



Painted quire and sheet numbers, II: American examples

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three volumes known to have been in the Hispanic library of Foulché-Delbosc.¹⁵ Examination of them might lengthen the list of Spanish publishers who designated the number of sheets on the title-page.¹⁶

A long search has failed to reveal a printed quire or sheet number on any Portuguese chapbook (*folhas volantes*), whether of the seventeenth or the twentieth century, whether printed in Portugal or Brazil. The sampling has been fairly extensive, for the Infante Don Pedro tale has been studied in Portuguese translation in the following collections of Portuguese chapbooks: three volumes in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, labeled *Entremeses portuguesas*, Lisbon, 1768-97; two volumes, each labeled *Literatura de cordel*,¹⁷ in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon; and four boxes of unbound books in the White Collection in Cleveland.¹⁸

The Spanish chapbooks of the

eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that bear printed sheet numbers seem to confirm Professor Jackson in his belief that the numbers are related to the sales price, and possibly to the tax due on the individual copies. The numbers are obviously an instant key to the size. The fact that they are found in advertisements where one would normally expect prices seems conclusive proof that they are also a key to the retail price. Such advertisements are often included within the chapbooks themselves, to fill out space at the end. Thus on the last page of the first chapbook in the first volume of the *Novelas antigüas* in the Harvard College Library, under the heading 'Historias que se hallan en el mismo despacho,' is a list of 75 items. They are set down by size. The first, *Oliveros de Castilla y Artus de Algarve*, has five sheets. Then come twenty items of four sheets, forty-two of three, and twelve of two.¹⁹

FRANCIS M. ROGERS

AMERICAN EXAMPLES

During the course of work on the 'Bibliography of American Literature' now in process of compilation under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America, I have been in a position to observe the use of printed sheet numbers in the United States, and accordingly offer the following data as a further contribution to the study of the general subject.

The explanation for the use of sheet numbers in the United States is found in the federal postal laws of the period

¹⁹ Professor Jackson states (HLB, VIII, 99) that in no case where the quire number differs from the sheet number in a Spanish book is the former given. My own observations completely confirm this statement.

¹⁵ See *Catalogue de la bibliothèque hispanique de R. Foulché-Delbosc* (Abbeville, 1920), cols. 429-430. 'Recueil factice AF,' *Historias*, 2 vols., contains 32 items, and 'Recueil factice AG,' *Libros de caballerias*, 1 vol., contains 9 items.

¹⁶ The following editions of the *Infante Don Pedro* add two publishers to the list of those designating sheet numbers:

Reus: 'Se halla en casa Vidal, arrabal alto de Jesús núm. 5,' n. d. [ca. 1873]. 3 sheets. I own a copy.

Seville: Viuda de Vazquez y Compañía, 1815. 5 sheets. Copy in Hispanic Society of America, New York. Professor Jean Seznec informs me that there is also a copy in the 'Taylorian Library,' Oxford.

¹⁷ This term apparently means 'string literature,' possibly because the chapbooks were suspended in printshops or booksellers' stalls either by or on a piece of string. The significance of the term needs further study.

¹⁸ These boxes contain a total of 90 chapbooks of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One of the boxes contains 12 late nineteenth-century chapbooks printed in Rio de Janeiro.

1794 to 1845.²⁰ During these years the postage to be charged on a magazine or pamphlet entering the mails was rated by the number of sheets in the work. Books were not allowed to be carried in the mail because their hard covers were injurious to other pieces of mail, and newspapers were rated by the newspaper. The postal law of 1794 provided, however, that 'where the mode of conveyance, and the size of the mails will admit of it, magazines and pamphlets may be transported in the mail, at one cent per sheet, for conveyance, any distance not exceeding fifty miles, one and a half cent for any distance over fifty miles and not exceeding one hundred, and two cents per sheet for any greater distance.'²¹ In 1816, presumably to assist deputy postmasters in computing charges, a rule of thumb was promulgated that said: 'Every four folio pages, or eight quarto pages, or sixteen octavo pages, of a pamphlet or magazine, shall be considered a sheet, and the surplus pages of any pamphlet or magazine shall also be considered a sheet.'²² The formula was changed subsequently a number of times to cover a greater variety of formats and methods of imposing type-pages on the sheets. The law of 1825 set up separate rates

for periodically published pamphlets and magazines and those not so published, and assigned the lower rates to those published periodically. In 1827 Congress deleted the limitation regarding the mode of conveyance and size of the mails, and made a distinction between large and small pamphlets and magazines, prescribing the lowest postage rate for the small, or half-sheet, periodicals. The law of 1827 also required that sheet numbers be printed or written on one of the outer pages of all magazines and pamphlets to be sent by mail. Although the law of 1827 remained in effect until 1845, when Congress decided that postage on magazines and pamphlets should be charged by weight, a regulation circulated among the deputy postmasters in 1832 directed them to charge periodical pamphlet postage not only on magazines but also on journals of Congress and various other public documents, almanacs, college catalogues, and annual reports or minutes of societies. These were the principal landmarks in the postal laws that guided me in a cursory search in the stacks of the Widener and Houghton Libraries for examples of sheet number statements.

The earliest examples of printed sheet number statements I have seen on American pamphlets and magazines are in reality simply notices of the postage due on copies of a publication received by mail. They were set forth by the publisher for the benefit of the subscriber, who paid the transportation cost and generally decided whether his copy of the magazine was to be sent by mail or by some other conveyance. These notices do state by implication, however, the

²⁰ The laws may be found in the earlier volumes of U. S., Laws, Statutes, etc., *The Public Statutes at Large*, 36 vols. (Boston, etc., 1845-1911; also 2nd ed. of Vols. I-V, Boston, 1850). Compilations of the laws accompanied by Post Office Department regulations were issued in a series with varying titles by the Department. Of the series, the issues of 1825, 1828, 1832, 1843, and 1847 were used for this investigation. Wesley E. Rich, *The History of the United States Post Office to the Year 1829* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924) was of value in providing a general picture of postal affairs.

²¹ *Public Statutes at Large*, I (1850), 362.

²² *Public Statutes at Large*, III (1850), 265.

number of sheets contained in the issues of the magazines on which or in which they appear. A typical example is the statement included in William Cobbett's 'Advertisement' printed on the front wrapper of *The Rush-Light*, Number 1, for 15 February 1800. Cobbett informed his prospective subscribers:

Each number will contain 48 octavo pages, never less and sometimes more . . . To Gentlemen who wish to have single numbers sent on to them by *post*, the following information may not be unacceptable. The postage of a single number, for any distance not exceeding 50 miles, will be three cents; for any greater distance not exceeding 100 miles, four and one half cents; for any distance above 100 miles, six cents.²³

Later on, and particularly after 1827, the general practice was to print somewhere on the wrapper the number of sheets in the work and state the postage due thereon, though in some cases the postage due is not detailed. In addition, the publisher usually made it clear that the work was considered a periodical if this was the case, or a half-sheet periodical. The sheet number statements on *Colman's Monthly Miscellany* for July and August 1839 are especially interesting because they were printed so as to leave a blank space for the later insertion of the actual number of sheets.

Usually the sheet number statement was printed at the foot of the front

²³ Cobbett, for some unknown reason, based the rate of postage due on the law of 1794 instead of that of 1799. I have seen other examples of implied statements on one or more issues of: *The Pilgrim, or Monthly Visiter*; *The Religious Monitor, or, Evangelical Repository*; *The Restorationist*; and *The Abolitionist, or Record of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society*.

wrapper or cover title but it might appear, instead, on the back wrapper or on the inside of the front or back wrapper. Less often it was included in the publisher's 'Advertisement' or 'Prospectus,' which was generally printed somewhere inside the magazine. I have seen the statement on the title-page of only one work, a pamphlet printed in Honolulu in 1839 entitled *An Account of the Visit of the French Frigate L'Artemise, to the Sandwich Islands; July, 1839*.²⁴

I have also seen several examples of written sheet number statements. Sometimes the statement consists merely of a number indicating the number of sheets in the publication. More often it is a more complete statement indicating that periodical postage was to be charged. The statement is usually written with the address of the recipient on the front wrapper, or on the back wrapper if the pamphlet or magazine was folded and sealed for mailing.²⁵

²⁴ This work, compiled by Samuel N. Castle, is a reprint of certain correspondence issued in a more extensive pamphlet with the same title but having no sheet number statement. Both concern the visit of the French frigate to register a protest on behalf of the French government with the American consul at Honolulu regarding the behavior of American missionaries in the Islands, and it seems probable that the smaller work was issued primarily for circulation among the missionaries' sponsors in the United States. Professor Jackson called my attention to this pamphlet.

²⁵ I have seen written sheet number statements on: Reuben D. Mussey, *An Address on Ardent Spirit, Read before the New-Hampshire Medical Society, at Their Annual Meeting, June 5, 1827* (Hanover, N. H., 1828); *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Lane Theological Seminary* (Cincinnati, 1843); *Select Reviews, and Spirit of the Foreign Magazines*, the May 1809 issue of which was sent from Philadelphia to Timothy Pickering at 'Salem Mass,' and the

The earliest true printed sheet number statement was found on the inside of the front wrapper of the May 1828 issue of Eliakim Littel's *Religious Magazine, or Spirit of the Foreign Theological Journals and Reviews*. It reads: 'Postage. Containing Six printed sheets. — The postage for any distance less than 100 miles is 9 cents — and for any greater distance 15 cents.'²⁶ Four instances were found of the use of sheet number statements on annual reports or minutes of societies, the earliest being the *First Annual Report of the New York City Temperance Society*, dated 1830.²⁷ Half-sheet periodical postage claims were found on one magazine and one almanac.²⁸ Only four of the many college catalogues examined have printed sheet number statements, and of these one is a combined catalogue

January 1810 issue of which was sent to him at 'Washington City Columbia'; and *The Friend of Reform, and Corruption's Adversary*, the August, September, and October 1828 issues of which were sent from Cincinnati to James M. Spellman in Frederick, Maryland.

²⁶ I have also seen true sheet number statements on one or more issues of the following publications not mentioned elsewhere in this note: *The Unitarian*; *The Religious Magazine*; *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*; *The Anti-Slavery Examiner*; *The Monthly Miscellany of Religion and Letters*; *Campbell's Foreign Monthly Magazine, or Select Miscellany of the Periodical Literature of Great Britain*; *The Christian Parlor Magazine*; *Facts for the People*; *Political Tracts for the Times*.

²⁷ Some of the annual reports or minutes of the following organizations also have statements: Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of New-York; Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Western New York; and American Anti-Slavery Society.

²⁸ The magazine is *The Children's Magazine*; the almanac is *The American Temperance Almanac, for . . . 1835*.

and annual report of the trustees.²⁹ Finally, four pamphlets were found with statements that do not claim periodical postage.³⁰

The sheet number statements on a number of works place them in a different class of mailable matter from that in which they would appear to fit. In some instances the statement makes it clear that the postmaster general had issued a special order concerning the work. For example, on the last page of text of Volume I, Number 1, of *The Baptist Memorial and Monthly Chronicle* for January 1842 there is a notice that 'By decision of the Post Master General, the "Memorial" is subject only to newspaper postage.' Similarly, a work that has every appearance of being a pamphlet by modern criteria, the *Address of the Managers of the American Colonization Society, to the People of the United States. Adopted at Their Meeting, June 19, 1832*, has the statement: 'Postage on this sheet as a periodical, by order of the Post Master General, under 100 miles 1 1-2 Cents — over, 2 1-2.' In addition, there are

²⁹ These are: *Fourth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Cincinnati Lane Seminary: Together with a Catalogue of the Officers and Students, January, 1834*; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Illinois College, 1842-43*; *Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Middlebury College, for the Academic Year 1843-4*; and *Catalogue and Circular of the Albany Medical College for 1844*.

³⁰ They are: *The Intemperate, and the Reformed* (Boston, 1834) — *The Intemperate* is by Mrs Lydia H. Sigourney and *The Reformed* by Gerrit Smith; Thomas J. Sutherland, *A Canvass of the Proceedings on the Trial of William Lyon Mackenzie* (New York, 1840); Nathan Sargent, *Life of Henry Clay* (Philadelphia, 1844); and Samuel N. Castle, *An Account of the Visit of the French Frigate* (Honolulu, 1839), already mentioned.

sheet number statements claiming a cheaper postage rate than the work apparently ought to merit but giving no indication of a special dispensation from the postmaster general.³¹ It seems not unreasonable to assume that some anomalies were created by publishers who wished to evade the law or abuse the privileges granted by it. Two fairly evident cases are *The Christian Library* and the *Re-Issue of the American Family Magazine, or, General Abstract of Useful Knowledge*. The former was published in 1833 and 1834 by Key & Biddle of Philadelphia, has volume and part numbers on the wrappers only, and was published semi-monthly. In reality, it was a series of books issued in parts and meant to be bound later, and its format inside the wrapper of each part makes no pretense of periodical publication. The *Re-Issue of the American Family Magazine*, which claims to be 'The Cheapest Work Ever Published!!,' was to be completed in sixteen semi-monthly numbers, and was published during 1843 by Greeley & McElrath in New York, Burgess & Zieber in Philadelphia, and Redding & Co. in Boston. It likewise was a book in content and in make-up within the wrapper of each number.³²

³¹ Such statements appear on: Thomas S. Grimké, *An Address Delivered before the Charleston Temperance Society* (Charleston, S. C., 1834); and Edward N. Kirk, *A Sermon on the Traffic in Intoxicating Liquors* (n. p., n. d.). The latter claims half-sheet periodical postage.

³² For information on the progenitors and relatives of the *Re-Issue* see Frank L. Mott, *A History of American Magazines 1741-1850* (New York, 1930), pp. 363-365. This book has been used as a general reference.

In December 1841 Lea & Blanchard advertised a cheap reissue of twenty-two Cooper novels, which, since they were to be issued weekly, would be sent through the mail at

It is difficult, however, to sustain an allegation of fraud or deceit on the part of the publisher, primarily because the postmaster general could decide in each individual instance which rate of postage was to be charged on a specific publication, but also because no clear definition of periodical publication was enunciated prior to 1845.

No doubt many publishers were confused by the postal laws and regulations and the interpretations of them made by the various postmasters throughout the country, as well as by the lack of certain clear-cut definitions. An interesting example of what might emerge from the disorder is the *Supplement to the Political Register, Covering the Speeches of Messrs. Calhoun, Webster, and Poindexter, in the Senate of the United States* (Washington, D. C., 1833). The publisher of this work was also the publisher of the *United States Telegraph*, a Washington newspaper. In the *Supplement to the Political Register* he advertised *The Political Register*, which was to be 'published in pamphlet form, containing the leading editorial articles from the United States Telegraph . . . and occasional leading speeches, and with a view to save expense in postage, will be published once a week on a double sheet . . .' *The Political Register*, then, was intended as a supplement to a newspaper and the publishing of such a supplement was well within the postal law. According to the law the supplement was rated the same as the newspaper, that is, one cent per newspaper, or supplement, if transported less than one hundred

the periodical postage rate. The advertisement implies that the works of Dickens, Fielding, Smollett, and others would also be published in this way.

miles, one and one-half cents for any greater distance. Consequently, the *Supplement to the Political Register* was a supplement of a supplement. Proceeding farther into no-man's land the publisher calculated the postage due on his *Supplement to the Political Register* by the sheet. The work contained 'three sheets and a half,' he says, 'and [is] subject to newspaper postage only, viz. if under 100 miles $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents, if more than 100 miles $5\frac{1}{4}$ cents.' He took the final plunge by inserting in the *Supplement to the Political Register* two separate items, namely, Volume I, Number 21, of *The Political Register* dated 25 March 1833, and a *Supplement to the Political Register* dated 24 March 1833.

It might well be asked why more publications were not found bearing sheet number statements. The answer seems to be: partly for historical reasons, and partly for mechanical reasons. The latter are quite obvious. Since the great majority of statements are on the wrappers of the works found with them, and since the general practice has been to remove the wrappers from pamphlets and magazines when preparing them for binding, it is evident that many works that once had sheet number statements have them no longer. Moreover, it is entirely possible that many pamphlets and magazines were enclosed in some sort of envelope or mailing wrapper. The customary place for the address of the intended recipient seems to have been the back wrapper; if this was covered with advertisements or other printed matter it was necessary to use an auxiliary wrapper — naturally later discarded — on which a

sheet number statement may have been written.

The historical reasons are the more interesting and more conjectural ones. A fair amount of evidence exists to show that the practice of printing sheet number statements on pamphlets and magazines did not become rapidly widespread even after the requirement in the law of 1827, because not many of these publications were expected to enter the mails. All of the postal laws were permissive only, and indeed several of the early postmasters general let it be known that they frowned upon the mailing of pamphlets and magazines. It is safe to assume that 'the mode of conveyance' and 'the size of the mails' often prevented it. Roads were bad in many parts of the country, and the post riders and drivers of mail coaches and sulkies were undoubtedly frequently overwhelmed by letters and newspapers. Although the mail routes were continually being improved and coaches used more generally as the revenues of the Post Office Department increased, the publishers at work in the early part of the period were especially handicapped in their use of the mails by physical conditions that could not be easily overcome. As late as 1815 the postmaster general informed the postmaster at Cincinnati:

Pamphlets and magazines ought not to be sent by mail on the great roads when the mails are large nor have Postmasters a right to send them without special authority from this office by mail — No late authority has been granted to the Postmasters of Philadelphia, New York, &c. except for such few magazines as are published by religious societies & they cannot be permitted to send any other

than such magazines to your section of the country.³³

It seems contradictory that the postmasters general should be so chary about allowing magazines and pamphlets to be sent through the mail while at the same time Congress provided that mail contractors could carry them along with but not as a part of the regular mail. The practice of having the post riders carry magazines, with consequent fee from the subscribers, had become regularized in the last half of the eighteenth century, when the law had not yet provided for conveying magazines through the mails. This procedure was legalized by the postal ordinance of 1782 and all the postal laws beginning in 1794 and ending in 1845, though it was not permitted between 1792 and 1794. It was also possible to transport pamphlets and magazines by private express. The Post Office Department struggled constantly throughout the period to prevent the setting up of express routes over or parallel to mail routes for the conveyance of letters, but it did not object to private express companies that carried any other kind of mailable matter or the various articles of merchandise that were not mailable matter until 1861.

The fact that between 1799 and 1825 the law, interpreted strictly, allowed magazines and pamphlets to travel free of postage within a radius of fifty miles from the place of publication provides us with another cause for the slow growth of the practice of printing sheet numbers on such works. Since the majority of subscribers to any particular magazine were prob-

³³Mott, *History of American Magazines*, p. 119.

ably within this radius, and since the law did not yet require the writing or printing of sheet numbers on the outer pages, the natural tendency would be to omit them. The absence of a provision for postage under fifty miles in the laws from 1799 to 1825 also seems to be a strong indication that not many pamphlets and magazines were sent in the mail during this quarter century.

Regarding the situation in 1832, and pertaining especially to non-periodical pamphlets, we have the testimony of Postmaster General William T. Barry. In a letter to the Honorable William Russel, of the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads of the House of Representatives, dated 10 January 1832, he says:

The accounts of postages on newspapers and pamphlets are kept together, without distinguishing one from the other . . . The postage on pamphlets which are not periodical is very inconsiderable. The intention of the law appears to have been to discourage their transmission by mail, except in cases where it might be regarded as a matter of considerable interest, and the object is accomplished. The postages on newspapers and pamphlets arise principally on the former, probably more than four-fifths of the whole: the remainder is almost entirely on periodical pamphlets.³⁴

There are several types of pamphlets that uniformly lack sheet number statements. One includes the speeches of members of Congress, which, then as now, when sent through the mail were transported under the franking privilege. Secondly, the addresses of private citizens — Fourth of

³⁴U. S., Congress, *American State Papers*, XXVII [i.e., Class VII, Post Office Department] (Washington, D. C., 1834), 338-339.

July orations, and sermons — lack such statements. The printer probably assumed that the majority of copies of these works would not enter the mail because they would be of little interest to people outside the locality in which they had been delivered. Moreover, such copies as might find their way into the mail would probably be sent by the author, who would not expect the recipient to pay the postage on one of the sender's own effusions.²⁵ In short, it

²⁵ Normally subscribers paid the postage on periodicals received in the mail, but postage on any mailable matter accepted for mailing could be prepaid by the sender, though prepayment was not required by the law prior to 1845.

was not necessary to put sheet number statements on such works, and it was genteel to omit them.

It is possible that a more extensive search might reveal other groups of publications that did or did not more or less consistently carry sheet number statements. Further study of the statements coupled with an investigation of the Post Office Department records of the period might also be enlightening as to the ingenuity of many American printers and publishers of the first half of the nineteenth century.

EARLE E. COLEMAN

An Autograph of Pushkin's 'To the Sea'

IN the spring of 1953 Mr Bayard L. Kilgour, '27, added to his remarkable collection of Russian belles-lettres in the Harvard College Library an autograph manuscript of Pushkin's famous poem 'K moriu' ('To the Sea'). The manuscript is written on both sides of a single leaf measuring 32 by 20 centimeters, and contains a number of alterations, likewise in Pushkin's hand, including, on the verso, six entire lines added in the margin. A facsimile reproduction of both sides of the leaf is shown herewith, in Plates I and II.¹ The manuscript, now brought to light, has considerable importance for the text of the poem,

¹ The cost of the plates has been defrayed by funds generously made available by the Committee for the Promotion of Advanced Slavic Cultural Studies, under the chairmanship of Mr Gordon Wasson.

since many of the corrections embody variants previously unknown to scholarship. And there are also other interesting and important features, even though the manuscript represents neither the first nor the latest, definitive, form of the poem. Questions arising from the readings contained in this new manuscript will be discussed in detail in my publication of the text appearing in the Autumn 1954 issue of the *Novyi Zhurnal*, New York.

It will be readily acknowledged that this poem to the sea is of a special significance, both in form and content. It was composed as a farewell to the Black Sea, when in 1824 Pushkin was forced to exchange the latest of his southern places of exile, Odessa, for a northern one, his father's estate in the Government of Pskov, which was far less agreeable to him. The

Linnaean books from the Arboretum and the Gray Herbarium continue on deposit in the stacks of the Houghton Library, whence they may be drawn for consultation in the new Herbarium.

Mrs Lazella Schwarten, formerly Librarian of the Arnold Arboretum, is now Librarian of both the Arnold

Arboretum and the Gray Herbarium and is in charge of both libraries in the new building. She is assisted by Mrs Patricia Lewicki and Mrs Yvonne Meigs. Dr Richard Schultes has recently been appointed Curator of the Orchid Herbarium of Oakes Ames and is in charge of the Orchid Library.

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