Alexander Anderson's Life and Engravings before 1800, with a Checklist of Publications Drawn from His Diary

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N THE FIRST DAY of 1793, before he was eighteen years old, Alexander Anderson began a diary that he kept for almost six and one-half years.' The daily entries cover some sixteen hundred pages, sometimes livened by a pen and ink

This essay is affectionately dedicated to Helen Knubel. Her extensive, pioneering scholarship and generous help were invaluable. As well, the author would like to thank Georgia Barnhill at the American Antiquarian Society for giving encouragement when work for this essay was begun. Thanks are also extended to the Rare Book Division staff, Library of Congress, for their patience when supplying their entire collection of books for the last decade of the eighteenth century.

1. Microfilm of the original document in the Alexander Anderson Papers, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, has been used. Volume one of the diary covers 1793-94; volume two, 1795-98; volume three, 1799. The title on the first page is 'Diarium Commentarium Vitae Alex. Anderson.' Volume one is roughly bound with a leather spine and gray paper over boards, probably Anderson's work, since he talked in the diary of stitching his journals and binding them with leather. Volumes two and three are in modern library bindings. The page sizes vary, none higher than about 81/4 inches; most are about 61/2 inches. A carbon typescript of the diary, with omissions and errors, is in the same location. A handwritten copy is in the Alexander Anderson Papers (hereafter, AA Papers), Manuscript Collection, New-York Historical Society (hereafter NYHS); it has not been checked for accuracy. Excerpts appear in Frederic Burr's biography (see footnote 3), and in Old New York 1, 2 (1889, 1890, 1891). A handwritten copy of sections of medical interest is in the New York Academy of Medicine. There is evidence of an earlier diary dating from 1784; 'Anno 1791' and 'Begun 1784,' in Anderson's handwriting appears on a small leaf at the beginning of volume one in the extant manuscript. According to a descendant, members of the family have maintained that this earlier journal, since destroyed, described Washington's inauguration in New York in 1789. This may have been one of the journals Anderson talked of binding, when he used the word in the plural in the May 18 and 29, 1795, entries.

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sketch (fig. 1). Anderson's account provides welcome information about his character and life, the New York City book trades, and the social history of the city in the last decade of the eighteenth century. Most important for our purposes, however, is the information on his work as an engraver. Some diary entries supply evidence linking him to anonymous illustrations in books. These form the basis for the following checklist, which also includes publications that contain signed engravings.

By the end of the eighteenth century, when Anderson began his career, New York's port was outstripping Boston's and Philadelphia's. Aided by its location and growing wealth, it was becoming the preeminent publishing center of the country.² The new republic's rising prosperity and the increased interest in illustrated books and juvenile publications were forces that had a significant and positive effect on Anderson's success as an engraver. These conditions furnished him with a growing market. The quality of his work, inspired by the renaissance of wood engraving in England, would put Anderson's name in the forefront of book illustrators early in the nineteenth century. It was during the period of the diary that he began to teach himself the skills that would lead him to excel as an engraver on copper and as an engraver on wood.

ANDERSON'S EARLY YEARS, 1775-1800

Anderson was born in New York City on April 21, 1775,³ the second son of Sarah Lockwood, from Greenwich, Connecticut, and John Anderson, a native of Aberdeen, Scotland. John appar-

2. See in particular, Robert G. Albion, *The Rise of New York Port (1815–1860)* (1939; reprinted, Boston: Northeastern University Press, [1984]), p. 8.

3. The most detailed account of Anderson's life is by Benson J. Lossing, A Memorial of Alexander Anderson, M.D., the First Engraver on Wood in America (New York: For the Subscribers, 1872). Frederic Martin Burr, in Life and Works of Alexander Anderson, M.D., the First American Wood Engraver (New York: Burr Brothers, 1893), seems to add little except diary excerpts and some cuts not found in Lossing. Unless otherwise stated, the source for biographical information on Anderson and his family before 1793 is the Memorial and his short autobiography, which appears in both books.

March 56 When I came home, I Furguson way there - Mama was relating some incidents of the war ... SI Morning I pumie d a Copperplatethe weather being rainy I staid till 10 & finish'd stehing Rivington's 2. Klat Paid Myers 36 for another small cop. perplate. Paid the Saylor 26 for repairs to my Coat. Shent 6d for Raisins . Received 12 Dollars from Crepsin, after no on _ left Rivington's plate at Burgery Drew a sketch of the Canker with Grank tea at home Made Some Shoe blacking . Evening - Reading alone at the In Capt, Stuart staid till near 11 Bich at my Fathers - I varnish dal

Fig. 1. Anderson scouring a copperplate in a tub of water. Diary, 1795. Courtesy of Rare Book and Manuscript Division, Columbia University.

ently arrived in New York about 1770, working as a printer for James Parker.⁴ He later issued, under his own imprint, many publications that were favorable to the American cause and a semiweekly newspaper, the *Constitutional Gazette*. He fled New York in August 1776, just before the British entered the city. On the way to Greenwich, where his wife and children were staying with friends, he lost his printing equipment and household goods, both to the Americans and to the British.⁵

The family spent seven years in Connecticut. In the evenings, Sarah had entertained Alexander and his brother by drawing 'faces and flowers,' and Anderson spoke of his mother's talents.⁶ When the Andersons returned to New York in the summer of 1783, the sons were sent to school at John Mennye's.⁷ In his autobiography, Anderson talked of his regrets at being taken from his drawing and the play theater for which he had made model boats and carved 'little figures.' He wrote:

4. On John Anderson's printing activities in New York, see Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison, from second ed. (Barre, Mass.: Imprint Society, 1970), pp. 477, 483, 495, and 511; Charles R. Hildeburn, *Sketches of Printers and Printing in Colonial New York* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1895), pp. 150–53; and Lossing, *Memorial*, pp. 15–17. For comments on his newspaper, see Lossing, *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1855), 1: 513, and Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence* (1957; reprinted, Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1980), pp. 241, 257, 282, 289, and 303.

5. The *Memorial* and Anderson's autobiography state that John Anderson lost his goods to the Americans on his flight from the city. But Anderson senior petitioned the Connecticut General Assembly, in May and again on October 10, 1779, for relief from taxes (Revolutionary War, Series One, volume 14, documents 338 and 339, Connecticut Archives, Connecticut State Library, Hartford), attesting in the latter petition that his loss had amounted to $\pounds_{1,333}$ when his goods were taken by the British, and that he had fled New York on 'the last of August 1776.' The culprits were stated to be British rather than American, possibly an attempt on John Anderson's part to gain sympathy from the Assembly and consequently, relief from his taxes. Of interest is his claim that he had lived in the 'Country' before being asked by the citizens of New York to print for the patriot cause, and that he had spent a considerable amount of money to buy equipment. He may have lived elsewhere in the colonies before appearing in New York about 1770 and possibly was not trained as a printer before working for Parker.

6. Nothing drawn or painted by her has survived. In a letter sent to her in the form of a poem and copied into his diary (September 1, 1795), Anderson wrote, 'Who taught me in drawing the pencil to handle / And burn'd up her cap in the flame of the candle.'

7. Evert A. Duyckinck to Lossing, September 21, 1870, AA Papers, Manuscript Division, New York Public Library (hereafter, NYPL). 'Mennie's' address is mentioned, and according to Duyckinck, he was 'one of the early publishers who had given [Anderson] employment.' This is doubtless the author of *An English Grammar* (New York, 1785), since the address in the book and in Duyckinck's letter is the same. The book has no engravings.

I was put to school and drilled into the study of Latin and a little Greek. I became a great reader. After devouring all the toy books of Newbury, the first book of any consequence was Aesop's Fables and the next Dryden's Virgil, the engravings in which formed no small share of the entertainment. ... I had my drawing books and my drawings were made by wetting a hair pencil in my mouth, rubbing it on a bit of Indian ink and then imitating prints in line work [fig. 2]. One of my schoolfellows had access to an Encyclopedia and there we found some instructions for engraving. Small pieces of copper were procured and pennies rolled out in the mill of a friendly silversmith, and when copper was scarce pewter was used. I did a head of Paul Jones and pleased was I when I got an impression with red oil paint in a rude rolling press which I constructed. The first graver I used was the back spring of a pocket knife ground to a point. An obliging blacksmith afterwards made some tools for me and I began to work in type metal. I engraved some small ships and sold them at the newspaper offices. Other small jobs followed and I produced some spare cash. As there was but one other person working in the same line I began to feel of some consequence.

Anderson acquired instruction on the use of engraving tools by 'peeping into the shop windows of silversmiths when they were lettering spoons and other articles.'⁸ Additional formal education might have been obtained from the copperplate engraver Peter Rushton Maverick. Soon after turning fourteen, in 1788, Alexander walked beside Maverick and Richard Davis at the head of the carvers and engravers in the Federal Procession in New York celebrating the ratifying of the Constitution.⁹

The Andersons lived on Wall Street in a rented house¹⁰ in which

10. The diary and the city directories give the number of the house as 31, renumbered 77 after 1793. The location is shown in Proprietors and Tenants Names of Wall from Pearl

^{8.} Benson J. Lossing, 'Biographical Notice of Alexander Anderson, M.D.,' London Art Journal (1858): 272.

^{9.} For information about Maverick, see Stephen DeWitt Stephens, *The Mavericks* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950), p. 27. In his separate publication, *Documentation, Corrections & Additions to the Mavericks* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Press of the Stepping Hen, 1964), p. 3, Stephens states that Anderson maintained, incorrectly, that Maverick was the only engraver in the city at that time, suggesting that it may have been Maverick who taught him. Stephens's source was William H. Sumner, *History of East Boston* (Boston: J. E. Tilton, 1858), p. 174. Sumner stated he had received the information from Anderson. Richard Davis is shown in the city directories during this period as a carver and gilder at 25 Vesey Street. He appears frequently in the diary.



Fig. 2. Ink drawings, probably the work of Anderson when he was a boy. Courtesy of a descendant.

John, now a vendue master, kept his shop for auctions and sold secondhand goods. It was a close and affectionate family whose members expressed themselves freely.¹¹ As shown in the diary, the Andersons' social contacts were varied, enabling them to cross class lines in a society that was fairly stratified. It proved useful to Alexander, allowing him to receive help and encouragement from those who found his appearance and manners acceptable and giving him an opportunity to make contacts that would increase his education in art.

After his fourteenth birthday, Anderson was apprenticed to Dr. Joseph Young.¹² It was a decision made for him by his parents, based on their son's early interest in copying anatomical figures from medical books. By 1793, he was a student in medicine at Columbia College, at the same time continuing his apprenticeship to Dr. Young, for whom he worked seven days a week. To find time for engraving, he frequently rose at five in the morning to work on his cuts before leaving the house. From money earned from his craft, he paid for his courses at Columbia. On May 2, 1794, Anderson asked for and received a certificate from Dr. Young proving he had served the time necessary by law to obtain a license

12. Joseph Young was the brother of Dr. Thomas Young, a Boston patriot and orator who is said to have named the state of Vermont. For Joseph and Thomas Young, see Henry H. Edes, 'Memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, 1731–1777,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 11 (1910): 2–54. For Joseph Young, see the DAB (entry for Thomas Young); Morris H. Saffron, Surgeon to Washington: Dr. John Cochrane, 1730–1807 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), pp. 103, 121, 123–24, and passim; and Edward M. Ruttenber, *History of the Town of New Windsor* (Newburgh, N.Y.: For the Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, 1911), pp. 123–98. A watercolor portrait of Dr. Young by Anderson is in the NYHS museum collections. For details about Anderson's interest in copying anatomical figures, see Lossing, London *Art Journal*, p. 272.

to Front Streets, July 1794, Miscellaneous Manuscripts, box 33, number 1822, NYHS, placing the house on the south side of Wall Street between Water and Front streets. It may be one of the houses that are dimly pictured, on the far right, in Francis Guy's ca. 1798 painting of the Tontine Coffee House at the intersection of Wall and Water streets.

^{11.} Sarah Anderson commented in a letter to Sandy, as Alexander was called by his family and some of his friends, 'I have often thought that we seem like a famely [*sic*] by ourselves or like a Body so closely united that no one Member can enjoy happiness without all the rest partaking of it.' She ended another letter with, 'From her that is as much your friend as Mother.' Sarah Anderson to Alexander Anderson, October 23 and September 15, 1795, Thirty-Eight Letters from Sarah Anderson to He'r Son, August 27–November 2, 1795, AA Papers, Manuscript Division, NYPL.

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to practice. From the moment he had completed his five years of apprenticeship, his reluctance to commit himself to a career in medicine became apparent.

From late August until mid-November of 1795, he attended patients at Bellevue Hospital during that year's yellow fever epidemic. It was a difficult period for him, both because of the conditions at the hospital and the many deaths he witnessed. He commented on October 14, 'I cannot help looking back to my engraving Table and thinking it a fitter station for me.' He was publicly praised for his efforts at Bellevue¹³ and was offered the opportunity, which he turned down, to apply for the post of physician to the Dispensary at £200 a year. He wrote at the hospital on October 18, 'I may have acted imprudently in refusing it, when propos'd by Dr. Smith, but my feelings were entirely discordant with such an employment-besides the engravings which I have undertaken and my unwillingness to disappoint my employers had great weight with me-my present employment is much against the grain - a sense of duty & acquiescence in the will of God, are the chief motives which detain me here.'

His unwillingness to disappoint the printers and publishers for whom he was working carried greater weight than a desire to please his parents. The letter he received from his mother, after she had learned that he refused to apply for the job, was angry and explicit: 'As to the plan of engraving I totally explode it—'tis improper & almost impossible in this House in winter. . . . If you give that up [medicine]—you have spent six years in vain.'¹⁴ When he had finished at Bellevue on November 12, he began again to engrave. Earlier in the year, he had obtained his license and informed

14. Sarah Anderson to Alexander Anderson, October 17, 1795, Thirty-Eight Letters from Sarah to Her Son, AA Papers, Manuscript Division, NYPL.

^{13.} See M. L. Davis, A Brief Account of the Epidemical Fever Which Lately Prevailed in the City of New York (New York: M. L. Davis, 1795), p. 56, and Fenwick Beekman, 'The Origin of "Bellevue Hospital" as Shown in the New York City Health Committee Minutes during the Yellow Fever Epidemics of 1793–1795,' New-York Historical Society Quarterly 37 (1953): 225. In Davis's account, Anderson was singled out for having 'engag'd with zeal and virtue, at [an] early period and under discouraging circumstances.'

Dr. Young that he would no longer work for him, although he was again offered a partnership.

Anderson did some engraving in the first months of 1796, but on March 24, he wrote, 'I finish'd the last of Babcock's cuts [John Babcock, the Hartford printer / publisher / bookseller], pack'd them up and wrote to him, declaring my intention of relinquishing engraving.—I laid by my tools and implements.' He was then studying for his medical degree at Columbia and writing his dissertation, 'An Inaugural Dissertation on Chronic Mania.'¹⁵ The subject was not surprising, given his mother's periodic fits of what seemed like madness. Repeatedly in the diary, Anderson mentions these episodes, 'an hysteric affection,' as he called it. 'Twas as much as we could do to hold her,' he wrote on July 8, 1793. He, rather than his father or brother, usually looked after her.¹⁶

By June, Anderson had moved out of his parents' house and rented an office. He resumed engraving only in July 1797, bowing to pressure from both his parents and Dr. Young to practice medicine full time. He had begun to court Ann Van Vleck and married her in April 1797, having rented a house on Beekman Street for £130 a year, a sum that was considered reasonable.

Depressed by his practice and with money worries, Anderson took opium and laudanum, although he understood their dangers. He drank too much wine to alleviate his asthma and insomnia. On July 18, 1797, he wrote, 'The thoughts of Engraving have occupied my mind today; I could not help looking back to the pleasures of that art, like the Israelites to the flesh-pots of Egypt.—I had even resolv'd to indulge myself now and then in engraving on wood, and cut several patterns for tools which I propos'd to have made, but the dread of being "unstable as water" deterred me, and I laid by the patterns.' But eight days later, he gave in and prepared a piece of boxwood for engraving, saying that, although he had not

^{15.} New York: T.& J. Swords, 1796.

^{16.} A modern medical opinion suggests that Sarah suffered from chronic porphyria, a metabolic disorder frequently accompanied by neurotic disorders. The author would like to thank Dr. John P. Utz, professor of medicine, Georgetown University Hospital, Washington, D.C., for making this tentative diagnosis.

made any money from his experiments, he was practicing. Soon after, he obtained tools from John Martin, a tinsmith and machinist on Beekman Street who had often repaired or made gravers for him.

In September of this year, despite his low income, he opened what seems to have been the first bookshop in this country to sell children's books exclusively, the 'Liliputian Book-store.' He advertised in Thomas Greenleaf's paper (item 69, fig. 3), the *Argus*, made handbills on September 9, and engaged a boy to look after the shop, part of the bargain being that he would teach him how to engrave on wood. He described engraving the illustrations for four books for his store, naming the title of only one, *Little Jack* (September 4). He closed the shop about two weeks after it opened because he had little business and expenses were mounting. He sent the more than seven thousand books to his father's auction. None seem to have survived.

1798 was a painful and decisive year for Anderson. In the spring he lost his infant son, and, during that summer's yellow fever epidemic, his wife, brother John,¹⁷ father, mother, mother- and sister-in-law. Less than two weeks after their deaths, he discussed giving up medicine as a profession in favor of engraving. Richard Davis, with whom he had walked in the parade when Anderson was fourteen, advised him, 'By all means take to it' (October 10). He also talked to Cornelius Tiebout, who was making his living from copperplate engraving and printing. Although Anderson often lacked patients when he was practicing medicine, his decision apparently was not caused by poor prospects; soon after his family's death, Dr. David Hosack, the noted physician, had offered him a position as one of the attending physicians at the Dispensary (October 20). The conflict between Anderson's parents' wishes

^{17.} John Anderson's journal is in the Manuscript Collection, NYHS. He designed copperplates that appeared in the *New-York Magazine*, 1790–95, seven of them either described in his diary or signed 'L' or 'J. Anderson.' Three more, signed 'Anderson' are probably his and not his brother's. In addition, in his diary entries from April 21 through May 3, 1796, he describes drawing a map for David Longworth. This is probably item 62A in Frank Weitenkampf, *The Eno Collection of New York City Views* (reprinted with additions from the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, May and June 1925, New York: New York Public Library, 1925), where the map is signed 7. *A. Del.*

Children's Book-Store, NO. 60, FAIR-STREET, Where may be had, at a low rate, A Great Variety of Small Books, ORNAMENTED WITH CUTS. September 4. 25-d+f

Fig. 3. The devil and Minerva, advertisement for Anderson's Lilliputian Bookstore, New York Argus, September 8, 1797, item 69. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

and his own predilection since childhood to engrave was resolved, in however brutal a manner.

On March 7, after dealing with financial matters pending since his father's death, Anderson sailed to see his father's brother, Alexander, director of the Botanic Garden on St. Vincent Island in the West Indies. In his autobiography, he stated he had been offered a position on St. Vincent by his uncle that 'would have made me independent.'¹⁸

18. For Alexander Anderson, the botanist, see Lansdown Guilding, An Account of the Botanic Garden in the Island of St. Vincent (Glascow, Scotland: Richard Griffin & Co., 1825);

On June 24, the last entry in the diary, Anderson arrived back in New York City with twenty dollars in his pocket. He must have stayed on with Isaac Van Vleck; Anderson had moved after his family's death to his father-in-law's. The city directory for 1800 lists him as an engraver at the same address, 6 Upper Reed Street. On March 26, 1800, he married Jane Van Vleck, his first wife's sister.¹⁹ He would continue to live in New York City until four years before his death in 1870.

II

ANDERSON'S BUSINESS AS AN ENGRAVER

Until June 1796, Anderson recorded, with few exceptions, what he earned and spent, down to the cost of a quarter-pound of raisins. Afterwards, he kept a separate account book (no longer extant) but continued to note in his diary major sources of income and large expenditures. This data is important for determining not only the income he received from his craft but for predicting what he might earn in the future. The information can also be applied to other engravers of this era.

Anderson's accounting tells us not only what he received for his engraving and how much his supplies cost him but describes the financial arrangements he made with his employers. However, it is not always easy to figure out his profit. In the case of type metal, he frequently bought several pounds at a time, its use spread over an extended period. Once he began habitually to engrave on box-

19. New York Weekly Museum, April 5, 1800. Isaac is listed in the 1787 city directory as a sexton of the Dutch church; by 1797 he was living on Reed Street, as a 'guager' [sic], or excise man. The family were Moravians. A thorough record of the Van Vleck family can be found in Jane Van Vleck (a modern descendant), Ancestry and Descendants of Tielman Van Vleek of Niew Amsterdam (New York: [Privately printed], 1955).

Alexander Anderson's Geography and History of St. Vincent, West Indies, ed. and transcribed, Richard A. Howard and Elizabeth S. Howard; and their Alexander Anderson's The St. Vincent Botanic Garden, both published by the Fellows of Harvard College and the Linnean Society of London, 1983. Dr. and Mrs. Howard are preparing a publication on Anderson's hortus. In the diary, Anderson talked about the drawings of a young mulatto, [John] Tyley, who was working for his uncle as a draftsman and living with him. Some of his beautiful botanical plates can be found in the Linnean Society in London, and in the Hunt Institute, Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh. The author is grateful to Dr. Howard for his help.

wood, he bought it by the log, since it was more economical for him to cut and finish the blocks himself. This system provided him with a ready supply but makes it difficult to allocate its cost to specific jobs. Copper for plates was more expensive. After it was purchased, it was cut for a particular engraving, often 'planished,' or leveled to a consistent thickness, and polished by someone else. The costs of a specific engraving are, therefore, easier to calculate. Usually, but not always, he, and not his employer, provided the necessary materials, no doubt affecting the price he was paid. Details concerning payments for particular projects are contained in the checklist. A summary of Anderson's income, year by year, will be given here. It should be remembered that he worked only in off-hours, early in the mornings, or when he had a spare hour or so during the day. An exact estimate of the time he spent filling commissions is not possible to establish.

In the first year of the diary, 1793, his income from both intaglio and relief engraving was about \pounds 54 gross, the latter activity accounting for just over half of the income.²⁰ Many jobs were small, such as type-metal cuts for newspapers, but he was also working on plates for William Durell's ambitious edition of Maynard's *Josephus* that was being printed in sixty parts over a two-year period (item 2). Durell would wait until Anderson had finished a plate before asking him to do another; he might have been uncertain of the quality of work from so young an artist. He was also slow to pay his bill. As partial payment, at his own suggestion, Anderson agreed to receive the parts as they were published (March 20), and to accept a sheet of copper for the next engraving (May 18). He even bought a coat on Durell's account, the total appearing to be \pounds 5 15s. 6d. for cloth and tailoring (July 16).

From evidence in the diary and from comments made about him later in his life, Anderson was scrupulously honest and his

^{20.} In the first New York City directory, one dollar was shown to be the equivalent of eight shillings, New York State currency. The rate stayed the same for the years of the diary. In this essay, shillings are written s., pence, d. One pound (\pounds_1) , or 20s., was therefore \$2.50. There are 12d. to a shilling. The change from pounds / shillings / pence occurred slowly over the last decade of the eighteenth century.

charges moderate. His bill to Durell in 1793 for one of the *Josephus* engravings, *Solomon's Temple*, approximately $7^{1/2''} \times 11^{1/2''}$ (dimensions of the plate marks), was £4 (\$10) (March 19). Cornelius Tiebout in 1799 received £6 (\$15) for a comparably sized plate.²¹ Tiebout had spent three years in London, thus his higher prices probably reflected his professional training and greater reputation. Even so, John Scoles criticized Anderson for charging too little for a copperplate (March 26, 1795); and the Reverend John Bissett, who preached at Trinity Church and for whom Anderson had engraved a bookplate, urged him 'to fix a higher price on it' (July 14, 1794).

In 1794, Anderson's gross income from engraving increased to over £66. Of this total, just about £6 was earned from copperplate engraving. Woolen stockings cost him 13s. on November 4, while the amount earned for the type-metal relief frontispiece for *The Death of Abel* (item 23), a cut under eighteen square inches, was 10s. In relation to the cost of stockings, Anderson's charge seems low.

His income from engraving in 1795 was just over \pounds 114 gross, although he spent two and one-half months at Bellevue during the yellow fever epidemic and was doing little engraving at that time. Of this, some \pounds 74 were received for intaglio work. He earned \pounds 126 8s. for his services at Bellevue (a high fee, perhaps because of the risk involved and the difficulty in finding physicians who would work. The position at the Dispensary promised an income of \pounds 200 a year). In spite of the interruption caused by his medical studies and practice, he was beginning to earn a good income from engraving. It was the highest total yet for a year's work, a total that had risen each year since 1793.

21. Rollo G. Silver, *The American Printer*, 1787–1825 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1967), pp. 164–65. Tiebout married Dr. Joseph Young's niece, Esther (marriage announcement in the New York *Weekly Museum*, April 27, 1799). She lived with Joseph and was the daughter of his brother Thomas, who had died during the Revolution. Anderson mentions the courtship in his diary, February 5, 1799. They named their first child Joseph Young (Francis V. Morrell, *The Ancestry and Posterity of Cornelius Henry Tiebout* [for private distribution, 1910], p. 30). Alexander, Cornelius's brother, was Anderson's constant companion in the diary; the *DAB* gives his name as Andrew.

It has already been said that Anderson stopped using his diary halfway through 1796 as a record for his accounts. But early in 1796, he recorded a bill that was large and therefore significant; he had engraved dozens of small, relief, type-metal cuts for *A New Hieroglyphical Bible* (item 57), published by John Reid in 1796. The \pounds_{51} 9s. never seemed to have been entirely paid by Reid. Anderson bought books at his bookshop to settle at least some of the account (August 1). It is an important record because of the size of the bill and the speed with which Anderson completed the work.

It is impossible to calculate his income from engraving for 1796. He gave an accounting the next year, saying he had received \pounds_{151} 12s. 7d. from June to December of 1796, presumably from medical fees, since he had begun to practice full time (January 2, 1797). Thus, his income from a half year of medical practice was more than his largest gross earnings from engraving, the \pounds_{114} in 1795. Yet he was working full time as a physician and only sporadically as an engraver.

For the balance of the diary, Anderson occasionally recorded some of his income from engraving, but not enough to give a correct estimate of the amount received. A useful comparison can be made between the price of rents and what Anderson earned from his craft. His parents' house on Wall Street was in a favorable business location in a central part of the city. The diary states that the family was forced to pay a 'large increase in rent' to £130 a year, including taxes (February 1, 1794), and the rent was raised again two years later to £200. On the other hand, the first house that Anderson rented after he was married cost him £130 a year; it was not luxurious but apparently comfortable and acceptable to all. A year later, very low on money, he moved, paying £ 90 for rent. His office of two rooms on Liberty Street was rented for £30 for eleven months. The £51 he billed John Reid for the Hieroglyphical Bible may have gone a long way toward convincing Anderson that he could indeed live by his graver.

On reviewing his income from engraving, the disparity in the amounts he earned for the same type of work from different em-





4a. In C.H.V. Bogatzky, A Golden Treasury, for the Children of God. Line engraving, 1794, item 17. Courtesy of Sinclair Hamilton Collection, Princeton University.

ployers is striking. The figures given below have been calculated on prices given by Anderson for specifically named pieces of work and the amount of materials used. The complexity of an engraving, the time involved, and the expense of the materials are factors in arriving at prices paid to him. Yet it is hard to account for the difference between the amount received for the copperplates he engraved for Durell's *Josephus* in 1793, an average of .83s. per square inch, and the average for the plates for Birdsall and Menut's 1795 *Life of Christ* (item 53), 2.94s. per square inch. In both cases, the plates were etched line engravings of figures, with crosshatching and shading (with the possible exception of *Solomon's Temple* for *Josephus*, which may not be etched). Anderson paid for the copper in both cases. The highest earnings for intaglio work



4b. In D. Doddridge, The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul. Type-metal engraving, 1795, item 38. Courtesy of the Rare Book Division, Library of Congress.

were for two bookplates. One was for the New York Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety in 1794 (item 17, fig. 4a), 3.07s. per square inch, for which Anderson drew the design. His employer urged him to charge more. The other was a bookplate made for Columbia College the next year (item 37), at 5.71s. per square inch, the design having been furnished.

The amount he earned in intaglio engraving varied between .18s. per square inch for the map for the *New-York Magazine* in 1794 (item 28), and the bookplate for Columbia, mentioned above. It is true that the price of copper fluctuated considerably. Anderson recorded on March 21, 1793, the size of a plate and its cost, working out to .06s., .16s. on October 21, 1794, and .21s. on March 6, the next year, calculated on the cost per square inch.

Type metal seemed to cost about 7d. to 9d. a pound, although at times it rose higher. The weight per cut cannot be estimated, but because the cost was fairly low, the materials could not have been a major consideration in determining the price of type-metal cuts. The income from relief cuts on type metal varied between .57s. per square inch in 1793, for the American Museum broadside (item 5, fig. 5), to 2.18s. per square inch in 1796 for *Tommy Gingerbread* (item 63b). On an average, Anderson earned 1.41s. per square inch for type-metal engraving.

There is little data available for his earnings from engraving on boxwood. The amount he received seems comparable to that for engraving on type metal, although the materials were more expensive. Anderson paid .42s. per square inch for the wood, calculated on the finished blocks at 2s. each for illustrations for *The Looking-Glass for the Mind* (item 36). Boxwood was also used for furniture inlays and tool handles and was sometimes difficult to procure.

No doubt Anderson accepted what he was offered during these diary years. He was a young, inexperienced engraver who was probably glad for the opportunity to practice his largely selftaught skills. Even so, it is hard to account for the differences in what he received for similar work in these media.

Publishers sent illustrated books to Anderson so that he could copy the cuts; *The Looking-Glass* and the *Hieroglyphical Bible* are examples. He bought books for John Babcock to 'look over,' and Babcock sent books to him. At this time, there was little that was original in American graphic designs of popular publications (schoolbooks, chapbooks, children's books, almanacs, and popular stories); engravers reproduced English or European examples. Illustrations and texts were in the public domain.

When pressed by publishers, Anderson could work quickly. He finished thirteen type-metal blocks for the *Hieroglyphical Bible* on November 17, 1795. Although the rebuses were small, five or so to a page just over five inches high, and Anderson said that 'engraving was my chief employment today,' he also spoke of several errands and other occupations during the day and evening. The



Fig. 5. 'King of the Vultures.' Broadside, dated November 1793. Type-metal engraving, item 5. Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.

time spent at his worktable could not have been uninterrupted, yet he accomplished a great deal.

His relationships with his employers appeared to be pleasant. Often he was asked what his terms would be, and usually the price was agreed on beforehand and paid without argument when the engravings were completed. There were exceptions, especially when larger amounts of money were involved. Occasionally, Anderson would accept goods or type metal in lieu of money.

III

TECHNICAL PROCESSES, EDUCATION IN ENGRAVING TECHNIQUES AND AESTHETICS

Anderson was adept at finding solutions when he was having trouble with a process, and discussions about various technical details are included in the diary.

When engraving on type metal, he usually referred to a 'plate,' but sometimes used the term 'block.' It is impossible to know

whether he meant a mass type high (about .918 of an inch) or a thin piece that would then be mounted on wood to bring it up to height. Type-metal cuts are said to have been mounted on wood, and Anderson talked of doing this with a few engravings. It is difficult to cast type metal in a thick block without causing bubbles that interfere with the engraving surface or weaken the block, causing it to collapse when put through the press. ²² He often bought type metal (an alloy of lead, antimony, and tin), cast it himself, and devised a mold to facilitate the work when faced with the many blocks needed for the Hieroglyphical Bible. He made a drawing of the mold at the June 13, 1795, entry but did not indicate the depth for the cast block. 'I made a trial of my mould and found it to answer the purpose very well,' he noted. To save money, he would often finish the blocks himself, filing, scouring, and polishing them. He learned to add more lead to the type-metal mixture, which produces a better result, with fewer flaws (July 2, 1794). Once, he talked of casting from a block he had already engraved (February 17, 1794), possibly using something like a dab box, a method of reproducing type-metal cuts from a matrix made of lead.

When he began to replace type metal with boxwood for relief engraving, Anderson learned to prepare the blocks, cutting them from the log and finishing them; 'I tried my hand at preparing a block of box-wood for engraving,' he wrote on November 22, 1797. Boxwood is not easy to prepare, the block must be of a consistent height to print well, kept from rapid changes in temperature and humidity to prevent cracking, and the surface must be finished in order to produce a very smooth face.

Anderson attempted to educate himself in engraving techniques. As early as 1791, he kept a small notebook in which he copied

^{22.} See Lawrence Wroth and Marion Adams, *American Woodcuts and Engravings*, 1670-1800 (Providence: Associates of the John Carter Brown Library, 1946), p. 13; and W. W. Pasko, *Old New York* 1 (1889): 47. It may be that Anderson engraved the thin plate and either brought it to be mounted by the printer who hired him, or, as he noted, mounted it himself. The author owns a block of this kind, said to be a very early engraving by Anderson.

articles on engraving from a variety of sources.²³ Two articles on 'aquatinta' and 'mezzotinta' were copied from Dobson's *Encyclopaedia*. He also entered a paragraph, with his own heading, 'Some brief Instructions for Etching or engraving on copper plates with aqua-fortis [nitric acid] from [George] Edwards, natural history [*A Natural History of Birds*].²⁴ In this passage, Edwards complained about the difficulty he had in finding instruction in copperplate engraving, and how he suspected that the authors he read on the subject had never done any etching themselves. The remark must have struck a sympathetic chord in Anderson.

Alexander Lawson, an English engraver, made scornful comments about James Thackara and John Vallance's inability to etch their copperplates when they were working in 1794 on Dobson's *Encyclopaedia*. He noted that 'all their attempts at etching [had] miscarried.'²⁵ From the beginning of his diary, Anderson described etching his plates. An earlier admission ticket to a medical lecture at Columbia, dated 1792, reveals etched lines.²⁶ However, his experimentation with varnishes and acid in 1793 reveals that he was not experienced in the technique. One recipe of wax, black pitch, and Burgundy pitch to use as a ground (May 20, 1793) was followed by the recipe for a varnish of wax and rosin, which Cornelius Tiebout told him that he had used. Near the end of the diary, Anderson recorded Tiebout's praise of some varnish Anderson had made for etching (January 13, 1799). The silence in the inter-

24. The lines quoted by Anderson are from the fourth and last volume, p. 230. The book was published in London from 1743-51 and contained plates etched and colored by Edwards (1694-1773), an English naturalist and artist.

25. William Dunlap, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, ed. Rita Weiss, 3 vols. (1834; reprinted, New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 1:434.

26. Dunlap, in his *History*, 1: 158, claimed that Peter Rushton Maverick had taught him how to etch. Anderson knew Maverick and may have learned from him (see footnote 9). Examining engravings with a strong magnifying glass reveals the fuzzier lines with blunter ends that occur in etching, or the sharper furrows made by a graver alone on the metal. The ticket for admission to Dr. William Pitt Smith's medical lecture is in the Print Room, NYHS.

^{23.} Notebook written by AA, containing riddles, etc., AA Papers, Ms. Collection, NYHS. The date appears on the last page. Because there are entries on how to treat a warped block of boxwood, and, because all evidence suggests that Anderson did not begin to use box with any frequency until later, the notes may have been added at different times.

vening years suggests that he was familiar enough with the process not to discuss it. Anderson often scoured and burnished his own copperplates, since the cost of getting it done for him was high. He bought a piece of copper 71/2" by 111/2" for 55. but paid 105. 9d. to have it leveled and polished (March 21, 22, 1793).

One interesting question is why Anderson was prompted to begin using the end grain of boxwood instead of planks for engraving on wood. Lossing noted that Anderson had access to Chambers's Cyclopaedia, edited by Rees.27 Anderson also recorded reading: Robert Dossie's Handmaid to the Arts (London, 1758); Lewis's Commerce of Arts (? unlocated); The Artist's Repository (London, ca. 1785); and William Hall's New Royal Encyclopaedia (London, n.d.).²⁸ All contained more detailed instructions on how to engrave and etch on copper than to engrave on wood.

Dobson's Encyclopaedia repeated almost word for word the information in Chambers's Cyclopaedia on 'cutting in wood.' Dossie specified that boxwood was preferable to pear and beech, but he did not mention using the end grain. Directions on how to transfer a drawing to the surface of the block were given in both. The Artist's Repository was an English serial publication, containing detailed recipes for grounds and acids used in copperplate etching and comments on Hogarth's aesthetic theory, as set out in his Analysis of Beauty. A short entry 'Of Cutting in Wood' does not suggest using the end grain and adds nothing to what Anderson could have found in Chambers's Cyclopaedia. Hall emphasized the finer lines achieved by engraving on end-grain box,²⁹ but it was not until two years after starting to engrave the end-grain boxwood blocks for Durell's edition of The Looking-Glass that Anderson read Hall. He bought the three folio volumes of the encyclopedia, brought it home and 'began to overhaul it with avidity.' It is unknown how he came to engrave on end-grain wood.

^{27.} Lossing, Memorial, p. 22.

^{28.} Diary, April 22, 1793; February 13, August 18, 1795; December 23, 1796. 29. See Malcolm S. Smith, 'Alexander Anderson and American Wood Engraving' (master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1973), p. 13.

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The question of when Anderson first saw either John or Thomas Bewick's work has been given a muddled account. It is known that the Bewicks, particularly John, provided relief cuts on wood for some of the Newbery publications; they were imported to New York by the printers and booksellers Hugh Gaine and Samuel Campbell, as noted by Harry Weiss and Robert Winans.³⁰ It has already been mentioned that Anderson talked of his delight as a child in poring over Newbery books. However, it should be remembered that 'Newbery books' was a generic term used for English chapbooks that were not necessarily published by that firm or its successors. For example, Isaac Beers's 1786 New Haven catalogue included 'small histories &c. commonly called Newberry's books.'31 One assumes that it would have been difficult for Anderson, with his long interest in engraving, insatiable reading and his use of libraries, contacts with printers and booksellers, to have missed seeing Bewick white-line cuts. They were available in a few of the Newbery books published by that firm. John Bewick signed some of the engravings in the 1789 Stockdale Robinson Crusse, and the Bewicks illustrated various editions of Fables that appeared before 1794. Yet there is no proof that Anderson saw these books.

Some authors may have misinterpreted the following passage in Anderson's autobiography: 'One of my earliest employers was William Durell who began with toy books and proceeded to larger works such as a folio edition of Josephus and above a hundred volumes of British classics. *It was while engraving for him that I met with Bewick's works* [italics mine], and having with difficulty procured some box wood, found the advantage of that material over type metal.' The juxtaposition of 'Josephus' and 'while working for him' may account for the assumption that Anderson first saw

30. Harry B. Weiss, The Printers and Publishers of Children's Books in New York City, 1698–1830 (New York: New York Public Library, 1948. Reprinted from the Bulletin of the New York Public Library 52 [1948]), p. 4; Robert B. Winans, A Descriptive Checklist of Book Catalogues Separately Printed in America, 1693–1800 (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1981), p. 82.

31. Winans, Descriptive Checklist, p. 77.

the Bewicks' work in 1792 or 1793, when he was engraving plates for the *Josephus*. It could mean equally well the period when he was working on Durell's Looking-Glass; the time is not specific. Frank Weitenkampf, Helen Knubel, and Evert A. Duvckinck mention either the 1793 date or that Anderson saw Bewick illustrations while 'engraving for the *Josephus*.'32

Lossing, on page thirty-two of the Memorial, further confuses the issue by saying that Anderson first used boxwood in 1794, then he contradicts that date by citing 1793 as the year Anderson engraved Campbell's one hundred geometrical boxwood cuts and a tobacco stamp. It may have been a typographical error, as Linton points out on page three of his History of Wood Engraving in America.33 In the Memorial, Lossing scrambled the evidence once more: 'But early in that year [1794] he was favored with the perusal of a sketch of Bewick's life and works, and also a sight of his marvellous illustrations of birds and quadrupeds.' Anderson said in the diary that he saw Thomas Bewick's General History of Quadrupeds on August 17, 1795. Moreover, no account of Bewick's life, works, or engraving techniques had been published by 1794, and his History of British Birds, the land birds, was first published in 1797. In the London Art-Journal in 1858, Lossing had stated that while working on Durell's Looking-Glass Anderson had been 'informed that Bewick's pictures were engraved on box-wood.'

It may be that Anderson's first sight of the Bewicks' work, at least a careful examination of it, was on June 6, 1794, when he began to cut the blocks copied from the English Looking-Glass illustrations for Durell. On the title page of the 1792 London edition, printed for E. Newbery, was information about the material and the artist: 'A new edition, with Seventy-Four Cuts, De-

32. F. Weitenkampf, American Graphic Art. New Edition Revised and Enlarged (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924), p. 114; Helen M. Knubel, 'Alexander Anderson and Early American Book Illustration,' Princeton University Library Chronicle 1 (1940): 10; [Evert A. Duyckinck], A Brief Catalogue of Books Illustrated with Engravings by Dr. Alexander Anderson with a Bio-graphical Sketch of the Artist (New York: [Thompson & Moreau], 1885), p. v. 33. William J. Linton, The History of Wood Engraving in America (1882; reprinted, entitled American Victorian Wood Engraving, ed. Nancy C. Shrock, Watkins Glen, N.Y.: American

Life Foundation Study Institute, 1976), p. 3.

signed and Engraved on Wood by Bewick.' The 1704 edition carried the same information on the title page. Whether or not this was Anderson's first encounter with the Bewicks, his engravings show a strong Bewick influence only after June 1794. The influence becomes more pronounced after he had seen the Quadrupeds.

It is assumed that when Anderson spoke earlier of having engraved on boxwood that he cut on the end grain. How he learned to use the end grain is unknown, and one can only speculate what prompted him to begin using it for The Looking-Glass illustrations. Douglas Bliss, and John Jackson and W. A. Chatto talk of the engravings in Croxall's Aesop's Fables, published in 1722, and that they were on end-grain wood.34 The technique, although not commonly used and discussed, was not dead. Anderson could have heard of it, either through conversation with those who had English contacts, or through reading. It is tempting to guess at his sources of information, but there is no way to be sure what inspired him at the moment he was doing the work for Durell. Perhaps he stumbled on the idea himself, having already used boxwood and having seen the title page of the English edition of The Looking-Glass.

Anderson's reading on art could have been wider, for a large number of European treatises were available in New York libraries. These works have been described by Janice Schimmelman.35 Anderson names only two of the books on Schimmelman's list, Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty and Cellini's Life.

Although his medical studies interfered with the time that he could devote to engraving, they provided an indirect advantage. Early artists in America had difficulty finding instruction on how to draw the human figure; in the first decade of the nineteenth century, the New York Academy of Fine Arts and the Pennsylvania

^{34.} Douglas P. Bliss, A History of Wood Engraving (1928; reprinted, London: Spring Books, 1924), p. 5; John Jackson and W. A. Chatto, A Treatise on Wood Engraving Historical and Practical. Second Edition (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1861), pp. 448-49. 35. 'Checklist of European Treatises on Art and Essays on Aesthetics Available in

America through 1815,' Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society 93 (1983): 95-195.

Academy imported plaster casts of statues as models for their students. Anderson had taken courses in anatomy and had access to illustrated books on anatomy. The skeleton from Albinus and the male anatomical figure included in the checklist (items 86 and 90) are two extant examples of his copies. As well, he mentioned repeatedly in the diary copying anatomical figures from plates.³⁶ In the future, his engraving would be distinguished by good drawing of the human body.

In addition to reading treatises relating to art techniques, Anderson learned from other engravers in New York. He was friendly with Cornelius Tiebout who had left for England in 1793 to study engraving; Anderson welcomed him back when he reached New York on August 16, 1796. Tiebout was one of the more accomplished copperplate engravers of the time in New York, and Anderson frequently saw his work, often commenting on it. On one occasion, he asked Tiebout for advice about how to make varnish for etching (June 12, 1793), and after he returned from abroad, Anderson surely would have questioned him on the intaglio techniques that he had learned.

He spoke of seeing Elkanah Tisdale, the designer and engraver, whose *Battle of Lexington* was engraved by Tiebout and for which Alexander, Cornelius' brother, sat as a model (January 30, 1797). He also met Benjamin Trott, the miniature and portrait painter, who visited Anderson (January 2, 10, 11, 1798). He knew John Scoles, the copperplate engraver, for whom Anderson made a bookbinder's stamp (July 1794) and various type-metal seals, as well as Archibald and Alexander Robertson, the two brothers who ran the Columbian Academy of Painting. He spoke of meeting John Roberts for the first time. After Anderson took up engraving as a full-time career, Roberts taught him drawing and copperplate engraving. He described him on October 25, 1796, as 'an ingenious young man lately from Scotland.—I went up into his room with him—his business is engraving, and he has made considerable

36. On at least sixteen different occasions, Anderson talked of drawing from anatomical plates.

proficiency in that art without any instructions.' It must have been consoling to meet someone else who was self-taught and yet whose work had reached an acceptable standard.

Part of Anderson's aesthetic education involved seeing others' works, and he wrote often about paintings and prints that he examined. William Winstanley's panorama of London, which he saw on April 22, 1795, impressed him as 'an entertainment new & highly delighting to me.' Three years later, Anderson went to the Tammany Museum and looked again at Winstanley's work (August 11, 1798).³⁷ On another occasion, he saw 'a fine painting' by the same artist at his parents' friend John Bailey's (December 19, 1795), and his panorama of Charleston on March 14, 1797. Perhaps it was the strong contrast of light and dark that would be apparent in Anderson's future wood engraving, and a romantic depiction of nature that attracted to him to Winstanley's paintings.

Anderson saw 'a collection of capital paintings' at a Mr. Rosetter's in William Street (July 6, 1796), and having 'borrowed Washington's head (by [Jeremiah] Paul) from Tiebout's' on January 11, 1799, he 'spent the best part of the day copying Washington in Indian ink' on the twelfth.³⁸ He went to Philadelphia in May 1796, visited Peale's Museum, as well as Edward Savage's Columbia Gallery, and an 'Exhibition of paintings and Sculpture (in High St.).'

One of his friends was Gardiner Baker, the ebullient keeper of the American or Tammany Museum that housed a hodge-podge of curiosities and also displayed and sold prints. Anderson visited the museum frequently. And he often saw prints at Richard Davis's house. He stated in a letter to Lossing, written in Anderson's old age, that the prints that had survived the wreck of his father's printing office and had been brought to Greenwich during the

^{37.} For information about Winstanley, see J. Hall Pleasants, 'Four Late Eighteenth-Century Anglo-American Landscape Painters,' *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian* Society 52 (1942): 301-24.

^{38.} This was probably the etching by Alexander Lawson of the painting by Paul after Gilbert Stuart's 'Athenaeum' likeness, not the painting itself. See Wendy C. Wick, *George Washington: An American Icon* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1982), pp. 132-33.

Revolution had 'determin'd my destiny.'³⁹ His love of printed images is apparent throughout the diary.

Another source for visual stimulation was illustrated books. For example, on June 12 of 1798 he sought out a copy of what may have been a copy of the *Nurenberg Chronicle*. He called at 'Dom. Kunzie's—my reason was this—I had been told that one of the first productions of printing was in his possession—the Dom. was not in. [Anderson returned the next day.] In the morning I went and obtain'd a view of the old book, and found it a great curiosity. It is a Chronicle, large folio, printed with wooden types and profusely decorated with wooden engravings.'⁴⁰

Samuel Latham Mitchill, a scientist and professor of natural history, agriculture, and chemistry at Columbia, befriended Anderson, who was one of his pupils. Mitchill was supervisor of his dissertation, and there are frequent references to him in the diary. In January of 1795 he showed Anderson a copy of Bernard de Montfaucon's 'Antiquities' (possibly the English translation of L'antiquité Expliquée et Representée en Figures [1719]) and asked him to draw a design from the book. It is shown in Lossing's Memorial, opposite page twenty-five, engraved by John Scoles. Another illustrated book that Anderson mentioned was a 'Dutch Book of Durell's, full of pictures' (May 28, 1794). And four years later, when he was more accustomed to engraving on boxwood, he borrowed 'a couple [of wood blocks] of Mr. Stanford, engraved by an Englishman' (April 23). The Reverend John Stanford, pastor of a Baptist church, was well known to Anderson, who had engraved type-metal cuts for his Christian's Pocket Library (item 65).

In a section in his 1791 notebook where he has made notes on relief engraving on wood, Anderson adds what appear to be his own aesthetic theories on engraving. In light of his mature work,

^{39.} AA Papers, Print Room, NYHS.

^{40.} John Christopher Kunze was professor of Oriental languages at Columbia College and minister of the Evangelical Lutheran Church. Born and educated in Germany, he could well have owned an early book with woodcuts. A portrait of him is in the NYHS (see *Catalogue of American Portraits in the New-York Historical Society*, 2 vols. [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974], 1: 432).

the note is of particular interest: 'This line \cap and the union of the two in manner $\frown \cup$ are absolutely necessary to render a piece of engraving pleasing, and where the drawing and engraving are executed on this principle the performance cannot fail to delight the eye.' The comment is reminiscent of Hogarth's Analysis of Beauty. In fact, Anderson records that on January 21, 1794, he borrowed a copy of 'Hogarth on Beauty.' Hogarth postulated an aesthetic principle relying on the curved line as a source of grace and beauty, of curved lines set against more rigid lines, thus giving greater expression to drawing. Whatever Anderson's source, it is the closely meshed, supple lines of his engravings that would in the future 'delight the eye.'

Hogarth obviously appealed to Anderson. He had seen his engravings when a child in Greenwich. As well as having read The Analysis of Beauty, he talked of taking 'Hogarth Illustrated' from the library (June 20, 1793), and five years later he read the same book at his father-in-law, Isaac Van Vleck's, house (October 12, 1798). This was probably John Ireland's two-volume work of the same name, published in London in 1790, containing a commentary on Hogarth's prints.41

But in these years by far the most important artistic contact Anderson made by way of books, or perhaps by any other means, was with Thomas Bewick's General History of Quadrupeds.42 The printer Samuel Loudon, for whom Anderson had already supplied type-metal cuts, told him that the book was for sale at Levi Wayland's (August 17, 1795): 'Mr. Loudon call'd on me. – inform'd me of a History of Quadrupeds with elegant wooden cuts by Bewick at Wayland's. I went to price and examine it, when Wayland desir'd me to take it along and let him know what I would engrave the

41. Hogarth was popular in America. See Joan Dolmetsch, 'Prints in Colonial America: Supply and Demand in the Mid-Eighteenth Century,' in Prints in and of America to 1850, ed. John D. Morse (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1971), pp. 53-74. In his autobiography, Anderson stated that along with other prints he had seen as a boy, 'Hogarth's Industrious and Idle Apprentice made a strong impression on my mind.' 42. A General History of Quadrupeds. The Figures Engraved on Wood by T. Bewick (Newcastle

upon Tyne, 1790). A second edition appeared in 1791, a third in 1792.

cuts for.' The next day Anderson gave him a price of two dollars (sixteen shillings) for each cut. Obviously, Wayland didn't agree, since nothing came of the venture. Anderson, whose prices were moderate, must have quickly understood the challenge of copying Bewick's engravings, for his price was far higher than he would have normally charged for images of this size. Three days later, he bought the book for twenty-eight shillings, on the condition that he would return it if Wayland decided to produce an edition in the future. There is no extant edition of the *Quadrupeds* published by Wayland, and it wouldn't be until 1804 that G. and R. Waite reprinted the text with illustrations engraved by Anderson after Bewick's designs.

If Anderson had been inspired by John Bewick's cuts for The Looking-Glass, enough to begin to use end-grain wood-and from March 1796, the only material he spoke of using for relief engraving was boxwood - Thomas Bewick's work was a far greater inspiration. With the Quadrupeds, he saw the possibilities of wood engraving, not as a craft, which is what it was at this time, but as an art. After he again began to engrave in July of 1797, having succumbed 'to the pleasures of the art,' he wrote on the twenty-ninth of that month, 'The beautifull [sic] specimens of Bewick's work have been the means of stimulating me to improve in the art of Engraving on wood.' He recorded three attempts from November 1797, to December of the next year to engrave the cuts for an edition of the Quadrupeds. They foundered on the poor printing of trial proofs, and more importantly, on the cost. Bewick's work was probably the strongest stimulation he received in his early years as an engraver, and its echo would continue throughout the years he practiced his craft.

A list of the books Anderson mentioned in the diary would make an interesting study, for he read constantly and in many disciplines. He borrowed books from friends and from libraries. The New York Society Library was open to him, thanks to Dr. Young, who took out a share so that Anderson could have access to medical books. And he used the reading room at Gardiner Baker's Tam-

many Museum. He also borrowed from circulating libraries operated by booksellers—those of John Reid, John Fellows, George Robertson, Alexander Gowan, and Hocquet Caritat were all noted. Anderson appeared eager to educate himself not only in art techniques and aesthetics, but more widely, as part of the equipment of a civilized man.⁴³

IV

CONCLUSION

The names and numbers of relief engravers in New York, either native, immigrant, or itinerant, remain unknown, primarily because the work was almost never signed. The newspapers contained illustrated advertisements of all sorts, and some blocks were also imported from English foundries. Elizabeth Reilly, in her Dictionary of Colonial American Printers' Ornaments and Illustrations,⁴⁴ discusses the few signed relief cuts that appeared in Boston and Philadelphia imprints before 1776. In reviewing New York publications of the 1790s, apart from Anderson's, I have found only one signed relief engraving, the signature 'Martin Sc' in The Christian's Pocket Library, published in 1796. From evidence given in Anderson's diary, Anderson seemed to have no serious competition in relief engraving. The illustrations I have seen in New York imprints, from the time Anderson began to be influenced by John or Thomas Bewick, almost without exception can be traced to him.

Anderson's relief work, as shown in the checklist, is not much better than other relief engraving of the time, although printers must have thought so because of the volume of blocks he supplied to the book trade. His efforts are sometimes clumsier than cuts produced before the Revolution, when there was more communi-

^{43.} See Thomas Bender, New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time (1987; reprinted, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, [1988]), pp. 31-32, 33. Elihu Smith is discussed, but the comments could apply to Anderson, as revealed in his diary.

^{44. (}Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1975), pp. xv-xxvi.

cation with Europe. But the amount of work he produced developed and honed his talent. Apart from illustrations for books and broadsides, the diary records engravings for quadrants, compass plates, buttons, silver, a copper bird on a steeple, a dog collar. an umbrella, lead pipes, playing cards, a stamp for cake soap, bookbinder's stamps, etc. The checklist does not include these items because they cannot be found or identified. The total of extant publications, however, is large, which is surprising, given the amount of time he spent on his medical studies and practice. Judging from his most proficient relief cuts, he was ready to develop his skill in engraving on wood, his preferred material. 'I intended to confine myself to wood engraving-but C. Tiebout wishes me to undertake a map [a copperplate] and I cannot resist the offer,' Anderson wrote on December 7, 1798. The improvement in his work in the first years of the nineteenth century is nothing short of startling. His autobiography says that he spent the months after returning from seeing his uncle in St. Vincent in improving his art, 'I applied myself closely, rather too closely to the arts and lost no time in amusements except some rambles out of town and even then I was attempting sketches.' What is even more remarkable is to find that he began the accomplished boxwood engravings for the 1804 Quadrupeds in 1801.45 There is no evidence that he again practiced medicine, except occasionally for charitable reasons.46

The relatively small amount of work Anderson did during the diary years earned him an unexpectedly high income. The £51 he received from engraving the many small type-metal cuts for the *Hieroglyphical Bible* in 1795 must have gone a long way to convince

45. With an offering of the 1804 Quadrupeds, item 21 in Goodspeed's American Engraving. A Collection of Books and Almanacs Formed to Illustrate the Art of Engraving in America. Catalogue 64 (1909), is a quotation from an inserted letter, Alexander Anderson to John Babcock, February 16, 1802. Anderson excuses himself for being late in finishing work for Babcock and notes that he was being pushed to complete the cuts for the Quadrupeds, 'which I began a year ago.' In his autobiography, Anderson dates the beginning of the work from 1802.

46. Henry Bullen observed, '[Anderson] was generous, especially to the ailing poor who received treatments without charge long after he had ceased to practice medicine for fees' (microfilm at Archives of American Art, from the *Inland Printer* 70 [1921]: 657).

him that he could live on income from relief engraving. As well, he had the more remunerative intaglio work to fall back on, whatever his preference for boxwood. It has already been noted that his income from engraving, £114 gross in 1795, the largest total for a year, was less than six months' income in 1796 from practicing medicine. Yet he was not engraving full time. Doubtless, he would have done better financially had he continued to practice as a physician. However, during the six and one-half years covered by the diary, he had been employed by some forty different printers / publishers / booksellers not only in the city, but in Hartford, Charleston, New Jersey, and upstate New York. By 1799, he was producing in the odd cut, such as the fox in *The Christian's Pocket Library*, and the tour de force of the wood engraving of the skeleton from Albinus, better relief work than had yet been done in America.

It has been suggested that Anderson turned to engraving because, depressed by the death of his family, he had little courage left for a more demanding pursuit. He seemed to enjoy medicine because it satisfied his curiosity; he was ingenious, inquisitive, and he liked to know how things worked—a help at a time when there was almost no instruction in art techniques. He appeared to feel too intensely the weight of a medical practice. Despite his conscientious and intelligent efforts, no care that he provided could prevent his family's death, he was ineffectual. He himself probably said it best in his autobiography: 'I soon discovered that the practice was a different thing from the study of physic. The responsibility appeared too great for the state of my mind.' His diary proves his reluctance to accept the frequently offered medical positions and his determination, against fairly heavy odds, to continue engraving.

For whatever reason — and the events of these years seem to point to the cause — Anderson's work in the future reflected not only the taste of his era but his personal history. His wood engravings are sometimes thought of as guileless and charming, or quaint, or their intention a didactic depiction of the ideal of purity and inno-

cence. One suspects that the sinless faces occasionally were tonguein-cheek portrayals, or that their sanctity was exaggerated, as Hogarth's industrious apprentice's face is unblemished in order to portray a principle. His humor would be displayed in gently amused engravings, or more bitingly, in satirical or grotesque designs.⁴⁷ His many engravings of a youth or boy abandoned beside the sea surely echoed the sense of isolation he had experienced while still a young man. Even by the end of the diary he had lived through too much to be naive. His future work often can be seen as a wistful desire for a simplicity and joy that had been threatened and would continue to be compromised.

More years were needed before Anderson could manage his bold, sure, large wood engravings, the *Return from the Boar Hunt*, after Ridinger, and *Water Fowl*, after Teniers, not to speak of his illustrations for both adult and juvenile publications.⁴⁸ William J. Linton, the English wood engraver who was not lavish with compliments, remarked, 'Even in Anderson's rudest work every line is the line of an artist, a line with meaning,'⁴⁹ and, 'Two American wood-engravers, Anderson and [Joseph Alexander] Adams, claim place beside the masters of our art, and may not have their claims gainsaid.'⁵⁰

Anderson continued to engrave and sell his work until he was over ninety, his career coinciding with the most vigorous period in American wood engraving. The quality of his output set a standard for those he taught and who were his contemporaries. It is fortunate that the first American wood engraver was also one of the most accomplished and a master of the art.

^{47.} In his autobiography, talking of his boyhood, Anderson wrote, 'The grotesque vignettes in old editions of books done when the artist had not the fear of criticism before his eyes had charms for me, and I am not ashamed to say that something of that taste still remains with me.'

^{48.} Return from the Boar Hunt is reproduced as the frontispiece in Linton, History of Wood Engraving.

^{49.} Ibid., p. 31.

^{50.} William J. Linton, The Masters of Wood Engraving (London: B. F. Stevens, 1889), p. 196.

EXPLANATION OF ENGRAVING TECHNIQUES

It may be helpful to give a brief explanation to clarify the terms intaglio and relief engraving, as well as the methods pertaining to each. These were the engraving processes that Anderson practiced throughout his life.

Copperplate, a type of *intaglio engraving*, is executed on a carefully scoured, smooth, thin sheet of copper. Lines are incised in the surface by means of a graver or burin. In etching, another intaglio method, the plate is covered with a 'ground,' a substance that coats the plate. Lines are drawn through this to the surface of the metal. The plate is then placed in an acid bath. Where the acid comes in contact with the copper, the surface is eaten away, making grooves where the lines were drawn by the artist through the ground. To print from a copperplate, a stiff ink is rubbed into the grooves and the excess carefully wiped away. The plate is then put through a rolling press and an impression made on dampened paper, which is forced by the high pressure into the lines to pick up the ink lying below the surface. The process is time-consuming, both in execution and printing.

Relief engraving is accomplished in the reverse, that is, the lines that stand higher than the surface receive the ink. Relief engravings and metal type for letters are printed by the same press.

The grain in *woodcut* blocks runs the same way as the grain in floor boards, a slice taken parallel to the vertical trunk of a tree. Special knives remove, with slanting cuts, the material beside the lines of the drawing; what is taken away, being below the surface, will not be inked, and thus will show white in the print. Cutting across the grain for curved lines, the relative softness of the wood used, and the difficulty of making shaded tones are some of the limitations to the method, both in cutting and printing. Also, the image is defined negatively, that is, cuts are made around the drawing, resulting in an indirect translation from the artist's hand to the design. Northern European woodcuts of the fifteenth to the seventeenth century are representative of the above *black-line technique*.

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Thomas Bewick and his school changed the process, using end-grain boxwood, with a slice taken across the grain, the way a wheel might be cut from the stump of a felled tree. It is on this surface, smoothed and polished, that a wood engraving was produced. End-grain box, an extremely dense, hard, and almost grainless material that is enormously durable, had been used before

Bewick's time, but generally for more utilitarian purposes. The art had fallen out of favor, as copperplate engraving became more popular. Wood and copperplate engravers use the same tool, the graver, although there are differences in the length of the handle and the shape of the cutting edges. In the *white-line* technique developed by Bewick, the outlines of objects appear more as a result of the juxtaposition of white to black than by the older method of free-standing black lines. The advantages are not only increased speed in completing a block and far greater durability but also an increased depth, subtlety, and impact produced by glowing blacks and whites. Because the artist draws with his graver, his impulse is transmitted more immediately. Of course, a mixture of free-standing lines and shapes determined mainly by contrasting masses of white and black is present in engravings using the white-line technique.

Because the blocks are the same height as type metal, wood engravings can be put through the press along with type, an important advantage in cost and speed over intaglio work, not to mention the saving of time in preparing the image. Also, with proper care, wood blocks are far more resilient than copperplates, which show wear after relatively few passes through the press. Before he introduced end-grain boxwood for relief engravings to America, Anderson and other engravers used type metal.

Type-metal blocks had the disadvantage of throwing up burrs of metal along the lines made by the graver, tending to create a scratchy or fuzzy impression when printed. The block also showed wear as quickly as type. Copperplate engraving was attractive, luxurious in appearance, but expensive. Engraving on end-grain boxwood was a more economical process and could supply the growing demand for illustrated publications with a product that was unusually durable as a printing surface. In America, the first documented end-grain boxwood engravings appeared in William Durell's 1795 edition of Arnaud Berquin's *Looking-Glass for the Mind*, engraved by Anderson.
CHECKLIST (1792-99)

This checklist was created by examining the American imprints of the last decade of the eighteenth century located in the Rare Book Division of the Library of Congress, as well as many located at the American Antiquarian Society, the Free Library of Philadelphia, and the Library Company of Philadelphia. The Readex-Microprint Early American Imprints series was also used. Charles Evans's, American Bibliography, Clifford Shipton and James Mooney's National Index of American Imprints Through 1800: The Short-Title Evans, and Roger Bristol's Supplement to Charles Evans' American Bibliography were essential sources. An additional resource was the cataloguing data generated by the North American Imprints Program, (NAIP), available through the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN).

Only two, or possibly three, relief engravings signed by Anderson from this period have been found (see items 1, 43, 57), and his diary is the only source for attributing more engravings to him. Having searched through the majority of illustrated books of the 1790s, I have gained the impression that he produced almost all the relief cuts that appeared in New York, at least in books, for the years covered by the diary. And he was very probably the only engraver producing wood engravings on end-grain wood.

Before Anderson began to be influenced by the Bewick school, he usually shaded his relief cuts, making an effort at depth and realistic rendering of mass with finer lines. Although his work varied greatly in quality and style during the six and one-half years of the diary, as it would throughout his career, the illustrations that show simple outlines of shapes have not been considered his unless there is clear proof of his hand. It is possible that he cut them, yet style must be a consideration in claiming him as the engraver. The expressions on the faces he depicted slowly became characteristic of him: affectionate boys or brothers as subjects; an unpretentious, amused, and kindly treatment of children; and in the early diary years, flaccid upper bodies and diminished legs of human figures.

Both Lossing and Linton refer to books that they stated were engraved by Anderson during the 1790s.⁵¹ However, their statements are in error. Although Anderson and John Harrisson discussed illustrations for a 'book of fables' in February 1794, the diary does not record that they

51. Lossing, Memorial, p. 35; Linton, History of Wood Engraving, p. 5.

were ever executed, nor is there an extant publication of this description. Likewise, there is no mention in the diary of blocks for a 'Dilworth's Spelling Book' (a *New Guide to the English Tongue?*) for a publisher named Wood. Samuel Campbell asked Anderson his price for cuts for a Dilworth's 'Spelling Book,' in 1794, but again there is no account of their completion. And the work for a primer for Philip Freneau was finished but apparently never used; the blocks might finally have been sold to John Babcock (see item 43).

Seventeen scrapbooks of Anderson's proofs are in the New York Public Library Print Room, containing some ten thousand impressions. Almost all are relief work. As well, there are portfolios containing both intaglio and relief engravings. Although several very early cuts can be found among the proofs, possibly from the diary era, I have not been able to locate them in any publication. Envelopes and two scrapbooks in the New-York Historical Society Print Room contain later engravings. Examples of ephemeral engraving have not been included in the checklist because so few items can be found,⁵² although some type-metal cuts to accompany newspaper advertisements can be identified.

Although their 1792 publication date precedes the diary, items either signed by Anderson or attributed to him will be included at the beginning of the checklist.

EXPLANATION OF TERMS USED IN THE CHECKLIST

- -The location of the copy that was examined is mentioned after the reference number(s) to the imprint and is followed by the standard library abbreviation for the location of the original copy. Copies examined only on Microprint are indicated by Readex numbers, which are also followed by the abbreviation for the library that holds the original copy.
- -A question mark before a title with Anderson's initials, (A.A?), shows that the attribution is likely but uncertain because of insufficient proof.
- -Unlocated works mentioned in the diary are indicated by quotation marks around the description or designation as given by Anderson; the pertinent diary entry is placed in parentheses after the entry.
- -No attempt is made to reproduce the typography of the titles; capitalization is regularized according to modern usage.
- -When the dimensions of an engraving are noted, the height is given first.

52. A group of early tickets of admission to medical lectures at Columbia College and tobacco stamps engraved during the diary years are in the Print Room, NYHS.

-The entries are arranged according to the publication date when available, not necessarily by the date when the work was completed.

-A dash at the beginning of an entry signals a repetition of the information in the preceding essay up to the end of the dash.

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SYMBOLS OF LOCATIONS

CHi	Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.
CSmH	Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.
CtY	Yale University, New Haven, Conn.
DLC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

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MH	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
MWA	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
NHi	New-York Historical Society, New York, N.Y.
NjHi	New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, N.J.
NjP	Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.
NN	New York Public Library, New York, N.Y.
NNAB	American Bible Society, New York, N.Y.
NNC	Columbia University, New York, N.Y.
NNNAM	New York Academy of Medicine, New York, N.Y.
OC	Public Library of Cincinnati and Hamilton County
	Cincinnati, Ohio.
OChRHi	Ross County Historical Society, Chillicothe, Ohio.
Pomeroy	Author's collection.
PP	Free Library of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPL	Library Company of Philadelphia, Philadelphia, Pa.
PPPM	Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, Pa.
RPJCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

1792

I Dilworth, Thomas. *The Schoolmasters Assistant*. New-York: Printed and sold by William Durell, M, DCC, XCII.

xvi, [6], 114 (i.e., 214) pp., irreg. Evans 46431. Pomeroy.

Frontispiece, inscribed in the block below the portrait, 'Thos. Dilworth / School Master,' signed *Anderson F.*, 5¹/4" x 3¹/8," rectangle. Relief engraving.

It is almost certainly a type-metal cut. The portrait appears as the frontispiece in items 10, 11, 70, and 81.

2 Josephus, Flavius. The Whole Genuine and Complete Works of Flavius Josephus . . . by George Henry Maynard, LL.D. . . . Embellished with Upwards of Sixty Beautiful Engravings, Taken from Original Drawings of Messrs. Metz, Stothard, and Corbould, Members of the Royal Academy, and Engraved by American Artists. New York: Printed and Sold by William Durell, M, DCC, XCII.

721, [5] pp., irreg. Evans 24437, Hamilton 207. MWA.

Seven copperplates (short title, dimensions do not include the title engraved in the plate outside the image): *Map of the Countries Surround*ing the Garden of Eden, 11¹/4" x 6¹¹/16"; *Map of the Holy Land*, 11¹/16" x

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 $6^{13}/16''$; The Assassination of Amnon, $10^{13}/16''$ x $6^{9}/16''$; Solomon's Temple, $6^{11}/16''$ x $10^{15}/16''$; Plan of Jerusalem, $13^{9}/16''$ x $16^{12}/2''$; Massacre of the Jews at Damascus, $9^{15}/16''$ x $6^{15}/16''$; and Josephus in a Cave, $9^{13}/16''$ x $6^{15}/16$." All are signed by Anderson.

There are sixty copperplates contained in the book, copied from those of the London edition of 1789. Anderson worked on five of the plates from January 1793 to early in the next year. The book was issued in sixty parts over a two-year period, each with at least one engraving. Anderson was one of the seven engravers who signed their plates. He named four plates as he was working on them: the Plan of Jerusalem, Solomon's Temple, Massacre of the Jews at Damascus, and the Assassination of Amnon. One other, unnamed, was the last to be completed. The Map of the Countries Surrounding the Garden of Eden and the Map of the Holy Land come at pages 8 and 67, respectively, and the binder's instructions place them at these pages, which suggests that Anderson probably engraved these in 1792, just after turning seventeen; the first part was issued in June of that year. The year before, in May 1791, Durell advertised his intention to publish the Josephus. (See Readex 23340 for his announcement.) It is unlikely that Anderson worked on the plates in 1791, since Durell seemed to ask for illustrations just before the parts appeared. The unnamed plate finished in January of 1794 would then have been Josephus in a Cave.

From January 12 to March 12, 1793, when the Plan of Jerusalem was finished ('to my great joy'), Anderson talked of engraving the plate on four separate occasions. Durell was 'very well pleased with it.' On March 19, he paid Anderson £4; from a confused accounting, the total due seems to have been £10. On the same day, Durell asked Anderson to engrave the Solomon's Temple, £4 being the agreed-upon price. A few days later, Anderson spent 'most of the evening taking off the impression from Durell's cut on the copperplate,' transferring possibly the original illustration in the English edition. An almost identical plate had appeared in Brown's Self-Interpreting Bible in 1792, engraved by William Rollinson; it may have been the latter that Anderson used as a source for the design. When the work was completed on April 20, Anderson reported that Durell was 'well satisfied with it.' Anderson's profit on the plate was £3 4s. 3d.; he paid 5s. for the sheet of copper and 10s. 9d. for polishing and 'planishing.' When he asked for a full settlement outstanding for past work, Durell apologized, but said he was unable to pay, at the same time contracting with Anderson to engrave 'one of the Fancy-pieces for Josephus (representing the Massacre of the Jews at Damascus).' On May 3, this third plate was finished, and Anderson noted that Durell 'gave me another to do, but mention'd nothing about the price.' This last must

have been *Josephus in a Cave*. In all, Anderson earned £16 16s. from Durell, paid in cash, during 1793. He was still dunning him for payment in February of the next year. As I have noted earlier, Durell paid Anderson partly in kind.

It is impossible to know how long it took Anderson to engrave a plate, because he is not specific about the number of hours spent on each. He described etching at least one, the *Massacre of the Jews at Damascus*; the two early maps, finished before the beginning of the diary, and possibly the *Solomon's Temple*, do not seem to be etched. The headpiece of the patriotic eagle with garlands placed at the beginning of each chapter may have been Anderson's work; the cut is not mentioned in the diary, since it would have been needed by 1792. See also items 25, 44, 45, 56, 91, and 92.

3 MacGowan, John. *The Life of Joseph, the Son of Israel*. Sagg Harbor: Printed and Sold by David Frothingham, [1792].

258 pp. Evans 46493, Welch 810.5, Hamilton 207a. NjP, Hamilton Collection.

Copperplate frontispiece, engraved (and etched?), signed A. Anderson Sculp, 6¹/₁₆" x 3⁹/₁₆." Joseph being sold by his brothers.

Douglas McMurtrie at item 3 in his *Checklist of the Imprints of Sag Harbor*, claims that this work was printed before May 3, 1792. On March 29, 1793, Anderson received 12s. through Louis Jones, a New York printer, as part of the money owed by Frothingham. Whether it was for this book or some other work is unknown. An 1805 edition (Trenton: Printed by James Oram) contains the same frontispiece.

4 Webster, Noah. The American Spelling-Book.... The Fourteenth Edition. New-York: Printed for, and Sold by, Samuel Campbell, M, DCC, XCII.

144 pp. Evans 25000, Skeel and Carpenter 28. MWA (pp. 25–38 lacking). Rectangular frontispiece, relief engraving, 5⁵/₈" x 3⁵/₈."

William Baker, in his *Engraved Portraits of Washington* (p. 18), credits Anderson with the frontispiece portrait of George Washington, and Evert A. Duyckinck includes the book in his *Brief Catalogue* (pp. 27–28). The cut is probably on type metal. 'General Washington' is engraved in the block on a scroll below the portrait.

This is an example of a simple, white-line relief engraving without subtlety. The right side of the head, which appears against a shaded

background, is set off by a coarse white line. Anderson's 1792 *Schoolmasters Assistant* frontispiece is naive work (item 1), but the lines are more flowing and assured, and the cut better engraved than this portrait. Both appeared in 1792, and it is evident that Anderson made progress during that year, or that the Washington was not his, or that it was engraved earlier. Skeel and Carpenter (pp. 12, 16, and 19) indicate that Samuel Campbell published a ninth and, a year later, in 1789, a twelfth Webster's, no longer extant. Anderson's portrait may have been included in one of these earlier editions, although it seems early for him to have done the work.

1793

5 American Museum, New York. *The King of the Vultures*. ... *November*, 25, 1793 [New York]. Broadside.

Evans 25908. NHi.

Depictions of a vulture, orangutan, and an East Indian porcupine at the top of the sheet. Unsigned. Type-metal relief engraving filling a space approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ " x 8." Fig. 5.

On November 15, Anderson was 'engag'd to engrave a cut for Mr. Baker to put at the head of his Museum Catalogue.' The next day he wrote, 'In the after-noon, went to the Museum and drew sketches of the Orang-outang, the Porcupine and King of the Vultures, for the top of a hand-bill.' New York's first museum was initially housed in the City Hall on Wall Street. By 1793, Baker, a 'snub-nosed, pock-pitted, bandylegged, fussy, goodnatured little body, full of zeal and bustle in his vocation,' had moved into the bottom floor of the Exchange on Broad Street.⁵³ The list of his acquisitions, advertised in the New York newspapers, seems infinite. Anderson was clearly fond of him, visited the museum frequently, used the library, and viewed the prints.

Six days after he had started, Anderson had finished the type-metal engraving, whose block he had cast with difficulty, no doubt because of its size. 'Fix'd it on wood,' he wrote, adding, 'Stopp'd at G. Youle's and got a little solder'd on.' (Youle was a plumber and pewterer on Water Street; Anderson often bought type metal from him.) At noon on the same day, he received 16s. for the work from Baker. According to the

^{53.} William A. Duer, *Reminiscences of an Old New Yorker* (New York: For W. L. Andrews, 1867), p. 9. For information on Baker, see Robert M. McClung and Gale S. McClung, 'Tammany's Remarkable Gardiner Baker,' *New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 42 (1958): 142–69.

date on the broadside, it appeared four days later. The text claims that the porcupine and the king of the vultures were living animals, and that the 'male and female Ourang Outang; or, the man and woman of the woods, with a Foetus of the same' were 'perfect in spirits, in a fine state of preservation.'

6 'Aristotle's Masterpiece' (diary, December 19). Unlocated.

Three or four type-metal cuts were finished on December 26 for Burchem-Birdsall's 'Aristotle's Masterpiece.'⁵⁴ The illustrations for all the books of this title that were examined for the years 1793 and 1794 are unusually crude; the only exception is 'the form of a child in the womb,' a cut that was often better engraved. This work was considered a rather scandalous publication, hence editions frequently were issued anonymously. Most of the cuts show malformations of children, imaginary or real. According to Otho Beall in his article, 'Aristotle's Master Piece in America' (p. 208), the book 'provided the only work on sex and gynecology . . . which [was] widely available to eighteenth-century Americans.'

7 'Ballads' (diary, May 29). Unlocated.

Anderson engraved nine type-metal cuts for John Harrisson at 3s. each, 'to ornament the [little or title?] Pages of Ballads.' The work was finished on June 5.

8 Bunyan, John. *The Visions of John Bunyan*. New-York: Printed by John Harrisson, for Benjamin Gomez, 1793.

144 pp. Evans 46706, Hamilton 147. NjP, Hamilton Collection.

Type-metal engraving, rectangle, $2'' \ge 2^{1/2}$." Note: The MWA copy lacks the frontispiece.

In September, Anderson engraved a type-metal cut for Harrisson, for

54. From the beginning of the diary until August 1794, Anderson used 'Burchem' or 'N. Burchem' for a printer who seemed to be Nathaniel Birdsall. The work he was doing for Burchem he also mentioned as being Birdsall's work (June 12, 13, 1794). It was Burchem who told Anderson on July 12, 1794, that he regretted having married; Birdsall's marriage is recorded in the New York *Weekly Museum*, July 5, 1794. 'N. B.' asked Anderson to engrave an 'obscene device' for a pamphlet he was printing; Anderson planned an engraving that would be a 'satire on his book, if the Genius of Hogarth will lend me his aid' (September 6, 1797). On January 1, 1799, 'N. B. —, an old employer of mine' called on him for treatment, wanting 'relief,' probably from what Anderson usually called 'a certain disease,' venereal disease. Birdsall told him that he had lived in the South for some time, had been kept by 'some old hag,' and that his wife had left him. He was not mentioned again in the diary, and did not appear in the New York city directories after 1796.

which he was paid 5 s. on the fourteenth of that month. The cut depicts the ascension of Christ from the sepulcher, with a centurion on each side. Although the illustration is stilted in expression and the drawing not proficient, the figures are animated and there is depth indicated by shading. A decorative band of type ornaments is placed on the top and bottom of the frontispiece, which is the only cut in the book. The work is reminiscent of Anderson's work for Hugh Gaine's edition of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in 1794 (item 18).

9 Cook, James. Captain Cook's Third and Last Voyage. ... Faithfully Abridged from the Quarto Edition. New-York: Printed for Benjamin Gomez, 1793.

144 pp. Unrecorded. Photograph from RPJCB.

Frontispiece, 2⁷/16" x 4." Type-metal relief engraving. It is placed on the recto of the first leaf, with advertisements for Gomez on the verso, facing the title page. The cut shows four black savages with spears, a black king with a headdress seated under a palm, a boat in the background, and five Europeans—one of them with an arm extended, presumably Captain Cook.

On October 29, Anderson called on Benjamin Gomez 'for whom I engag'd to make a type metal plate at 10 / -I am to make a draught of it—(some scene in Cook's Voyages).' The following day he had worked out the design and started the engraving; three days later he was finished and had received 10s. Anderson was paid a little over a shilling per square inch. See also items 39 and 59.

- 10 (a) Dilworth, Thomas. *The Schoolmasters Assistant*. New-York: Printed and Sold by John Buel, M, DCC, XCIII.
- xvi, [6], 114 (i.e., 214) pp., irreg. Evans 46733. Readex NHi.

(b) — . New York: Printed and Sold by John Buel, M, DCC, XCIII.

xvi, [6], 192 pp. Evans 25400. DLC.

This portrait of Dilworth appears as a signed frontispiece in items 1, 11, 70, and 81.

1 I Dilworth, Thomas. *The Schoolmasters Assistant*. New-York: Printed for T. Allen, M, DCC, XCIII.

xvi, [6], 192 pp. Evans 25401. MWA.

This portrait of Dilworth appears as a signed frontispiece in items 1, 10, 70, and 81.

12 'Dilworth's Spelling Book' (diary, October 19). Unlocated.

Anderson agreed to engrave thirteen illustrations for this book for [Isaac] Neal[e], 'a printer from Jersey,' for £4 25.

The cuts may have been for Dilworth's A New Guide to the English Tongue, a speller and grammar with fables that were often illustrated.

13 Geometrical figures (diary, June 27). Unlocated.

These one hundred-odd blocks represented Anderson's first large-scale work on boxwood. He received 1s. for each. Campbell paid for the wood and Anderson finished in September. He had to deepen the lines in the wood when the blocks were already locked in the press, perhaps showing his inexperience in cutting on wood.

In 1793 Campbell published John Love's *Geodaesia* (Evans 25731), having advertised the book as 'just published' in the New York *Daily Advertiser* on July 8, thus, too early for the cuts to have been Anderson's.

14 'Gullivers Travels' (diary, August 1). Unlocated.

On September 27, Anderson finished an indeterminate number of typemetal cuts for John Buel for this title.⁵⁵ Anderson was to receive 38. for each block; although he asked Buel repeatedly for payment, there was no record that the bill was settled. An incomplete copy of *The Adventures of Captain Gulliver* (Evans 26239), dated [1793], is at the MWA. It contains a frontispiece and two smaller cuts. Because it was printed and sold by William Durell, and does not appear to be Anderson's style, it has not been considered his work.

15 (A.A.?) Laugh and be Fat; or, the Wit's Merry Medley. New-York: Printed and Sold by John Harrisson, 1793.

143 pp. Evans 46805. MWA.

55. John Buel was married to Anderson's first cousin, Catharine, who appeared frequently in the diary. A notice of their marriage on 'Sunday last' appeared on March 3, 1798, in the New York *Weekly Museum*. Anderson called his 'Cousin Katy' Mrs. Buel for the first time in his diary on July 12, 1798. She was the daughter of 'Aunt Carpender,' wife of George. They lived in Brooklyn, and Anderson visited them regularly. His aunt may have been Ruth Lockwood, Anderson's maternal aunt (see Frederic A. Holden and E. Dunbar Lockwood, comps., *Colonial and Revolutionary History of the Lockwood Family in America* [Philadelphia: Printed privately by the family, 1889]).

On August 16, Anderson agreed to do a type-metal cut for John Harrisson. He had been engraving a copperplate and some small blocks for Harrisson, for which he had already been paid in full. Four days later, having cast the 'plate' himself, he took the finished cut to Harrisson and received the agreed-upon 8s. Eleven days later, N. Burchem wanted Anderson to 'engrave such a fatman as I did for Harrisson, by Monday morning.' A laughing, fat figure is depicted wearing a three-corner hat, holding a glass in his right hand, his feet planted apart. A type border is placed above and below the engraving. No fat man published by Burchem-Birdsall can be found. See footnote 54 for a note on Birdsall and Burchem.

1794

16 Bible, abridged. An Abridgement of the History of the Holy Bible. Adorned with Cuts. New-York: Printed by H. Gaine, 1794.

30, [1] pp. Evans 46984, Welch 1.2. NN (title page and pp. 5–6 lacking), MWA (p. 31 lacking).

Nine rectangular, type-metal engravings, approximately 11/4" x 13/4."

On November 1, 1793, Anderson had noted, 'This morning I went to Mr. Gaine's and undertook to engrave 10 cuts for a little history of the Bible.' On January 7, two months later, he delivered at least nine typemetal blocks (the count is not clear), receiving 30s. on January 20. Both the MWA and NN copies have nine engravings. The payment is about 1.37s. per square inch for the ten, or just under 3s. per block. Although immature in comparison to his future engravings, the work is almost certainly Anderson's.

After he was paid, Anderson called at Durell's to get 'a little History of the Bible, which I was to procure for H. Gaine to print after, but finding that it would be to the detriment of the former [Durell] I left it' (January 24). Gaine must have wanted to copy the text and sent Anderson to get it for him. In 1790 Durell had published an illustrated children's Bible, *The Holy Bible Abridged* (Readex 45826), and again in 1792 (Readex 46386). It may have been one of these editions that Gaine was asking Anderson to bring to him. The texts and the illustrations are not the same as those in this entry, nor are the cuts similar to any abridged children's version that I have found.

17 Bookplate for the New-York Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety.

Hamilton 1398. NjP, Hamilton Collection.

Copperplate, line engraving, 2¹¹/16" x 3⁷/8," oval, signed Anderson S. Pasted to the front flyleaf of C. H.V. Bogatzky, A Golden Treasury, for the Children of God (New York, 1797). Fig. 4a.

The engraving was commissioned by the Reverend John Bissett, who preached at Trinity Church, where the Andersons worshipped, and who knew the family socially. On June 21, Anderson wrote, 'I drew a design according to Mr. Bissett's directions, for the "Society for promoting Christian Knowledge & Piety." ... Afternoon—I call'd upon Mr. Bissett with the drawing—brought it back to make an alteration—but thought it better to draw another—engag'd to engrave it for 4 Dollars.' Bissett seems to have been pleased with the result, as Anderson noted: 'Morning—put my name to the Copperplate & touch'd it up. ... Mr. Bissett came for the Copperplate, urg'd me to fix a higher price on it' (July 14). The engraving is a frank, charming little scene. For the relief engraving of the same design, see item 38 and fig. 4b.

18 (a) Bunyan, John. *The Pilgrim's Progress*. New-York: Printed by H. Gaine, M,DCC,XCIV.

396 pp. Evans 46994, Hamilton 209. Pomeroy (frontispiece lacking, photocopy supplied from NjP copy, Hamilton Collection).

(b) — . New-York: Printed for Benjamin Gomez, M,DCC, XCIV.

396 pp. Evans 26718. NN.

The book contains twenty-two rectangular engravings on type metal, approximately 4¹/s" x 2¹/2." Except for the imprint, and variations in pagination, copies a and b are the same.

It appears that there was another issue of this book. R.W.G. Vail, in a note in the NN copy, mentions a copy that lacked a title page and text at the beginning and end, had differences in pagination, and belonged in 1930 to the Rosenbach Company. See also Hamilton 209.

On February 22, Anderson agreed with Hugh Gaine to do the cuts for the book, at 6s. each, Gaine supplying the type metal. George Youle cast the blocks at 9d. each, with Gaine reimbursing Anderson. He began the work on March 27, having to wait for Gaine to send the metal, and worked quickly. He notes on April 2, 'This morning finish'd the 2d cut.' At 11 o'clock he went to college for a lecture that he found would not be given, and: 'at noon finish'd the 3d cut—before dark began another.' He completed the work on May 26. While working at the blocks, Anderson finished one a day. On April 5, more than one was completed in a morning. None is signed. May 26: 'This morning I finish'd the 22d and last cut & deliver'd them to H. Gaine with the Acct. £6.12.' About two weeks later, Gaine paid the bill in full.

It was not until the next month, June, that Anderson started on Durell's edition of *The Looking-Glass for the Mind* and the copies of John Bewick's engravings: it is after this date that the Bewick influence can be seen in Anderson's relief engraving. The illustrations for *The Pilgrim's Progress* show the swirling clouds typical of Anderson, and other American and English, engravings of this era. There is no indication of white-line engraving.

19 Cressin (diary, October 31). Unlocated.

'Went with [Louis Jones] to Fowler's Tavern where we saw Mr. Cressin & receiv'd directions for a cut which I engag'd to do for 8/. It represents one of the attitudes of his dancing monkeys.'

Through Louis Jones, the printer, Anderson began a large series of type-metal cuts for Mr. Cressin, a Frenchman. By March 31 of the next year, he had engraved approximately twenty-eight blocks, some of them large, and earned £8 4s. It seems that Cressin had a traveling monkey show. Large cuts on two broadsides advertising Cressin's shows have survived: 'Exhibitions, Comic and Experimental' [Providence, 1796], (Readex 30298), and 'Innocent Amusement' [Newburyport, 1796], (Evans 30299), the latter seen in the NN. It is not possible to say whether they are Anderson's work; the Providence broadside, particularly, is coarse and poorly drawn. Evert A. Duyckinck commented that he had found among Anderson's effects after his death, 'numerous designs and cuts of exhibiting monkeys for one Cressin, a Frenchman.'56 It suggests that Cressin did not necessarily travel with the blocks and have them printed at each town where he gave a show. Louis Jones spoke French well enough to translate for Cressin when dealing with Anderson. Jones was thought to be publisher in 1793 of a French newspaper, Le Bulletin, although no known copy survives (Brigham, 1: 612-13). Anderson had

56. Microfilm at Archives of American Art, 'Alexander Anderson,' roll No.

engraved a coat of arms of the French republic for Jones in September 1793, possibly for this paper.

20 Dilworth, Thomas (diary, August 19). Unlocated.

'Mr. Reid (Bookseller) came to get 2 cuts of Dilworth done—I agreed for 12/ each.'

On August 27, Anderson finished the cuts, which, by the price, would seem to have been fairly large. He was paid 24s.

21 'Dilworth's Spelling-Book' (diary, January 13). Unlocated.

'I call'd at Mr. Sword's [sic. Printers / publishers / booksellers, Thomas and James Swords] and engag'd to do the Cuts for Dilworth's Spelling-Book for £4. 4.,' Anderson noted on the above date. Two days later he cast fifteen plates for the book, and on February 5 said that he had 'finish'd the 13th and last of Swords's Cuts.' It was probably for Thomas Dilworth's *A New Guide to the English Tongue*.

22 (A.A?) 'Female Policy detected' (diary, August 27, 1793).

'L. Jones sent for me, wanted me to design a Frontispiece for *Female Policy Detected*,' Anderson wrote. 'At noon took the design which I drew last night to Gomez (Bookbinder) it suited him—engag'd to engrave it for 9/,' he said the next day. On August 29, Anderson had finished the cut, without doubt on type metal, since, at this point, he always specified wood when he used it, and 'took it [Gomez's cut] to L. Jones.' Jones was presumably the printer. On September 9, he was paid a 'crown,' equivalent to nine New York shillings, if sterling currency was meant.

A copy of Edward Ward's *Female Policy Detected* (Evans 28022) is located at MWA, the imprint reading only that it was printed for Gomez (by Jones?). The same frontispiece, of a man kneeling before a woman in a high-backed chair, was used in Goethe's *The Sorrows of Werter* (New York: Mott & Lyon for Gomez, 1796) (Readex 30494). Although the style does not seem like Anderson's, the illustration may be his. Also, the imprint reads 1794; it is possible printing was delayed until late in the year or early 1794, or that a 1793 edition has not survived.

23 Gessner, Salomon. *The Death of Abel*. New-York: Printed and Sold by S. Campbell, 1794.

237, [3] pp. Evans 27049, Hamilton 149. MWA, NN.

The only illustration is the frontispiece, $4^{1/4''} \ge 2^{1/2}$." Relief engraving on type metal. Fig. 6.

'At noon Mr. [Samuel] Campbell sent for me I went and undertook to engrave a type-metal cut for 10/-(for the Death of Abel)—he furnished me with a plate for it,' Anderson wrote on March 15. The metal was not well cast and George Youle had to recast it, as it was too 'flawy.' Five days later it was finished and the payment received.

The frontispiece in a [1790?] Durell edition of *The Death of Abel* (Readex 46183) is similar, but in reverse; Anderson's is better composed and executed. Another edition, dated 1794 and printed for Evert Duyck-inck by Mott and Hurtin (Evans 47061, PP), has a frontispiece, but it is less accomplished than the engraving made for Campbell and is probably not by Anderson. His cut for Campbell is awkwardly drawn, but, interest-ingly, it treats the tree, foliage, and rocks with a technique that is close to that of the Bewick school.

24 The History of Three Brothers. ... Also the Three Sisters, to Which Is Added, the Little Queen. Embellished with Beautiful Cuts. New-York: Printed by Samuel Campbell, 1794.

106 pp. Evans 27124, Welch 593. DLC, MWA, Pomeroy (cover: New-York: Printed and Sold by John Tiebout, 246 Water Street—Tiebout was at this address in 1802 and 1803).

The frontispiece, a rectangle, measures $3^{9/16''} \ge 2^{7/16''}$ Four more rectangles in the text are approximately $1^{3/4''} \ge 2^{1/16''}$ Relief engravings on type metal.

In July, perhaps pleased with the cut for *The Death of Abel*, Campbell asked Anderson for '5 type-metal cuts for a small book.' On the tenth they were delivered and Anderson received 24s., the payment working out to a little more than a shilling per square inch. Given the Bewick influence on the work, Anderson must have been the engraver. It is the first time in my examination of New York imprints of this decade that I have seen such a pronounced Bewick style. On June 6, Anderson had agreed with Durell to engrave the illustrations for *The Looking-Glass*. He must have already had the book by him to copy, because he said that he started on the first cut that day. The frontispiece of three brothers with their arms around one another's shoulders, standing in a garden near a tree, betrays the Bewick-school manner in the half-smiles on the boys' faces, the dress, hair, the foliage of the tree, and the shading of its trunk. The frontispiece and the cuts on pages 23 and 53 (of the three brothers in their academic robes at college, and at a tavern, respectively) were



Fig. 6. Frontispiece for The Death of Abel. Type-metal engraving, 1794, item 23. American Antiquarian Society.

copied in reverse for the same stories that appeared in *The Modern Story Teller* (Philadelphia: H. & P. Rice, 1796) (Evans 30803, DLC)—both probably English in origin. The illustration on page 57 shows two women and a man outside a large house, and that on page 77, of a woman looking at herself in a mirror. They appear to have been made to illustrate the stories. It is the frontispiece that shows a Bewick influence, the other engravings seem more typical of the era.

25 Josephus, Flavius. The Whole Genuine and Complete Works of Flavius Josephus ... by George Henry Maynard, LL.D. ... Embellished with Sixty Beautiful Engravings Taken from Original Drawings of Messrs. Metz, Stothard, and Corbould, Members of the Royal Academy, and Engraved by American Artists. New-York: Printed and Sold by William Durell, M, DCC, XCIV.

723, [3] pp. Evans 27174. Readex MWA.

Except for the date and a newly set title page (note that the above copy is said to contain sixty engravings, not 'upwards of sixty,') this *Josephus* is the same as the 1792 edition. See also items 2, 44, 45, 56, 91, and 92.

26 (a) Keach, Benjamin. The Travels of True Godliness; from the Beginning of the World to This Present Day. ... With an Entire New Set of Cuts. ... The Tenth Edition. New-Haven: Printed for Benjamin Gomez [n.d.].

144 pp. Evans 28914, Hamilton 165a. NjP, Pomeroy (1811 Tiebout edition).

(b) ——. *The Ninth Edition*. Newark: John Woods for Benjamin Gomez, New York, [n.d.].

144 pp. Evans 28913. Readex NjHi, Pomeroy (1811 Tiebout edition).

A rectangular frontispiece of Keach, $4^{7/16''} \ge 2^{1/2''}$ and four different rectangular illustrations in the text, approximately $3^{9/16''} \ge 2^{7/16''}$. The cut on page 29 is repeated on page 87. Relief engravings on type metal.

Shipton and Mooney assign a date of [1795] to the book, but because the work was finished in February of 1794 and by the evidence in the diary seems decidedly Anderson's, it is entered here. In addition, Duyckinck in his *Brief Catalogue*, page 30, includes the 1811 edition published in New York by Tiebout. The illustrations in this later edition are identical to those in the earlier. The blocks show considerable wear, with gaps in the edges.

Anderson 'call'd upon B. Gomez and engag'd to engrave 6 typemetal plates for 40/ for him' (January 28). The next evening, he said he worked for two hours casting and planing the 'plates for Gomez,' and the day after he recorded, 'began to engrave one of Gomez's Cuts—there being but 5 in the book, which I had for the pattern, I engag'd to do them for 32/.' The book has six cuts in all, with one illustration repeated, as Anderson apparently discovered once he had begun the engravings thus a total of five different designs.

The frontispiece is a portrait of Keach, an oval in a shaded rectangle. It is the same, in reverse, as the frontispiece in Keach's *The Progress of Sin, or the Travels of Ungodliness* (Boston: Printed by B. Green, 1744) (Evans 5422; NjP, Hamilton Collection). The cuts represent a man as Godliness, before the House of Riches (p. 29), of Poverty (p. 63), of Old Age (p. 98), and in the town of Religion (p. 127); the names and qualities of people and objects are identified by engraved words. On the whole, the work is poorly drawn and stilted. The payment was low, working out to less than a shilling per square inch.

27 'Life of Christ' (diary, June 21). Unlocated.

'Undertook . . . a type metal cut for Tiebout & O'Brien for 12/-it is for the Life of Christ, which they are about printing.'

Perhaps an edition of Paul Wright's *Life of Christ* was meant. Anderson delivered the finished block three days later.

28 New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository, October 1794. Opposite page 643, map: Sketch of the Ground at the Rapids of the Miami of the Lake, Shewing the Position of Gen. Wayne's Army Previous to and After the Action of 20th Augt. 1794.

Wheat and Brun 673. DLC.

Wheat and Brun note that the copperplate map is signed *Anderson*, but do not record the location of the copy seen. The DLC copy is unsigned. The plate measures $12^{5/8''} \times 7^{3/4.''}$

On October 18, Anderson 'call'd upon Swords, who had sent for me he ask'd my price for engraving a Map for the Magazine—I charg'd \pounds_2 . 10s.' Thomas and James Swords were publishers of the *New-York Magazine*, and it was for their periodical that John, Alexander's brother, had already designed copperplates (see footnote 17). Two days after the first contact, Anderson agreed to 'engrave the Map for 6 Dollars [\pounds_2 8s.],' therefore less than he had asked. The next day, he picked up the plate

whose measurements he gave as $13^{1/2''} \times 8^{1/2}$," paying 18s. During the next week, he scoured the plate, spent an hour burnishing it, etched it, 'in the cold,' he said, and made two trips home one day 'to forward my copperplate.' On the twenty-ninth it was finished. Anderson got a proof at John Burger's, a copperplate printer who often pulled copies for him, showed 'Swords,' and was paid the \$6 on November 7. His profit was $\pounds 1$ 10s. Unlike our present system, periodicals appeared at the end of the month that bore their name. Anderson seemed to be hurrying to complete the work for publication.

29 'Peter Wilkins Adventures' (diary, June 10). Unlocated.

On this day Anderson agreed to engrave thirteen type-metal cuts for *Peter Wilkins* for Burchem-Birdsall (see footnote 54). By the eighteenth, he had finished the eighth cut, having started to engrave it after noon and completing it by 3:30 p.m.; it is one of the few occasions on which Anderson tallied the time he spent on an engraving. Three days later, he had delivered the last block and his bill for $\pounds 6$ 15s. This total, however, seemed to include a copperplate for 'Jane Shore.' (The account is confused.) In July he dunned 'N. Burchem' for payment but was told that 'he was very sorry he could not keep his promise [to pay]—had done two things which he already repented of—had got married a few days ago—and stood security for a man who ran off and left him to pay $\pounds 33$.' Anderson collected some of the money over time, but apparently not the whole amount that was owed him. Even though the bill was outstanding, Anderson agreed to do more work for Birdsall for Wright's *Life of Christ* (item 53).

30 'Primer' (diary, January 17). Unlocated.

One cut, doubtless on type metal, was engraved for a primer for John Harrisson; on the twentieth, Anderson received 5s. for the work. It may have been for a *New England Primer*. Copies published by Harrisson exist for the years 1796, examined on photocopies sent from the Pierpont Morgan Library, and for 1797, seen at the DLC. The portrait of Washington in both imprints would seem too large for the 5s. payment.

31 'Robinson Crusoe' and 'Fairy Tales' (diary, February 24). Unlocated.

'Undertook to do some cuts for Mr. Harrison [*sic*], for Robinson Crusoe and Fairy Tales, at 4/ each,' Anderson wrote. On March 10, he delivered six cuts and received 24s., thus 4s. each, as agreed.

32 'Seven Wise Masters' (diary, July 31). Unlocated.

Anderson engraved seven illustrations for Benjamin Gomez for this book, after 'considerable haggling' over the price; 4s. each was arrived at. The 1795 *Roman Stories; or the History of Seven Wise Masters of Rome*; published by Gomez, in the NjP, Hamilton Collection, item 164, has a total of seven cuts (not eight, as Hamilton states in *Early American Book Illustrators*). Anderson cast the plates on the same day and finished one block in the afternoon. On August 11 he received 35s., realized he had been paid too much, and returned on the same day to Gomez with the 7s. The frontispiece, a winningly naive scene of Cupid aiming his arrow at two lovers sitting under a tree, appears also in *A New Academy of Compliments* ([New York]: Printed for B. Gomez [1799]) (Readex 48941). The style, as well as the small amount of money received, even after haggling (the frontispiece is fairly large, 4¹³/16" x 2⁹/16"), suggest that the book was not illustrated by Anderson.

33 (a) 'Tom Thumb's Folio' (diary, February 4). Unlocated.

(b) 'Life of Little John' (diary, February 15). Unlocated.

(c) 'Small child's book' (diary, March 7). Unlocated.

These items are grouped together, since they were engraved for the same employers at approximately the same time.

(a) Anderson stated that [Samuel] Loudon and [Abraham] Brower sent him eight type-metal blocks to 'engrave the cuts for *Tom Thumb's Folio*.' Ten days later he had finished the eighth cut, 'the last for *Tom Thumb*,' and presented his bill for £1 12s. the next day. It included four engravings for Loudon's newspaper, and therefore is not an accurate accounting for the eight illustrations. Loudon and Brower were publishers and printers of *The Diary*, a daily, which in this year contained numerous ads for Anderson's father's auctions and real estate offerings. Anderson recorded various type-metal engravings finished for Loudon and several of the small advertising cuts produced for this year's issues may well be his.

(b) On the seventeenth, Anderson said that he 'rose about 5 – This morning notwithstanding the cold, I stuck to engraving and finish'd the two cuts [for the 'Life of Little John']. At noon took them to Loudon's – This bring [*sic*] his account up to 38/.' About ten days later, he asked Loudon to pay his bill.

(c) On March 12, Anderson had completed the work for a 'small child's book,' four type-metal cuts for Loudon and Brower. It was not until November that he was paid the 41s. in full for the work he had done since February. In July, as though to remind the firm of its obligation, he had

bought a cake of patent shoe blacking at their shop and had the 1s. charge put to his account.

34 'Webster's Spelling Book' (diary, December 31, 1793). Unlocated.

On the last day of the year, George Bunce hired Anderson to engrave the cuts at 5s. each for this lost Webster's (see Skeel and Carpenter p. 23). On March 10, the '8th and last' of the [type-metal] engravings was finished, delivered, and 40s. received in payment. It provides additional evidence that the book was in fact produced.

35 Wyche, William. An Essay on the Theory and Practice of Fines. New-York: Printed and sold by T. and J. Swords ... sold also by J. Rivington, 1794.

78, [1] pp. Evans 28137. NN, MWA.

On September 9, Anderson 'call'd at Swords's and got a cut to engrave on type metal—for Wyche's Essay.—he desir'd me to call upon Mr. Wyche for further directions. . . . was inform'd that he was not up yet, after 8.' Anderson called on Wyche later when he was (at last) awake. Anderson finished the engraving that afternoon. The vignette of musical instruments on the title page was most likely a typefounder's cut; it appears in many books of this era, whether printed in Boston, Philadelphia, or New York. On page 78, there is a figure of Father Time with a banner across his body that reads 'Finis.' It is doubtless the engraving in question and Anderson's.

1795

36 (a) [Berquin, Arnaud]. The Looking-Glass for the Mind. ... With Thirty-Six Cuts, Elegantly Engraved. New-York: Printed by W. Durell, M, DCC, XCV.

[4], 259 pp. Welch 76.2, Hamilton 210. NjP, Hamilton Collection (p. 259 lacking, signature N repeated [pages 133-44]).

(b) — . New York: Printed by W. Durell, for Edward Mitchell, M, DCC, XCV.

[4], 259 pp. Welch 76.4, Hamilton 210. NN.

(c) — . New York: Printed by W. Durell, for Robert M'Gill, M, DCC, XCV.

194

[4], 259 pp. Welch 76.3 (same as a, but complete, at RPJCB), Hamilton 210.

The Shipton and Mooney entries are confused, due to an error in recording the imprints.

As Hamilton points out, despite the title-page claim that there are thirty-six illustrations, there are in fact thirty-seven relief cuts and a frontispiece copperplate engraved by Rollinson. The error probably occurred because Durell looked at the contents of the London edition (there were editions in 1792 and 1794), which listed thirty-six stories, omitting 'Alfred and Dorinda,' although that story and a cut to accompany it were contained in the book. An illustration was needed for each story. Each is rectangular, approximately $1^{11}/16'' \ge 1^{14}$," with garlands and decorative material at the top and each side.

As noted earlier, Anderson began the work for Durell's book on June 6, 1794, when he wrote, 'Undertook to engrave the cuts for the Looking-Glass on type metal - began one of them.' Three days later he had finished the second, and stated that he had 'bought two small pieces of box-wood and engrav'd a tailpiece on one of them for an experiment-cost 6d.' Perhaps inspired by the engravings he was copying, he was thinking of using boxwood for more than the perfunctory engravings he had done on wood until this time. By September 11 he had completed eleven cuts. Soon after, on the thirteenth, he wrote that he was 'rather at a loss for regular employment,' a curious statement, since he had the rest of the thirty-seven illustrations to complete. He records his progress: 'Stopp'd at Durell's in my way home' (September 18), without giving the reason for the visit. 'Spoke to Mr. Smith (Turner) to prepare me a block of box-wood-inquir'd at what rate he could provide a number for Durell's cuts -2/ each' (September 20); 'Began to work out the cut on the wood' (September 23); 'This morning, I was quite discourag'd on seeing a crack in the boxwood. ... Came home to dinner, glued the wood & began again with fresh hopes of producing a good wood engraving' (September 24). On the next day, he said he was 'pretty well satisfied with the impression & so was Durell-desir'd the Turner to prepare the other 24.' He worked slowly with the cuts, having difficulties with the printing of the blocks or with flaws in the wood. He was still doing the work by January 16, when 'Durell came to the Dr.'s [Young's] to hurry me for another cut.' On February 10, Anderson wrote that he had completed the '36th & last of Durell's wooden cuts.' The illustrations for Durell's Looking-Glass were Anderson's apprenticeship in wood engraving.

Hamilton suggests that Anderson cut another block to make up the

thirty-seven needed for the book, but the money spent to buy the wood makes it clearer that in fact thirty-seven were engraved and that Anderson's tally of thirty-six was in error for the final total. (The first eleven were on type metal; Durell reimbursed Anderson on October 25 for 40s., for twenty blocks; and on February 2, 1795, Anderson charged 12s., to Durell's account, for six blocks, at Smith's—thus he produced thirty-seven blocks in all.)

Anderson did not record what he received in payment; he did note that Durell paid him \pounds_{25s} . 'in full' on March 10. Whether this was part of the bill for the engravings is not known.

Some of the illustrations are engraved with more confidence than others. They are almost exact copies of John Bewick's, but in reverse, because Anderson traced the designs on the face of his blocks, thus reversing the image once it was printed. The charming vignettes of rural scenes in the 1792 English edition were not copied; only a tailpiece with flowers appeared. Perhaps this was a typefounder's decoration; it is present in other books of this period. On some pages, this cut is shown in reverse—perhaps Anderson's experiment with a tailpiece on June 9.

It is often said that these blocks are the first known end-grain boxwood engravings in the white-line style to appear in America. However, as Hamilton says (vol. 1, p. xxxiii), a Providence *Looking-Glass* was published in 1794, again with copies of John Bewick's engravings, but not in reverse.⁵⁷ It is impossible to know whether they were on metal or wood; they are not as well cut as Anderson's. As well, Hamilton has pointed out Jonathan Fisher's first efforts with boxwood in 1793 (vol 1, p. xxxii). Fisher was Congregational minister in Blue Hill, Maine. His first relief engraving appeared in 1804, according to Hamilton.⁵⁸

Three original blocks from Durell's *Looking-Glass* survive. The illustration to accompany the story 'The Destructive Consequences of Dissipation and Luxury,' is in the Hamilton Collection (NjP), and is described at item 210 in Hamilton's book. Two more, illustrations for 'The Fruitful Vine' and 'William and Amelia,' are in my collection. The wood is indeed

^{57.} Anderson was not the only American engraver who was influenced by the Bewicks. The cuts for the 1798 Philadelphia *Looking-Glass*, published by Ormrod and Conrad, as well as Erasmus Darwin's *A Plan for the Conduct of Female Education*, also published in 1798 by Ormrod, were taken from Bewick. No doubt there are other examples of the Bewicks' influence.

^{58.} It is not known whether the engraving was on boxwood. The religious tract, *Hancock Female Tract Society* (Sedgwick, Maine, 1804), was printed, bound, and illustrated by Fisher with a charming oval cut. The work is in the Hamilton Collection, Princeton, and entered in the typescript, 'Second Supplement,' an unpublished addition to Hamilton's *Early American Book Illustrators*.

end grain and, surprisingly, the blocks print very clearly, far better than would be expected, given the impressions in the original edition.

37 Bookplate for Columbia College.

NNC, Columbiana Collection.

Copperplate, line engraving, rectangular, 3¹/16" x 2⁵/8." Signed Anderson Sculp.

Samuel Latham Mitchill taught Anderson at Columbia and helped him, as he is said to have helped other students. He also gave him several small engraving jobs. An Anderson design engraved by John Scoles, is pictured at page 25 of Lossing's *Memorial*, a Cupid overcoming Pan, below a portrait of Mitchill.

The bookplate was finished in March, after consultation between Anderson and Dr. William Samuel Johnson, president of Columbia. His father, the first president, designed the college medal. Anderson used the same drawing for the bookplate, for which he charged £2 6s. His profit cannot be determined, since he was doing several small copperplate engravings at the time, and the cost of this plate is confused with others'. The goddess of learning is seated with three small, naked boys near her knees; above is a representation of God. 'Columbia College Library New-York' is engraved in a circle surrounding the figures. When women were first admitted to the university, Melvin Dewey revised the design and substituted a girl for one of the boys.⁵⁹

38 Bookplate for the New-York Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety.

DLC. The bookplate is pasted to the front, paste-down endpaper of Philip Doddridge, *The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul* (New-York: J. Harrisson, for the New-York Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety, M, DCC, XCV). Oval type-metal engraving 2¹/8" x 3¹/8." Fig. 4b.

The 1794 constitution of the society states that in each of the books that it gave out 'shall be inserted, "The Gift of the New-York Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and Piety" (see Evans 27409). John Bissett was a member, with other ministers of the church. The copperplate that Anderson engraved for Bissett (item 17, fig. 4a) was engraved in 1794. On August 20 of the next year, Anderson 'undertook to

59. Clara T. Evans, 'The Columbia Bookplate Collection,' The Bookplate Quarterly (1918): 17-18.

engrave on type metal, a cut which I formerly design'd and engrav'd on Copper—2 Dolls.' His employer was Harrisson, the printer of the Doddridge book. He took the work with him in August when he went to Bellevue during the yellow fever epidemic, and it was delivered on his return. On December 1 Harrisson paid Anderson 138. 3d. 'for the last engraving.' It was less than the 16s. [\$2] agreed on initially, yet from details in the diary, it appears this fee was for the cut. The style and Anderson's specific mention that he had designed the first cut, is strong evidence that the work is his.

The bookplate is an interesting example of the execution of the same design in two mediums. Note that the banner is black with white lettering in the relief engraving and the reverse in the intaglio plate. In each case, it was the easier way to cut the letters. In the type-metal bookplate, the words below the oval are printed with type, not engraved—a compromise, given the demands of engraving letters in relief engraving.

39 Cook, James. Captain Cook's Third and Last Voyage. ... Faithfully Abridged from the Quarto Edition. New-York: Printed by Mott and Hurtin, for Benjamin Gomez, 1795.

144 pp. Evans 28476. DLC.

Frontispiece. Type-metal relief engraving, 27/16" x 4."

The frontispiece that first appeared in the 1793 edition is used here. See also items 9 and 59.

40 [Defoe, Daniel.] *Family Instructor*. New-York: Printed by Hurtin and Commardinger, for Evert Duyckinck and Co., 1795.

319 pp. Evans 47400. Readex MWA.

The tailpiece illustration of a sheep lying down under a tree that Anderson engraved for Birdsall on boxwood and that appeared on pages [4] and 56 of his 1795 edition of Paul Wright's *New and Complete Life of Jesus Christ* (item 53), is used here as a title-page vignette (fig. 7). It is not present in the *Family Instructor* of the same year printed by Birdsall for Duyckinck.

41 'Female Policy detected' (diary, May 16). Unlocated.

'Mr. [James] Oram came to give me a Jobb [*sic*] of engraving—a typemetal cut for "Female Policy detected," Anderson stated on the above date. Three days later he said he had finished the work, and on the twenty-second Oram paid him 12s. The book was by Edward Ward.



Fig. 7. Tailpiece for The New and Complete Life of Jesus Christ. Wood engraving, 1795, item 53. Pomeroy Collection.

42 'Four little books' (diary, May 30). Unlocated.

'Mr. Harrisson got me the cuts for 4 little books to engrave,' Anderson said on this day. He finished at least twenty engravings by July 27, almost certainly on type metal, since he talked of casting cuts at this time.

43 Instructive and Entertaining Emblems, on Various Subjects, in Prose and Verse. By Miss Thoughtful. Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1795.

31 pp. Evans 47466, Welch 1300.1, Carstens 17. MWA.

Seventeen rectangular illustrations, relief engravings, probably on type metal. The frontispiece of a girl seated on a bank under a tree, her head propped on a hand, with the caption 'Miss Thoughtful,' measures $2^{3}/4'' \times 1^{3}/4$." The remaining cuts, approximately $1^{7}/16'' \times 1^{7}/8$."

John Babcock, a printer, publisher, and bookseller, was active in

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Hartford, Connecticut, by 1793.⁶⁰ No books with a 1794 date have survived, if he indeed had begun printing on his own by then. But he was named by Anderson for the first time on July 18, 1794. About a month later, Anderson had completed fifteen type-metal blocks, proofed them, and sent off the impressions. He received a letter from Babcock on September 1, stating Babcock's approval of them, and three days later a 'gentleman' picked them up in New York, paying Anderson 50s. Of the four books published in 1795 by Babcock that are extant, three are illustrated. In the future, Anderson would engrave dozens of cuts for John Babcock and his son Sidney—they would be one of Anderson's most constant employers.

On May 28, 1795, he was sent a small book from Babcock and a query about the cost of doing its illustrations. In a letter on June 24, Babcock ordered seventeen cuts, and on the first of the next month he called on Anderson on his way to Philadelphia. On the eleventh, he stopped by again, leaving another book for which he wanted engravings. At the same time, Babcock bought for $$_5$ (£20) 'a set of engravings for the Primer (which I had lying by).'⁶¹ The same day Anderson bought three small books for him to 'look over'; the text, and possibly the cuts, would be copied from them. By the last week in July, Anderson had finished all the work (the total is not clear, but most likely the seventeen), without doubt on type metal. On August 6 he received \$10.50 (£4 4s.) from Babcock, which would bring the cost to about 18. 10d. per square inch. The calculation has been made based on the size of the cuts for this entry, *The Instructive Emblems*, some of whose engravings the author believes to be Anderson's. Although all the text cuts are the same size, suggesting they

60. For information on the Babcocks, see Francis J. Gagliardi, 'The Babcocks of New Haven, Connecticut: Printers, Publishers and Booksellers, with a Bibliographical Checklist of Their Publications, 1795–1858' (master's thesis, School of Library Science, Southern Connecticut State College, 1971); and Jane E. Carstens, 'The Babcocks: Printers, Publishers, Booksellers' (Ph.D. dissertation, School of Library Service, Columbia University, 1975). Carstens's bibliography of Babcock imprints lists only their children's publications.

61. On July 12, 1794, Anderson had finished some cuts for Philip Freneau for a 'primer,' at the time Freneau was setting up his own press in New Jersey. John Anderson, Sr., had been the first to print Freneau's poem, *A Voyage to Boston* [1775], but when Freneau employed Alexander, he had not known he was John's son and had to be reminded of his former printer. These primer cuts never seemed to have been used by Freneau. On November 8, 1794, Anderson 'took to Swords the Primer cuts which I did for Freneau last spring'; Swords did not buy them. On January 3 of the next year, Benjamin Tanner asked the price of some primer cuts belonging to Anderson, possibly those engraved for Freneau; and on July 11, Babcock bought the primer engravings that Anderson said he had 'lying by.' Some may have been used in this entry, which would account for the differences in engraving style.

were done at the same time, they are inconsistent in style. It is possible that another book that has not survived is the publication in question.

Again, on August 8, before leaving to work at Bellevue, Anderson bought two more books for Babcock. In November and December he was engraving for him once more. The count is not at all exact, but Anderson mentioned finishing more than twenty-four blocks for Babcock this year, as well as another set for a book completed in December, for which the number of blocks was not given. Added to the fifteen of the year before, the total is more than thirty-nine. Babcock used thirtythree different cuts (many were used repeatedly) in his three extant illustrated books dated 1795. During the diary years, Anderson was paid a total of \pounds_{38} 14s. ($\$_{96.75}$) by Babcock. See also footnote 6_3 .

Of particular interest is an 1807 Sidney's Press imprint, Fables Ancient and Modern. Adapted for the Use of Children. By Edward Baldwin, Esq. Adorned with Cuts by Anderson. It includes three of the engravings from Instructive Emblems. At least one illustration, a very crude dog on page 91, could hardly have been Anderson's work, even at this early stage. Along with signed Anderson cuts that were probably done close to the publication date, the book is filled with illustrations from early Babcock imprints. It is hard to know whether to believe the information on the title page, crediting Anderson as the artist. By 1807 his name was a good selling point, although Babcock was not helping him by resurrecting his early, clumsy efforts.

Anderson has been credited with the work for this entry by the Connecticut Historical Society, yet what looks like an 'A' on page 11, under the picture of two brothers, may well have been the result of damage to the block, rather than an engraved signature. The Bewick influence on several of the cuts and the count of seventeen lead one to believe that this may be one of the first surviving books illustrated by Anderson and published by John Babcock. All but one cut, on page 25, illustrate the story. Many were used again before 1800 in other Babcock books.

Some of the engravings are less accomplished than others that show a Bewick influence, such as the cut on page 20 of an ant under a tree, used to illustrate Emblem X.

One of the illustrations appeared in the same year in *Divine Songs* (item 52); fourteen will be used again in the *Instructive Emblems* of 1796 (item 61) and thirteen in the 1798 edition (item 83); one, the same cut, in *Wisdom In Miniature* of 1796 (item 68) and 1798 (item 89); two in *The Instructive Story of Industry and Sloth* of 1798 (item 84); and one in *The Child's Spelling Book*, 1798 (item 78). All were published by John Babcock.

44 (a) Josephus, Flavius. The Whole Genuine and Complete Works of Flavius Josephus ... By George Henry Maynard, L.L.D. ... Embellished with Sixty Beautiful Engravings, Taken from Original Drawings of Messrs. Metz, Stothard, and Corbould, Members of the Royal Academy, and Engraved by American Artists. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Archibald Woodruff and John Turner, M, DCC, XCV.

723 (i.e., 717), [3] pp. Evans 28910. Readex PPL.

(b) ——. Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by Archibald Woodruff and William Pechin, M, DCC, XCV.

723 (i.e., 717), [3] pp. Evans 47471. DLC.

The seven engravings by Anderson appear in this edition of sixty plates. See also items 2, 25, 45, 56, 91, and 92.

45 Josephus, Flavius. *The Whole and Genuine Works of Flavius Josephus*. Baltimore: Pechin, 1795.

Evans 47470. Readex NN.

The title has been taken from Shipton and Mooney. The only information available on the Microprint is that the copy, except for the imprint, is identical with the original Durell edition of 1792 (item 2). See also items 25, 44, 56, 91, and 92.

46 Moore, John Hamilton. *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor*. New-York: Printed by G. Forman ... For R. Macgill, J. Reid, B. Gomez, E. Duyckinck and Co., Fellows and Adam, N. Judah, P. Meister, and J. Harrison [*sic*], 1795.

vi, 415, [9], pp. Evans 29098. Readex MWA.

Four full-page plates illustrating the 'Elements of Gesture.' Typemetal engravings.

On July 13 Anderson said that 'a printer, (a stranger to me) came to get 4 cuts engraved on type metal for Scott's Elocution—I agreed at 12/ each.' A month later he had finished 'Forman's cuts for the *Art of Speaking*,' an understandable error in naming the book. He had not until then mentioned Forman in the diary, so this must have been the printer unknown to him; he was paid 6 (48s., 12s. per cut) by Forman in December, when the job was completed. Not satisfied with the work, Forman had Anderson redo two of the cuts in November, when he had returned from Bellevue.

The last part of Moore's book, and of William Scott's Lessons in Elocu-

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tion included the 'Elements of Gesture,' which demonstrated the correct posture for speaking and appropriate gestures for different occasions — in fact, the art of speaking, as Anderson had said. These two books, very similar in intent, went through many editions by 1800 — at least fourteen of the Scott are extant, in excess of that for Moore. Anderson's four cuts appear in four editions that I have seen of Moore and Scott's works. The young man, as Anderson depicted him, had a sulky, Bewick-child expression. The work is not well drawn. See also items 64, 72, and 94.

47 New-York Magazine; or, Literary Repository, April 1795.

Plate of canker worm. DLC.

Copperplate, line engraving, signed A. Anderson Del. et Sc. A leaf with two moths is shown. Title: *Phalaena (Hortorum?)*. Ang. Canker-worm. 1.Mas. 2.Fem.

Samuel Latham Mitchill in March 1795 gave Anderson some insects from which to draw a male and female canker worm. The work seemed to have been finished by the first days of April. Extracts from the address that Mitchill had given before the Agricultural Society in New York in March appear with the engraving.

48 Perrault, Charles. *Tales of Passed Times by Mother Goose.* ... *The Seventh Edition, Corrected, and Adorned with Fine Cuts.* New-York: Printed for J. Rivington, 1795.

227 pp. Evans 29300, Welch 985.2. Linda Lapides (private collection).

Nine copperplates, line engravings, the images approximately $5^{1/2''}$ by $3^{1/2}$." All nine plates are present in this copy, including the frontispiece.

According to Welch, this is the second American edition of Perrault; it is printed both in English and French. In the diary, Anderson described placing two illustrations on each sheet of copper, and he agreed to the payment of \pounds_2 per engraving, receiving $\pounds_1 8$ in prompt and full payment. He talked of ordering the plates at John Burger's, but does not mention paying for them, suggesting that the bill was put to Rivington's account. It would seem likely, as the cost per square inch was fairly low, 2.08s. He began to etch the first plate on March 27 and finished a little less than a month later. Anderson talked of bringing the plates to Burger's, thus it may be that Burger printed them for the book. It is the only work that Anderson mentioned doing for James Rivington, his father's old rival when both were publishers of newspapers for opposing sides during the Revolution. The next year, the same copperplates signed by Anderson appeared in an English edition: *Tales of Passed Times by Mother Goose.* ... Seventh Edition, Corrected, and Adorned with Fine Cuts. London: Printed for T. Boosey, 1796. Rivington was familiar with the English market and apparently sold the plates, which were well printed in this work. It was unusual for illustrations to go from America to London.⁶²

49 Protestant Episcopal Church in the U.S.A. The Protestant Episcopal Church Catechism; with Some Questions, to Try Whether Children Repeat It Merely by Rote. New-York: Printed by M. L. and W. A. Davis, 1795.

29 pp. Hamilton 1374. Evans 29366. Readex MH.

Frontispiece type-metal engraving of a minister in a church, with a prayer book in his hand. Six boys are below him, with their backs to the viewer.

On December 3, Anderson wrote, 'A clergyman, Mr. Ogden, I believe, call'd upon me to get a cut engrav'd for a catechism book.' He did not record what he received for it. Four days later he noted, 'I finish'd Mr. Ogden's cut and deliver'd it to Matt. Davis who came for it.' Ogden's name does not appear in the book. It may have been Uzal Ogden, past assistant rector of Trinity Church. He was later elected but not consecrated first Episcopal bishop of New Jersey. The illustration is hastily engraved, in no way distinguished, and is not a credit to Anderson.

50 (a) [Sterne, Laurence.] A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy. By Mr. Yorick. Ornamented with Elegant Engravings. New-York: Printed for the Booksellers, 1795.

316 pp. Evans 29565. NN (lacking pages 81-82); MWA.

(b) ——. [omitting *Ornamented with Elegant Engravings*]. New-York: Printed by Tiebout and O'Brien, for Charles Smith and John Reid, 1795.

316 pp. Evans 47611. NNC.

Coat of arms on page 113 of a and b. Probably type-metal engraving. Anderson stated that he 'undertook to engrave a cut for [John] Tiebout

62. The English edition is included in From Witches to Wonderland: American Children's Books, 1692–1947. An Exhibition in the Central Research Library November 22, 1985–January 11, 1986 (Hill Press, N.J.: New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, 1985), p. 50. The author is grateful to Justin Schiller, antiquarian book dealer, for sending me photocopies of all the engravings.

and [Edward] Obrien [*sic*], for Sterne's Sentimental Journey' (July 21). The next day he had finished the engraving. He did not say how much he had received in payment. See also item 66.

51 Virtue in a Cottage; or, a Mirror for Children, Displayed in the History of Sally Bark and Her Family. Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1795.

31 pp. Evans 47669, Welch 1385.1. MWA.

Fifteen rectangular relief cuts, probably on type metal, including a frontispiece measuring $17/8'' \ge 21/2''$ of a woman at a washtub surrounded by children, captioned 'Mrs. Bark and her Family.' The remaining four-teen cuts measure $15/16'' \ge 17/8$."

Although Anderson does not mention this project in his diary, the illustrations can be attributed to him on the basis that they show an advance in sophistication over earlier efforts, because they were in the white-line style, and because all were created for this story. Only one, on page 16, of a boy being attacked by a dog, is used again, in Babcock's 1798 *Child's Spelling Book*, (item 78). For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

52 Watts, Isaac. Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language for the Use of Children. Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1795.

31 pp. Evans 47672, Welch 1408.43, Rosenbach 201. MWA.

A rectangular frontispiece and one rectangular cut. Relief engravings, probably on type metal.

The frontispiece, which Rosenbach considers white-line work and thinks may have been designed to illustrate the fairy story Elmina, depicts a woman holding flowers and approaching a girl under a tree. It is used as the frontispiece in the following Babcock books: *The Principles of the Christian Religion*, 1796 (item 60); *A Description of the Most Remarkable Birds*, 1798 (item 80); and *Instructive and Entertaining Emblems*, 1798 (item 83). Ironically, it is not used in Babcock's *Elmina* of 1799 (item 93). The only other cut in the book, on page [4], a rendering of a winged Father Time carrying a scythe, is included in Babcock's 1795, 1796, and 1798 *Instructive and Entertaining Emblems* (items 43, 61, and 83). This cut is more certainly Anderson's style than the frontispiece. Another *Divine Songs*, differently illustrated, is entered at item 88. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

53 Wright, Paul. *The New and Complete Life of ... Jesus Christ*. New-York: Printed and Published by Birdsall and Menut, 1795.

427 pp. Evans 29928. Pomeroy.

Three engraved and etched copperplates: Christ Appearing to Mary Magdalene, $9^{3/4"} \ge 6^{7/16,"}$ signed Anderson Sculp; The Evangelists, $9^{1/6"} \ge 6^{1/16,"}$ signed Anderson Sculp; and Peter's Repentance, $8^{13/16"} \ge 6^{5/16"}$, signed Anderson S. Relief engraving on wood of a sheep lying down under a tree on page [4], repeated on page 56, $2'' \ge 2^{7/16"}$ (fig. 7). A small angel, a relief engraving, on page 158, is repeated on page 189. A star, also a relief cut, is on page 315.

The book was issued in thirty parts, at a shilling per piece, each with 'an elegant Large Copper-plate,' as the publishers stated at the end of the preface. In addition, the plates were said not to have a 'worn-out Appearance, as in the Case with other Publications of the kind.' But many of the thirty-one engravings had been used before, as Evans remarks in his note on the Philadelphia edition of the same year (see item 54). The plates show wear and had been touched up with the graver. Some are dated 1792, having appeared in Brown's *Self-Interpreting Bible* of that year. Evans states that publication of the book was not completed until 1796 or 1797.

Anderson's *Evangelists* is not well drawn, but the figure of Christ appearing to Mary Magdalene, in the plate of that name, has a spiritual, Blake-like quality. The price agreed on was £8 or £9 each, the numeral is not clear. On March 6, Anderson bought a piece of copper at Myers's for 13s., presumably for Birdsall's work. The three engravings were finished by May 13. It seems that Birdsall never paid Anderson the full amount owed him, despite Anderson's repeated requests for money. He notes that he obtained type metal at Birdsall's, which may have been payment in kind.

Of greater interest is the relief engraving of the sheep. On February 5, a day after Birdsall and his partner had called on Anderson to ask him to engrave two plates for their *Life of Christ*, they asked also for a tailpiece, which he agreed to provide for 8s., which suggests a cut of a fairly large size. The next day, Anderson went to Smith the turner's and bought a boxwood block, finishing the work that same day, and paying Smith 2s. for it on the ninth. The cut is strongly influenced by Bewick. A tailpiece in the 1792 London edition of the *Looking-Glass* has a tree very similar to the tree in Anderson's engraving. Anderson's is somewhat roughly engraved, but care has been taken, and it can only be his work. The cut shows a far greater appreciation of the balance of light and dark, and it is in the white-line style. It was a decided advance for him and an early use of boxwood. Anderson also noted that he finished two small tailpieces

for Birdsall on February 21; the tiny angel on pages 158 and 189, very much in Anderson's style, and a star on page 315 must be his. Anderson did not mention the material he used for these two relief engravings. The tailpiece of three feathers on page 60 is most likely a typefounder's cut. For a note on Birdsall, see footnote 54. See also items 40 and 54.

54 Wright, Paul. The New and Complete Life of ... Jesus Christ. Philadelphia: Printed by Tertius Dunning and Walter W. Hyer, 1795.

407, [3] pp. Evans 29927. DLC.

As called for in the binder's instructions, there are twenty-five plates in this edition, including Anderson's three copperplates.

Not all the plates are the same as those in Birdsall's publication (item 53). Anderson's relief engravings are present. Hyer, one of the printers of this Philadelphia imprint, is described in McKay as Birdsall's partner in New York in 1795. See also item 40.

1796

55 [Berquin, Arnaud.] The Mountain Piper. Or the History of Edgar and Matilda. Embellished with Cuts. Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1796.

31 pp. Welch 90.2, Hamilton 137a, Carstens 20, Evans 30831. Readex MWA.

A rectangular frontispiece of mountains and a stream and six ovals set in shaded rectangles were engraved expressly to illustrate this story. They are relief engravings, probably on type metal.

The cuts reappear in Babcock's 1798 edition of this title (item 74). However, two of the illustrations would be used in the 1807 *Fables Ancient* and Modern. ... Adorned with Cuts by Anderson. See item 43 for a note on this book.

The book is very poorly printed. The ovals in shaded rectangles follow an English type of illustration popular at the time and earlier.

56 (a) Bible, English. *The Holy Bible*. Philadelphia: Printed for Berriman and Co. by Jacob R. Berriman, 1796.

[752] pp. Evans 30065, Hills 53, Wheat & Brun 869. Information from correspondence concerning copies with plates engraved and signed by Anderson: *Map of the Countries Surrounding the Garden of Eden* (CSmH; NN [2 copies]; NNAB; OC [2 copies]); *Map of the Holy Land* (CSmH;

DLC; NN [2 copies]; NNAB; OC [2 copies]); *Solomon's Temple* (CSmH; NNAB; OC; PPPM).

(b) — Philadelphia: Printed for Berriman and Company by J. R. Berriman.

[752] pp. Evans 30065 (mentioning undated edition), Hills 53. Information from correspondence concerning copies with plates engraved and signed by Anderson: *Map of the Holy Land* (MWA; OC; PPL); *Solomon's Temple* (MWA; OC; PPL).

The plates originally appeared in Durell's *Josephus* (item 2). See also items 25, 44, 45, 91, and 92.

57 Bible, English. Selections. A New Hieroglyphical Bible for the Amusement & Instruction of Children. New York: Printed for and Published by the Booksellers, MDCCXCVI.

[2], 144 pp. Evans 30068, Welch 513.2, Hamilton 211. MWA, NjP, Pomeroy (lacking frontispiece).

The title page and a frontispiece signed by Martin are copperplates. Each page has several small cuts used as rebuses; some are repeated. From pages 122-37, there are sixteen rectangular relief engravings of apostles and evangelists, approximately $2^{3}/8^{"}$ square. The rectangular engravings on pages [118], 138, and 142 are larger. They depict the birth of Christ in the stable $(3^{15}/16^{"} \times 2^{13}/16^{"})$, the Day of Judgment, and children receiving lessons in the Scriptures (both approximately $3^{1}/16^{"} \times 2^{1}/2^{"})$. The cut on page 123, of St. Mark, is signed A. All the relief engravings are on type metal.

In May of 1795, John Reid, bookseller, left a copy of a hieroglyphic Bible, no edition mentioned, with Anderson so that he could estimate the cost for engraving the dozens of small cuts needed. Samuel Campbell had already approached Anderson in February, wanting 'to make a bargain for engraving the cuts of the Hieroglyphical Bible,' but nothing came of the proposal. By July 31 Anderson had finished the work for the first thirty-six pages, completing 'about a dozen' on the sixteenth of that month. Early in August he delivered 144 blocks 'for the first sheet' to Reid and Shepard Kollock (printer and publisher in New York in the 1780s), who had come to see them. From the end of August to near mid-November, Anderson was at Bellevue; on trips home, Reid urged him to finish quickly. Anderson noted when he had completed the second and third sheets, and by the last days of December all the cuts were engraved. There can be no doubt that all the relief work was his. On two
occasions, Anderson talked of casting type metal for the Bible, so doubtless the blocks were of that material.

The illustrations are a curious mixture of Anderson's old, and new, Bewick-influenced styles. The drawing is better, and the book has a great deal of charm. The little hieroglyphic Bible that Reid had brought may have been one of the editions that contained Bewick's engravings. According to Judith St. John (vol. 2, pp. 758–59), Thomas Bewick is credited with the illustrations for a 1783 hieroglyphic Bible, with subsequent editions.

The A below St. Mark on page 123 is the earliest signature using Anderson's initial that I have seen. It would become very familiar in the years to come. It is an unquestioned and deliberate signature, and rare in relief work of this era.

Anderson's bill was \pounds_{51} 9s. On January 8, 1796, he received \pounds_{40} on account from Reid, who still owed him by the end of the year. Anderson apparently received books from him in exchange for the balance.

58 [Children in the wood.] The Affecting History of the Children in the Wood. Embellished with Cuts. Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1706.

30, [1] pp. Evans 29955, Welch 173.1, Hamilton 1376, Carstens 21. MWA.

A total of nine rectangular relief engravings follow the narrative closely; they measure $1\frac{1}{16''} \ge \frac{1}{8}$." The frontispiece is placed above a verse. Fig. 8.

The illustrations are probably all by Anderson, but the frontispiece with the two dead children being covered with leaves by the robins, and the same but not identical design on page 15, are particularly typical of his style. All the cuts were used again in the 1798 edition (item 77). For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

59 (a) Cook, James. Captain Cook's Third And Last Voyage. ... Faithfully Abridged from the Quarto Edition. New York: Printed and Sold By W. Durell [?,] M. DCC. CXVI [i.e., 1796].

144 pp. Evans 30275. Readex MWA.

(b) — . New York: Printed for, and Sold by B. Gomez, M. DCC. CXVI [i.e., 1796].

144 pp. Evans 47759, Hamilton 1378. Photocopy from NjP, Hamilton Collection.

and ray a log a log and With grief behold an unfrequented wood, Where lonely died two babes, for want of food. The pitying Red-Breafts all their forrozus feel, And with green leaves their tender li? ' conceal. Sole and and and and

Fig. 8. Frontispiece for The Affecting History of the Children in the Wood, 1796. Relief engraving, item 58. Courtesy of the Sinclair Hamilton Collection, Princeton University.

The same frontispiece appears here as it did in the 1793 edition (item 9). The copy at MWA is in poor condition.

Copy b may have been printed for Gomez by Durell, since the title pages are identical, except for the imprint, and both carry the same error in the date. See also items 9 and 39.

60 Doddridge, Philip. The Principles of the Christian Religion, Divided into Lessons, for Children. Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1796.

30 pp. Hamilton 1379, Carstens 22. Evans 30357. Readex MWA; Pomeroy (except for the frontispiece; an 1808 Sidney's Press edition of *Wisdom in Miniature* contains all the cuts used in the Doddridge).

A total of five relief engravings: a rectangular frontispiece and four ovals set in shaded rectangles, the latter approximately $1^{1/4''} \ge 1^{3/4.''}$

The frontispiece is the 'Elmina' engraving used in Babcock's 1795 Divine Songs (item 52); his 1798 Description of the Most Remarkable Birds (item 80); and his 1798 Instructive and Entertaining Emblems (item 83). The four other cuts are used again in Babcock's 1796 and 1798 Wisdom in Miniature (items 68 and 89), and two are included in his 1798 Child's Spelling Book (item 78). Again, the Bewick influence is apparent in these illustrations, and if they had been well printed, they would have shown a more sophisticated technique and better drawing. I have attributed them to Anderson, not only because of the large amount of work he was doing for Babcock at this time but also because of the style. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

61 Instructive and Entertaining Emblems on Various Subjects. By Miss Thoughtful. Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1796.

30, [1] pp. Welch 1300.2, Carstens 24, Evans 47814. Readex MWA.

A rectangular frontispiece of 'Miss Thoughtful,' and thirteen rectangular relief engravings, probably on type metal.

All of the illustrations appeared in the 1795 edition (item 43) and would be used again in the 1798 publication (item 83), except for the frontispiece. One was included in the 1795 *Divine Songs* (item 52), and another would be used in *The Child's Spelling Book* of 1798 (item 78). In the future, two of the cuts would be used in the 1807 *Fables Ancient and Modern*. ... *Adorned with Cuts by Anderson*. See item 43 for a note on this book.

62 The Instructive Story of Industry and Sloth. Ornamented with Cuts. Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1796. 29, [2] pp. Evans 47815, Welch 648.1, Carstens 23. DLC.

A rectangular frontispiece of a well-dressed woman approaching a cottage, $2^{5}/8'' \ge 1^{3}/4$," eight oval cuts set in shaded rectangles, and two more cuts on the last sheet pasted to the inside of the back cover, also ovals set in rectangles. Relief engravings.

The illustrations follow the story and are of one style, seemingly engraved for the book at the same time. The frontispiece was used again by Babcock in the 1798 editions of this title (item 84) and *The Reward of Avarice* (item 85). Almost all the illustrations were used again by Babcock, either in the 1798 editions of this title, the *Child's Spelling Book* (item 78), *The Reward of Avarice* (item 85), and the 1796 and 1798 editions of *Wisdom in Miniature* (items 68 and 89). One illustration was used in the 1807 *Fables Ancient and Modern.* ... Adorned with Cuts by Anderson. See item 43 for a note on this book.

63 (a) [Johnson, Richard.] *Rural Felicity; or, the History of Tommy and Sally. Embellished with Cuts.* New-York: Printed by J. Oram, for the Bookbinders Society, 1796.

29, [1] pp. Evans 47819, Welch 687.2. Photocopies from PP.

A rectangular frontispiece, 2^{5} /8" x 1^{3} /4," plus seven ovals set in shaded rectangles, approximately 1^{5} /16" x 1^{3} /4."

(b) *The Entertaining History of Tommy Gingerbread; A Little Boy. Who Lived Upon Learning.* New-York: Printed by James Oram, for the Bookbinders Society, 1796.

31 pp. Welch 453.1, Evans 47772. Readex MWA.

A small rectangular frontispiece, 15/16" x 13/4," plus twelve rectangular illustrations approximately the same size. Type-metal relief engravings.

These two books have been entered together in order to better explain the sequence. As already mentioned in item 57, Anderson had finished his work for *The New Hieroglyphical Bible* in December of 1795; at least one of the publishers of the Bookseller's Society was John Reid. In the same month, on the twenty-eighth, Anderson agreed to do 'another [book] for the Bookseller's Society.' Two days later, with no other engraving in hand, he wrote, 'I finish'd 3 of Davis's cuts today,' and the day after wrote, 'I rose at half past 4 this morning, finish'd, before dark, the 7 cuts for Davis.' It is unclear whether a total of seven or ten engravings was meant. On January 6, he said that 'Mr.Reid paid me \pounds_2 for the cuts which Davis employed me to engrave.' The book is printed in a haphazard manner; two pages, 6 and 14, have blank spaces large enough to contain

a cut. There is also a gap at the bottom of page 21, and two lines' worth on page 26. If ten blocks were ordered, possibly two were omitted for some reason, and at that point Oram, the printer, decided to fill the little book—printed sixteen pages to one side of a sheet—without too much white space at the end; as it is, p.[30] is blank. All the cuts are uniform in style and illustrate the text. The ovals set in rectangles with vertical stripes of black and white are similar to other cuts that Anderson was engraving for Babcock at this time. The frontispiece is mostly white-line technique and the style is very like Anderson's. The price works out to approximately 2s. per square inch, calculated for eight cuts. The work is detailed and carefully executed. The evidence is circumstantial, but the illustrations fit with other work done by Anderson at this time and the next entry, Tommy Gingerbread, reinforces the attribution.

'[Cornelius] Davis the Book-seller brought me another book to engrave the cuts for.—I finish'd one & began another,' Anderson recorded on January 16. If this is 'another book,' with no other mentioned between December 31, when he had completed the blocks for the 'Bookseller's Society' and Davis, who was involved with both, then it may be reasonable to assume that the two societies were the same and that Anderson had made a mistake in the name. It could have been an easy error, since John Reid was at least one of the publishers of the *Hieroglyphical Bible*, printed for the 'Booksellers'; this time, Reid was associated with Davis in the 'Bookbinders Society,' as the imprint on these two books indicates.

Anderson engraved at least thirteen blocks between January 16 and 19, and on the twentieth said, 'I employ'd myself assiduously in engraving today and finish'd the 5 last cuts for Tom Gingerbread.' It is assumed that type metal was used, since he talked of casting blocks on the nineteenth. As noted before, Anderson at this stage specified boxwood when he used it. The little book has thirteen engravings that illustrate the story. On April 27 he received '£3.5 from the Bookbinder's Society for the last cuts.' This time he got the name correctly. He had not recorded doing any other engravings since completing the work on January 20; in fact, he had put aside his tools and given up engraving on March 24. The cost works out to be slightly over 2s. for each cut, close to what he was paid for *Rural Felicity*. Patches of text are missing in the microprint copy.

64 Scott, William. Lessons in Elocution . . . The Fourth American Edition. New York: Printed by George Forman . . . for The Booksellers, 1796.

400 pp., (irreg.). Evans 47909. MWA.

The same four full-page relief engravings on type metal of the 'Elements of Gesture' that first appeared in John Hamilton Moore's *Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor* in 1795 (item 46), also printed by Forman, are used here. See also items 72 and 94.

65 Stanford, John. *The Christian's Pocket Library*.... *Vol. I.* New York, Printed for the Editor, by T. and J. Swords, 1796.

iv, [2], 240 pp. (DLC); 282 pp. (NjP). Evans 31228, Hamilton 168a, 210 [b]. DLC, NjP, Hamilton Collection.

Copperplate title page, engraved by Rollinson. The copy in the DLC contains numbers one through five of volume one, and through number six, in NjP. This was the only volume published during the diary years; volume two appeared in 1800.

John Stanford, a Baptist minister, was an occasional visitor at the Anderson house. The family often attended his sermons on Sunday evenings.

Hamilton describes Anderson's progress with the illustrations at 210 [b], but errs in naming December 5 as one of the dates connected with the work. Hamilton assumes that they were on type metal and this seems correct. As early as July 27, 1795, Mr. Stanford had called, wanting to 'consult about some vignettes or ornamental engravings for his periodical publication.' On November 17, Anderson named the periodical and on December 14 had finished one cut. On the nineteenth, Mr. Stanford sent him the design of the illustration that he wanted engraved. On January 2, Anderson wrote, 'I sketch'd an ornament for Mr. Stanford's Magazine,' and on March 7 all the work was completed. There are six cuts in the DLC copy, an eagle (p. 21); an elephant (p. 73), whose subject Anderson named on February 20; a fox (p. 173), and a rose of Sharon (p. 210). There are also two decorations used as headpieces-one, ribbons with foliage and flowers; another, a lute and horn with ribbons and garlands. The NjP copy has two additional cuts, a lamb, signed Martin Sc. on page 261, and an eagle with ribbon on page 282.

It is not clear from the diary how many illustrations Anderson engraved for the book, but, excluding the lamb, all may well have been his. The animals are white-line work. The fox, a copy of Thomas Bewick's Cur Fox in his *History of Quadrupeds*, and the rose of Sharon stand out as a definite advance in Anderson's work. The soft texture of the fox's fur is convincingly and carefully managed. The engraving is more sophisticated than other relief work produced at this time by any engraver and far superior to any that had yet been produced in America. 66 [Sterne, Laurence.] A Sentimental Journey through France and Italy. New-York: Printed for John Reid, 1796.

316 pp. Evans 47924. NN.

The coat of arms on page 113 is a type metal engraving by Anderson. See also item 50.

67 [Winterbotham, William.] The American Atlas; Containing the Following Maps. viz.... New-York: Published by John Reid, 1796.

Evans 31078, Wheat and Brun 134, 647. The map of Kentucky is entered as 28191 in Evans under Anderson's name. DLC, Geography and Map Division.

Two copperplate maps, line engravings, An Accurate Map of the United States of America, According to the Treaty of Peace of 1783, $14\frac{1}{16}$ " x $17^{13}/16$ "; and Map of the State of Kentucky; with the Adjoining Territories, $14\frac{7}{8}$ " x $17\frac{3}{8}$." Both are signed A. Anderson Sculp. Wheat and Brun enter various states of the maps: items 134, 135, 136, and 646, 647.

The atlas containing twenty maps was issued to accompany Winterbotham's *Historical*, *Geographical*, *Commercial and Philosophical View of the United States*.... In Four Volumes (New York: Tiebout and O'Brien for Reid, 1796).

On January 5, Anderson received £20 from Reid for the map of the United States, which he had started at the end of June the year before, and £10 for the map of Kentucky on July 10. Anderson had engraved both maps at the same time because he was hurrying through the typemetal cuts for Reid's *Hieroglyphical Bible* (item 57). He described scouring and preparing the plate for the map of the United States, as well as tracing the image onto its surface. The job took him most of the day, he noted. He also was paid £10 on June 10 for 'lettering the map'; in May, John Scoles had brought Anderson a map to letter, presumably for the same publication. Scoles's signature appears on the map of North America. He seemed to have trouble engraving letters, judging by some of his earlier plates.

68 Wisdom In Miniature; or the Young Gentleman and Lady's Magazine. (No. I). Hartford: Printed by J. Babcock, 1796.

30, [1] pp. Welch 1443.1, Carstens 25, Evans 31650. Readex MWA, Pomeroy (the 1808 Babcock edition, containing the same illustrations).

The rectangular frontispiece, 211/16" x 113/16," depicts a boy and a girl,

a tutor (?) seated at a table, and a man standing. As well, there are eleven oval relief engravings in shaded rectangles, approximately $1^{1}/4" \ge 1^{3}/4$," and a rectangular cut that does not fit the series, $1^{7}/16" \ge 1^{13}/16$."

The cuts illustrate the moral lessons, and all but one are repeated in Babcock's 1798 edition of the book (item 89). Three others reappear in his Child's Spelling Book (item 78). The illustration that does not fit the series, of two storks, on page 7, had already been used in the 1705 Instructive and Entertaining Emblems (item 43). Four cuts appear in the 1796 Principles of the Christian Religion (item 60). The last page informs the reader that the printer expects this 'magazine' to continue for twelve numbers and that the engraver is finishing the cuts for number 2. However, this is the last time in the book's eleven subsequent editions published by Babcock that 'No. I' is included on the title page (see Welch). The engraver, whom I believe to be Anderson, was not furnishing the cuts; from March of 1796 until July of the following year he had stopped engraving. Babcock obviously gave up the idea of a magazine that would form 'a handsome pocket volume,' as he stated on the last page. The illustrations are detailed, carefully engraved, and attractive. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

1797

69 The Devil and Minerva, and Four Children Playing Marbles.

A type-metal relief engraving. Minerva is on the right, with a spear held up and pointed at the Devil on the left, a book in her left hand. Four children playing marbles and quarreling are between the devil and Minerva. Fig. 3.

The cut illustrated Anderson's advertisement in the *Argus* for his Lilliputian bookstore. It appeared from September 4 through 15, above the notice for the short-lived shop at 60 Fair (now Fulton) Street.

Anderson gave an account of the design on September 2: 'In the afternoon I engrav'd a cut to be prefix'd to an advertisement in the Argus—It is emblematical and quite apropos to my Liliputian [*sic*] Book-store!— Several children are represented playing and two of them in the act of quarrelling—the Devil is preparing to claw them, but is is [*sic*] assailed by the spear of Minerva who is at the same time presenting a small book to the children.' Wisdom, represented with a book in her hand, could overcome evil and strife through learning. The children are seen realistically and are examples of the type that Anderson would engrave in the future. The cut already displays a style that would become recognizable as only his.

The same engraving would be used in 1798 as a tailpiece below the preface of Babcock's *History of the Holy Bible* (item 76), and on page 30 of his 1798 *Instructive Story of Industry and Sloth*, with the caption 'School Mistress Defending Her Scholars from Lucifer' (item 84). It was probably a wood engraving, since Anderson mentioned using only boxwood at this period.

70 Dilworth, Thomas. The Schoolmaster's Assistant. New-London: (Connecticut.) Printed by Samuel Green, for Naphtali Judah, New-York, 1797.

xvi, [6], 192, [1] pp. Evans 32048. Readex MWA.

This frontispiece, signed by Anderson, was first used by Durell in 1792. It is most probably a type-metal engraving. Judah was a bookbinder and stationer in New York in 1797. See also items 1, 10, 11, and 81.

7 I 'Little Jack' (diary, September 4). Unlocated.

Anderson named the title of the 'fourth book' that he produced for his Lilliputian Bookstore. All the engravings seem to have been on boxwood. [Monteith] McFarlane did the printing of the four children's books, and for the second, Anderson 'kept an eye on McFarlane's press for fear the impressions should be slighted as some others were' (August 29). One of the titles may have been a *Pilpay's Fables*, because Anderson bought a copy on August 30 'to select something for printing from them.' None of the books seems to have survived.

72 Moore, John Hamilton. *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor*. Printed by George Bunce–New-Haven, M, DCC, XCVII.

322, [30] pp. Evans 32494. DLC.

The same four, full-page 'Elements of Gesture' engraved on type metal that appeared in other editions and in William Scott's *Lessons in Elocution*. See also items 46, 64, and 94.

1798

73 [Bacon, Nathaniel.] A Relation of the Fearful Estate of Francis Spira, After He Turned Apostate from the Protestant Church to Popery. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

47 pp. Evans 33356. DLC.

Relief engraving vignette on the title page depicting a boy looking from behind bushes at a squirrel.

The cut is difficult indeed to relate to the text. The style is the Bewicks' and the cut is most likely engraved by Anderson. It is the only illustration in the book; it had not appeared before in a John Babcock imprint. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

74 [Berquin, Arnaud.] *The Mountain Piper; or, the History of Edgar and Matilda. Embellished with Cuts.* Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

29, [2] pp. Welch 90.3, Carstens 30, Evans 48368. Readex MWA.

All the same cuts that Babcock used in his 1796 edition of this book (item 55) appear again. There is also a depiction of a swan (?) on the inside of the back cover. Two of the engravings are included in the 1807 *Fables Ancient and Modern.* ... Adorned with Cuts by Anderson. See item 43 for a note on this book.

75 Bible, New Testament. English. *The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ.* ... *Appointed to Be Read by Children*. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

62, [2] pp. Evans 33417, Welch 941, Carstens 32. DLC.

None of the sixteen poorly engraved relief cuts in this book appear to be Anderson's. Only those on the page pasted onto the inside of the back cover, one of a goat, Bewick-school in style, and the other of a man on a horse, from Babcock's 1798 *Reward of Avarice* (item 85), are likely to be his. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

76 Bible. English. Paraphrases. *The History of the Holy Bible. Illustrated with Notes, and Adorned with Cuts. For the Use of Children.* Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

120 pp. Welch 586.4, Carstens 31, Evans 33411, Readex CHi, Pomeroy (an 1805 Babcock edition of *The Principles of the Christian Religion* contains sixteen of the engravings used in this entry).

Thirty-one rectangular wood engravings, approximately 1³/₈" x 1⁷/₈." The thirty-second cut, on wood, is pictured in figure 3.

This is the only title that Anderson mentioned while engraving for Babcock. On March 10, he wrote that he had received money from Babcock and 'a Jobb [*sic*] of engraving—the Cuts for a small *History of the Bible*.' Five days later, he bought a small log of boxwood, took it to be

cut into 'proper thicknesses for engraving,' and on the seventeenth, spent the day sawing and rasping, preparing thirty-four blocks. On March 30, only eleven days after he had begun, the engravings were finished, 'amounting to 32 cuts.'

The book has thirty-one cuts, plus the Devil and Minerva (item 69, fig. 8). All were used again by Babcock in his 1798 *Principles of the Christian Religion* (item 82), except the Devil and Minerva cut; its place was taken by a depiction of the Tower of Babel, which may have been part of the series originally meant for the little history of the Bible.

The payment works out to less than a shilling per square inch. Although Anderson was no longer keeping his accounts in his diary, Babcock's records note a payment of \$10 to Anderson on March 7. Babcock may not have paid the total cost of the work. The diary mentions \$22 paid Anderson by Babcock on July 19, and his account book shows that Anderson was paid \$18 'in full' in December. During this year, Anderson continued to engrave for Babcock, having received two commissions, in July and December.⁶³

The book is especially interesting because it contains early examples of Anderson's use of boxwood.

Hamilton at 1398a states that these thirty-two cuts were engraved for *The Child's Spelling Book*. But see the entry below, item 78, for a note on this book.

77 [Children in the wood.] The Affecting History of the Children in the Wood. Embellished with Cuts. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

29, [2] pp. Evans 48389, Welch 173.2, Carstens 33. Photocopies from OChRHi.

The same rectangular illustrations of the 1796 edition are used (item 58). In addition, there is a poorly engraved bird printed on the inside of the back cover. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

78 The Child's Spelling Book; Calculated to Render Reading Completely Easy to Little Children. [Relief engraving vignette, with 'Hartford' lettered on a scroll.] Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

112 pp. Hamilton 1398a, Carstens 29, Evans 33629. Readex CtY.

63. March 7 and December 4, 1798, entries in John Babcock's Account Book, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

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Twenty-six rectangles and six ovals in shaded rectangles. Relief engravings.

Hamilton at 1398a suggests that the thirty-two cuts engraved for *The History of the Holy Bible* (item 76 in this checklist) were used to illustrate *The Child's Spelling Book*. He may have missed the March 10 diary entry, when Anderson named the title, 'a small History of the Bible.' As well, nine of the cuts for *The Child's Spelling Book* were contained in six earlier Babcock imprints, where they often better suited the text: *Instructive and Entertaining Emblems*, 1795, 1796 (items 43, 61); *Instructive Story of Industry and Sloth*, 1796 (item 62); *Principles of the Christian Religion*, 1796 (item 60); *Virtue in a Cottage*, 1795 (item 51), and *Wisdom in Miniature*, 1796 (item 68). As noted, twenty-six of the engravings are rectangles; six are ovals in shaded rectangles, suggesting that the thirty-two were not all one series made for the book. Moreover, the quality of the work varies so greatly that it is hard to believe that they were cut at the same time.

The more Bewick-influenced engravings are doubtless Anderson's: the six ovals in shaded rectangles, on pages 72, 87, 101, 102, 103, 105, as well as the bird, one of four cuts opposite the title page. Nine of the illustrations are used in the 1807 *Fables Ancient and Modern.* ... Adorned with Cuts by Anderson, those on pages 51, 53 (two cuts), 55 (two cuts), 57, 61, 72, and 79. See item 43 for a note on this book.

79 [Darwin, Erasmus.] The Botanic Garden. A Poem, in Two Parts. The First American Edition. New-York: Printed by T. and J. Swords, 1798.

[6], xi, [5], 256 pp.; 146, [2] pp. Evans 33600. DLC.

Cameo wood engraving on page x of Part 2. It depicts a putto with wings against a black background, holding a flower in its left hand and a sheaf (?) in the right.

The January 27 entry in Anderson's diary reads: 'Began a small wooden vignette for *Swords*, for the Botanic Garden.' He did not mention what he received for the work. The book contains copperplates by Benjamin Tanner, and apart from two tailpieces, one of which may be a typefounder's stock cut, the cameo vignette is the only relief engraving. Dunlap, in his *History*, (vol. 2, p. 8), talks of the vignette: 'Soon after [Anderson's] first attempts [on wood], he cut a cameo for Sword's edition of Darwin.'

The Swordses, who were good printers, did justice to Anderson's engraving. Unlike almost all of his later work, Anderson used crosshatching in the engraving; perhaps he was trying to make the style consistent with the copperplates. 80 A Description of the Most Remarkable Birds. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

31 pp. Welch 282, Carstens 34, Evans 33629. Readex MWA.

Only the frontispiece, the same 'Elmina' illustration that was used in Babcock's 1795 *Divine Songs* (item 52); the 1796 *Principles of the Christian Religion* (item 60); and the 1798 *Instructive and Entertaining Emblems* (item 83) seems to be Anderson's work. The rest of the illustrations, twentyfour in number, are roughly executed depictions of birds. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

81 Dilworth, Thomas. *The Schoolmaster's Assistant*. New London, (Connecticut.): Printed by Samuel Green, for Nathaniel Patten, Hartford, 1798.

xvi, [6], 192 pp. Evans 48413. Photocopy from NHi (Readex 48413, NHi, does not include the frontispiece).

This frontispiece, signed by Anderson, was first used by Durell in 1792. It is most probably a type-metal engraving. See also items 1, 10, 11, and 70.

82 Doddridge, Philip. *The Principles of the Christian Religion*. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

29, [2] pp. Carstens 35, Evans 33645. Readex MWA, Pomeroy (an 1805 Babcock edition contains sixteen of the engravings used in this entry).

All of the thirty-two wood engravings appeared in Babcock's *History* of the Holy Bible (item 76), except for an addition, the Tower of Babel, a rectangle, on page [8]. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

83 Instructive and Entertaining Emblems on Various Subjects. By Miss Thoughtful. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

30, [1] pp. Welch 1300.3, Carstens 37, Evans 48482. Readex CHi.

The same 'Elmina' frontispiece was used in Babcock's Divine Songs, 1795 (item 52); Principles of the Christian Religion, 1796 (item 60); and A Description of the Most Remarkable Birds, 1798 (item 80). The thirteen other rectangular engravings helped to illustrate the following Babcock books: thirteen are from the 1795 and 1796 Instructive and Entertaining Emblems (items 43, 61); one was also used in the 1795 Divine Songs (item 52); and one in the 1798 Child's Spelling Book (item 78). Two would be reprinted in the 1807 Fables Ancient and Modern. ... Adorned with Cuts by Anderson. See item 43 for a note on this book.

84 The Instructive Story of Industry and Sloth. Ornamented with Cuts. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

30, [1] pp. Welch 648.2, Carstens 38, Evans 33926. Readex, MWA (pp. 13-14, 19-20 lacking).

There are eleven relief engravings in this incomplete copy. All but one of the cuts, a beehive, helped to illustrate the following Babcock books: six in the 1796 edition of the same title (item 62); two in *The Child's Spelling Book*, 1798 (item 78); one in *The Reward of Avarice*, 1798 (item 85); and two in *Instructive and Entertaining Emblems*, 1795 (item 43). The frontispiece was used in the 1796 edition of the book, and in the 1798 *Reward of Avarice*. The Devil and Minerva (item 69, fig. 8) is used as a tailpiece on page 30, with the caption 'School Mistress Defending Her Scholars from Lucifer.' One engraving from this entry appears in the 1807 *Fables Ancient and Modern*. ... *Adorned with Cuts by Anderson*. See item 43 for a note on this book.

85 The Reward of Avarice; or, Abdalla and the Iron Candlestick. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

29, [2] pp. Evans 48591, Welch 1096.1, Carstens 39. Photocopies of the PP copy.

A total of fifteen relief engravings illustrate the book, ten of them rectangles, four shaped by their own outlines, and one an oval in a shaded rectangle.

The frontispiece was used before, in the 1796 and 1798 *Instructive Story* of *Industry and Slotb* (items 62 and 84). The cut used as a headpiece before the opening of the story of Abdalla, on page [5], appears again as a tailpiece in the 1798 *Instructive Story of Industry and Sloth*; the cat crouching under a tree is Bewick-inspired and appeared in John Bewick's 1792 *Looking-Glass for the Mind*. Two more Bewick copies occur on pages [22] and 29, again from the 1792 *Looking-Glass*. These three are likely to be Anderson's work; all are reversed from the original Bewick engravings. Another tailpiece, of two seated boys blowing bubbles, judging from the style and choice of subject, is also very probably Anderson's. One engraving, on the inside of the back cover, was used in *The Instructive Story of Industry and Sloth*, 1796 (item 62), in *The Child's Spelling Book*, 1798 (item 78), and in *Wisdom in Miniature*, 1798 (item 89). The other cut, two

crudely engraved eagles (?) carrying off sheep, would appear in Babcock's 1799 *English Hermit*, a book that does not seem to have been illustrated by Anderson. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

86 [Skeleton from Albinus.]

NHi.

Wood engraving. Only one copy, which is in poor condition, has been located. (The card catalogue at the NNNAM has been found to be incorrect. It lists this entry, but it is thought that the skeleton was confused with the anatomical male figure, item 90. In any case, the skeleton from Albinus cannot be found in that location.) The engraving is printed on two sheets of paper and glued to cloth. The figure stands over three feet high and is signed *A. Anderson M.D. 179[8]*; the paper is damaged at the corner, the last digit missing.

The first and the most ambitious work that Anderson executed during 1798 was the wood engraving of a skeleton from Albinus. It was the forerunner of a group of anatomical engravings and drawings that he did at this time and during the next year. In 1794, 1795, and 1796, he recorded drawing figures from Albinus, and in February 1797, he had borrowed a book of 'very old' engravings and again copied an anatomical figure.

On January 2, Anderson mentioned the engraving for the first time. 'I formed a scheme for engraving a Skeleton, on wood, of a large size, about 4 feet by 2.—Began to execute my scheme and for that purpose borrow'd the large Edition of Albinus from Dr. Chickering—pasted together some paper for drawing the sketch, and repair'd the book which was somewhat torn.'

The type of wood he chose for engraving was not mentioned. On January 8, he wrote: 'I delivered the patterns for my Anatomical plate to a Cabinet maker to have the wood prepared.' Ten days later, he talked of receiving 'one of the planks for the skeleton.' On February 8 he commented, 'Very cold weather. I spent almost the whole day in repairing the injury which the sudden change has done to my wooden plates, by cracking them. I got some work done, by a carpenter, for printing the plates.' Four days later, he described the process of printing: 'My method of doing it is this — The plate is laid on a table in the garret — the paper properly moisten'd is applied over it, and on that some loose paper; over all, a level board cover'd with flannel is plac'd and a strong pressure applied to it by means of a lever — the board is then removed and all the papers except one — which covers the printed sheet — this is rubbed with a smooth piece of box-wood, and the business is done.' In the intervening

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days he pulled more copies, but not satisfied with the results, he asked [Monteith] McFarlane's help on the nineteenth. McFarlane had been the printer of his children's books for the Lilliputian Bookstore.

Anderson gave a copy to his father, to John Roberts, the Scottish engraver who was later to teach him, to Dr. Seaman, and the next year, another to Fisher 'the barber.²⁶⁴ The apparently unique example in the NHi is cinnamon colored, perhaps due to the glue used to paste it on the backing.

It is an extraordinary piece of work. On page 48 of the *Memorial*, Lossing called it, 'a work of art . . . remarkable for accuracy of drawing and beauty of execution,' and Linton, on page 5 of his *History of Wood Engraving*, noted, 'It was indeed a remarkable work, especially for that time.' The engraving should be better known, as it is a milestone not only in Anderson's career but in the history of American wood engraving.

87 (AA?) The Trifle-Hunter; or, the Adventures of Prince Bonbennin. A Chinese Tale. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

28, [3] pp. Welch 1335.1, Carstens 41, Evans 48646. Readex MWA.

The text is illustrated by nine relief engravings that illustrate this puckish story, as well as a decorative headpiece, a tailpiece, and four more cuts, two to a page, on pages 30-31.

The engravings are lively and have charm, but the drawing seems awkward for Anderson at this date. The work may have been done before 1798 for an earlier edition that has not survived. The four illustrations at the end are blurred on the microprint. They were probably cuts Babcock had on hand and used to fill the space at the end of the book. One cut, on page 26, is included in the 1807 *Fables Ancient and Modern*. ... *Adorned with Cuts by Anderson*. See item 43 for a note on this book.

88 Watts, Isaac. Divine Songs Attempted in Easy Language, for the Use of Children. [Vignette of a bird.] Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

70 pp. Welch 1408.49, Carstens 42, Evans 48754. Readex CHi.

There is only one illustration in the book, the title-page vignette of a Bewick bird, in reverse.

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^{64.} Probably Valentine Seaman, New York physician, who was a member of the New York Committee of Health in 1795 and later a teacher at the Medical Institute in New York. Anderson thought that Fisher 'the barber' should be called a surgeon. He had bled Anderson and bought some of his surgical instruments in January 1799, when Anderson gave up practicing.

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The design appeared originally in the 1792 *Looking-Glass for the Mind*, illustrated by John Bewick. It was probably engraved by Anderson, may be a wood engraving, and is printed for the first time in one of Babcock's books. For another *Divine Songs* published by Babcock, differently illustrated, see item 52. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

89 Wisdom in Miniature; or the Young Gentleman and Lady's Magazine. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1798.

30, [1] pp. Welch 1443.2, Evans 35045. Readex MWA, Pomeroy (an 1808 edition contains all the same text cuts).

A total of fifteen relief engravings exemplify the moral lessons.

The frontispiece is the same as that used in the 1796 edition (item 68). The remaining cuts were all used in the earlier book, except two coarsely engraved depictions of birds on the inside of the back cover. Within the text, all are ovals set in shaded rectangles, except a rectangular engraving of a stork that first appeared in *Instructive and Entertaining Emblems* in 1795 (item 43). Four of the engravings also illustrate the 1798 *Child's Spelling Book* (item 78); four were used in *The Principles of the Christian Religion*, 1796 (item 60); one in *The Reward of Avarice*, 1798 (item 85); two in *The Instructive Story of Industry and Sloth*, 1796 (item 62); and one in *Instructive and Entertaining Emblems*, 1795 (item 43). For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

1799

90 [Anatomical male figure.]

Stauffer, no. 66, incorrectly dated. NN, NHi.

Three copies have been located, the third at NNNAM. Copperplate, line engraving, approximately 42" x 12¹⁵/16" (plate marks), printed on two sheets of paper stuck together. Fig. 9.

Anderson's wood engraving of a skeleton has been described at item 86. Later in 1798 he attempted another large anatomical figure on wood, obtained boxwood and mahogany, but the plank began to 'shrink and crack, and every crack goes to my heart' (December 3). He had to abandon the engraving. After drawing a female anatomical figure from Duverny,⁶⁵ he began work on the copperplate etching and engraving of

65. Guichard-Joseph Du Verney's Oeuvres Anatomiques was published in 1761.



Fig. 9. Anatomical male figure. Line engraving, 1799, item 90. Courtesy of the Prints Division, New York Public Library.

a male anatomical figure, saying on January 9, 1799, that he 'bought a large sheet of copper at Bailey's with an intention of engraving some Anatomical plates.⁶⁶ On the fourteenth, he recorded, 'In the evening I began to pumice one of the large copper plates. 3 feet 7 inches by 13 inches.' On the fifteenth, he wrote, 'I had as hard a day's labour as ever I experienc'd—I had undertaken to polish the plate in one day—This was supposed to be impossible, but I accomplished it before bed-time, but suffer'd much from pains in my arms.' The entry for the sixteenth notes, 'Slept soundly last night but my arms are still painful.'

On January 17, he wrote, 'I finish'd off my copper and succeeded pretty well in laying on the varnish,' and on the nineteenth, 'I began to etch the Anatomical plate, copying it from an old french engraving in mezzotinto.' He referred to his etching during the rest of the month, but since he was also engaged in doing the maps for John Low for Payne's Geography (item 96), it is not certain which plates he was working on. But on February 5, he stated, 'Finish'd etching my large plate & made preparations for biting it in.' The next day, he spent 'most of the day at biting in my Anatomy.' He continued to work at the plate and on February 23 complained, 'My large copperplate has almost broken my back with bending over it.' The entry of February 25 reads, 'I prepar'd my plate for a proof. ... C[ornelius] Tiebout furnish'd me with a quantity of copperplate printing paper in exchange for a half sheet of copper.' On the twenty-sixth, he wrote, 'I got a proof of the plate & began to correct it.' The next day, he 'had the pleasure of finishing my Anatomical plate.' And on March 4, he stated, 'I got 17 copies of my Anatomy & pasted them-presented one to Dr. Hosack, one to my Father-in-law and one to send to his Brother at Bethlehem.' The next day he called on Dr. Mitchill and gave him 'one of my plates.'

The source for Anderson's figure was *Anatomie Générale des Viscères en Situation, de Grandeur et Couleur Naturelle*, by Gautier d'Agoty (Paris, 1752). The original figure that Anderson reduced, was life-size on three plates.⁶⁷ It is an impressive image of great quality; the drawing is sure and accomplished. This plate, and the wood engraving of a skeleton from Albinus, are convincing proof of Anderson's abilities.

66. Probably John Bailey, ironmonger and founder, 60 Water Street. Anderson saw Winstanley's paintings at his house.

67. Anderson used plates 4–6 for his model. The publication was found at the New York Academy of Medicine by Wendy Shadwell, Curator of Prints, New-York Historical Society. The spine title of the volume in which they appear is 'Duverny / Essai / d'anatomy'—a misleading designation.

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91 Bible, English. The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. Philadelphia: Printed for Thomas Dobson, 1799.

Unpaged. Evans 35188. Readex MWA.

Three of the copperplates engraved by Anderson and used for the first time in Durell's Josephus of 1792 (item 2) are included. They are *Map of the Countries Surrounding the Garden of Eden*, *Map of the Holy Land*, and *Solomon's Temple*. There are sixteen copperplates in this copy. See also items 2, 25, 44, 45, 56, and 92.

92 Josephus, Flavius. The Whole Genuine and Complete Works of Flavious [sic] Josephus ... By George Henry Maynard, L.L.D. ... Embellished with Upwards of Thirty Copper Plate Engravings, Executed by American Artists. New-York: Printed by W. Durell, for Bell and Smith, 1799.

721 pp., irreg. Evans 35675. Readex NHi.

This edition of thirty plates contains three of Anderson's copperplates from Durell's 1792 edition (item 2): *The Assassination of Amnon, Josephus in a Cave*, and the *Massacre of the Jews at Damascus*. See also items 2, 25, 44, 45, 56, and 91.

93 [Masson, Charles Francois Philibert.] *Elmina*; or, the Flower That Never Fades. A Tale for Young People. Hartford: Printed by John Babcock, 1799.

47 pp. Welch 823.2, Carstens 46, Evans 35439. Readex MWA.

Nine relief engravings.

The 'Elmina' frontispiece referred to by Rosenbach is not used to illustrate this story (see item 52 in this checklist). Instead, the frontispiece depicts a basket of flowers, garlands, and an angel and urn. The eight other cuts, ovals set in shaded rectangles, were engraved for this work and have not been used in other surviving Babcock books that I have seen. Because of the Bewick-influenced style, they would appear to have been cut by Anderson, probably engraved in this year, and may therefore be on wood. For a note on Anderson's work for Babcock, see item 43.

94 Moore, John Hamilton. *The Young Gentleman and Lady's Monitor*. New-York: Printed by John Tiebout for R. Macgill, J. Reid, J. Harrisson, E. Duyckinck, C. Davis, Brown and Stansbury, T. B. Jansen, S. Stevens, N. Judah, T. Arden, A. Sommervill, and Bell and Smith. 1799. vi, 370, [6] pp. Evans 35835. Readex MWA.

The same four 'Elements of Gesture' that were first engraved by Anderson in 1795 for Forman are used here. See also items 46, 72, and 64.

95 [Oram, James.] 'Wooden cuts for Oram' (diary, February 27). Unlocated.

Anderson did not mention the number of completed cuts. Whether these engravings were for a children's book published or printed by James Oram is not known. None with a date of 1799 can be found.

96 Payne, John. [A New and Complete System of Universal Geography... in Four Volumes. New-York: Printed for, and Sold by John Low, 1798–1800.]

Evans 34316, 38199, 36047; see below for Wheat & Brun. DLC, Geography and Map Division (a volume containing the maps only).

This copy, without title page or letterpress, is made up of the fortythree copperplate maps issued in the four-volume work. Anderson's signature appears on twelve. Six are signed with his name alone; one he signed as engraver; and five he drew, four of these engraved by Cornelius Tiebout or John Scoles.

Seven of the maps are dated 1799 in the plate; his account reveals that Anderson finished four or five plates before the end of the diary in June. Unfortunately, he did not specify the subjects of those completed. Of the five remaining plates signed by him, two are dated 1800 (New York and North Carolina) and three have no date (Europe, Italy, and Spain and Portugal). The maps dated 1799 are arranged below in order of their appearance in the book, as shown by Wheat and Brun.

- France. Vol. 3, opp. p. 607. Signed A. Anderson S. 8⁵/₈" x 8³/₄." Wheat & Brun 839.
- 2. New Hampshire. Vol. 4, opp. p. 229. Signed A. Anderson Del. C. Tiebout Sc. 11%16" x 75/16." Wheat & Brun 190.
- 3. Vermont. Vol. 4, opp. p. 229. Signed A. Anderson Del. Tiebout Sculp. 9¹/16" x 7⁷/16." Wheat & Brun 201.
- 4. Massachusetts. Vol. 4, opp. p. 235. Signed Anderson Del. 7⁷/16" x 9⁵/16." Wheat & Brun 222.
- 5. Connecticut. Vol. 4, opp. p. 270. Signed A. Anderson, Del. 7⁷/16" x 9¹/4." Wheat & Brun 292.
- 6. Maryland and Delaware. Vol. 4, opp. p. 345. Signed Anderson Del. Scoles Sc. 75/16" x 95/16." Wheat & Brun 518.

 Virginia. Vol. 4, opp. p. 385. Signed A. Anderson. 7¹/₂" x 9⁷/₈." Wheat & Brun 574.

As mentioned earlier, on December 7, 1798, Anderson wrote, 'I intended to confine myself to wood-engraving-but C[ornelius] Tiebout wishes me to undertake a map, and I cannot resist the offer.' Anderson was short of money, no doubt the reason he accepted intaglio engraving. Three days later, he got a plate from Tiebout and 'began at the map.' On the nineteenth, he noted that 'C. Tiebout call'd with Low who proposes the engraving of several maps.-In the evening I began to reduce one [of] them to a smaller scale.' The next day he wrote, 'C. Tiebout and myself agreed to finish the maps at \$10 each.' It is not clear whether this means each map or \$10 for each person. Probably the latter was meant, since he had received £10 for the map of Kentucky he had both drawn and engraved for John Reid's American Atlas (item 67), although that was a larger image than any of the 1799 maps that appeared in John Payne's work. By January 4, Anderson said he had finished two maps and the next day, he 'got several numbers of Low's Geography in payment for engraving.' He continued to talk of engraving the maps and on January 28 stated that he had finished another. On February 7, he reduced maps, and worked at them through the twenty-eighth, the last reference to the work.

Cornelius Tiebout's involvement in the project makes it appear that it was his shop that printed the copperplates for the publisher, Low. 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.