



FIELDING LUCAS, JR., 1781-1854
By Sarah M. Peale, ca. 1835-1840
Collection Maryland Historical Society

*Fielding Lucas, Jr., Early 19th Century
Publisher of Fine Books and Maps*

BY JAMES W. FOSTER

I.

WHILE the name of Fielding Lucas, Jr., is known to few historians and bookmen, the character and extent of his work during a long and successful career invite an investigation and appraisal. Partial explanation for the seeming neglect may lie in the fact that he was not a printer. Unlike most publishers before him, he was primarily a promoter and distributor, who had his books printed for him under contract. They are thereby shorn of the personal touch that much of our early printing possessed. Well designed as they are, they yet have not attracted the specialist's attention. As an originator and innovator, however, Lucas was one of the first publishers in the modern sense. Besides selecting, producing and distributing books, especially in the middle, southern, and western states, he was in his day a recognized map-maker and proven friend of literary and artistic talent.

Fielding Lucas, Jr., was born September 3, 1781, in Fredericksburg, Virginia, a town associated with the youth of George Washington and sometimes visited by him when he went to see his mother, or his sister Betty, the wife of Colonel Fielding Lewis.

Little is known of the family from which Fielding sprang. He was named presumably for an uncle, younger brother of

his father, Zachariah.¹ The family appears to have lived in Virginia for several generations and is first identified with Fredericksburg when Peter, the grandfather of Fielding, Jr., took up a lot in the town in 1756. The family is singularly lacking in written annals and its traditions are few. One finds merely the records of transactions in land, a few wills and a brief inventory of the grandfather's estate.²

Young Lucas first comes into view in 1798 when he is living in Philadelphia. It is surmised that he was an employee or apprentice at this time in a stationery and book store. Possibly he also attended school while there. An old album of his contains numerous pen and pencil sketches dated 1801 and 1803, some of them representing scenes in the Schuylkill Valley. There are figure studies and illustrations intended for some of the literary classics of the day. As we shall see in his work as publisher, this interest in drawing and design was to remain with him throughout his life.³

¹ How the elder Fielding Lucas came by his given name remains unknown. It may have been bestowed out of admiration or affection for Colonel Lewis, who was a prominent member of the community.

² Information about the Lucas pedigree comes from the Bible of Fielding Lucas, Jr., and a few letters presented to the Maryland Historical Society by the late Ethel White, great granddaughter of Lucas, who died in 1955; from conversations with Miss White and Mrs. Virginia Halsey Twinch, a descendant of the Lucas family who lives in Fredericksburg; from correspondence with Miss Nanon L. Carr, another Lucas connection, and Mr. George H. S. King of Fredericksburg; and from Joseph Willcox's "Historical Sketches of Some of the Pioneer Catholics of Philadelphia" in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XV (Dec., 1904), 404-410, and the same author's *Ivy Mills, 1729-1866. Willcox and Allied Families* (Baltimore, 1911), pp. 95-96.

Fielding, Jr.'s, mother was Nancy Brown, daughter of Thomas Brown of Fredericksburg, who presumably died a few years after Fielding's birth, for her husband in 1785 took another wife, Polly (Harrison) Apperson, a widow. For aid in establishing Lucas's maternity I am indebted to Miss Carr and Mr. King.

To Dr. John Earle Uhler, first biographer of Lucas, obligation for the use of his unpublished term paper, Johns Hopkins University, ca. 1920, is here acknowledged. A copy is in the Maryland Historical Society.

³ The lengthy obituary in *The Metropolitan*, Baltimore, II (May, 1854), 258, states that Lucas went to Philadelphia at the age of 14, but this account is known to be at fault in certain other dates. Miss White owned a bill fold inscribed on the lining: "Fielding Lucas No. 26 North Front St. Philad. December 13th 1798" (now at Maryland Historical Society). The album is owned by Lucas Brothers, Inc., the corporation that succeeded to the Lucas business.

Although Lucas's name is not found in the city directories of Philadelphia, it appears that he remained there until 1804, when, according to family tradition, he took up residence in Baltimore. His signature appears with those of other Baltimore booksellers who in that year petitioned the city against allowing book auctions by a competitor—a plea, by the way, that fell on deaf ears.⁴

Three years that must have been crucial ones for young Lucas brought him admission to partnership in the Baltimore branch store of M. and J. Conrad and Company, booksellers and publishers of Philadelphia. On June 26, 1807, the Baltimore newspapers carried announcements of the formation of the firm of Conrad, Lucas and Company. Since the Conrads appear to have been residents of Philadelphia, we may be not far wrong in guessing that Lucas was their manager in Baltimore, and possibly had been employed by this firm in Philadelphia. At all events, his early associations in Philadelphia, whatever they were, moulded his future career.

Established in Philadelphia since 1795, the Conrad firm had opened a branch store in Baltimore a few years later. No less than four members of this family were concerned with the book trade in one way or another.⁵ The Conrads were booksellers and publishers who did not print their books. They farmed them out to established Philadelphia printers, Thomas Palmer, John Binns, and Fry and Kammerer. This was characteristic of the school in which Lucas

⁴ Petition in the archives, City Hall, Baltimore. The *Metropolitan* says that he came to Baltimore in 1806, but this is probably inaccurate. The records of the Lucas business were destroyed in the Baltimore fire of 1904. To Mr. Jesse G. Kaufman, president of the present Lucas Brothers, Inc., the writer is indebted for material help.

⁵ H. Glenn Brown and Maude O. Brown, "A Directory of the Book-Arts and Book Trade in Philadelphia to 1820," *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, LIII (July, 1949), 345-346, and Rollo G. Silver, "The Baltimore Book Trade, 1800-1825," *ibid.*, LVII (April, 1953), 189. These two studies, particularly that of Mr. Silver, have been indispensable to the present writer.

learned his business, and he in turn followed the practice. Under it he was free to devote himself to distribution and sales, and saved the considerable investment required for printing equipment.

A more important characteristic of the Conrad business was the care with which they designed their books. They exhibit considerable taste—a restraint and respect for the traditions of typography that command admiration. We meet these features again in nearly all the output of Lucas. Though not to be grouped with the great Mathew Carey, the Conrads were men of stature. John Conrad, the son, became in later years mayor of the Northern Liberties of Philadelphia. His son, Judge Robert T. Conrad, was to be first mayor of the consolidated city.⁶

The Conrads soon opened other branches in Washington, D. C., Norfolk and Petersburg, Virginia. Each of their books carried on the title-page the name of the parent firm with the branch stores listed in small type below. The new Baltimore firm was under the direction of its Philadelphia parent but occasionally originated books and had them printed in Baltimore. One of these was *The Washington Almanac* for 1811, the work of an Abraham Sharp, which was printed in Baltimore and sold by Conrad, Lucas, and by other local booksellers. Other joint ventures are on record during this short period of Lucas' budding management. Major works of the parent house, all carrying the names of the Conrad branches, all printed in Philadelphia, were the plays of Shakespeare in duodecimo, Rees' *New Cyclopaedia* (in parts), Charles Brockden Brown's *American Register*, Thomas Green Fessenden's *American Register or General Repository of History, Politics and Arts*, and Charles J. Ingersoll's *View of the Rights and Wrongs, Power and Policy of the United States of America*.

⁶ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XV, No. 2 (1891), 249.

The most interesting of the Conrad books was Joel Barlow's *Columbiad*, an early example of the prevailing patriotic spirit. The work aroused in the Conrads an enterprising commercial spirit. Advance puffs, appearing as news notices in the Baltimore *American* as early as October, 1807, declared: "There will soon be published in Philadelphia a new and interesting work . . . in the first style of elegance. . . . The typographical part, wholly American, is executed in a manner highly creditable to the several artists employed; the paper by Amies, the type by Binny and Ronaldson and the printing with consummate taste and care, by Fry & Kammerer. . . . A work like this must excite a high degree of interest." And in the following January the public was informed under the caption "American Literature and Typography," that "The Columbiad" had just appeared "elegantly printed in royal quarto on an extra fine wove paper, hot-pressed and ornamented by eleven engravings. . . . The paper, we believe, is better than any before made in this country, and the printing . . . may be regarded as a specimen of typography seldom equalled and never surpassed." But it was admitted that the engravings had been done in England!⁷

Lucas presented a copy to the Library Company of Baltimore, then just ten years old and still struggling. He received a gracious reply from the president, Archbishop John Carroll, ranking American prelate in the Catholic hierarchy, who wrote in part: "The Directors are proud to receive and preserve in the Library so noble a specimen of typography, executed in our own country, and you, Sir, are specially entitled, with your associates in business, to particular merit for your spirit in undertaking & ability in executing a work

⁷ *American*, Oct. 30, 1807, p. 2, col. 3, and *North American* (newspaper), Baltimore, Jan. 23, 1808, p. 3, col. 4.

so splendid."⁸ The book is one of the finest specimens of early American bookmaking, as Oscar Wegelin has said, and was underwritten by Robert Fulton.⁹ A second edition in two duodecimo volumes followed in 1809. The presentation copy of the *Columbiad*, as well as the letter, is still owned by the Maryland Historical Society, which in 1848 fell heir to the old Baltimore Library. Incidentally, Lucas had recently become a subscriber to the Library Company and soon was doing a substantial business with it in books and office supplies.

Conrad, Lucas & Company was one of 15 booksellers in Baltimore at this time, all of whom stocked and even advertised books issued by rival publishers. Many books were imported from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and abroad. They also sold general stationery and artists' supplies. An important part of the Conrad interests at this time was a paper mill. A book put out jointly by rival Baltimore houses, Owenson's *Patriotic Sketches of Ireland*, dated 1809, carries a foreword about the local character (in all but authorship) of the production and states that the paper was "manufactured by Conrad, Lucas & Co." It is probable that the fine paper used for the first edition of the *Columbiad* was also from this mill, situated near Baltimore.¹⁰

⁸ Records of the Library Company of Baltimore, I (1796-1809), 436, Maryland Historical Society. The Archbishop's letter was presented to the Society by the late William F. Lucas, along with several fine imprints of his grandfather, Fielding Lucas, Jr. The letter is dated March 1, 1808. The minutes of the Library Company show receipt of Lucas's letter of presentation on February 20.

⁹ *Early American Poetry*, II (New York, 1907), vii; (2nd ed., New York, 1930), No. 854.

¹⁰ *Patriotic Sketches* was issued by Dobbin and Murphy, who printed it, and by Callender and Wills, all of Baltimore. The "Advertisement" tells not only that the paper was made locally but also that the type was cast expressly for this volume by Samuel Sower & Co. of Baltimore. The publishers flattered themselves "that the relative excellence of each has not often been surpassed by any publications . . . from the American press."

The story of the paper mill has never been told. It was on the Patapsco eight miles from Baltimore and a mile downstream from Ellicott's Mills, an important flouring center, now Ellicott City. It was established about 1794 by Thomas Mendenhall, of Philadelphia, and in 1802 passed into the hands of John Hagerty who operated it till 1807 when he sold

When Mr. Jefferson's Embargo brought hard times upon the country, one of the small band of talented artists met the problem in forthright fashion. Thomas Sully announced cut-rate likenesses at \$30 each. Not finding enough sitters in Philadelphia, he journeyed to Baltimore, where he obtained six or seven commissions. One of them was from Lucas, now 26 and fast gaining a foothold in the rapidly growing city. The resulting portrait in romantic mood affords a three-quarters view of an earnest young face, brown hair, blue-gray eyes, sensitive features, aquiline nose. The same artist was also to paint Mrs. Lucas two years later.¹¹

It is a coincidence that the taking of this portrait occurred just as Lucas arrived at a position of consequence in his adopted city. When in 1810 the Maryland legislature authorized a lottery to raise funds for the building of the Washington Monument in Baltimore, which had long been a topic of public discussion, Fielding Lucas was one of the men designated as managers. In this capacity he was associated with 22 others, most of them leading merchants and capitalists of the city. He continued for 30 years to serve on this board and his signature is found on some of the lottery tickets that have survived. He was a member of the building

it to John Conrad. This accounts for the burst of pride in the quotation given in the text. In 1811 Conrad was forced to mortgage the property consisting of an extensive building, a dam and 35 acres, to a group composed of Samuel F. Bradford and John Inskoop, Jr., printers of Philadelphia trading as Bradford & Inskoop, and two wealthy Baltimore merchants, Edward Gray and Robert Taylor. A few years later it passed into the hands of Gray who converted it into a cotton mill which became one of the largest in Maryland. Gray was the father-in-law of John Pendleton Kennedy, novelist, lawyer and Secretary of the Navy under Fillmore. The mill was a large one, the stone structure being 120 feet long, 40 feet wide and three stories high. "It works four sets of hands and is supposed to produce more paper than any other mill in America." John Scott, *Geographical Description of the States of Maryland and Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1807), pp. 92-93; Lily Tyson Ellicott, *Settlement of Ellicott's Mills* (Maryland Historical Society, Fund Publication 4, 1871), pp. 44-45; Dennis Griffith, *Map of Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1795); advertisements in *Federal Gazette*, Baltimore, Jan. 7, 1796; Dec. 14, 1797; Jan. 8, 1806, and Jan. 30, 1813.

¹¹ Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *Life and Works of Thomas Sully* (Philadelphia, 1921), Nos. 1115 and 1116. The portrait of Lucas is owned by the Baltimore Museum of Art. That of Mrs. Lucas is privately owned.

committee and from time to time acted as secretary to the board.¹²

Another of the arts enticed young Lucas. This was music. He was one of the originators of the Baltimore Harmonic Society, to which many leading citizens subscribed in 1809. Lucas' name is second on the subscription list and the constitution is in his handwriting. The members of the orchestra, in which he played the flute, agreed to abide by a strict set of rules which he seems to have drawn up.¹³ Nearly twenty years later he had a hand in a revival of group musical activity and family tradition stresses his delight in informal musical gatherings in his home.

The day came when Lucas was ready to stand on his own feet. Hard times probably induced the Conrads to retire from Baltimore and presumably from other ventures as well. On November 3, 1810, an announcement in the Baltimore *American* stated that the partnership between C. & A. Conrad—for John Conrad had become bankrupt and the business was in the hands of his brothers Cornelius and Andrew—and Fielding Lucas, Jr., had been dissolved by mutual consent; that the latter had purchased the entire stock of books and stationery and solicited continuance of the trade. The old location was on Baltimore Street, near Calvert Street, in the heart of the retail business section, and here it remained throughout Mr. Lucas's long life—in fact, until the building was destroyed in the fire of 1904. Even today the store of the successor business, known as Lucas Brothers, is only a block away.

We have mentioned Mrs. Lucas. It was at this time that the marriage took place in St. Augustine's Catholic Church, Philadelphia, on May 15, 1810. Mrs. Lucas was Elizabeth

¹² Records of the Board of Managers of the Washington Monument, Maryland Historical Society; Bella C. Landauer, *Some Early American Lottery Items* (New York, 1928) p. 7.

¹³ Minutes of the Harmonic Society, Maryland Historical Society.

Mary Carrell, aged 22, eldest daughter of John Carrell, a merchant and prominent Catholic layman. She was called Eliza. Notices of the marriage appeared in Philadelphia, New York, and Baltimore newspapers. Her youngest sister Louisa was to cement the Baltimore association 20 years later by marrying Thomas C. Jenkins and becoming the mother of Michael, Joseph, and George Jenkins, bankers and capitalists of Baltimore who survived well into the present century. A brother became Bishop Carrell of the Catholic Diocese of Covington, Kentucky.¹⁴

A few months after the marriage Sully was again engaged by Mr. Lucas, this time to paint a portrait of Mrs. Lucas. She is portrayed as a lady of considerable poise, plump, handsome, and holding in her hand a book. Was this object symbolic, perhaps, of her husband's interests? Whether it hints at mutual interest in literature or in their means of livelihood one can only wonder.

Vigorous enterprise marked the conduct of the Lucas business. Expansion of advertising space in the newspapers, and alert copy kept the Lucas name and wares before Baltimore's expanding population. The town of 26,000 people in 1800 had nearly doubled by 1810 and was to reach 62,000 in 1820. Most of the Lucas announcements were of new books and standard ones in fresh editions. The stock of stationery was described as "a great variety . . . suitable for Public Offices, Banks and Counting Houses, among it [*sic*] will be found—Pen knives, Desk knives, Black lead pencils, India rubber in cakes or bottles, Glass, Wedgewood, pewter, loggerhead and pocket inkstands, Red and black sealing wax, Pasteboards, Sponges, Parchment of the best quality, Silver and plated pencil cases, Black and red ink powder, Reeve's watercolors assorted, Camel's hair pencils, Backgammon boards, Blotting, tissue and marbled papers, draw-

¹⁴ Willcox, *Ivy Mills*, pp. 95-96, 99.

ing paper, Foolscap and letter paper . . . checks and check-books on the different banks [and] Large writing papers for account books which will be made up to any pattern at the shortest notice."¹⁵

A glimpse of the books stocked by an average bookseller before fiction began to dominate the field discloses the narrow scope of available reading matter. Lucas announced "an additional supply of that new and interesting work, Humboldt's Political Essays on the Kingdom of New Spain, in two volumes," as well as sets consisting of the British Poets, a 4-volume Shakespeare, a 22-volume history of England, a 17-volume miniature set of the *British Theatre*, Bingley's *History of Quadrupeds*, Miss Porter's *Scottish Chiefs*, Morse's *Geography*, the *American Gazetteer*, and a 2-volume *Children of the Abbey*.¹⁶

The book trade had long been somewhat complex. This is illustrated in Lucas's dealings with Mathew Carey, the Philadelphia publisher. The Carey accounts in the Antiquarian Society library and correspondence in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania¹⁷ reveal a considerable business with the Baltimore firm, beginning in the Conrad, Lucas period and continuing into the mid-1820's. Some of it was on an exchange basis. Each ordered the other's new offerings as straight purchases, and a close, not to say, intimate relationship was established. Carey in the spring of 1813 debited Lucas for over \$1200 worth of merchandise. Again, in 1817, shipments ran above \$1400 to each party in a period of six months.¹⁸ There was some exchange of stereotyped plates, which came into use about this time and obviated too heavy an outlay in types. Publishers were beginning to

¹⁵ *The Sun*, Baltimore, Sept. 4, 1811.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Aug. and Sept., 1811, *passim*.

¹⁷ In the Lea and Febiger Papers. Letters of Lucas to Carey hereafter cited are in this collection.

¹⁸ Carey Account Books, American Antiquarian Society.

issue catalogs of their books and to circulate lists of books for exchange among themselves. Book illustration was confined to wood or copper engravings and occasional aquatint engraving, but the lithograph had been perfected abroad and would soon become available in this country. All these processes Lucas was to employ, often more effectively than was usual in his time.

Miniature and pocket editions were the rage—duodecimos and even smaller “diamond editions,” so-called because they used the tiny diamond type cut by Samuel Sower in Baltimore, first of its size in the country.¹⁹ Some of Lucas’s offerings in these editions were the poems of Homer, Gray, Goldsmith, Colman, and Milton, the *Letters of Junius*, the *Diamond Songster*, and Lucas’s own ever popular *Letters of the British Spy*, the author of which (William Wirt) was soon to take up residence in Baltimore. A list of all the titles brought out by this energetic publisher would run far beyond the bounds of this paper. Some of them were joint enterprises of Lucas and other publishers of Baltimore or of Philadelphia. In these cases his name is found on the title-page in association with one or more others. Such books interest us only as they serve to illustrate the practices of the book trade. The partial bibliography of Lucas’s publications compiled by the writer amply documents this and other trade customs of the period. The several categories in which his publications exhibit distinction will be discussed hereafter. Let us return to the man himself.

Over Baltimore and all of the Chesapeake Bay, there hung in 1813 the black shadow of war. Though certain disloyal groups caused trouble for a time, the depredations of the British fleet and army in the Bay soon united public opinion. Sacking and burning, the enemy threatened both Washington and Baltimore, and the former suffered the

¹⁹ For a discussion of Sower and his typefoundry see below.

penalty for the Government's lack of preparation. In the latter, however, under General Samuel Smith all able-bodied men were organized to defend the city. As danger approached, Fielding Lucas enlisted in Captain John Kanen's Company, 27th Maryland Regiment, and no doubt saw his share of hardship and labor as breastworks were thrown up, supplies of munitions and food assembled, and women and children evacuated. Details of his service are lacking save his assignment as one of the guard detail on two occasions after the Battle of Baltimore, September 12-13.²⁰ Whatever his service during the land engagement at North Point and the subsequent bombardment of Fort McHenry, no record has been found. General Stricker, commander during the land action, officially said of the 27th that "the whole regiment was unsurpassed in bravery, resolution and enthusiasm." When the city later honored some of the naval and military heroes of the occasion, Fielding Lucas was appointed along with such civic leaders as Colonel John Eager Howard, Robert Gilmore, Jr., and Isaac McKim, to present handsome tokens to them for their gallantry.²¹

Among young men of talent with whom Lucas was associated in the next few years was Robert Mills, whose design for the Washington Monument was being carried into effect in a grove of trees on the city's outskirts called Howard's Woods. As one of the managers Lucas was in close touch with the architect, with the result that Mills was employed to design a new front for the Lucas store.²² He produced a four-story brick façade in the Federal style,

²⁰ William M. Marine, *The British Invasion of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1913), p. 191, Appendix, p. 360; morning reports, 6th Company, Capt. Kanen, Oct. 15 and Nov. 5, 1814, City Hall archives, Baltimore.

²¹ Marine, p. 181; John T. Scharf, *Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), p. 381.

²² Richard X. Evans, ed., "The Daily Journal of Robert Mills," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXX (Sept., 1935), 259-260. Entries dated Feb. 14 and 24, 1816. The latter reads: "Engaged in taking dimensions and making working drawing of the front of Mr. Lucas store."

pierced by three openings on each level. The middle one on the ground floor was a double door, flanked on each side by bow windows for display of the wares within. This storefront remained in use till the fire of 1904. A change in the interior, probably made at this time, doubtless excited no little comment as an original and unorthodox idea. In the center of the first floor ceiling a circular opening was cut with a protecting railing on the floor above, producing a more spacious effect and improving communication between the floors. The idea was borrowed from an engraving of such an interior in London, probably Ackerman's Repository of Arts. The picture is pasted in the Lucas scrapbook. The family lived in the uppermost stories for some years. In a letter to Carey in 1816 Lucas wrote that all his time lately had been given to supervising mechanics, "in fact my business has been entirely neglected . . . but I thank my stars I am nearly done, and I promise never to alter a house in which I live [;] this between ourselves."²³

That must have been a momentary period of relief from pressing financial cares. More than once before Lucas had had to plead inability to meet a note he had given Carey or a draft on him by Carey to cover his purchases in Philadelphia. The surviving correspondence reveals a kaleidoscopic series of transactions, covering a full decade, during which the intimate relations between the two men often were seriously strained. Evidently Carey felt that Lucas provided a useful outlet for his books and was an ally who could be helpful in the frequent periods of money stringency. They teamed up to cash each other's notes and checks in time of need. As the stronger house, Carey staked Lucas again and again, accepted his notes and even his long-term bonds, but when himself hard up stung Lucas into pathetic appeals for mercy. Precarious as the business of publishing

²³ Lucas to Carey, Oct. 15, 1816.

and bookselling was, it was rendered especially risky from 1810 to 1820 by the struggle over the Bank of the United States, the scarcity of specie and the feverish speculation that prevailed in Baltimore. Lucas was more than once in despair. In 1812 he told Carey that engagements he had made would not have been entered into "could I possibly have thought I should have had to pay so much money for Conrad and Bradford as I have done, and which I am not likely to see again, in that shape at least. Relative to the proposal you make about the bond you hold I cannot at present give you an answer."²⁴ Bankruptcies were rife. Trips to the west and south to collect debts owing him were made by the Baltimorean, but with little success.

A virtual crisis came in 1814. Carey's friendship, based originally on the latter's intimacy with Mrs. Lucas' family, was all but shattered with the appearance of an atlas issued by Lucas.²⁵ It was in competition, Carey thought, with one he had published recently. Lucas had written him "I think that my proposed atlas cannot interfere at all with yours, as it will be much larger . . . and on a different plan entirely and if I thought it would militate against your interest I would abandon it, altho my engagements are made." Two years

²⁴ October [?] 1812. Lucas reveals that he had indorsed the note, or notes, of John Conrad, who was somehow involved in the sale of the paper mill to Bradford and others, and felt that both had taken advantage of him to his serious loss. Carey too had suffered through advances to Conrad. Apparently Conrad had plunged into debt to buy and operate the mill and in trying to extricate himself involved Lucas. The matter was in the courts for years. Conrad in 1811 mortgaged the property then consisting of 35 acres or more plus the mill and outbuildings for \$84,000. (Baltimore County Deeds, Liber WG 116, ff. 318-321). Lucas declared to Carey that he had already taken a loss on Conrad's account of \$6,000 and now must face further losses. "My credit has suffered with the loss of his, but I do not despair by perseverance, application and industry to surmount all the difficulties that at present surround me." (Letter of October [?] 1812).

The Chancery Court in 1812 appointed Samuel Moale trustee for sale of the paper mill, which was advertised in the following January. Put up at auction on Feb. 1, it brought only \$16,500. Succeeding owners again were dogged by financial problems and kept the property in litigation, even while it was in successful operation by Gray. (Chancery Records, Annapolis, B 116, f. 352; B 135, f. 5, etc.)

²⁵ Between Carey and Edward Carrell, uncle of Mrs. Lucas, there was a close intimacy.

later the sequel appears: "I regret very much that our Harmony has been disturbed by the publication of certain atlases in which I am willing to say and ready to believe we have both been wrong. Discord is to me (who has a musical ear) very unpleasant. Let us forget the past and travel on as usual. These preliminaries being agreed on it remains with you to ratify the treaty." A month later he paid off his bond to Carey and the old association was resumed.²⁶

Again business stagnation threatened collapse. In 1817 Lucas was obliged to beg for time. In reply to a stiff dunning letter, he wrote Carey that he would settle as soon as he could. "Like yourself I am pressed on all sides . . . I have no chance of getting money from banks . . . my disappointments are very great." He reminds the Philadelphian that his dealings with him have been extensive and that his payments "have generally been good. 'I have done the state some service.' I ask a recollection and doubt not it will be granted."²⁷ Somehow he cleared himself and in another three years business was flourishing. He remained on excellent terms with Carey and with his son, Henry C. Carey who after 1822 headed the firm. That Lucas was able to reestablish his credit and by 1830 to be regarded as a capitalist is a tribute to his energy and integrity.

When Warren and Wood, the theatrical producers of Philadelphia who had already given several Baltimore seasons, built the Holliday Street Theatre (1816), they raised part of the required funds through a loan secured by William Gwynn, Fielding Lucas, and other prominent citizens, and Lucas's name led the list of subscribers for shares.²⁸ His association with Gwynn, bachelor attorney,

²⁶ Lucas to Carey, Apr. 30, 1812, Mar. 9 and Apr. 8, 1814. The atlas, entitled *A New and Elegant General Atlas*, appeared in 1814.

²⁷ Lucas to Carey, Jan. 20, 1817.

²⁸ Baltimore County Deeds, Liber WG 140, f. 287.

newspaper editor, and friend of the arts, was close. The second decade of the century saw in the Maryland metropolis a quickening of cultural interests, a growing consciousness of the arts, that accompanied the rapid physical expansion of the time. Gwynn was a leading spirit in the social and literary group called the Delphian Club and in his home, The Tusculum, a country house in the heart of town, it held its meetings.²⁹ These gatherings included John Pierpont, author of *Airs of Palestine*, later a Unitarian clergyman in Massachusetts, who was the grandfather of the first J. Pierpont Morgan; Paul Allen, newspaper editor and author; John Neal, author of *Wandering Recollections*, that mine of miscellanea Americana; H. M. Brackenridge, writer of books on travel, history, and law; H. H. Hayden, father of modern dentistry; General W. H. Winder, then retired from military pursuits but a busy lawyer, and occasional visitors such as Samuel Woodworth and John Howard Payne. We do not know that Lucas was a member of the Club though his name occurs incidentally among the records. Probably he was too much a family man to abandon himself to the late sessions, eating, drinking, and bawdy humor of the Club. Certain it is that he was intimate with the members, though most were much younger than he. That he was a potent friend of the arts is shown by his election as first vice-president of the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanical Arts, which he helped to found.³⁰ He took an extremely active part in the conduct of this school of applied design and soon became chairman of its board. In 1825 Lucas was made a trustee of the Baltimore College, but this was in a

²⁹ The story of the Delphian Club has been told by John E. Uhler, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XX (Dec., 1925), 305-346. Records of the Club are in the Maryland Historical Society. The same author's unpublished doctoral thesis, "Literary Taste and Culture in Baltimore; A Study of the Periodical Literature of Baltimore from 1815 to 1833," (1927) in the Johns Hopkins University Library, has also been consulted.

³⁰ John T. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), p. 667.

declining stage and shortly was absorbed by the University of Maryland.³¹ In 1829 he stood for election to the second branch of the City Council, won his seat and served continuously in that body till 1843. He was chosen its president in 1838.³²

When public education was established in Baltimore in 1828, Fielding Lucas was appointed one of the six commissioners, a post which he held for a decade, ending with his appointment as president. His was one of several local bookstores that furnished schoolbooks and other supplies to the school system. The bulk of the business seems to have been split between him and his leading rival Joseph Cushing. Together their business with the system ran only to \$1,500 a year. School population was but a little over 3,000.³³

Upon the founding of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad in 1827, the City of Baltimore subscribed for 5,000 shares of stock at a value of half a million dollars, and the State of Maryland did likewise, each on condition that it have the right to name two directors. The City Council immediately chose Lucas as one of its representatives on the Board. Upon expiration of his term he was elected by the stockholders at large and continued a director till shortly before his death.³⁴ He was instrumental also in organizing a steam-

³¹ Bernard C. Steiner, *History of Education in Maryland* (Washington, 1894), pp. 245-247.

³² *Ordinances of the Mayor and City Council of Baltimore, 1829-1842.*

³³ *Annual Reports of the Commissioners of Public Schools, 1829 and succeeding years.*

³⁴ *Ordinances, 1830-1834*; [William P. Smith], *History and Description of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad* (Baltimore, 1853), p. 83; *Metropolitan*, obituary already cited.

Lucas was instrumental in pushing completion of the Baltimore and Ohio to the Ohio River at Wheeling. The culmination of this, the first crossing of the high Alleghenies by an all-rail line, brought a great celebration on Jan. 12, 1853. Two trains from Baltimore carried members of the legislatures of Maryland and Virginia, the governors of both states, the Mayor and Council members of Baltimore and directors of the railroad—more than 500 persons—to be guests of the city of Wheeling. At the banquet the 17 formal toasts were followed by a large number of impromptu toasts. First of the latter to be proposed was "Fielding Lucas Esquire of Baltimore, chairman of the committee on transportation of the B. & O. The energy, devotion and intelligence with which he performs his office entitle him to our remembrance." Proposed by Mr. Callow, this was answered in the absence of Mr. Lucas, by Benjamin Deford, a member of the Lucas committee, who bore "willing testimony to [Mr. Lucas's] worth and abilities."

ship company to cultivate trade and traffic between Baltimore and the Rappahannock River section of Virginia, mindful as he was of his native town, Fredericksburg, standing at the head of navigation on that river. Upon its incorporation in 1830 he was elected president of the line, called the Baltimore and Rappahannock Steam Packet Company. This was, however, a short-lived concern.³⁵

Yet another activity engaged this versatile man. This was the Baltimore Type Foundry, first opened about 1806 by Samuel Sower, son of Christopher Sower (Saur) the printer and typefounder of Germantown, Pennsylvania. Sower developed his foundry into an important business. His partner and backer in this was William Gwynn, publisher of the *Federal Gazette*, of whom we have already heard. As early as 1808 Sower was striving to fill orders for 5,000 lbs. of type and was working a force of six journeymen and eleven boys. He cast the first diamond type in this country, and this both in roman and italic. Isaiah Thomas in his *History of Printing* calls the enterprise a "somewhat extensive foundry."³⁶ In 1813 Sower became a Dunkard minister but carried on his business till his death seven years later. The foundry thereafter was operated by his son-in-law, Richard Spalding, with Lucas serving as "agent." Shortly before Spalding's death in 1836, Lucas acquired the business. It remained an independent venture conducted at a separate location, though adjacent to the book and stationery store, and was shortly turned over to a son, Henry, to manage. It offered in 1845 printing presses, types, inks, galleys, imposing stones, chases, and "stero-

³⁵ *Laws . . . of . . . Maryland*, 1829 (Annapolis, 1830), chapter 42; *Matchett's Baltimore Director* (Baltimore, 1831), Appendix, p. 19; *Baltimore Gazette*, Oct. 22, 1829.

³⁶ Baltimore City directories; Charles G. Sower, comp., *Chart of the Descendants of Christopher Sower* (Philadelphia, 1887); Oscar Seidensticker, "Synopsis of . . . Address," Society for the History of the Germans in Maryland, *Third Annual Report*, 1888-1889 (Baltimore, 1889), pp. [11]-17; Isaiah Thomas, "History of Printing in America," 2nd ed., *Transactions and Collections of the American Antiquarian Society* (Albany, 1874), I, 32.

typing in all its branches." It issued three type specimen books, 1831, 1851, and 1854, and flourished till Henry's death in 1872 when it passed to other hands.³⁷

The association of Lucas with writers and artists has been suggested. John Van Lear McMahan, one of the ornaments of the Maryland bar, the man who drew the charter for the first railroad system in America, the Baltimore and Ohio, somehow found the time to begin a history of Maryland. The first volume appeared in 1831, brought out jointly by Lucas, Joseph Cushing, and W. & J. Neal.³⁸ Able as the work was, its reception was so poor that McMahan dropped the project forthwith. The preface of this book bears witness to the helpfulness of Lucas to whom the author acknowledged indebtedness for the use of "several rare works which he had occasion to consult in the course of his researches." It is not surprising that at the organization of the Maryland Historical Society a few years later—after one or two false starts—Lucas was an active proponent. When the Society was chartered in 1844 he became a member of the committee that drew the constitution and by-laws. In this he was associated with Brantz Mayer, many years his junior but actually the prime mover, the future secretary of our legation in Mexico and one of the first historians of that country. Other members of the committee were John Pendleton Kennedy, a leading novelist and essayist and future Secretary of the Navy; Robert Gilmore, one of the earliest art collectors; and John

³⁷ *Matchett's Baltimore Director for 1837-38* (Baltimore, 1837), p. 29; *Baltimore Type Foundry, Convenient Specimen Book of Types* (Baltimore, 1888). The introduction supplies a brief history of this enterprise. "Type specimen [books] were issued in 1831, 1851, 1854, 1879, 1883, 1886, and 1888."

³⁸ *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland from Its Colonization to the Present Day*. It was printed by Lucas & Deaver of Baltimore, a firm composed of William R. Lucas and E. K. Deaver. There may have been a connection between William R. and Fielding Lucas, Jr., though the degree of relationship has not been established. Another printer in Baltimore bore the name James Lucas, but was not related.

H. B. Latrobe, son of the architect of the U. S. Capitol, of whom more will be said later.³⁹ Lucas was likewise a founder and member of the board of Greenmount Cemetery and a director of the Mechanics Bank.⁴⁰

The last of Lucas's many public services concerned streets and traffic. Already, a hundred years ago when her population was only 169,000, Baltimore found herself constricted. A commission was named to plan and complete a parkway which should traverse the boundaries of the city—a wide beltway, as we would say today. Lucas was appointed to this commission which in due course produced a plan estimated to cost \$600,000, a figure that staggered the citizenry and brought quick defeat.⁴¹

This long and useful career came to a close on March 12, 1854. *The Sun* remarked that he had "filled many offices of honor and trust" and was "esteemed and beloved for his many excellent qualities." *The American* was more specific: "Our highly respected fellow-citizen, Fielding Lucas, Jr., died yesterday morning, after an illness of several weeks, in the 73rd year of his age. This announcement, though not unexpected, will be received with universal sorrow, Mr. Lucas being one of the links connecting the present with the past generation, and whose name has been intimately connected with all those public enterprises that have brought Baltimore from an obscure village to its present prominence as the third commercial city of the Union. Mr. Lucas was extensively and favorably known throughout the country, and although he had measurably retired from active public life for some years past, his death will be sincerely regretted."⁴²

³⁹ Records of the Society; Scharf, *Chronicles*, p. 510.

⁴⁰ J. Hall Pleasants, *Greenmount Cemetery: One Hundredth Anniversary* (Baltimore, [1938]), pp. 92-94; *American*, June 4, 1828, p. 1.

⁴¹ *Ordinances*, 1851, quoted by James V. Kelly, *Public Parks of Baltimore*, No. 4 (pamphlet) (Baltimore, 1929), pp. 8-10. Lucas of course served on many committees of the City Council.

⁴² *Sun*, Mar. 13, 1854, p. 1; *American*, Mar. 13, 1854, p. 2.

A meeting of booksellers and printers passed a resolution of respect and sympathy, noting Lucas's possession of the traits of "cheerfulness, suavity, integrity and kindness"—surely sufficient grounds to make any life successful and happy. These tradesmen marched in a body from the residence to the Catholic Cathedral whence the procession moved to the Cathedral Cemetery.⁴³

The editor of the *Catholic Mirror*, published in Baltimore, said of Mr. Lucas that "in the more private relations of life he was one of Nature's noblemen." Insofar as his career as publisher was considered, in the publication of Catholic books he was, said the editor, "the Napoleon of the trade."⁴⁴

We have seen how Lucas was associated with the Careys, who were prominent Roman Catholics, and that his wife came of a devout Catholic family in the citadel of Quakerism. As early as 1821, when the Baltimore Cathedral was first occupied, Lucas took a pew for his family. We do not know what his early religious affiliations were, either in Fredericksburg or in Philadelphia, but he did not formally become a Catholic till his last illness.⁴⁵ Further reference to his relations with the Catholic world of his time will appear in discussing the religious books that he issued.

Mr. Lucas was survived by his wife and six of their eleven children. His will gave to Mrs. Lucas their brick residence at the northeast corner of St. Paul and Saratoga Streets, which he had built in 1827, and various parcels of productive real estate, including the property occupied by the business. The last had already been turned over to three of the sons, Edward, William, and Henry, together with a loan of \$15,000.⁴⁶ One of the younger sons was to have a place in

⁴³ *Sun*, Mar. 15, p. 2, and *Weekly Clipper*, Baltimore, Mar. 18, 1854, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Mar. 18, 1854, p. 6.

⁴⁵ *Cathedral Records* (Baltimore, 1906), p. 52; obituary in the *Metropolitan*.

⁴⁶ Baltimore City Wills, Liber NH 26, f. 114.

Baltimore history. He was George A. Lucas, born in 1824, who inherited his father's enthusiasm for art. After his father's death he visited Paris and became so absorbed in the world of art that he never returned to America. He became a recognized authority and was guide and counsellor to several American collectors, particularly William T. Walters who in the 1860's began the formation of what was to become one of the great private collections of this country, a noble bequest to the city of Baltimore by his son Henry in 1933. This is the institution known today as the Walters Art Gallery. George Lucas himself amassed a collection of 20,000 prints which he left at his death in 1909 to the Maryland Institute.⁴⁷

A different interest in books—that of authorship—became evident in another descendant, a grandson of Edward Lucas. This was Edward Lucas White, born in 1866, who spent his life as a teacher of the classics at the Boys Latin School in Baltimore and utilized his wide knowledge of Greek and Roman life in the successful novels *Helen* and *Andivius Hedulio*.

Yet another offshoot exhibited an artistic bent. John Carrell Lucas, son of William and grandson of Fielding Lucas, Jr., was a water-colorist, active in the Charcoal Club of Baltimore, and much liked for his social qualities. His elder brother, William F. Lucas, Jr., was the last of the family to be the active head of the business which still flourishes as a stationery and business supply house called Lucas Brothers. The last Lucas owner was Miss Bertha Lucas, sister of William and Carrell, who died in 1944.

The second Lucas home was situated only a few squares from the business location, yet in what was in its day a desirable residential vicinity. The site is today a part of Preston Gardens. That the Lucases were much given to

⁴⁷ Now on deposit in the Baltimore Museum of Art.

entertainment is inferred from the inventory of Fielding's estate. The furnishings indicate a home of taste and culture with evidence of liberal entertaining and ample living.⁴⁸

Little more is known of the man's personal traits, though there is eloquent testimony to his capacity for friendship, his willingness to aid deserving younger men, and his genial manners. That he indulged somewhat his taste for art may be gathered from the record of his loans of art works to exhibitions held by the Maryland Historical Society. His extant letters are almost all concerned with business matters. They reveal a firm grasp of his affairs, which yet did not overshadow his warm personality and affability.⁴⁹ Of his appearance we learn only that he was of large size and to his young friend John Latrobe seemed "one of the handsomest old men I ever saw."⁵⁰

II.

The books and other publications of Lucas fall largely into five groups: 1. schoolbooks; 2. maps and atlases; 3. art instruction books; 4. children's books; and 5. Catholic books. These categories account for about half of his titles; perhaps if we consider quantities, a larger propor-

⁴⁸ The inventory is remarkable for the quantity of wines and liquors, valued at \$1,275, or nearly one-fourth the appraised value of the house itself. There were 57 gallons of bourbon, 20 of old whiskey, 40 of gin and 41 lots of wine, including 49 bottles of Madeira and 576 of port, not to mention champagne, Rhenish wines, and assorted cordials. The total of the estate was \$165,000. Baltimore City Administration Accounts, Liber NH 62, ff. 355-368.

⁴⁹ Many of his letters show his easy and playful manner. On Oct. 1, 1813, in a business letter to Carey, he wrote as one publisher to another: "The ladies are all well today of course very able to eat their allowance. Mrs. L. and myself will be very much gratified if you will ship p[er] *steam boat* two parcels of goods one of which you lay claim to under the title of Mrs. Carey the other you perhaps may control a little under title of Granma Carrell."

⁵⁰ John E. Semmes, *John H. B. Latrobe, 1803-1891, and His Times* (Baltimore, [1917]), p. 184.

tion. The remainder of his issues included some distinguished books in special fields, as well as editions of the standard English authors and the ephemeral miscellanea of the day.⁶¹ We shall discuss the five groups in the order given and remark on certain outstanding volumes in the unclassified group.

SCHOOLBOOKS

Textbooks of the 19th century generate little enthusiasm today. For all Mr. Lucas's enterprise he could inject no "color" into his schoolbooks. They are good, workmanlike productions, no less and no more. Where he wins our admiration is in the fertile but till then neglected fields of study. St. Mary's College in Baltimore, forerunner of St. Mary's Seminary, was once the only institution of higher education in the city, and many who were to make their mark received their training there. Its faculty was mostly composed of foreigners. Mariano Cubi y Soler, professor of Spanish there from 1821 to 1828, prepared at least five textbooks in that language besides one in French, all of which were published by Lucas. The Spanish grammar went through four editions in six years and was followed by two more. The fourth was a formidable book of 542 pages. Cubi's *English and Spanish Conductor*, a conversation book, followed; then in rotation, an aid to translation, in three editions; extracts from Spanish authors (660 pages); a Spanish-English dictionary in two volumes, and finally a French translator which ran through three editions. For another professor at St. Mary's, P. Babad, Lucas brought out a Portuguese-English grammar, and for still another,

⁶¹ Standard works issued by Lucas were editions of Homer, Milton, Goldsmith, Thompson, Campbell, Gray, Falconer, Burns, Byron, Butler, Pope, and Scott.

J. A. Pizarro, a Spanish phrase book which justified a second edition.⁵²

Some of these books became standard texts wherever Spanish and French were taught. That they were regarded as part of the backbone of the publishing business may be inferred from Lucas's letters to Carey. In one of his first letters after striking out for himself in 1810 he writes that he is about to publish a Latin grammar. Shortly afterward he asks, "Have you thought of any school or other book you could recommend me to print?"⁵³

In Lucas's "Exchange List" of 1822, the only one located, there are included six school books, while *Blake's Trade List*, 1847, lists seven titles, none of them repeated from the 1822 list.⁵⁴ The dates of issue of books listed by Blake range from 1811 to 1847. The number of school titles issued by Lucas can only be guessed at. A total of 29 has so far been found, probably 50 per cent of those issued.

ATLASES AND MAPS

The next group is marked by a number of distinguished productions, one of which won national recognition. Lucas published seven atlases, besides contributing 20 original maps which he himself drew for an atlas issued by Carey. He also prepared more than 50 maps which he sold singly or which were included as folding plates in other books. Be-

⁵² The *Spanish Grammar* won the commendation of the editor of the *North American Review*, XIX (July, 1824), 267, and XX (Apr., 1825), 450-451, and Davidson's *Latin Grammar* revised by Professor Hugh Maguire of Washington College, Md., earned testimonials from college presidents and eminent divines. Catalogue, *Valuable Works Published by Fielding Lucas, Jr.* [1830?], pp. 9, 15.

⁵³ *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* (Baltimore), issued by Lucas annually during the 1840's, contains a list of his books; Lucas to Carey, Dec. 26, 1810.

⁵⁴ The broadside exchange list is in the Maryland Historical Society. The trade list is Alexander V. Blake, *The American Bookseller's Complete Reference Trade List, and Alphabetical Catalogue of Books Published in This Country, with the Publishers' and Authors' Names and Prices Arranged in Classes* (S. Ide, Claremont, N. H., 1847), 232 pp. Lucas' list is at p. 114.

sides issuing ordinary maps of use to travelers, the schools, merchants and shippers, he instigated investigations and encouraged official action to produce maps of areas not charted. The opening of the region beyond the Alleghenies to settlement and the building of highways, canals, and railroads created a need for reliable maps which attracted the talents of such draftsmen as Robert Mills, William Strickland, the Tanners, Samuel Lewis and John Melish, and the business acumen of Mathew Carey, Anthony Finley, Thomas G. Bradford, and Fielding Lucas.

Lucas's earliest atlas, entitled *A New and Elegant General Atlas Containing Maps of Each of the United States*, was issued in 1814. It was this work that nearly caused a rupture in Lucas's relations with Carey. It consisted of 31 plates engraved by Henry S. Tanner after drawings by Samuel Lewis. None was Lucas's own work. In the next edition of the same title, 54 plates, issued in 1817, we find two double pages, one of Virginia, the other of Louisiana, that bear his name, presumably as draftsman. Several variant editions indicate that these atlases were made up for binding at intervals as Lucas obtained improved maps, some of them by his own hand. As the settlement of the middle west and the southern states proceeded, it must have been hard for the map makers to keep abreast of changes in the frontier, the rise of towns and other works of man.

There was a growing demand for maps from shipping interests, merchants, and mariners while the rapid increase of population at home necessitated more schools and school-books. A war of atlases ensued. There appeared two editions of Lavoisne's version of LeSage's *Atlas* in Philadelphia, 1820 and 1822. Benjamin Tanner, Finley, Carey, Bradford, Melish, and others all brought out their own improved atlases. Though Mr. Lucas was the sole Baltimore producer of atlases, he was far from having the field to himself.

Parson Weems working for Carey's Lavoisne editions obtained not only orders in Baltimore and the south but also extracted enthusiastic testimonials from such leading Baltimoreans as Father Damphoux, president of St. Mary's, Senator Robert Goodloe Harper, and William Wirt.⁵⁵ Eventually honors went to Tanner, Bradford, and Finley who continued to publish into the 1840's. Lucas must have found the pace too swift or other fields more inviting, for after 1830 he ceased the issue of atlases and confined himself to local maps.

Title-pages of most atlases of the period are uncommonly fine engraved plates embellished with delicate vignettes of symbolic character and with flowing script. That of the *New and Elegant General Atlas* was almost a copy of one issued in London in 1806 by Laurie & Whittle. A woman and three cherubs gathered about a large globe surrounded by clouds in the London atlas have been brought to earth in the Baltimore issue, provided with a background of hills, and the figure of an adolescent girl has been added.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ The Reverend Mason L. Weems, author of the cherry-tree story recounted in his *Life of Washington*, was frequently in Baltimore and sometimes solicited there, not altogether to the liking of Mr. Lucas. Carey found it convenient to forward books to Weems in care of Lucas who even collected occasionally for sales made by Weems. In July, 1820, the latter in characteristic vein wrote Carey that he hoped a new edition of the atlas for which he was taking advance orders "like Aaron's rod may swallow up Lucas & Melish." And four months later he commented that Mr. Lucas "seems to hate my presence here." Emily E. F. Skeel, *Mason Locke Weems, His Works and Ways* (New York, 1929), I, 344, and III, 285 and 300.

Lucas criticized Weems severely for his methods in obtaining subscriptions. Nonetheless, he gave repeated orders to Carey for 100-copy lots of Weems's *Washington*. Carey Account Books, A.A.S., and Lea & Febiger Papers, Hist. Soc. of Pa. Letters, Lucas to Carey, 1813-1820. John T. Scharf and Thompson Westcott, *History of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1884) extra-illustrated by D. McN. Stauffer, vol. 19, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contains laid-in letter, Lucas to Weems, Dec. 16, 1820.

Testimonials appear in the introduction to Lavoisne, *A Complete Genealogical Historical, Chronological, and Geographical Atlas; Being a General Guide to Ancient and Modern History*, 3rd American ed. (Philadelphia, 1822).

⁵⁶ The atlas is No. 3542 in P. Lee Phillips, *List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress*, I (Washington, 1914), and is dated [1816?]. This issue has 54 plates. See also, Joseph Sabin, *Bibliotheca Americana*, No. 42610. The atlases of highest quality at this time were published by Aaron Arrowsmith of Edinburgh and London.

Lucas drew many maps for Carey's *Geographical, Statistical and Historical Atlas* of 1822, an American supplement to Lavoisne. Maps of the states he sent to Carey in installments as he finished drawing them. The resulting plates, engraved by Henry S. Tanner and others, may be seen in 20 of the 46 maps in the first edition of this work.⁵⁷

The success of his own early atlases and of the Carey production emboldened Lucas to undertake a superior world atlas. This was copyrighted by him in 1823. In the same year also appeared H. S. Tanner's *New American Atlas*. The two were discussed in the pages of the *North American Review* for April, 1824, by the editor, Jared Sparks. The latter had recently passed several years in Baltimore as pastor of the First Independent (Unitarian) Church, and was well acquainted with Mr. Lucas. After favorable comment on the Tanner atlas, Sparks wrote:

Mr. Lucas's Cabinet Atlas [this was the binder's title] . . . contains a series of maps embracing the whole surface of the globe, constructed in a form and brought into a compass suitable for constant reference and use. The work is introduced by a plate representing the comparative heights of the principal mountains, and also another exhibiting the comparative lengths and magnitudes of the chief rivers of the world, which latter was devised and drawn by Mr. Lucas. In addition to these plates the Atlas contains ninety-eight maps.

Of North America, including Canada, the United States, and Mexico there are thirty-one maps. All of these, except two or three, were drawn by Mr. Lucas, and many of them, especially those of the new states and the territories, manifest much research and diligence in procuring materials, as well as judgment in selecting and using them.

We have seldom seen so good a set of maps of the West Indies, as those in Mr. Lucas's work. They are twenty in number, and mostly drawn by himself from the best published authorities, and from the charts and information afforded by practical seamen. To each of the large islands a map is devoted, containing the names of places, ports, harbors, and particularly pointing out the small islands, rocks, and

⁵⁷ Phillips 1373a. See also 3660a.

shoals on the coasts, thus communicating knowledge equally valuable to the general inquirer and the navigator. The author would seem to have bestowed more than usual care on this part of his work.

Six maps of South America close the series, five of which, namely, Columbia, Brazil, the United Provinces, Peru, and Chili, were drawn by the author. These are finely executed, and present a more full view of the present topographical state of those countries, we believe, than is anywhere else to be found within the same compass.

Mr. Lucas, we understand, has for several years devoted much of his time to the work, and his well known ability as a geographer and skilful draftsman would be enough to insure its accuracy, were this less evident than it is from internal testimony. As far as his work relates to America, both North and South, and to the West Indies, it is particularly valuable; and if we were to select a *single atlas*, in which our purpose would be to obtain the greatest amount of matter within the smallest space, presented in a commodious form, and at a comparatively moderate expense, we should not hesitate to choose this in preference to any we have seen.

It has another commendable trait also, which ought not to be slightly passed over; we mean the uncommon beauty and elegance of the mechanical execution. This characteristic prevails in all Mr. Lucas's maps, and is not more creditable to his zeal for his favorite science, than to his taste and love of the arts. He is sparing of his mountains, and is not prone to multiply crooked and branching rivers, where none exist, for the sake of filling up a vacant space. Indeed, for neatness in the drawing, for the finished execution of the artist, and the exquisite beauty of coloring, no maps have come under our eye, either from abroad or among those published in this country, which can claim precedence to several specimens contained in Mr. Lucas's Atlas.⁵⁸

This book is undoubtedly the Lucas masterpiece. I have record of eight copies in as many libraries and no doubt many more can be found.⁵⁹ It was followed by *A New General Atlas of the West India Islands*, issued in 1824, and the *Atlas of the State of South Carolina* by Robert Mills,

⁵⁸ *North American Review*, XVIII, 388-390. A more scientific work, Tanner's *New American Atlas* (Phillips 1374), was the finest of its day, though as the title indicates, it was confined to the United States and had but 22 maps.

⁵⁹ Phillips, 742; Sabin, *sub* 42610.

which appeared in 1825. The West Indies book consists of 21 maps, all but six from the hand of Lucas, and had special importance from the information given regarding channels and depths of water. Remembering that Baltimore has always enjoyed an immense trade with the islands and archipelagoes of the western Atlantic, and with the hint given by Sparks, we may picture the eagerness of the cartographer in interviewing the shipmasters of the time in order to give with utmost accuracy the essential data for shipmasters. The South Carolina *Atlas*, ordered by the legislature of that state, was drawn by Mills after submission of bids by various map makers. One of the contestants was Lucas who asked \$5,000 compared with \$4,500 bid by Mills. On completion of his map work, the latter had Lucas bring it out for the state, which was actually the publisher. This was the finest set of maps of any state up to that time, containing 29 plates, one occupying the center of a double leaf. This atlas has been reprinted (1938) in facsimile.⁶⁰

The last of the major atlases was entitled *A General Atlas of All the Known Countries in the World*. It contained 67 colored maps, nearly all reprints of the 1823 book, and appeared early in the 1830's. Omitted were the individual maps of Asiatic countries and of each of the West Indies. Most of the plates still carried Lucas's name as delineator. The title-page differed, having an original engraving as central ornament, and there was also a "Prospectus" by way of introducing the work in which the publisher "flattered

⁶⁰ *West India Atlas*, Phillips 2709, Sabin, *sub* 42610. So far as known, it held its field without competition. The *Atlas of . . . South Carolina* (Phillips 2570; Sabin 49113) is unique in appearance. The title appears on a double page carrying a map of the state surrounded on three sides by letterpress. Below the map are the words: "Published by F. Lucas, Jr., Baltimore for Mills Atlas." At bottom of the page we find "Printed by John D. Toy," a Baltimore printer. In the absence of any other statement of sponsorship, library catalogers usually assign the work to Lucas as publisher. No doubt Mills turned to his friend Lucas as an experienced publisher for the actual engraving and printing of the work. Eight copies have been located, several with but 25 plates. The reprint, with many variations, was prepared by Francis Marion Hutson and published at Columbia, S. C.

himself" that this was "the most complete of the size ever published." But two copies of this work have been located, possibly because it had no great sale.⁶¹ By this time Lucas had begun to specialize in religious books.

Minor entries in this field were two school atlases, the *Atlas Classica*, containing seven maps of the ancient world, probably based on those in the *General Atlas* of 1823, and the *Modern Atlas*, a collection of nine maps. As both of these atlases were advertised in 1829 as priced at \$1 they must have been small in size and without color. No copies of either have been found. Their disappearance is sufficient evidence of their usefulness in the academies and private classrooms of their day.⁶²

The superior finish of Lucas's work was referred to by Sparks. Not only are the plates works of clarity and refinement but the titles, contents, and accessory plates are also beautifully executed. The title-pages of the major atlases, as already indicated, are ornamented with vignettes of classical inspiration. For example, the West Indies title-page is adorned with a charming seascape including islands, clouds, and a cherub navigating a sailboat. With their pastel coloring these delicate designs lend no little distinction to these works. The English atlases which set the style were

⁶¹ Sabin *sub* 42610. Not in Phillips. The introduction was taken with a few modifications from Robert Wilkinson, *General Atlas of the World* . . . 3rd ed. (London, 1822).

The Boston Public Library has a cataloged entry, attributed to Lucas: "United States Atlas [183-], 31 maps, rolled in case." Listed also in Clara E. Le Gear, *United States Atlases: A List of . . . Atlases in the Library of Congress and in Cooperating Libraries*, II (Washington, 1953), L 3583. This atlas, if it is one, was mislaid when the writer endeavored to see it some years ago. Since there is no other "copy" of this description, the collection of maps so described may be simply a group of Lucas's state maps assembled and given an arbitrary title.

⁶² Lucas ordered a copy of Wilkinson's *Atlas Classica* (London, 1st ed., 1797) from Carey July 30, 1815, but no record of his issue of this title has been found till ca. 1829, when it appears in his catalog, *Valuable Works Published by Fielding Lucas, Jr.* (24 pp., n.d.). The antecedents of the *Modern Atlas* may have been works by this title that appeared in Boston (J. H. A. Frost, 1822), Phillips 304, or New York (Collins & Hannay, 1828), Phillips 305.

roads and canals had provided suitable facilities. Pocket maps of each state, folded into small morocco-covered board covers, were a stock item on the Lucas list for years. In 1829 maps of 39 states and territories were offered for sale, some at 50 cents, others at 75. There was also a stream of maps of Maryland (six or more issues) and of Baltimore (five or more issues), besides plats and charts to illustrate actual or proposed railroad and canal routes; and in 1844 he prepared a *Diocesan Map of the United States* to accompany the issue of his Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1845.

DRAWING BOOKS

Lucas' pre-eminence in the issue of books of art instruction has been described by Mr. Carl W. Drepperd in his valuable check list of American drawing books, published in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for November, 1945; and by Mr. Whitman Bennett in his book, *A Practical Guide to American Nineteenth Century Color Plate Books* (New York, 1949). There remains, however, much to be said. To one working at the scene of Lucas' labors and aware of certain names and their connotations there are gleams of light that hitherto have not been noticed. Both Mr. Drepperd and Mr. Bennett have discussed the great interest in drawing and painting as a polite accomplishment that prevailed in the early decades of the 19th century. Further emphasis is provided by the study of the book-trade and allied arts in Philadelphia by the Browns, published in the *Bulletin of the New York Public Library*, 1949-1950. They show a surprising number of artists and drawing masters who offered themselves as instructors, among them, the Peales, George Bridport, Alexander Christie, James Cox, John Hill, and Hugh Reinagle. A few English drawing books were imported, but from 1787 when the first such

instructor appeared in this country, no less than 12 were published before 1815 when Lucas brought out the first of five that he is known to have issued. Eight more are recorded by Mr. Drepperd before Lucas' major work, the *Progressive Drawing Book*, appeared in 1827. The present account adds two more by the Baltimore publisher.

The 1815 book, a small oblong entitled *The Art of Colouring and Painting Landscapes in Water Colors*, has ten aquatint engravings, six of which are hand-colored, besides a colored vignette on the title-page. The text runs to 67 pages. As it has been fully described by the writers mentioned, our interest is confined to its authorship, cloaked under the pseudonym "An Amateur"; the vignette, which is signed by Strickland, and the title-page, engraved by William Kneass. A diligent effort to discover the name of the author has been unsuccessful. Of the several names associated with it—Strickland, Kneass, Lucas—the most likely is Strickland. A book of similar title appeared in London in 1735 and reached an eighth edition in 1791, but comparison of the last edition with Lucas's book does not show any resemblance between them.⁶⁵

Strickland's design for the title-page represents a mill situated on a rushing stream, a sluice and overshot wheel with a mountain in the background—indeterminate in origin, but possibly American. The other eight scenes are entirely of English landscapes or waterscapes, while the

⁶⁵ Comparison kindly made by Mr. Frederick R. Goff, Chief, Rare Books Division, Library of Congress, which has the Lucas title. *The Art of Drawing and Painting in Water-colours* (London, 1791) is in the Rosenwald Collection of the Library of Congress.

The book may be called "title-happy," owing no doubt to the distance and poor communication between the publisher in Baltimore and the engraver in Philadelphia. The printed cover label reads: "The Art of Landscape Painting. With Ten Engravings," and by this title Lucas usually referred to it when filling Carey's orders for it, extending from August, 1815, to October, 1820. The engraved title-page, given in the text above, was immediately followed by a printed one reading: "The Art of Drawing, Colouring and Painting Landscapes, in Water Colours. Accompanied with Ten Engravings [here the publisher's imprint] J. Robinson, printer."

remaining plate is an array of brushes and colors required by the beginner. This last, like the engraved title, is signed by Strickland and carries the signature of the publisher and the date 1815. The unsigned introduction recites that cultivation of the arts is "justly considered an essential part of education in Europe, though hitherto in this country, it has been a matter of secondary consideration. . . . The following hints derived from the latest and best English authors, have been put together for the use of those who make drawing an amusement." It is an attractive enough book, remarkable for its time, though scarcely a landmark of its kind.

The next drawing book is John Varley's *Practical Treatise on Perspective*, an octavo of 42 pages with two folding plates containing diagrams to illustrate the laws of perspective. Though not dated, the Carey papers show that it was on sale in March, 1819, at 75 cents a copy.⁶⁶ Of three copies in Baltimore libraries one is inscribed with the name of a student at the University of Vermont, dated November, 1821.⁶⁷ The text was identical, except in minor particulars, with a book of the same title published in London in 1815 by Sherwood, Gilbert and Piper. The author was an eminent English painter and teacher in water colors. While copies of the Lucas edition are not of the utmost rarity, the work has not hitherto been noticed by students in this field.

Moses Thomas, publisher of *The Analectic Magazine* of Philadelphia, in the issue for July, 1815, gave a favorable review of this book. After describing its contents and acknowledging its beauty and the methodical presentation of the rules gathered from "the best approved European writers," he concluded: "Take it altogether, as to the sub-

⁶⁶ Lucas to Carey, March 16, 1819.

⁶⁷ Copy owned by Enoch Pratt Free Library.

ject, the style of execution, and of embellishment, this forms, we should think, a useful—certainly a most pleasing volume, and one of the handsomest ever published in this country.”

Another of the unrecorded Lucas drawing books is entitled: *The Art of Drawing Landscapes: Being Plain and Easy Directions for the Acquirement of This Useful and Elegant Accomplishment. Embellished with Ten Engravings in Aquatint.* By an Amateur. Baltimore: F. Lucas, Jr., 1820. It is a diminutive volume only six inches tall, with a four-page preface, 44 pages of text, and 11 plates. The added engraved title-page has a vignette, which has been colored, and a short title, *The Art of Drawing Made Plain and Easy, 1819.* Except for the engraved title the plates are without signature, and the author, presumably the “Amateur” of the first drawing book, sticks to his anonymity.

The scenes are all foreign, or at least lack American characteristics. We must conclude that this was another copy of an English work, with a few alterations, especially in the Introduction, which urges the student on completing the exercises recommended therein to procure a “volume of larger size containing more particular instructions for coloring, by the same publisher. Also the Art of Perspective, adapted for the study of those who draw from nature.” All but one of the plates are hand-colored and unsigned. The added title is lettered: “Drawn and engraved in aquatinta by J. Hill Philadelphia.” The celebrated John Hill could have been both author and artist of the book, but he could hardly have been responsible for “Amateur’s” 1815 work as he did not arrive in this country till 1816. The book is listed in 1822 at \$1 plain or \$1.75 colored. Two copies, both in Baltimore libraries, have been located.⁶⁸

Soon after came a book of which no copy has been found, nor has proof been found that it actually appeared. Lucas

⁶⁸ Peabody Institute and Enoch Pratt Free Library.

at the back of the 1820 drawing book advertised the Varley and then added: "*In Press: The Young Artist's Companion.*" Drepperd lists this title as printed by John Roach of Baltimore in an edition of 55 pages about 1820. He tells us that it was an altered version of an English work by J. Barnes. It may be that Lucas published the book, had it printed by Roach and allowed the latter to use his own imprint for a limited number of copies. The American Antiquarian Society and the Maryland Historical Society have the Roach edition, a slight 18mo.

For the next drawing book Mr. Drepperd reserves his highest praise. Those familiar with his check list will recognize the following lines from his elaborate description of *Lucas's Progressive Drawing Book*, which was first advertised in January, 1828:

This is the American art instruction book with a reputation, a catalogue and auction record that puts it in the rare book class. I regard it as the keystone of any collection of American drawing books because it is so wholly and completely American. Most, if not all of the drawings were made by Latrobe. The coloring was done (or directed) by Anna Claypoole Peale, and the major plates of scenery are as American as American can be.

He lists by title most of the 12 colored views and some of the etchings. Omitted are certain cardinal points of interest. Use of the surname Latrobe leaves the reader in a quandary. No less than four Latrobes appear in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. For many, the architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe who had died in 1820, is implied. Happily, we have in print a full statement of the authorship both of text and pictures. The story of the English-born architect who in 1796 came to make his home in this country and was employed by Jefferson to take charge of the public buildings needs no sketching here. His eldest son, John Hazlehurst Boneval Latrobe, 1803-1891, however, was also distinguished—a lawyer, author, artist, inventor, orator—a

many-sided man who for 60 years had a part in important undertakings in Maryland.

As Drepperd says, the added engraved title is adorned with a hand-colored aquatint. This is in the *trompe l'oeil* manner, representing a typical set of tools for drawing and painting. It is lettered "E. Van Blon . . . Hill, sculp. Printed by J. Grierson." Here is the key to the mystery. "Van Blon" is the pseudonym of John Latrobe, and the proof is found in a biography of him by the late John E. Semmes, published in Baltimore in 1917. Odd as it seems to us today, at the death of the elder Latrobe, the son was called home in his last year at West Point and set to the study of law. Among many fascinating passages in the younger Latrobe's memoir we find these telling remarks:

One of the first things to be thought of was how best to eke out the very scanty means at my mother's command, and I tried very hard at literature in a small way. I had made the acquaintance of Fielding Lucas and William Gwinn [Gwynn], the former the leading bookseller in Baltimore and the latter a lawyer of great experience and the editor of the *Federal Gazette*. Of all the friends of my life none were truer than these.

Mr. Lucas wanted to help me and I wrote a good deal for him that was paid for in law books which otherwise I would have had great difficulty in procuring. For Mr. Lucas I both wrote and drew. [Here follows a reference to preparation of juvenile books which we shall describe later. Latrobe continues:]

I wrote "Lucas' Progressive Drawing Books" [sic] and drew all that it contains. This was a very expensive book selling for \$12.00 and was gotten up at great expense. For a long time it was in general use.⁶⁹

The name "Van Blon" was derived from the Von Blumes, Latrobe's ancestors through his paternal grandmother. By some chance or design this young man of 24 fell upon this name and further shrouded it in the "Dutchified" form "Van

⁶⁹ *John H. B. Latrobe and His Times, 1803-1891*, pp. 102-104. Latrobe's father, B. H. Latrobe, had as early as ca. 1800 prepared a MS 2-volume "Essay on Landscape" as a gift for a young lady of Virginia. The "Essay" is in the Virginia State Library (*Virginia Cavalcade*, Autumn, 1951); Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), see Index.

Blon." Why the initial "E" was used remains an unanswered question.

It may not be amiss to include a general description of this book. It is oblong, the page being roughly $9\frac{1}{2}$ by $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and is bound in heavy boards with leather spine. The front cover has a paper label. Parts I and III have both engraved and printed title-pages in that order. Part II has only a printed title-page. Part I was copyrighted by Lucas January 1, 1827, and Part II by him September 1, 1827.⁷⁰ Part III carries no copyright, being a reprint of Varley with six plates in line engraving at the end. Part I, "The Principles of Drawing in Pencil," consists of 35 pages of text and 15 full pages of soft-ground etchings. Seven of the latter are entirely American, many bearing identifications lettered in by the engraver, who in most cases was Joseph Cone of Baltimore. The scenes are largely localities known to John Latrobe, in the vicinity of Baltimore or on the Hudson, and one, Plate 14, bears the initials "J. L." These are nearly all original work by John Latrobe, some running four to the page. The others are chiefly simple studies for beginners, but one, Plate X, "Bridge on the Brandywine near Downings Town," is a reproduction of an original signed water color by B. H. Latrobe, now in the Maryland Historical Society. The original is dated 1801, and measures $9\frac{7}{8}$ by 13 inches, which the engraver somewhat reduced in size. Moreover, he took a few liberties in removing the coach and four which in the original is crossing the bridge and he flattened the slight peak in the center of the bridge parapet.

In Plate II, containing 14 simple figures for copying, two have been taken directly from *A Treatise on Landscape*

⁷⁰ The *Drawing Book* was described at length as about to be published in the *Baltimore Gazette* for Jan. 24, 1828, and following issues, and is offered for sale at \$12, or Part I at \$4, Part II at \$6, Part III at \$2, in the same newspaper for Dec. 7, 1828, and thereafter.

Painting in Water Colours (London, 1814) by the celebrated English artist, David Cox, a pupil of Varley, who was at the height of popular favor.

Part II, "Colouring and Shading in India Ink," contains 66 pages of text, five plain aquatints and the ten celebrated full-page hand-colored aquatints which need not be listed here. All are attributed by the engraver to "E. Van Blon" and they represent exclusively parts of the country known to the Latrobes, chiefly localities in Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York. Several views taken on the Elk River and other tributaries of the Chesapeake Bay serve as reminders of the elder Latrobe's engineering work on the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal in the years 1803-1806. Plate XIII, "The Balise, Mississippi River," was doubtless taken from a drawing made by the elder Latrobe while living in New Orleans where he died of yellow fever. Hence it happens that a book published seven years after his death preserves in reproduction two and perhaps more water colors by the great architect.⁷¹

Part III is entitled "Perspective" and the Preface states baldly that "Varley's essay is reprinted here." The only colored plate is the engraved half-title ornamented with a view of the monument to Kosciusko at West Point. Here again is the name Van Blon. Indeed, this scene is virtually the sign-manual of John Latrobe, for he had designed the monument in 1825 and received the award of a gold medal for it. He painted three views of it. His water color of it now at the Maryland Historical Society is charming enough but it is not the original of the engraving.

Part III consists of 30 pages of text and six plates at the end. These are all line engravings, illustrating the text, drawn entirely from the 1815 Varley, part of which had been printed in Lucas' edition of Varley. The text is essentially

⁷¹ For the full biography of B. H. Latrobe, see Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe*.

the same as the earlier work with 10 pages of additional matter.⁷²

Counting the delightful colored aquatints on the titles, there are 14 fully colored engravings in this book, besides several in sepia. The dedication is fitting for it honors Robert Gilmor, merchant and capitalist of Baltimore and himself an amateur watercolorist. He has been called the earliest collector of art in America. He was singled out for acclaim by the youthful author for reasons well stated:

"To Robert Gilmor, Esq./Sir: The dedication which is made to rank, may be excepted to as partial, or doubted as insincere: the dedication which is made to acknowledged talent, taste and information, can be regarded only as the tribute which those qualities are entitled to receive.

The Compiler [J. H. B. Latrobe]"

The paper used for this book was a stout watermarked wove by Amies of Philadelphia. Bindings of the five copies examined are similar but vary as to color of board and paper label and amount of hand tooling on leather portions. Of the two copies in the Maryland Historical Society, one lacks a feature of some interest. Near the end of Part II an inserted leaf carries on both sides a poem of thirteen stanzas of six lines each. It begins:

The Colours

Blue is the shade of the distant hill,
Of the sky, and the stream, when the wind is still;
The glorious depth of the Purple's shade,
And the strength of the GREEN by Blue, are made;
While of all the colours from Nature's mint,
The Blue is the pride of the Neutral Tint.

⁷² Varley's principal drawing book, *A Treatise on the Principles of Landscape Design* (London [1821]), consisted of nine leaves size 18½" x 11½", and eight plates dated 1816-1821. The fine colored aquatints are explained by the text on opposite pages. This awkward arrangement leaves large white areas where the text partly fills the allotted spaces, and the poor press work does scant justice to the plates. This book was evidently not a model for Latrobe and Lucas, although they used Varley's 1815 text almost in toto. Copy of 1821 Varley at Library of Congress.

The poem is signed "E. Van Blon." Young Latrobe rather fancied himself as an author and with some reason. The numerous publications from his pen testify to his popularity both as writer and speaker. A versified guide to the use of tints evidently appealed to his sense of fitness. Throughout his long life he was given to writing verse as well as prose compositions.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS

The juvenile books of Lucas constituted no insignificant part of his business. Between 1820 and 1845 he brought out about 70 titles, some kindergarten trifles of 16 pages, others running to more than 200 pages. Part of the appeal, of course, in collecting children's books lies in the scarcity of this species of literature. Most of them have been read to pieces. Part of their charm also lies in their folk quality, and still more in their reflection of contemporary life. In this field as in others Lucas was not content to be a copyist and borrower. In the words of John Latrobe:

For Mr. Lucas I both wrote and drew. I revised Jack the Giant Killer, wrote in rhyme and illustrated the *Juvenile National Calendar*. Invented Tray's Travels and showed the good dog upon them. Put Hogarth's two apprentices into verses and portrayed them both. Cinderella did not escape me in those days, and the boys and girls of Baltimore, now elderly people [he was writing about 1875] may some of them, perhaps, remember the small, octavo, sixteen paged books, on each page of which was a gaudily colored print, explained by eight lines of doggerel below it.⁷³

The little books thus described by their author are now much sought after, as may be imagined, and few still exist. One, the *Juvenile National Calendar*, may be seen both in the Boston Public Library and the Maryland Historical

⁷³ Semmes, p. 103.

Society. It is a prize piece of Americana. The first stanza runs:

THE RISING GENERATION

[Hand colored engraving of schoolroom
with teacher and pupils]

Come all my young pupils stand round in a ring,
And listen to me while I merrily sing.
I will tell you of those who enjoy the command,
Which is held o'er us all, for the good of the land:
Of the *President, Cabinet, Congressmen* too,
I mean to describe and to bring into view:
Who by learning and virtue their honours did get,
So that you, if you're good, may be Presidents yet.

Who but an idealist like young Latrobe could have penned the next to last line?

The series to which the *Juvenile National Calendar* belonged was in the same style as the nursery booklets issued by John Harris of London during the early years of the century.⁷⁴ The series was called "Harris' Cabinet of Amusement and Instruction." The books consisted of 16 leaves engraved with picture and text on one side only and placed so that two engravings were followed by two blank pages—an awkward enough arrangement. The piquant illustrations were colored by hand. The covers were of heavy paper and the back cover usually listed other titles in the series. One of them, *The Monkey's Frolic*, is inscribed as a gift and dated by the donor "Christmas 1827." The only dates that appear in the imprints of those examined are 1822 and 1825. How-

⁷⁴ In the accounts of juvenile literature there has so far been no appreciable notice of Lucas's contributions. Two of his titles are included in the Rosenbach Collection at the Free Library of Philadelphia. Useful works on children's books are Rosalie V. Halsey, *Forgotten Books of the American Nursery* (Boston, 1911); A. W. Tuer, *Pages and Pictures from Forgotten Children's Books* (London, 1898); Philip James, *Children's Books of Yesterday* (London, 1933), and Wilbur M. Stone, "The History of Little Goody Two Shoes," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, XLIX (1939), 333-370.

ever, a newspaper advertisement in 1824 indicates that the series was begun in the early twenties.⁷⁵

CHILDREN'S ELEGANT BOOKS, &c. &c. *F. Lucas, Jr.* has the pleasure to inform his juvenile friends, that he has now prepared for them a great variety of interesting books suitable for their instruction and amusement, and he feels warranted in saying, that they have not been equalled in point of engraving and beauty of coloring, by any others that have been published in this country. The following is a list of those on sale, to which additions will be regularly made:

1. The Paths of Learning strewed with Flowers or English Grammar illustrated.
2. The Comic Adventures of Old Mother Hubbard and her Dog.
3. The history of an Apple Pye, written by Z.
4. The history of the House that Jack built.
5. Cock Robin, a pretty painted toy for either girl or boy.
6. The Cries of London or Sketches of various Characters in that Metropolis.
7. The Comic Adventures of Old Dame Trot and her Cat.
8. The Hobby Horse or the High Road to Learning, being a revival of A was an archer and shot at a frog.
9. Nursery Novelties for little masters and misses or a new Alphabet for Children.
10. Dame Dearlove's Ditties for the nursery.
11. The Infants Grammar or a Pic. Nic party of the parts of speech.
12. The Courtship, Merry Marriage and Pic Nic dinner of Cock Robin and Jenny Wren.
13. The Monkey's Frolic a humorous tale.
14. The Picturesque Primer or the First Step up the Ladder of learning, with 72 engravings.
15. Tommy Trip's Museum or a Peep at beautiful birds.
16. Tommy Trip's Museum or a Peep at Beasts.
17. The Life of Queen Tab, the tortoise shell cat and the Princess Kittens.

18. Wonders! descriptive of some of the most remarkable of nature and art.

19. The History of Good Boys and Girls or One, Two, Three, where's the boy that can count like me.

20. The Infant's Alphabet.

21. The Alphabet of Goody Two Shoes, by learning which, she soon got rich.

22. Dame Wiggins of Lee and her seven wonderful Cats.

23. The Christian's Alphabet, illustrating the leading facts recorded in the New Testament,

"Blest be those children, whosoever they be,
Who knows and feels the Christian A B C,
For first to know the truth by Jesus given,
And then to feel its force leads right to heaven."

24. Take your choice! or the A B C regiment on parade.

Popular fairy tales published in three neat volumes and ornamented with 25 handsomely colored engravings, illustrative of the tales, which consists of the following:

Jack the giant killer, Blinck and Rosalinda, Puss in boots, Sleeping Beauty in the wood, Jack and the bean stalk, Gracioso and Percinetta, the Invisible Prince, Peronella, Fortunatus and the wishing cap, the Blue Bird, the Fair One with golden locks, Nourjahad, the White Cat, the Discreet Princess, Little Red Riding Hood, Blue Beard, Aladdin or the wonderful lamp, Cinderella, the Three Wishes, Prince Fatal and Prince Fortune, Fortunio, Tom Thumb, Riquet with the tuft, Tosda and Diamonds, Hop o' my Thumb, Beauty and the Beast.

For the convenience of juvenile readers, each tale may be had separate, ornamented with a colored engraving, the whole forming 17 numbers, and is certainly the best collection of this kind of popular reading for children, ever published, and are too familiar to require further comment

aug 17 0

The 16-page series may have been influenced by similar titles published about 1815 by William Charles, the cartoonist and engraver of Philadelphia. Collaboration between Charles and Lucas, if any, has not come to light.⁷⁶

⁷⁵ *Federal Gazette*, Aug. 17, 1824, p. 3.

⁷⁶ Many writers have reported the juveniles of Charles, notably James, p. 35; Halsey, pp. 170-171; D. McN. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (New York, 1907) I, 45, II, 54-59; and Mantle Fielding, *Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (Philadelphia [1926]). The name of Charles, however, is omitted from the

However, there was very definite cooperation between Lucas and other publishers of both Baltimore and Philadelphia. The imprints of many of these juveniles show that they were sponsored jointly by Lucas and the firm of Ash and Mason of Philadelphia. Later on the name of Joseph Robinson appears as well as Lucas', and by 1840 John Murphy of Baltimore had acquired this phase of the Lucas business.

As for other books for young people, there were translations from the German of Christoph Schmid's *Tales*, a series of a dozen small books offered in 1849 as the "Youth's Library," Mrs. Hughs' *Natural History of Quadrupeds* and Maria Edgeworth's *Little Merchants*. Most of the numbered titles in the list were taken directly from the booklets issued in London during the last years of the 18th century and opening decades of the 19th by Harris, John and Francis Newbery, Darton & Harvey, and others. Many had already been

compilation by Bertha E. Mahony and others, *Illustrators of Children's Books, 1744-1945* (Boston, the Horn Book, Inc., 1947).

Whether Lucas and Charles were in any way associated has not been learned, but at least a tentative project for an engraving by Charles is discussed in Lucas's letter to Carey, Sept. 18, 1813: "Yours of the 14th is before me also the engraving made by Charles. When we talked of and agreed on having a caricature made by Charles of Jarvis's subject I had not the most distant idea that it would be other than of the broadest kind of caricature such as are daily made in England & to produce such a one I thought that Charles had abilities, but so far from being of this description he has made an almost exact copy of Jarvis's picture and the additions made are so unimportant that I really am of opinion that the first picture is the best. Any arrangement you make with Jarvis in the business I will ratify as I am confident that altho' none of the parties had the least intention of doing the other harm in the business none would wish to be loser, and any mode that you point out to prevent this I will accede to."

A print showing the burning and sack of Havre de Grace, Maryland, which occurred May 3, 1813, has long been known. It is somewhat in the caricature style made famous by Charles in his "John Bull" series of cartoons issued in the same year. The attribution of the original which Charles reproduced to "Jarvis" seems to indicate the artist John Wesley Jarvis, who usually confined himself to portrait painting. On Oct. 1 of the same year, evidently in answer to an inquiry by Carey, Lucas wrote: "I have not the least objection to your disposing of the impressions you have had of the 'Burning of H de Grace.'" We need no longer wonder why impressions of this event are so rarely seen: Lucas was so cool to Charles's work that few impressions were taken. For other criticisms of Charles, see Skeel, I, 225. J. W. Jarvis spent most of the year 1813 in Baltimore. Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis, American Painter, 1780-1840* (New York, 1949), chapter XI.

issued in this country by other publishers. Mr. Wilbur M. Stone in these pages showed that 20 American issues of *Goody Two Shoes* had preceded the Lucas version of her story.⁷⁷

It is the additions to the foregoing list that especially interested, for originality in this literature was a rare element. Latrobe's claim of authorship may apply to several in the list given, but the titles below, added in an 1830 advertisement, undoubtedly include some that he wrote:

- The Scripture Alphabet
- William and Thomas, or The Choice of Two Ways [after "Industry and Idleness" by Hogarth?]
- The Pilgrims, or First Settlers of New England
- Pug's Tour through Europe, or the Travelled Monkey
- The Pilgrim's Progress from This World to That Which Is to Come
- The Pilgrim's Family's Progress . . . (a Sequel to the preceding)
- Punctuation Personified, or Pointing Made Easy, by Mr. Stops
- The Juvenile National Calendar, or a Familiar Description of the U. States Government
- Songs for the Nursery . . . by Mother Goose
- Little Rhymes for Little Folks
- Easy Lessons for Infants . . . in Words of One or Two Syllables
- The Child's Garland, or Poetry for Young Minds
- The American Revolution, or National Journal
- Tray's Travels; Containing an Account of His Astonishing Escapes from Difficulty and Danger
- Pretty Stories, in Words of One Syllable
- New Nursery Alphabet
- Sports and Pastimes for Children
- Infants Alphabet
- Jack the Giant Killer
- A Present for a Little Girl

"Handsomely engraved and beautifully coloured," these sold at 37½ cents each, or \$2.70 a dozen.⁷⁸

⁷⁷ See note 74.

⁷⁸ Catalogue, *Valuable Works*, pp. 16-19. Catalogues issued by Lucas were:

(1) Catalogue of Books, in the Various Departments of Literature and Science, for sale by F. Lucas, Jr. [Printed by John D. Toy, ca. 1818]. 98 pp.

(Continued opposite page)

A survey of 16 public and university libraries has brought to light only 24 examples, representing 17 titles.

RELIGIOUS BOOKS

That Lucas was an important publisher of Catholic books has been mentioned. He entered this field about 1830 when he bought a set of plates for a quarto Bible from Eugene Cummiskey of Philadelphia. The output of tracts, histories, Testaments and Bibles, devotional books, manuals, instruction texts, and almanacs was heavy and in time became the largest factor in his business. A historian of the Church has said that for many years before his death Lucas was the "most extensive publisher of Catholic books in the country, investing a capital which no other at the time could command."⁷⁹ The one Lucas account book that survives is a stock book showing chiefly Catholic titles.⁸⁰ It lists 154 active titles between the years 1838 and 1841. As was the

Note 78 (continued)

(2) Catalogue de [sic] Livres François [sic], Qui Se Vendent chez Fielding Lucas, Jun. No. 138, Rue de Baltimore . . . Imprimé par J. Robinson . . . 1818. 16 pp.

(3) Catalogue of Law Books for Sale by F. Lucas, Jr . . . Printed by John D. Toy [ca. 1818]. 21 pp.

(4) Valuable Works Published by Fielding Lucas, Jr., Baltimore [caption title] [1830?]. 24 pp. The only copy seen was bound at back of Abbé Barthelémy, *Travels of Anacharsis the Younger* (Lucas, 1829 or 1830).

(5) Catalogue of Standard Catholic Books, [1831], 21 pp. Bound at front of Francis Martyn, *Homilies on the Book of Tobias* (Lucas [1831]).

(6) Catalogue of Standard Catholic Books, Published by Fielding Lucas, Jr. [1834], 6 pp. Bound at back of John England, *Explanation of the Construction, Furniture and Ornaments of a Church* . . . [ca. 1834]. Presumably there were frequent issues. On Apr. 25, 1816, Lucas wrote Francis Walker Gilmer, one of his authors whose *Sketches of American Orators* was then appearing, in parts, that he was sending his catalogue "for the present year." Letter in Alderman Library, University of Virginia.

⁷⁹ Edmund B. O'Callaghan, *A List of Editions of the Holy Scriptures* (Albany, 1861), p. 211; *Metropolitan*, obituary notice; John G. Shea, *History of the Catholic Church within the Limits of the United States*, III (New York, 1890), 427; IV (1892), 372; Wilfrid Parsons, *Early Catholic Americana* (New York, 1939), xx-xxi. Joseph M. Finotti, *Bibliographia Catholica Americana* (New York, 1872), lists many books published by Lucas, as also Blake, *Trade List*, 1847. The issues of the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*, 1844-1848, carried many pages listing chiefly Lucas' religious publications.

⁸⁰ In the Library of Maryland Historical Society.

case earlier, they were from various presses, no less than 10 local printers being engaged. Unfortunately, these books prove the adage that increase in volume is often coupled with decrease in quality. It is exceptional to find a book in this group that commands the bookman's attention. We may remind ourselves, however, that quality in bookmaking was at this time undergoing a decline everywhere.

Printings were not large, except for the popular manuals and almanacs. Largest sales represented in the stock book were of the *Catholic Catechism* of which 3,800 copies were run in 1838, 5,300 in 1839 and 5,500 in 1841. No doubt succeeding years brought mounting sales of this standard book. For each year from 1838 through 1841 Lucas printed three to four thousand copies of the *Catholic* (or *Metropolitan Catholic*) *Almanac*. Of other titles some ran only to 500 copies and were not reprinted during this four-year span. Only 25 titles of the 154 are set down as stereotype editions.

GENERAL BOOKS

The books that fall outside the foregoing categories included some important works, valuable in their day. Lucas brought out Wirt's *Letters of the British Spy* in four editions; Dr. Jameson's *American Domestic Medicine*; *The Practical American Gardener* (anonymous); McAdam's work on road building; de Onis' *Memoir upon the Negotiation between Spain and the United States*; Daniel Raymond's two works on political economy; John H. B. Latrobe's *Justices' Practice under the Laws of Maryland*, prepared by the author aged 23 in an edition of 479 pages, which appeared in 1826 and was destined to run through a total of eight editions, the last dated 1888; Thomas L. McKenney's *Tour to the Lakes* (1827) illustrated with lithographs from drawings by Latrobe copied from crude sketches; and Mrs. Wirt's *Flora's Dictionary*

(1829), a sort of drawing book. The last went through seven printings during the succeeding 25 years. Brilliantly illustrated with colored lithographs, it was an extremely handsome volume. A cheaper edition had only one lithograph with colored sheets of plain paper, in assorted colors, inserted where the fine illustrations were omitted. The letterpress consisted of sentimental quotations about flowers. Its excessive and melancholy romanticism exactly suited the public taste in the middle of the last century. Every large library seems still to have it. It has been found in 17, not counting two and sometimes three editions in several of them.⁸¹

Publication of Volume I of the first adequate history of Maryland in 1831 has already been mentioned as well as the tepid reception it received. The next year saw an attractive little guide book to Baltimore, prepared at Lucas' behest by young Latrobe, who drew the illustrations for the 41 engravings and wrote the text of its 249 pages. In his memoirs Latrobe disparages the book, but it is today a sought-after item.⁸² The original drawings, hand-colored perhaps by the author, are owned by the present Lucas business house.

Among important books dealing with the exploration and development of the country was Major Z. M. Pike's *Account of the Expeditions to the Sources of the Mississippi and the Western Parts of Louisiana . . . in the Year 1807*, published by C. & A. Conrad, Philadelphia, and Lucas in Baltimore, dated 1810 but actually not ready for delivery till April, 1811. Others of local interest were Robert Mills, *A Treatise on Inland Navigation*, 1820, with a folding map (unattributed); and James Shriver, *An Account of Surveys . . . Relative*

⁸¹ See Sarah P. Stetson, "Mrs. Wirt and the Language of the Flowers," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LVII (1949), 376-389.

⁸² *A Picture of Baltimore*, 1832; Semmes, p. 105.

to the *Projected Chesapeake and Ohio and Ohio and Lake Erie Canals*, 1824, with a map (not by Lucas). James H. McCulloh, a physician employed in the Baltimore Customs House, was the author of *Researches, Philosophical and Antiquarian, concerning the Aboriginal History of America*, 1829, which occupied 535 pages. Works of a medical nature were not unusual, among them, Allen Burns, *Observations on the Surgical Anatomy of the Head and Neck* (1823), and George Frick (of Baltimore), *Treatise on Diseases of the Eye*, 1823.

Young Latrobe condensed the U. S. Army drill books issued under the superintendence of General Winfield Scott, and Lucas published a series of them in pamphlet form for infantry, cavalry, artillery, and riflemen, 1825, 1827, etc.⁸³

Finally, there was a series that must be noticed because of its close association with ocean trade. Henry J. Rogers, an associate of Morse in the establishment of the telegraph, codified and published a system of semaphore signals. His first book, *The Telegraph Dictionary*, dedicated to Morse and illustrated with color lithographs of flags, was issued by Lucas in 1845. It was followed by a revised edition in 1847 and by still another in the 1850's. Meanwhile an important shipping register appeared—*Rogers and Black's Marine Roll, or List of Names of Permanently Registered and Enrolled Vessels above 20 Tons, Comprising the Mercantile Marine . . . By authority of the Treasury Department* (1847). Thus Lucas put mariners in his debt not only by producing maps and atlases but also by issuing a signal book which laid the foundation for the semaphore system, used till recent times by the Navy, and the earliest shipping register.⁸⁴

⁸³ Semmes, p. 104.

⁸⁴ Sketch of Rogers in *D. A. B.*

Fiction is in our day the great money-maker for the publisher, if and when his judgment coincides with public taste. In Lucas's time, however, when the novel still was what the name implies, few besides the works of Cooper, Scott, and Dickens could count on a large American sale. The competition of leading American publishers was intense. International copyright was still a dream, and the publisher who first secured an English copy of a new novel by a popular author might count on selling thousands before a competitor could bring out his own edition. Mathew Carey on one occasion, having gained a time advantage through a representative in London, rushed a shipment of new books by stagecoach to New York. To insure maximum sales before other publishers could put their copies in the hands of dealers, he engaged all the seats in the New York coach, filled them with bundles of the novel and reaped a triumph in cash.⁸⁵ More of a middle-of-the-road man, Lucas tried no sensational tactics and definitely avoided fiction. In a long letter on the subject of business disappointments and losses, dated October, 1812, he wrote Carey:

"It is not my intention to print any novels whatever. I find it answers my purpose better to print small works of standard reputation [;] for these I can always procure [through exchange] any novels I may want [.] at present I am not printing any book but Homer—I have not the means to do what I wish."

"*I have not the means to do what I wish.*" This statement he could have made at any time in his career up to 1822. He was operating on a shoestring, as Carey knew, and to him Lucas did not scruple to avow it.

⁸⁵ [Henry C. Carey], *One Hundred and Fifty Years of Publishing, 1785-1935* (Philadelphia, Lea and Febiger, 1935), p. 18. See also Earl L. Bradsher, *Mathew Carey, Editor, Author and Publisher* (New York, 1912), and Kenneth W. Rowe, *Mathew Carey*, Johns Hopkins Univ. Studies in Hist. and Pol. Science 51, No. 4 (Baltimore, 1933).

That the times were ripe for the Isaiah Thomases, Mathew Careys, and Fielding Lucases cannot be overstressed. Yet the obstacles in their way were almost beyond the comprehension of businessmen today. Thomas and Carey each retired at last with a tidy fortune and Lucas achieved independence, though he had not the energy, dash, and resourcefulness that the older men possessed. His methods were circumspect as his means were limited. Out of the proceeds of the stationery and book store and the publishing business he bought his shop and home, contributed handsomely to worthy causes, acquired a profitable type foundry, and left his family well off. Throughout his adult life he gave time and effort to the material advancement and the cultural development of his community and state. Moreover, he applied his talents in augmenting the facilities and providing the means for education, science, literature, art, and music. He gave his publications a quality of distinction that is still valid in our times. Few publishers stamped so personal an impress upon their productions. Many of his books and maps hold their place in libraries today. As long as the culture of young America is a subject of study, Lucas's works will be significant, and wherever fine bookmaking of early America is prized, his works will be sought.

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