number of books by or relating to Washington from the collector-bookseller, Samuel Gardiner Drake. It was voted by the subscribers to place the collection permanently in the Boston Athenaeum, where it is one of the chief treasures, a descriptive catalogue having been issued in 1897.

Other volumes from Washington's library occasionally appear in auction sales and are highly prized, especially when they contain his autograph and well-known armorial bookplate, of which there is a counterfeit. There are also modern impressions from the original copper.

The second President, John Adams, had a large library, which he presented in his old age to the town of Quincy, Massachusetts, the home of the Adams family. A catalogue was made, in compliance with a condition of the gift, but it was unsatisfactory and in 1884 a suitable one, prepared at the expense and under the direction of his grandson, Charles Francis Adams, was completed. The books were later transferred to the Boston Public Library where they demonstrate in interesting fashion the contents of the library of an eighteenth century statesman. The Library issued its own catalogue of the collection in 1917.

John Adams used a simple armorial bookplate, whereas his son, John Quincy Adams, the sixth President, used four varieties of engraved plates in the historical library which he collected for himself and left to his family. The books, together with those of his son, Charles Francis Adams, now occupy a separate building on the old Adams estate at Quincy, owned by the Adams Memorial Society.[10]

Thomas Jefferson was a collector *par excellence*, cataloguing his own library, for which he made a classification based upon Lord Bacon's division of the faculties of the mind under three heads, memory, reason and imagination. Jefferson's letters and papers abound in allusions to books, and he made lists of those desirable for students, in connection with the library of the University of Virginia, the building for which he designed. His own library was rich in books on America and in the

[10] Except those deposited in the Boston Athenaeum.

classics and architecture, with a larger proportion of general European literature than had appeared hitherto in an American library.

When the Capitol at Washington, with its library, was destroyed by fire during the War of 1812 Jefferson offered to sell his own library to the United States Government upon any terms that it might choose. After disgraceful delay and objection on the part of the Senate the sale was consummated for $23,950, a sum far less than the value of the books. Soon afterwards there appeared *A Catalogue of the Library of the United States*, for which we must be doubly grateful as in 1851 fire again devastated the Library of Congress and two-thirds of the Jeffersonian collection was destroyed.

Most of the Library left by Jefferson at his death was sold at auction by Nathaniel Poor in Washington in February, 1829.[11]

[11] M. 226. See also M. 1791, 9286.

John Allan (1777-1863)

JOHN ALLAN has been called the Nestor of book collecting in New York, beginning that long line of bibliophiles, which for a century and a quarter has brought honor to the city and more than compensated for its late entry into the field. Their name is legion and, though it is possible in so short a sketch to mention only the greater collectors of libraries, each has added his part to the leaven of culture which a seething metropolis so greatly needs.

Scottish by birth, John Allan prospered in his adopted country and gathered in his old-fashioned residence in downtown New York (in his later years surrounded by warehouses) a library which in its time was the most important in America for its number of unusual items, its missals and books printed upon vellum. He loved his early printed books and his Americana but his great passion was for the then new fashion of extra-illustrating and, as was natural, the high light of his Grangerized collection was a life of Mary, Queen of Scots. He was proud, too, of his Kilmarnock Burns, which brought $106 when the library was sold,[1] Eliot's Indian Bible bringing $825! Mr. Allan had directed that his collections be sold at auction and had himself begun the catalogue, with the assistance of Joseph Sabin, who completed it. The portrait on the title-page is the work of Mr. Allan's lifelong friend and fellow countryman, Alexander Anderson, the wood engraver, then in his eighty-ninth year. Modestly estimated by their owner at about $12,000, the collections, including engravings, coins, etc., brought the then large total of nearly $38,000.

Through his long life John Allan made many friends, not only among his contemporaries, but among younger collectors, by whom he was greatly revered. At a party given in his honor on his eightieth birthday he was presented with various tributes by his collector friends, among whom were the Moreau brothers, Ferdinand J. Dreer, Leonard Koecker, Peter Hastie and William Menzies, several of whom he out-

[1] By Bangs, May 2, &c. (postponed from Apr. 25), 1864 (M. 1025); a small remainder was sold on Mar. 14, 1873 (M. 1755).

lived. His one serious illness had been an attack of quinsy, when the abscess in his throat was broken by his enraged expostulations when he heard his friends planning the disposition of his books after his expected demise—a ruse employed by his physician for that very purpose. A *Memorial of John Allan* was printed for the Bradford Club of New York in 1864.

John Carter Brown (1797-1874)

Long before John Allan died the passion for collecting Americana, which characterized the mid decades of the century, had inflamed two of the greatest collectors and benefactors of libraries whom America has seen—those friendly rivals, John Carter Brown of Providence, and James Lenox of New York. Both were high-minded men, whose wealth made it possible for them to compete with the great collectors of Europe in that age of enthusiastic bibliomania, the first half of the nineteenth century.

John Carter Brown, member of a merchant family of Providence long celebrated for its philanthropies, was first in the field. Both he and his brother Nicholas were enthusiastic collectors, but the latter turned his attention to European literature and later made his home in Rome, selling his Americana to John Carter, who thenceforth devoted himself zealously to building up that magnificent collection which, by the will of his son, John Nicholas, passed into the keeping of Trustees, who in 1900 deeded it to Brown University, with endowment and building funds.

Like other American collectors of his time, John Carter Brown found help and guidance in the catalogues and personal agencies of two American booksellers in London—Obadiah Rich, himself a collector in earlier life, and the picturesque Henry Stevens of Vermont, who, in spite of his business success and years of residence abroad, patriotically added the name of his native state to his signature. Through him Mr. Brown obtained many volumes from the library of Henri Ternaux-Compans, the French collector of European Americana, nearly doubling his own collection thereby, and from that time was an eager buyer of the rarities offered by Stevens. He soon began to add American imprints (embracing the entire western hemisphere) to his long series of Jesuit Relations and the volumes of voyages and discoveries

so patiently described by Bishop White Kennett in his *Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia* (1713) and by later bibliographers of Americana. Incidentally, he bought many Aldines from the library of the Duke of Sussex and a fair collection of Bibles. One of the great treasures of the John Carter Brown Library is the copy of the *Bay Psalm Book* (1640), formerly belonging to Richard Mather, its editor.

A catalogue of the library, in four large volumes, containing 5,635 entries, began to appear in 1865. It was far ahead of anything in its field—its plan and excellence being largely due to John Russell Bartlett,[2] a close friend and adviser of John Carter Brown and later of his widow. After her husband's death, Mrs. Brown made valuable additions to the library and inculcated in her sons a proper realization of its importance. One of these sons, Harold, brought together a collection of books on the history of the Church in America, which, together with his autographs of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, were presented by his widow to the library.

The elder son, John Nicholas, became sole owner of the library in 1898 and made every effort to increase its usefulness, welcoming correspondence with students who sought information from his storehouse of knowledge. He made notable additions to the Americana, especially the Columbus letter of 1493 (listed as No. 1 in Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima*) and early *Ptolemies*, having already, with his mother and brother, secured a few incunabula of the first rank—among them the *Catholicon* of 1460 and Prince Eugene of Savoy's copy on vellum of Fust and Schoeffer's Bible of 1462.

Some years before the transfer of the library to Brown University, George Parker Winship had been made librarian, an office which he held until called to Harvard to take charge of the Widener collection. Both he and the present librarian, Lawrence C. Wroth, by their scholarship and writings have added to the prestige of the library, a new catalogue of which is in the course of publication. In addition to its work as a reference collection, the John Carter Brown Library occa-

[2] Of the firm of Bartlett & Welford in New York, whose bookshop was a popular meeting place for collectors and literary men in the eighteen-forties. In 1849 Bartlett withdrew from the firm, which continued as Scribner & Welford, later developing into the present firm of Charles Scribner's Sons. Bartlett became Secretary of State for Rhode Island, and in time the bibliographer of that state.

sionally issues, or participates in the issuance of important lists, facsimiles and reprints.

James Lenox (1800-1880)

James Lenox of New York, collector and philanthropist, was a reserved man with studious and artistic tastes, intensified by travel. Retiring from business at forty, he devoted himself to gathering great collections of books and objects of art and to taking part quietly in the philanthropic and religious work of the city, refusing to hold public office.

In his sketch of the John Carter Brown Library, George Parker Winship, its former librarian, writing of the keen but friendly rivalry between the two great collectors, says: "Mr. Lenox, who never married, overtook his competitor, made careless by early good fortune. When, at his death, the Lenox Library became the property of the public, in the beautiful building which he had erected as a permanent home for his books, this was the finest American library."

Henry Stevens, acting as European agent for the two men, sometimes found it difficult to satisfy both and has set forth his experiences amusingly and informingly in his *Recollections of Mr. James Lenox.* Although liberal, Mr. Lenox disliked to pay exorbitant prices. When, in 1847, through a misunderstanding about an unlimited bid, the forty-two line Bible (the first copy to come to America) was acquired by his agent for five hundred pounds, Sir Thomas Phillipps being the under bidder, he called it a "mad price," and at first refused to accept the book. Later he came to regard it as a bargain and one of his chief treasures.

The Lenox copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*, however, was really a bargain, Stevens obtaining it in romantic fashion in London, where its importance was not recognized, for nineteen shillings.

Retiring by nature, James Lenox dreaded visits of students to his library, but was always willing to deposit books in the Astor Library for study. The meticulous care with which he protected his books is illustrated by a letter[3] written to Samuel P. Avery by William Matthews, bookbinder and friend of most of the collectors of his time. Matthews had already bound copies of Washington's *Farewell Ad-*

[3] Published in *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 1, 1896.

dress, which Mr. Lenox had had printed from the original manuscript shortly after acquiring it for his collection. "When all was done," Matthews writes, "and, as appeared to me, he felt convinced that I was to be trusted with his rare literature, he made an appointment with me to call at his house . . . I was punctual to the minute. The maid who admitted me locked the front door, taking the key with her, then locked the inner door, leaving me standing in the marble vestibule a prisoner. I recollect my sensation at the peculiarity of the situation. Mr. Lenox, however, soon came, transacted his business with me in the vestibule and, when through, unlocked the front door and let me go, I none the wiser as to the beautiful house and its treasures. At the next visit I was admitted to the hall, and ultimately, after many visits, to his splendid library."

One after another, the rooms of the large Lenox house were filled to overflowing with books which their owner entered in interleaved copies of the catalogues of Ternaux-Compans, Rich, Ebert, Hain and others. The labor at last became overwhelming and, in 1870, he incorporated his library, giving to the public both his books and his works of art. He was elected president of the Board of Trustees and lived to see the collections opened in the building which he erected for that purpose, occupying the block on Fifth Avenue between Seventieth and Seventy-first Streets, a part of his family estate. The collection was consolidated with the Astor and Tilden foundations and became a part of the New York Public Library in 1895. The original building is no longer standing.

George Henry Moore, learned historian of the state, was the first superintendent of the Lenox Library and Samuel Austen Allibone, the bio-bibliographer, its first librarian. Between 1877 and 1882 catalogues of the Hulsius collection, the Jesuit Relations, Thévenot's Voyages, the Bunyan, Shakespeare and Milton collections were issued as *Contributions to a Catalogue of the Lenox Library*. New acquisitions were added by gift and purchase. Among the former were the Drexel and Stuart bequests and Dr. Wendell Prime's gift of his Cervantes collection, while the historical manuscripts of George Bancroft, the collections of early newspapers brought together by Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett and Charles H. Hildeburn, and the original Spanish edition of the Columbus letter of 1493 were important purchases.

In 1893 Wilberforce Eames, already connected with the institution for many years, was made librarian and he continued to care for the Lenox books when the library became part of the New York Public Library. After the central building was opened in 1911 he became chief of the American History division, changing his title to Bibliographer five years later. Unique in his combined wisdom and modesty, revered and beloved by students, it was not without reason that, long before his death in 1937, he had become known as America's foremost bibliographer.

Other Mid-Nineteenth Century Collectors of Americana

Next in importance to the Brown and Lenox collections of Americana comes that of George Brinley (1817-1875) of Hartford, who utilized his opportunities during the Civil War to buy from Connecticut paper mills all of the books and pamphlets which the high price of paper caused to be brought from the countryside for conversion into new paper. The savings in attics of many generations were thus brought to light and many American imprints were rescued from destruction.

Among Brinley's rarities were two hundred and seventy-five works of the Mathers, bought from Stevens after the British Museum and both Brown and Lenox had declined them, the dedication copy of Smith's *Virginia*, on large paper, and the rare first collection of the *Laws & Acts of New York*, printed by William Bradford in 1694. In the eighteen years following Brinley's death the collection was dispersed in five parts,[4] many of the titles never having appeared in later sales.

One of the most indefatigable collectors of what we may call the "Americana period" was the Boston bookseller and historian, Samuel Gardner Drake (1798-1875), who was the first to gather extensively works pertaining to the American Indian. His early collection, described in a catalogue issued in 1845, was sold privately to George Brinley, while the books left at his death were sold at auction.[5] He

[4] Pts I-IV sold by Leavitt, Mar., 1879-Nov., 1886; Pt V sold by Libbie, April 18-20, 1893 (M. 2488, 2621, 2740, 3383, 4164). An index of all the items, compiled by W. I. Fletcher, was issued in 1893. See also M. 4167.

[5] Pts I-II sold by Leonard, May and June, 1876; Pt III and *Manuscripts* sold by Bangs, Sept., 1876 (M. 2107, 2118, 2133-4).

was said at one time to own some 12,000 volumes and 50,000 pamphlets.

Other distinguished collections of Americana were those of Colonel Thomas Aspinwall and Edward A. Crowninshield of Boston and William Menzies, Henry Cruse Murphy, Samuel L. M. Barlow, James Carson Brevoort (to whom Sabin dedicated the first volume of his *Dictionary*) and Charles C. Kalbfleisch of New York and Brooklyn. Colonel Aspinwall, who was for many years American Consul at London, printed at Paris, probably in 1833, an undated catalogue of his books relating to America. The collection was acquired by S. L. M. Barlow, but all except the choicest were destroyed by fire before they reached his library. A catalogue of some of the rarest of the Barlow-Aspinwall volumes, entitled *Bibliotheca Barlowiana*, was made in 1864 (the author states in an edition of four copies) by Henry Harrisse, whom Barlow had assisted in his bibliographical work. Harrisse's *Bibliotheca Americana Vetustissima* is dedicated to Barlow, who suggested the work and to whom its luxurious manner of printing is said to be due. It was published by George P. Philes, who edited that early American bibliographical magazine, *The Philobiblon*, in the sixties. An elaborate *Rough List* of Barlow's collection, compiled by J. O. Wright, was issued in 1885. The collection was sold four years later, Harrisse providing an introduction to the auction catalogue.[6]

The Crowninshield Americana library, including a perfect copy of the *Bay Psalm Book*, was catalogued as for sale by Leonard of Boston in November, 1859, but was withdrawn and sold en bloc to Henry Stevens of London, who sold the books with others through Puttick and Simpson in London in 1860. Both the Menzies[7] and Murphy[8] collections were dispersed by Leavitt & Company in New York, Murphy's set of the Jesuit Relations reappearing in the sale of the library of Ogden Goelet in January, 1935. Besides owning a magnificent library of Americana, Mr. Murphy wrote and edited works of early American interest and was a founder of two Brooklyn libraries and

[6] By American Art Gallery, New York, Feb. 3-8, 1889 (M. 3815). Ten copies of the catalogue were printed on thick paper.

[7] Nov. 13-18, 1876 (M. 2150). The catalogue, compiled by Joseph Sabin and printed by Joel Munsell, has much bibliographical value.

[8] Mar. 3, &c., 1884 (M. 3051). In or about 1850 Murphy had printed privately in a few copies his *Catalogue of an American Library chronologically arranged.*

the Long-Island Historical Society. He was also the founder and proprietor of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle.*

Caleb Fiske Harris (1818-1881), meantime, had gathered an unequalled collection of American poetry and plays, of which he printed a catalogue privately in 1874. On his death the collection was bought by his cousin, Senator Henry B. Anthony, who bequeathed it to Brown University of Providence in 1884, where it is called by Harris's name and, with numerous additions, has become the largest of its kind.

American Collecting Becomes Self-conscious

By the eighteen-fifties the country had become thoroughly conscious of the joys of book collecting—so much so that two books appeared on the subject, apparently the first American works of their kind. They are *A Glance at Private Libraries*, by the Reverend Luther Farnham, Boston, 1855, and James Wynne's *Private Libraries of New York*, published in New York in 1860. Neither is very good, but they show the trend of the times.

Farnham's book describes some forty New England libraries, most of them in Boston and the vicinity. He seems to have acted on the theory that all the distinguished men of the neighborhood should have libraries worth describing, and his report shows that many of the Boston intellectuals—Edward Everett, William H. Prescott, Rufus Choate, Henry W. Longfellow, Daniel Webster and others owned collections of from five to ten thousand volumes.

Farnham gives only four lines to the great Brinley, whose collection at the time was well under way, and omits any mention of the Browns of Providence, but he closes with a tribute to four important collectors—Thomas Dowse, with his English classics, which he presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1856; Zelotes Hosmer,[9] with his English and American literature; George Livermore,[10] with his Americana and Bibles; and Charles Deane,[11] with his American history. The four were neighbors in Cambridge, where there must have been many happy meetings and comparisons of prized volumes. In fact, Deane prepared a memoir of Livermore for the Massachusetts Histori-

[9] Library sold by Leonard, May 7-10, 1861 (M. 913).

[10] Library sold by Libbie, Nov. 20-23, 1894 (M. 4336).

[11] Library sold in 2 pts by Libbie, Mar., 1898; autographs, Apr. 1, 1898 (M. 4754, 4762, 4765).

cal Society, in which he writes that during a visit paid by Mr. Livermore to Thomas Frognall Dibdin in London, the latter exclaimed: "I perceive, my dear Mr. Livermore, that you are a veritable bibliophile."

Two great Boston libraries were those of George Ticknor (1791-1871), and Charles Francis Adams (1807-1886). Ticknor's Spanish and Portuguese books, estimated at the time to be the best collection outside of Spain, were bequeathed by him to the Boston Public Library and a catalogue was issued in 1879. Charles Francis Adams was particularly liberal in lending his books and was a worker in the cause of public libraries and popular education. His collection numbered seventeen or eighteen thousand volumes—larger, says Farnham, "than all but two public libraries in Boston."

Dr. Wynne's work on *Private Libraries of New York* is based upon articles contributed by him to *The Evening Post* at the request of its editor, John Bigelow, himself a famous collector, who at one time owned the manuscript of Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*. New York was turning very seriously to book collecting and many of the fifty libraries described by Wynne were fine ones. Of Allan, Menzies and Murphy we have spoken already.

Thomas P. Barton (1803-1869), the first important American collector of Shakespeare, loved his books and made painstaking catalogues of them with his own hand. He spent thirty-five years gathering his Shakespearean collection and directed that on his death it be kept intact until sold to a public institution. It was purchased by the Boston Public Library. Barton dealt with the best European booksellers of his day and paid much attention to condition and provenance. In addition to his Shakespearean collection, he owned a general library of about 16,000 volumes. The library of William E. Burton (1804-1860),[12] actor and author, was also rich in Shakespeare and in English literature generally, especially the drama.

Dr. John W. Francis,[13] the historian of Old New York, owned a good medical library, while Almon W. Griswold, William Curtis Noyes and Chancellor Kent collected books on their own profession,

[12] Library sold by Sabin, Oct., 1860 and Jan., 1861 (M. 885, 900).
[13] Library sold by Bangs, June 4, &c., 1862 (M. 952).

the law. Griswold's various collections[14] were sold from 1868 to 1880, mostly as "the library of a bibliomaniac." He retained his best books, including fine Shakespeares, selling them privately from time to time. He specialized, too, in works on bibliography, as did A. J. Odell[15] and Charles W. Frederickson. The latter, a picturesque figure in the collecting world, owned interesting literary manuscripts, books from the libraries of Charles Lamb and Byron, and a fine Shelley collection. Beginning in 1871, there were several sales of his books, the most important occurring in May, 1897.[16]

Farnham's and Wynne's records were followed, after nearly twenty years, by Horatio Rogers's *Private Libraries of Providence, with a Preliminary Essay on the Love of Books.* The City of Providence has always been especially blessed with libraries, private and public, but the book in question adds no names of importance to those already mentioned. The Preliminary Essay, however, as well as the account of his own library, proves the writer a true bibliophile and ranks among the earliest contributions which America has made to the literature of bibliophily. After a sketch of the great collectors of history, he incidentally introduces us to a new generation, his contemporaries outside of Providence—the followers of Brown, Lenox and Brinley. Among them are Robert Hoe and S. Whitney Phoenix of New York, E. G. Asay of Chicago, Theodore Irwin of Oswego, J. W. Drexel of Philadelphia, Andrew White, President of Cornell University, Hubert H. Bancroft of San Francisco, and Irving Browne of Troy, author of *In the Track of the Book Worm.*

Rogers also draws word pictures of the New York bookseller, William Gowans, whose stock was as "numerous as the sands of the sea"; of John Keese, the auctioneer whose "exuberant humor turned his book sales into feasts of merriment"; and of Joseph Sabin, that "walking encyclopaedia of anecdote and information relating to books and bookmen." Sabin had begun his *Bibliotheca Americana* in 1868 and was the great catalogue maker of his day.

[14] See M. 1346, 2082, 2102, 2311, 2332, 2653, 2702. A catalogue of the last sale, announced for June, 1880, was rejected on account of errors and the sale postponed until December.

[15] His *Bibliotheca curiosa* was sold in 2 pts by Bangs, Nov., 1878 and Mar., 1880 (M. 2435, 2618).

[16] Sold by Bangs (M. 4653-4).

E. G. Asay's collection, which contained several Shakespeare quartos, was sold in 1881 to Theodore Irwin, whose library of incunabula (including a 42-line Bible), Americana and early English books was bought by J. Pierpont Morgan in 1900. Mr. Irwin had printed a catalogue privately, some years earlier.

In 1887, Andrew Dickson White donated to the school of history and political science in Cornell University his historical library of 30,000 volumes, besides many pamphlets and magazines. Meantime, Hubert Howe Bancroft, historian and one of the first collectors of the Pacific coast, was combing the bookshops both here and abroad and sending agents into private homes throughout California in search of historical material. His library of from 50,000 to 60,000 volumes was purchased for the University of California in 1905.

A veteran collector of autographs, which he bequeathed to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, was Ferdinand J. Dreer of Philadelphia, of whom A. Edward Newton gives an affectionate description in *The Amenities of Book Collecting*. He was a collector of the old school and a friend, in his youth, of John Allan, whose taste for extra-illustration he shared. The collection of autographs and documents of Professor E. H. Leffingwell[17] of New Haven included one of the finest sets of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

[17] Sold in 2 pts by Libbie, Jan. and Mar., 1891 (M. 3905, 3934).

THE END OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Era of the Book Club

SOME TWENTY YEARS after the first Brinley sale, James F. Hunnewell of Boston, who had attended it, delivered an address on book collecting before the Club of Odd Volumes, of which he was a founder and first president. He recalled the Brinley sale with enthusiasm, and drew a parallel between himself and Thomas Frognall Dibdin reviewing the glories of the Roxburghe sale in his *Bibliographical Decameron*, lamenting that no society like the Roxburghe Club had sprung into being to commemorate the American sale.

The time was ripe for these things, however. To be sure, Benjamin Franklin's Junto in Philadelphia and the early nineteenth century Anthology Club of Boston had resulted, among other things, in the first lending library in Pennsylvania (the Library Company of Philadelphia) and a reading room in Boston which was later to become the Boston Athenaeum, but these were more properly literary societies. Several other private clubs, with literary and historical aims, had been founded with varying success and an occasional bibliographical work had been issued—for example, Duyckhick's *Memorial of John Allan*, published by the Bradford Club, and *John Dunton's Letters from New England* of the Prince Society. The Agathynian Club had attempted the reproduction of early printed books and the Franklin Club of Chicago had brought together a small library of books about bookmaking, but none of them could be accurately described as clubs for bibliophiles, combining collecting and typographical interests.

Within five years of the first Brinley sale, however, the Historical Printing Club of Brooklyn was founded by Gordon L. Ford and his two sons, Worthington Chauncey and Paul Leicester Ford, all distinguished collectors and scholars; the short-lived Book Fellows' Club[1]

[1] It should be said of the Book Fellows' Club (1881-1884) that it consisted of four members, Valentin A. Blacque (its founder), William Loring Andrews, Samuel P. Avery and Alphonse Duprat, bookseller, publisher, lover of fine books and friend of collectors of his day. From 1893 to 1897 Duprat published his *Book-lovers' Almanack*, to which many of the collectors and writers of the day contributed.

had come and gone; and the Grolier Club, the oldest existing American club devoted exclusively to the arts of the book, had begun its career (1884). This was followed shortly by the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston, 1886), the Rowfant Club (Cleveland, 1892), the Philobiblon Club (Philadelphia, 1893), the Caxton Club (Chicago, 1895), the Dibdin Club (New York, 1897) and the Bibliophile Society of Boston (1901). The objects of all were similar to that set forth in the constitution of the Grolier Club: "the literary study and promotion of the arts pertaining to the production of books, including the occasional publication of books designed to illustrate, promote and encourage those arts, and the acquisition of a suitable club building wherein meetings, lectures and exhibitions shall take place," etc. Quite aside from the pleasure to be derived from them, the services which these clubs render to scholarship are considerable, and continually supplement those of the more technical literary, historical and bibliographical societies. Their demand for the best in design and workmanship gives an impetus to the arts of bookmaking, while their exhibitions have been an appreciable factor in the development of popular taste.

One of the results of the early activities of the Grolier Club, reflecting the period's great interest in bookbinding, was the establishment of the Club Bindery by a group of members headed by Robert Hoe. Binders were brought over from Paris and a typical French bindery was established in New York. Two of the original binders are still working, as The French Binders, in Garden City.

The twentieth century saw the founding of a second group of book clubs—the Franklin Club of St. Louis, the Carteret Club of Newark, the Book Club of California, the Roxburghe Club of San Francisco, the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles, and the Quarto Club of New York being the foremost.

There is an interesting development, too, of the book club within the college, beginning with the Elizabethan Club of Yale, founded in 1911 by Alexander Smith Cochran, with a collection which ranks it among the first Elizabethan libraries in America. Among Mr. Cochran's gifts to the Club were the Huth Shakespeare items, bought in advance of the sale of that library, the Huth copy of the first edition of Bacon's *Essayes*, and other rare Tudor and Stuart volumes.

The John Barnard Associates of Harvard and the Tudor and

Stuart Club of Johns Hopkins are similar to the Elizabethan in their objects. The latter was founded by Sir William and Lady Osler in memory of their son, Edward Revere Osler, and possesses some fine books, notably a Spenser collection on which is mainly based the *Critical Bibliography of Edmund Spenser*, by F. R. Johnson, published by Johns Hopkins University in 1933.

The interest aroused in students by these clubs and by bibliographical courses given by university librarians and by Miss Henrietta C. Bartlett are stimulating sources of inspiration to future collectors and benefactors of libraries. Another significant step is the founding of such societies as the Yale Library Associates and the Friends of the Princeton Library, formed by the alumni of various colleges who have at heart the interests of their several libraries.

The Founders of the Grolier Club and Their Contemporaries

The nine founders of the Grolier Club were William Loring Andrews, Theodore Low De Vinne, Alexander W. Drake, Albert Gallup, Robert Hoe, Brayton Ives, Samuel W. Marvin, Edward S. Mead and Arthur B. Turnure. All were collectors to some degree, three of them being among the greatest in America. Six were engaged in the manufacture of books.

Robert Hoe (1839-1909), at whose house the Grolier Club was founded in February, 1884, was its first president. He was the nephew of the inventor of the famous Hoe Press and the head of a manufacturing firm of printing machinery. An ardent collector during the greater part of his life, he brought together the most famous and diversified library of his time in America and one of the greatest in the world, publishing catalogues of six groups in sixteen volumes between 1903 and 1909. He had already issued two sumptuous volumes describing his bookbindings; and O. A. Bierstadt and Henri Pène Dubois had written eloquently of the Hoe library. Most of Mr. Hoe's volumes contained his simple leather book label.

When, in accordance with directions left in his will, the sale of Robert Hoe's library[2] was announced by the Anderson Auction Com-

[2] Pt I, Apr. 24-28, May 1-5, 1911; Pt II, Jan. 8-12, 15-19, 1912; Pt III, Apr. 15-19, 22-26, 1912; Pt IV, Nov. 11-15, 18-22, 1912; Miscellaneous books, Nov. 25-26, 1912 (M. 6972, &c.). The *Foreword* to the catalogue of Part One is by Beverly Chew.

pany, a tremendous furor was created, extending to Europe whence flocked buyers representing many important collectors and book firms. As one of the auctioneers, Sidney Hodgson was brought from England, his finished manner of conducting several of the sales setting a new standard for American auctioneers. The great rooms at Madison Avenue and Fortieth Street were packed at each session and the bidding was spirited, the Morgan library and George D. Smith (acting chiefly for Henry E. Huntington, then new in the field) carrying off the greatest prizes. The most important event of the sale occurred on its first evening, April 24th, 1911, when the 42-line Bible (the Perkins-Ashburnham copy on vellum) was acquired by George D. Smith for Mr. Huntington at $50,000, the highest price ever paid up to that time for a printed book, while many other early printed books, first editions and illuminated manuscripts fetched exceptionally large prices, the entire proceeds of the four sales being about $2,000,000.

William Loring Andrews (1837-1920), the second president of the Grolier Club, found an outlet for his artistic sense and love of books in writing and publishing, often privately, beautiful volumes in which he described his books and prints and others which he would have liked to own. With his knowledge of and enthusiasm for the arts of printing, engraving and binding, he exercised a wide influence on the development of those arts. Many of his later books, in the beauty of their typography, are the happy result of his coöperation with Walter Gilliss, their printer.

When, in Mr. Andrews's old age, the encroachments of business made it necessary to give up his spacious house in Thirty-eighth Street, where for many years he and his fellow collectors, Samuel P. Avery, J. Harsen Purdy and Robert Hoe had been neighbors and friends, worry about the safety of his books caused him to sell them to the bookseller, James F. Drake. He never ceased to regret this step, for he sorely missed his old friends.

Besides a leather label by Edwin Davis French, Mr. Andrews had an early bookplate engraved by Sidney L. Smith, which he rarely used, and another by French, containing a reproduction of a favorite early New York print. French, the foremost American bookplate artist of that day, was engraving plates for many of the important collectors and libraries in the nineties. His success in reproducing the minutiae

in the illustrations for some of Mr. Andrews's books was one of the causes which led the latter to suggest to a few fellow collectors the formation of the Society of Iconophiles of the City of New York,[3] with Mr. French as its first engraver. Throughout his long life Mr. Andrews's interest in everything pertaining to his native city, particularly its iconography, never waned.

In 1894, in memory of his young son, he presented a collection of early printed books, many of them from the library of Michael Wodhull, to Yale University, a catalogue being published in 1913. A memorial volume, published privately by Mrs. Andrews, contains a bibliography of Mr. Andrews's writings, based on typed lists which it amused him to produce in various "editions" for presentation to his friends. There exist also manuscript catalogues of his collections, beautifully written and illuminated by him.

Theodore Low De Vinne (1828-1914) was for many years the foremost printer in the United States, winning fame also by his scholarly works on the history and practice of printing. Researches for his *Invention of Printing*, his series on *The Practice of Typography*, etc., caused him to gather a large collection of works on and examples of the book arts.[4] Most of the books contained his bookplate by E. D. French, and many were annotated. A number of his works, notably *Christopher Plantin* and *Title-pages as seen by a Printer*, were publications of the Grolier Club, of which he was the sixth president. Volumes in his memory, published by the De Vinne Press and by the Grolier Club contain lists of his voluminous writings.

Alexander W. Drake (1843-1916), a collector of everything from books to bandboxes, has been termed the foremost figure in the development of American illustrative art. This is especially true of wood-engraving. As art director of the *Century Magazine*, he encouraged artists and illustrators and made the magazine a model of its kind. His collection of ship models is in India House, New York, while other

[3] Consisting of never more than ten active members, the Society has done much in perpetuating the memory of historic sites and scenes in the rapidly changing city. Mr. Andrews remained its president until his death, when he was succeeded by Richard H. Lawrence, long the Honorary Librarian of the Grolier Club. One of the results of the interest aroused by the Society is the monumental *Iconography of New York*, in six large volumes, by I. N. Phelps Stokes, Secretary of the Society.

[4] Library sold by Anderson Galleries, Jan. 12-16, 1920 (M. 8170).

objects which he brought together may be seen at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and at Cooper Union. Most of his books were dispersed privately, and an important part of his collection of wood engravings was presented by Mrs. Drake to the Library of Congress in 1931.

General Brayton Ives was a well-known collector of early printed books, Americana, etc., in the seventies and eighties, when he brought together a library which included the Brinley-Cole copy of the 42-line Bible, afterwards owned by James W. Ellsworth and now in the library of John H. Scheide of Titusville, Pennsylvania. The Ives collection was sold in 1891,[5] the catalogue containing an introduction by the owner, in which he describes his good fortune in beginning to collect when great English libraries were being dispersed, remarking that "it is not in the range of probability that collectors will ever again have such facilities as were given by the sale of the Sunderland, Hamilton Palace, Beckford, Syston Park and Wodhull libraries."

Beverly Chew (1850-1924) was a bookman in every sense of the word. Though not numbered among the founders of the Grolier Club, he was its third president and one of its most beloved members and devoted workers. Much of his encyclopaedic knowledge is embodied, without his name, in various catalogues of the Club's exhibitions and in the three volumes of the so-called *Collations and Notes*, 1905. He was a collector who read and knew his books, valuing them for both their literary and bibliographical interest, and he was an inexhaustible source of knowledge, never failing his friends and fellow collectors. He began collecting American literature as a young man, but soon disposed of his American books, which passed en bloc to J. Chester Chamberlain. Mr. Chew then turned to English literature, which was his absorbing interest during the greater part of his life, his collection being especially strong in the Carolinian writers. The story goes that when, in a financial crisis, he reluctantly decided to sell his books to Henry E. Huntington, the latter exclaimed that he would give twice the price asked if he might acquire Mr. Chew's knowledge together with the volumes. As soon as possible after the sale, Mr. Chew began

[5] By American Art Ass'n, Mar. 5-7, 1891 (M. 3929). General Ives's second collection, including many books bought at the Hoe sales, as well as his works of art, was sold in April, 1915 (M. 7532). "Subscribers' copies" of the handsome catalogue were issued.

collecting again, this time confining his purchases to his favorite English books, demanding the most interesting copies procurable, both in provenance and condition. The greater part of this last collection[6] was sold by his direction, after his death. He bequeathed his bindings of silver and various materials other than leather to the Grolier Club and left most of his prints, which included large collections of portraits of Milton and of the engraved work of William Marshall, to the New York Public Library. His armorial leather label, bearing the motto "Esto quod esse videris," was designed, as were his two bookplates, by E. D. French, who regarded him as his earliest patron.

As a writer, Beverly Chew is best known by the little poem *Old Books are Best*, which is found in most anthologies of book verse, but there is much valuable information in the essays which he contributed to *The Bookman* and other magazines. Fortunately, his *Essays and Verses about Books* were collected and privately printed by William B. Osgood Field in 1926.

Writing of Samuel Putnam Avery (1822-1904) in the sale catalogue[7] of that portion of his library which remained after his many benefactions, Dr. Frank Weitenkampf said that he had "pre-eminently the gift of collecting . . . the discriminating taste of the connoisseur joined to the *flair* of the collector." The volume of *Editorials and Resolutions*, published in his memory, shows that he had also the gift of distributing his collections wisely and generously and speaks eloquently for his influence and philanthropic citizenship.

Beginning his business career as a wood-engraver, he became the pioneer connoisseur and dealer who introduced to Americans much of European art, earlier and contemporary. One of his many gifts was the great Avery Architectural Library, which he presented to Columbia University in memory of his young architect son. He gave to the New York Public Library his noted collection of 17,000 etchings and engravings, and a large portion of the early library of the Grolier Club, of which he was the fourth president, bear his initials as donor, or his bookplate by Charles E. Sherburne.

With its fifth president, Howard Mansfield, collector of Whistler

[6] In 2 pts by Anderson Galleries, Dec., 1924 and Jan., 1925 (M. 8767, 8773).

[7] By Anderson Galleries, Nov. 10-12, 1919 (M. 8146). His bindings, described in an exhibition catalogue issued by the Columbia University Library in 1903, are included.

etchings and Japanese prints, the Grolier Club reached the opening years of the twentieth century. Later presidents who were also early members of the Club were Edwin B. Holden[8] and Richard H. Lawrence, collectors of things pertaining to New York; William F. Havemeyer, famous for his Washington manuscripts, many of which are now in the Morgan and Huntington Libraries; Edward G. Kennedy, print connoisseur; and Arthur H. Scribner, publisher and collector of modern first editions.

Among others whose collecting activities belonged mainly to the late nineteenth century were several of whom it would be pleasant to speak at greater length. There was Charles B. Foote,[9] called by Luther Livingston the ideal collector, who owned all that was then known to exist of the manuscript of *Pickwick Papers*, and there were those enthusiastic gatherers of English and American literature—Edward H. Bierstadt,[10] Louis I. Haber,[11] J. Harsen Purdy[12] and Marshall C. Lefferts,[13] whose great collection of the works of Alexander Pope was sold intact to the Harvard Library.

There too were Thomas Jefferson McKee[14] and J. Augustin Daly,[15] playwright and producer, whose libraries were largely dramatic. It was at the Daly sale in 1900 that George D. Smith,[16] paying spectacular

[8] Mr. Holden's fine print collection, catalogued by Robert Fridenberg, was sold shortly after his death in 1910; his latest library (English literature, French illustrated books, Americana), with a few remaining prints, was sold by the American Art Ass'n, Apr., 1920 (M. 8220); a collection of his French books was bought in 1907 by Scribner, who issued a catalogue.

[9] Library sold in 3 pts by Bangs, Nov., 1894, Jan. and Feb., 1895 (M. 4337, 4361, 4370). The Pickwick manuscript passed to W. A. White, who presented a leaf to the British Museum.

[10] Library sold in 2 pts by Bangs, Apr., 1897 (M. 4628, 4636).

[11] Library sold in 3 pts by Anderson Auction Co., Dec., 1909 (M. 6750, 6755, 6758).

[12] Library sold by Amer. Art Ass'n., Apr., 1917 (M. 7821).

[13] Library bought by George H. Richmond, who issued a check list of a portion in 1910, consigning the English literature to Bangs (sold in April, 1902, M. 5456), and the Americana to Sotheby (sold June 9-10, 1902). The Pope collection was sold through Dodd, Mead & Co., who issued a catalogue compiled by Luther S. Livingston. Mr. Lefferts's later collection was sold in miscellaneous sales in 1927 (M. 9014, 9016).

[14] Library sold in 9 pts by John Anderson, Nov. 1900-Apr., 1906 (M. 5168, etc.). Noted for its plays and general literature.

[15] Library and art objects sold by Amer. Art Ass'n., Mar., 1900 (M. 5051, 5056). His working library had been sold by Leavitt in 1878 (M. 2416).

[16] A *Catalogue of rare books . . . chiefly from the library of the late Augustin Daly* was issued by Smith in 1900.

prices, made his first important appearance as a buyer. General Rush C. Hawkins[17] was bringing together his works from the first presses; William C. Prime, his Bibles: and Dean Sage, his angling books. It was the period of George and David Wolfe Bruce,[18] typefounders, who collected early books with special reference to their typographical importance: of Carl Edelheim, Theodore Seligman, Henry F. Sewall, Paul Leicester Ford, and the Bement brothers. Clarence Bement is described by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach, who secured his library containing many choice items, as one of the most fastidious collectors of his time. One of his chief treasures was the copy of Sidney's *Arcadia* owned by Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, for whom it was written. It is now in the Widener collection of the Harvard Library.

[17] See pp. 346, 347.

[18] Their typographical collections were presented to the Grolier Club and the Typothetae of New York in 1894.

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

AT NO TIME in the history of American libraries were as many great bibliophiles collecting simultaneously as during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth. Most of the men described in the preceding section were still actively in the field, many just reaching the height of their enthusiasm. The Hoe sale was yet to come, Mr. Morgan and Mr. Folger were building up their collections, and Mr. Huntington was just entering the lists.

Among collectors of early printing and fine books in general were James W. Ellsworth of New York and John Boyd Thacher of Albany. The library of the former, including the second copy of the 42-line Bible to come to America, was purchased by Dr. Rosenbach, who sold about one hundred of the incunabula to the Huntington Library. Mr. Thacher's books were bequeathed by his widow to the Library of Congress.

Henry W. Poor's[1] large and varied library included the small but remarkable collection of association and illustrated books gathered by Valentin A. Blacque, of which Mr. Poor issued a catalogue in 1903. His American bookbindings were described in a handsome volume by Henri Pène Dubois.

Two outstanding figures were Elihu D. Church and William A. White, both residents of Brooklyn, a city which has been the home of many bookmen and at least one important woman collector, Mrs. Abby E. Pope, whose books were bought by Robert Hoe after her death.

Elihu Dwight Church has left a lasting monument in the catalogues of his great collections of Americana and English literature, compiled by George Watson Cole, later librarian to Henry E. Huntington, who acquired the Church collection. The Americana consisted of fifteen hundred works, including a unique copy of Massachusetts Laws (1648), an extraordinary se[r] of De Bry's *Voyages*, and the original manuscript of Franklin's *Autobiography*, once owned by John Bigelow.

[1] Library sold in 5 pts by Anderson Auction Co., Nov., 1908-Apr., 1909. (M. 6573, 6587, 6601, 6625, 6653).

The English literature included the choicest books of the Rowfant Library of Frederick Locker-Lampson, which had been purchased by Dodd, Mead & Company.

William Augustus White, collecting for over fifty years, brought together a library of Elizabethan literature, which it would be impossible to duplicate today. At the time of his death in 1927 it was described as the last great Shakespeare collection in private hands, the only greater one having already been offered to the nation by its owner, Henry C. Folger. In conferring an honorary degree upon Mr. White, the president of Princeton University described him as "a contributor to learning by his zealous accumulation of the implements of research," and might have added that he was almost prodigally generous in allowing students to use his books freely. He suggested, and his collection formed a large part of, the Shakespeare Tercentenary exhibition held by the New York Public Library in 1916, which was the basis of *Mr. William Shakespeare*, by Henrietta C. Bartlett, who catalogued Mr. White's entire library. Unfortunately the catalogue was not reproduced in full in the volumes published by him in 1914 and 1926. Next to the Elizabethans in his affections was his famous collection of the works of William Blake, much of which is now owned by his daughter, Mrs. William Emerson, who gave to the British Museum her father's collection of Blake's water-color drawings for Young's *Night Thoughts*.[2] His family presented his Shakespearean and other Elizabethan quartos to Harvard, his alma mater, and his first Shakespeare folio to Princeton University. Mr. White had sold his collection of American plays to Dr. F. W. Atkinson, through Dodd and Livingston, who issued a catalogue, also by Miss Bartlett. The books are now in the library of the University of Chicago.

With the meticulous care which characterized his every act, Mr. White penciled his name and the date of acquisition in each of his volumes. His brother, Alfred T. White, shared his collecting tastes. Among the latter's choice possessions, now owned by his daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Andrian Van Sinderen, were William Blake's drawings for Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, some of the artist's loveliest work.

[2] In 1927 the Harvard University Press issued an edition, with facsimiles of Blake's water-colors, the volume containing a sketch of Mr. White as a collector.

The early twentieth century was a particularly brilliant period in the collecting of English books, the sales of several of the most famous private libraries in England offering great opportunities which American collectors were eager to grasp. Vying with the buyers of English literature already mentioned–Hoe, Morgan, Chew, White, Folger, Church, and the rest–were William C. Van Antwerp, Frederic R. Halsey and Winston H. Hagen of New York, Marsden J. Perry of Providence, John H. Wrenn of Chicago, and others. Young Harry Widener's too short career falls within the period, which saw toward its close the building up and dispersal of the Jones, Wallace and Clawson libraries, and the beginning of those of the brothers, Charles W. Clark and William A. Clark, Jr., Alfred C. Chapin, and Carl H. Pforzheimer. As the Wrenn, Widener, W. A. Clark, and Chapin libraries have been presented to universities, they will be described in another chapter.

The fine collection of William C. Van Antwerp, who gathered first editions of the masterpieces of English literature from Caxton to Sir Walter Scott, was sold in London by Sotheby in March, 1907, Mr. Van Antwerp specializing thereafter in Scott and occasionally issuing monographs upon his collection.

In his large collection of first editions, Frederic R. Halsey did not limit himself to any country or period, though England was his great interest. He possessed rare works of almost every important English writer down to the time of Stevenson, his copies being noted for their fine condition. The American portion of his library included two copies of Poe's *Tamerlane*.[3] About 20,000 volumes were purchased by Mr. Huntington in 1915, most of the remainder being sold after Mr. Halsey's death.[4] His large print collections were dispersed during 1916-1919.

The foreword to the auction catalogue of Winston H. Hagen's library[5] (sold after his death) is by his close friend, Beverly Chew, who wrote: "Never before have any such collections of the works of

[3] Copies of *Tamerlane* are now owned by the British Museum, the Huntington Library, the W. A. Clark Library, the Estate of Frank B. Bemis, J. K. Lilly, Jr., Mrs. Sherburne Prescott, Owen D. Young, Jas. F. Drake, Inc., W. T. H. Howe, H. Bradley Martin and The Poe Foundation, Philadelphia.

[4] See M. 8049, 8328.

[5] Library sold by Anderson May 13-16, 1918 (M. 7961).

Donne, Dryden, Gray, Milton, Pope and others been offered to the bids of the public."

Marsden J. Perry's library, especially rich in Shakespeare, including much of Halliwell's Hollingsbury Copse collection and the MacGeorge folios, was sold privately, the quartos being acquired later by Henry C. Folger. Mr. Perry's later collection[6] included William Morris's own set of the Kelmscott books, of which he issued a catalogue in 1928.

Herschel V. Jones of Minneapolis outlined his thirty years of collecting in the introduction to the auction catalogue[7] of his library of the Elizabethans and "a representative number of the world's great volumes." There, too, he paid a tribute to various American booksellers, several of whom received bequests from him, in recognition of the pleasure which they had afforded him. The volumes described in this more important catalogue contain Mr. Jones's leather book label, while those dispersed on January 23, 1923, bear his "later library" label. *Adventures in Americana* describes a selection of books from his last library, which is still intact.

Walter J. Wallace's nineteenth century library[8] was rich in editions of Shelley, Thackeray and Dickens, including the famous Lapham copy of *Pickwick Papers.*

In his preface to the *Catalogue of Early English Books in the Library of John R. Clawson*, Seymour de Ricci gives a useful summary of the collecting of English books in Great Britain and America. Entering late into the field, Mr. Clawson was able to obtain books directly or indirectly from practically all the sources mentioned, and in a few years brought together over nine hundred volumes illustrating the century of English prose and verse extending roughly from 1560 to 1660.[9]

Other collectors of the period in whose libraries English books had a prominent place were M. C. D. Borden,[10] who issued a privately printed two-volume catalogue of his collection in 1910; J. A. Spoor of Chicago, on whose books Luther S. Livingston based his bibliography

[6] Sold by Amer. Art-Anderson, Mar. 11-12, 1936.

[7] In 3 pts by Anderson Galleries, Dec., 1918-Mar. 1919 (M. 8019, 8042, 8058); his "later library" was sold in Jan., 1923 (M. 8541).

[8] Library sold by Amer. Art Ass'n, Mar. 22-25, 1920 (M. 8205).

[9] Library sold in 2 pts by Anderson Galleries, May, 1926 (M. 8938, 8940).

[10] Library sold in 2 pts by Amer. Art Ass'n, Feb., 1913 (M. 7216-7).

of Charles and Mary Lamb; W. F. Gable[11] of Altoona, Pennsylvania, and Judge Willis Vickery[12] of Cleveland, whose old-time library was known for its Shakespeare quartos and Blakes. Frederick P. Haight and Seth Sprague Terry collected representative books famous in English literature.

Twentieth century collectors of Americana, besides those already mentioned, were Samuel W. Pennepacker,[13] at one time Governor of Pennsylvania, whose library was composed largely of books dealing with that state and with Franklin; Harold Peirce[14] of Philadelphia; Levi Z. Leiter[15] of Washington; the scholarly Henry F. DePuy;[16] and Wymberly Jones De Renne, who specialized in works relating to the State of Georgia and Confederate imprints. The De Renne Library[17] is housed in a separate building on the family estate near Savannah. Mr. De Renne issued short lists of his books in 1905 and 1911 and in 1931 his children printed privately a three-volume catalogue compiled by Azalia Clisbee, under the supervision of Leonard L. Mackall, formerly librarian of the De Renne Library, whose untimely death in 1937 was a great loss to the bibliographical world. William Nelson and Robert Hartshorne collected New Jersey imprints, the latter also delighting in his finely printed books.

First editions of American authors were collected by William Harris Arnold,[18] author of books on collecting, J. Chester Chamberlain, and Stephen H. Wakeman. When the Chamberlain[19] library was sold, it was described as the best collection of its kind ever offered for sale. Portions of it were catalogued in the Chamberlain Memorial Bibliographies of Longfellow and Lowell by Luther S. Livingston. Many of the books had been purchased from Beverly Chew and W. H. Arnold. Mr. Wakeman's library included manuscripts of nineteenth

[11] Library sold in 8 pts by Amer. Art Ass'n, Nov., 1923-Apr., 1925 (M. 8643 &c.).

[12] Library sold by Amer. Art-Anderson, Mar. 1-3, 1933 (M. 9509).

[13] Library sold in 8 pts by Henkels, Dec., 1905-Oct., 1909 (M. 6033, &c.); later sale, 1920 (M. 8256).

[14] Library sold in 3 pts by Henkels, Mar.-May, 1903 (M. 5616, 5632, 5663); later sale, 1927-28 (M. 9060 &c.). Peirce specialized also in press publications.

[15] Library sold by Amer. Art-Anderson, Feb. & Dec., 1933 (M. 9503, 9566).

[16] Library sold in 3 pts by Anderson Galleries, Nov., 1919-Apr., 1920 (M. 8150, 8178, 8216). See also M. 8815.

[17] Sold to the University of Georgia in 1938.

[18] Library sold by Bangs, Jan. and May, 1901 (M. 5210, 5285).

[19] In 2 pts by Anderson Auction Co., Feb. and Nov., 1909 (M. 6622, 6732).

century American authors, many of which were purchased by the older J. Pierpont Morgan in 1916. The remaining manuscripts and letters, with first editions, inscribed presentation and personal copies of *Nine American Authors* were sold at auction,[20] after Mr. Wakeman's death. The descriptions penciled in his books by Mr. Wakeman form a valuable contribution to American bibliography.

Some of the men who devoted their energies mainly to one author were George M. Williamson,[21] with his Stevensons, and later his Kiplings; Henry Van Duzer,[22] with his Thackerays; Frederick W. Lehmann,[23] of St. Louis, with his Dickens collection; and the printer, Luther A. Brewer, of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, with his Leigh Hunts, which were bought after his death by the University of Iowa. One volume of a catalogue had been issued previously and portions of the collection are described affectionately in Christmas books which Mr. and Mrs. Brewer printed privately for many years. E. Percival Merritt of Boston brought together and wrote charmingly of his Horace Walpole collection, which, after his death, was presented by Mrs. Merritt to the Harvard Library.

Major William H. Lambert[24] collected the works of Thackeray and books on Abraham Lincoln and the Civil War, while Herman Leroy Edgar added Conrads to his Thackerays,[25] and George Barr McCutcheon[26] broadened his interests to cover five English authors.

An interesting collection illustrative of one subject was that of John Camp Williams,[27] brought together in scholarly fashion to illustrate the history of English intaglio engraving as shown in books.

[20] By Amer. Art Ass'n., Apr. 28-29, 1924 (M. 8716).

[21] Library, including books from Washington's library, sold by Anderson Auction Co., Jan. 30-31, 1908 (M. 6455); Kipling collection, Mar. 17, 1915 (M. 7521); his literary manuscripts were sold on Mar. 1, 1904 (M. 5767).

[22] Library sold by Anderson Galleries, Feb. 6-7, 1922 (M. 8420).

[23] Library sold by Amer. Art-Anderson, Dec. 2-3, 1930 (M. 9288).

[24] Library sold in 4 pts by Metropolitan Art Ass'n, Jan.-Apr., 1914 (M. 7338, &c.), Sermons, &c. resold by Heartman, Feb. 11, 1914 (M. 7353).

[25] Sold by Amer. Ass'n. together with library of Charles B. Eddy, Jan. 30-Feb. 1, 1924 (M. 8678); Mr. Edgar's Americana collection had been sold in 2 pts by Anderson in Nov., 1920 and Jan., 1921 (M. 8272, 8296).

[26] Hardy, Kipling and Stevenson collections sold by Amer. Art Ass'n., Apr. 20, 21, 1925 (M. 8823); Dickens and Thackeray collections, Apr. 21, 22, 1926 (M. 8924).

[27] Library sold in 2 pts by Amer. Art-Anderson, Nov., 1929 (M. 9195-6).

The medical library of Sir William Osler was bequeathed by him to the library of McGill University in Montreal, the Oxford University Press publishing a catalogue in 1929. It exemplified nobly the goal of bibliophile members of a profession which perhaps more than any other today turns to collecting for relaxation. The two-volume *Life of Sir William Osler*, by his friend, Dr. Harvey Cushing, another distinguished medical bibliophile, contains many references to his library.

Turning to the subject of autographs, we find a zealous collector in Andrian H. Joline,[28] who has to his credit well onto a dozen books written between 1900 and 1915 dealing with the joys of autograph hunting and collecting in general. A later collector and authority on autographs was Simon Gratz, whose *Book about Autographs* appeared in 1921.

William K. Bixby of St. Louis was the owner of a large collection of modern English and American manuscripts and autograph material, much of which was privately published by him and by the Bibliophile Society of Boston. One of his choice possessions was the copy of Shelley's *Queen Mab*, presented by the poet to Mary Godwin, which was owned in turn by Brayton Ives, C. W. Frederickson, and Harry B. Smith. It was later sold, with much of the Bixby collection,[29] to Mr. Huntington.

Two libraries formed with special reference to association books and authors' manuscripts were those of Harry B. Smith and Jerome D. Kern,[30] author and composer of light operas. The former issued a catalogue entitled *The Sentimental Library of Harry B. Smith*, later selling the books to Dr. Rosenbach. At the Kern sale, early in 1929, exceptionally high prices were brought by the many items of sentimental interest.

The library of modern first editions collected by John Quinn[31] also

[28] Library sold in 9 pts by Anderson Auction Co., Dec., 1914-Feb., 1916 (M. 7476, &c.).

[29] A second collection formed by Mr. Bixby was sold privately in 1929 and in Apr., 1934, a final collection with books of other owners, was dispersed by Amer. Art-Anderson, (M. 9591); two Huntington-Bixby sales had occurred in Mar., 1916, and Feb., 1917 (M. 7670, 7801).

[30] Library sold in 2 pts by Anderson Galleries, Jan., 1929 (M. 9146, 9148; a portion of the Kern library had been sold in Nov., 1927 (M. 9055).

[31] Library sold in 5 pts by Anderson Galleries, Nov., 1923-Mar., 1924 (M. 8646, &c.); autograph letters, Feb. 8, 1927 (M. 9002).

contained interesting manuscripts, Conrad's *Victory* bringing $8,100 at auction, the then record price for a manuscript of the work of a living author. Mr. Quinn was distinguished, too, for his encouragement of struggling authors.

While writing of authors' manuscripts, a gracious act on the part of the Philadelphia collector, John Gribbel, should be recalled. In November, 1915, he purchased and presented to the people of Scotland the Glenriddell manuscripts of Robert Burns, formerly owned by the Liverpool Athenaeum. In this connection, one is tempted to speak also of the intervention of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, which saved for the English nation the Luttrell Psalter and the Bedford Book of Hours, when those famous manuscripts were offered for sale at Sotheby's in July, 1929. In 1927 the great collection of books, prints and objects of art relative to Mary, Queen of Scots, brought together by Mrs. George T. Bliss was presented by her daughter to the Bibliothèque Nationale, that library publishing a two-volume catalogue in 1931.

An old-time library gathered through more than a half a century and sold after the owner's death, was that of the Reverend Dr. Roderick Terry[32] of Newport. One of the most varied in the country, it ranged from incunabula to Rhode Island imprints and from early manuscripts to autographs of signers of the Declaration of Independence. As usual in the United States, the rare autograph of the little known Button Gwinnett brought a fantastic price, $10,000, though less than half of the amount which the same autograph had brought at the sale of the library of the late Colonel James H. Manning[33] of Albany in 1926.

The library gathered by Mortimer L. Schiff and inherited in 1931 by his son, John Schiff, remained intact until 1938, when, in March, July and December, it was sold in London by Sotheby. It was famous for its historic copies of the works of Molière and other French writers, its eighteenth century illustrated books and fine bindings. Seymour de Ricci's catalogue of its signed bindings alone fills four large volumes.

Another great library partially dispersed almost simultaneously with

[32] Library sold in 3 pts by Amer. Art-Anderson, May and Nov., 1934 (M. 9603, 9631), and Feb., 1935.

[33] In 2 pts by Anderson Galleries, Jan. and Feb., 1926 (M. 8892, 8896). See also M. 8927.

the Schiff collection was that of Cortlandt Field Bishop,[84] under whose ownership the American Art Association and the Anderson Galleries were united. The Bishop library, like that of Robert Hoe, was rich in many lines—manuscripts, bookbindings, literature, and monuments of printing, as well as much of more modern interest, including Dickens' own annotated copies of the rare "reading editions" of his works. Among the many important manuscripts, interest centered in the Anglo-Saxon Blickling Homilies (so-called).

Happily, the libraries of Charles W. Clark of New York, and Frank B. Bemis, of Boston, are still intact. Mr. Clark published seven catalogues from 1914 to 1922, the latest listing a hitherto unknown edition of Heywood's *Edward IV* (1599), the 1600 edition having previously been accepted as the first. Though strongest in English literature, including a first edition of *Pilgrim's Progress*, his library contains a choice selection of incunabula.

Frank B. Bemis, one of the most modest and best informed of modern bookmen, gathered a library of the great works in English and American literature, many of his copies being famous for their condition and provenance. The collection will be sold eventually, in accordance with the terms of the owner's will, for the benefit of his favorite charity.

A recent loss to the book world was the death, in July, 1936, of George A. Plimpton, whose collection of manuscript and printed text books, the most famous of its kind, he presented, in large part, to Columbia University shortly before his death. He had previously published a catalogue of his *Rara Arithmetica*, by David Eugene Smith, and had presented to Wellesley College an Italian library, of which the college printed a catalogue. Mr. Plimpton was, himself, a publisher of educational works, a writer about books, and a collector throughout his long life. For many years it was his pleasure to gather in his home classes of young people and to talk to them about his books.

Contemporary Book Collecting

Except for incidental references to existing collections and present collectors, the preceding pages have been retrospective. It would be

[84] In 4 pts by Amer. Art-Anderson, Mar. 5-8, Apr. 25-27, Nov. 14-15, 1938, and Jan. 23-26, 1939.

pleasant to mention all of the principal names of today, many of which will have a lasting influence on the annals of collecting, but such a list must wait for a more comprehensive work and a further perspective. We shall, therefore, reluctantly limit ourselves to a few representative owners of older libraries, exemplifying various types of collections, especially those who have published catalogues.

Robert Garrett's collection of illuminated and textual manuscripts comprises some two hundred and fifty European examples and three thousand Oriental manuscripts, besides an interesting collection of Maya dialects in Latin script. John Scheide is gathering a library of significant books and manuscripts which have powerfully influenced the course of human thought and life, his chief interest centering in his collections of Americana, Bibles (which includes the Brinley-Cole-Ives-Ellsworth copy of the 42-line Bible), and of books showing the development of printing. A student since his college days of Biblical literature and the history and philosophy of religion, Howard L. Goodhart has gathered a library of early printed books and manuscripts, with the philosopher, Philo Judaeus, as the central figure.

In the library of Lucius Wilmerding are many books and fine bindings from the libraries of collectors from Grolier to the present day, supplemented by association copies of works of French and English literature. Today's choicest collection of Americana in private hands is the scholarly one which Grenville Kane has spent many years in bringing together. It is rich in the early voyages and histories, manuscripts, Washingtoniana and American imprints. William T. H. Howe, publisher, has an important collection based largely on association items, presentation copies, manuscripts, etc., in English and American literature, while Carroll A. Wilson collects American first editions.

While the library of Carl H. Pforzheimer stands preëminent in the works of the Elizabethans, and of Shelley, its scope covers the whole range of English literature and includes landmarks in the history of printing from the Gutenberg Bible to the present. In the Elizabethan period it is distinguished for the fulness of its series of Interludes, *Mirror for Magistrates*, editions of *Tottel's Miscellany*, as well as of the works of Spenser, Bacon, Chapman, Jonson and others. In manuscripts it extends from the Elizabethans to Milne's *When we were very young*.

A bibliographical catalogue of the English books to 1700, begun by Miss Emma V. Unger and now nearly completed by William A. Jackson, will, when published, be of special interest as the descriptions include numerous variants discovered by comparison of Mr. Pforzheimer's books with those in other collections both here and abroad. Joseph E. Widener, also, owns a Gutenberg Bible. Frank J. Hogan's remarkable collection of English literature is particularly strong in the English novel, while, in his home in Philadelphia, Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach has gathered a select collection of unique copies or extremely fine specimens of books of all periods, especially rich in Shakespeare.

The library of A. Edward Newton is well known, through the affectionate allusions in his many writings. While it is rich in many respects (the Blakes should receive special mention), we are prone to think of its owner primarily as a collector of the works of Samuel Johnson, competing with his friendly rival, Robert B. Adam of Buffalo. A catalogue of Mr. Adam's library, begun in 1929, has reached its fourth volume. Other owners who have published descriptive catalogues of one-author collections are William E. Elkins (Goldsmith, 1928), Frank Altschul (Meredith, given to Yale, 1931), and Ellis Ames Ballard[35] (Kipling, 1935). An example of a collection devoted to one subject is that on tobacco, including much rare Americana, gathered by George Arents, Jr. Its catalogue, which is also a history of tobacco, by Jerome E. Brooks, has reached its second folio volume. Mr. Arents also collects books issued in parts. Harry T. Peters and David Wagstaff collect sporting books and prints, the former specializing also in the "American scene," of which he writes; the latter, in angling books.

Morris Parrish demands spotless copies of the works of Victorian writers and has published catalogues of his collections of Lewis Carroll, the "Victorian Lady Novelists," Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. English works of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and modern press books are brought together by William B. Osgood Field and Frederick Coykendall, the former having printed privately catalogues of his Leech and Lear collections.

An unusual collection, for this country, is Mrs. Bella C. Landauer's, consisting of "Vieux papiers,"—trade cards, tickets, valentines, posters,

[35] Mr. Ballard died in 1938.

music, and other pieces of ephemeral printing, many of which she has presented to the New York Historical Society and other institutions, issuing several catalogues privately.

We have seen that in America, as elsewhere, fashions have changed with the general trend of the times. A few in every period have brought together great general libraries, while manuscripts, Americana, early printed books, bindings, English literature, books in one or another foreign language, the work of private presses, particular authors or illustrators, and books on special subjects have had in turn their popularity and their adherents. Today, so large a proportion of remaining copies of the great books of the past have been absorbed in public and endowed libraries that beginning collectors are looking for new subjects and sometimes finding them in obscure and unexplored fields, which often yield great pleasure at comparatively small expense. Many collections of first editions of favorite living authors and books on timely subjects are being brought together and correspondingly large numbers of modern bibliographies and both good and bad books about books have resulted. In spite, however, of "new paths," the great old books have not lost their charm, as is evidenced by the devotion with which they are being sought by a number of the younger American collectors, whose libraries bid fair to be the great ones of tomorrow. Among these are Dr. John Fulton, with his medical library, Philip Hofer, with his illustrated books; Boies Penrose, with his voyages and travels; and Wilmarth Sheldon Lewis, with the Walpole collection upon which is based the Yale edition of Horace Walpole's letters, which he is editing.

American Book Auction Houses Since 1860

The history of the booktrade has been given in the first two parts of this work, and the account of colonial conditions includes a description of book auctions during those years. Many of the early auctions obviously served the purpose of selling newly issued works to the public and clearing the publishers' stocks of items which moved slowly. In the nineteenth century, and particularly in its second half, the American auctioneer assumes new importance as an agent for the American bibliophile, then entering the field as its greatest factor.

In the previous pages an attempt has been made to document the intimate collaboration of antiquarian book dealers and auction houses with the collectors. It seemed appropriate, therefore, in preparing this work, that a brief account of the most important personalities and firms of the nineteenth century should be included at this point. Before its original appearance, however, the serial publication of George L. McKay's union list of *American Book Auction Catalogues*, with its detailed historical introduction by Clarence S. Brigham, was so far advanced that it seemed wise to curtail this section to a mere summary.

In the early nineteenth century in Boston, we find Blake and Cunningham and a few others holding the field. Blake and Cunningham (later Cunningham alone) were succeeded by Howe, Leonard & Company, a firm which went through many changes until, in 1878, Joseph Leonard retired and was followed by his assistant, Charles F. Libbie, already well known for his knowledge of books. Both he and his son, Frederick T. Libbie, who inherited the business, were genuine book-lovers and friends of the bibliographers and collectors of their day. After forty years of activity the firm of C. F. Libbie & Company withdrew from the auction business in 1920, to become dealers in rare books. Most of the sales of important collections (Leffingwell's, Livermore's, Amor L. Hollingsworth's, etc.) of Boston and its vicinity during that period were conducted by them.

In New York the firm of McLaughlin & Blakely were advertising as early as 1823, and David Dunham and John Doyle were issuing broadside catalogues in the early nineteenth century, followed by Royal Gurley, who formed a partnership with John Pearson in 1830, later continuing alone and in partnership with H. Hill. A prominent name is that of William Gowans, better known as a bibliophile and bookseller, though he conducted a few auction sales. He began his bookselling activities by carrying books in a basket from door to door, looking for customers.

From 1860 such important sales as those of William E. Burton, George Brinley, and William Menzies were conducted by Joseph Sabin, the great bibliographer, maker of many catalogues, said to have been "killed by a dictionary" on account of his arduous labor in behalf of American bibliography. The third Brinley sale was the last at which he

presided. It included the first copy of the 42-line Bible to be sold at auction in his country; $8,000 was paid for it.

From about 1830 James B. Cooley and Lemuel Bangs were leading figures, and in 1837 they entered into partnership, the firm of Cooley and Bangs becoming the progenitor of two houses which held the forefront of the stage in New York through the rest of the century, one of them developing, if perhaps in a round-about fashion, into the American Art Association Anderson Galleries of today.

In 1838 Cooley retired from the firm of Cooley & Bangs, forming a partnership with Horatio Hill and John Keese, and later with Keese alone, the latter acting as auctioneer and attracting attention by the wit and ingenuity with which he conducted sales. Cooley & Keese sold their business to Lyman & Rawdon, later Lyman & Company, but it was afterwards reacquired by Cooley, who continued it under the name George A. Leavitt & Company. Later it became Leavitt, Strebeigh & Company, who in 1868 sold the important library of A. A. Smets of Savannah, including the autographs of the English collector, William Upcott. After other changes the firm ceased to exist in 1892.

When Cooley retired from Cooley & Bangs, Lemuel Bangs continued the firm as Bangs, Richard & Platt. It was later known as Bangs & Company, Bangs, Brother & Company, Bangs, Merwin & Company and again as Bangs & Company, under which name it continued until purchased in 1903 by John Anderson, Jr. and reorganized as the Anderson Auction Company.

John Anderson, a commanding figure in the history of book auctions, had been in the field since 1900, winning the full confidence of collectors and dealers by his fair play, newer methods and ideals. In 1908 the business was bought by Major E. S. Turner, who had previously formed the Merwin Clayton Company. The sale of the library of Robert Hoe, in 1911-12, brought to the Anderson Auction Company the recognition of the book collecting world. In 1915 Major Turner was succeeded as its President by Mitchell Kennerley.

Meantime, in 1883, the American Art Association, headed by Thomas E. Kirby, had been organized, preëminently for the sale of paintings and art objects. For many years it was a great influence, not only in bringing important works of art to the United States, but in diffusing knowledge of these things throughout the country. Its first important

book sale was that of Henry Ward Beecher in 1887, and thereafter it became increasingly important in the world of books.

In 1929, the American Art Association and the Anderson Galleries (then so-called) were united by Cortlandt Field Bishop, book collector. One of the most distinguished auctions of the American Art Association Anderson Galleries was that of the magnificent library of the Marquess of Lothian, which occurred on January 27-28, 1932. In the the autumn of 1937, H. H. Parke and Otto Bernet withdrew from the American Art Association Anderson Galleries and together with Arthur Swann initiated the new Parke Bernet Galleries.

Old Philadelphia houses which continued under varying names into the present century were those of Thomas and Freeman, the latter being still active. In 1920 Stan V. Henkels of Philadelphia celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of his entrance into the book auction business, in which he won particular fame as an authority on autographs and a detector of forgeries. In 1876, when a boy in the employ of M. Thomas & Sons, he was entrusted with making the catalogue for the sale of that portion of George Washington's library which had remained in the hands of his family, and, though Henkels' copious notes were not used, from that time he set about enhancing the interest of his auction catalogues by notes and quotations, which gave them a character new in America. Henkels set up independently under his own name in 1913, the business being carried on after his death by his son.

Among later auction firms may be mentioned the Walpole Galleries of New York, founded by Mr. and Mrs. Edward Turnbull, that of Charles F. Heartman of Metuchen, N. J., and Hattiesburg, Miss., Chicago Book and Art Auctions, G. A. Baker & Company, and J. C. Morgenthau & Co., with the last of which Mrs. Edward Turnbull is now associated.

Bookplates

Occasional references to bookplates, in these pages, seem to call for a few further words upon these slight pieces of printing and engraving, by the use of which a collector, perhaps otherwise forgotten, may live to posterity, and by means of which a library of the past may be reconstructed and successive ownership traced. We have seen that printed labels were used by a few early American book owners, while

others imported occasional armorial plates. In the second half of the eighteenth century, and in the early nineteenth, American engravers (Dawkins, Hurd, Maverick, Doolittle, Alexander Anderson, and others) turned their attention to bookplates, the earliest known dated plate being that of John Burnet, made by Henry Dawkins in 1754.

The popular bookplate designers of a century later were Edwin Davis French, Louis Rhead, J. Winfred Spenceley, Sidney L. Smith, and William F. Hopson, with an occasional woodcut by Timothy Cole.

Of late a large number of bookplate designers have done good work in various mediums, among them E. B. Bird, W. E. Fisher, Dorothy S. Harding, Sara B. Hill, Allen Lewis and A. N. Macdonald.[86] The wood engravings of Rudolph Ruzicka and Rockwell Kent and the former's exquisite etchings in color are highly prized. Certain collectors still prefer a simple leather label for their finer books. There is also a return to the printed label, and several eminent printers and designers (notably Bruce Rogers, W. A. Dwiggins, and C. P. Rollins) have designed fine bookplates. The versatile architect, Bertram G. Goodhue, was also a maker of bookplates, and several American painters have designed at least one or two.

The earliest comprehensive writer on the subject of American bookplates was Charles Dexter Allen, while John Woodbury, William E. Bailey, Miss Maria Messenger, Henry C. Eno, Joseph M. Andreini and others were assiduous collectors of these marks of ownership. The Woodbury plates, to the number of four thousand, were presented to the Harvard Library. Probably the largest collection brought together in America was that of William E. Bailey, numbering some 25,000 items, presented by him to the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

[86] For lists of names and addresses, see *Directory of Bookplate Artists*, and *The Book-plate Annual*, as noted in our Bibliography.

TWENTIETH CENTURY LIBRARIES DONATED BY COLLECTORS

THE GENEROSITY on the part of American collectors which the present generation has been privileged to experience proves the truth of John Hill Burton's adage that the book-hunter is the feeder provided by nature for the preservation of literature by the accumulation of libraries, public or private.

Indeed, the magnanimity of the private collector may be said to be dominant throughout the history of American libraries. Many earlier gifts, as well as some more recent ones, have been mentioned in preceding chapters. Before we turn to an account of public libraries we take occasion, in the following pages, to say something of the most important collectors' libraries which, since the turn of the century, have passed from private hands into public or semi-public property and therefore belong in this chapter of our account of the final destination of books.

Before considering donations of entire libraries, often with buildings and funds for development and upkeep, we shall mention a few of the smaller, but significant, collections which have been given to universities and to the public. To attempt an exhaustive list is out of the question here. The gift of funds alone for the purpose of a library, although of course of paramount importance, we have not taken into account in this sketch.

Some Special Collections

Among many author collections we may cite the Virgils presented to the Princeton University Library by Junius S. Morgan; the library of the great Shakespearean scholar, Horace Furness, left by the will of his son and successor to the University of Pennsylvania; and the collection of English poetry given to Wellesley College by George Herbert Palmer, as a memorial to Alice Freeman Palmer. At Harvard we find the John Gay collection, given by George Henry Gay, and the poetry collection (specializing in Keats) of Amy Lowell, probably America's most famous woman collector; at Yale, the Fieldings presented by Frederick S. Dickson; the books, manuscripts and letters of George

Meredith, given by Frank Altschul, who simultaneously issued a catalogue compiled by Bertha Coolidge; the Ionides collection of Greek classics given by Professor Chauncey B. Tinker, and the Franklin Library recently donated by George S. Mason, its collector, who made it the best of its kind in private hands. The University of Michigan has received as a bequest from Lucius Hubbard the collections of the works of Defoe and Swift which he brought together. Although for the most part received before 1900, the Dante and Petrarch collections given or bequeathed to the Cornell University Library by Willard Fiske, as well as his Rhaeto-Romanic and Icelandic books, belong in this same category. Catalogues of the Palmer and the several Fiske collections have been published.

Turning to collections on special subjects, there is the large, historical library of Edward Everitt Ayer, dealing chiefly with the American Indian, given by Mr. Ayer in 1911 to the Newberry Library in Chicago, which library soon afterwards received the bequest of John M. Wing to establish a special department illustrative of the arts of typography and bookmaking. The Western Reserve Historical Society at Cleveland has the library relating to the Civil War, slavery, and Abraham Lincoln presented by William P. Palmer, as well as a collection on the Shakers given by Wallace H. Cathcart. James H. Pennyman's gifts of Memorial Libraries of Education at the University of Pennsylvania, and at Yale and Brown Universities also fall within the period. Among the many gifts received by Harvard, in addition to author collections already mentioned, are the Robert Gould Shaw and Evert Jansen Wendell theatrical libraries, the angling books and bookplates bequeathed by Daniel B. Fearing of Newport, and the H. Nelson Gay Italian Risorgimento library, obtained through a fund bequeathed by Archibald Cary Coolidge. Columbia University has been enriched by the Dale collection on weights and measures, the Epstean library on photography, Dr. David Eugene Smith's collection on the history of mathematics and Orientalia, and the educational library of George A. Plimpton, already mentioned. Mr. and Mrs. Philip Ashton Rollins have given to the Princeton University Library that large collection of books, manuscripts and maps illustrating the "Sources of Civilization west of the Missouri River," which they have spent many years in bringing together, and of which they are preparing an extensive catalogue. Having

in his lifetime, with careful thought, presented his bibliographical collection and many of his choicest volumes to the various libraries where they would be most useful, Leonard L. Mackall bequeathed his medical and general library to Johns Hopkins University.

On the Pacific coast, Ex-President Herbert Hoover has presented to Stanford University at Palo Alto his enormous amount of material relating to the Great War; Mrs. Edward L. Doheny, in memory of her son, has given books and manuscripts illustrative of the book as a work of art to the University of Southern California, Los Angeles; and the remaining library of Alfred Sutro has been given by his family to the State of California. It was originally very large, containing many incunabula, but much of it was destroyed in the San Francisco fire of 1906.

On February 15, 1926, the Melk copy of the 42-line Bible was bought at the Anderson Galleries by Dr. Rosenbach for $106,000 and later purchased by Mrs. Edward S. Harkness, who presented it to the Yale Library. Among the treasures of the Walters Museum of Baltimore, bequeathed by Henry Walters and opened in 1935, is a choice collection of illuminated manuscripts and incunabula.

There is many another special collection now available to the public, which, though not necessarily the gift of its founder, owes its existence to the zeal with which a collector has brought it together. Instances are the Speck Goethe collection at Yale University, the Seligman library on economics at Columbia, the White collection of folk lore and books on chess in the Cleveland Public Library and the Browning collection at Baylor University, Waco, Texas, founded on the library of Dr. A. J. Armstrong. A catalogue of the last named appeared in 1921.

The John Carter Brown Library in Providence (1900)

This important library of Americana has already been described in connection with the sketch of its founder (see pp. 309-311).

The Annmary Brown Memorial in Providence (1907)

General Rush Christopher Hawkins (1831-1920) was a collector of the old school, as sturdy of body and soul in his eightieth year, as when he led his dashing regiment of Zouaves in the Civil War. After experimenting with collecting in general, he settled, as a lifelong in-

terest, upon early printed books, especially those of the first presses of each town where printing was practiced before 1500. In 1907 he placed his collection, with his pictures and other treasures, in Providence in a beautiful building which is also his tomb and that of his wife, dedicating the whole in her honor as the Annmary Brown Memorial. A catalogue of the books, compiled by Dr. Alfred W. Pollard, was published in 1910, since which time articles upon General Hawkins and the Memorial have been written by its librarian, Miss Margaret B. Stillwell, who is in charge of the forthcoming new edition of the *Census of Fifteenth Century Books owned in America*, and Secretary for America of the *Gesamt-Katalog*. While open to the public, in accordance with the founder's desire to share his treasures, the Memorial is a privately endowed institution, with a self-perpetuating board of trustees.

The Widener Library of Harvard University (1913)

Edmund Gosse called Harry Elkins Widener the "Marcellus of the race of book collectors." He began collecting as a school boy, and when his life was cut short in the wreck of the steamship Titanic, though only in his twenty-eighth year, he had acquired a magnificent collection of the great works in English literature (many of them in copies remarkable for their condition or associations), as well as a discriminating knowledge of his books from the standpoints of both scholar and collector. Just before the Titanic sank he put into his pocket his newly acquired copy of the rare second edition of Bacon's *Essays*, saying: "Little Bacon and I go down together." The catalogue of Harry Widener's Stevenson collection, privately printed in 1913, contains a memoir by Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. Other catalogues appeared in 1910 and 1918.

The books are placed in a special room in the building which was given to Harvard University in 1913 by Harry Widener's mother, as a memorial to her son, who had bequeathed his library to the college. The Widener Library building houses also the college library, for the first time adequately. Mrs. Widener selected, to care for her son's collection, his friend, Luther S. Livingston, the scholarly bookseller, whose various writings about books are cherished as the last word on many subjects. There is no doubt that he would have adorned equally

the library profession, had his life been spared. He was succeeded by Dr. George Parker Winship. The collection, dedicated with suitable restrictions to the use of students and the public, is now administered by Mrs. Luther S. Livingston, who has made it the basis of important bibliographical contributions.

The Wrenn Library of the University of Texas (1918)

In 1918 the English literature collection of John H. Wrenn of Chicago, especially strong in the works of Pope, Defoe, Swift, Wither, Shelley and the anonymous and minor works of the 17th and 18th centuries, was purchased from Mr. Wrenn's son and presented to the University of Texas at Austin, with an endowment of $100,000, by Major George W. Littlefield. A catalogue in five volumes was published by the University in 1920. Professor R. H. Griffith of the University writes that the Aitken and Stark collections in the University Library cross and supplement the Wrenn books, to such a degree that the library takes its rank among the most notable in America in English and American literature.

The Henry E. Huntington Library in San Marino, California (1919)

The first number of the Huntington Library Bulletin (May, 1931) emphasizes the fact that the library is "essentially a library of libraries or a collection of collections."

Relying at first upon George D. Smith, as his agent, and later on members of his library staff, Mr. Huntington nevertheless took a keen interest in every acquisition, and in less than thirty years acquired 175,000 volumes and extensive collections of manuscripts. He was fortunate in that shortly after he began collecting in earnest, he was able to purchase, for about $1,000,000 ("one of the largest book transactions on record"), E. Dwight Church's collection of Americana and English literature, already catalogued by George Watson Cole, as well as to acquire the choice collections of Beverly Chew and Frederick R. Halsey and to buy largely at the Hoe and Huth sales. He had previously, at the sale of the library of Henry W. Poor and elsewhere, made many purchases which showed special fondness for finely printed and handsomely bound volumes, illuminated manuscripts and incunabula, but he soon decided to concentrate on the history and literature of the British

Isles and North America. In its number of early English books the Huntington Library is surpassed by only the British Museum and the Bodleian Library. In his later years Mr. Huntington developed a special interest in incunabula, of which the library contains about 5,400, the largest collection of its kind in America. It includes the volumes listed in George D. Smith's *Monuments of Early Printing* (1916), several other separate collections purchased from dealers, besides volumes from the Phillips, Newdigate, Ross-Winans and other collections. In 1916 he purchased *en bloc* the books offered in Sotheby's catalogue of the first sale of the Britwell Court Library, and in 1917 he acquired the Bridgewater House Library, as described in Collier's catalogues, 1837 and 1840,—probably his most important single purchase. At the Britwell sale of 1919 he bought for £15,100 the Lamport Hall copy of *Venus and Adonis*, 1599, bound with *The Passionate Pilgrim.*

Among other collections acquired by him are the Washington manuscripts of Grenville Kane, modern literary manuscripts of John Quinn, a large section of William K. Bixby's modern historical and literary manuscripts, the Henry Raup Wagner collections relating to the Western States, of which Mr. Wagner is the historian and bibliographer, and the early American imprints of Wilberforce Eames and Simon Gratz.

In 1915 Dr. George Watson Cole was installed as librarian and, with his staff, took up his duties in Mr. Huntington's New York residence, which the library was fast outgrowing. In 1920 the books were removed to his California home in San Marino, where the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery today includes the Botanic Gardens, the Art Gallery (formerly the Huntington House) and the Library building, opened in 1920. By deeds of gift, made in 1919-22, the collections and surrounding estate, valued at approximately $30,000,000, were placed in the hands of five trustees for the use of the public after Mr. Huntington's death. A policy for the encouragement of research was adopted in 1925 and shortly afterwards Dr. Max Farrand, formerly professor of American history at Yale University, was appointed director of research, the founder making financial provision for research undertakings at the institution itself, in addition to the facilities extended to scholars working independently. The present librarian is Leslie P. Bliss.

Fifteen sales of duplicates from the Huntington Library were held between 1916 and 1925. A check-list of its English literature to 1640 was privately printed in 1919 and *Huntington Library Lists* of American laws, sporting books, incunabula and Larpent plays have appeared. Frequent exhibition catalogues are issued and a series of reproductions in facsimile of some of the rarer volumes is well under way. After eleven bulletins, this occasional publication has become a *Quarterly*.

The Chapin Library of Williams College (1923)

In 1923 Alfred C. Chapin conveyed his library, with an endowment of $150,000, by deed of gift to his alma mater, Williams College, Williamstown, with the proviso that the college provide and maintain a suitable building. The Chapin collection now occupies a wing of the building which houses the entire college library, built largely from funds bequeathed by the late Francis L. Stetson.

The collection consists of early printed books, Americana, and first editions of general literature, with special emphasis on the English, the number of volumes having reached over 12,000. Lists of various sections of the library have appeared in the annual reports of the custodian, Lucy Eugenia Osborne, whose translation of Haebler's *Handbuch der Inkunabelnkunde* was published by the Grolier Club in 1933.

The William L. Clements Library of the University of Michigan (1923)

In 1923 William L. Clements entrusted the library of Americana which he had been collecting for over twenty years to the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, housing it in a separate building. Primarily a "collection of the sources of American history," there have constantly been added to it books and documents which promote that study. In addition to early Americana, the library is especially rich in manuscript material relating to the American Revolution, with which students are being familiarized through the writings of the director, Randolph G. Adams, whose *Whys and Wherefores of the William L. Clements Library* appeared in 1925. In a sketch of the library, written by Mr. Clements two years earlier, he paid tributes to two booksellers who had particularly assisted him in building up the collection,—Lathrop C. Harper of New York and Henry N. Stevens of London.

The Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (1924)

It has been said of J. Pierpont Morgan (1837-1913) that "as he was the organizer extraordinary, so was he the super collector," his interests including so many and so varied phases of art and literature.

In 1899 he acquired the collection of books formed by the London bookseller, James Toovey, principally from the library of the Earl of Gosford, including a great number of Aldines and fine bindings. Of these he issued an illustrated catalogue in 1901, and a few years later brought out the four sumptuous volumes describing manuscripts and early printed books from the collections of William Morris, the Earl of Ashburnham, and others, which he had acquired.

All of these and many more, from the American libraries of George Beach DeForest,[1] Theodore Irwin, Robert Hoe, and others, together with many of his art collections, housed in a separate library building next to his home in New York, were inherited by his son, the present John Pierpont Morgan, himself a scholarly collector. In February, 1924, he conveyed to six trustees, to administer as a public reference library for the use of scholars, the library building and its contents,—about 25,000 books and manuscripts, besides cuneiform tablets, drawings, prints, Italian medals, and Greek and Roman coins, valued at from eight to ten million dollars, with an endowment of one and a half millions. Subsequently the State of New York incorporated the Pierpont Morgan Library; and the collections of the father, together with additions made by the son, were freely dedicated to "the advancement of knowledge and for the use of learned men of all countries."

As a collection of mediaeval illuminated manuscripts the Morgan Library holds a unique position, there being no other which in a few years has assumed such completeness. In Europe, the great collections of such mediaeval material usually are traceable to the possessions of a reigning house or to an old church treasury, and are therefore limited geographically and linguistically. In the Morgan Library, beginning with sixty early Coptic manuscripts, and on to the priceless treasures of Carolingian art and of romanesque illumination and to the gothic manuscripts on vellum and paper, all schools and styles are represented.

[1] His library, largely of French romantic literature, is described in *Four private libraries of New York*, by Henri Pène DuBois, 1892.

In the more recent literary manuscripts, also, the library, with almost a thousand original manuscripts of authors of all lands, is exceedingly rich. The collection of printed books contains block books, incunabula and the most important monuments of world literature and printing, many of the volumes in beautiful and historical bindings from the famous collections of the past.

Outstanding among individual items are the ninth century *Ashburnham Gospels* and the *Golden Gospels* of Henry VIII; the only copies in America of the Indulgence of Pope Nicholas V, and the Fust and Schoeffer Psalter of 1459; copies on vellum and paper of the 42-line Bible, and the only known perfect copy of Mallory's *Morte d'Arthur*, printed by Caxton in 1485 (formerly owned by Robert Hoe).

In *A Review of the Growth, Development and Activities of the Library*[2] during its first five years as an educational institution, the director, Belle da Costa Greene, writes of the new "annex building" and of the exhibitions and lectures given there, of the scholars who have gained inspiration and help from the collections, and of the acquisitions during the period.

Besides exhibitions in its own building, the library has been generous in lending objects for exhibition in other institutions. One such occasion was the exhibition of *The Arts of the Book* held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where "for the first time," wrote William M. Ivins, assistant director of the Museum, "the people of New York were able to appreciate with their own eyes the fact that their city contained one of the great collections of beautiful books of the world"; another was that great exhibition at the New York Public Library, formed entirely of *Illuminated Manuscripts from the Pierpont Morgan Library*.

Publications based wholly or in some part upon material in the Morgan Library number some three hundred. The principal publication of the library itself, undertaken with the coöperation of the authorities of the Vatican Library, consists of sixty-three volumes of a complete photographic reproduction of the Coptic Illuminated Manuscripts acquired by the elder Mr. Morgan.

The simple armorial leather label of the first J. Pierpont Morgan is used in the library.

[2] A similar volume on the library's second five-year period appeared in 1937.

The Senator William Andrews Clark Memorial Library in Los Angeles (1926)

The library which William Andrews Clark, Jr., brought together and placed in a separate building upon his estate in Los Angeles, California, is especially rich in English literature.

In 1926 Mr. Clark executed a gift deed, by the terms of which the library, as a memorial to his father, passed into the hands of the University of California at Los Angeles, Mr. Clark reserving a lifetime use and control. On his death in June, 1934, he left to the library an endowment of one and a half million dollars and the property surrounding the building.

From 1921 to 1930 Mr. Clark published various catalogues of portions of his library compiled by his librarians, and from 1927 to 1933 he issued beautifully made facsimiles, accompanied by new editions of some of the rare volumes in his library.

The Folger Shakespeare Memorial in Washington (1932)

Henry Clay Folger (1857-1930), whose interest in Shakespeare began in his Amherst college days, retired from business in 1923 in order to devote his time to the completion of the Shakespeare Memorial, which five years later he offered to the nation. From the first he and, later, Mrs. Folger, who constantly aided and encouraged him, had lofty ambitions for his collections and, perhaps for this reason, he acquired them as secretly as possible, storing them in vaults in New York and Brooklyn (which had become his home) until his plans were ripe.

The following summary of important acquisitions is drawn from the memorial volume privately printed by Mrs. Folger in 1931: The Halliwell-Phillipps rarities purchased in 1907 from Marsden J. Perry, whose famous 1619 volume, with its nine quarto plays (then thought to be the only existing copy) he acquired later; the unique *Titus Andronicus* of 1594, discovered in Sweden, sixteen quarto plays from Dr. John Gott, Bishop of Truro; twenty-seven quartos from Lord Howe, including the extremely rare second edition of Hamlet, 1604; Kemble-Devonshire quartos from the sale of the Huntington duplicates, the noted "Burton volume" containing rare editions of the early poems; various purchases from the collections of Maurice Jonas of London, C. C. Kalbfleisch, A. W. Griswold, and the Huth and Brit-

well libraries; and a few of W. A. White's choicest treasures (*Rape of Lucrece*, 1594, *Richard II*, 1598 (once thought unique) and the first issue of *Pericles*, 1609).

The folio editions were dearest to Mr. Folger's heart. He owned eighty copies of the First Folio (little less than half the number known); and large numbers of the Second, Third and Fourth. There are edited editions from the collections of famous men, prompt copies, source plays, adaptations and allusion books, as well as a tremendous number of playbills, paintings, engravings, music, stage properties and various museum objects.

When the collections reached the white marble building in Washington, which Mr. Folger did not live to see completed, and where his ashes now rest, the books and pamphlets numbered over 90,000; the manuscripts before the year 1700, 4,500; later manuscripts, 15,500. The acquisition in 1938 of the great collection of Sir Leicester Harmsworth, will not only greatly augment the library, but will round out certain of the sections to a remarkable degree.

The library was dedicated on Shakespeare's birthday, April 23, in 1932, the President of the United States attending. The ceremonies took place in the Elizabethan Theater which occupies a part of the building. Mrs. Folger handed the keys to George A. Plimpton, president of the corporation of Amherst College, by whose trustees the library is administered, according to the instructions of the founder, who left his residuary estate to complete and maintain the Folger Shakespeare Memorial. Joseph Quincy Adams is director.

PUBLIC LIBRARIES

Colonial Period

THE FIRST ATTEMPT in America to provide a library for general use was the ill-starred effort to establish a college at Henrico for the Virginia colonists and their Indian neighbors. King James had issued a brief, asking for contributions, the Reverend Thomas Burgrave had bequeathed for the purpose a library valued at one hundred marks, and other gifts had been presented, when in 1622 the Indians laid waste the infant settlement. "That this was the first public library in the British colonies is a moral certainty," writes Bernard G. Steiner.[1]

The first successful attempt of like nature was the founding, at New Towne, Massachusetts (renamed Cambridge), of Harvard College, the library facilities of which seem to have begun with the use of the books of Mrs. Ames, widow of the learned Dr. William Ames, of whom Cotton Mather wrote that although he was prevented by death from coming to the New World, his library did come. Possibly the students also had access to the books of the widow of Jose Glover, whose death during the voyage to America had left her the owner of his books and printing press. At all events, the history of the library proper begins with the Reverend John Harvard's bequest to the college in 1638 of his library of from three to four hundred volumes and one half of his estate. He died at the age of thirty, only a little over a year after his arrival in Boston. In 1642 the magistrates increased the library by books from their own collections, to the value of £200, and shortly afterwards arrived the first gift of Sir Kenelm Digby and various bequests,—that of Theophilus Gale in 1678 more than doubling the size of the library. Other donors of books were Richard Baxter and Bishop Berkeley. Special benefactors in the eighteenth century were Thomas Hollis of London and various members of the Hollis family. The first catalogue was published in 1723, with a supplement two years later. The collection had grown to 5,000 volumes, when early in 1764 Harvard Hall was completely destroyed by fire, and all but four hun-

[1] *Rev. Thomas Bray and his American Libraries*, in *The American Historical Review*, Vol. II, October, 1896-July, 1897, p. 60.

dred of the books were lost. Downham's *Christian Warfare* was thought to be the only one of the volumes received from John Harvard which was saved, but at the time of the Harvard Tercentenary celebration in 1937 three others were discovered.

With the final establishment in 1693 of the College of William and Mary at Williamsburg, Virginia, another college library was begun, while the year 1696 saw the founding of the first free school in the colonies (King William's School at Annapolis, Maryland), later to be intimately connected with the Annapolitan Library.

Meanwhile the need of a public library in Boston had influenced Captain Robert Keayne to make provision in his will, dated 1653, for a "town house," with "a library and gallery for divines and scholars to meet in," leaving to it whatever of his books his appointed friends might choose, "not simply for show but properly for use." The bequest of John Oxenbridge to the "publick library of Boston" in 1674, and other bequests and allusions in town records, prove that it must have existed for nearly one hundred years when the second "town house" which held it was destroyed by fire in 1747.

After this record of destruction it is pleasant to learn of the survival of the King's Chapel Library, Boston, consisting of about two hundred theological works sent to the first Episcopal church in New England by the Reverend Thomas Bray, under the auspices of King William III, in 1698. The books are now in the custody of the Boston Athenaeum.

The preceding year had seen a library sent to Maryland through the efforts of the aforesaid Dr. Bray, founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, to whose zealous enthusiasm America is greatly indebted for libraries, amounting in all to some 34,000 volumes. In 1696 Dr. Bray was appointed by the Bishop of London to act as commissary of ecclesiastical affairs in the state of Maryland and accepted the post on condition that the Bishop help him provide parochial libraries for the use of his missionaries. The first was sent to Annapolis, so called after Anne, then Princess of Denmark, who contributed a "noble benefaction" to the library.

Governor Nicholson's proposal to the Assembly that some part of Maryland's revenue set apart for arms be applied to books for this library seems to be the first formal recommendation in British America

that public funds be used toward the support of a free library. Though the suggestion was not approved, it was voted to place the library sent by Dr. Bray in the State House. Being thus housed, it took on more of a public character than the good doctor's purely parochial collections and must be regarded as the first public library in the colonies, except for the college libraries already named, and the problematical public library in the "town house" of Boston.

After the burning of the State House in 1704 the Annapolitan Library was removed to King William's School, and when St. John's College was established and the school merged with it in 1789, more than four hundred of the 1,095 volumes originally sent by Dr. Bray were transferred to the college library. Today these volumes are piously preserved in locked cases in the office of the librarian of the college.

New York's first library was that of Trinity Parish,[2] founded in 1698, also through the efforts of Dr. Bray. Of this collection only two volumes exist,—one in the Society Library and the other owned by the General Theological Seminary, New York.

In the course of his devoted life Dr. Bray succeeded in establishing a large number of such libraries in America, as well as many parochial ones in England and Wales. His library and other missionary schemes took shape in 1699 in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. His own works, *Apostolick Charity* and *An Essay toward promoting . . . Knowledge*, are filled with matters of library interest, the latter containing a complete system for the founding and preservation of libraries.

The use of the Bray libraries extended beyond the clergy, and by 1700 he had widened his whole plan, providing for "lending laymen's libraries" to be lent or given at the discretion of the ministers to the "chief governors, the best disposed magistrates, publick houses, etc." Dr. Bray's parochial library at Charleston was made public by an act of the South Carolina legislature in 1700.

The eighteenth century saw the rise of subscription libraries, the first and most famous being the Library Company of Philadelphia, which is

[2] A list of two hundred and twenty volumes sent to New York, still in the possession of "Dr. Bray's Associates," shows a collection of standard works of the time, well chosen for a clergyman's library, with what is probably the first scheme of classification of books for an American library. Eleven of the twelve classes were devoted to theological subjects.

still foremost of its kind. In fact, Philadelphia was a library center through the middle years of the century. The Library Company was founded by Benjamin Franklin, growing out of his original suggestion that each member of his small club (the Junto) bring his books for the common use of the club to the rooms which they had hired for a meeting place. The plan not working well, Franklin writes:[3] "And now I set on foot my first project of a public nature, that for a subscription library. I drew a sketch of the plan and rules that would be necessary and got a skillful conveyancer . . . to put the whole in form of articles of agreement to be subscribed, by which each subscriber agreed to pay a certain sum down for the first purchase of books and an annual contribution for increasing them."

The enterprise began with about fifty subscribers at forty shillings each and ten shillings annually. In 1741 the first catalogue was printed, showing practically no theological books and a large proportion of volumes on the sciences and the mechanical arts. The Company was incorporated in 1742 and was called by Franklin the "Mother of all the North American subscription libraries." Later Philadelphia library companies merged with it during the century, the most important union being with the Loganian Library, which vested its property in the Philadelphia Library Company in 1792, with the proviso that the books should be kept separate. James Logan, the learned collector, had left this library to the city of Philadelphia "for the advancement and facilitating of classical learning."

The Library Company of Philadelphia was followed by the Redwood Library of Newport (1747), named for Abraham Redwood, its earliest benefactor; the Charleston Library Society (1748), owing its origin to "seventeen young gentlemen" who united in subscribing yearly for British current publications; the "Revolving Library" of Kittery and York, Maine (1751), the New York Society Library (1754), and the Social Libraries of Salem (1760), Leominster (1763) and Hingham (1773). Together with a few others of their kind, and some half dozen college libraries, these represent the chief means of literary culture open to Americans in 1776, as summed up by Horace E. Scudder, writing in 1876 of *Public Libraries a Hundred Years Ago*.[4]

[3] *Life*, edited by John Bigelow, 1875, vol. I, p. 220.
[4] U. S. Education Bureau, *Public Libraries*, Washington, 1876, pp. 1-37.

Although the use of subscription libraries presupposed a small payment or investment in stock, the amount required was in most cases not prohibitive, and it is evident that they were intended to be used freely by those who needed them. Thus the librarian of the Library Company of Philadelphia was to permit any "civil gentleman to peruse the books in the library room," but to allow them to be taken out only by subscribers, and the aim of the Redwood Library at Newport was to provide a place to which "both the curious and impatient enquirer and the bewildered ignorant might repair." "Social libraries" were closely allied to the popular lecture clubs and lyceums, their fees being small enough to make them practically free.

For the sake of the curious, it should be mentioned that the *Revolving Library of Kittery and York*, formed of gifts from the private libraries of Sir William Pepperell and others, literally revolved between the parishes of those two Maine towns, finding its home in that of the oldest settled minister in each parish. The wife of one pastor, considering books unsanitary, consigned it to the attic floor.

In his history of the New York Society Library, which for one hundred and eighty years has pursued its useful course in New York life, Austin Baxter Keep describes five other institutional libraries which were attempted in Colonial New York:—the Trinity Parish Library, already mentioned, the founding of which in 1698 was due to the efforts of Dr. Bray; the collection given in 1713-15 for the first "publick library" in New York by John Sharpe, chaplain in the fort (formerly an appointee of Dr. Bray); the Corporation Library, bequeathed by Dr. John Millington to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and given by the Society to the City about 1730; the Library of King's College (now Columbia), established in 1757 through the bequest of the private collection of Joseph Murray; and the Union Library Society, founded in 1771. The only two which survived the Revolutionary War,—the Society Library and the Library of King's College,—were forced to make new starts thereafter, the only vestiges of the early collections which they can show today being a few of the King's College books in the Library of Columbia University, and John Sharpe's beloved collection, which mysteriously found its way into the Society Library and may still be seen there, together with two volumes of the

Library's own early collection and the one volume of Clarendon's History, formerly belonging to Trinity Parish Library.

Naturally, the libraries of the various colleges which began their lives in the eighteenth century were founded more or less simultaneously with the colleges and were, like those of Harvard and William and Mary, at the service of men of education.

The Yale College Library, according to tradition, may almost be said to have preceded the college, each member of the body of ministers who met to consider a college in Connecticut in 1700 agreeing "to give books for the founding of a college."[5] A gift of books from Elihu Yale, an official of the East India Company, connected by marriage with the Eaton family in New Haven, caused it to receive his name in 1718. Among other early benefactors were Jeremiah Dummer, the Reverend Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Berkeley, Sir Isaac Newton, and even Cotton Mather, who altered his allegiance from Harvard to Yale, incensed by what he deemed laxness displayed in certain quarters at the earlier college. In fact it was through his intervention that Elihu Yale became interested. Bishop Berkeley's gift of a thousand volumes was described by the president as "the finest that ever came to America together." When, in 1718, the college was moved from Saybrook to New Haven, the books were carried in ox-carts which were literally besieged by the Saybrookers in their efforts to hinder the change of place. The earliest catalogue of the Yale Library was compiled by the president in 1743. A facsimile of the little volume was issued in 1931 as a momento of the dedication of the present building, named for its donor the Sterling Memorial Library. There, in a reproduction of a Colonial room, are placed all that remain of the early volumes belonging to the library, brought together by Andrew Keogh, whose long and successful librarianship closed with his retirement in 1938.

Other Colonial college libraries were those of King's College (already mentioned, p. 359), the University of Pennsylvania, the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), which was destroyed by fire in 1801, Rhode Island College (now Brown University at Providence) and Dartmouth College, at Hanover, New Hampshire. St. John's College

[5] The old story is that each member brought books to the meeting, laying them on the table with the words: "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony."

at Annapolis, as already mentioned, was founded shortly after the Revolutionary War.

The only important professional library before the nineteenth century was the small medical collection of the Pennsylvania Hospital in Philadelphia, which began with Dr. John Fothergill's donation of a single volume in 1762 and was increased by small fees from students.

The earliest of the various learned societies of the United States was the American Philosophical Society, founded in Philadelphia at the initiative of Benjamin Franklin in 1743. It owned a small library at the beginning of the Revolution.

One other method of borrowing books was open in the eighteenth century to those who were unable or loath to buy them,—the circulating libraries established by booksellers from whom, for a small yearly payment, patrons might rent books for stated periods. Although the custom was an old one in England, it was not attempted on this side of the Atlantic until 1763, and then, surprisingly, in New York rather than Boston.

Indeed, George Wood, bookbinder and stationer in Charleston, South Carolina, had advertised his intention to venture upon a circulating library, shortly before Garret Noel opened his in New York. Two years later, the bookseller, John Mein, established a circulating library in Boston, at the repeated request, he said, of a number of gentlemen, "the friends of literature." His yearly subscription was twenty-eight shillings. Other bookselling proprietors of circulating libraries of the period were Samuel Loudon, John Fellows and Houquet Caritas of New York, and Thomas Bradford and the eccentric Robert Bell of Philadelphia.

The Nineteenth Century

When the turn of the century was reached, the country had become old enough to give formal thought to the preservation of its records. The Massachusetts and New York Historical Societies, founded in 1791 and 1804, were followed in the next fifty years by similar bodies in the other New England and Atlantic states. Most of the succeeding states to be admitted to the Union have in turn developed their own historical societies, the libraries of which are becoming increasingly important. The American Antiquarian Society had its beginnings in 1812, with the presentation of his library by the founder, Isaiah Thomas, historian of

American printing,—himself a printer of Worcester, Massachusetts, where the Society has its headquarters.

In 1800 the national government established a library which was the forerunner of the present Library of Congress, and most of the original states had their own state libraries before 1820, the earliest being that of New Hampshire. The New York State Library, the most important, was established at Albany, in 1818. James I. Wyer was its librarian for many years. Melvin Dewey was one of his predecessors.

The subscription and social libraries of the eighteenth century were followed in the early decades of the nineteenth by various athenaeums and mercantile libraries,—an outstanding example of the former being the Boston Athenaeum, still the important subscription library of Boston, founded in 1807. An interesting account of its history and the influence which it has exerted over Boston culture was written in honor of its centennial in 1907.

The mercantile and "young men's" libraries, which sprang into being in the eighteen-twenties and thirties, were, like the "mechanics' institutions" established in England, a part of the period's world-wide movement for popular education. Perhaps the importance of their emergence at this time has been underestimated in the consideration of library history. When Benjamin Franklin founded the Library Company of Philadelphia he was emphasizing the workingman's right and duty to educate himself. The mechanics' institutions, etc., of nearly a century later were one of the manifestations of society's awakening to the necessity of helping to provide that education. It was only another step to the belief that the library should not be content with opening its doors, but should itself reach those who need its help. The free libraries of Rome, of which the ancients wrote with enthusiasm, were open for the "unrestricted use of the learned"; when Gabriel Naudé persuaded Cardinal Mazarin to build a modest door, opening directly into his library, which the most embarrassed scholar would not fear to enter, it was for the timid man of learning that he was planning. It remained for the nineteenth century library to seek out the unlettered, and to draw them into the library.

Town and school district libraries began to flourish early in the century, the first tax supported town library being probably that of Salisbury, Connecticut, founded in 1803, while one at Peterborough, New

Hampshire, which began its life thirty years later, is said to be the oldest existing library which has always been supported by public taxation. The first state legislation for levying a tax for school libraries occurred in New York in 1835, while similar measures in Massachusetts, two years later, were due to the efforts of that great advocate of the American public school, Horace Mann. In most of the states library legislation followed closely upon the establishment of free education.

Owing largely to the energies of Josiah Quincy, Jr., the Massachusetts general court in 1848 empowered the City of Boston to raise money by yearly taxation for the support of a public library, under which act the Boston Public Library of today was established in 1852,—the first large city library to be founded as a municipal institution. Its distinctive character and liberal policies were largely determined by the scholarly and generous George Ticknor, upholder of the new school of libraries, which Sir Anthony Panizzi, Principal Librarian of the British Museum, was advocating in England. The favorable report of the committee appointed in 1849 by the House of Commons to determine the best means of extending the establishment of libraries "freely open to the public" was received with much interest in America, as well as in England. The pioneer public library in England was that of Manchester, established almost simultaneously with the Boston Public Library.[6]

With libraries so much in the public consciousness, it is not surprising that librarians felt the need of coöperation, and in 1853 the first library convention was held, in New York, with an attendance of eighty. Among these were William F. Poole of the Mercantile Society of Boston, Samuel F. Haven of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Charles Folsom of the Boston Athenaeum, Reuben A. Guild of Brown University, Lloyd P. Smith of the Philadelphia Library Company and Professor Charles C. Jewett of the Smithsonian Institution (soon to become superintendent of the newly established Boston Public Library),—a goodly representation of the various types of libraries of the time. Professor Jewett was made President of the Convention. No other general meeting of librarians was held until 1876, when the American Library Association was founded in Philadelphia, as narrated in a succeeding chapter.

During the latter part of the nineteenth century the establishment of

[6] For further treatment see pp. 368-370.

free public libraries, which had begun in earnest with the Massachusetts legislation of 1848 and had received new zest on the formation of the American Library Association, continued with increasing rapidity. Library legislation grew more and more progressive; in 1889 New York State began a system of granting aid to public libraries with a certain circulation of books, and in the following year Massachusetts created a commission to furnish advice, assistance and books to any town in the state, under certain provisions. Many other states established similar commissions, and in 1892 the New Hampshire legislature passed the first act for compulsory assessment for establishing and maintaining libraries. By 1900, most of the large cities and many of the smaller towns throughout the country had their public libraries, many of them having developed from already existing institutions.

In addition, the period from 1880 to 1895 had seen the foundation of such privately established or endowed institutions as the Enoch Pratt Library of Baltimore, the Pratt Institute Free Library of Brooklyn, the John Crerar and Newberry Libraries of Chicago, and the Library of Drexel Institute in Philadelphia, each perpetuating the name of a generous benefactor, and each giving to the public free use of its facilities.

The years 1895-97 mark the next important milestone, witnessing as they did the consolidation of the Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations into the New York Public Library, and the completion of the finest library buildings erected in the country up to that time,—the Library of Congress and the new buildings for the Public Libraries of Boston and Chicago. At the same time the gift of President Seth Low of Columbia made possible that great library building with its circular reading room, which was then considered a triumph of library architecture. It has, however, been outgrown and recently superseded by a larger building, the gift of Edward S. Harkness. The old building, now known as the Low Memorial Library, today houses the special collections of the University.

Writing in 1895 of the libraries just mentioned, Dr. Herbert Putnam,[7] then head of the Boston Public Library, pointed out that among them were to be found prominent examples of the different types of the modern free library: in the Library of Congress the beginnings of

[7] *The Great Libraries of the United States*, in *The Forum*, June, 1895, pp. 484-494.

a really national library; in Columbia, the university library for reference, but free to the general public; in the Lenox, the highly endowed reference library; in the Newberry and Crerar, the partially specialized endowed reference libraries; in the Astor, the endowed general reference library; in the Enoch Pratt, the library endowed for both reference and circulation; in the Boston Public Library, the municipal library, circulating books at public expense for the general reader and accumulating as well material for the specialist, in which it is helped by endowments; and in the Chicago Public Library, the municipal library which devotes itself to the general reader.

Contrasting this group with the subscription, society and mercantile libraries represented at the first meeting of American librarians in 1853, one realizes what strides had been made in about forty years.

REPRESENTATIVE LIBRARIES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

WHILE IT IS impossible, in limited space, to attempt a detailed history of individual libraries, it may not be amiss to speak at some length of our National Library, of the first public library in a great city, and of the New York Public Library, which has developed the greatest city library system in existence. There is space for only brief mention of outstanding characteristics of a few other representative libraries.

The Library of Congress

In the early days of the Republic, with first New York and then Philadelphia as the capital, the government bodies were dependent upon the library resources of those cities,—the New York Society Library and the Library Company of Philadelphia. When in 1800 the government was removed to Washington it was regarded by the former capitals as "a backwoods settlement in the wilderness," although the plan for the city, prepared by Major L'Enfant for Presidents Washington and Jefferson, gave promise of great beauty. The necessity for a congressional library was at once recognized and an appropriation granted by Congress for the purchase of books, and for fitting up a room in the Capitol to hold them. The report which a committee on library organization presented in 1801 is a notable document in library history. It was written by John Randolph of Roanoke, himself a book collector and the author of the phrase, "A good library is a statesman's workshop." In 1814, about three thousand volumes having been accumulated, the library was completely destroyed, when the Capitol was burned. It was necessary to make an entirely new start, and it was then that Thomas Jefferson, always an interested friend of the library, offered his own books to Congress at a comparatively low sum, as the nucleus of a new library, and they were purchased,—to be partially destroyed by another disastrous fire in 1851. About 20,000 of the 55,000 volumes were saved. After the fire Congress at once took measures for restoration, and the foundation (in books) of what is today's Library of

Congress was laid. They still occupied a room in the Capitol, but the library hall was rebuilt in fireproof material, and was reported to be the "first example of an interior wholly of iron in any public building in America."

The Peter Force collection of 60,000 pieces of Americana, purchased in 1867, greatly increased the resources of the Library, which has continued to expand rapidly in every department. The law library consists of over 200,000 volumes, and the Library of the Smithsonian Institution, placed in the custody of the Library of Congress, forms its scientific unit, supplemented by the Joseph Meredith Toner Medical Library. Other acquisitions are the Schiff gift of Hebrew books, and collections of Slavic, Scandinavian and Oriental literature. The John Boyd Thacher Collection of Incunabula (see p. 328) consists of nearly a thousand volumes which, with other incunabula owned by the Library, have lately been increased by the Government's purchase from Dr. Otto Vollbehr of three thousand fifteenth century volumes, including a copy on vellum of the 42-line Bible from the St. Paul Monastery in Carinthia. Appropriate quarters for the Library's rare books have recently been provided by an addition to the building.

The Gardiner Greene Hubbard and Freer gifts of prints and the Pennell gift of Whistleriana give an important position to the print department, while Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge's gift of an auditorium for chamber music is unique.

Almost uninterruptedly since 1846 the law has required copies of copyrighted objects to be deposited in the Library, and since 1870 the registration of copyrights has been under the care of the Librarian of Congress.

During the last forty years many valuable calendars of manuscripts, bibliographies, etc., have been issued by the Library. A census of mediaeval manuscripts owned in America is in course of publication and a scheme for a similar census of Indic manuscripts is under way.

The Library is bringing together, in part by grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, a union card catalogue, including not only the great American libraries, but also the contents of certain European collections. Duplicate sets of its card catalogue of printed books are deposited with libraries in various parts of the world, and many

of its printed books are lent through a system of interlibrary loans. The latest development is the endowment of "Chairs" in certain subjects, insuring specialists for the chiefs of those divisions.

When in 1897 the Library moved into its present building, it contained about one million books and pamphlets. The latest report, June, 1938, shows 5,591,710 books and pamphlets and a large collection of maps, music, prints, autographs and manuscripts. It is thus the largest library in the Western Hemisphere.

Ainsworth R. Spofford had held the post of librarian for over thirty years, when he was succeeded, after a short interim, by Dr. Herbert Putnam. His successful completion of thirty years of service was celebrated in 1929 by a volume of Essays, edited by his fellow librarians, William Warner Bishop of the University of Michigan and Andrew Keogh of Yale University.

The work of the Library of Congress is supplemented by the various departmental collections and by the Folger Library, making Washington a base for much bibliographical activity.

The Boston Public Library

This first large library founded as a municipal institution (1853, see p. 363) occupies a unique place in American library history. Indirectly, it owes much to the exertions of that eloquent and slightly quixotic Nicholas Marie Alexandre Vattemare, French advocate of the establishment of a public library at Boston, who for many years devoted his time and money to the promotion of a system of international exchange of books. Arriving in Boston in the course of his American campaign in 1841, he brought about through his meetings and propaganda the embodiment of the "first public expression of the public library movement in that city," and followed it up with gifts of books from the City of Paris.

Josiah Quincy, Jr., in his inaugural address as mayor of Boston, in January, 1848, called attention to the advisability of asking the Massachusetts state legislature for aid in the formation of such a library. In March the "Enabling Act," authorizing the city to establish and maintain a public library, providing that the appropriation should not exceed $5,000 in any one year, was passed by the legislature. A

board of trustees was appointed in 1852 and their report,[1] drawn up by George Ticknor and submitted by the board on July 6, is one of the most important existing documents concerning libraries, embodying questions and policies upon which the entire modern free public library movement rests.

From the beginning the library was fortunate in having for its trustees and administrators public spirited and wise citizens, who gave to it their unswerving devotion. For a long period its policies were controlled by George Ticknor, Edward Everett and William W. Greenough—Ticknor and Everett being colleagues at Harvard College and closely in touch with the culture of the Old World. The chief executives, styled at different times librarian and superintendent, have included such men as Charles C. Jewett (see p. 363), Justin Winsor, the historian, later librarian of Harvard University, and Herbert Putnam, now Librarian of Congress. Worthington C. Ford was the first head of the library's Department of Documents and Statistics, founded in 1898.

The homes of the Boston Public Library have been in a public school, where rooms were assigned to it; a house in Boylston Street, which it occupied from 1858 to 1895; and the present building in Copley Square, where since 1897 it has carried on its work of providing educational opportunities for all classes of the community.

In 1870 the first branch library in the United States was established as the East Boston Branch of the Boston Public Library, and, in spite of opposition, was so successful that it was followed by others, as well as by numerous delivery stations and other agencies, making a total today of one hundred and eighty-five places in the Boston Public Library system where books may be used or borrowed.

The library has been the recipient of an unusually large number

[1] In *Boston City Documents of 1852*; among other things, it is a fervent plea to the city of Boston, so preeminently "fitted to become a reading, self-cultivating population," to regard it as a great matter to carry as many books as possible "into the homes of the young, into poor families, into cheap boarding houses,—in short, wherever they will be most likely to affect life and raise personal character and conditions." Rousing a general interest in the proposed library as a city institution is stated to be, in the minds of the Trustees, "the surest way to make it at last a great and rich library for men of science, statesmen and scholars, as well as for the great body of the people, many of whom are always successfully struggling up to honourable distinctions, and all of whom should be encouraged to do it."

of gifts of books, money, and objects of art. Its first trust fund was the gift of one thousand dollars from John P. Bigelow, followed three years later by fifty thousand dollars from the then mayor, Joshua Bates, to be used for the purchase of "books of permanent value." Several of its important collections have already been noted—the Prince Library, the Ticknor Library of Spanish and Portuguese books, the Barton Shakespeare Collection and the John Adams Library. Among many others, important early gifts were Edward Everett's collection of United States documents and Nathaniel Bowditch's mathematics, while one of the most valuable of later acquisitions is the Allen A. Brown Music Library, presented by Mr. Brown in 1894. A catalogue in four folio volumes was published by the library, 1910-16. The present librarian is Milton E. Lord, succeeding Horace G. Wadlin, whose history of the library appeared in 1911.

The New York Public Library

The story of the New York Public Library, as told by its present director, Harry M. Lydenberg, in a volume of some six hundred and fifty pages, reads like a romance. It is, he tells us, an instance of a typical phenomenon in American institutions—the union of several independent efforts toward the common weal, this union in turn attracting lesser efforts, the result being a strong, but elastic, consolidation.

In 1848 John Jacob Astor left the sum of $400,000 for the establishment of a public library, "to be accessible at all reasonable hours and times for general use, free of expense to persons resorting thereto."

Of the existing libraries in New York at the time, the greater number were connected with schools, colleges, and institutions, which outsiders were timid in approaching; the Society and Mercantile Libraries were of the subscription variety, and the Apprentices' Library, though free, was limited in its appeal. Humanitarian projects had been set on foot in the Institutes for the Blind and the Deaf and Dumb and the House of Refuge on Blackwell's Island, each with the beginnings of a library; and the neighboring village of Harlem had been supporting a free library since 1825, but its resources were small.

John Jacob Astor's plans for a public library were largely due to the influence of Joseph Green Cogswell, who had been working

with him on the scheme for years and who was appointed Superintendent of the Astor Library (the institution having been so named at the first meeting of the trustees). Cogswell was sent abroad to buy books, a task in which he acquitted himself so well that between eighty and ninety thousand volumes had been accumulated by the time the newly built library was opened in 1854,—a great event in the city. When the first printed catalogue began to appear three years later, the collection numbered 115,000 and for many years it continued to be the foremost library in the country.

In 1870 the collector, James Lenox, presented his library to the public, with a building and endowment, as already described (pp. 311-313), and for twenty-five years the two libraries, one in downtown and one in uptown New York, pursued their separate, conservative careers,—the Astor serving for general use, and the Lenox, with its specialized collections, partaking of the character of a museum and reference library. Both were open freely to the public, but the public in general was shy about using them. More and more, through no fault in the administration, they were becoming resorts of only the learned or the privileged few.

The will of Samuel J. Tilden, who died in 1886, provided for a trust "with capacity to establish and maintain a free library and reading room," etc. After some litigation, the Tilden Trust received the donor's general library of about 20,000 volumes and a large endowment. After prolonged discussion as to what the Tilden Trust Library should be, the subject of an alliance with the Astor Library was broached to the Board, thanks primarily to the vision and public spirit of Lewis Cass Ledyard, representing the Tilden Trust, and John Lambert Cadwalader, representing the Astor Library. Shortly afterwards negotiations with representatives of the Lenox Library were begun, and on May 23, 1895, the agreement of consolidation was signed, assuring to the city the tremendous educational opportunity which their combined forces offered. Dr. John Shaw Billings, famous for the production of the Catalogue of the Surgeon General's Library at Washington during his librarianship there, was made Director of the united "New York Public Library, Astor-Lenox-Tilden Foundations." Dr. Billing's successor was Dr. Edwin H. Anderson,

who had accomplished pioneer work as librarian of the Carnegie Library in Pittsburgh.

"Consolidation," writes Dr. Lydenberg in his history, "was in the air," and by 1904 the Harlem Free Library, the then comparatively new Free Circulating Library of New York and other small circulating libraries had been drawn into the consolidation, the names of several of the uniting bodies being perpetuated in the branches of the main library. Other branches were soon opened, Andrew Carnegie in 1900 offering to provide buildings for thirty-five. The branches now number forty-seven and are scattered throughout the city at various points of vantage, the work of each being adapted to the special needs of its own neighborhood. The books borrowed from the library system in 1937 numbered 10,491,000, those used in the reference department, 4,372,000.

The main building on Fifth Avenue, with its executive offices and departmental collections, was opened in 1911 and is the heart of the system, and the center of a tremendous amount of reference work. It houses over two and one-half million volumes,[2] including the rare books of James Lenox and other donors, the Spencer Collection of finely illustrated and bound volumes, the Washington Irving Collection donated by Mrs. Isaac N. Seligman, several departmental collections, a library for the blind, a print department, a circulating branch, a children's room, a bindery and a printing-shop, which turns out beautifully made volumes, as well as ephemeral printing and the library's *Bulletin.*

Other Libraries

In varying degrees, work similar to that of the New York Public Library is carried on by the large institutions throughout the country. After New York, in point of numbers of volumes, come the public libraries of Cleveland, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Baltimore.

Chicago, with its many libraries, is the bibliographical center of the Middle West. The Cleveland Public Library is distinguished for its fine organization, that of Detroit for its self-charging system, of St.

[2] One million additional volumes are in the various branches.

Louis for liberality in the use of its buildings. In matters of administration the public libraries of Denver and Los Angeles are coming rapidly to the fore, the former having developed a regional plan of services to the several colleges within its area—the first experiment in this direction. The Los Angeles library is fortunate in the architectural beauty of its building, designed by Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, while the new buildings of the Philadelphia Public Library, the Columbia University Library, and the Enoch Pratt Free Library of Baltimore are remarkable for perfection of mechanical devices, the last named having show windows on the street for displaying books.

The Public Library of Newark, New Jersey, has the distinction of having been the proving ground for many new ideas in administration and general policies, under the librarianship of John Cotton Dana, that far-seeing, fearless and successful pioneer. Among his many experiments aimed at enlarging the field of library work were exhibitions which led to the establishment in the library of the Newark Museum, wherein Mr. Dana's ideal was "the same as for the library—that of practical usefulness to its community." In like manner Henry W. Kent, Secretary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and since 1935 President of the American Institute of Graphic Arts, is known equally for his work in extending the scope of the museum in modern education and for the influence which his standards of taste have exerted upon the arts of bookmaking in this country.

From small beginnings in 1638, the Harvard Library has grown to nearly four million volumes, while those of Yale and Columbia universities consist of about two and a half and one and a half millions respectively. The libraries of the University of Chicago, Cornell and Princeton, and of the state universities of Illinois, Michigan, California, Minnesota and Pennsylvania have in the neighborhood of a million volumes, each. Several university libraries provide "browsing rooms" for their students, notably Harvard, in the Farnsworth Memorial Room, and Yale in the Linonia and Brothers Library.

It must not be supposed, however, that the great institutions alone are important. Scattered over the land are large numbers of libraries of from one to ten thousand volumes which may mean more proportionately to their readers than greater collections to the average city dweller. Some of these are the long established country libraries of

old and cultured communities; some serve the needs of the average small towns and others are in remote districts.

The latest collection of *Statistics of Public, Society and School Libraries*, published by the government's Office of Education, shows that the total number of books in over 11,000 public, society and school libraries in 1929 was approximately 162,000,000, being an average of thirty-three books to every twenty-five persons—a dramatic growth from 80,000, or about one volume to every twenty inhabitants, reported in 1876.

LIBRARY ORGANIZATION, EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

In spite of great interest evidenced in the meeting of librarians in 1853, no other was held until 1876, when the celebration in Philadelphia of the centennial of the country's independence made that city a desirable place for assembling. At this meeting the American Library Association was organized, with Justin Winsor, then Librarian of the Boston Public Library, as its president.

The meeting of 1876 was due in great part to the efforts of Melvil Dewey, in later years the director of the New York State Library, whose scheme for a Decimal Classification of books, first appearing in 1876, is the classification commonly used in American public libraries. It may be recorded that Dewey was enrolled as number one in the American Library Association.

Shortly before the meeting there had appeared the first number of the *Library Journal*, which served as the organ of the Association until it established its own *Bulletin* in 1907. The editorship of the *Library Journal* fell at first to Dewey and later to Richard Rogers Bowker, who served it long and faithfully. Its inception was owed to that "martyr to bibliography," Frederick Leypoldt, also responsible for the *American Catalogue*, of 1876, which, with its following volumes and its successor, the *United States Catalog*, is the great trade bibliography of the United States.

Other prominent workers of the early days of the American Library Association were William Frederick Poole, whose *Index to Periodical Literature* had begun to appear in 1848, and Charles Ammi Cutter, known for his *Rules for a Printed Dictionary Catalogue*, his *Expansive Classification*, and his alphabetical tables of book numbers to be used with various schemes for classification.

In 1926 the fiftieth anniversary of the American Library Association was celebrated, and the members and foreign delegates heard from Melvil Dewey and Richard Rogers Bowker, who were among the chief actors at its initial meeting, the story of the Association's founding and accomplishments. Today it has over fourteen thousand

members, with headquarters in Chicago, where some sixty people are employed in its administration.

Societies other than the American Library Association, some of which have been practically necessitated by the very hugeness of the parent society, are the various state and town associations, as well as the American Library Institute, the Special Libraries Association, the National Association of Law Libraries, the Medical Library Association, and of a somewhat more independent though closely allied nature, the Bibliographical Society of America. The first meeting of an International American Bibliographical and Library Association took place in Washington in February, 1938.

The first school of training for librarianship was opened at Columbia University in 1887, under the direction of Melvil Dewey, who took it with him to Albany when he was made state librarian. It is now once more a part of Columbia University, having united with the School of the New York Public Library, founded in 1911. The director is Dr. Charles C. Williamson. The second library school in America was established in 1890 by Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, under the directorship, after its first month, of Mary Wright Plummer, whose breadth of culture has been a leavening influence on American librarianship.[1] By 1915 the number of such schools warranted the formation of an Association of American Library Schools. A graduate school has been established at the University of Chicago, with an endowment of $1,000,000 from the Carnegie Corporation, and more and more the library schools are taking their place beside those for training in any of the recognized professions.

[1] Here it seems proper to call attention to the important position taken by women in the library profession, especially in the education of librarians. The present year sees the retirement of two women who for forty-five years have exercised vast influence, each in her own sphere,—Josephine Adams Rathbone, Vice-director of the Pratt Institute Library School, and Linda A. Eastman, librarian of the Cleveland Public Library. Both have served as president of the American Library Association. Mary E. Hazeltine, also, is retiring after more than thirty years as principal of the Library School of the University of Wisconsin. The career of Anne Carroll Moore, supervisor of children's work in the New York Public Library, is well known. Reverting to the past, tribute should be paid to the pioneer work of Salome Cutler Fairchild in the New York State Library School, and of Caroline M. Hewins, who, as librarian of the Hartford Public Library, stimulated work with children. Miss Hewins bequeathed her collection of children's books (over 4000 items) to the Connecticut Historical Society.

Increasing national wealth had its effect upon the American library, not only in gifts and endowments, but in new leisure for reading, due partly to shorter working hours for the mass of the population and consequent greater use of libraries. The part played by the benefactions of Andrew Carnegie in the erection of library buildings and provision for the publication of bibliographical aids has been great, and his name is attached to many library buildings throughout the country, $60,000,000 having been given by him for this object alone, always under conditions which demand coöperation on the part of the beneficiary. A prominent example is the Carnegie Library at Pittsburgh, its building containing the public library of the city, its art and natural history museums and a music hall.

Today, the resources of the Carnegie Corporation of New York supply grants from time to time, on proper recommendations and coöperation, for library education, for the development of college libraries, schemes for publication, etc. It was with funds supplied by this Corporation that the American Library Association in 1924 organized its Board of Education for Librarianship. Grants from the Corporation also helped to finance the continuance of Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* and Evans's *American Bibliography*, undertaken by the Bibliographical Society of America. That Society also secured a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation which helps to make available to many American libraries the new Catalogue of the British Museum.

Other international library matters in which Americans have been concerned are the continuation, at a more rapid rate than had hitherto been possible, of the Catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale, work with Commissions from the Bodleian and Cambridge University libraries, and collaboration in the reorganization of the Vatican Library. It was in connection with the last that Monsignor (now Cardinal) Tisserant, returning from a visit to American libraries, made his comment: "The European librarian has been led, through centuries, to think of libraries in terms of books. The American librarian, through his experience, thinks of libraries in terms of readers." It has been well said that "the chief contribution of the United States is the development of free public libraries for popular rather than scholarly use."[2]

[2] Van Hoesen and Walter. *Bibliography*, p. 419.

Some of the difficulties which the American library, in particular, has had to encounter are the country's vast distances and unevenly distributed population; the cosmopolitan character of certain portions, as opposed to the illiteracy of others; and the constantly recurring problem of the immigrant. The American librarian has received his share of reproach, too, for the stressing of his system's "efficiency," "missionary spirit," etc., and his adherence, for good or ill, to notions of uniformity and standardization. Be that as it may, the idea of service, the keynote of the American public library, is dominant throughout the country.

The distinctively modern features of American public libraries are summed up by Dr. Arthur E. Bostwick[3] as freedom of access to shelves, work with children, coöperation with schools, specialized departments in libraries, branch libraries, traveling libraries, home use of books, community center work, and the effort to make the library and its work known and its books of use to a community.

While most of these features are self-explanatory, a word may be given to children's libraries, under trained leadership, which are today recognized as an important factor in education. In her work on *Library Service for Children*, 1930, Miss Effie L. Power mentions historic efforts toward collections of books for children, beginning in Salisbury, Connecticut, as early as 1803. The Sunday Schools, with their libraries, promoted by Robert Raikes in England in the late eighteenth century, were zealously copied in the United States, and the opening of the reading rooms of libraries to children was one of the forward movements of 1876. It is probable that the first actual separate children's room was established in New York in 1885, at the initiative of a public school teacher, Emily Hanover, whose idea has been carried to heights of which she probably never dreamed. By 1900 children's rooms had become a natural part of a modern public library, and special training was being given for children's librarians. In more than one library, to be sure, the separate room for children was grudgingly granted, after the plea had been made that it would remove these objectionable intruders from the main library!

One has only to glance into the children's room of an industrial city library to realize what is being accomplished there in lessons of

[3] *The American Public Library*, Ed. 4, 1929.

good citizenship and right living, as well as in the introduction of children to books and reading. The low tables, chairs and cases accommodate themselves to the needs of the children, who are often of many nationalities and from many types of homes; the carefully selected books and pictures open new realms to their imaginations, and the library teachers (as the children call the librarians) hold gentle but firm sway. Story telling and visits to schools and settlements, with which the libraries keep in touch, are among the many duties of the children's librarian.

Meantime, high schools and many elementary schools have libraries of their own, travelling libraries and book wagons go into rural districts and homes, increasing opportunities for adult education, many libraries have their "readers' advisers," county libraries are established for widely scattered communities, and special collections are provided in the larger towns for the business man, the mechanic and the technician. Indeed, the character of the library of a large city is often determined by the industries of the city, or by the prevalent type and background of many of its citizens.

The branch library system is often a great help in these matters, making it possible to place in sections of a city, where people of one race, trade or taste are segregated, the books most needed there. For instance, one branch of the New York Public Library has books in French, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, Hungarian, Bohemian, Ukranian, Russian, Lattish, Swedish, Polish, Finnish, Hebrew and Yiddish, as well as assistants who speak many of these languages, for the greater convenience of its foreign clientèle,—while another, mostly used by the large negro population of its district, has special facilities for the colored race. Still another, situated near the musical center of the city, has an important music collection.

Let us look for a moment at the specialized collections which the student has at his command, or to which he may gain access, under given conditions, in New York City alone. The physician has the Library of the Academy of Medicine; the lawyer, that of the Bar Association; the cleric, the Union, General, and Jewish Theological Seminaries; the historian and genealogist, the New York Historical and the New York Genealogical and Biographical Societies; and the engineer, the Library of the United Engineering Societies. For the

student of art there are the Library of the Metropolitan Museum and the Frick Art Reference Library, willed to the people, with his collections, by Henry C. Frick; for the naturalist, there is the Museum of Natural History; for the chemist, the Library of the Chemists Club.

Special facilities for the worker in matters relating to Spain and Portugal, the American Indian, in geography and numismatics, may be found in the Library of the Hispanic Society of America, founded by Archer M. Huntington, and in the other institutions which he has gathered around it. Those interested in the arts of bookmaking may use the Library of the Grolier Club, or that of the American Typefounders Company and other graphic arts collections in the Columbia Library; while the rare books and manuscripts of the Pierpont Morgan Library may be consulted under proper regulations. All these are in addition to the resources of the university, subscription and public libraries, and the libraries of various organizations, clubs, business firms, etc., many of which reflect the particular interests of their members.

Outside of New York the list may be multiplied indefinitely. Among the obviously most important are Harvard's great Law Library and the Surgeon-General's Library at Washington, which owes much of its distinction to Dr. John Shaw Billings and his *Index Medicus*. Many special collections within libraries and institutions have been described or mentioned incidentally elsewhere in this volume and there are countless others.[4] For instance, the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester is rich in American imprints, and that of the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia, in the papers of Benjamin Franklin. Boston has a Social Service Library, supported chiefly by Simmons College, which plans to answer, without charge, any question of public interest. The unfortunate, too, are cared for and there are libraries for the blind and libraries in hospitals and asylums. The New York State Prison Library at Sing Sing contains over 10,000 volumes.

Of late, both necessarily and logically, the spirit of coöperation is becoming dominant among librarians. Union catalogues and interlibrary loans prevent undue duplication, and make libraries cognizant

[4] A reader interested in pursuing the subject may refer to Johnson and Mudge's *Special Collections in American Libraries*, E. C. Richardson's *Index Directory to Special Collections*, Bowker's *American Library Directory*, and the *Special Libraries Directory*. (See Bibliography.)

of one another's resources, while in various cities, preëminently in Philadelphia and Chicago, efforts to coördinate these resources are meeting with success. The regional program of Denver, already mentioned, and such works as Robert Downs's recent volume on *Resources of Southern Libraries* are important steps in local coöperation. Modern inventions are playing their part. The photostat and microphotography seem to open unlimited possibilities to the student, and the latter is causing endless discussion. There is still a question in some minds, however, as to the actual inspirational value of these books which are not books. With due regard for their practical utility in saving rare volumes from wear and tear, one is tempted to ask: Can they not be carried too far? Are there not available enough real books to satisfy the ambition of the most omnivorous scholar, without resorting to these imitations, which Charles Lamb would probably have classed with his "things in books' clothing"? Films, too, are demanding their place, and their care and housing present new problems. Meantime, the radio is broadcasting the news of the library to the world.

APPENDIX

BIBLIOGRAPHY

THE following bibliography has been prepared as a record of the sources used by the three contributors to the volume and to guide readers to fuller and more detailed information than that given in the text. The list was compiled from the bibliographical notes of each of the authors, which were combined into one and supplemented with such additional titles as seemed useful and important. However, no attempt at completeness has been made, nor does the omission of a title necessarily indicate a judgment upon its value. Except in certain cases it was attempted to list the most recent editions of the books included.

The fact that book collections often change hands and pass from private into public ownership has raised some difficulties in regard to the catalogues of these collections. In the following bibliography there is included under *Individual Collectors and Collections* a list of private collectors' catalogues, based on the items found in the library of the Grolier Club. Auction catalogues have not been included because they are listed individually in McKay's union list of American book auction catalogues and are referred to in the text of this volume whenever necessary. No general or specific catalogues of public or university libraries have been included; only a few of the many catalogues of important collections donated to the public, and only a few exhibition catalogues have been listed. A complete list of such catalogues would have expanded the bibliography beyond its present definition.

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