

THE BOOK

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Tom Knoles Is Named Librarian and David Whitesell Joins Staff as Curator of Books

Two new appointments—one a promotion, the other the recruitment of a newcomer to the Society—were announced recently by AAS President Ellen Dunlap. Curator of Manuscripts Thomas G. Knoles was named the Marcus A. McCorison Librarian, and David R. Whitesell, who for the last ten years was a rare book cataloguer at Harvard University's Houghton Library, has accepted the newly created position of curator of books.

Of Knoles's new position, Dunlap noted that his selection reflects "his broad professional experience at the Society and steadfast commitment to its traditional goals and ideals, and also his progressive thinking on the prospects for its future and the respect he has earned as a true colleague to all." In addition to his new responsibilities, Knoles will continue to serve as the Society's curator of manuscripts and archivist. He has also taken over from John Hench as project director for the NEH-supported First Democratization Project (Lampi Electoral Returns Project, <http://www.americanantiquarian.org/fdp.htm>). Knoles holds a B.A. from the University of Notre Dame and a Ph.D. in classics and M.L.S. from Rutgers University. He started work at AAS in 1990 and from 1995 to 2000 was director of reference services.

Since taking up his position, Knoles has already moved forward with his plan to promote what he sees as one of the Society's traditional strengths: service to readers. To this end, two new reference librarian positions have been created to help maintain the Society's excellent reputation as an efficient, helpful, and congenial place to do research.

Another strength of the society, Knoles says, is the professionalism and excellence of the library staff. He has been impressed but not surprised by the collegiality demonstrated by the task forces he has set up to meet institutional needs. In the days to come he looks forward to encouraging additional collaboration among staff members, recognizing staff accomplishments, and providing opportunities for professional development. His experiences so far have reinforced his opinion that his is "the best library job in the world."

Whitesell describes his arrival at AAS as a "return to his roots," albeit a return facilitated by several AAS members. After earning his B.A. in early American history at the University of

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LIBERTY/ÉGALITÉ/INDEPENDENCIA!

REFLECTIONS ON THE 2006 SUMMER CONFERENCE OF THE PROGRAM IN THE HISTORY OF THE BOOK

On June 16–18, 2006, a dozen scholars and an audience of interested persons convened in Worcester to explore the transatlantic and hemispheric print worlds of Revolution. An interdisciplinary symposium, "LIBERTY/ÉGALITÉ/INDEPENDENCIA!" brought Hispanists, political historians, literary scholars, and historians of French civilization together to explore the circulation, translation, revision, cross-cultural interpretation, and influence of key texts inciting revolt against colonial dominion and establishing independent states in Europe and the Western Hemisphere. The revolutions in North America, France, Haiti, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Colombia, Lower Canada, and Upper Canada served as principal occasions for investigation, but the inquiries ranged



widely. The activities of Jesuits in Italy, Catholic Jacobins in Paris, Anglophile reformers in South America, Spanish expatriates in Philadelphia, American filibusters in Spanish Louisiana, and French Revolutionaries in the Creek homelands of Florida revealed how messily cosmopolitan the performative world of Revolution was from 1776 to 1838.

Even with the diverse disciplinary backgrounds of the speakers, who did not have the benefit of precirculated papers, the presentations displayed a remarkable homology of interests and approaches. Methodologically, they revealed the enduring attraction of the performative approach to print culture studies explored in the Program in the History of the Book conference chaired by Sandra

Gustafson in 2005—that approach which conceives of print culture in a broad sense as a historical and material anthropology of communications and seeks to understand why certain messages were printed, others were conveyed in manuscript, and still others were projected in oral declamations, rumors, or in conversation.

The program committee—David S. Shields (American literature, University of South Carolina), chair; Mariselle Meléndez (Latin American literature, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign); Karen Stolley (Spanish, Emory University), and Ralph Bauer (English, University of Maryland)—sought scholars who investigated the history of the print culture of the Atlantic Revolutions from a cosmopolitan perspective and had a penchant for extensive archival research. The organizers entertained no thesis; possessed no ruling picture of how revolutions proceeded from community to community; and advanced no single argument for the role that writing, printing, publishing, republishing, translating, or reading played in the formation of people’s revolutionary consciousness. At most, they shared a presumption that each scene of Revolutionary activity on both sides of the Atlantic manifested distinctive features in organization and communicative instrumentality. Yet there was little of that post-1976 tendency among historians of the Revolutions in the Western Hemisphere to insist that no homology of institutional structure, ideology, or communicative means existed in the events. Rather, the circulation of writings (books, letters, public documents, treaties) throughout the Atlantic world reveals connections in thought and sentiment. One of the pleasures of the conference was encountering some of the unlikely connections—for instance, the way that Spanish American reformers in print were fascinated by the English literature of liberty, and by the radical, martial Puritanism of Oliver Cromwell in particular, as explored by Karen Racine (history, University of Guelph) in “Proxy Past: The Use of British Historical References during the Spanish American Independence Era.” Equally fascinating was the near universal employment, in

the Western Hemisphere, of the Incas as an exemplar of indigenous liberty and achieved civilization. When David Geggus (history, University of Florida) closed his “Print Culture and the Haitian Revolution: The Written and the Spoken Word” with a meditation on the naming of Haiti that brought the Incas into the discussion, he little realized he would stimulate the liveliest and most wide-ranging cross-cultural conversation of the weekend.

The conference began with the Wiggins Lecture, “‘We declare you independent whether you wish it or not’: The Print Culture of Early Filibusterism.” In it I explored the communicative culture of the most volatile citizens of the early republic, the adventurers who exported revolution from the thirteen United States; troubled the American territories of Spain, France, England, and the Native Nations; and set up republics or realms by force of arms or popular fiat. The illegality of their actions under the 1794 United States Neutrality Act prompted filibusters to exercise two extremely different modes of expression: One set openly declared their projects and ideals, defying the Neutrality Act as a hobble to the international spread of liberty; the other set occulted their communications, cultivating conspiratorial secrecy. When secrecy cloaked a filibuster adventure, it meant that the invasion or insurrection was for the benefit of an Old World Imperial Power, not the United States. Publicity was the hallmark of American nationalist adventures or adventures invoking a cosmopolite liberty. I showed that conspiratorial adventures employed manuscript writing in the forms of secret correspondence among participants and secret plans communicated to the diplomatic offices of governments seen as potential backers of adventures. For recruitment of clandestine armies, they also employed verbal rumor. American nationalist adventurers were obsessed with presenting written warrants for their actions modeled on the penumbra of texts surrounding the founding of the United States and the States. From the founding of the free state of Franklin to the Gutierrez-McGhee filibuster of Texas in 1812, one sees a decided movement from manuscript vehicles of publicity (the diplomatic model) to the press. I attempted to show that in the communicative practices of the filibusters, one discovers the operative horizon of imagined publicity and of secrecy in the early republic.

David Armitage (history, Harvard University) began the proceedings with a survey of the global response to the Declaration of Independence. Previewing his forthcoming monograph, *The Declaration of Independence: A Global History* (Harvard University Press, 2007), Armitage argued that its immediate interest for revolutionary elements in the Atlantic world was as a vehicle for asserting sovereignty, rather than as a repository of Enlightenment political values. Eric Slauter (English, University of Chicago) in “Written Constitutions and Unenumerated Rights” examined the other influential genre of Anglo-American public document, the constitution, showing how written constitutions in the United States (both national and state) finessed the problem of protecting rights in writing while not foreclosing the citizenry’s exercise of rights that have not been named in the document.

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Editor: Caroline Sloat

The editors welcome all news relevant to the interests of the Program in the History of the Book in American Culture.

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Mariselle Meléndez's "Fear as a Political Construct: Imagining the Revolution and the Nation in Peruvian Newspapers, 1791–1824" alerted us to the institutional constraints on print operating within Peru and other parts of Latin America. By showing how censorship was an enduring feature of Peruvian culture from the colonial period through the long struggle for independence, she revealed how the periodical press, so candid a force in the Anglophone world, could manage only the most tentative moves in the direction of an autonomous national voice in Peru.

A repeated refrain throughout the conference papers was the tentativeness of nationality as a frame for political or cultural expression. The defining tensions seemed to radiate among metropolitan prerogatives, the established Church, and Creolian resentments. Enlightenment celebrations of liberty and critiques of tyranny had a way of amplifying resentments, and these amplifications did not need to take place on colonial soil. Several scholars at the conference looked at the ways in which international intellectuals brokered, through personal contacts, correspondence, and texts, the spread of revolutionary ambition. Nancy Vogeley (Spanish, University of San Francisco) in "Llorente's Readers in America" examined how an expatriate intellectual who settled in France became a significant force in Mexican radical thought through his "History of the Inquisition" and his legal tracts that attempted to secularize one's allegiance to a government and to separate civil obligations from theonomy. Karen Stolley's (Spanish, Emory University) "Writing Back to Empire: Juan Pablo Viscardo y Guzmán's Letter to the Spanish Americans" explored the career of the famous Jesuit intellectual exiled from his native Peru by the expulsion of that order from Spanish America. Considered during his lifetime as a harbinger of the American Revolutions, he resided in Italy and Paris and was cultivated by the international population of liberationist politicians. The curious tensions between religious faith and revolutionary conviction can be found in another Jesuit resident in Paris, Abbé Henri Grégoire, who, as a participant in the French Revolutionary government, became the most significant figure in the international attempt to project an international republican moral order. Alyssa Goldstein Sepinwall's (history, California State University, San Marcos) "The Abbé Gregoire and the Atlantic Republic of Letters" showed how his personal relationships with revolutionaries across the Atlantic frayed as he argued against the secularism of Paine and promoted abolitionism. Sandra Gustafson (English, University of Notre Dame), in her exploration of the



Wiggins Lecturers, past, present, and future. Robert A. Gross (1989), Wayne Franklin (2007), David S. Shields (2006), and Sandra Gustafson (2005).

series of five oratorical performances and their textual incarnations that made Daniel Webster a transatlantic celebrity, "Daniel Webster and the Invention of Modern Liberty in the Atlantic World," foregrounds the conception of knowledge as the means by which peoples advance in liberty while retaining traditional identity.

LIBERTY/EGALITE/
¡INDEPENDENCIA! offered an intriguing print culture perspective on the Haitian Revolution, the event that in the past five years has come to the center of

scholarly reflection upon the Atlantic Revolutions. David Geggus explored the French writings and Creole orations of the Revolutionaries, explored the role of secretaries (some of whom were compelled to serve by force) in the shaping of revolutionary declarations, and uncovered the authorship of pieces that originally appeared anonymously. Elizabeth Maddock Dillon (English, Yale University), in "Print Publics and Caribbean Revolution" injected gender into her consideration of the Haitian Revolution, showing how the power dynamics between the sexes in Leonora Sanway's novel, *Secret History, or, The Horrors of St. Domingo: In a Series of Letters, Written by a Lady at Cape François to Colonel Burr, Late Vice-President of the United States*, replicated those of the African slaves subject to French imperial authority.

The symposium closed with Michel Ducharme's (history, McGill University) discussion of the communicative dynamics of the least known and last occurring of the Atlantic Revolutions, that of Upper and Lower Canada in 1837 and 1838. He remarked on the peculiar orientation of the revolutionaries to the rhetoric and political gestures of the American Revolutionaries of 1776, despite the fact that the natural rights of the Canadian subjects were not at issue.

The symposium marked the final scholarly event organized under the superintendence of AAS Vice President for Collections and Programs John B. Hench. For the past several decades, Hench has been to many researchers the human face of the AAS. The participants as their final communal act gave him the accolade he so richly deserved.

David S. Shields, University of South Carolina

Editor's Note:

Most of the conference papers will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*. The summer conference will not be held in 2007. Instead, AAS is hosting the annual conference of SHEAR, the Society for Historians of the Early Republic, July 19-22, 2007 (<http://www.shear.org/2007AM.htm>).

Books and Their Readers to 1800 and Beyond

PERSPECTIVES ON THE 2006 SUMMER SEMINAR LED BY JAY FLIEGELMAN

The Leader's View

A supremely intelligent and passionately committed group of faculty, rare book librarians, and dissertation writers came together in June at the American Antiquarian Society (AAS) to engage, interrogate, and rethink the major issues in the study of the American book before the Civil War. The seminar emphasized the history of reading, especially its affective dimension. Beyond historicizing the act of reading and its changing paratextual prompts, the group discussed everything from the operations of the economy of readerly attention to the ways in which books “read” their readers in intimate encounters. Such encounters involve the exposure of personal vulnerabilities and the overcoming of self-consciousness.

The seminarians' interests ranged from copyright to group ownership, from the dynamics of conversion and the somatic response to books, to institutional preservation; from marginalia as misprisoning countertext, to reading spaces (firesides, coffee houses, “reading” chairs); from changing concepts of the authority of the biblical word, to gender in commonplace books.

One highlight of the seminar was the participation of Leah Price, who teaches the history of the book at Harvard. She led two of the twelve sessions, those that took on the theoretical heavy hitters in the field: Robert Darnton, Stanley Fish, Roger Chartier, Thomas Tanselle, Jerome McGann, Peter Stallybrass, and David D. Hall. Later, in the Council Room, we had a hands-on session arranged by Joanne Chaison, during which participants reported on their engagements with everything from the Mather family Bible to the manuscript of Cooper's *The Red Rover* to a run of commonplace books. Sybarites of the flesh might disagree that intellectual pleasure is the most intense pleasure, but my experience of the seminar reinforced my conviction. Exhausted and flooded with adrenaline, I left having learned as much as I taught and, as in the past, deeply appreciative of the staff and collections of AAS.

Jay Fliegelman, Stanford University

Matriculants' Responses

Secrets and spectacles; persons and things; readers and books: such were the focal points of the 2007 summer seminar. The seminar invigorated approaches to archival study through a splendid performance by its leader, Jay Fliegelman. Twenty-two of us spent an extraordinarily rich week in Worcester this June, attending four days of classes devoted to the history of reading in America.

Fliegelman began with the provocative claim that books are fundamentally about intimacy and vulnerability. By turns learned and entertaining, the seminar leader ranged across the history of American culture, using images, manuscripts, and print to elaborate this proposition. The opening session drew on an American

oil painting tradition to examine the public and private meanings of reading matter; Fliegelman's lecture on still lifes and portraiture presented themes that would illuminate the following discussions. (And the images supplied will become a wonderful resource for the classroom.) The next sessions revealed the overlap between histories of reading and practices of collecting, whether in the activity of commonplacing, the role of libraries, or the rhetorics of, say, Rowlandson, Poe, and Melville. Similarly, a discussion of the imagination as a political force in America—it always threatens the status quo by conjuring up what has not been created—was remarkably balanced by and substantiated through evidence from the material culture of script and print. Fliegelman thought beyond the market as well, attending to economies of guilt and gratitude as they motivate writing and reading.

The sessions led by guest faculty Leah Price were rigorous in their consideration of book history methodology. Through reference to a set of overview articles, Price introduced and critiqued central premises of the field. Always alert to book history's implications for the field of literary studies, Price provided shrewd readings as well of key moments in essays by Darnton, D. F. McKenzie, and William St. Clair. Price and Fliegelman thus produced a dialogue between the institutional salience of book studies and the uncanny power of texts within individual lives and social bodies.

It would probably take a long and certainly unfinished history of reading to describe my experience with the 1,100-page coursepack, but I will return to it often, just as I will to my seminar notes and to remembered conversations from the week. Equally memorable was the certificate ceremony, with emcee Fliegelman morphing into equal parts Paul Schaeffer and Arsenio Hall, and the Elmarion Room seemingly transformed into a Las Vegas awards hall. The week was full of intellectual pleasures, and students were left with a teaching and research agenda keenly attuned to the emotional valences of books.

Matthew P. Brown, University of Iowa

It's as well that the American Antiquarian Society's research seminar in the history of the book lasts just under a week, more time would have created too long a list of things to read, think, and write about for the next year. As it was, I came away with a sheaf of marginalia and penciled enthusiasms, many of which could in themselves form the basis for a study of the relationship of the reader with her book: a note on Meg's jam-making in *Little Women*, a pledge to read more Hawthorne, a cryptic question on the commonplace book (as format? as genre?).

This was the sort of seminar that generates notes with excitable punctuation. The participants, armed with opinions and sheaves of photocopies, came to the discussion from a spectrum



*SEATED ON FLOOR (l. to r.): Gail Smith, Elizabeth Pope, Yvette Piggush, Kathryn James, Debra Gettelman;
SEATED, MIDDLE ROW: Joseph Black, Andrew Newman, Jay Fliegelman, Wyn Kelley, Matt Brown, Joanne Chaison;
STANDING, FROM LEFT: Caroline Sloat, Randall Burkett, John Hench, Kathryn Koo, Meredith Neumann, Lynda Yankaskas, David
Brewer, Stephen Ferguson, Jennifer Desiderio, Lisa Kohlmeier, Laura Murray, Lisa Szeffel, Linda Meditz, Kimberly Alexander.*

of research and professional backgrounds: researchers in English literature, American studies, art history and other disciplines, working as faculty, graduate students, preservationists, curators, and librarians. Such an eclectic gathering could only generate a lively discussion on the history of the book. As a special-collections librarian, embracing on a daily basis the task of encouraging readers not to form too tangible a relationship with books, I found a vicarious thrill in the discussion of marginalia, of readers' notes, of books possessed and dispossessed by readers. Collecting—its narratives and drives, its illusions and cultures—was a theme throughout the seminar, framed by the magnificent collections of the Society.

One of the great delights of the seminar was the opportunity to follow Jay Fliegelman and Leah Price in their impassioned and thought-provoking discussion of themes and methodologies in the history of the book. Together, Jay and Leah moved between words and things, between viewing the history of the book as the study of the text and viewing it as the study of the physical artifact. Just as marvelous was the workshop with materials from the AAS collections. Here was an opportunity to explore the diversity of the Society's collections, poring over examples of the commonplace books, the library inventories, the book-sale kits, the publication history of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The seminar offered that rarest of opportunities: a chance to savor the continued discussion of a shared interest, a discussion over days with no need to hasten or abridge the flow of ideas. As

the backgrounds of the participants reveal, the history of the book can be a fragmented field—one pursued across institutional, professional, and disciplinary boundaries. The seminar, drawing on the Society's collections, offered a wonderful introduction to the history of the book in the American tradition. As invaluable, however, was the sense with which the seminar left me of the tremendously rich intellectual community, across its many research fields and professions, involved in the history of the book.

Kathryn James, Beinecke Library

A poet once said, "If you want to see something, look at something else." So, the better to see my work as a curator of books, I decided to look closely at the work of scholars of books. "Books and Their Readers to 1800 and Beyond" gave me more than 1,100 pages of reading and four days of participant observation. It was a wonderful experience.

I was also seeking another payoff from the seminar. I needed to take a fresh look at my own scholarly work on the history of collecting rare books at American university libraries. I had done much unsystematic reading in the field, and I was hoping that the regularized framework of the course would provide some new structures for thinking about what I had read. I found reason to hope.

Change in my thinking did not come in one day or in one big blast. It built up gradually, like reading and writing, one word at a time. Jay Fliegelman's powerful curiosity taught me to insist on

looking below the surface of events for their deeper structure and causes. Leah Price's masterful connecting of seemingly disparate theories of reading and book history provided me with new insights. Each participant also had something to say that influenced my thinking. One even showed, each day, a different rare book from his collection to provide new evidence about the day's topic.

Conclusions are only momentary, but I left with some about collecting, recasting them in categories used in conversation around the seminar table.

Collecting always removes an object from its normal life cycle, rather than allowing its consumption. But the action is not only that of taking away; there is also movement toward. Collecting repositions the object in a new framework, making the piece part of another, different story. What that story is, how that story began, and why that story matters depend on how effectively the collector uses the idiom of the times to persuade the audience to accept as credible what at first may not have been perceived as believable. The totality of the effect is an imposition of distinction, spawning simultaneously, on the one hand, assertions of valor and, on the other, words of discredit.

Nonetheless, the question remains: Why did the collector want to tell this story? Who is the partner in this dialogue? There are many suggestive answers to this question, ranging from those based on the dynamics of internal, personal psychology to those grounded in theories of consumption, modernism, or social emulation. Whatever the cause, the effect is tangible. Collecting is a kind of thinking with objects, bounded by time, space, and society.

Although collecting creates something new, collecting is not the same as invention, for so much of the success of collecting depends on the past—for it is objects already invented that are collected, rather than the other way around. Moreover, collecting is not the realm of neologisms, which would only confuse the perception of the newly arranged pattern of objects that is collecting.

Collecting is novel not in the dynamics of objects but in their statics. Collecting makes a point, just the way one describes a dramatic play, not by rehearsing its action scene by scene but by summing up those actions. In making a point, collecting builds on other established points, relying on the age-old principle of sight, the retention of image. Word after word, object after object—all skillfully chosen sequentially to create the sensation of hearing a story, seeing a drama, and understanding an abstraction.

Persuasion comes when the teller and the hearer become one or when the collector situates himself or herself in the collection. Persuasion is the cross-over moment when the unfamiliar becomes familiar. It is that moment of retention, just like the experience that British ephemera collector Robert Opie said he had when he realized what he needed to do to reverse the moment when he would no longer see the wrapper containing the crisps.

From another point of view, the history of collecting is really the history of the dialogue over time between maker and user. In the instance of books, this history is the conversation between book maker and book user. Being a maker is not confined to the person linked primarily to the book at origin. In a sense, any former owner who alters the book in a visible way is also a maker. Evidence of

provenance is artifactual evidence. Sometimes the conversation is synchronous—the maker and the user operate with the same vocabulary. This is one meaning of classical. But at other moments, the words of dialogue change, and new words come into play. The word Grangerized and the phrase Parrish condition memorialize innovations elevated to the status of heroic because they succeeded in obtaining respect for what was once disparaged.

In many respects, the cultural history of collecting books (and, by extension, printed ephemera of all sorts) in the West is comparable, for example, to the histories of collecting coins, statuary, or the relics of nature. As with other objects, changes in the why and how of book collecting can be tied to changes in systems of knowledge, changes in the valuation of the sacred, and changes in notions about personal individuality. For the historian of the book, these themes and trends appear in the other areas of study, such as the history of reading, the history of literacy, and the history of learning, not to mention the history of libraries.

Stephen Ferguson, Princeton University Libraries

Matriculants

Kimberly Alexander, history, Salem State College; Joseph Black, English, University of Massachusetts at Amherst; David Brewer, English, Ohio State University; Matthew Brown, English/Center for the Book, University of Iowa; Randall Burkett, curator of African American collections, Emory University; Jennifer Desiderio, English, Canisius College; Stephen Ferguson, curator of rare books, Princeton University; Debra Gettelman, English, Harvard University, Kathryn James, reference librarian, Beinecke Library; Wyn Kelley, English, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Lisa Kohlmeier, history, Claremont Graduate University; Kathryn Koo, English, St. Mary's College; Linda Meditz, history, University of Connecticut; Laura Murray, English, Queen's University; Meredith Neuman, English, Clark University; Andrew Newman, English, Stony Brook University; Yvette Piggush, English, University of Chicago; Elizabeth Pope, reference librarian, American Antiquarian Society; Gail Smith, English, Birmingham-Southern College; Lisa Szeffel, history, Harvard University; Lynda Yankaskas, history, Brandeis University.

Syllabus

The syllabus for the summer seminar is available online.

<http://www.americanantiquarian.org/sumsem06syl.htm>

Advance notice of the 2007 Summer Seminar

"Rereading the Early Republic" will be led by Wayne Franklin, University of Connecticut, and Dennis Moore, Florida State University. Guest faculty will be Lance Schachterle, Worcester Polytechnic Institute.

Dates for the seminar are June 18-22, 2007.

Book Note

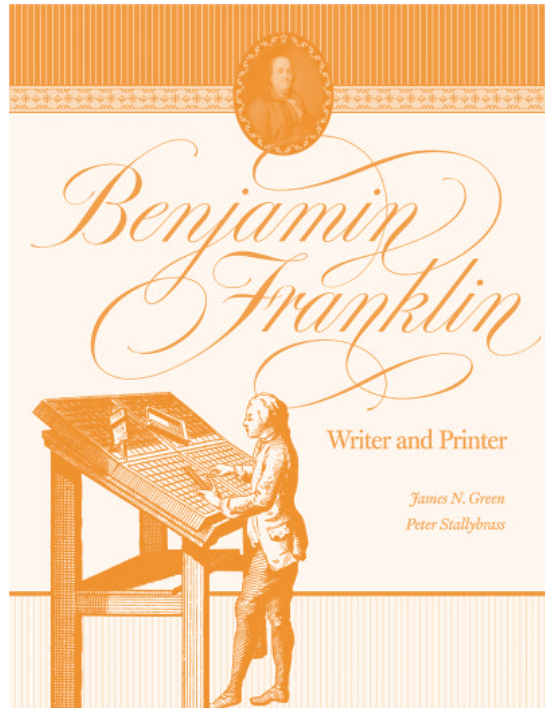
James N. Green and Peter Stallybrass, *Benjamin Franklin: Writer and Printer*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, in cooperation with The Library Company of Philadelphia and The British Library, 2006. x, 179. \$49.95.

In typography, design, illustrations, and production, the book is a work of art—a wonderful tribute to the printer Benjamin Franklin. Rubricated initial letters for chapters and other divisions; beautiful illustrations (many in color) opposite the beginning of every chapter; sepia tints for most of the illustrations, which gives the appearance of the old originals; the faithful reproductions of the blue wrappers (137); the 8½” x 11” size of the pages, which allows for large illustrations where desirable; the striking figure showing how small the duodecimos of Whitefield’s sermons were (68); and arrows pointing out key passages in a larger text (112, 113–14)—all contribute to making the book beautiful. It is lavishly produced by expert bookmen.

Initially conceived as a catalogue of the exhibition on Franklin as a writer and printer now (May 16 to December 22, 2006) on display at The Library Company of Philadelphia, the catalogue was transformed by Jim Green and Peter Stallybrass into a lovely and ground-breaking consideration of the exhibition’s subject—all the while remaining a permanent record of the books, pamphlets, printed forms, ephemera, manuscripts, and other materials on exhibit. See the great exhibit if you can, but this beautiful and thought-provoking book will last longer and influence more people than the exhibit possibly could.

The authors are generous in their acknowledgments. I especially enjoyed the compliments to the “remarkable” textual work of Wilson Kinnach on Jonathan Edwards (22n), the fine archival work of Stacy Schiff (41nn), and the appreciations of various theses and unpublished papers by Christopher Hunter, Claire Lienhardt, Jesse M. Lander, and Meredith Gamer. Published scholarship is of course fully acknowledged. The authors achieve a tone of friendly appreciation of the past, present, and future scholars who are, like them, working toward the goal of better understanding and appreciating Franklin as writer and printer.

Concluding the Preface, the authors say that they hope it will not be easy to tell “who wrote what” (viii). It isn’t, but I had fun guessing which author was primarily responsible for which chapter. I’ll give my guesses. In any collaboration, an early decision is who’s going to draft what. It’s clear that each has read whatever the other wrote, and at least the final chapter appears to me to be a joint product, although even there I have tried to guess who was primarily responsible for which section. It amuses me too



that I have provided the authors with materials for correcting the reviewer with absolute authority.

Chapter 1, “The Printer as Writer” (2–24) is, I suspect, primarily by Peter Stallybrass. “In colonial America, printers often needed to be writers”—the chapter begins with a thesis and proves it. Most printers, however, were not good writers. As Franklin said of Andrew Bradford, he was “very illiterate,” by which Franklin meant that he was a poor writer; but the great printers, such as James and Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Fleet, and (later) Isaiah Thomas, were all good writers. James Franklin had a special talent for enlisting writers, and indeed, his chief collaborator, Nathaniel Gardner, was more creative, prolific, and interesting than James himself.

On Franklin’s anonymous and pseudonymous writings, the author shrewdly comments that the practice enabled Franklin “to construct experimental selves, who could argue on any and all sides of a question” (7). True, but often the persona was created the most appropriate possible speaker for Franklin’s purposes. Thus, for example, the speaker in favor of defensive war (*Pennsylvania Gazette*, March 6, 1733/4) seemed to be a moderate Quaker.

The discussion of the originality of Franklin’s epitaph (17–23) is fascinating. The author argues that its originality “can only be understood in relation to the tradition that it imitates and creatively deforms” (21). That is exactly right. Although one appreciates the particular elegy itself, one gains a greater appreciation of, say, Walt Whitman’s “When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloomed” or Wallace Stevens’s “The Emperor of Ice-Cream” when one considers them in the context of the traditional elegy that the poets are transforming. The author also discusses the commonplace book traditions in connection with Franklin’s fable of the bee and the fly as an imitation of Plutarch’s *Moralia*. He’s right about the source, for Franklin attributed his vegetarianism not only to Thomas Tryon but also to reading *Moralia* as a boy (Lemay, *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, 1:68). I admire the restraint the author shows. Although he introduces the beehive of Francis Daniel Pastorius, he gives just enough information to make it confirm his point about commonplace. I’m not sure that I could have refrained from citing Karen Ordahl Kupperman’s essay on “The Beehive as a Model for Colonial Design” or Francis Bacon’s paragraph on the ant, the bee, and the spider—an allegory of the scientific method that Newton

later set forth without figurative language at the end of his *Optics*. But these comparisons drift from the author's major thesis and would have been self-indulgent.

Chapter 2, "The Printer as Entrepreneur" (24–45), is, I believe, primarily by Jim Green. (Jim's an old friend; Peter I've met only a couple times.) The chapter traces Franklin's steps as a printer from journeyman to his rivalries with Samuel Keimer and Andrew Bradford to his emergence as the most successful printer of colonial America. The author estimates the income Franklin derived from various activities, not only as printer but also as mailman, paper merchant, and book seller. The author's printing expertise shows up repeatedly in the book; here he corrects C. William Miller's date of David Hall's broadside advertisement (42–43).

Chapter 3, "Job Printing" (46–61), is also, I suspect, by Jim Green. "Job printing" is defined as "occasional printing work for hire, where the customer paid for the whole edition and distributed it as he pleased" (47). One thinks especially of the "little jobs": handbills, advertisements, forms, and other ephemera. A second category is paper money and "book work," where an author or a corporate body paid for the printing. The illustrations for all types of job printing are wonderful. My two favorites are Joseph Breintall's "Nature Prints of Leaves" (ca. 1740), annotated as "Engraven by the Greatest and best Engraver in the Universe" (55), and two pages from the entry on printing in Michael Pexenfelder's *Apparatus Eruditionis*, to which Pastorius had added prints of leaves (56). Because James Logan bought the book after Pastorius's death, it is in Ed Wolf's great catalogue of Logan's Library, #1533.

I have several minor disagreements. The author calls Franklin's *Modest Enquiry into the Nature and Necessity of a Paper-Currency* (1729) the first pamphlet "written and printed by Franklin" (53). But *A Dissertation on Liberty and Necessity* (1725) was. The author was probably thinking of the first pamphlet written, printed, and published by Franklin, for the *Dissertation* listed no publisher and was not widely sold. Later, it is said that Franklin appeared "impartial as an editor" (58) of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. This opinion is based on Franklin's own account of his policy as an editor (quoted on the same page) and upon numerous subsequent scholarly works. But Franklin was actually the most crusading newspaperman in America between 1729 and 1757. He continued to control the editorial policy and to write editorials for the *Pennsylvania Gazette* from 1748 to 1757, after turning over the daily business of running the printing shop to David Hall (*Life*, 1:414–56; 2:154–69, 214–64, 322–57). I also have reservations about the statement on the same page that "if he did not want his name associated with a pamphlet at all," he would not list himself as the publisher. But he brought out numerous pamphlets without his name on them as publisher, and, though I have not counted them, I am sure that he sold many, perhaps most of them, at his shop. Several previous writers have said that because Franklin did not list himself as the publisher on the anti-slavery pamphlets of Ralph Sandiford and Benjamin Lay, he must not have wanted his name associated with the pamphlets. But he advertised them in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* and sold them in his shop. Everyone knew he published and sold them. So, too, with Pennsylvania Governor

George Thomas's anti-American letter of October 20, 1740, to the Lords of Trade. From his shop, Franklin boldly sold the letter as anti-proprietary propaganda.

Chapter 4, "Benjamin Franklin, Book Publisher" (62–73), is again, I suspect, by Green. One of my preconceptions was corrected by the following statement: "The common modern notion that in early modern times the average reader bought books in unstitched sheets and took them to a binder is false" (64). Books, the author wrote, unlike pamphlets, were generally sold bound. The note accompanying the illustration of Isaac Watts's *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* (66), informs us that Franklin printed only the first and last sheets; his New York partner James Parker printed the rest, and then a great part of the edition was sent to Boston for binding by Charles Harrison. "This may be the first example of a book whose manufacture was divided up among the three major colonial towns" (66). During the Great Awakening, Franklin was swamped with publishing religious tracts by George Whitefield and others, and his partner James Parker evidently was not, so Franklin helped both Parker and himself by having Parker print part of Watts's book. Franklin's delay in printing the second volume of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (v. 1, 1742; v. 2, 1744) is one indication of how busy the three presses in Franklin's printing shop were during the early years of the Great Awakening. Hundreds of copies of volume 1 waited for approximately two years before they could be bound and sold.

A minor mistake in dating says that Franklin lodged the Reverend George Whitefield "at his house and as a consequence got permission" to publish his journals and sermons (67–68). Franklin primarily published the journals and sermons in 1739–41. At that time Whitefield stayed with John Stephen Benezet in Philadelphia. It was not until 1745 that he wrote Franklin about possibly staying with him (*Life*, 2:441).

Peter Stallybrass is, I suspect, the primary author of Chapter 5, "Plain Truth: Franklin as Writer, Printer, Speaker" (74–99). The author notes that the letter in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* of November 19, 1747, which is supposedly attacking Franklin's *Plain Truth*, actually supports Franklin's position (81). Curses! I'm pre-empted! In my draft of a chapter on the Association for volume 3 of my *Life of Benjamin Franklin*, I attributed the letter to Franklin and commented that he would have been ironically amused by his own vanity when the anonymous author concluded the penultimate sentence with a compliment to Franklin.

On the basis of a letter by Richard Peters to the proprietaries (really to Thomas Penn, for his brother left the running of Pennsylvania to him), the chapter's author suggests that when Franklin talked to Tench Francis, William Coleman, and Thomas Hopkinson about his plan for a militia association, they advised him to adopt the persona of "A Tradesman of Philadelphia." The author further suggests that one or all three of them might have helped compose *Plain Truth* (86–87). I doubt both. In the same letter, Peters said that the Proprietary Party leader William Allen told him about the plan "before it was reduc't to any settled Form." Peters also wrote that Franklin and others wanted Peters to know everything about the evolving militia association so he could relay

it to the proprietors “in such a manner as to induce them to believe the Associators were heartily in their Interest.” My interpretation of Peters’s letter is that he, like Allen, Franklin, and others, believed that Thomas Penn, a stickler for prerogative, would consider that the militia association undercut the rights of the authorities. Peters was telling Penn that good proprietary supporters, such as Allen, Francis, Coleman, Hopkinson, and (possibly) himself, all agreed that a militia association was necessary, as well as beneficial to the proprietaries. At the same time, Peters assured Penn that he had “had no hand in it neither privately nor publicly myself” (*Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, 3:217).

Franklin, I believe, foresaw the probability that Thomas Penn would object that the militia association violated his rights. Therefore, Franklin sought the help of the principal proprietaries who would be likely to support him. When he made the governor (or the President and Council) the authority who actually commissioned the officers (*Papers*, 3:206), he was attempting to forestall the objections he knew that Thomas Penn would make. The persona Franklin chose is typical of his egalitarianism and dovetails perfectly with his main self-presentation throughout his life (*Life*, 1:459–60; 2:557–60). Indeed, Green and Stallybrass agree that Franklin’s characteristic persona is a tradesman, for they write that the “greatness” of Franklin’s *Autobiography* “comes from his ability to take seriously the working life of a tradesman” (151).

The chapter concludes with an appendix giving a timeline, citing the chronology of the 1961 editors of the *Papers of Benjamin Franklin* and my own 1997 “Documentary History.” Alas, my “Documentary History” contained a mistake. No petition was presented to the assembly on November 23. Drafting a chapter in 2005 on the Association for volume three of the *Life*, I noticed that I had a petition with 260 signatures presented on that date and another petition with 250 signatures presented two days later. The November 23 date in my “Documentary History” cites the *Votes of the Assembly*, but no petition is mentioned there; it’s in the *Votes for November 25*. I don’t know how I made the mistake, and I apologize to Green and Stallybrass.

Jim Green seems to me primarily responsible for Chapter 6, “Inventing *Poor Richard*: Proverbs and Authorship” (100–15). One major advance over the fine scholarship of Robert Newcomb (108n) occurred recently when The Library Company acquired Franklin’s copy of Lodovico Guicciardini, *Hours of Recreation* (1576). In valuable new information, the author of this chapter proves that some proverbs formerly attributed to other sources are closer to the sayings in Guicciardini (110–11). The author also suggests that Franklin’s versions of Samuel Richardson’s proverbs in *Poor Richard* for 1752 are from the collection of proverbs added to volume 8 of the third edition of Richardson’s *Clarissa*. The author cites an advertisement for it in the *Pennsylvania Gazette* for December 10, 1751. But *Poor Richard* for 1752 was no doubt written in October and was published by November 7. Perhaps Franklin bought a copy of the third edition before then, but I suspect he bought and read the novel shortly after it appeared in 1747–48 and did not bother to buy a later edition.

Even though Jim Green has done excellent work on the subjects, I suspect that Peter Stallybrass wrote most of Chapter 7, “From *Poor Richard* to *The Way to Wealth*: Anonymity and Authorship” (116–43). It supplements and corrects (128–29) the account of *The Way to Wealth* in the *Papers*. The author suggests that the title *The Way to Wealth* was added before a French edition in 1773 appeared as *Le Moyan de s’Enricher*. After a revised and shortened version appeared in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* in 1771, a revision of that version became the source of most of the numerous reprintings of *The Way to Wealth*. The author argues with good reasons that Franklin himself revised the *Gentleman’s Magazine* text (127–33).

I speculate that Peter Stallybrass is the author of the first part of Chapter 8, “Making and Remaking Benjamin Franklin: The ‘Autobiography’” (144–51), and that Green and Stallybrass wrote various parts of the rest (151–71). The author begins with an appreciation of Franklin’s extraordinary wide-ranging reading, its cosmopolitanism, and its importance to him: “Reading is his religion” (148). Here one finds the opinion cited above that “the greatness of Franklin’s memoir comes from his ability to take seriously the working life of a tradesman” (151). That is the major subject of Part One of the *Autobiography*. For me, however, its greatness also comes from the excellence, the seeming simplicity and actual complexity, of the writing; the older writer’s ironic appreciation of the strivings and mistakes of his younger self; the judgments on various subjects, including vanity, charity, and alcoholism, that are embodied in character sketches and anecdotes; and the portraits of a world of generally well-meaning and likeable colonial Americans, including young Franklin.

The second part of the chapter surveys the textual history of the various printings of the *Autobiography* from its first publication in 1790 to the late twentieth century. The author proves that in making his translation, Louis Le Veillard used both the holograph and the press copy. The argument (157, n. 19) corrects the Lemay-Zall account of the source of the Le Veillard translation. Near the chapter’s end, the author writes that “Until after his death, Franklin was a named author only in Europe and at first only as the author of scientific texts” (171). There is considerable truth in the statement, but it exaggerates. In the periodicals, Franklin is named dozens of times as an author from 1760 to his death. A number of attributions occur even in the 1750s, the first one in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* for December 1750. By the time he left England in 1762, he was famous as a man of letters. As David Hume wrote him on May 10, 1762, “America has sent us many good things . . . But you are the first Philosopher, and indeed the first Great Man of Letters for whom we are beholden to her” (*Papers*, 10:81–82).

My quibbles notwithstanding, Green and Stallybrass have written a beautiful and thought-provoking book containing a great deal of new information. It is a triumphant tribute to Franklin as a writer and printer and a wonderful permanent record of the great Franklin exhibit now on display at The Library Company of Philadelphia.

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Michigan, he began working with rare books at the Labadie Collection at the university library and then for a few years did “book analysis on the dealer side of the dealer–curator relationship” before going to the Houghton. Through attending Rare Book School (RBS), he was encouraged by Terry Belanger to work on a library degree at Columbia and “get serious about the profession.” Whitesell has taught at RBS since 1998. At Harvard, his work included preparation of exhibitions and publications, often related to the history of the Harvard collection.

His “Harvard College Library Books Borrowed by Josiah Quincy Jr., 1762–1763” is forthcoming as an appendix to *The Legal Commonplace Book and the Southern Journal* (the second volume of *Portrait of a Patriot: The Major Political and Legal Papers of Josiah Quincy Jr.*, edited by Daniel R. Coquillette and Neil L. York for the Colonial Society of Massachusetts). Whitesell’s research and publications complement Knoles’s collaborative work with his wife Lucia and Rick Kennedy that resulted



David Whitesell and Tom Knoles

in the publication of *Student Notebooks at Colonial Harvard: Manuscripts and Educational Practice, 1650–1740*.

Whitesell worked with William H. Bond on his checklist of the books donated by Thomas Hollis V, considered “by far Harvard’s most generous eighteenth-century donor.” Having become interested, through Bond and Ken Carpenter, in the history of Harvard College Library up to

1764, Whitesell made discoveries doubling the number of original books known to be part of the collection. But, he points out, none of this would have happened if “Harvard had not come calling in the person of Roger Stoddard.”

Among the Society’s activities, Whitesell looks forward to involvement in AAS teaching programs in the history of the book and other venues. Knoles is settling into his job with a “listening tour” to gather ideas and concerns from the library staff.

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