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The Clark Acquires Major Manuscripts

BRUCE WHITEMAN, *Head Librarian*

The Clark Library has recently acquired two significant manuscripts and one archive as part of a new emphasis on expanding the manuscript collections. A number of lesser but still interesting manuscripts have also come to the library during the past few months.

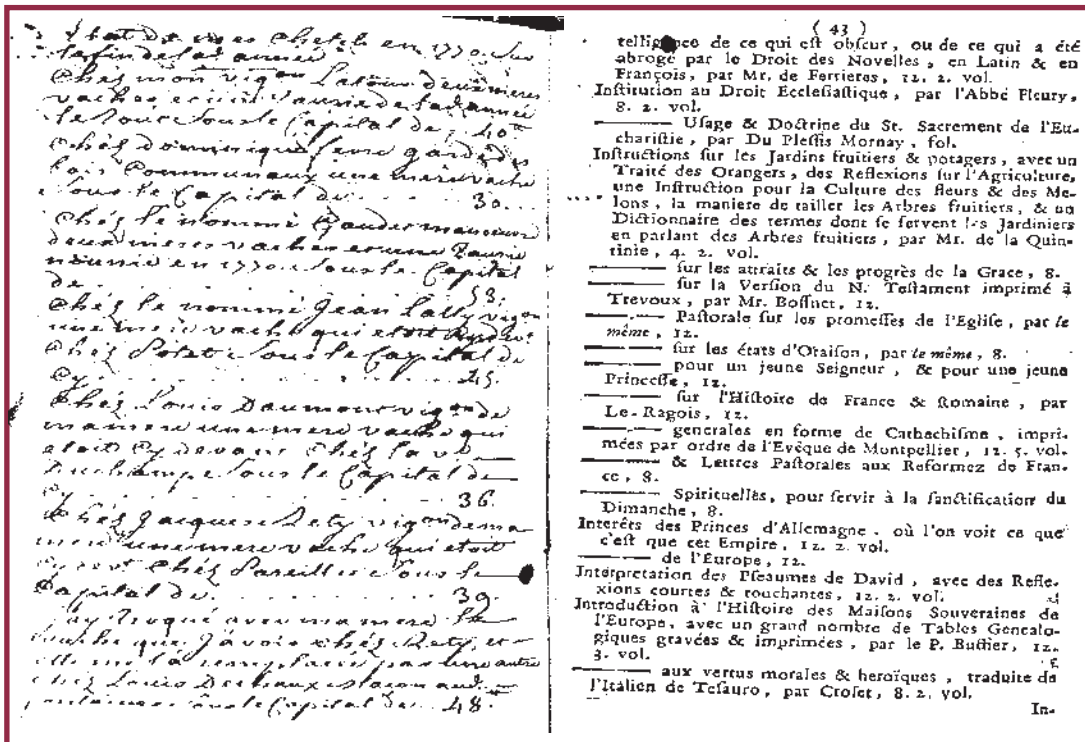
Although the Clark has a substantial, indeed almost complete collection of Restoration plays, it has not until now been able to acquire the manuscript of any play of that period. These very rarely appear on the market, but as part of the dispersal of the vast library of the Earls of Macclesfield which the auctioneer Sotheby's has been overseeing during the last four years, a manuscript of Charles Gildon's play *The Patriot, or The Italian Conspiracy* (1703) was offered for sale on March 13. Gildon (1665-1724) was a well-known playwright, novelist, poet and writer for hire. His first major work, *The History of the Athenian Society*, was published in 1691, and his last, a novel entitled *All For the Better*, came out in 1720. He wrote and published five plays during his career, four tragedies and an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*. None was wildly successful in the theater, although *Love's Victim; or, The Queen of Wales* (1701) had a certain degree of renown. *The Patriot* was Gildon's last play, and it was based on Nathaniel Lee's play *Lucius Junius Brutus*, Roman plays being then popular for their political suggestiveness and their themes of moral rectitude

and personal responsibility. Lee's play had been banned in 1680 by the Lord Chamberlain, and Gildon's reworking of it found a similarly hostile reaction from the Master of the Revels (who controlled stage censorship at the time), who initially refused it a license. Gildon therefore had to substantially revise the play, moving the locale from Rome to Florence, altering the dramatis personae, and rewriting passages. As a result, it was duly licensed and performed at Drury Lane in late 1702, with music by Daniel Purcell, Henry's brother.

The Clark's manuscript records the earlier, uncensored and unrevised text, with cuts and rewritten passages, and thus embodies a version of the play hitherto unknown to scholars. Even the title is different, as this play is called "A Restoration Defeated: The Loves of Titus and Teraminta, A Tragedy." Although the handwriting is doubtless not Gildon's but that of a scribe, the corrections and revisions may well be in the author's hand. This revised version was apparently then completely rewritten and published as the play we know as *The Patriot*.

The Clark has also acquired an important late nineteenth-century archive, being a collection of roughly 400 letters written to John Stuart Verschoyle (1853-1916), assistant editor of *The Fortnightly Review*, a London periodical edited by Oscar Wilde's friend and biographer Frank Harris. Verschoyle helped to solicit and to edit articles for the magazine, and was thus in correspondence with a wide variety of writers, many of whom

became friends. With Harris himself there is a correspondence comprising some twenty-four letters (1884-98), many of them of an intimate and confessional nature. In one, he writes: "For goodness' sake put your brain & literary faculty to it & tell me truly - I've no vanity to hurt ... Bend your criticism to the highest & to the lowest if you would help me, & remember I'm too conceited to care for anything but the work ..." There is an equally large group of letters from Theodore Watts-



Bound volume of annotated catalogues for the publishers Fabre & Barrillot (Geneva, 1720s).

Dunton, Swinburne's champion, a group of thirteen letters from Edmund Gosse, and smaller groups of letters from writers as various as Henry James, Rudyard Kipling, Thomas Hardy, and George Meredith, as well as a large series from Oswald Crawford (later involved with the publishers Chapman & Hall) and individual letters and small groups from William Morris, Coventry Patmore, Arthur Symonds and many others. This archive is completely unstudied and unpublished, and will doubtless yield many important biographical and critical insights for a wide variety of significant writers.

The last manuscript acquisition made by the Clark this year constitutes one of the most important additions to the Fine Printing Collection made since William Andrews Clark, Jr.'s day. The Library has bought all of the original drawings and a substantial group of proofs for the illustrations that Eric Gill made for the Golden Cockerel Press edition of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1929-31). With *The Four Gospels* (Golden Cockerel Press, 1931), the Chaucer is one of Gill's two most famous books, and the two together may be said perfectly to represent the bifurcated sensibility that was Gill's: sensuality and spirituality. Gill also illustrated *Troilus and Criseyde* for the Golden Cockerel Press. The original drawings and progressive proofs for all three books were acquired directly from Gill before his death in 1940 by the collector and curator Philip Hofer. The drawings for the Chaucer, which represent a kind of modern re-imagining of the medieval tradition of manuscript illustration (both large-scale and for the book's margins), were mostly executed directly on proof sheets of the text supplied to Gill by Robert Gibbings, the printer. The proofs for most of them exist in several states, as Gill perfected his blocks. There are approximately 110 original drawings, and over 200 proofs. The Clark Library holds the most important collection of Eric Gill papers and books in the world, and this acquisition constitutes a major addition to the collection.

In addition to these three acquisitions, several individual manuscripts and manuscript groups of note have come to the Clark over the last few months. Individual letters added to the collection include significant ones by Louis-Antoine Caraccioli and Madame de Genlis (to her English translator Thomas Holcroft). A bound collection of printed catalogs of the Swiss publishers Fabre et Barrillot from the 1720s is substantially marked up with additions to their lists and other notes, and the volume was later used by a Burgundian winemaker to record crop yields and other information. Two Italian dramatic manuscripts have been acquired, both unpublished: Giacinto Andrea Cicognini's "Gli amori di Cipriano e di Giustina overo lo schiavo del demonio" (mid-seventeenth century) and Raffaele Tauro's "Commedia intitolata l'Ingelosite speranze" (later seventeenth century). The Clark owns several early modern philosophical manuscripts, most of them of an Aristotelian nature and probably written out by students. A recent addition to this material is a philosophy notebook kept in the mid-seventeenth century by one Don José de Olivart y de Blay, clearly a student attending a Jesuit academy in Spain. Two similar English manuscripts were also bought: a small early eighteenth-century notebook entitled "Mechanical Principles"

which deals with physics, and a two-volume manuscript of Scottish provenance from the 1790s comprising an "Introduction to Natural Philosophy" and "Institutes of Moral Philosophy." Lastly comes a small, early seventeenth-century English verse miscellany manuscript written by one John Fabian. It contains some miscellaneous notes as well as four poems, one of them variously attributed by modern scholars to Donne, Raleigh, Sir Kenelm Digby and other poets, as well as three apparently unrecorded poems.

William Strahan, Thomas Cadell, and the Big Business of Scottish Enlightenment Publishing

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Below is an abstract of Professor Sher's Kenneth Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book Trade, delivered at the Clark Library on November 3, 2007. The theme of the talk was drawn from Professor Sher's recent work, The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America (University of Chicago Press), which won the American Historical Association's 2007 Leo Gershoy Award for "the most outstanding work published in English on any aspect of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European history."

The House of Strahan and Cadell was the largest and most important publishing syndicate in Great Britain, and the one that did the most to put the Scottish Enlightenment into print. This London-based publishing partnership consisted of two separate but closely interconnected firms founded by Scotsmen. One of those London Scots was the bookseller Andrew Millar, who moved to London in the 1720s as an apprentice to James M'Euen and went into business for himself in 1728, when he took over M'Euen's shop in the Strand—one of London's busiest shopping streets. Millar initially rose to prominence by selling and publishing new works by Scottish authors, including above all the best-selling Anglo-Scottish poet James Thomson. As his business grew, he added to his list English authors such as Henry Fielding and Samuel Johnson, but Scottish authors remained the cornerstone of his publishing enterprise. Eventually Millar's firm would be taken over by his former apprentice, Thomas Cadell. The second founding father was Millar's printer, William Strahan, who also seems to have served his apprenticeship with James M'Euen (who maintained shops in both Edinburgh and London). Strahan emigrated to London from Edinburgh in the mid-1730s as a journeyman printer and set up his own printing business in 1738. The relationship between these two London-based Scots—Millar and Strahan—was symbiotic: Millar's publishing accounts provided Strahan with large printing jobs that enabled him to expand his business by adding more printing presses and purchasing lucrative printing patents, such as the English monopoly on the printing of Bibles. At the same

time, Strahan provided Millar with the technological expertise that made it possible for the bookseller to take on more, and larger, publishing commitments. Strahan was particularly useful to Millar as a printer of books by Scottish authors because he assumed responsibility for finding and rooting out telltale Scottish words and idioms, popularly known as “Scotticisms.” The philosopher and historian David Hume was just one of Millar’s authors who became intimately connected with Strahan through Strahan’s role as the printer—and sometimes corrector—of his books.

Because his business was situated in London, Andrew Millar was able to provide Scottish authors with more marketing exposure for their books than if they published them in Edinburgh, the capital city of the Scottish book trade. London was the scene of more publishing than the rest of the English-language world combined. It was also the greatest market for printed books and the book distribution center for the English provinces and most points overseas. Yet London was a long way from Scotland, and would-be Scottish authors often had limited access to the book trade there. Millar employed three main tactics to attract Scottish authors to his firm. One was to patronize Scottish authors who visited, or sometimes lived in, London. Another was to join forces with booksellers in Edinburgh to copublish new books. Copublishing among booksellers in London itself was a well-established practice, which allowed publishers to spread the risk on major undertakings. The systematic expansion of this practice to Edinburgh was unprecedented, however, and it must have seemed surprising to many contemporaries because Millar was obsessed with protecting his alleged copyrights in opposition to Scottish reprinters. Yet reprinting old books and publishing new books were very different activities in his view, and he copublished new books by Scottish authors with some of the same Edinburgh booksellers whom he was suing for copy-

right infringement in regard to older books. In particular, Millar frequently collaborated with yet another former apprentice of James M’Euen, the Edinburgh bookseller Alexander Kincaid. London–Edinburgh copublication of books by Scottish authors accelerated greatly after John Bell replaced Alexander Donaldson as Kincaid’s junior partner in 1758. Adam Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Lord Kames’s *Elements of Criticism* (1762), Thomas Reid’s *Inquiry into the Human Mind* (1764), and Adam Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) are all examples of major texts of the Scottish Enlightenment that were originally copublished by Millar and the partnership of Kincaid & Bell between 1759 and 1767.

Finally, Millar earned the esteem of authors everywhere because he “raised the price of literature,” in the famous phrase attributed to Samuel Johnson in Boswell’s great biography. Although most authors were still not offered huge amounts of money for their manuscripts, it was now common for literary and learned works to receive £50 for an octavo like Thomas Reid’s *Inquiry into the Human Mind* and several hundred pounds for a larger and more expensive quarto publication, such as the £200 that was given to Ferguson for his *Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Furthermore, a growing number of authors received larger amounts of copy money for their quarto productions. When the young Scottish historian William Robertson traveled to London in 1758 and was offered £600 by Millar for the copyright to his first book, *The History of Scotland*, he wrote excitedly to a friend back in Edinburgh that this was more than any author had previously received for a book except David Hume, and that “all the London authors” were “astonished” by the sum. Hume was receiving substantial amounts of money for the successive volumes of his *History of England*, and in 1759 Millar contracted to pay him £1400 for the not-yet-written last two volumes of that work. All told, Hume seems to have earned

about £5000 from all the volumes of his *History* (the equivalent of at least three-quarters of a million U.S. dollars today), and in his autobiography he would remark that his writings—meaning especially his *History*—had made him “not only independent, but opulent.” The effect of all this activity was to encourage Scots to put pen to paper and then to try to interest Millar in publishing the products of their labor.

Andrew Millar became extremely wealthy from his publishing activities, and around the mid-1760s he began to spend most of his time with his wife at Bath and at other British spas. Since none of their children had survived, Millar relied on his young former ap-



Richard Sher (left) and Kenneth Karmiolo at the third annual *Kenneth Karmiolo Lecture on the History of the Book Trade*, November 3, 2007.

prentice and protégé, Thomas Cadell, to manage his bookshop; when Millar died in 1768, Cadell took over the business. At the time Cadell was only 25—about the same age as the children of William Strahan. Like Strahan's three sons, who were being groomed to succeed him in the book trade, Cadell was English by birth (having been born and raised in Bristol) but Scottish by surname and personal associations. Strahan, who was then 53 years old and in his prime as a printer, took Cadell under his wing, and their families remained intimate in subsequent decades. Although there exists no record of a formal partnership between them, a letter from Strahan to Cadell of 19 September 1776 alludes to “the sense and spirit of our Agreement, which I hope neither of us will ever think of departing from.” The context of this phrase was Strahan's giving Cadell one-half ownership of the copyright to Hume's posthumous autobiography, which the author had willed to Strahan alone; the clear implication was that Strahan took this action because he and Cadell had made a pact to share their literary property equally in order to dominate the publication of new books by important Scottish authors such as Hume.

As in the days of Millar, the division of labor between Strahan's printing and Cadell's bookselling was the backbone of the arrangement, but only after Millar's death, in partnership with Cadell, did Strahan emerge as an equal publishing partner rather than a worker in a subservient trade. Strahan discussed his transformation in a letter to his friend and fellow Scottish printer David Hall in Philadelphia in 1771: instead of “mere printing for Booksellers,” as he put it, he had shown other printers in London how “to emancipate themselves from the Slavery in which the Booksellers held them.” By the time of his previously cited letter to Cadell in 1776—the year in which Strahan and Cadell published both Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and the first volume of Edward Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*—Strahan could write with great confidence: “I see clearly we have the Ball at our Feet, and...all the rest of the Trade can but little interfere with us.” This was no idle boast. In March 1785, a few months before Strahan's death, Cadell testified before a parliamentary committee investigating illegal importation of books from Ireland that “the House of Strahan and Cadell” had paid more than £39,000 to authors in copy money since the late 1760s—the equivalent of millions of dollars in today's money. This was the heyday of the Scottish Enlightenment, and the Strahan-Cadell publishing partnership was putting out a disproportionately large number of the books that distinguished that movement. The collaboration worked so well that it survived into later generations, after Strahan's son Andrew replaced him as head of the printing firm in 1785, and after Cadell retired in 1793 and was replaced by his son Thomas Cadell, Jr., trading with Cadell's foreman William Davies as Cadell & Davies.

Strahan and Cadell began their partnership by producing a book in 1769 that altered the landscape of Enlightenment publishing in Europe: William Robertson's *History of the Reign of Charles V*. Although plans for their edition of this work had originated during Andrew Millar's period of semi-retirement, Millar was never a major factor in the project. Most of Millar's collaborative endeavors with Edinburgh booksellers had been

relatively modest affairs—octavos or one-volume quartos that did not require very large capital outlays. *Charles V*, by contrast, raised Anglo-Scottish copublication to new heights. It consisted of three thick quarto volumes, the first of which was a broad survey of the history of Europe from the Middle Ages to the age of Charles V in the sixteenth century that is still one of the best introductions to Enlightenment conceptions of the progress of European society. The work was dedicated to King George III, whom Robertson explicitly and favorably compared to Charles V himself. The publication arrangements were negotiated during Robertson's visit to London in spring 1768 and finalized during Strahan's visit to Edinburgh a few months later. It was finally decided that Robertson would receive £4000 for the copyright (£3500 outright and £500 for the second edition), with Strahan and Cadell each owning a 3/8 share and Strahan's old friend John Balfour of Edinburgh owning the remaining quarter of the property. For such a scheme to be profitable, it would be necessary to print a very large number of copies—4000 in this case, at a time when most print runs of new books were in the range of 500 to 1000 copies—and to charge a high price: two and a half guineas, rising to three guineas (£3.3s.) after engravings were added three years later. Those engravings included a portrait of Charles V as the frontispiece to volume 2 as well as a likeness of Robertson himself (after an oil painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds) as the frontispiece to volume 1, in effect raising the author to the same level of importance as the royal protagonist of his history.

Strahan and Cadell were doing more than publishing a book. By paying Robertson so much money for a work of history, and later having his portrait engraved for the frontispiece to volume 1, they were generating what today would be called “buzz.” While the negotiations were in progress between the author and the publishers in May 1768, James Boswell recorded in his journal the substance of conversation at afternoon tea at his booksellers' home: “All turned on Robertson's book and *the trade*.” Around the time that the second edition appeared, the *London Magazine* for April 1772 contained a puff of Robertson (almost certainly planted there by his publishers) that called him “one of the most perfect characters of the age” and revealed (and inflated by £500) the amount of copy money he had received for *Charles V*. The idea was to transform the author into a cultural icon. And the idea worked. The quarto first edition of *Charles V* sold about three thousand copies within four months, and the octavo editions of this book, and later of Robertson's collected *Works*, sold tens of thousands of copies. Robertson received proportionate amounts of copy money for his last two histories, on America and ancient India, and he remained one of the best-selling modern authors until well into the nineteenth century, making enormous profits for the Strahan-Cadell syndicate for several generations to come.

Robertson's *Charles V* opened the door to the big business of Enlightenment publishing in several respects. In the first place, it demonstrated that paying large amounts of copy money to an up-and-coming young Scottish author, along with aggressive marketing, could generate enough publicity to stimulate unusually strong sales—provided, of course, that the product itself

was worthy of such attention. It also showed that collaborative publishing between London and Edinburgh was a viable way to fund and distribute such large undertakings. *Charles V* also set the partnership of Strahan and Cadell on a fast track to the top of their profession, far beyond anything imagined by their publishing mentor, Andrew Millar, and established that these Scottish bookmen in London, along with Scottish authors and select Scottish associates in the Edinburgh book trade, would dominate the production of Enlightenment books in Britain. The national component in this project was undeniable: Strahan, Cadell, and their associates in the trade gave preference to Scottish authors, whom they patronized and promoted with patriotic enthusiasm. As Horace Walpole wrote to another Englishman in October 1768, when London was abuzz with rumors about Robertson being offered £3000 (significantly less than he finally got): “I cannot help thinking that there is a good deal of Scotch puffing and partiality, when the booksellers have given the Doctor three thousand pounds for his life of Charles V.” In short, the big business of Enlightenment was a self-consciously Scottish creation.

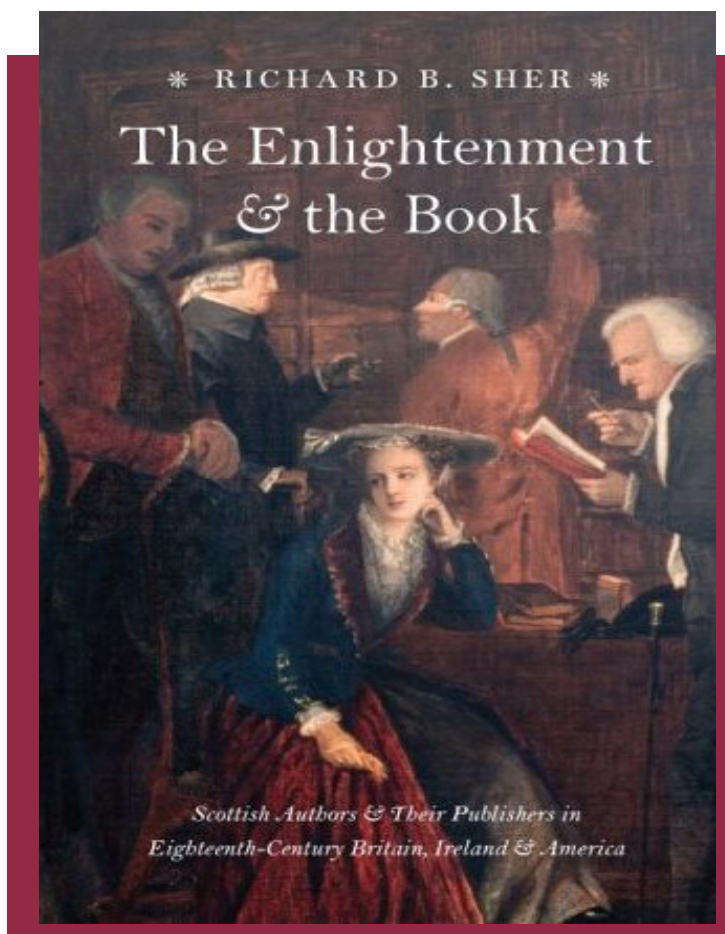
For all their success, Strahan and Cadell’s publishing strategy ran up against two major challenges. The first had to do with their Scottish publishing associates, the second with their Scottish authors. With regard to copublishers, Strahan and Cadell wanted to maintain close ties with Strahan’s two old friends who ran the largest book-publishing firms in Edinburgh: John Balfour and Alexander Kincaid. Kincaid, however, was becoming increasingly less involved in the day-to-day business of bookselling and publishing, and in the late 1760s his junior partner, John Bell, had a falling out with Thomas Cadell over strategies for publishing and reprinting Adam Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Strahan and Cadell were on much better terms with Kincaid’s surrogate son, William Creech. From the time of the dispute with Bell, Strahan schemed shamelessly to persuade his old friend Kincaid to oust Bell in favor of Creech as his new junior partner. Finally, in the summer of 1771, he succeeded. Strahan greeted the news by expressing his “Joy” about the new alliance. “United” with “my old and ever-honoured Friend,” he wrote to Creech, “I expect to hear you carry all before you.” As Strahan knew, the future lay with Creech, who would take over Kincaid’s business in 1773 and remain Edinburgh’s foremost publisher for the remainder of the century.

Once Creech was in business for himself, Strahan and Cadell pushed hard for a lasting “Coalition” (as Strahan called it) with Edinburgh’s two leading publishing firms, headed by Balfour and now Creech. Strahan’s many surviving letters to Creech continually hammered away at this theme. “You two firmly united in Sentiment and Interest will form a Phalanx which nothing will be able to withstand in Scotland,” Strahan wrote to Creech in January 1774. He meant that if Creech and Balfour joined forces with each other, as well as with Strahan and Cadell,

they would constitute a powerful syndicate for copublishing books by Scottish authors in London and Edinburgh. Strahan made it clear that he and Cadell would commit themselves to working only with Creech and Balfour among Edinburgh booksellers: “we will be concerned with no other,” he announced in a letter to Creech of November 1773. As it happened, however, the rivalry between Balfour and Creech was too strong to be overcome by Strahan’s guiding hand, and the comprehensive coalition that Strahan dreamed of could never be firmly established.

Strahan and Cadell dealt with this setback by collaborating separately with Balfour and Creech on different publications. Creech in particular became their primary collaborator on major new books by Scottish authors, often by taking a one-quarter share as against 3/8 each by Strahan and Cadell. Examples include Alexander Gerard’s *Essay on Genius* and Lord Kames’s *Sketches of the History of Man* in 1774; successive volumes of Hugh Blair’s popular *Sermons* from 1777 onward; Robert Watson’s *History of the Reign of Philip II* in 1777; and Blair’s *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* and Adam Ferguson’s *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* in 1783. In many instances, Creech took advantage of his superb location in the Edinburgh High Street to recruit Scottish authors, who knew that his connections would open the door to copublication with Strahan and Cadell. In other cases, such as Adam Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* in 1776, Edinburgh newspaper advertisements and other evidence

Richard B. Sher’s *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, and America* (Chicago, 2007). Image is from William Borthwick Johnstone, *Sibbald’s Library* (1856). Courtesy of the Edinburgh Booksellers’ Society.



indicate that Creech was a silent partner or a regional distributor even though he is not named in the imprint.

The challenges that Strahan and Cadell faced from their authors were more difficult to overcome. As we have seen, the unprecedented amounts of copy money paid to best-selling authors like Hume and Robertson helped to generate public interest in their books and to create incentives for other authors, and potential authors, to emulate their now-famous brethren by producing important new books of their own. “The great price of four thousand pounds, paid to Dr Robertson for his history of Charles the fifth, has no doubt induced others to commence the trade of authors,” noted the *Edinburgh Advertiser* for 5–9 October 1770. Similarly, the English author Edward Gibbon wrote frankly in his autobiography about how the success of Robertson and Hume had inspired him with ambition to follow in their footsteps, which he did when Strahan and Cadell published his *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* between 1776 and 1788. The problem, however, was that the pecuniary expectations of authors were raised very high, paving the way for unrealistic demands and, often, disappointment among authors and resentment among publishers. “The extravagant Demands of Modern Authors ... are indeed beyond all Credibility,” Strahan wrote to William Creech in July 1776, in connection with Lord Kames’s demand for £315 for the right to publish one edition of his book *The Gentleman Farmer*. “300 Guineas for a simple Vol. 8vo. on Husbandry!!!,” he sneered. “Ridiculous! What an immense Number must be sold to indemnify for such a Price.” In the same letter, and in the same derisive tone, Strahan discussed the large amounts that Watson and Ferguson were demanding for their books: “Dr. Ferguson to treat the offer of £1000 with Disdain! a Sum which till very lately, a Scots Professor, or indeed any Professor, never possessed. . . . Professor Watson asked £2000 for his History of Philip II. Ten or twenty years ago I told him, he would have been glad of as many hundreds.” After asserting that “Mr Cadell and I” had both “suffered greatly” from their generous policy toward authors, Strahan announced that they were “determined to be more cautious in all our future Bargains.” In reality, Strahan and Cadell were not suffering from paying large amounts of money to some of their authors. On the contrary, they were growing extraordinarily rich. But the new world they had fashioned sometimes frightened them, as they tried to figure out how to deal with the rush of authors who now expected to become wealthy from their books.

Among the tactics they devised for handling authors’ financial demands were a variety of alternatives to purchasing copyrights outright, in advance of publication, as they had done with Robertson’s histories. In some cases, such as Watson’s *History of Philip II*, they purchased the rights to a single edition for a flat fee (£800, in this instance), reserving the right to do the same with later editions if necessary. In other cases, such as Kames’s *Sketches of the History of Man* and Adam Ferguson’s *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*, they agreed to purchase copyrights in advance of publication for the high prices asked by their authors (£1000 for Kames, £2000 for Ferguson) but insisted on “safety clauses” that allowed them to avoid catastrophic loss. When Ferguson’s book sold poorly, the publishers invoked the safety clause, and the author was forced to buy back all the un-

sold copies of his book at the wholesale price, at considerable hardship to himself. In other instances, Strahan and Cadell offered their authors a percentage of the profits from an edition rather than a fixed amount for the copyright: this kind of arrangement was initially used for Smith’s *Wealth of Nations* and Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, though in both cases the commercial success of these books led the publishers to purchase the copyrights eventually. Sometimes Strahan and Cadell simply declined to publish books for which authors asked too much money, as Strahan did with Kames’s *Gentleman Farmer*, even though in that instance Creech and Cadell went ahead without him.

No matter which kind of arrangement was agreed upon, there were now opportunities for both authors and publishers to earn much larger amounts of money than in the past. Yet Strahan and Cadell were not motivated by the search for profits alone. As we have seen, Scottish patriotism was sometimes a factor. At other times, there are indications that these publishers had lofty ideals about enlightening mankind, not only by means of books but also through civic service (Strahan as a member of Parliament, Cadell as a governor of the foundling hospital and a London alderman). Fame and status sometimes provided as strong an incentive as profit, and even the hunt for profit was mitigated rather than absolute. In a revealing letter written to Cadell in September 1776, Strahan asserted that “we shall both have enough to satisfy our utmost Desires for Accumulation, unless they should become boundless and insatiable, which I hope in God will never be the case with either of us; for tho’ it is a most agreeable Time to be adding to our Fortunes every year *something*, it is by no means necessary to our Happiness, that that *something*, should be a very large sum.”

Nevertheless, profits were necessary in order to run a business, and as business grew bigger and bigger, so did the stakes. Under these circumstances, it was important for Strahan and Cadell to grow increasingly proficient at marketing their publications. Strahan in particular understood the advantages that came from control of the media. As the printer and part-owner of two of Britain’s most important newspapers and periodicals—the *London Chronicle* and the *Monthly Review*, respectively—Strahan could be assured that the books that he and Cadell published were advertised, excerpted, and noticed prominently and, more often than not, favorably. By the end of the 1770s the publishers started to issue complimentary copies of catalogs of their major publications, under the title *Books Printed for W. Strahan, and T. Cadell in the Strand*, which were often updated and reissued in different formats. Two points are particularly interesting about these catalogs. First, the emphasis was placed on the publishers rather than on the authors, whose names were buried in italics after their titles. The result was to draw attention to the House of Strahan and Cadell as a brand that provided Enlightenment books with respectability. The second noteworthy point concerns formats and pricing. Strahan and Cadell understood that many of their readers would not be able to afford the expensive quarto first editions of their most impressive titles. They therefore brought out later editions in more affordable octavo formats, and in some cases they provided additional options,

such as the “small paper” edition of Hume’s *History of England* that was priced between the royal quarto and the octavo. Thus, the books of the Scottish Enlightenment were disseminated more widely, and the illegal importation of cheaper editions from Ireland was kept at bay.

In all these ways, then, Strahan and Cadell built on the foundations established by Andrew Millar while going far beyond Millar in the amounts of copy money paid to authors, in the extent of collaboration with Edinburgh copublishers, in the implementation of effective techniques for marketing their books, and in the scale of publishing in general. In doing so, they provided the material and commercial foundation for the growth of the Scottish Enlightenment. In addition, because these were Scottish firms based in London, they can be seen as expanding our conception of the Scottish Enlightenment as an authentically Scottish phenomenon. That is, we can now see that the Scottish Enlightenment was Scottish not only because the authors who wrote its texts came from Scotland, but also because the publishers in London and Edinburgh who did the most to transform those texts into books and disseminate them throughout society were Scottish as well. Finally, in producing the key books of the Scottish Enlightenment, Strahan and Cadell transformed publishing itself into a larger, more commercialized, and more specialized enterprise. Not only did the big business of publishing help to shape the Scottish Enlightenment, but the Scottish Enlightenment played a central role in the creation of publishing as a big business.

Note: Quotations in this article are fully referenced in *The Enlightenment and the Book*. Those drawn from Strahan’s letters to Creech are cited by permission of the Blair Oliphant of Ardblair family, from microfilm copies in the National Archives of Scotland.

Fellows’ Research

[Essays by four Ahmanson-Getty fellows.]

I. “Theology of the Self in English Puritanism”

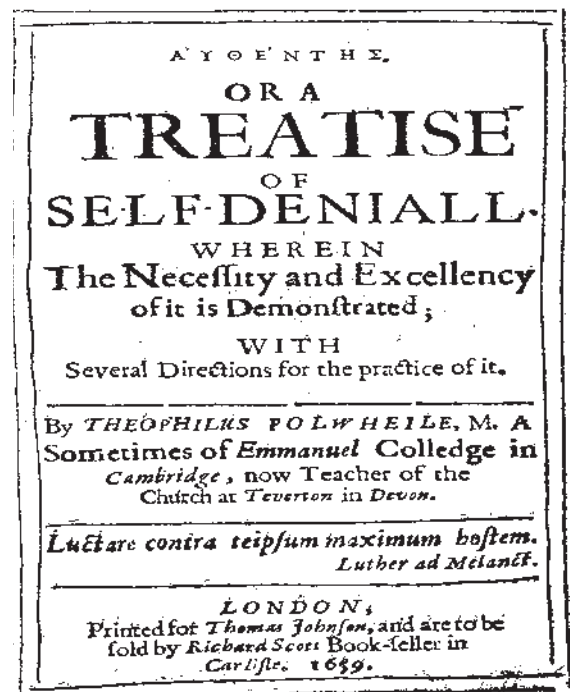
FRÉDÉRIC GABRIEL, CNRS (Lyon)

Puritans concentrate on the relation between two theological *topoi* (spaces), Scripture and self—all the more because of the coincidence in seventeenth-century England of a significant development in autobiographical writing. Dean Ebner has noted that this flourishing genre is to be linked directly to the Puritan movement (D. Ebner, *Autobiography in Seventeenth-century England. Theology and the Self*, La Haye-Paris, 1971, 17-18; and Ch. Taylor, *Sources of the Self*). But, is self-writing the one and only real concern of Puritan texts? These studies have missed one corpus which defines the self in its radical questioning about its nature and its role in the Puritan Reformation. A coherent set of theological texts is focused on self-denial: Henry Burton, *A Most Godly Sermon... Shewing the Necessity of Self-denial* (1641); Thomas Brightman, *The Art of Self-Denial* (1646); Theophilus Polwheile, *Treatise of Self-denial* (1658); Thomas Watson, *The Duty of Self-denial* (1675). These authors, as well as others writing on the subject—Daniel Cawdrey and

Edmund Calamy—all happen to have studied in Cambridge.

Cawdrey, in *Self-examination Required in Every One* (London, 1646), starts with the biblical verse in Saint Paul (1 Corinth. 11:28): “But let a man examine himself.” The one who is studying himself faces a corrupted self: “what blindness and darknesse there is upon his minde, what weakness in his memorie, what perversnesse in his judgment, what stubbornnesse in his will, what distemper in his affections, what a sinck of sin is in his heart” (22). Self-examination is a consciousness and first answer to the problem of human nature corrupted by original sin. Self-examination is immediately followed by self-denial, which is an imperative consequence of the corrupted self-contemplation by the Christian. Burton insists on it: “The first Lesson is the *A. B. C.* that CHRIST teacheth us in his School, is this, *For a man to deny himself*,” and obviously, “a good Christian must be a Self-denier” (Watson, 4). Nevertheless, among all those that declare themselves Christians, numerous are the “self-seekers” and very few are “Christ-seekers” (Calamy, 5, 15). For Polwheile, “it is the nature of Self, to work for its self, and not for another” (25).

As the men elected by God in the Testaments, a Christian should be able to leave everything behind to follow the Christ. Self-denial is absolutely necessary in order to be saved. Self-denial places the self in a broader context. It is a disowning, as a negative image to the first disowning caused by the Fall. Self-denial is an “extirpation of the old Adam” (Calamy, 9). Watson stresses it: “He who cannot deny his life for Christ, will deny Christ” (Watson, 43, 46). And Thomas Brightman is urging us to become “Martyres of our selves” (50). This question is all the more delicate because it all deals with the *imitatio Christi*.



Title page from Theophilus Polwheile, *Authentes. Or a Treatise of Self-denial...* (London, 1659).

Classical philosophers used to see the self as something durable. Discourses about self-denial nevertheless assume exactly the contrary. The subject does not represent the basis of an individual; it is his self-renunciation that is the first foundation to salvation. In denying the loss, one disowns the very consciousness of ownership, that is, the self, in order to follow the Christ, whose injunction is “follow me.”

With this conversion occurs a reversing of the perspective, as Calamy shows: “I may truly say, he that is the greatest self-denier, is the greatest self-seeker” (10). This is not a linguistic confusion or a paradoxical backward step, it is only an acknowledged view of the internal contradiction of the simple self. If one wants to find the self he should first deny it and only then will he find it. Conversion is not just a matter of faith, rather, it questions the very notion of self. But from now on, the self has become a very different nature, for Calamy says: “he that seeks to get his Soule beautified with grace, to be made *Christ’s picture*, and a reall member of his body, this Man, and this Man onely, seeks himselfe” (8). In these few decisive words, Calamy indicates the real meaning of conversion: the saint is a picture of Christ and a part of his mystical Body; that’s why, while seeking himself he also seeks Christ.

The expression “Spaces of the self” shows clearly that the self is first defined by its limits (its boundaries determine its post-lapsarian status), and second, by the new relation implied by the abolition of these ancient properties (the “old man,” locked up in sin). It is necessary to enter a new type of space, a sacred one determined by boundaries: here, man is truly the image of God. Sacred space is no more an immutable frontier which divides ontological kingdoms. A space of closure becomes an opening one, from Fall to a soteriological dimension.

The Puritan’s theology of the self’s specificity consists in setting the split *within* the self, which was usually taken as a stable authority. In the Puritan’s view, the self’s constitution is contradictory. The distance which determines reflection (and so, the self as well) is

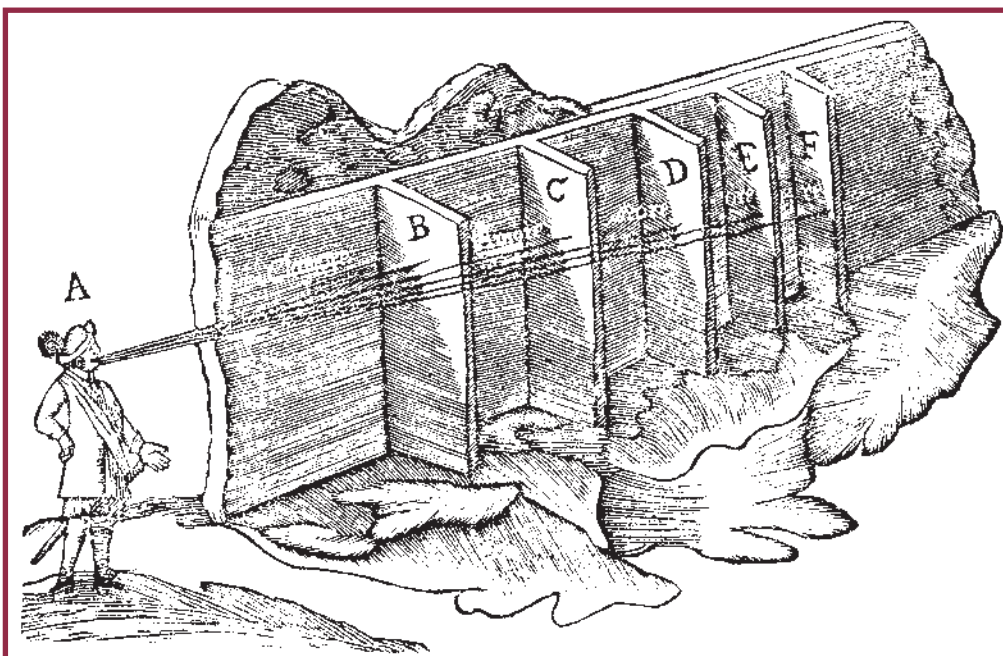
a way, for theologians, to effect a double operation to emphasize *and* minimize this distance, placing the divine transcendence in the center of the self. In his self, the Christian finds the image of God, he *is* the picture of God, that is to say, the human reflection of divine perfection, which gives him his Being. The self is a “He.” The self is no longer the proper space of autonomy, but the result of a process. Conversion is a movement which completely changes mental topography: the convert discovers himself as an inner sacred space, a member of the divine Body, and so, an agent of the inner Law. A new sacred space emerges with its own logic of relations that changes places with the self. That is the price of Grace.

II. “In Pursuit of Echo: Athanasius Kircher’s *Phonosophia Anacamptica*”

LJUBICA ILIC, UCLA

In exploring the potentials of musical representation, early modern composers were especially interested in the ancient pastoral trope of echoing—a sonic symbol of the relationship between the human and nature. The echo appears in various forms and in nearly all early modern musical genres. It plays a prominent role in dramatic settings of madrigals and operas; it becomes incorporated as an extra feature in the spatial games of antiphonal choirs and in the registral experiments of organ music; it was used to explore relationships between sound and space in instrumental music composed for acoustically resonant chapels and cathedrals. In choral settings, and especially in madrigals, it functioned as an auditory game. Its mimetic nature offered a great deal to composers who wanted to play with the possibilities of musical representation, exploring the power of music through the very medium of music. For what is an echo? It is sound that bounces back; the sound that delineates the borders and confines what it can or cannot reach. It is a psychophysical manifestation of the distance between the human being and its surroundings, an empirical exploration of spatial existence performed in sound.

It is no coincidence that the German polymath Athanasius Kircher (1601-1680) wrote an entire study on the phenomenon of echoing, creating a theoretical equivalent of experiments in music performance. Spending most of his life at the Roman College, the Jesuit Kircher compiled a vast body of knowledge in about thirty books. He entitled his work on echoing *Phonosophia Anacamptica*, “the knowledge of reflected sound” and published it on two occasions: the first time, as a part of his monumental study on music *Musurgia Universalis* (Romae:



From p. 47 of Athanasius Kircher, *Phonurgia Nova* (Campidonæ, 1673).

Ex typographia haeredum Francisci Corbelletti, 1650), and the second time, in a more elaborate version in his work entitled *Phonurgia Nova* (Campidonœ: Per Rudolphum Dreherr, 1673). The books were widely distributed and both of them are in the possession of the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library.

Kircher was fascinated by echoing sound as an acoustic phenomenon, seeing in it an aural equivalent to light reflection in optics, and yet always emphasizing its interpretative fluidity by finding correspondences between its nature and the ancient myth of Echo, “the unfortunate pursuer” of Narcissus. He opens the preface to *Phonosophia*:



The echo, that jest of Nature when she is in a playful mood, is called the ‘image of a voice’ by the poets, in accordance with that well-known line of Virgil’s: *The rocks resound and the image of the voice that has struck them bounces back*. It is called a reflected, rebounding and alternating voice by scientists and ‘the daughter of the voice’ by the Israelites.

As an early modern *erudit*, Kircher was interested in basically every manifestation of human activity and creation. The recent renaissance of his work lies precisely in his ability to assume correspondences between various spheres of human cognition, never dismissing the fact that one and the same phenomenon can (or even must) perpetuate numerous meanings and interpretations. This is how his elaborate study of echoing sound brings together acoustics, geometry, empirical and experimental research, myth and poetry. In the preface, he continues to explain his multifaceted research approach to the phenomenon of echoing:

Such is its mysterious nature that up to this very day there is scarcely anyone who has explained it. It is indeed known, and is almost common knowledge, that it is a reflected voice, but how it is produced, from what sources, how it is spread, with what speed and over what distance, is as unknown as any phenomenon. It seems impossible to work through the immensity of the difficulties that one encounters unless, equipped with the greatest practical knowledge and unique diligence, one finally succeeds in tricking and catching this runaway Nymph with acts of wondrous skill. Since nobody hitherto has achieved this, in my desire to investigate it I have left nothing untried in my examination of the hidden recesses of forests, wooded glades and mountains, the hidden retreats of valleys, areas of stone rubble and plains, and the uncultivated flat areas of marshes, in order that I might come to grips with her hidden nature.

Kircher’s belief that everything in the knowable world has a correspondence obviously strongly influences not only his argument but also his style of argumentation. The elusive character of an ancient myth mirrors the indefinable nature of echoing, and everything else in relation to it, including our knowledge of it. The correspondence between the myth of Echo and Kircher’s formidable pursuit becomes salient in Kircher’s description:

But as I pursue her, she runs away, while I run away, she pursues me, and she redoubles her voices by taking on additional voices like attendants, as she seductively tricks me and I cry out aloud, for she is incapable of yielding. At times, as though angry, she turns away and stealthily shuns any reply, at other times with a most ill-mannered talkativeness she pours out ten further words in reply to one word of mine.

Kircher’s work on echo is basically a study of sound reflections (what today we would call, in very general terms, sound waves)—in relation to the angles of their dissemination, the material and shape of the instruments that produce them, and the architecture of spaces in which they are created. The fact that he bases his study of acoustics on the notion of echo, however, is a sign of his time; it is proof of the empirical spirit in which knowledge does not originate from some kind of abstract speculation, but it develops from human experience.

III. “My Deare Sister: Early Modern Science in a New Light”

CAROL PAL, Stanford University

Sometimes a voice from the past will just take the historian completely by surprise. An unexpected utterance will rise from a page residing in an unexpected place, and it will open up a brand new perspective on what one might have thought was a familiar historical landscape. That delightful surprise has been mine while working at the Clark Library this year as an Ahmanson-Getty fellow. It is my pleasure to tell that story here.

The familiar landscape to which I refer is that of the seventeenth-century Scientific and Intellectual Revolution. Its well-known narrative describes a pivotal and transitional moment, when the birth of modern science meshed with other areas of knowledge—philosophical, natural, religious, and political—to accelerate the gradual demise of Renaissance humanism. The result was a secular, empirical approach that still shapes humanistic and scientific enquiry today. The engine of that revolution was an elite community of erudite men known as the Republic of Letters.

So much for the familiar. My own research, however, deconstructs this familiar and tidy assumption of an elite, all-male intellectual world. My forthcoming book, *Republic of Women*, reconstructs a network of female scholars who were well-known, highly respected, and integral actors within this learned commonwealth. Thus our once-familiar landscape looks quite different when populated by an eclectic, diverse, and dually-gendered intellectual community.

A case in point is a very familiar figure, the brilliant seventeenth-century scientist Robert Boyle (1627-1691). Boyle is renowned as one of the earliest practitioners of modern science and the experimental method in Britain. He was a founding member of the Royal Society, a chemist and natural philosopher; he published over forty works on science, religion, and medicine, and was the first to prove what came to be known as “Boyle’s Law” of gases.

However, Robert Boyle was only one remarkable member of a very large and remarkable family. And, as brilliant as he was, he was often eclipsed throughout his lifetime by the woman I like to refer to as his older, smarter sister—the Incomparable Lady Ranelagh (1615-1691).

The epithet “incomparable” was used routinely to preface “Lady Ranelagh” in her lifetime. Operating in the realms of medicine, politics, and piety, she was well-known for excelling at all of them. Moreover, she seamlessly combined her social, political and intellectual identities, deploying them in such a way as to make her presence felt at the very highest levels. And among all of these, she was always known as “the Incomparable.”

Lady Ranelagh had a rather astounding ability to identify potential collaborators and then put them to work in her various intellectual circles. She found tutoring positions for struggling scholars like John Milton and Henry Oldenburg; she filed petitions with Parliament and argued with the Lord Chancellor; she funneled books, letters, funds, and ideas to the right people and places; she cured the sick, and disseminated medical information; and she was the hub of an intelligence network that connected English and Palatine royalty with the hardscrabble reformist web of Samuel Hartlib. In Paris, Dublin, and London, Lady Ranelagh's name was a passport to the highest intellectual circles.

In fact it was quite likely Lady Ranelagh who first brought Robert Boyle into the group of experimental philosophers who would later become the nexus of the Royal Society. Katherine was the one with the connections, power, and reputation; and even as late as 1648, Robert Boyle was still being referred to as Lady Ranelagh's younger brother. By the 1660s, of course, he was an illustrious and respected figure in his own right. But his sister was still his closest friend, and they lived in the same house for the rest of their lives. She died in 1691, followed one week later by her beloved brother Robert.

But in a family with two medical experts, who is the doctor? In the 1660s, when his brother's children were ill, the Boyles had not sent for Robert. Instead, they sent for Lady Ranelagh, asking her to gather medicines and make some of her famous pills. And when the infant Duke of Kendall died, Lady Ranelagh attended the autopsy, examined the child's swollen brain, and gave her opinion as to the cause of death. But then tragedy struck, and Robert Boyle himself suffered a stroke. And here is where the Clark Library comes in.

Historians have known that Boyle suffered a debilitating stroke some time in 1670 or 1671. Much of our information for these years comes from Mary Rich, one of the younger Boyle sisters, and a remarkable spiritual diarist in her own right. However—due perhaps to Robert Boyle's enduring fame—the pages for 1670 are missing from the manuscript of Mary's diary in the British Library. Documents recording dramatic episodes in Robert Boyle's life would probably have fetched a high price on the market. And this is probably how a particular letter came to disappear from the Orrery papers at Petworth, and to surface again, centuries later, at the Clark Library.

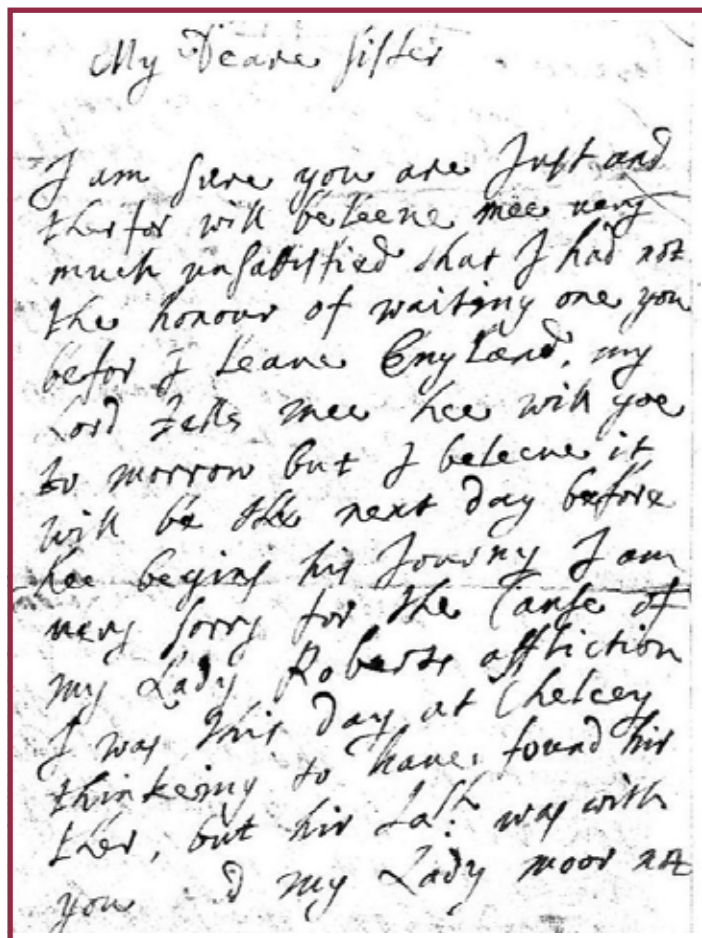
The letter in question was written by Margaret Boyle, the Countess of Orrery, sister-in-law to Robert and Katherine. The addressee is known only by the salutation, "My Deare Sister," and the date is June 30th, sometime in the 1670s. The letter begins (spelling and syntax modernized):

My brother Robin is worse than he was when I last wrote to you. Indeed he is exceedingly weak, and I fear he is not well able to get to you...I never saw him so weak and ill as he is now. I wish my sister Ranelagh were with him, for in my opinion he is most dangerously ill...

And here is where historical reciprocity comes in, because what we know of the Boyle family can help us to fill in the blanks in this letter, while the letter itself can now help us to fill in some blanks in the history of the Boyles.

"Robin" was the family's nickname for Robert Boyle. What we learn here, then, is that Robert Boyle's stroke must have occurred earlier than we had thought hitherto—in June of 1670. And coupled with this date, Margaret's fear that Boyle was "not well able" to get to the addressee makes it clear who that person was. Robert Boyle went to visit his sister Mary Rich in early July each year, thus this letter must have been written to her. And most importantly for my own research into early modern intellectual women, we learn that the physician and friend "most heartily" desired in this affliction had been the incomparable Lady Ranelagh.

This letter is a small discovery, and will not change the world. However, it does shine a new light onto a frightening episode in the lives of one of early modern England's foremost intellectual families. New work in the History of Science is increasingly inclusive. We have moved beyond the image of the Lone Heroic Genius to an understanding of intellectual labor as a constellation of practices embedded in a constellation of networks—professional, social, spiritual, and familial. As this letter shows us, the Boyle network, and especially the dyad of Sir Robert and the Incomparable Lady Ranelagh, was all of these at once.



Margaret (Howard) Boyle, Countess of Orrery. Handwritten letter to *My Deare Sister*. (June 30, 167-?).

IV. “Self and Identification”

KARIN SENNEFELT, Uppsala University

In September 1695 an ad in *Post-Boy* sought the whereabouts of

John Hulet alias *Uley*, Blacksmith, a young Man of about 23 Years of Age, of a low stature, going some what stooping in his shoulders, having black, short, lank hair, pockholes thick in his face, and one Eye somewhat less than the other, a little sunk in his head, and looking a squint, and not very clear sighted on that Eye; bred up at *Colford* in the Forest of Dane in the County of *Gloucester*, and having lived for about a years time last past with a Coach Tire-maker, in *Castle Street*, near the *Meuse* in *Westminster*.

John Hulet had allegedly robbed and knifed two women in the Westminster forest on the King’s highway. Besides a rather unflattering physical description of the man, we are also afforded information about his childhood in Colford and his last master in Castle Street in Westminster.

What identified John Hulet—and separated him from so many others—was not only his name and his physiognomy, but his upbringing, his social connections and what would be considered his place in the world, his local community.

My study of descriptions of runaway wives, children or servants as well as criminals in the late seventeenth century relates to an overall project which intends to map everyday negotiations of social order and self in the advent of modernity. In this project, I take the cultural malleability of the self and of social order as my point of departure and ask where boundaries were raised for individuality and collective identities in the early modern period, and if and how these boundaries changed in the transition from estate to class society. More specifically, the object is to study how ordinary people perceived and created their own individuality in a period when, and in places where, the social roles available changed fundamentally, both socio-economically, and in confrontation with other cultures. These issues are explored in social practice: in the everyday confrontation of individuals and groups with each other. This entails building up from social relationships rather than reading down from social structure. Specific focus is put on the ordering of social interaction in practices of identification in a comparison among Sweden, England and Early America from *circa* 1650 to 1850.

This project takes Erving Goffman’s discussion of the influence of the generalized other on the development of the self, and the assertion of the importance of social metaphors and language for the definition of social order as a starting point, and argues that the role of the individual in a society leaves room for further inquiry. The self is understood here as historically malleable and as conditioned by social interactions between people, rather than as a process confined within an individual. The project does not take for granted either that an interiorized self with deep feelings is an ahistorical phenomenon, or that a unitary self has emerged through the evolution of time. The social order, in which I refer to estate, class, gender, race, ethnicity, nation, honor and age, is also viewed as historically malleable constructions of language. The project bridges the gap between these two research traditions by looking at social relations as they were negotiated and worked through practically.

The project uses a comparative approach to shed light on the essentially human and the culturally conditioned in the self-formation over time. The three areas,

Sweden, England and Early America have been chosen because they highlight different aspects of theories of the formation of the self relating to state and church influence, ethnic and racial make-up, socio-economic structure and degree of commercialization: from the Swedish state’s very strong influence over the individual, to the effective but less intrusive British fiscal military state to the weak influence on the individual of the British state in America and intentionally non-intrusive independent American state; from Sweden’s Lutheran orthodoxy, to the challenges towards the Anglican church to the religious diversity in Early America; from relative ethnic and racial uniformity in Sweden, to the increasing cultural encounters in England’s metropolises as a result of the expanding empire, to the racial and ethnic diversity of Early America. The emergence of a class society took place roughly 50 to 100 years later in Sweden than in England and Early America, and their degree of commercialization was decidedly higher than in Sweden.

These wider issues have been broken down into empirical questions. Using runaway and wanted ads in English periodicals I have tried to ascertain if every individual was considered to have an “equal degree” of individuality. How did the degree of individuality relate to categorizations made in social practice, such as gender, race, class, age?

How people were identified by others builds upon the interpretation of specific signs on the individual. Besides signs in clothing and physiognomy, people have relied on documentation for identification, even though it is just as easy to manipulate. Identification practices also rely on what worth certain characteristics have in a society (e.g. the commercial value of specific skills) or on links to the local community manifesting itself in identifications based on prior knowledge of a person’s lifestyle. A wide array of signs are used in wanted ads to indicate personal identity: signs on the body, clothing, names and nicknames, artifacts, documents, behavior, knowledge and skills, social connections, and finally, reputation and lifestyle.

The potency of specific signs adds another dimension to how signs are interpreted and framed, as the power of different signs has varied over time. The socially transformative power of dress in the early modern period is well-known, but its value changed with increasing commercialization. Increasing social mobility also altered the conditions for categorization of individuals. The comparative approach to this study lends itself for another discussion of the more generalized grounds for social categorizations.



Recent Miniature Exhibit

CAROL SOMMER, *Reference Librarian*

The Clark Library mounted an exhibition during the Winter Quarter that highlighted some of its holdings of miniature books. Although the Library has never deliberately collected miniature books, the Clark has approximately 235 fine press miniatures and thirty rare miniatures. Of the Clark's rare miniatures, perhaps the most interesting are an all-engraved edition of the *Whole Books of Psalms in Meter* and the *New Testament* in the shorthand of Jeremiah Rich, a leading stenography specialist of the period (ca. 1660). An almanac of small size which appeared continuously for over 200 years (thereby establishing a record of longevity in the miniature book world) is the famous *London Almanack*, published by the Company of Stationers. The Clark's copy, printed in 1785, is engraved throughout and the folding frontispiece depicts a London view, that of Somerset Place.

Originally, the only fine press miniatures the Clark Library possessed were from the Library's "house printer," William M. Cheney. During a long printing career in Los Angeles, Cheney employed various imprints, including *The Press in the Gatehouse* (1962-74), where his printing press was located on the grounds of the Clark Library. In 1987, the Miniature Book Society presented Cheney with an award that praised him as a "twentieth-century pioneer in designing and printing fine miniature books and California's most prolific printer of miniatures."

The Clark Library has been the fortunate recipient of three donations that helped to increase the number of fine press miniatures already owned. The first donation was from the well-known Southern California printer Ward Ritchie, who left the Library his collection of books at the time of his death in 1996. Among his books were fifty miniature books from various fine press printers, including Gloria Stuart and Joseph D'Ambrosio. Secondly, Monsignor Francis Weber's generous gift of his Achille J. St. Onge collection was a most welcome addition to the Library's collection, not least because Achille J. St. Onge's miniature books are the standard of comparison for all twentieth-century miniature books. The collection is complete, including the rare *Inaugural Address of Thomas Jefferson* (originally printed in a run of 200 copies, reportedly all but thirty copies were destroyed by St. Onge because he was unhappy with the gold stamping on the front cover). The last gift received was from Mariana Blau, the widow of the printer and bookbinder, Bela Blau. Her gift not only consists of approximately sixty miniature books, all bound by Bela Blau, but is contained in a custom-made case designed to display the collection.

Featured below are John Putman Friend, *Captain Jack; Being the Reminiscences of a Sea-going Bookseller* (Long Beach: Sea Horse Press, 1963), a Cheney imprint, bound by Blau, and *Historic American Flags* (Worcester, Mass: Achille J. St. Onge, 1968).



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