

PŘÍLOHA – VÝCHOZÍ TEXT

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The Book in the New Republic

The book is not an ideal object . . . it is a fabrication made of paper upon which thought symbols are printed. It does not contain thoughts; these must arise in the mind of the comprehending reader. It is a commodity produced for hard cash.

An eighteenth-century German bookseller

Without him tyrants and humbugs in all countries would have their own way. He is a friend of intelligence and thought, a friend of liberty, of freedom, of law, indeed, the friend of every man who is a friend of order. Of all inventions, of all discoveries in science and art, of all the great results in the wonderful progress of mechanical energy and skill, the Printer is the only product of civilization necessary to the existence of free men.

Charles Dickens (1850)

What is a book? Is it a commodity, like toothpaste, to be consumed by anyone who can be persuaded (the function of advertising) to buy one particular product instead of another? Or is a book a unique sign-system in which the reader necessarily participates as a producer of meanings, the locus of which is that one particular text? These two books—the book as manufactured artifact and the book as conveyor of meaning—are not the same, and during the course of this study I will discuss each in terms of the other. But I wish to begin more simply: with one book, the book as material fact and economic entity.

Privileging—or at least giving precedence—to that first book should not suggest that socioeconomic factors essentially determine the forms of literature. The process is more complex than that. The first American novelists, for example, were not totally discouraged by the fact that the economics of the early book trade distinctly discouraged American fiction. Furthermore, and as William Charvat some time ago observed, the model for the American book industry is not so much the diadic relationship of, in traditional capitalistic terms, the producer and the consumer, as a triadic interrelationship among the writer, the printer/publisher, and the reader. As Charvat argues: “The book trade is acted upon by both writer and reader, and in receiving their influence the book trade interprets and therefore transmutes it. Correspondingly, the writer and reader dictate to and are dictated to by the book trade.”¹

This complex intermediation of reader, writer, and printer/publisher/bookseller (the tradesmen of the profession) constituted, then as now, the American book industry. The Revolution, fostered by a native press perpetrating the ideology of independence, had encouraged New World printers to expand their trade.² Moreover, the suspension of trade with England during the war greatly encouraged local industry—both native printing and the manufacturing of paper,

presses, ink, and type. With the resumption of peace and imports, a relatively large class of artisans, craftsmen, and entrepreneurs was already well established in the book trade and anxious both to protect and to extend what had been a recently flourishing business. Trade associations such as the *Asylum Company of Journeymen Printers* (1800) were formed, partly as professional organizations designed to assure the continuance of the apprentice system, but mostly to pressure Congress to enact protective tariffs for the American book trade.³ In one form or another, that trade was pursued until nearly every city, town, or village in the new Republic came into contact with the printer or his art—either through a local publisher (usually of a newspaper), a bookseller (who was often part of a larger book-distribution network), a general store (that carried staples of the book trade such as Bibles or almanacs), a literary agent (who annually or semiannually made his way through town), or at the very least an itinerant peddler (who hawked books along with other goods as he made his rural rounds).

By today's standards, however, the book business in the early national period was strikingly small and localized, a situation that changed dramatically during the second quarter of the nineteenth century with the invention of mechanized printing, a technological advance in some ways as impressive and far-reaching as the invention of movable type in the fifteenth century.⁴ New methods of transporting books (better roads, shipping routes, and eventually the railway) also vastly altered the print industry during the later nineteenth century, as did increased urbanization. Largely centralized, this new printing industry produced massive quantities of inexpensive books that could be expeditiously distributed to a wide audience. But if the printers of the early national period looked forward to this brave new world of mass publishing, they were still partly grounded in a very different Colonial print world. The supplies of the trade (and especially type) had to be obtained from England; most books in America were imported rather than published at home; and only a limited number of books (chapbooks, almanacs, Bibles, and a few other steady sellers) were readily available to the populace at large. Although the Revolution had officially ended that world, almost half a century would elapse before American publishing would be consolidated into large dynastic houses and cheap books would become big business.

The American novel first appeared during the time when the domestic publishing industry enjoyed a new sense of vigor, nationalism, and professional pride (but not much capital) and when every printer faced the renewed (and debilitating) competition from foreign imports, especially British imports. So the novelist, like the printer of the early period, operated within a transitional book market. An earlier, essentially aristocratic, system (primarily European) had supported through patronage or subscription the works of a relatively limited group of writers. The rising middle class, with its increasingly voracious appetite for books, especially novels, portended a new mass patronage of books based not on a work's appeal to the gentry but on its general popularity. The steadily increasing demand for books by the middle class prompted many writers to try to earn a living by their pen. But, as Martha Woodmansee has noted, in both late eighteenth-century Europe and America, none of "the requisite legal, economic, and political arrangements and institutions were yet in place to support the large number of writers who came forward."⁵ The struggles of the book industry during the early national period and the struggles by native American novelists to establish their own genre mirror each other. In both cases, the spirit was willing, even if the economy was not.

The "average" printer of the early national period (surely a historical construct) who brought forth a novel, especially one by an unknown American writer, hoped that the volume might sell

several hundred copies, enough to reimburse production costs and perhaps pay something over.⁶ But the author only rarely profited by these literary transactions. Although an author such as Noah Webster supported himself handsomely by writing in nonfictional forms, not until the 1820s did America produce a financially successful novelist. James Fenimore Cooper, after publishing *The Spy* in 1821, went on to become, during the course of that decade, the “American Sir Walter Scott” (a comparison he found odious), to sell as many as forty thousand volumes a year and to achieve an average income of some \$6,500 annually from his fiction.⁷ Susanna Haswell Rowson and Hannah Webster Foster had published extensively before him, but neither of these bestselling novelists realized anything remotely resembling Cooper’s financial success, and both supported themselves throughout their lives in ways other than by writing fiction. For a variety of legal and social reasons, their sales did not translate into a commensurate income. Cooper, in contrast, was fortunate enough to begin his career right at the time when the book industry was undergoing the dramatic alternations that made his success possible and even, to a degree, predictable.⁸

Although Susanna Rowson’s *Charlotte: A Tale of Truth* (1791)—later known as *Charlotte Temple*—had sold nearly forty thousand copies by the first decade of the nineteenth century, many of the copies were from pirated editions that brought no recompense to either the author or her American publisher. That publisher’s first edition, it might also be noted, ran to only one thousand copies.⁹ One of the country’s most prosperous and sagacious early printers, Mathew Carey simply had no basis for predicting the popularity of Rowson’s book. In fact, a first printing of a late eighteenth century American novel typically ran somewhere between three hundred and fifteen hundred copies, so Carey’s edition of *Charlotte* was relatively large by the standards of the time. In contrast, by 1825 a press run of ten thousand copies for an American novel was not unheard of; by 1830 the paperback novels or “story papers” that were distributed as “newspapers” through the U.S. postal system were regularly run in editions of thirty thousand copies.¹⁰ Mass publishing had become possible—and profitable—in ways that Carey could only dream of. New copyright laws (to be discussed further in this chapter) also aided later writers. Thus Charles Brockden Brown could complain of pirated English books being sold at a fraction of the price of native products and swamping the American market; on the other hand, Cooper complained of his books being pirated by British companies and being sold in England, often in poorly printed, condensed, and retitled versions designed to appeal to the British reader.¹¹ In a real sense, the rapid development of American publishing, with the concomitant flourishing of the American novel, after the first quarter of the nineteenth century highlights the obstacles that confronted the earlier publishers and authors—cumbersome printing techniques and inefficient methods for distribution, no national or international copyright laws whereby an author’s or publisher’s rights could be protected, and a flood of competing European imprints on the American market.

Looking now in more detail at the methods of book production and distribution during the early national period, I would first emphasize that until well into the nineteenth century, printing, publishing, and marketing were usually three sides of the same business. An author was required to contact a printer and contract with him (rarely, her) to have a new book brought before the American public.¹² The author’s official recompense would be whatever the printer agreed to pay for the rights to an edition of a certain number. Often the actual recompense was whatever the printer was finally able or willing to pay. The printer’s recompense would come from the sale of those same volumes, so the printing shop that was also a publishing establishment was usually a bookstore, too. In this third establishment the printer also had to be

his own entrepreneur. Through newspaper and magazine advertisements, through the vital exchange systems with booksellers in other areas, through literary agents, and through book subscriptions the printer sought to sell his product. Such industry was required. Since publishers were often small local businesses in a large land with a sparse and scattered population, it was difficult to gain a large audience for most books. But fiction especially was badly served by regional publication and limited availability. It is significant, in this regard, that until 1820 local printers (independent printers outside the major cities) still published over 50 percent of American fiction, even though fiction—unlike, say, newspapers or almanacs—was not really “local.” By midcentury, however, when the novel business was flourishing, only 8 percent of American fiction was still published by local, regional printers.¹³

The early publisher had to make difficult decisions during a time of uncertain and rapidly changing literary tastes. Consistent with the sectarian or revivalist religions and the volatile partisan politics that divided society, reading was split into different camps, too. There was a demand for such literary entertainment as captivity narratives, travel books, the new personalized histories and biographies (all ostensibly nonfiction), and especially for novels. There was also a vogue in self-improvement books, ranging from reading-and-writing manuals (including dictionaries, primers, readers, and penmanship books) to books on etiquette, fashion, or even hairstyles.¹⁴ Which works to publish and where to sell them? As publishers also knew, some old Colonial standbys, Bibles and other traditional religious works such as *Pilgrim's Progress*, as well as occasional political pamphlets and almanacs, were often extraordinarily popular. Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* reputedly sold one hundred fifty thousand copies and sparked a revolution.¹⁵ Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac* sold ten thousand copies per year; Nathaniel Ames's almanac sold sixty-five thousand copies annually. In one small town, Leominster, Massachusetts, for example, Elizabeth Carroll Reilly has determined that in 1772 Thomas Legate, a local storekeeper, purchased over twelve dozen almanacs—enough for three quarters of the town's families.¹⁶ We might also note Noah Webster's 1803 boast that his *A Grammatical Institute of the English Language...Part I* (1783), later retitled *The American Spelling Book*, had sold 3 million copies.¹⁷ Indeed, the Reverend Elijah R. Sabin, in the preface to his novel, *The Life and Reflections of Charles Observator* (1816), found it necessary “to obviate” the “common objection” that “there are already too many books in the world!”¹⁸

The problem for the printer, then, was not that there was no money to be made in books but in determining which books made money. The prodigious success of a few titles made the matter especially difficult. Why did Susanna Rowson's *Charlotte* and Hannah Webster Foster's *The Coquette* (1797) sell so well? Even more curious was the appeal of the anonymous *The History of Constantius and Pulchra* (1794), a book that was reprinted in both cheap and relatively expensive editions in Connecticut, New Hampshire, New York, and Maryland. How could a publisher gauge the demand (or lack of one) for a specific title? Would a book (especially a novel) offend censorious critics? Would it be lively enough for an increasingly secularized public? Those decisions were all the more crucial in that for most printers there was little margin for error. Isaiah Thomas or Mathew Carey skillfully plumbed and primed the market, but printing in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century was not, in general, a remunerative profession. When Benjamin Franklin founded, for example, the Franklin Society in 1788, he did so in order to provide for aging, indigent printers or their orphaned progeny.¹⁹ As both the purpose and the bylaws of this benevolent organization attest, printers often left their survivors nothing but debts. Few publishing establishments maintained a stable business over an extended period of time. Partners, locations, and printing shops were often changed, and such changes

were often designed to skirt insolvency or bankruptcy. In fact (and a telling fact it is), out of all the hundreds of Colonial and late-eighteenth-century American publishers, only one establishment—that of Mathew Carey—survived until well into the nineteenth century.²⁰

Operating with little capital and considerable overhead, these printers of the early national period knew that their business was precarious and that one major miscalculation could spell ruin. They consequently tended to be both hardheaded in committing themselves to some publishing venture and cautious in carrying it out. The market would be carefully assessed and so would the cost of the project, especially such negotiable terms as an author's payment (or expenses, for the author was sometimes required to bear part or all of the cost of the printing). Sometimes a publisher might advertise a book in advance of publication to stake (according to the unwritten laws of the trade) his claim to a title or to see how much interest a particular title elicited from prospective readers.²¹ Many titles consequently exist today as ghost books, works that were never published at all.²² Faced with the uncertain prospects of a new project, a publisher might decide that it would be wiser to publish another edition of a known work by a known writer (European or American) instead of taking a chance on an untested book and author. Printers were particularly cautious with the early American novel. Socially and morally suspect, the form was also new and untried in its American guise. To cut costs, most novels not only were published in small editions but were themselves small. Early American novels were rarely longer than three hundred pages and sometimes shorter than a hundred pages. It should also come as no surprise that most early printers, like most authors, brought forth only one American novel during the course of a whole career.

The early publisher who decided to print a particular volume generally did so in a cottage-industry fashion. His shop might have one or two indentured apprentices, often as young as six or seven years of age. The apprentices took care of such unpleasant chores as “treading out the pelts,” literally stomping on sheep pelts that had soaked for several days in the slop pail, a first step in making the ink balls necessary to ink the type. Apprentices and the printer's children, too, would help with cleaning, would sort type, and when strong enough would actually operate the heavy presses. The work was hard. Several eighteenth-century accounts describe the usual build and gait of one who had long served at the press—an enormously developed right arm, a limp from having used the right foot on the “step” in order to make the “pull,” and sometimes even distended or permanently dislocated shoulders.²³ The work was also general. To supplement the income from the press, the printer's wife might run the town post office out of the print shop; often she sold books (those imported or exchanged from different booksellers as well as those printed in the shop) and other goods—everything from household items and her own handicrafts to theater or lottery tickets, stationery, pens, ink, and fancy imported products. The printer was responsible for everything else: keeping track of supplies (before 1800, many of these were imported; after 1800, they were typically manufactured in the shop itself), setting type, seeing books through the entire publication process, and overseeing the sale of the published run.

The printer's main business, in short, was to turn the author's manuscript into a salable commodity and then to sell it. Conducting that business, he assumed functions that would be later delegated to the authors themselves or to specialized editors. To start with, what we might term the printer's artistic control usually began with his deciphering the original handwritten text, for rarely would he query the author about smudged, illegible words or problematic passages. The usual procedure was to insert any word or words that seemed to fit. In addition,

the printer would silently “correct” (not always accurately) any mistakes in the author’s punctuation, spelling, and usage. ²⁴ Typically, the printer did the only proofreading, too, and did so as much from an artisan’s concern for his own craft as from any commitment to the integrity of the author’s text. ²⁵ Even though printers often boasted of the accuracy of a text, it is clear, from surveying the hundreds of editions and “duplicate” copies of American novels published prior to 1820, that one area in which the individual printer fully exercised printerly prerogatives was in the physical layout of both the page and the book as a whole. ²⁶ Especially important, in this context, was the selection of typefaces, since varying type sizes and different spacings between letters were regularly used for emphasis. ²⁷ A fairly innocuous sentence could easily be given a more sensational cast by the strategic italicizing or capitalizing of words such as SEDUCTION or INCEST. Such printing devices naturally helped to sell books; such devices also testified that the book sold thereby was a product of both the writer’s and the printer’s art. Sometimes the advertisements for books even emphasized the printer’s art more than the writer’s, as in the ad of Isaiah Thomas, Jr., for Sukey Vickery’s *Emily Hamilton* (1803): “The work will be neatly printed on good paper and a fair type, in a 12mo. volume, and will make about 300 pages. The price to Subscribers will be 75 cents, neatly bound and lettered.” ²⁸

Intermediating between author and audience, the printer played a crucial role in shaping early American culture. Printers determined what possible volumes would become available, in what number, at what price, and where and how they would be sold. As Bernard Bailyn observes, printers were “at once the handicraftsmen, entrepreneurs, and cultural leaders” who were “second in importance only to the clergy as leaders of opinion and public educators.” ²⁹ The new American novel could not have been established had the printers of the time decided that Bibles, broadsides, and Fanny Burney or Robert Bage would sell better, and then devoted their efforts to that end. But the printers had their reasons, as businessmen and cultural leaders, for recognizing a possible market for a native literature, for fostering that market, for, in effect, attending as both midwife and godfather to the birth of a new American literary form.

A book’s trials, however, were by no means over once some printer looked upon it favorably and was persuaded to bring forth an edition. The volumes of that edition then had to be sold, which was always a difficult task in a large and sparsely settled country that lacked any effective means of generally distributing goods. Many printers were located in smaller cities and towns, and even those in the larger cities did not have access to a concentrated population comparable to England’s London. Whereas a million people lived in late eighteenth-century London, there were less than 45,000 in Philadelphia (then America’s largest city) and some 20,000 lived in Boston. According to the first American census of 1790, the combined population of America’s five largest cities was only 123,475, and the total population of the United States was 3,929,624. ³⁰ It was not a demography that made for effective marketing. The population was widely scattered; the cities were relatively small; the local markets were quickly saturated. Matters were further complicated in that the one effective means of transporting large quantities of books was by sea, which meant that the coastal cities were readily supplied by volumes printed abroad. Besides, the mass of the growing population more and more lived beyond the older coastal cities and depended mostly on rudimentary roads, navigable waterways (including some early canals), and itinerant tradesmen for their commercial dealings with the larger world. In such circumscribed settings, many books circulated only locally, and writers in one area were often unaware of what their fellows in another were doing—if, indeed, they even knew of the existence of those fellows. Joseph Dennie, in a letter to Royall Tyler regarding the Walpole, New Hampshire, publication of Tyler’s *The Algerine Captive*, aptly summarizes the too-

common consequence of the combined problems of local printing and precarious distribution: “Your novel has been examined by the few and approved. It is however extremely difficult for the Bostonians to supply themselves with a book that slumbers in a stall at Walpole, supposed, by the latest and most accurate advertisements, to be situated 400 miles north of their meridian.”³¹

Four hundred miles was a formidable distance. To travel by stagecoach from Boston to Walpole might take two weeks or longer. Nor was it an inexpensive trip. In 1800, a stagecoach journey could cost as much as \$1 for ten miles.³² Such fares were more than the early book trade could bear. Both booksellers and books, along with the whole budding manufacturing economy of the early Republic, required more expeditious, efficient, and inexpensive methods of transportation. Obviously mindful of this general problem, Isaiah Thomas purchased shares in several of the new turnpikes of the turn of the century—the Worcester and Stafford Turnpike, the Sixteenth Massachusetts Turnpike, and the Templeton and Fitzwilliam turnpikes.³³ These new roads—sometimes toll roads, sometimes supported by local subscription—were being built in Connecticut and Massachusetts, in New York, New Jersey, and parts of Pennsylvania. At the same time, too, a complex system of canals connecting rivers and towns in the Northeast was also begun. Such important early canals as those in Massachusetts on the Connecticut River at South Hadley or at Turner’s Falls and, later, the Middlesex Canal at Lowell allowed goods to be moved in large quantities and at relatively low cost.

William Charvat has argued that Philadelphia and, later, New York began to replace Boston as the nation’s publishing capital precisely because these cities had, through newly available waterways, relatively easy access to the ever-growing western regions of the country, which increasingly constituted a major market for American imprints.³⁴ Philadelphia’s growing ascendancy dated, however, from the Revolutionary War era. Numerous printers had established themselves there during the war to print government pamphlets and tracts. Philadelphia was also the most important site for manufacturing presses, largely because one man, Adam Ramage, the new nation’s finest press builder, had settled in that city in 1790 and had been followed by others who wanted to learn—and to improve upon—his trade. Furthermore, Pennsylvania was also a center for papermaking in America. There were over one hundred paper mills in the state by 1800 and just over two hundred by the time of the 1810 census.³⁵ Of course, problems of transportation applied as much to presses and paper as to the finished product, the printed book. And happily situated though he may have been—with the materials for his business close at hand, living in the largest city, and with easy access to an ever-larger market—the Philadelphia printer still had to sell his product to survive.

The imprint on the title page of the first edition of Charles Brockden Brown’s *Arthur Mervyn* (1799–1800) indicates the way in which one Philadelphia printer sought to carry his books to the larger market: “Printed and published by H. Maxwel l...and sold by Messrs. T. Dobson, R. Campbell, H. and P. Rice, A. Dickins, and the principal booksellers in the neighbouring states.” Confronting a growing demand for books (both those published in America and those imported from abroad), printers established and elaborated an extensive network of booksellers. Volumes published by Mathew Carey in Philadelphia, for example, turned up in bookstores as far away as Boston and New Orleans, while Benjamin Franklin had contracted as early as 1775 to sell his books through William Hunter, the only printer in the vast colony of Virginia.³⁶ Perhaps the most complex network in the new Republic was established by Isaiah Thomas. This marvel of makeshift practicality was comprised of loose trade agreements with scattered booksellers,

agreements Thomas sustained when they seemed profitable but abandoned when they proved unprofitable or if a particular bookseller seemed unreliable or dishonest. These agreements did get books to the outlying markets, as is clear from an advertisement in the *Farmer's Weekly Museum of Walpole*, New Hampshire, an ad that ran almost weekly from July 24 to October 1, 1798: "The following Books, with many others, just received from Worcester and Boston, may be had of Thomas and Thomas at the Walpole Bookstore as cheap as either of those places." Included in the offer were three new American novels, *The Algerine Captive*, *The American Bee*, and *The Female Review* (all published the previous year) along with several popular British standbys — *Pamela*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *The Vicar of Wakefield* — as well as schoolbooks, spelling books, dictionaries, and assorted supplies such as playing cards, ink, lead pencils, slate pencils, marbled paper, and blank books (bound unprinted books in which one could keep accounts or diaries). The advertisement concludes: "Orders from a distance, for books or newspapers, strictly adhered to. A liberal discount to country traders." The discount to the country trader was a common way in which the early American printer brought others into his distributing network. These country traders, whether itinerants or general storekeepers, served the most rural population. They often obtained books not from booksellers but from large drygoods merchants in the major cities.³⁷ Their stock-in-trade was mostly established best-sellers, Bibles, hymnbooks, and almanacs. Thomas encouraged both groups to expand their literary offerings and to purchase their expanded stock directly from him.

What effect did the improved transportation systems and the expanding publisher's networks have on the shape of American fiction? Obviously, that is a difficult question to answer. But it is worth noting that nearly all of America's novels published prior to 1820 were first published in the North. There were exceptions, such as George Fowler's *A Flight to the Moon; or The Vision of Randalthus* (1813) and John Neal's *Keep Cool* (1817), both published in Baltimore; or (Adam Douglass's) *The Irish Emigrant* (1817) published in Winchester, Virginia; or (Jesse Lynch Holman's) *The Prisoners of Niagara; or, Errors of Education* (1810) published in Frankfort, Kentucky. But these volumes were all issued after 1809, with only marginal success, and none enjoyed a second edition. To put the matter in its most general terms, the new American novels tended to do best where they could best be distributed. As William J. Gilmore has argued, the vagaries of an imperfect distribution system governed both trade and society: "Economic growth and social differentiation of a township were, to a large extent, a function of geography and transportation networks. All levels of cultural participation... were partly dependent upon this same interrelationship of geography and transportation. All printed items traveled along the same roads and rivers as shoes and sheep, and were inhibited by the same mountains and mud." Gilmore even finds that levels of elementary literacy "vary directly with the level of involvement in the market economy" as well as with access to print culture.³⁸ It is interesting to speculate in this connection on how different the structure of American literature might be had the South had better roads or a more active publishing industry or been more accessible to the major Northern publishing centers in the years after the Revolution. The American Renaissance well might have had a Southern drawl instead of a distinctly Yankee twang.³⁹

Hawkers also helped a cumbersome book distribution system to work. Essentially traveling salesmen, they supplied booksellers in little towns and villages or dealt directly with individual buyers who otherwise had no ready access to the book trade. In the tradition of chapmen— itinerants who had previously sold mostly chapbooks, penny histories, pamphlets, ballads, and inexpensive children's books—the turn-of-the-century peddlers carried the latest literary

products of the cities out into the hinterland. The increasing need for this service was perhaps most marked by the changing reputation of the hawker. The profession by the end of the eighteenth century had lost some of the stigma of Puritan and Colonial days when laws had been passed forbidding hawkers from selling their wares in Massachusetts and even forbidding “taverners, alehouse keepers, common victuallers and retailers” from “receiv[ing] or giv[ing] any entertainment to any hawker, peddler or petty chapman.”⁴⁰ These laws (primarily resulting from a suspicion of the printed word and a fear of the harm it might wreak upon the “unwary” rural population) were no longer enforced even before the Revolution, and the peddler with his horsedrawn wagon continued to ply his wares through rural postrevolutionary America, often selling the occasional novel along with his pots and pans, sometimes selling the occasional pot or pan along with his novels, Bibles, and other books. Occasionally, a charismatic peddler became almost a folk hero to the populace who awaited his arrival not only for books and goods, but also for news of events, fashions, and scandals in distant places. Correspondingly, the literary peddler became more sensitive to the book-buying needs and interests of the people.⁴¹

One obvious way to successful bookselling was taken by literary agents who concentrated on the larger and more accessible country towns and especially those such as Andover, Massachusetts, or Exeter, New Hampshire, that had some commitment to the values of education. But other agents were required to go beyond the main highways and byways. Long before Willy Loman, the outposts of New England tested many a salesman. In the farthest reaches of New England, in the territories of the Northwest ordinance, on the Eastern seaboard, and throughout the Deep South, selling books was difficult and often thankless work. John Tebbel discusses one agent whose meticulous accounts attest to an average sale of a book a day, the profit from which would barely cover the cost of the agent’s meals on the road. Nor was this unusual. James Gilreath has argued that most literary agents were forced to pursue their profession only seasonally and supplemented their income from book peddling through other trades such as farming, blacksmithing, clockmaking, or cordwaining; many worked as literary agents only a short time before returning to more lucrative and less demanding occupations.⁴² Nevertheless, some agents still rose to the challenge posed by this difficult profession.

The most successful, the most popular, and certainly the most colorful of the early book peddlers was undoubtedly Mason Locke Weems. Parson Weems (as he was affectionately known) traveled extensively throughout New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, selling Mathew Carey’s stock, including Weems’s own *The Life of George Washington* (1808), a steady seller in the first part of the nineteenth century. Timing his appearances to coincide with country fairs, elections, market days, or other local events, Weems would enter onto the scene crying out “Seduction! Revolution! Murder!” A literary Friar Tuck, boisterous and charismatic, Weems was also a shrewd master of the literary marketplace. As he traveled around the country selling books, he also constantly sounded out booksellers and individual readers as to their literary preferences and then shaped his own impressionistic biographies accordingly, thereby anticipating the contemporary movie or television practice of polling the prospective audience and then creating the desired product. In addition, Weems advertised future projects at the same time that he sold his present stock, thus eliminating some of the vagaries of distribution by getting a sense of audience demand even as he also effectively fostered that demand.⁴³ Weems profited extensively from both his writing and his selling. His own highly fictionalized biographies were immensely popular, and once he demonstrated his success as an agent, he was able to negotiate with Carey for a 25 percent straight commission instead of the usual 5 percent for which he had first worked.⁴⁴

Since Weems met the readers, talked with them, and knew their literary preferences as well as anyone in America, he regularly advised Carey on how best to conduct his business: “Let [the books] be of the gay and sprightly kind,” he counseled his employer. “Novels, decent plays, elegant Histories, etc. Let the Moral & Religious be as highly dulcified as possible.”⁴⁵ Weems especially advocated the publishing of fiction. Carey, of course, printed both European and American novels (including the best-selling *Charlotte*) and imported still other titles, so on this score there was no real difference between the two men. On a related topic, however, there was. In letter after letter, Weems argued that Carey’s books—especially the entertainments the public craved—were too expensive for the average rural buyer. Here Weems’s counsel was at odds with Carey’s costs—and with Weems’s, too, it might be added. The manufacturing and distribution expenses of the time simply did not allow for book prices that the public could generally afford—an impasse that would not be resolved for a few more decades. Later technological advances—such as horse- and steam-powered presses that replaced the old manually operated presses, the invention of rollers that accomplished in one motion the inking previously performed laboriously by hand, the invention of the Napier-Hoe cylinder press, and the production of machine-made paper—allowed the American publisher of the second quarter of the nineteenth century to print faster and cheaper than at any time previously in Western history and to produce thereby books that were genuinely affordable by the masses. But before that time, Weems had clearly sounded the direction in which publishing had to progress.

NOTES

Chapter 2

1. William Charvat, “Literary Economics and Literary History,” *English Institute Essays*, ed. Alan S. Downer (1949; repr., New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1965), pp. 74–75.
2. For a sampling of different opinions on the role of the printer in fostering republican ideology, see the essays in Bernard Bailyn and John B. Hench, eds., *The Press and the American Revolution* (Boston: Northeastern Univ. Press, 1981); and those in Donovan H. Bond, ed., *Newsletters to Newspapers: Eighteenth-Century Journalism* (Morgantown: West Virginia Univ. Press, 1977); as well as Stephen Botein, “‘Meer Mechanics’ and an Open Press: The Business and Political Strategies of Colonial American Printers,” *Perspectives in American History*, 9 (1975), 130–211; Clyde A. Duniway, *The Development of Freedom of the Press in Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1906); Pauline Maier, *From Resistance to Revolution: Colonial Radicals and the Development of American Opposition to Britain, 1756–1776* (New York: Knopf, 1972); Charles S. Olton, *Artisans for Independence: Philadelphia Mechanics and the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1975); and Arthur M. Schlesinger, *Prelude to Independence: The Newspaper War on Britain, 1764–1776* (New York: Knopf, 1958).
3. Rollo G. Silver, “The Book Trade and the Protective Tariff: 1800–1804,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 46 (1952), 33–44; and Ethelbert Stewart, *A Documentary History of the Early Organizations of Printers* (Indianapolis: International Typographical Union, 1907).
4. For an exhaustive (if controversial) study of the effects of print technology, see Elizabeth Eisenstein’s *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1979).
5. Martha Woodmansee, “The Genius and the Copyright: Economic and Legal Conditions of the Emergence of the ‘Author,’” *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 17 (Summer 1984), 433. The first epigraph to this chapter also comes from this excellent study (p. 443).
6. Lawrence C. Wroth, in *The Book in America*, 2nd ed., ed. Hellmut Lehmann Haupt, Lawrence C. Wroth, and Rollo G. Silver (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1951), posits between three and five hundred copies as “an average figure for editions of books and pamphlets of a literary or political character in the early and middle years of eighteenth century” (p. 40). Nor was this low volume unique to America. Richard D. Altick, *The English*

Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900 (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1957), notes that “single editions of the novels of Richardson, Fielding, and Smollett seldom exceeded 4,000 copies [and]... only when an author’s star was in the ascendant did a publisher venture to order 2,000 copies in a first edition” (p. 50). Considering that almost 6 million people lived in Britain in 1750, this figure is proportionate to Wroth’s figures for early American imprints. Sales figures changed dramatically by the first decades of the nineteenth century, however, when, for example, Byron’s *The Corsair* (1814) sold ten thousand copies on its first day in print and twenty-five thousand copies within a month. Britain was the world leader in the production of mechanized printing operations and, by 1814, was already gearing up its technology to supply the demands of Byron’s eager readers. For the parallel German history, see Rolf Engelsing, *Der Bürger als Leser: Lesergeschichte in Deutschland, 1500–1800* (Stuttgart: Metzlersche, 1974); and Albert Ward, *Book Production, Fiction and the German Reading Public, 1740–1800* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974).

7. John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, 4 vols. (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972), 1:210, 222.

8. For an overview of the early American book industry, see Milton Hamilton, *The Country Printer* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1936); Lehmann-Haupt, Wroth, and Silver, eds., *The Book in America*; Douglas C. McMurtrie, *The Book: The Story of Printing and Bookmaking* (New York: Covici, Friede, 1937); Charles Madison, *Book Publishing in America* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966); Rollo G. Silver, *The American Printer, 1787–1825* (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1967), and *The Boston Book Trade, 1800–1825* (New York: New York Public Library, 1949); John Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing and The Media in America* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 388 Notes 1974), esp. chap 7; Lawrence C. Wroth, *The Colonial Printer* (Portland, Me.: Southworth-Anthoensen, 1938); and Mary Ann Yodelis, “Who Paid the Piper? Publishing Economics in Boston, 1763–1775,” *Journalism Monographs*, 38 (1975), 1–49.

9. Few early American publishers kept press figures, and even fewer press records survive to the present. For an excellent discussion of the problem, see G. Thomas Tanselle, “Some Statistics on American Printing, 1764–1783,” in Bailyn and Hench, eds., *The Press and the American Revolution*, pp. 315–63; and Tanselle, “Press Figures in America: Some Preliminary Observations,” in *Studies in Bibliography*, ed. Fredson Bowers (Charlottesville: Univ. Press of Virginia, 1966), 19:123–60. Mathew Carey’s records are among the most complete. His account books are in the Manuscript Department at the AAS, and his other papers are at the Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia. See also Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey: Editor, Author and Publisher, a Study in American Literary Development* (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1912); Silver, *The American Printer*, app., pp. 172–74, and “Mathew Carey, 1760–1839,” *Antiquarian Bookman* (February 1, 1960), p. 355. For a fascinating firsthand account of eighteenth-century publishing practices, see Mathew Carey, *Autobiography* (New York: Research Classics, 1942).

10. Frank L. Schick, *The Paperbound Book in America: The History of Paperbacks and Their European Background* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1958), pp. 40–45. Wayne E. Fuller in *The American Mail* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1972) notes that by 1814 novels were already being distributed by the postal service. He quotes one postmaster general, Return J. Meigs, who attempted to forbid the mailing of books because, Meigs insisted, “the mails wer e... over crowded with novels and the lighter kind of books for amusement” (p. 119).

11. Cooper received no financial remuneration from the English edition of *Precaution* (1820) and learned from this experience that he had to make separate arrangements with each of his publishers. He went on to become a shrewd entrepreneur of literature. His second novel, *The Spy* (1821), had, by 1825, gone through four New York editions, three British editions, two French translations, and one German translation. For a detailed account, see *The Fiction of James Fenimore Cooper: An Exhibition of American, English and Continental Editions and Manuscripts . . .* (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Library, 1974), pp. 1–36.

12. Most of America’s women printers such as Ann Franklin of Newport, R.I., inherited printing shops from their fathers or husbands. See Margaret L. Ford, “Ann Franklin: Colonial Newport Printer,” paper presented at the AAS, August 1984; and, for a general account of these unusual women, Leona M. Hudak, *Early American Women Printers and Publishers, 1639–1820* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, 1978).

13. William Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America, 1790–1850* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), p. 26. Further indication of how much the publishing business was decentralized can be seen in the fact that in the early nineteenth century in Massachusetts twenty-four separate printers published editions of the Bible. See Margaret T. Hills, ed., *The English Bible in America* (New York: American Bible Society, 1961); and David D. Hall, “The Uses of Literacy in New England, 1600–1850,” in *Printing and Society in Early American*, ed. William L. Joyce et al. (Worcester, Mass.: AAS, 1983), pp. 8–9.

14. Novelist Samuel Woodworth compiled one of the most curious American advice books, *The Complete Coiffeur: An Essay on the Art of Adorning Natural and of Creating Artificial Beauty* (1817), which includes several plates of elegant British and French hairstyles and instructions on how such tonsorial splendors might be adapted by the American fair sex.
15. James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1950), p. 45. A. Owen Aldridge disputes this figure in *Man of Reason: The Life of Thomas Paine* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1959), p. 42, although he does note that the first edition of *Common Sense*, which ran to one thousand copies, sold out in two weeks.
16. I am indebted to Elizabeth Carroll Reilly for making available to me her excellent unpublished paper "Cheap and Popular Books in Mid-Eighteenth-Century New England."
17. Paul M. Spurlin, "Readership and the American Enlightenment," in *Literature and History in the Age of Ideas*, ed. C.G.S. Williams (Columbus: Ohio State Univ. Press, 1975), p. 368.
18. Elijah R. Sabin, *The Life and Reflections of Charles Observator* (Boston: Rowe and Hooper, 1816), p. 3. Another indication of the sheer numbers of available books (even allowing for evangelical hyperbole) is the American Tract Society's report that it had distributed 13 million tracts worldwide between 1799 and 1814. See *Constitution of the American Tract Society* (Boston: Flag and Gould for the American Tract Society, 1814), p. 5.
19. Carl Bridenbaugh and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (1942; repr., New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), p. 80; and Lewis P. Simpson, "The Printer as a Man of Letters: Franklin and the Symbolism of the Third Realm," in *The Oldest Revolutionary: Essays on Benjamin Franklin*, ed. J. A. Leo Lemay (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), pp. 3–20.
20. Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America*, p. 41.
21. See Isaiah Thomas's letter to Jeremy Belknap, November 3, 1792, Thomas Papers, Manuscript Department, AAS, where Thomas notes that he has made several (costly) revisions in his editions of William Perry's *Spelling Book* and expresses alarm that Belknap plans to publish his own version of the book: "I think you too generous, after being acquainted with the circumstances, to do anything which would be injurious to me," Thomas pleads. Only "by way of retaliation" would one reputable printer ever act in such an underhanded manner toward another.
22. Tanselle, in "Some Statistics on American Printing," notes that in Charles Evan's *American Bibliography* (Chicago: Printed for the author by the Blakely Press, 1903–34), "a great many of the... entries refer to items that never existed, as a result of his [Evans's] interpretation of titles announced in booksellers' advertisements" (p. 321). The practice is also discussed by Silver, *The American Printer*, p. 104; and Robert B. Winans, "Bibliography and the Cultural Historian: Notes on the Eighteenth-Century Novel," in *Printing and Society in Early America*, p. 176.390 Notes
23. Parke Rouse, *The Printer in Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Press, 1958), p. 21.
24. Charles Brockden Brown, in his capacity as magazine editor, noted: "I have often been amused in observing the vast difference between writing and printing. A miserable scrawling hand, never to be decyphered but by the study of the context, . . . filled with interlineations and blots, and nice adjustment of points and capitals totally neglected is metamorphosed by that magical machine, the press, into the perfection of beauty, regularity, and accuracy." *Literary Magazine and American Register*, 1 (November 1803), 83. See also Silver, *The American Printer*, p. 93; and Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing*, 1:112.
25. It is not the province of this study to determine how much authority printers granted to the texts they published, but it might be fruitful for future researchers to compare, for example, how much textual variation existed between one edition of a novel and another versus variations between different editions of the Bible. The procedures of printing themselves embody ideologies as has been argued eloquently by French historians of *livre et societe* such as Francois Furet et al., *Livre et societe dans la France du XVII siecle*, 2 vols. (Paris et La Haye: Mouton et Cie, 1965, 1970); and Genevieve Bolleme, *La Bibliotheque bleue: Litterature populaire en France du XVI au XIX sie `cles* (Paris: Gallimard, Juillard, 1971). See also Robert Darnton, *The Business of Enlightenment: A Publishing History of the Encyclopedie, 1775–1800* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1979).
26. One of the most extreme cases of a printer exerting artistic control over an early American novel is seen in the 1841 edition of Tabitha Tenney's popular novel, *Female Quixotism* (1801). Originally published by Isaiah

Thomas and E. T. Andrews of Boston as two volumes bound in one, by 1825 J. P. Peaslee bound each volume separately and included a frontispiece and a vignette title page with each volume. But when George Clark republished the book in 1841, he published it in three volumes, in the manner of popular British novels. He actually renumbered the chapters in order to create the extra volume, thus violating the transition Tenney conceived in this early *bildungsroman* between volume one and two. Clark also hired an engraver to imitate the style of the earlier illustrations in two new illustrations made for the new volume.

27. The novelist Francis Hopkinson, in *Plan for the Improvement of the Art of Paper War* (Philadelphia: Mathew Carey, 1787), suggested, in a delightful satire on eighteenth-century typography, that printing could be made still more expressive if “every degree of vociferation” by a writer or character were printed in a different size and style of type.

28. Advertisement for *Emily Hamilton, a Novel. Founded on Incidents in Real Life. By a Young Lady of Worcester County* (Worcester, Mass.: Isaiah Thomas, Jr., 1803). The advertisement appeared in the *Massachusetts Spy, or Worcester Gazette* on October 20, 1802; December 1 and 29, 1802; and January 5, 1803. The advertisement also contained the full title of the novel and a portion of the preface, but no author’s name and no description of the plot or contents of the book. This emphasis on the appearance of books (and especially their bindings) is also attested to by the many letters sent by Mason Locke Weems to his employer, Mathew Carey: “The Eye is everything—charm that and you are safe. They won’t look at boards—I tell you again the eye is all, all, all!” See H. Glen Brown, “Philadelphia Contributions to the Book Arts and Book Trade, 1796–1810,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 37 (1943), 275–92. Clearly books, then as now, had a status function as well as a literary one.

29. Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society; Needs and Opportunities for Study* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1960), pp. 95, 93.

30. Spurlin, “Readership and the American Enlightenment,” pp. 362–64; and U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States: Colonial Times to 1957* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1960).

31. Joseph Dennie to Royall Tyler, August 30, 1797, in *The Letters of Joseph Dennie, 1768–181*, ed. Laura G. Pedder (Orono: Univ. of Maine Press, 1936), p. 165.

32. These figures come from the detailed lists of expenses at the back of Ethan Allen Greenwood’s diaries, December 30, 1805, to February 9, 1806, Manuscript Department, AAS, and corroborated by Carroll D. Wright, *History of Wages and Prices in Massachusetts: 1752–1883* (Boston: Wright and Potter, 1885), p. 13. The establishment of regular steamship routes by the 1820s cut both time and cost between seaports approximately in half.

33. “Summary Account of the Book Stock and Other Property of Isaiah Thomas, Taken August 20, 1813,” box 9, Isaiah Thomas Papers.

34. Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America*, pp. 17–24.

35. Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing*, 1:240; and James M. Wells, “Book Typography in the United States of America,” in *Book Typography, 1815–1965*, ed. Kenneth Day (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1965), p. 331.

36. Cynthia Z. Stiverson and Gregory A. Stiverson, “The Colonial Retail Book Trade: Availability and Affordability of Reading Material in Mid-Eighteenth-Century Virginia,” in *Printing and Society in Early America*, p. 147.

37. Reilly, “Cheap and Popular Books”; see also her “The Wages of Piety: The Boston Book Trade of Jeremy Condy,” in *Printing and Society in Early America*, pp. 83–131.

38. William J. Gilmore, “Elementary Literacy on the Eve of the Industrial Revolution: Trends in Rural New England, 1760–1830,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 92 (1982), 124. See also Edward M. Cook, Jr., *The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1976); Jackson Turner Main, *The Social Structure of Revolutionary America* (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1965); and Allan R. Pred, *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790–1840* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1973). For the relationship between literacy and the market economy, see Gilmore, “Elementary Literacy,” p. 159; and David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1980).

39. It is important to note in this regard that the issue is access to publishing centers, not simple population. At the time of the first census (1790), for example, 48.5 percent of the population was in the Southern states, with Virginia being the single most populous state in the Union. These figures, however, include freed blacks and slaves to whom literacy was often denied (and even illegal). For a discussion of these figures, see Russel B. Nye, *The Cultural Life of the New Nation: 1776–1830* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), p. 250; and Spurlin, “Readership and the American Enlightenment,” pp. 364–66. Nye counts fifty booksellers in Boston in the 1770s and over thirty in Philadelphia. In contrast, a number of important studies emphasize the impediments to obtaining books in the South. See Richard Beale Davis, *Intellectual Life in the Colonial South, 1586–1763* (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press, 1978), esp. chap. 4; Joseph F. Kett and Patricia A. McClung, “Book Culture in Post-Revolutionary Virginia,” *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 94 (1984), 97–138; George K. Smart, “Private Libraries in Colonial Virginia,” *American Literature*, 10 (March 1938), 24–52; Stiverson and Stiverson, “The Colonial Book Trade,” pp. 132–73; and Louis B. Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellectual Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class* (1940; repr., Charlottesville, Va.: Dominion, 1964). The Stiverson’s note that the only active bookseller in Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century had a book trade limited to approximately 230 customers per year, and, in one year, he sold only 2,028 books (excluding almanacs). For a firsthand account of the scarcity of books in the rural South, see the *autobiographical Life of the Reverend Devereux Jarratt* (Baltimore: Warner & Hanna, 1806).

40. Quoted in Reilly, “Cheap and Popular Books,” *from the Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay*, 1713, 1721, and 1726.

41. For a fuller discussion, see J. R. Dolan, *Yankee Peddlers of Early America* (New York: Bramhall House, 1964); Priscilla Carrington Kline, “New Light on the Yankee Peddler,” *New England Quarterly*, 12 (1939), 80–98; and Richardson Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers in Early America* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927). For a comparative discussion, see Victor E. Neuburg, *Chapbooks: A Bibliography of References to English and American Chapbooks of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (London: Vine, 1964), and Neuburg, *The Penny Histories* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1969). And for a contemporaneous account, Isaiah Thomas, *The History of Printing in America*, ed. Marcus A. McCorison (New York: Weathervane, 1970), pp. 131, 133, 141, 153, 303, 524.

42. Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing*, 1:111–16; and James Gilreath, “American Book Distribution,” paper presented at the AAS, Worcester, Mass., November 2, 1984.

43. For a delightful account of the life of a literary agent, see Parson Weems’s letters to his employer, written between 1795 and 1825, in E.E.F. Skeel, *Mason Locke Weems*, 3 vols. (New York: Random House, 1929), vols. 2, 3. Weems was the author not only of mythmaking biographies, but also of such sensational titles as *The Lover’s Almanac* (1798), *Hymen’s Recruiting Sergeant* (1799), *God’s Revenge Against Murder* (1807), *God’s Revenge Against Gambling* (1810), *God’s Revenge Against Adultery* (1815), and *The Bad Wife’s Looking Glass* (1823). It might also be noted that over the course of his life, Weems often appended his own name (gratuitously) to the books he sold, beginning with a 1799 pamphlet on George Washington that Weems revised only slightly. See Dean G. Hall, “Mason Locke Weems,” in *American Writers Before 1800*, ed. James A. Levernier and Douglas R. Wilmes (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1983), p. 1545, and Lewis Leary, *The Book-Peddling Parson* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: Algonquin Books, 1984).

44. Tebbel, *A History of Book Publishing*, 1:115. For an excellent discussion of Weems’s business practices (including his methods for obtaining subscriptions to future publications), see James Gilreath, “Mason Weems, Mathew Carey, and the Southern Booktrade, 1794–1810,” *Publishing History*, 10 (1981), 27–49.

45. Quoted by Earl L. Bradsher, Mathew Carey, p. 31.