Notes on American Play Publishing, 1765-1865

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This first essay of a subject usually avoided in studies of the American theatre and the American book trade is printed as it was read before the Society at the semi-annual meeting on April 21, 1971. Like other preliminary surveys it is not very rich in incident or example or interpretation, for the writer did not examine every play printed in America between 1765 and 1865, he was not able to search for potentially important newspaper printings and advertisements, nor was he able to look as closely as he would have wished at the careers and backgrounds of a number of key publishers. It is offered in print as a beginning, nonetheless, where none existed before.¹

Wherever possible in the footnotes the writer has used citations to Charles Evans's American bibliography, 14 vols. (Chicago, 1903-34; Worcester 1955-59). For entries substantially revised by C. K. Shipton and J. E. Mooney in their National index of American imprints through 1800; the short-title Evans, 2 vols. ([Worcester] 1969) the prefix 'NI' is used. The prefix 'B' indicates citations to R. P. Bristol's Supplement to Charles Evans' American bibliography (Charlottesville [1970]). The latter are followed by the Microprint card number in parentheses.

¹For information regarding books and manuscripts in their collections the writer is indebted to Frederick R. Goff, Chief, Rare Book Division, Library of Congress; Edwin Wolf, 2nd, Librarian, The Library Company of Philadelphia; Marcus McCorison, Director and Librarian, American Antiquarian Society; Miss Helen D. Willard, Curator, and Miss Jeanne Newlin, Associate Curator, Harvard Theatre Collection; Mrs. Jean Burnham, Head Cataloger, The New York Society Library; and James Gregory, Librarian, New-York Historical Society. THE PLAYS I speak about are stage plays—that is, plays that were performed on the stage or at least were intended by their authors to be performed-stage plays, British and American, that were published in the United States from 1765, the date of the earliest surviving example, through 1865, an arbitrary limit. I can offer some statistics of play publication in the eighteenth century for one feels a certain confidence in the gross record of American imprints established by Evans and Shipton and increased by Bristol, but I will confine my remarks and statistics to those editions of which copies have survived. Statistics for the nineteenth century would be guesswork since the imprints bibliography is incomplete. Instead of attempting a survey, I will present sketches of several publishers who seem to be important. Throughout I will refer to the man who issued an edition as its publisher, whether he printed his own books or paid someone to print for him.

Several questions must be answered at the outset: What plays could be printed in America? Who could print them? What determined the market? What special demands does the theatre make on the book trade?

During the period under discussion, 1765 to 1865, British copyright was not recognized in America, so the entire repertoire of the British stage was accessible to American publishers without authorization or royalty. All an American publisher needed was a copy of a British edition or a text supplied by an obliging American actor or manager. American plays, before 1790, except in some minor exceptional circumstances, could be printed with the same freedom. It is true that few American plays had been written, their sales potential was slight, and they had little effect on the market; but, even so, at least two of them were pirated, that is, reprinted without authorization.² The United States copyright act of 1790 protected native

²[J. Leacock], The fall of British tyranny (Boston [1776]; Providence [1776]) and [H. H. Brackenridge], The death of General Montgomery (Providence, 1777).

writers, including playwrights, if they entered their works. Thereafter publishers had to deal with the American playwrights, but the circumstances of publishing American plays suggest that as often as not the playwright approached the publisher and the costs of publication were borne or outlayed by the playwright or by subscribers. Some American plays were never copyrighted, and, like many British plays, they were printed from prompt copies without authorization.

Who could exploit this abundance of material? In America anyone with capital could print or publish. The unique condition of the American press as it expanded and proliferated after the Revolution is illustrated by the statistics of play publication in the eighteenth century. Between 1765 and 1800 254 editions of plays were published.3 (This is the total number of surviving editions, both original and reprint, of both British and American plays.) In any other country we would assume that perhaps a dozen publishers might have been involved in getting out 254 editions; but, in America in the eighteenth century over one hundred publishers in twenty-one cities in ten states published plays. No single publisher could control the market, and only four publishers issued more than ten editions: the Wests of Boston published nineteen; Robert Bell and Enoch Story of Philadelphia, thirteen each; and Smith & Stephens of New York, twelve. The majority of the publishers merely experimented by publishing a single title.

The market was determined by the theatre. It was the playgoer who bought plays, and he bought the text of the play he had just seen or the one he was about to see performed on the stage. The absence of sustained theatrical activity—in fact, the failure of the theatre to establish itself—in the English colonies during the first half of the eighteenth century suggests why no editions of plays were published in America during that time.⁴

^{*}See appendix A for a list of citations.

⁴It should be pointed out that two British plays were printed in installments in three American newspapers in the 1730s. See Elizabeth C. Cook, *Literary influences in colonial* newspapers 1704-1750 (New York, 1912), pp. 55, 222. George Lillo's The London mer-

The sporadic and provincial appearances of players created small, local markets that were satisfied with imported British editions. The earliest extensive advertisements for British imports recorded by Evans are those by James Parker of New York in 1750 and 1751, by Hugh Gaine of New York in 1761, and by Andrew Steuart of Philadelphia in 1762.5 These advertisements are not unrelated to the performances of the Murray-Kean company in 1749-50, the source of the earliest surviving American playbill,6 and the advent of Lewis Hallam's 'American Company' of players in 1752, the start of American theatrical tradition. Publishers and booksellers continued to augment their stocks of American editions with British imports even after the theatre and the publication of plays had been well established in America and the relation between native theatre and native publishing had become apparent. A comparison of the annals of the American stage with a catalogue of dramatic imprints beginning with the 1790s would show that as the American theatre matured and grew popular, the activities of the play publishers increased and became more sophisticated.

If the theatre provides the texts and determines the market for editions of them, what does this mean to the book trade? The professional repertoire is historical and extensive; classics and revivals a century or two old are played in the midst of a

chant was printed in nos. 256-59 (14, 21, 28 Feb. and 6 Mar. 1732/3) of The New-England Weekly Journal. At the end of the final installment is an advertisement for a twilight edition—probably the earliest American example—of the play: 'Any one who has a mind for a set of the papers containing the foregoing history, may have them stitch'd together, a few copies of the same being taken off for that purpose.' Robert Dodsley's The toy shop was printed in nos. 104, 107, 108, and 109 (24 Jan. and 14, 21, and 28 Feb. 1735/6) of The South-Carolina Gazette and in nos. 37-39 (15, 22, and 29 Apr. 1737) of The Virginia Gazette.

⁵See Evans 6486, 6673, 8791, 8818, and 9081.

⁶B1498 (mp. 40557). See The first American play-bill known to be in existence, announcing a performance of The orphan at the theatre in Nassau Street, New York, on Monday evening, March 26th, 1750. Given to the Harvard College Library by the late Evert Jansen Wendell... [Boston, Mass., The Club of Odd Volumes, 1920]. In a note accompanying the facsimile George P. Winship points out that the performance 'announced on the play-bill, was probably that given on April 2, instead of March 26, 1750.'

succession of new plays that may be forgotten before they are printed. Catering to the theatrical trade means stocking dozens or hundreds or thousands of titles, depending on local theatrical activity. The fact that plays print up as small pamphlets may seem to relieve the publisher since the outlay for paper, typesetting, and machining is small; but, small pamphlets sell cheap. Between 1765 and 1865 in the highly competitive American book trade most pamphlet plays sold for between ten and thirty cents each, and a relatively small part of a stock of plays, those pieces currently in repertoire, was active at any time: the overstocked bookseller rang up twelve and one-half and twenty-five cent sales.

As early as the seventeenth century British and continental play publishers had attempted to solve their stock problem by publishing plays in numbered series or issuing them in nonce collections so that customers would buy plays, not singly, but by the volume. By publishing in series they enticed customers to buy each number as it came out or to buy a bound set of everything so far published. A nonce collection is simply a bookseller's or publisher's selection of pamphlets, bound together with or without a collective title-page, and issued in a number of copies. The early collected editions of Dryden's plays, for example, consist of the separate pamphlet editions bound up in volumes with title-pages reading 'The works of Mr. John Dryden.' In the years between 1765 and 1865 nonce collections of plays may have fallen out of favor in the British book trade, but play series proliferated and American publishers were ready to experiment and quick to catch on.

With these general principles in mind let us move on to specific cases (the first American play to be printed, the first British play, the most frequently printed plays, and so forth) before concluding our survey of the eighteenth century with a look at the 1790s.

The first play to be published in the American colonies was not an established vehicle of the stage but an untried five act blank verse tragedy written by an American who died two years before its publication and four years before its performance in his native Philadelphia. In 1765, 305 colonists subscribed for 377 copies of Juvenile poems on various subjects. With The prince of Parthia, a tragedy. By the late Mr. Thomas Godfrey, Junr. of Philadelphia.⁷ The sponsors of the edition and its subscribers were well aware that they were participating in a cultural event. The editor, Nathaniel Evans, wrote of the play in his preface, 'That it is the first essay which our Province, or perhaps this continent, has, as yet, publicly exhibited of Dramatic Composition . . . ' Its publisher, Henry Miller, never printed another play, but Philadelphia was to dominate play publication until the turn of the century.

The earliest surviving British play to be published in the colonies was Joseph Addison's *Cato*, published two years later, in 1767, by John Mein of Boston.⁸ In the advertisements at the end of the play Mein offered 'all the best plays and operas in the English language, &c. with all the new ones ', showing that Boston as well as New York and Philadelphia could offer a stock of plays. *Cato*, Mein's only surviving play,⁹ was a good risk, for it had been played both by professionals and amateurs in several American towns. Cato's resistance to tyranny became increasingly relevant to some Americans, and lines from the play, such as

It is not now a Time to talk of aught

But Chains, or Conquest; Liberty, or Death.

and

what Pity is it

That we can die but once to serve our Country!

were even paraphrased on occasion.¹⁰ Six American editions

⁷ Evans 9983.

⁸Evans 10535.

⁹It is possible that Mein published an edition of *The clandestine marriage* in 1766. See John E. Alden, 'John Mein, publisher: an essay in bibliographic detection,' *PBSA* XXXVI (1942), 199-214.

¹⁰See Hugh F. Rankin, *The theater in colonial America* (Chapel Hill [^C1965]), p. 194. The lines quoted are II, iv, 88-89 and IV, iv, 91-92.

were published before the turn of the century. Four of them included 'A new epilogue' by Jonathan Mitchell Sewall of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in which the poet pointed out American counterparts to Roman heroes, ending inevitably with, 'And for a Cato arm'd a Washington.'¹¹

Only Hannah More's Search after happiness exceeded Cato in the number of American editions. Between 1773 and 1797 eight editions of The search were published.¹² The play was written 'to be performed by some young ladies of Bristol, in England.' In his Worcester edition of 1797 Isaiah Thomas reminds us that it was also 'Performed . . . at the academies in Massachusetts.' Only sixty-five plays were published between 1765 and 1789-no more than nine plays in any one year. The most prolific publisher was the Philadelphia book auctioneer and publisher of Paine's Common sense, Robert Bell. In 1772 Bell published The West Indian, the first British play to be printed in Philadelphia; between 1776 and 1778 he published the first American editions of eight British plays-the only ones printed anywhere in America during those years-and the original editions of two war plays written by Hugh Henry Brackenridge for the students in his Maryland academy: The Battle of Bunkers-Hill and The death of General Montgomery; and in 1782 he published the first American edition of The school for scandal.¹³

John Norman engraved frontispieces for the Brackenridge plays; they are the earliest illustrations commissioned by an American play publisher. Current events figure in the titlepages of two of Bell's British reprints: he 'Inscrib'd' Gustavus Vasa, the deliverer of his country 'to his excellency General Washington, Commander in Chief of the forces of the thirteen

¹¹Evans 19396, 17451, 20178, and 25078 include the epilogue; 10535 and B6229 (mp. 44840) do not. The complete epilogue—only part of it was printed in editions of the play—was printed as a broadsheet ca. 1777. B4601 (mp. 43372).

 12 Evans 12872, 13449 and a separate issue designated 'fifth edition,' 19811, 25846, B10007 (mp. 48185) of which Evans 30815 is a ghost, and 32502; also B8748 (mp. 47118).

¹³ Evans 12369, 15252, 15286, 15288, 15365, 15377, 15616, 15749, 15804, 14668, 15248, and 17720.

United States of America' and *The lying valet* he 'Printed at the desire of some of the officers in the American army, who intend to exhibit at the play-house, for the benefit of families who have suffered in the war for American liberty.' Bell sold his plays for two-thirds of a dollar, and, like all play publishers, he was eager to sell them by the volume. In 1777 he advertised 'Miscellaneous plays, 2 vols.'¹⁴ No such collection is recorded, but a volume of seven of his own plays, bound for his shop, is in the Harvard library.¹⁵

In 1786 Hugh Gaine of New York published the most important American edition of the century: The school for scandal ... perform'd with universal applause at the theatres in New-York, from a manuscript in the possession of John Henry, Esquire, joint manager of the American Company, given him by the author.¹⁶

Sheridan never sanctioned any edition of The school for scandal. All the early editions, beginning with the Dublin edition of 1780, are piracies derived from a thoroughly corrupt text composed of lines recalled by actors who had played in it, and the Dublin edition of 1799, printed from the Theatre Royal, Dublin, prompt book, was the first authoritative edition to be printed in the British Isles. Comparison of Gaine's edition with the texts of the piratical and authorial versions shows that John Henry's claim is correct. The New York edition of 1786 is the first publication of the authoritative text of The school for scandal. While this feature of the American edition is well known to American antiquarian booksellers-David Randall has written about it¹⁷—it has remained unknown to Sheridan's editors. Many such anomalies exist, some of them crucial, because British works were not protected by copyright in America. In the nineteenth century some British plays were published first in America; others were published only in the United States.

¹⁴See advertisements in Evans 15249.

¹⁵The volume contains Evans 15252, 15286, 15288, 15365, 15377, 15616, and 15804.

¹⁶Evans 19986.

¹⁷ David A. Randall, Dukedom large enough (New York [1969]), pp. 77-78.

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The theatre was banned during the period of the Revolution by vote of the Continental Congress in October of 1774. When it resumed in the mid-1780s audiences responded with a new enthusiasm, and in the 1790s the theatre was flourishing in all its parts. Elegant new playhouses were erected in Philadelphia, Boston, and New York. American playwrights became more productive, and thirty-nine of their plays were printed, twice as many as all the American plays printed between 1765 and 1789. Libretti to pantomimes¹⁸ and pamphlet editions of the lyrics to musical shows¹⁹ were introduced to be sold at the theatres. Music publishers printed sheet music and pianovocal scores of theatrical works²⁰ to be sold at the music shops. Nineteen editions of plays were illustrated—only five had been illustrated before 1790-and beginning with William Dunlap's engraved frontispiece of Wignell in the title role of his Darby's return (1789) the illustrations had documentary value for they showed actors in costume on the stage.²¹ Play publishers became more sophisticated and more prolific. Altogether 189 editions of British and American plays were published in the 1790s; only sixty-five had been published thereto. Stocks of over one hundred plays were advertised by booksellers in Philadelphia²² and New York;²³ of over fifty in Boston.²⁴

The decade opened with the passage of the federal copyright act on May 31, 1790, and playwrights were among the first applicants. The first play to be entered was Royall Tyler's *The contrast* which was assigned the second Pennsylvania copyright. The fourth Massachusetts copyright went to Mrs. Mercy

¹⁸ Evans 24564, 26988, 28691, 29494, 29660, B9842 (mp. 48041), and B9923a (mp. unlocated but a copy is in The New York Society Library). For an earlier pantomime see R. Dodsley's 'The king and the priest,' pp. [27]-35 in Evans 15288.

¹⁹ Evans 22749, 26702, 26832, 27100, 27256, 27436, 27438, 27440, 27444, 27446, 29120, and 32482.

²⁰ Evans 25307 and 29440.

²¹See appendix B for a list of the illustrations.

²²See advertisements in Evans 27448.

²³See advertisements in Evans 27447.

²⁴See advertisements in Evans 28296 and 28447.

Otis Warren's *Poems, dramatic and miscellaneous*, and the ninth New York to David Humphreys's *Miscellaneous works* which included his play 'The widow of Malabar.' During the decade at least twenty-four dramatic copyrights were secured in five states (Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, New York, South Carolina, and Virginia).²⁵

The original act was confined to publication rights. It granted to citizens or residents of the United States the exclusive right to print their works, thereby enabling them to collect royalties when their works were published. Britishcopyright law granted performance rights to dramatic authors, if they elected to claim them, so they could collect royalties when their works were performed, but the American law made no such provision. American playwrights could prevent the unauthorized printing of their works, and they could sell their manuscripts to an actor or manager or hope for the proceeds of an author's benefit night. However, they could not prevent, or obtain royalties from, performances once their plays had circulated in manuscript or in print. Some plays were kept out of print by actors who had bought them, since anyone else could act a play if he could get a copy. Not until 1856, after years of lobbying by American authors and playwrights, did a supplemental copyright act recognize a playwright's performance rights.

A sign of the increasing sophistication of American play publishers in the 1790s was the introduction of nonce collections and series. The first of them is a nonce collection issued in Philadelphia by Enoch Story in 1792: The American theatre. Being a collection of plays, taken from Bell's theatre, and performed by the Old American Company, Philadelphia.²⁶ Story made up his volume by adding a collective title-page to unsold copies of five plays he had published in 1790 and 1791. He promised a second volume which never materialized, and the first volume survives only in the American Antiquarian Society copy.

²⁵See appendix C for a list of the copyrights.

²⁶ Evans 24049.

In 1796 Mathew Carey issued two nonce collections entitled *Select plays*,²⁷ continuing an experiment in merchandising he had begun the year before by issuing a collection of political tracts. In one of them he palmed off a Dublin import; in the other, copies of Mrs. Susanna Haswell Rowson's *Slaves in Algiers*, a persistent remainder of the 1790s.

The first play series was issued not in Philadelphia but in Boston, the only major American city that had consistently banned theatrical performances. Twenty-five plays were published there in 1794—more plays than had been printed in any American city in any other year. This sudden enthusiasm of the Boston publishers is attributable, of course, to the opening of the great Federal Street Theatre.

The first performance in the new theatre was scheduled for February 3, 1794, so in the preceding December David West printed proposals for publishing by subscription 'a selection of plays,' later called 'American selection of plays,'28 which he was to publish jointly with his brother John. West proposed 'to obtain from the manager of the new theatre, such plays of merit as will be performed in Boston, the ensuing winter, and it will be his aim to have them ready for delivery as near the time of performance as possible . . . They shall be printed weekly . . . The price to subscribers, stitched in blue paper, will be twenty cents each play . . . Each play shall be ornamented with an elegant copperplate engraving by Hill . . . but as it is the wish of the publisher, to gratify the public with originals, as far as possible, the engraving cannot be executed until after the play has been performed-therefore the plate belonging to no. 1, will be given with no. 2, and so on '29 West's ambition exceeded his capabilities, but between January 4 and April 30, 1794 he published thirteen numbers including two frontispieces by Samuel Hill after William Lovett:

²⁸ Evans 26559.

²⁷ Evans 31175 and an unrecorded one which survives in a loose title-leaf at the American Antiquarian Society.

²⁹ Columbian Centinel, 11 and 21 Dec. 1793.

Mr. Baker as Gustavus Vasa and Mr. S. Powell as Sir George Airy in *The busy body*.

Before the end of February another team of Boston publishers, William P. Blake and William T. Clap, began publishing a kind of 'minor drama' called 'A collection of farces, operas, &c. as performed at the new theatre' of which the tenth number was issued in June.³⁰ The West series was obviously the more substantial of the two. It was reduced from thirteen to ten numbers, bound in two volumes with a frontispiece to each, and could be had of David or John West for \$2.50 as late as 1799.³¹

No play by Shakespeare was published in America until 1794 when the Wests included Hamlet as number ten and Twelfth night as number thirteen in their series. In the following two years, 1795 and 1796, the Philadelphia publishers Bioren & Madan mounted a far more ambitious project: The plays and poems of William Shakspeare. Corrected from the latest and best London editions, with notes, by Samuel Johnson, L.L.D. To which are added, a glossary and the life of the author. Embellished with a striking likeness from the collections of his grace the Duke of Chandos. First American edition.32 Eight volumes bound in paper boards with a frontispiece by Robert Field, probably after James Smithers, were offered at the prepublication price of eight dollars. The text was eclectic to a degree, with the plays from one Dublin edition of 1791, the poems from another, the glossary from an Edinburgh edition of 1792, and Johnson's notes from his edition of 1785. Excepting some minor additions to the notes only the ten-page 'Preface to the American edition' was original. Sometimes attributed to Joseph Hopkinson, it is the earliest American Shakespeare criticism.33

⁸⁰ Evans 26558.

³¹See advertisements in the Columbian Centinel, 25 June 1794, and in Evans 33205 and 36701.

82 Evans 29496 and 31180.

³³See M. S. Carson and M. W. S. Swan, 'John Bioren: printer to Philadelphia publishers,' *PBSA* XLIII (1949), 324-26. The decade ended not with Shakespeare but with the German playwright August von Kotzebue whose sensation dramas carried the European, then the English, and finally the American stage. Thirty-three of the forty-three American editions of plays in 1799 and 1800 were English translations or adaptations of Kotzebue, ten of them by Americans. In 1800 and 1801 the New York publishers Smith and Stephens collected sixteen of their Kotzebue editions in three volumes as *The dramatic works of ... Kotzebue*; this was the first collected works of a living playwright to be issued in America.³⁴

In the eighteenth century one hundred of the 254 American editions of plays were published in Philadelphia and only sixtyseven in Boston and sixty-one in New York. The single suggestion that Philadelphia would forfeit its position as the center of play publishing is the fact that when the Kotzebue mania seized the theatre it was the New York publishers who capitalized on it; only one Kotzebue play was published in Philadelphia.

We remember David Longworth as the publisher of Salmagundi, the satirical paper written pseudonymously by Washington and William Irving and James Kirke Paulding and issued in New York City at irregular intervals in 1807 and 1808, but Longworth deserves more than this mere footnote to American literary history. David Longworth was the first American publisher to specialize in plays.

Longworth began as a map and print seller in 1796, the first year in which he edited and published a city directory, *Long*worth's American almanac, a dependable source of income throughout his publishing career. In 1797 he moved his shop to 11 Park Street, five doors down from the site on which William Dunlap and John Hodgkinson were building the Park Theatre, and his Almanac for 1797 was 'Embellished with a view of the New Theatre' by Elkanah Tisdale. That frontispiece, by the way, is the only surviving evidence of the origi-

⁸⁴ Evans 37747 and an unrecorded issue published by S. Stephens alone.

nal plan for the theatre, which included the United States coat of arms in the pediment.

But it was not until 1802 that Longworth began to exploit the commercial advantages of being next to one of the great American theatres. And what an irresistible salesman he was! Up went a huge shop sign or 'frontispiece' as Longworth called it, exhibiting 'Shakspeare seated upon a rock, between poetry and painting. Poetry is on his right-hand, addressing Shakspeare, and presenting him with a wreath of bays, while she celebrates his praise on her lyre '³⁵ Plays were printed on his 'Thespian Press' and sold from his 'Dramatic Repository,' adjacent to his 'Shakspeare Gallery,' where customers could view eighty-one framed theatrical prints and thirty paintings. A sixty-page *Catalogue of the pictures* was issued as a supplement to the *Almanac* for 1802.

Longworth published only two plays in that year. Both had succeeded at the Park—or New-York—Theatre, as Longworth continued to call it, and both were supplied to him by its manager and resident playwright, adapter, and translator, William Dunlap. *Abaellino, the great bandit* Dunlap translated from the German of Zschokke and Colman the Younger's *Blue Beard* he 'altered for the New-York Theatre; with additional songs....'

More plays followed, all uniform 18mos—a format unfamiliar to us; it yielded pamphlets six inches tall and four inches wide. By 1804 Longworth had printed enough of them—all 'as performed at the New-York Theatre' and several with stage directions, cuts, and additional dialogue supplied by Dunlap—so that he could encourage customers to purchase bound sets with title-pages reading *The New-York Theatre*. Only the four-volume set comprising nineteen plays in the Library of Congress survives, but it is possible that another two or three volumes were issued before Longworth gave up.³⁶ In 1805 he

⁸⁵ Jacob Blanck, "Salmagundi" and its publisher, PBSA XLI (1947), 3.

³⁶See Longworth's advertisement for 'The New-York Theatre' listing twenty-eight titles in his edition of I. Bickerstaffe, *The padlock* (1805).

published 20 plays; in 1806, 37; in 1807, 27; and in 1808, 36, together with A catalogue of single plays, for sale, the earliest surviving American play catalogue.³⁷ By then he was reprinting from British editions and no longer relied on the New-York Theatre as his source of texts.

In 1807 he began selling sets of his imprints in a new series entitled 'The English and American Stage.' It remained active until the publication of volume forty in 1812, and it included 182 plays. A title-page for each volume listing its contents, and a contents leaf for each ten volumes, were supplied free to purchasers. In volume forty was bound *A list of songs, duets, trios, quartettoes* . . . [etc.] *and other poems contained in Longworth's English & American Stage*, with a notice that 'Many of the pieces are original and not elsewhere printed.' Longworth also supplied printed title-pages with spaces left for writing in the contents and the volume numbers, to encourage customers to make up their own sets.

Longworth's son Thomas joined him at the Shakspeare Gallery during 1811 and 1812 when they published as 'the Longworths.' Thomas published alone in 1820 and 1821, and in 1821 David Longworth died. Between 1802 and 1821 David and Thomas published at least four hundred editions of 338 plays, a record apparently unmatched by any one London publisher of the period. (Unlike the Longworths, London publishers were hampered by the copyright on British plays.)

American plays accounted for about ten *per cent* of Longworth's output: forty-six editions of thirty-seven plays. He published the principal American playwrights, James Nelson Barker, William Dunlap, and John Howard Payne, and lesser figures such as Charles Breck, Joseph Hutton, S. B. H. Judah, and Mordecai M. Noah. It would be interesting to know what Longworth paid American playwrights, but evidence is scant. In 1832 Noah wrote to Dunlap about the publication of his play *The fortress of Sorrento* in 1808: 'I called in at David Long-

³⁷ A copy is in the Harvard Theatre Collection.

worth's . . . and struck a bargain with him, by giving him the manuscript in return for a copy of every play he had published '³⁸ Noah must have received about one hundred titles, worth about twenty to twenty-five dollars retail.

Longworth published more plays by Dunlap than by any other American playwright, but nowhere in his *A history of the American theatre* or in his published diaries does Dunlap reveal what, if anything, Longworth paid him for his plays. And one of their projects shows how an American playwright could lose money through the publication of his works.

In 1805 Dunlap issued proposals to publish his dramatic works by subscription in eight or ten volumes; he lined up agents in several cities and canvassed for subscriptions himself-he signed up Jefferson in person-and in 1806 he paid T. & G. Palmer of Philadelphia for printing one thousand copies of the first volume.³⁹ With an engraved frontispiece by David Edwin after his own painting of Mrs. Wignell and bound in paper boards, it cost Dunlap over three hundred dollars and his immediate returns were less than \$100. Dunlap turned to Longworth in desperation. By 1807 the enterprising publisher was cannibalizing the consecutively-paged volume and selling the contents, play by play, with his own title-leaf; and in 1808 he excised the general title-leaf and issued the sheets as volume twenty-two in 'The English and American Stage.' Copies were still on hand in 1816, as were unsold copies of plays by Dunlap which Longworth himself had published, so Longworth made up volumes two and three of The dramatic works of William Dunlap by binding up his own editions, four to the volume, with collective title-pages. He added William S. Leney's engraved frontispiece of Mrs. Darley after Dunlap's drawing to volume two. So Dunlap's plan to publish his complete works ended in attempts to salvage his investment in the first vol-

⁸⁸ William Dunlap, A history of the American theatre (New-York, 1832), p. 382.

³⁹Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839), ed. Dorothy C. Barck, Collections of the New-York Historical Society LXII-IV, 3 vols. (New York, 1930), pp. 388 and 411-12.

ume. Most of his plays were never published and are lost to us. Dunlap's effort was the first attempt to publish the collected works of a native playwright.

Longworth was dead in 1822 and his son had left the Shakspeare Gallery to devote himself to the directory. E. M. Murden replaced Longworth as the principal New York play publisher. In Boston Wells and Lilly were reprinting 'Oxberry's Edition,' an influential British series that is distinguished by the clarity of its stage directions and by its descriptions of costumes. In Baltimore Joseph Robinson became a prolific play publisher, issuing an eighteen-page *Catalogue of single plays*, for sale in 1829.⁴⁰

All these publishers and most of the others through the 1830s and early 1840s confined themselves to small formats like Longworth's. The last significant firm in this first generation of American play publishers is Turner & Fisher, which briefly reestablished the dominance of Philadelphia as a play publishing center before its definitive surrender to New York in the 1840s.

Around 1836 Turner & Fisher listed over one thousand titles in their *New catalogue of plays and farces*...*for sale*... *at their theatrical warehouses.*⁴¹ We cannot say as yet how many of the titles were their own publications, but a preliminary survey suggests that what they published is less interesting than how they distributed their publications. Turner & Fisher, later Fisher & Brother and Fisher & Denison, published 'juvenile works, plain & colored toy books, primers, song-books, English & German almanacs, colored prints, plays, operas & farces, valentines ... [etc.],' and the firm set up branch offices in New York, Baltimore, and Boston. From such a network of retail agents specializing in cheap unbound publications emerged the second generation of American play publishers, which with new editors and a new format, left Philadelphia and Turner & Fisher far behind.

⁴⁰ A copy is in the Harvard Theatre Collection.

⁴¹A copy is in the Harvard Theatre Collection.

In 1844 James Mowatt, the husband of the celebrated actress Anna Cora Mowatt, later Mrs. Ritchie, turned publisher. He enlisted the services of his wife's old mentor Epes Sargent, a journalist and sometime successful playwright, to edit a new play series to be called 'The Modern Standard Drama' (hereinafter MSD). The prospectus promised that 'The series will be composed principally of such modern dramas of celebrity as, in consequence of the restrictions of copyright in England, have not yet appeared in any collection of specimens of the British drama Every number will consist of an entire drama . . . accompanied by introductory remarks, historical and critical. The stage-marks and directions, including a description of the costumes of the characters, will be given; but in no instance will there be a departure from the text of the author ... every number . . . will be sold at the low price of 12 1-2 cents. The series will appear periodically on the first and fifteenth of every month, and may be had of the principal periodical agents and booksellers in the United States.'42 After publishing four numbers-Talfourd's Ion, Milman's Fazio, and Bulwer's The lady of Lyons and Richelieu, James Mowatt & Co. failed. The printing plates and the services of the editor went to William Taylor, one of those 'principal periodical agents and booksellers' on whom James Mowatt had pinned his hopes.

William and Henry Taylor had founded a 'Cheap Book Establishment' in Baltimore in 1840 with a stock similar to Turner & Fisher's but with magazine and newspaper subscriptions as their specialty. In the 1840s and 1850s dealers like the Taylors were listed as agents in periodicals such as story papers and on the wrappers of paperback novels—and plays. With the help of his own network of retail booksellers an enterprising agent could even become a publisher as William Taylor and his associates and, later, William V. Spencer of Boston and Samuel French of New York were to prove.

 $^{\rm 43}$ The prospectus was printed on the first page of Mowatt's printings of the original four numbers of the ${}_{\rm MSD.}$

William Taylor came to New York in 1845 and realized the promises Mowatt had made for the MSD. Eight numbers, priced twelve and one half cents each or ten copies for a dollar, made a volume. Volumes bound in cloth boards with a portrait and memoir of a famous actor or playwright such as Mrs. Mowatt, Charles Kean, or Bulwer, were priced at one dollar. Between 1845 and 1854 Taylor published 104 numbers in thirteen volumes. Sargent was succeeded as editor by the prompter John W. S. Hows, by editors who signed themselves H. L. and C. M., and finally by the actor Francis C. Wemyss who became a copartner in William Taylor & Co.

The series became the 'library edition' of plays 'that no well-selected library should be without,' just as James Mowatt had promised ten years before. Its new 12mo format—making pamphlets about $7\frac{1}{2}$ " by $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in size—became standard with American play publishers: no longer would American actors and play-goers labor over lines of small type cramped by the small formats that had been the rule since the beginning of the century. Plays were carefully selected and stage directions well marked. The prefaces and memoirs were full of theatrical lore; they and the frontispieces enhanced the appeal of the series.

Encouraged by the success of the MSD Taylor brought out another series to embrace 'all those minor stock pieces, farces, vaudevilles, and burlettas, which could not properly be classed under the former title.' Uniform with the MSD, and published under the same terms, and edited by Wemyss, the new series was called 'The Minor Drama' (hereinafter MD). Fifty-six numbers in seven volumes were published between 1847 and 1852.

Taylor made two alliances which are difficult to understand: first with his printer, John Douglas, who took out the copyright for the MSD in 1845 and who published his own series of opera libretti in 29 numbers called the 'OperaticLibrary' (hereinafter oL); and then with a periodical dealer, Berford & Co., which opened shop in Taylor's rooms at 2 Astor House when Taylor moved in 1847. Copies of Taylor's plays turn up sometimes with his imprint on the title-page, sometimes with Douglas's, and sometimes with Berford's; Taylor title-pages are often accompanied by Douglas or Berford wrappers. It is obvious that Douglas and Berford were subsidiary to Taylor, but whether they were partners in the Taylor firm, or bought shares in Taylor's print runs, or rented plates from Taylor, only further bibliographical examination or the discovery of documentary evidence will show. Douglas's name disappears from the city directories in 1851, the same year in which Richard Berford left bookselling for the express business, and the Taylor firm ended in 1857. By 1858 all the Douglas, Berford, and Taylor holdings—MSD, MD, and OL—were secure in the familiar printed yellow wrappers of Samuel French.⁴³

Samuel French's rise to power was slow, sure, and-when French got onto play publishing-invincible. He swept all before him, which is to say, he bought every set of printing plates he could lay hands on. French had been in business ten years before he bought the Taylor plates. He had shared editions of paperbacks, published a city directory, become general agent (which I take to mean wholesale distributor) for the Taylor company, published about eighty paperback novels, and published ninety-six numbers in his own play series, 'French's American Drama.' By 1865 he owned the plates for most of the 216 numbers in 'Spencer's Boston Theatre,'44 and in 1872 he went to London and bought the business of Thomas Hailes Lacy, the giant of British play publishers, who had been absorbing play publishing houses since the 1840s. (French had been Lacy's American agent.) Examination of the imprints of the new trans-Atlantic firm reveals a hidden roster of Anglo-American publishers whose printing plates continued cranking out the old plays in new series. 'French's Standard Drama' 1-104 conceals the old MSD; 'French's Minor Drama' 1-56.

⁴³See appendix D for addresses of the New York play publishers Mowatt, Douglas, Taylor, Berford, and French.

⁴⁴See 'A guide to "Spencer's Boston Theatre," 1855-1862,' PAAS LXXIX (1969), 45-98.

the MD; 'French's Minor Drama' 179-281, numbers from 'Spencer's Boston Theatre;' and so on.

Between 1856 and 1858 French published the original editions of a number of important American plays that had been very successful on the stage. Among them were George L. Aiken's version of *Uncle Tom's cabin* and works by Dion Boucicault and George Brougham. These plays were brought out of hiding and into print by the 1856 copyright law, which for the first time granted to American playwrights the 'sole right ... to act, perform, or represent' their works. The law should have enabled playwrights to collect royalties when their plays were performed, but it proved to be unenforceable then, and it was long after 1865 that firms like Samuel French were able to claim performance royalties for their authors.

In 1865 an anonymous pamphlet play of fifteen pages entitled *Stand by the flag* was published in Boston over the joint imprint of Lee & Shepard and Wm. V. Spencer.⁴⁵ It was the first to be printed of seventy-nine plays written for amateurs by George Melville Baker, who later founded the Baker play publishing house.⁴⁶ Amateur acting companies had flourished to some extent before the Civil War—Baker had written *Stand by the flag* to be performed by his own Ballou Literary Association at the first Boston benefit for the U. S. Sanitary Commission in 1861 and he had been active in the Aurora Dramatic Club in the 1850s—but it was not until after the War that amateur acting penetrated the grass roots and became a truly national phenomenon.

Some eight hundred American plays were printed between 1800 and 1870;⁴⁷ between 1870 and 1916 more than 56,000 American dramatic works were copyrighted.⁴⁸ The discrepancy between these figures is not explained by the enormous

⁴⁵ A copy is in the American Antiquarian Society.

⁴⁷ This approximate figure is derived from the writer's checking files.

⁴⁸See Dramatic compositions copyrighted in the United States 1870-1916, 2 vols. (Washington, 1918).

⁴⁸See Baker's obituary in The Publishers' Weekly XXXVII, 17 (25 Oct. 1890), 601.

popularity and growing respectability of the professional stage. It is directly attributable to the new-found desire of regular American folks to try their hand at acting. George Baker may have been the first playwright and publisher to see what was coming, but he was soon joined by dozens of playwrights and many new firms which catered strictly to amateurs. In 1765 not a single American publisher would risk printing a play not even an established vehicle from the British stage that had held the boards in the American colonies. A century later the theatre, both professional and amateur, had so pervaded American culture that even plays for amateurs by amateur playwrights could be published profitably.⁴⁹

⁴⁹For an example see Hope P. Litchfield and Roger E. Stoddard, 'A. D. Ames, first dramatic publisher in the West. With a guide to the publications of A. D. Ames and Ames' Publishing Co. of Clyde, Ohio, 1870-1917,' *Books at Brown* XXI (1966), 95-156.

APPENDIX A

American Printed Plays 1765 — 1800

Citations of surviving American editions of plays published from 1765 to 1800. Evans numbers are used unless *National Index of American Imprints through 1800* (herein prefix NI) makes a substantial change in the entry. Citations from Bristol's, *Supplement* (herein prefix B) are followed by the Microprint card number in parentheses.

1765: 9983; 1767: 10535, 10554; 1772: 12369, B3438a (no mp.); 1778: 12729, 12741, 12794, 12872, B3549 (mp. 42430); 1774: 13202, 13255, NI13331, 13361, 13378, 13449 and separate issue designated 'fifth edition,' NI29104; 1776: 14668, 14823, 14824, 14825; 1777: 15248, 15249, 15250, 15252, 15286, 15288, 15365, 15377, 15616; 1778: 15749, 15804; 1779: 19396: 1782: 17451, 17720; 1783: 18002; 1784: 18365, 18568, 18571; 1785: 19021; 1786: 19811, 19878, 19986, B6229 (mp. 44840); 1787: NI19922, 20178, 20243, 20331, 20425, 20534, 20606, 20607; 1788: 21203, B6789 (mp. 45347), B6802 (no mp.); 1789: 21678, 21804, 21805, 21815, 21922, 21926, 22044, 22045, 22139; 1790: 22382, 22525, 22575, 22578, 22592, 22638, 22675, 22948, 23035; 1791: 23204, 23223, 23224, 23234, 23338, 23443, 23447, 23582, 23652, 23653, 23791, B7745 (mp. 46209), B7759 (mp. 46222), B7785 (mp. 46246): 1792: 24111, 24200, 24400, 24402, 24500, 24644, 24785, 26103; 1793: 25078, 25192, 25514, 25611, 25612, 25807, 25846, 25939, 25940,

- 25942, 26070, 26143, B8326 (mp. 46737), B8398 (mp. 46810), B8404 (mp. 46815);
- 1794: 26644, 26671, 26672, 26704, 26706, 26750, 26751, 26776, 26782, 26824, 26834, 26835, 26880, 26907, 26911, 26917, 27031, 27032, 27059, 27125, 27133, 27154, 27223, 27339, 27352, 27356, 27435, 27437, 27439, 27441, 27442, 27447, 27448, 27549, 27550, 27606,

27655, 27692, 27693, 27703, 27987, 28145, B8604 (mp. 46990[!]), B8633 (mp. 47017), B8748 (mp. 47118);

- 1795: 28296, 28348, 28447, 28514, 28515, 28516, 28567, 28597, 28652, 28655, 28847, 29022, 29115 (mp. 29116), 29116 (mp. 29115), 29117, 29129, 29382, 29471, 29482, 29496;
- 1796: 30036, 30240, 30241, 30303, 30339, 30369, 30568, 30569, 30572, 31171, 31180;
- 1797: 31790, 31839, 31893, 32003, 32019, 32066, 32179, 32304, 32502, NI32611 = B10043 (mp. 48208), 32708, 32843, 33216, B9923 (mp. 48111), B10007 (mp. 48185) of which mp. 30815 is a ghost;
- 1798: 33422, 33475, 33652, 34000, 34111, 34153, 34158, 34159, 34160, 34162, 34432, 34600, B10401 (mp. 48518);
- 1799: 35695, 35696, 35697, 35699, 35700, 35701, 35702, 35703, 35704, 35705, 35730, 35845;
- 1800: \$7586, \$7744, \$7745, \$7746, \$7748, \$7749, \$7750, \$7751, \$7752, \$7754, \$7755, \$7756, \$7757, \$7758, \$7759, \$7760, \$7763, \$7764, \$7765, \$7766, \$7767, \$7784, \$7825, \$8001, \$8006, \$8007, \$8011, \$9110.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF AMERICAN DRAMATIC ILLUSTRATIONS 1776 — 1800

A preliminary list of illustrations in plays printed in the United States, 1776-1800, with references to D. McN. Stauffer, *American engravers upon copper and steel*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907).

- [H. H. Brackenridge]. The battle of Bunkers-Hill. Philadelphia, R. Bell, 1776. Engr. front. 'Frontispiece. page. 28 NG Inv. Norman Sc. The death of Warren'. St2364.
- [H. H. Brackenridge]. The death of General Montgomery. Philadelphia, R. Bell, 1777 (two editions). Engr. front. 'Frontispiece Page 36 NG Inv. Norman Sc. The death of Montgomery'. St2363. Jacob Blanck, Bibliography of American literature (New Haven, 1955), I, 1295, distinguishes two states of the plate.
- R. Dodsley. *The blind beggar of Bethnal Green*. Philadelphia, R. Bell, 1777. Wood- or metal-engraved vignette on title-page copied from the original edition (London, 1741) but signed 'Smith Sculp'.

- Mrs. F. M. Brooke. *Rosina*. Philadelphia, E. Story [1787]. Unsigned wood or metal cut vignette on title-page.
- W. Dunlap. Darby's return. New-York, Hodge, Allen, and Campbell and Berry and Rogers, 1789. Engr. front. 'Darby's return . . . W^m Dunlap del et fec[] M^r. Wignell in the character of Darby 'St550.
- [R. Tyler]. *The contrast.* Philadelphia, Prichard & Hall, 1790. Engr. front. 'Act 5th Scene last. Contrast... Dunlap inv. & del. Maverick Sc^t.'
- [P. Hoare]. No song no supper. New-York, J. Harrisson, 1793. Engr. illus.
 'No song no supper. W. Barr Del. C. Tiebout Sculp. M^r. Hodgkinson as Robin 'St3177.
- [R. Merry et al.]. The British album. Boston, Belknap and Hall, 1793. Two engr. illus. 'Della Crusca. Engraved by Sam! Hill, Boston. Boston Published by Belknap & Hall, 1793.' St1375. 'Anna Matilda Engraved by Sam. Hill Boston. Boston Published by Belknap & Hall, 1793.' St1366.
- J. O'Keeffe. *Wild oats.* New-York, J. Reid, 1793. Engr. front. 'Wild oats. Act IV C.B. Del. C. T. Sculp. M^r. Henry in the character of Ephraim . . . N. York Publish'd by John Reid.' St3174.
- F. Reynolds. *The dramatist*. New-York, J. Reid, 1793. Engr. front. 'Dramatist. Act 3. Scene 1. Dunlap. D. Tiebout. S. M^{rs}. Hallam in the character of Marianne . . . N. York Published by John Reid.' St3173.
- H. Brooke. Gustavus Vasa. Boston, J. West [1794]. Also issued with imprint of D. West. Engr. front. 'Gustavus Vasa. W. Lovett pinx! S. Hill S. M. Baker as Gustavus . . . Published by D. West Marlbo. Street, & J. West Cornhill.' St1361.
- Mrs. S. Centlivre. *The busy body*. Boston, D. West and J. West [1794]. Engr. front. 'Busy body W. Lovett pinxt. S. Hill S^c. M^r. Powell as Sir George Airy... Published by D. West Marlbo. Street & J. West Cornhill.' St1378.
- J. O'Keeffe. *The highland reel.* New-York, J. Harrisson, 1794. Engr. front. 'Highland reel. Act 1st Martin, del. Scoles, sc. M^r. Martin as Charley' St2792.
- Mrs. M. V. B. Faugeres. *Belisarius*. New-York, T. and J. Swords, 1795. Engr. front. 'Belisarius. Drawn by Arcd Robertson. Engd by G. Graham. N-Y.'
- The surprising life and death of Dr. John Faustus . . . To which is now added The necromancer. Worcester, 1795. Front. of two wood or metal cuts.

- [T. Morton]. The children in the wood. New York, B. Gomez, 1795. Engr. front. 'Children in the woods. Scoles. sc. M^r Hodgkinson as Walter and M^r Lee as Oliver ' St2786.
- [J. Murdock]. The triumphs of love. Philadelphia, R. Folwell, 1795. Engr. illus. 'Act I. Triumphs of love. Scene 2. J. Seymour Sc. M^r Green as Major Manly, and M^r Moreton as George Friendly Jun^r....' St2875.
- W. Shakespeare. The plays and poems. Philadelphia, Bioren & Madan, 1795-96. 8 v. Engr. front. in v. 1. 'William Shakespeare. Born April 23. 1564. Died April 23. 1616. I.S.[] Engraved by R. Field from the original picture, in the collection of the Duke of Chandos.' St1002.
- R. Dodsley. The toy-shop. Troy, L. Pratt [1797-98]. Engr. front. 'The toy shop.'
- W. C. White. Orlando. Boston, J. Russell and by W. P. & L. Blake, 1797. Engr. front. 'Act III. Hill Sc. M. White as Orlando' St1384.
- A. v. Kotzebue. *Pizarro in Peru*. New-York, W. Dunlap, etc., 1800. Engr. front. 'Drawn by Dunlap Tiebout Sculp^t. M^{rs}. Melmoth in the character of Elvira. Published for the German Theatre by W^m. Dunlap'. St3187.
- A. v. Kotzebue. The virgin of the sun. New-York, W. Dunlap, etc., 1800. Engr. front. 'Drawn by W. Dunlap Engrav'd by C Tiebout. M^{rs} Hodgkinson in the character of Cora. Publish'd for the German Theatre by W^m. Dunlap.' St3178.
- A. v. Kotzebue. The wild-goose chace. New-York, W. Dunlap, etc., 1800. Engr. front. and illus. 'Engraved by Gilbert Fox. Augustus von Kotzebue. Publish'd for the German Theatre. by W^m. Dunlap.' St1011. 'Drawn by W^m. Dunlap the face engravd by C Tiebout the drapery by G Fox. M^r. Hodgkinson in the character of Baron Wellinghorst. Publish'd for the German Theatre. by W. Dunlap.' St3175.
- A. v. Kotzebue. *The dramatic works*. New-York, C. Smith and S. Stephens, 1800[-1801]. 3 v. Two engr. illus. 'T. Clarke Sc. N. Y. August of Kotzebue.' A reversed copy of the Gilbert Fox portrait described above. St403. 'C. Tiebout Sc. M^F. Hodgkinson.' St3176.

Note: some confusion has arisen in bibliographies or the Evans Microprint from British engraved illustrations inserted in the American Antiquarian Society copies of Evans 17451 and 18002 and in the Brown University copy of 37750. Evans 35701 calls for an illustrated vignette title; the writer has been unable to locate a copy, but Evans's description suggests to him that, like the other three, it is of British origin and was not issued with the American edition. Evans and the Evans Microprint call for a frontispiece to 30036 on account of the American Antiquarian Society copy which has the second plate from 27104 bound in facing the title-page.

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American Antiquarian Society

APPENDIX C

A Preliminary List of U.S. Dramatic Copyrights, $1790 - 1800^{1}$

Date of entry	State	Entrant
15 June 1790	2nd Pa.	Thomas Wignell
23 Oct. 1790	4th Mass.	Author
10 Jan. 1792	9th N.Y.	Publishers
23 Dec. 1794	80th Pa.	Author
26 June 1795	29th N.Y.	Peter V. Faugeres
19 Sep. 1795	111th Pa.	Author
12 Mar. 1796	88th Mass.	John Williamson
12 Apr. 1796	38th N.Y.	Author
23 May 1796	137th Pa.	Publisher
21 Nov. 1796	99th Mass.	Author
30 Jan. 1797	101st Mass.	Francis Marriott
24 Feb. 1797	48th N.Y.	Author
10 Mar. 1797	107th Mass.	Margaret Brown
18 Mar. 1797	108th Mass.	Author
6 May 1797	8th S.C.	Author
22 July 1797	111th Mass.	Author
11 Nov. 1797	127th Mass.	Author
22 Mar. 1798	134th Mass.	Author
6 Apr. 1798	61st N.Y.	Author
21 May 1798	138th Mass.	Author
29 Oct. 1798	12th Va.	Author
17 Mar. 1800	91st N.Y.	Author
25 Mar. 1800	13th S.C.	Author

Author, title, and place and date of publication

- [R. Tyler]. The Contrast. Philadelphia, 1790.
- M. O. Warren. Poems, dramatic and miscellaneous. Boston, 1790.
- D. Humphreys. The miscellaneous works. New-York, 1790.
- Mrs. S. H. Rowson. Slaves in Algiers. Philadelphia, 1794.
- Mrs. M. V. B. Faugeres. Belisarius. New-York, 1795.
- [J. Murdock]. The triumphs of love. Philadelphia, 1795.
- J. Macpherson. Oscar and Malvina. No copy known.
- W. Dunlap. The archers. New-York, 1796.
- [T. Forrest]. The disappointment . . . By Andrew Barton [pseud.]. Philadelphia, 1796.
- J. D. Burk. Bunker-Hill. New-York, 1797.
- [Sarah Marriott]. The land we live in; or Death of Major Andre. Unpublished.
- E. H. Smith. Edwin and Angelina. New-York, 1797.
- W. H. Brown. West Point preserved. Unpublished.
- W. C. White. Orlando. Boston, 1797.
- John Beete. The man of the times. Charleston [1797].
- C. Prentiss. A collection of fugitive essays. Leominster [1797].
- C. Stearns. Dramatic dialogues. Leominster, 1798.
- [Mrs. J. S. S. Murray]. The gleaner . . . By Constantia [pseud.]. Boston, 1798.
- W. Dunlap. Andre. New-York, 1798.
- P. Oliver. The adopted son. Unpublished.
- W. Munford. Poems, and compositions in prose. Richmond, 1798.
- W. Milns. All in a bustle. New-York, 1798. Title-page reads '[Copy-right secured.]' but no entry has been located.
- W. Dunlap. The German theatre. Three numbers, translations from Kotzebue, were published (New-York, 1800): The wild-goose chace, The virgin of the sun, and Pizarro in Peru.
- J. B. Williamson. Preservation. Charleston, 1800.

¹The writer is indebted to E. L. Inabinett, Librarian, South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina, for supplying copies of the South Carolina entries and to Frederick R. Goff, Chief, Rare Book Division, Library of Congress, for verifying the rest. Mr. Goff explains that the New York entries for this period are extracted from the records of the Southern district of the state and that the numbering of the Massachusetts entries is his own since the entries were not numbered hitherto.

APPENDIX D

DIRECTORY INFORMATION FOR NEW YORK PLAY PUBLISHERS FROM MOWATT TO FILENCH

JAMES MOWATT

174 Broadway

190

1844-46

JOHN DOUGLAS

68 Ann	¹⁸⁴⁴ ~ ⁴⁵
106 Fulton	1845-47
11 Spruce	1847-51
[Note: the compiler is unable to explain why 'M.	Douglas' rather than

J. Douglas or John Douglas appears frequently in the imprints.]

WILLIAM TAYLOR & Co.	
2AstorHouse	1845-47
II Spruce	1847-48
Unlisted	¹⁸⁴ 9
11 Spruce, 151 Nassau	1850-51
Unlisted	1852
18 Ann	1853-57

BERFORD & Co.

2 Astor House

28 W. 38

25 W. 45

} 84<7-51

1910-24

1924-71

SAMUEL FRENCH

(Samuel French, 1846-71; Samuel French & Son, 1871-91; T. H. French or T. Henry French, 1891-99; Samuel French, Inc., 1899-1971.) 293 Broadway 1846-50 151 Nassau 1850-54 121 Nassau 1854-57 122 Nassau 1857-78 38 E. 14 1878-87 28 W. 23&19W. 22 1887-96 24 and 26 W. 22 1 896-1910 Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.