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James D. Birchfield

University of Kentucky, j.birchfield@uky.edu

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Some Books We Cannot Read: Kentucky’s Bibliographical Ghosts

James D. Birchfield

The year 1987 marks the bicentennial of printing in what is now the Commonwealth of Kentucky. This seems an appropriate time to reflect on the history of printing in Kentucky and to think not only about the early Kentucky books we can read, but also about some bibliographical ghosts, some books we cannot read. The first printing in Kentucky shares something with the first printing in what is now the United States, for The Kentucke Gazette of 11 August 1787, like The Oath of a Freeman printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts in the latter part of 1638, no longer exists in any known copy. This issue of the Gazette stands first among the incunabula of Kentucky printing, and it is, to the best of our knowledge, a vanished entity. It is not, however, our only bibliographical ghost.

“No local theatre of American culture,” writes the printing historian Douglas C. McMurtrie, “was more interesting than Kentucky at the close of the eighteenth and the opening decades of the nineteenth century.” How far afield did Kentucky’s books of this critical period go? Did they go to important libraries in the east? What collectors might have had them? A sense of the extent of the dispersal of Kentucky imprints in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries may be gained from the five volumes of Millicent Sowerby’s Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson, a list of the books purchased by the nation to re-establish and restock the Library of Congress following the burning of the Capitol by the British on 24 August 1814. Jefferson was one of early America’s great book collectors, and, like Francis Bacon, he took all knowledge for his province. Moreover, he was a resident of Virginia, of which Kentucky was originally a county. We may suppose that an examination of Jefferson’s shelves would prove a better-than-average sample of early western printing in an early
eastern collection. Jefferson's library contained the work of the world's foremost printers—Baskerville, Didot, Foulis, Franklin—and titles from London, Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Amsterdam, and Berlin. Among his Parisian imprints was *L'Histoire de Kentucke*, 1785, the French edition of John Filson's *History of Kentucky*, first published the previous year in Wilmington, Delaware. This, along with a few other pieces, such as an 1804 New York printing of a David Rice speech at Danville, were Kentuckiana to be sure, but not Kentucky imprints. Of the nearly 5,000 entries in the Sowerby catalogue, there are only eight Kentucky imprints, and but one by John Bradford, Kentucky's first printer.5 (Consider that by the end of 1815, there were at least 567 non-serial Kentucky imprints.)6 While contemporary advertisements and documents show that eastern books were available in abundance in the west,7 there appears to have been comparatively little interest in western publishing in the east. It seems likely that many western books, in fact, perished in the west.

The expression "Rare books are getting scarce" was the familiar motto forty years ago of the Cincinnati book dealer William Smith, as he posed in the guise of the ancient philosopher "Flavius."8 Smith, proprietor of Acres of Books, was one of the region's leading bookmen in the 1930s and 1940s, and the supplier of scarce and rare publications to Kentucky's choicer private libraries, to collectors such as Judge Samuel M. Wilson and J. Winston Coleman, and to their companions in such groups as the Cakes and Ale Club and the Book Thieves.9

The ultimate in such scarcity is, of course, the *unicum*, or unique copy. It is the pride of any collector or institution to boast the only known specimen of a printed work. The University of Virginia, for example, appears to possess the only known copy of Chilton Allan's *Speech* in the Kentucky Senate of 7 December 1824 (printed at Frankfort), and the Lilly Library at Indiana University the only copy of Joseph Charless's printing of Caleb Bingham's *American Preceptor* (Lexington, 1805).10 In both cases, these books have come to light since 1969. (No copies of six Lexington Charless imprints are known.)11 Where few copies of a work are known, bibliographers have been known to keep score through various methods, the most formal being the census, such as that conducted by Virginia L. Myers of eleven copies (one of them presently at large) of Poe's *Tamerlane*.12 One of the most amusing of bibliographical legends is the tale of the mythical Count de
Fortsas, whose entire library consisted only of unique copies, and the woe he endured when second copies of any of his titles surfaced. The story of this discriminating count and the advertised sale of his library of unique books has been, since its inception in about 1840, one of the evergreen fables of bibliophilic lore. (Yet another work on the count has come out in recent months.) This is because his story epitomizes the concept of ultimate rarity and the ultimate exclusiveness of possessing what no one else can own, in the case of a collector, or no one else provide, in the case of a scholar.

Just to demonstrate that the idea is very much with us today, one need only refer to a letter from the firm of Research Publications, dated 20 January 1987, forwarding a marketing survey to academic libraries about the feasibility of offering for sale in microform a series of reproductions of unique incunabula, books printed prior to 1501 known to exist in only one copy. And think, as well, of Umberto Eco's immensely popular novel, *The Name of the Rose*, and the subsequent film which shows Sean Connery as William of Baskerville, pursuing the only known copy of the second book of Aristotle's *Poetics*, about comedy instead of tragedy, only to see it lost in flames, becoming a ghost as had those whose poisoned fingers earlier turned its pages. Edward H. Carpenter carries this idea further still in his paper *Some Libraries We have Not Visited*, which discusses non-existent libraries that are carefully catalogued in the works of such authors as Francois Rabelais (including Jabolemus's *De Cosmographia Purgatorii*), John Donne (including Martin Luther's *On Shortening the Lord's Prayer*), and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle (including Sherlock Holmes's *Upon the Distinction Between the Ashes of Various Tobaccos*). Beyond these bibliographical black tulips of the single-known copy and the wholly fabricated entry lies the grayer area of the ghost, the documented book which does not appear to exist.

Donald S. Wing, once Associate Librarian of Yale University and the bibliographer of the 1945 *Short-Title Catalog of Books Printed in England, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and British America and of English Books Printed in Other Countries 1641-1700*, issued a related list in 1966 and called it *A Gallery of Ghosts*. "I have reason," he writes, "to believe almost all of these have existed... but none was located." What is true here of English bibliography from 1641 to 1700 is true no less of the bibliography of Kentucky.
Perhaps before embarking on a discussion of bibliographical ghosts exclusively, something might properly be said of Kentucky's typographical ghosts, embracing printing—ephemeral printing—of a status beneath that of the book, but of a kind nevertheless possessing much evidentiary value. Take, for example, authentication of the work of Kentucky's early furniture makers, men such as Porter Clay, the brother of Henry Clay. There remain, unhappily, no printed labels of Porter Clay on his beds, chests, chairs, or banquet ends. In fact, of all the numerous Kentucky cabinetmakers, who produced innumerable objects in the Bluegrass, there exists today only one label, that of Thomas Burns, on a chair made at Georgetown in Scott County in the 1820s. He indicates on the label that he will sell his work for Kentucky paper money, flax seed, hemp, whiskey, and wood, and that he does sign painting, paperhanging, and house decorating.\(^\text{17}\) A "Check List of Looking Glass and Frame Makers and Merchants Known by Their Labels" published in The Magazine Antiques in 1981 gives not a single example from Kentucky, although there were looking glass and frame makers in early Lexington.\(^\text{18}\) And, indeed, there is a remaining label for James D. McIntosh, maker of frames for Matthew Harris Jouett, Kentucky's great portraitist. McIntosh, we learn, did "every article in the carving and gilding line, on the shortest notice."\(^\text{19}\) These labels are of much interest to students and collectors of the material culture of early Kentucky, but such documents are unfortunately too few. There is an early copyright register for Kentucky, and in it you will find entered a few less important ephemeral items such as the wrapper for Dr. John Bull's "King of Pain" medicine, the label for John J. Smith's "Tonic Syrup," and that for J. T. Richerson's "Hoarhound and Sarsaparilla Expectorant."\(^\text{20}\) Even these are not without appeal. Unrecorded, but valuable nevertheless, are early Kentucky bookplates for such figures as Thomas January and Madison C. Johnson, invaluable binders' tickets, early printed money, and, of course, early funeral invitations, such as those for John Bradford and Matthew Harris Jouett. Much is lost, but some may yet still be reclaimed; in 1987, for example, the University of Kentucky acquired a bound manuscript with the binder's ticket of William Essex.\(^\text{21}\)

Returning from ephemera to the more substantial printed volume, suspicions of printed ghosts emerge from such sources as newspaper advertisements (where the newspapers themselves continue to exist), prospectuses, or other contemporary references.
YOURSELF and family are requested to attend the Funeral of JOHN BRADFORD, Esq. from his late residence at 4 o'clock this afternoon. Monday, March 22, 1830.

Ephemeral Kentucky printing is exemplified by this notice for the funeral of John Bradford, Kentucky's first printer. (Courtesy of the Lexington Public Library)

In The Kentucky Gazette of 3 January 1814 will be found, for example, a notice of a prospectus to be published in Lexington by Francis Peniston for The Backwoodsman. There are no known bibliographical records to support the appearance of The Backwoodsman. Absent any known copies, the work is a very shady entity. Even the prospectus itself is unknown. This is in contrast, say, to the prospectus which Mrs. Mary Beck circulated in 1818 seeking subscribers to an edition of the poems of her late husband, the English artist George Beck (1749-1812); the prospectus itself is recorded, but the poems, although many are known from their appearance in The Kentucky Gazette, do not ever appear to have been printed as a collection.22 The exploration of such entities teems with mischief, and a doubtful possibility may prove in the end but a jest. Such is the case of The Grey Cowl by Lay Brother O'Shaughnessy, of the Abbey of Gethsemani. The Grey Cowl is a bogus work invented by Winston Coleman and William H. Townsend to confound Charles R. Staples, all members of the circle of Lexington bibliophiles called "The Book Thieves."23 It, too, is a book that you cannot read, and with which no thief could abscond.

Perhaps the most important of Kentucky's early bibliographical ghosts is The Kentucky Miscellany, by Thomas Johnson, Jr., the "Drunken Poet of Danville" and Kentucky's first poet. Willard Rouse Jillson, in his Rare Kentucky Books, indicates that this was
the first booklet printed in Kentucky.\textsuperscript{24} John Wilson Townsend suggests that it is the first volume of poetry printed in Kentucky.\textsuperscript{25}

The first poem about the Commonwealth, "An Ode to Kentucky," by An Emigrant, was printed in a London journal entitled \textit{The Philanthropist} (a copy was in Jefferson's library) and was Utopian in its praise:

\begin{quote}
Hail modern Eden!—hail thy blooming sweets!
Thy promis'd favours, and thy fragrance, greets
My ardent wishes to salute thy plains,
And plant thy meadows with European grains.\textsuperscript{26}
\end{quote}

By contrast, Kentucky's first poet, on the scene at Danville, took a more cynical view:

\begin{quote}
I hate Kentucky, curse the place,
And all her vile and miscreant race.\textsuperscript{27}
\end{quote}

There are those who would judge \textit{The Kentucky Miscellany} an unholy ghost, for charges of obscenity were leveled at one poem in particular, "The Wedding Night." This may account, on the one hand, for the public demand for four editions—1789, 1796, 1815, and 1821—and, on the other, for the total decimation of the entire run, save for two known copies of the fourth edition.

Disregarding Thomas Johnson, in 1982 the Connecticut Americana dealer William Reese offered another item that he characterized as the first literary publication from the early western press. It was an 1804 printing of Alexander Pope's \textit{An Essay on Man}, issued from the press of Lexington's John Bradford. By chance, this item was not recorded in the 1939 \textit{Check List of Kentucky Imprints 1787-1810}, although it had in fact been advertised as "just from the press" in the \textit{Gazette} of 4 September 1804, and its presence was unhinted by entries or holdings records anywhere, printed or electronic.\textsuperscript{28} The 1804 Essay, believed to be unique, is now at the University of Kentucky Libraries. It is this phenomenon that inspires anxiety among all enumerative bibliographers—the unexpected arrival of an unanticipated title. Such pride is taken in the bibliographical enterprise of introducing addenda, that it is a commonplace to cite the works of previous bibliographers in which you will not find the item listed. A splendid example is, once again, Millicent Sowerby's bibliography

An 1804 Lexington printing of Alexander Pope’s An Essay on Man; this may be a unique surviving copy. (University of Kentucky Libraries)
of the Jefferson library, for throughout the text is a litany of bibliographies in which you will not find a book listed, for example, "Not in STC," "Not in Evans," "Not in Sabin," "Not in Wegelin," "Not in DeRenne," "Not in Jillson," "Not in Arents," "Not in CBEL," "Not in Arber," "Not in Lowndes," and so on and on and on. It is only a reminder that the bibliographer is not unlike the book collector himself in the sense that the bibliographer is a collector, too, and the exhibit of his holdings is the bibliography that he produces.

The Check List of Kentucky Imprints 1787-1810, already mentioned, was compiled by a Chicagoan named Douglas Crawford McMurtrie (1888-1944). One of the giants of American bibliography, McMurtrie stood over six feet tall. Dapper, he wore a bat-wing collar, a claw-hammer coat, spats, and carried an elegant cane. Though a busy employee of the Ludlow Typograph Company, McMurtrie pursued the history of American printing as an avocation, and the record of his own publications spans over forty pages of the National Union Catalogue. This energetic man proposed and spearheaded the American Imprints Inventory for the Works Progress Administration and coordinated the gathering of invaluable bibliographic information toward the preparation of a history of printing in America. By surveying public and private collections and by examining advertisements in early newspapers, dealers' catalogues, and other sources, McMurtrie sought to record basic information about all pioneer American printing. As early as January 1931 McMurtrie published in The Filson Club History Quarterly a list of 181 "Unlocated Early Kentucky Imprints 1787-1830." In 1932 he published "A Check-List of Kentucky Almanacs"; in 1933 "Early Kentucky Medical Imprints"; in 1935 "A Bibliography of Kentucky Statute Law 1792-1830"; in 1936 "A Bibliography of Eighteenth Century Kentucky Broadside"; he produced, as well, other articles on topics relating to personalities and developments in Kentucky printing (not to mention his publications on printing in such other places as Florida, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, and elsewhere). His surveys of imprints are preserved in a series of modestly produced mimeographed volumes. The Kentucky Check List . . . 1787-1810 contains 379 items, of which fifty-six are ghosts; his sequel of the same year, 1939, the Check List of . . . 1811-1820, contains 429 titles, of which twenty-three are unlocated.

McMurtrie's achievement is nothing short of phenomenal, not
only for recording Kentucky imprints with logic and precision, but for arriving, through a process of careful deduction, at the titles of books that apparently existed but can no longer be seen. Just prior to his death he was intending to publish a supplemental report on a number of titles “of doubtful authenticity as Kentucky imprints,” but McMurtrie’s essay on Kentucky’s bibliographical ghosts never appeared. To see how critical he was in realizing such entries, one need only scan his review of a later WPA supplement to his 1939 inventories. McMurtrie, assuming a proprietary posture on the record of Kentucky imprints, criticizes the inferring of an almanac for 1789, various minutes for church associations, acts of the legislature, and works registered for copyright which might never have issued from the press. It does not appear that the fastidiously cautious McMurtrie ever commented on Willard Rouse Jillson’s Rare Kentucky Books. The rare books cited by Jillson include, along with some actual unlocated imprints, some phantoms he makes clear may never have been printed. Such a romantic entry is The Life of Cassius Marcellus Clay (1886), with its alluring annotation, “a doubtful but persistent rumor has it that Vol. II was written and a few copies were printed; then all were destroyed.” Similar lore informs McMurtrie’s own note on The Prisoners of Niagara, or Errors of Education, the first novel written by a native Kentuckian and the first novel printed in Kentucky, produced at the press of William Gerard in Frankfort in 1810; once it was thought to have been successfully eradicated by its author, Jessie Lynch Holman, although several copies are now known.

The “doubtful but persistent rumor” of a second volume of Cassius Clay’s autobiography is not the sole bibliographical problem relating to the “Lion of White Hall.” In a spellbinding address to the Chicago Civil War Round Table on 17 October 1952, Lexington attorney and Lincoln scholar William H. Townsend dramatically exhibited to his audience Clay’s Bowie knife, the one with which Clay fought and which was beneath his pillow when he died. He referred, as well, to “a strange sort of document,” authored by Clay on his return from Russia, entitled The Technique of Bowie Knife Fighting. Several Kentuckiana collectors have sought in vain for this work by Clay; one even consulted Townsend concerning it, only to learn that the magnetic raconteur’s copy had been momentarily misplaced. Just as he gave ocular and tangible evidence of Clay’s knife, Townsend quoted in graphic detail from Clay’s writing—on how to address the left
clavicle with the blade and how to execute a maneuver that "almost invariably puts an end to the encounter." 34 Although the representative literature of the code duello contains detailed information on the etiquette and procedure of the elite ritual of duelling, Clay's specialized manual would no doubt prove of singular interest to the student of American manners.

Roscoe M. Pierson, the bibliographer of Lexington imprints from 1821 to 1850, recounts his search for a Lexington printing, by A. T. Skillman & Son, of Humphrey Marshall's History of Kentucky. Ironically, the only Lexington imprint that Pierson found listed in Orville Roorbach's Bibliotheca Americana, 1820-52 appears not to exist. 35 (The first edition of Marshall's History of Kentucky was printed in Frankfort in 1812 and the second, also at Frankfort, in 1824.) He lists, as well, the Western Minerva of Constantine Rafinesque, presumably published in Lexington in 1821 but known today only from Rafinesque's corrected proofsheets, now in the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

After nearly fifty years following the work of McMurtrie and his contemporaries, years during which the marketing of rare books has carried on apace and the care and technology for recording holdings has waxed impressively, the time seems at hand to test Flavius's broad proposition and to demonstrate whether, indeed, rare books might be becoming less scarce; whether it might be possible to exorcise some of Kentucky's bibliographical ghosts through the use of electricity, to bring to bear upon them the tools of automation and computer networking and, in this manner, to refine and purify the old field guides to these haunting publications, both the endangered and the extinct. The Online Computer Library Center (OCLC) computer database locates one fugitive manuscript listed by Jillson and twenty-two of 181 items listed by McMurtrie in his early 1931 list of "Unlocated Early Kentucky Imprints." 36 However, a search of OCLC produced not a single symbol for unlocated imprints in the 1939 McMurtrie 1787-1810 Check List and only one for the 1811-1820 Check List. Not surprisingly, perhaps, the National Union Catalog proves a more efficacious avenue for locating a number of items—for example, the charter for Centre College—since its activity is of an earlier date, and few special collections of rare books have been retrospectively entered into databases. 37

Sometimes the documents describing intended realities cast a
more charming spell than might the realities themselves. Consider only Kentucky’s so-called “paper towns,” including the ideal garden community of Hygeia, engraved in London in 1827 as the frontispiece to William Bullock’s Sketch of a Journey; there are also the nonexistent Kentucky paper towns of Lystra in Nelson County, Ohioopimingo in Meade County, and the town of Franklin.38 “Est ubi gloria nunc Babyloniae?,” writes Umberto Eco, recalling the ubi sunt theme of Bernard of Clairvaux, “where are they now?” The first issue of Bradford’s Kentucky Gazette may not be seen, nor his first almanac, nor his first printing of Johnson’s Kentucky Miscellany; Bradford’s house, which once bore a historic marker, is now the site of a surface parking lot; the very place of Bradford’s burial is thought by some to have been lost in a construction site.39 It might be argued that Kentucky’s bibliographical ghosts lend maturity and sophistication to our bibliography in the way that the architect and landscape gardner William Kent, according to Horace Walpole, planted dead trees in Kensington Garden “to give a greater air of truth and reality to the scene.”40 But some of these entries, it seems reasonable to expect, will continue to be confirmed from time to time as new material emerges. Curiously, only two early broadsides on silk or satin are of record, one from Lexington and one from Louisville, and it seems very likely that there must have been more.41 Neither of these textile imprints is in McMurtrie, however, the authority to which one would first appeal. The reality of online union catalogues such as OCLC and the Research Libraries Information Network (RLIN), efforts toward extensive retrospective cataloguing, and the resulting increased routine communication at least among institutional, if not private, collectors, tends to bring us closer to the possibility that Kentucky’s early books may in a sense become less scarce as our knowledge of their whereabouts continues to grow, and that while we cannot read them today, perhaps we can read them tomorrow.
NOTES

This essay originated as a presentation to the Academic Section of the Kentucky Library Association at Louisville on 9 April 1987.

1 Accounts of an allegedly forged “Oath of a Freeman” appear in American Printing History Association Newsletter 69 (January/February 1986), 70 (March/April 1986), 72 (July/August 1986), 73 (September/October 1986), 76 (March/April 1987), and American Book Collector 8 (March 1987): 28-29. This item is thought to have been carried out either by or for Mark W. Hofmann, the forger also of a group of controversial Mormon documents.

2 Proof Sheets of a Bibliography of Kentucky Imprints, 1787-1822 (Chicago: Havelock McMurtrie, 1932 [1934]).


5 These include The Palladium, a Frankfort newspaper (No. 599); Harry Toulman and James Blair, A Review of the Criminal Law of the Commonwealth of Kentucky (Frankfort: W. Hunter, 1804) (No. 2175); George Nichols, Correspondence Between George Nicholas, Esq. of Kentucky, and the Hon. Robert G. Harper (Lexington: Printed by John Bradford, 1799) (No. 3196); Harry Toulmin, An Oration Delivered at the Celebration of American Independence at Frankfort, (K.) on the 4th of July 1804 (Lexington: Thomas Anderson, 1804) (No. 3313); Jonathan Brunt, Extracts, From Locke’s Essay on the Human Understanding (Frankfort: J. Brunt, 1804) (No. 3320); [John Randolph ?], Letters of
Decius (Louisville: Printed for the Author, 1805) (No. 3342); Joseph Harrison Daveiss, *A View of the President’s Conduct, Concerning the Conspiracy of 1806* (Frankfort: Joseph M. Street, 1807) (No. 3350); *To the People of Kentucky* (Lexington, 1808) (No. 3427); Allan Bowie Magruder, *Political, Commercial and Moral Reflections, on the Late Cession of Louisiana to the United States* (Lexington: Daniel Bradford, 1803) (No. 3472).

6This is readily estimated from the sequential numbers assigned to items in Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen, *American Imprints Inventory No. 6: Check List of Kentucky Imprints 1811-1820* (Louisville: Historical Records Survey, 1939).

7See, for example, the invoice of Mathew Carey, Philadelphia, to John and Abijah Hunt, Lexington, dated 22 May 1795, in the Hunt-Morgan Family Papers; also representative book advertisements in the *Kentucky Gazette* of 13 March 1809, 24 October 1809, 13 February 1810, 3 April 1810, and 27 July 1813.


15(Pasadena: Castle Press, 1947), a presentation for the Rounce and Coffin Club in Los Angeles; see also Max Beerbohm’s “Books Within Books,” *And Even Now* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1921), 101-13 and, more recently, Cynthia Ozick, “About Books: The Library of Nonexistent...

16"Foreword," A Gallery of Ghosts: Books Published Between 1641-1700 Not Found in the Short Title Catalogue (s.l.: The Index Committee of the Modern Language Association of America, 1967), iii. It should be pointed out that the term "ghost" is used in this essay in the same broad sense that it is used by Donald Wing, former Associate Librarian at Yale University, and the Modern Language Association of America; this is contrary to the more limited denotation assigned it by such persons as Geoffrey Glaister in Glaister's Glossary of the Book (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 194: "The term "ghost" is not applied to a work for the former existence of which evidence is available even though all copies of it may have perished." Herein, then, a "ghost" may be either an unlocated work or a work that was evidently never carried out.


19William Barrow Floyd, Matthew Harris Jouett: Portraitist of the Antebellum South (Lexington, Kentucky: Transylvania University, 1980), 16.


21The ticket reads: "All kinds of Blank Books, With or Without Iron Spring Backs, Made and Sold, Wholesale and Retail, by William Essex, Book Binder and Stationer, Main Street, Lexington, K. Writing Paper of All Kinds, Wholesale and Retail." It is in a manuscript volume made up of sheets of paper made at Georgetown, Scott County, by Craig and Parker, and contains records of an 1812 military unit.


23Clark, "Book Thieves," 33.


25Kentucky in American Letters, 1: 19; see also Townsend's O Rare Tom Johnson (Lexington: Bluegrass Book Shop, 1949). The Lyman Seely-Reuben T. Durrett copy of the fourth edition is now at the Regenstein Library, University of Chicago. The Charles J. Barnes copy was sold to Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach (the noted rare book dealer and occasional visitor to Mt. Brilliant Farm in Lexington) on 13 October 1920 for $30.00; although unknown to Townsend (Supplemental Checklist, ix-xi), it
remained in Rosenbach's possession and today is in the collection of the Philip & A.S.W. Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia.


31Alluding in 1931 to this project in the preliminaries of the Checklist 1788-1810, McMurtrie refers to “a considerable number of titles, of dubious authenticity, which were in the list as orginally prepared and as made known in the 1934 proof sheets. These doubtful titles will be made the subject of a later report” (pp. ix-x).

32“Concerning a Recently Published Supplemental Check List,” FCHQ 17 (July 1943): 163-78. Evidence of tension between McMurtrie and the project field workers emerges in Donald P. Brown’s references to the simplification of McMurtrie’s “more complex Style A form” and its requirements for “an almost endless amount of research.” “Foreword,” Supplemental Check List, i.

33This is McMurtrie’s entry 354a; Winston Coleman, in Kentucky Rarities, item 68, states that there are three extant copies of the Holman book; it is listed in Jillson’s Rare Kentucky Books, p. 154. The Prisoners of Niagara has been reprinted (Berea: Kentucke Imprints, 1973).
I am very much indebted to Dr. Charles E. Eastin for pointing out this item and to Mr. Burton Milward for documenting it. The reference will be found in William H. Townsend, *The Lion of White Hall* (Dunwoody, Georgia: Norman S. Berg, 1967), 24.


36 The manuscript, now owned by the British Library, is James Kirke Paulding’s *The Lion of the West*, 1830, a play first performed in 1831; see James N. Tidwell, ed., *The Lion of the West, Retitled The Kentuckian, or, A Trip to New York* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954; rpt. 1980).

37 The item located is a copy of number 539, a Catholic hymnal printed at Bardstown, now at the Clements Library, University of Michigan. A copy of the Centre College charter is at the Garret Theological Seminary, Evanston, Illinois.


