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# A Library in Retrospect

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# A Library in Retrospect

## **Comments**

Reprinted from *The Penn Library Collections at 250: From Franklin to the Web*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Library, 2000), pages 9-32.

# 1 *A Library in Retrospect*

Michael T. Ryan

With its five million printed volumes, millions of manuscript items, and hundreds of electronic databases, the University of Pennsylvania Library is a library of libraries. Since its founding 250 years ago in 1750, the Library has developed into a major research institution whose collections serve scholars at Penn and around the world. If the Library is a library of libraries, its history is not a single narrative but a congeries of stories. As the Library celebrates its 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary, we have chosen to return to our history as an institution and to bring together in one volume some of those stories.

The University claims Benjamin Franklin as its founder, or at least as *primus inter pares*. The Library also acknowledges the leading role played by Franklin in making sure that the new school in Philadelphia had books. Franklin was one of the Library's earliest donors, and as a Trustee saw to it that funds were allocated for the purchase of texts from London. If the school was something of an experiment in civic responsibility, so, in its own way, was the Library. Indeed, Franklin casts a long shadow over the history of the Library. Like its founder, the Library has been practical, resourceful, and unostentatious. For Franklin, books were tools for improvement: improvement of self, of society, of the material world. Books were only as valuable as they were useful. Size was less important than content and quality. The Penn Library may not be the largest of its kind, but then it has never aspired to be. Rather, it has sought to be eminently useful to the diverse constituency of scholars, students, and the public who have had recourse to its resources since 1750. In this it has succeeded, and then some.

## *The Academy and College Open*

THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA was conceived as a charitable school for the indigent in 1740, but when it was finally born in 1751, it was as the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia. Philadelphia was vibrant, thriving, tolerant, and, by colonial standards, cosmopolitan. The second largest English-speaking city in the world, Philadelphia was the place to be



A  
SERMON  
ON  
EDUCATION.  
WHEREIN  
Some Account is given of the  
ACADEMY,  
Established in the  
CITY of PHILADELPHIA.

Preach'd at the Opening thereof, on the Seventh  
Day of January, 1750-1.  
By the Reverend Mr. RICHARD PETERS.

PHILADELPHIA:  
Printed and Sold by B. FRANKLIN, and D. HALL,  
at the Post-Office. MDCCL.

A  
POEM  
On visiting the  
ACADEMY  
OF  
PHILADELPHIA, June 1753.

*Tucentis qui vitam excurrere per Arctos  
Expone sui numeris alia fecere merenda;  
Quibus his nivei cinguntur Tempora Feni.*  
VIRG.



PHILADELPHIA:  
Printed in the YEAR MDCCLIII.



PROPOSALS  
RELATING TO THE  
EDUCATION  
OF  
YOUTH  
IN  
PENSILVANIA.



SERMONS  
ON  
VARIOUS SUBJECTS.  
In Two VOLUMES.

VOL. I.  
CONTAINING  
I. Of Repentance.  
II. Of Education by Choice.  
III. The Abuse of Power.  
IV. The Abuse of Christian Liberty.  
V. The Liberty and Abolition of Slavery.  
VI. The Liberty and Abuse of Retaliation.  
VII. The Liberty of Conscience.  
VIII. The Liberty of the Press.  
IX. The Liberty of the Trade.  
X. The Liberty of the Church.  
XI. The Liberty of the State.  
XII. The Liberty of the World.

By GEORGE WHITEFIELD, A. B.  
PHILADELPHIA:  
Printed by B. FRANKLIN, in  
the Year 1740.



in eighteenth-century North America. It was a small melting pot that attracted the restless and the ambitious, like young Ben Franklin who fled the claustrophobic world of Boston for the freedom of Philadelphia and the opportunity to make his mark. Philadelphia not only had books and libraries; it had trade and commerce and people from a variety of European locales. Its practicality and openness tolerated different religious creeds and sects. This was the city that Franklin could rally to build, innovate, and achieve. The weakness of the British colonial administration provided abundant scope for entrepreneurship from below. The people provided for themselves what the government could not and would not. The College and Academy of Philadelphia was one example of that energy. It was envisioned by its founders as a public as well as a public-spirited institution; it would educate leaders and businessmen and thus instill that civic patriotism essential for success in a strange new world.

Located at 4<sup>th</sup> and Arch Streets, the Academy consisted of a single building, a rector, three masters and their assistants, and fewer than one-hundred volumes.<sup>1</sup> Our best source of information on Penn's first "library" is the earliest minutes of the Trustees, which provides two lists of books.<sup>2</sup> The first, "Books delivered to the English Master," notes several dictionaries and four gifts, two from Lewis Evans, including an inscribed copy

The first site of the University of Pennsylvania at 4<sup>th</sup> and Arch Streets. Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Archives.

<sup>1</sup> Sarah Dowlin Jones, "The Early Years of the University Library," *Library Chronicle*, vol. 17 (1950-51), pp. 8 ff. is the best account of the period.

<sup>2</sup> *Minutes of the Trustees of the College, Academy and Charitable Schools, University of Pennsylvania*, vol. I. – 1749-1768, ed. Neda M. Westlake (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1974), pp. 339 ff.

of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, a copy of Milton's *Prose Works* from a Dr. Milne, and a four-volume set of Rollin's *Belles lettres* from Benjamin Franklin. The other, "Books delivered to the Rector of the Academy," totals forty-nine titles in seventy-nine volumes and consists primarily of sturdy seventeenth- and eighteenth-century editions of classical authors. Most of these titles were bought by agents from London booksellers, though Messrs. Lewis and Franklin made donations here as well.<sup>3</sup> The list includes a range of Latin and Greek texts, enough to serve as the foundation for a collection tied closely to a curriculum anchored in the study of classical antiquity.

Conspicuously absent from the original Penn Library are books of divinity, sermons, Psalters, Bibles, and other manuals of Christianity. They were neither purchased nor received as gifts from friends. But then again, Penn was not properly speaking "Christian" at all. It was secular in its origins and remained so throughout its history.

### *A Library Grows in Philadelphia*

THE ARRIVAL OF REV. WILLIAM SMITH in 1754 and his elevation to the position of Provost of the College of Philadelphia in 1755 confirmed the classical direction of the curriculum and the orientation of the Library's fledging collection. Intelligent, determined, and Anglican, Smith knew where he wanted to take the College. The course of studies he laid out for the youth of Philadelphia comprised three years of immersion in Greek and Roman texts. This was typical for college curricula of the day. But Smith also did something bold: he included in the curriculum an introduction to "natural philosophy." In fact, Penn was the only eighteenth-century college to include the sciences in its curriculum. Although the classical and Latinate orientation of the curriculum has often been seen as a departure from the English-oriented, practical curriculum envisioned by Franklin, the inclusion of science in some sense tilted the scales back towards the founder.

Smith was nothing if not rigorous. He thought about classes, and he thought about what students might be doing when not in class. Like Franklin, he was a compulsive self-improver. In his overview of the College, Smith mapped out the "private hours" of students with "books recommended for improving the youth in the various branches."<sup>4</sup> The list is nothing if not formidable.

<sup>3</sup> Franklin contributed a Pindar in Greek and Latin.

<sup>4</sup> William Smith, *Account of the College, Academy and Charitable School of Philadelphia in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Library, 1951), p. 23. Originally published in 1759, the *Account* was revised in 1762.

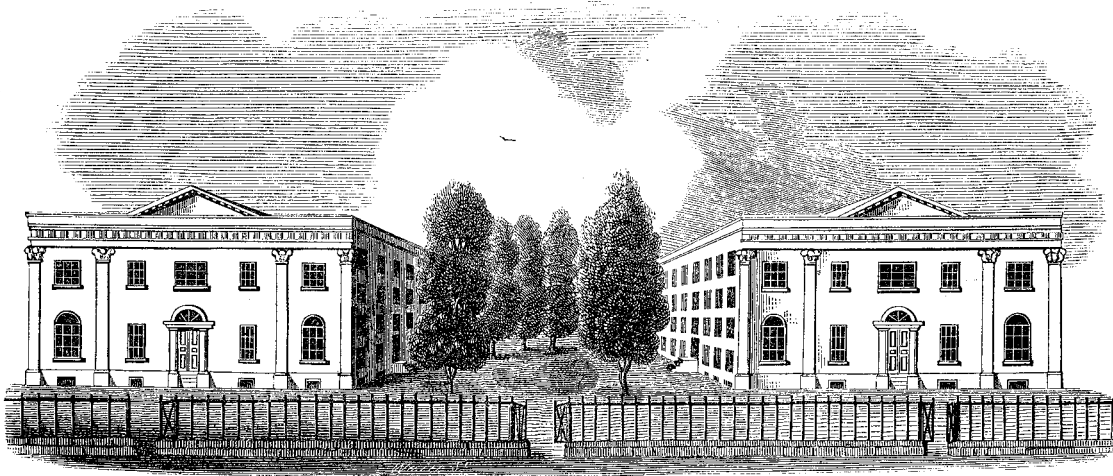
First-year students are encouraged to sample the *Rambler* and the *Spectator* for a knowledge of “life,” but they should also tackle “Locke on Human Understanding. Hutcheson’s *Metaphysics*. Varenus’s *Geography*,” among others. Second-year students were encouraged to plunge into Vossius, Newton (and several interpreters of his work), Dryden, and Descartes’s pupil, Rohault. By the third year, students should be spending their leisure time reading the likes of Puffendorf, Harrington, Scaliger, Bacon, Hooker, and John Ray, among many others. Whatever one may think of Provost Smith’s conception of leisure, it is difficult not to be impressed with the bibliographical range of his readings for “private hours.” His recommended books were anything but light reading. Rather, they reflected a model of self-improvement steeped in the traditions of clerical erudition. Franklin would have found Smith’s choices superfluous, but for Smith they were the stuff of culture if not of life itself.

Smith came as close as anyone to being an intellectual—a man of letters—in colonial Philadelphia. Of the early leaders of the College, he was exemplary in his attention to the Library. During a trip to England with John Jay to raise money for Penn and for Columbia (King’s College), he made a point of buying books for the College. Although we do not know what he bought, he was alert to the needs of the collection and to the opportunities presented by a stay in England.

While the Trustees of the College—Richard Peters in particular—and the citizens of Philadelphia made welcome donations to the Library, the biggest donor to the Library was not a local resident at all. Indeed, he was not even British. He was the King of France, Louis XVI, America’s first Continental ally. In 1784, the College of Philadelphia received a gift of thirty-six titles in one hundred volumes from the King. A similar gift was made to the College of William and Mary. The volumes were mostly from the *Imprimerie Royale* and were encased in the royal binding. But why Penn? Why would the King of France take notice of a small American college in Philadelphia?

According to C. Seymour Thompson, who has provided an account of the event from archival sources, it is likely that the donation was the idea of the Marquis de Chastellux and the Marquis de Barbé-Marbois, the French consul-general in America.<sup>5</sup> Chastellux had served with Rocheambeau’s army in America, returning to France in 1783. Both men had been elected to the American Philosophical Society, and both had been awarded honorary degrees (LL.D.) by Penn. It was probably Chastellux

<sup>5</sup> “The Gift of Louis XVI,” *Library Chronicle*, vol. 2 (1934), pp. 37-48 and 60-67.



## UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

who suggested the idea to the Comte de Vergennes, the minister responsible for foreign affairs, who in turn arranged for the gift to be made in the name of the King. What would better exemplify France's commitment to enlightenment and learning in the New World than a donation of books to two prominent institutions?

What, in fact, did Louis have crated and shipped to Philadelphia? Although the gift included several examples of Bourbon hagiography, it was notable for its emphasis on eighteenth-century science. It included a large run of Buffon's *Histoire naturelle*, as well as works by Lamarck, Dortous de Mairan, and Réaumur. In addition, the gift contained an interesting selection of scientific voyages sponsored by French academies, such as Bougainville's *Voyage autour du monde*. All in all, these were not titles likely to find their way into the young library any time soon, given the program of studies laid out by Provost Smith and continued by his successors. And it is certainly worth noting that even after the several moves of the campus and at least three different libraries, the gift remains virtually intact to this day, and many titles are still in their original bindings.

Second site of the University of Pennsylvania, on 9<sup>th</sup> Street. Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Archives.

### *The Penn Library in 1829*

IN 1802, Penn abandoned its facilities at 4<sup>th</sup> and Arch and moved west to 9<sup>th</sup> Street, between Market and Chestnut. The school



was the indirect beneficiary of the decision to move the nation's capital from Philadelphia to Washington DC. It acquired the house originally built as the President's residence, although it would eventually demolish the mansion and replace it with two more functional structures. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the University led a precarious and parsimonious existence. It was plagued by mediocre leadership and financial shortfalls year after year. Under these conditions, the Library grew hesitantly. The University's stewards were well aware of the needs of the Library: it was small, underfunded, and unorganized. In 1822 the Trustees decided to improve the situation:

The Committee on the Library made report of a plan for enlarging the Library together with a Catalogue of Books bequeathed to the University by the late Doctor McDowell, formerly Provost of the Institution: and the said report being considered, Resolved that for the present year the sum of two hundred and fifty Dollars be appropriated for the purpose of enlarging the Library, and be held subject to the order of the Library Committee. That the said Committee be allowed to purchase as occasion may offer, Books for the Library, preferring Greek and Latin authors of established reputation and in good condition; Books having relation to Natural and Moral Philosophy in their various Departments – and History – and particularly all publications connected with the past and present condition of the United States. That the said Committee shall cause the Books purchased by them to be properly labeled and placed in the Library and entered in the Catalogue.... That the Committee adopt such measures as they may think expedient to invite and encourage donations of Books to the Library.<sup>6</sup>

However, ten years later the Committee confessed that the situation had barely improved and that the Library, located in an out-of-the-way room was only used by “one or two of the Professors.” While the committee wished that more could be done to enhance the Library, funds were in short supply and other priorities beckoned. However, one by-product of the effort was the issuing of the Library's first—and only—published catalogue in 1829. It is our only sure guide to the holdings of the early Penn Library.<sup>7</sup>

The decade of the 1820s had been a difficult one in general for the University. The Library situation was symptomatic of a larger crisis of leadership that was only resolved by the appointment

<sup>6</sup> C. Seymour Thompson, “The University Library,” *Library Chronicle*, vol. 1 (1933), pp. 53-4.

<sup>7</sup> *A Catalogue of Books, Belonging to the Library of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: Judah Dobson, 1829).

of William Delancey as Provost in 1828. The publication of the catalogue might be seen in this context as a public statement that the University was now being managed properly. The Preface to the catalogue is candid about the problems facing the University and its Library, but it is also resolute in its determination to address them. The catalogue was a way of making a fresh start, of bringing order to chaos, and of assuring friends and alumni that future gifts would be handled responsibly.

The obvious had to be acknowledged up front: the Library was, in fact, small. The "present Catalogue" contains a list "of the few books at present possessed by the University." Indeed, with

Quarto.

Philosophy, Poetry, Medicine, History and Languages.

Date of the Edition.	Author	Title	Volume
1800.	A	<i>Physica Resolutions, Lib. 8. de Col. 4p. in 9</i> <i>Aristoteles Quis, aristoteles, B. G. N. O.</i> <i>Aristoteles de Physicis, de Meteoris etc. Manuskript. 1596.</i>	1.
1800.		<del>Textus. Fuchs</del>	
1800.	D	<i>De Diemerbroeck tractatus de peste.</i> Amstel. 1668.	1.
	B	<i>Thom. Barnet thesaurus medicinae practicae.</i> Lond. 1673.	1.
1800.	V	<i>Philipp. Verheyen supplementum anatomicum.</i> Bruxellis 1710. (Vol 1 <sup>st</sup> wanting.)	2.
	S	<i>Aræte's theory of the celestial motions.</i> Lond. 1710.	1.
	S	<i>The same book.</i> —	1.
	H	<i>Joseph Bame's edit. of Homer. Illiad.</i> Cantabrig. 1710. græc. & latin.	
		<i>Laurentii Bellini opuscula ad lectos.</i>	
	V	<i>P. Virgilio opera c. comment. Masrici Calicium.</i> Leovard. 1717.	2.
	C	<i>Roger. Catæsi harmonia mensurarum edit. p.</i> Robert. Smith. Cantab. 1722.	1.
	C	<i>M. T. Cicæronis opera, ex recensione Isaac. Vossii.</i> Amstelod. 1724. 4 vols	5.
	N	<i>Is. Newtoni principia mathematica philosophiæ naturalis.</i> Lond. 1726. edit. tert. gift of Mr Mr. Drwell.	1.
	P	<i>Pachhursti hebreæ et anglææ lexicon.</i> Lond. 1741.	1.
		<i>Leobardis Francus, in novella</i> pag. 1. 15.	
		<i>Méthode de planter les arbres avec précision.</i> par M. de la Motte. Paris, Imp. Roy. 1731 - 2 <sup>de</sup>	

Page from the earliest surviving Library Shelf list. Books were shelved by size.

fewer than 1,700 titles, the Library was smaller than many private collections of the day. However, the Preface also tries to put the best face on the situation, focusing not on quantity but quality. In the Library it “will be found that there are a number of valuable works, and the whole, taken together, may be considered as a good *nucleus* for an academical library.” In the eyes of its caretakers, then, the Library was a good beginning, a solid foundation on which to build.

The Preface to the catalogue ends by expressing the hope that its publication will encourage friends and others to donate books to the collection. It is clear that some were looking to the future.

The bulk of the collection consisted of standard titles dealing with religion and theology and with classical languages and literatures. Most were printed in Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: working editions of familiar texts and authors. These are books that are largely unread today, but for the nineteenth-century faculty they were the necessary tools of their trades, essential for teaching. However, the 1829 catalogue is also rich in texts by the major contributors to the European Enlightenment: Locke, Rousseau, Gibbon, Buffon, Bacon, Voltaire, Hutcheson, Montesquieu, Shaftesbury, and Diderot. There is a nice set of the grand *Encyclopédie*, the Bible of the Enlightenment. Even in theology, liberal Protestantism is well represented. Works by Grotius, Chillingworth, Erasmus, Cudworth, Limborch, and Whiston are present. The collection is even notable in its holdings of eighteenth-century science: popularizations of Newton, works by s’Gravesende, Haüy, Huygens, Lamy, Linnaeus, Priestly, Boerhaave, Lamarck, and others. Notable by its relative absence is what would have been called “modern literature,” that is, post-medieval drama, poetry, and fiction. As a genre, it was perhaps deemed not serious enough for a college library. At the same time, modern literature may have been precisely the sort of material readily available elsewhere on campus and in other city libraries.

Literature notwithstanding, the Penn Library embraced the new as well as the traditional. Small it may have been, but dead it was not.

## *Town and Gown*

PENN’S LIBRARY grew slowly for a variety of reasons that, in retrospect, make its story singular in the annals of American higher education.

In the first place, Penn was a secular institution from the beginning. No sect or denomination stood behind it and supported it. Penn had no ready body of believers to rally for contributions of money and material. Instead, it had to rely on the good will and generosity of the citizens of Philadelphia. Moreover, it had no school of theology or divinity: Penn did not and never has produced ministers. Even today, one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Penn campus is the absence of a chapel. In the nineteenth century, the clergy were the dominant body of “intellectuals,” that is, of men who needed books—lots of them—to fulfill the demands of their profession. Moreover, the typical curriculum of the American college in the first half of the nineteenth century made few demands on libraries. Oriented to classical antiquity and rhetoric, curricula required a few standard texts and little else. Students were trained to memorize and recite, not to do research. They were prepared for the world, not the academy, the lab, or the pulpit.

However, there was another reason for the relative dearth of books in the Penn Library through the mid-nineteenth century: the College may in fact have been designed that way from the beginning. In his *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania*, Benjamin Franklin observed that if the college he envisioned was located in the country, it “should be furnished with a Library.” However, “if in the Town, the Town Libraries may serve.”<sup>8</sup> For Franklin, practical man that he was, location was everything, at least as far as the library went. It was thus Franklin’s intent that if the college were actually to be in Philadelphia rather than in some bucolic setting outside the city it should not have much of a library. It was possible for Franklin to argue this since Philadelphia was fast becoming a bookish town. In a lengthy footnote, Franklin explained how this would work in Philadelphia:

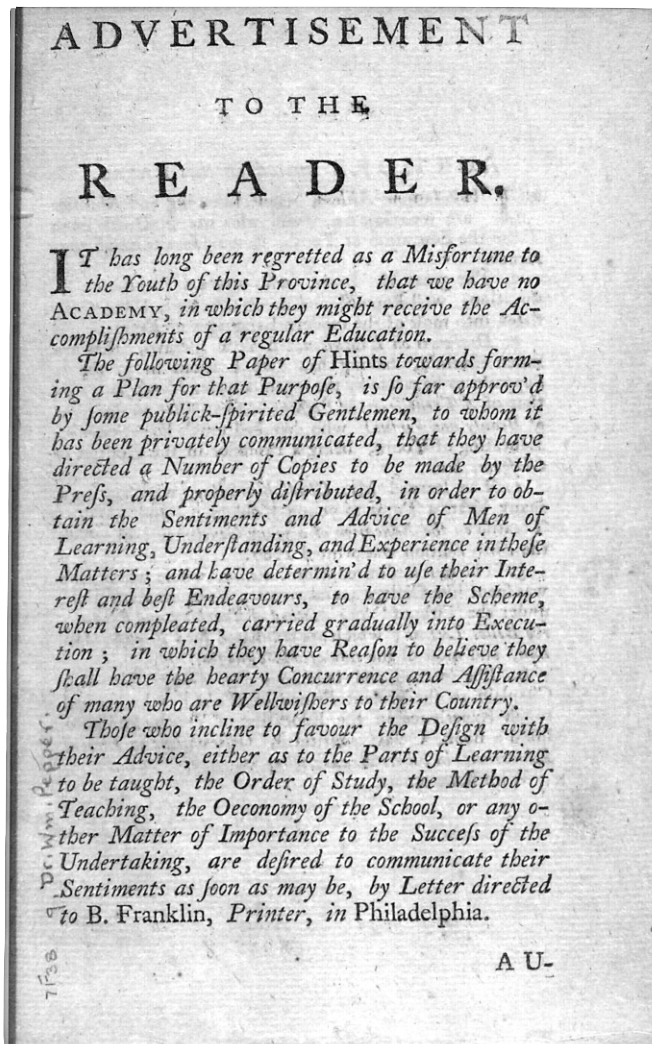
Besides the *English* Library begun and carried on by Subscription in *Philadelphia*, we may expect the Benefit of another much more valuable in the Learned Languages, which has been many Years collecting with the greatest Care, by a Gentleman distinguish’d by his universal Knowledge, no less than for his Judgment in Books.... A handsome Building above 60 Feet in front, is now erected in this City, at the private Expense of that Gentleman, for the Reception of this Library, where it is to be deposited, and remain for publick Use, with a valuable yearly Income duly to enlarge

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Franklin, *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* (Philadelphia, 1749), p. 8.

it; and I have his Permission to mention it as an Encouragement to the propos'd Academy; to which this noble Benefaction will doubtless be of the greatest Advantage, as not only the Students, but even the Masters themselves, may very much improve by it."<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., pp. 8-9.

What Franklin refers to here is both his own Library Company, nearly twenty years old at the time of this pamphlet, and the library of James Logan, the wealthy and cultivated secretary to William Penn who had accumulated over 3,000 volumes. It was Logan's intent to make his library Philadelphia's library, a gesture of public-mindedness typical of Franklin and his friends.



From Franklin's *Proposals Relating to the Education of Youth in Pensilvania* (1749).

Although Logan's collection was folded into the holdings of the Library Company in 1792, Franklin had good reason to expect that a college located in the city would be able to rely on local libraries for access to books. In addition to the Loganian Library and the Library Company, there were many other private and subscription libraries in and around Philadelphia in the eighteenth century. Indeed, Philadelphia was fast becoming a city of libraries: small, dispersed collections addressing themselves to different subjects and fields and catering to increasingly diverse constituencies. Over time, the city would become a Mecca for scholars and bibliophiles with interests and passions in the past and its legacies. Today, the Philadelphia area is dotted with dozens of independent and school libraries that can match in quality the bibliographic concentrations in Boston, New York, and Washington, DC.<sup>10</sup>

So while curriculum and penury may have played roles in limiting the size and scope of the early Library, context and practicality were defining elements from the beginning.

Behind Franklin's vision of an urban college enjoying the libraries of the city as its own lies a complementary vision of the relationship between town and gown. At the end of the *Proposals*, Franklin described "the great *Aim* and *End* of all Learning:"

The Idea of what is *true Merit*, should also be often presented to Youth, explain'd and impress'd on their Minds, as consisting in an *Inclination* join'd with an *Ability* to serve Mankind, one's Country, Friends and Family; which *Ability* is (with the Blessing of God) to be acquir'd or greatly increas'd by *true Learning*; and should indeed be the great *Aim* and *End* of all Learning.<sup>11</sup>

Franklin's college, in other words, would instill in its students an abiding sense of civic virtue and responsibility. The purpose of education was to mold students into willing and able citizens, prepared to contribute to the larger good. College was thus not a respite from but an introduction to society. The *raison d'être* of the gown is found in the town.<sup>12</sup> And, in Franklin's vision, it is the library—or rather the libraries—that provided the bridges between the two. They made tangible "the great *Aim* and *End* of all Learning."

<sup>10</sup> See the exhibition catalogue compiled by the Philadelphia Area Special Collections Libraries, *Legacies of Genius* (Philadelphia: PACSCL, 1988) for selected highlights of area collections.

<sup>11</sup> Franklin, *Proposals*, p. 30.

<sup>12</sup> In his *Idea of the English School* (Philadelphia: Franklin and Hall, 1751), Franklin proposed a curriculum for the new Academy of Philadelphia that could be divorced from learning classical languages. He concluded his brief proposal by emphasizing its practical benefits: "Thus instructed, Youth will come out of this School fitted for learning any Business, Calling or Profession, except such wherein Languages are required; and tho' unacquainted with any antient or foreign Tongue, they will be Masters of their own, which is of more immediate and general Use..." (p. 8.) For Franklin, "use" meant not only getting on in the world but also contributing to the greater good ("general Use").

## *The Second Creation*

IN THE SECOND HALF of the nineteenth century, two trends coalesced to produce the Penn Library of today. The post-Civil War industrial boom generated wealth for Philadelphia and for its university. Coal, steel, the railroads, and apparel manufacturing turned a sleepy inland port city into a hub of production and capital. The Philadelphia that emerged in the second half of the nineteenth century was a gritty, urban workshop far removed from William Penn's original plan for the city. The small eighteenth-century town became a sprawling urban metropolis of immigrant artisans, workers, shopkeepers, and merchants.

At the same time, American higher education was undergoing a profound transformation.<sup>13</sup> The Oxbridge model of undergraduate education was being challenged by a continental rival: the German system of post-graduate training for selected disciplines. A culture of gentleman amateurs was confronted by a new, alien culture of experts and specialists. The German seminar emphasized research and original work and was deliberately oriented to the training—rather than the teaching—of students. With the development of the research university came the immediate proliferation of books and journals, serious, “academic” publications that were new to the American scene. And research and discovery required, in turn, massive new investments in the intellectual infrastructure of American universities: in libraries, laboratories, and museums.

By the beginning of the last quarter of the century colleges and universities were also expanding the size of enrollments in all categories. The student populations of many institutions more than doubled in size between 1870 and the beginning of the twentieth century—Penn among them. Larger student bodies were accompanied by larger faculties, and everything required new and unprecedented levels of funding. The stable world of the nineteenth-century college slowly yielded to a climate of restless change and expansion. The profile of the contemporary research university was apparent before the turn of the twentieth century.

The architect of Penn's metamorphosis into a large research institution was Charles Janeway Stillé. It was Stillé who had the imagination to see that West Philadelphia not Center City offered Penn the space to grow and develop. And it was Stillé who understood the larger winds of change and sought to introduce them to Penn. But Stillé also learned that it was the Trustees, not the Provost, who wielded power. The Trustees could endorse

<sup>13</sup> These changes have been well documented in a number of sources, including Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of American Higher Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) and Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History* (New York: St. Martins, 1994).

the third move of Penn, but changing its essential structure and governance was anathema. Stillé had no choice but to resign.

If Stillé was the architect of Penn's metamorphosis, Dr. George William Pepper was its engineer and contractor. A renowned physician, Pepper was Provost of the University from 1881 to 1894. He had those things essential for success with the Trustees: wealth, status, and deep Penn traditions in the family. Pepper was able to use his connections and influence to produce the changes that Stillé envisioned but could not implement. Pepper described his achievements in terms of rousing the slumbering Trustees: "After the days of Benjamin Franklin the University went to sleep. It slept in peace till I came one hundred years after. When I came it woke up and there was trouble—and there has been trouble ever since."<sup>14</sup> Pepper brought new money, new talent, new programs, and new buildings to Penn. He incorporated graduate education into the mission of the institution and greatly expanded the college. And he finally gave Penn the one thing it had lacked from the beginning: a genuine library.

When the University moved to West Philadelphia, the Library was still small enough to fit into one room in the newly completed College Hall. But it was an increasingly tight and uncomfortable fit. By 1886, Pepper was beginning to take stock of the Library and its ability to meet the needs of the changing institution. He had evidently asked the Secretary of the University, the Rev. Jesse Young Burk, to supply him with the facts and figures. Burk estimated that the General Library (i.e. in College Hall) contained some 28,000 books. In addition, there were collections for the Medical, Law, and Business Schools that brought the grand total to 37,800.<sup>15</sup> Burk also reported that the "Librarian is paid \$1,000 per annum," and that about \$1,500 is spent annually on books and serial publications. What Burk did not allude to was a growing arrearage of gifts that began flowing into the University after the Civil War, as well as the proliferation of new endowments, such as that from J. B. Lippincott, which permitted the Library to begin acquiring books as it had not in the past.<sup>16</sup>

The consequences of this situation were soon made apparent to Pepper. Shortly before he resigned in frustration, Penn's first professional Librarian, James G. Barnwell, wrote the Trustees' Committee on the Library, describing "the confusion of the library, the non-existence of a catalogue, the lack of orderly arrangement, the accumulation of many years' dust on the books, the division of the library into fragments scattered throughout the building [i.e. College Hall], the unaccountable absence of

<sup>14</sup> As cited in Martin Meyerson and Dilys Pegler Winegrad, *Gladly Learn and Gladly Teach: Franklin and His Heirs at the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1976* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1978), p. 106.

<sup>15</sup> See Charles W. David, "The University Library in 1886," in *Library Chronicle*, vol. 18 (1951-2), pp. 72-4.

<sup>16</sup> Thompson, "The University Library," p. 55.





The first Penn Library building. Designed by Frank Furness, it opened in 1891.

many books known to belong to the collection,” and so forth.<sup>17</sup> The Committee in turn duly reported the dire situation, and Pepper decided that it was time to act. He announced that “the most urgent need at present is that of a Library building. The space available for library purposes in the College building is far outgrown. The accumulation of valuable books, pamphlets, and journals progresses rapidly.... A rich and well-arranged library is as necessary to the growth and activity of a university as is an active circulation to the health of the body. The university life centres in it; every teacher and every student draw from it facts, knowledge, and inspiration.”<sup>18</sup> In 1887 he hired the city’s most venerable architect, Frank Furness, to design the building.

If Pepper’s vision of Penn as a research institution generating new knowledge was to succeed, a central library was critical. In the new age of the higher learning, Penn had not only outgrown the library spaces in College Hall, it had also outgrown the resources of city libraries. The arrival of the research institution and with it the culture of experts and professionals severed the link that Franklin had imagined would bind the school to the city. Like its colleague institutions across the country, Penn increasingly became a world unto itself, while its library strove to acquire the universe of knowledge necessary for this new world. At the dedication of Penn’s first free-standing library building in 1891, the noted journalist Talcott Williams made the point precisely: “When this Library has been enlarged to the utmost bounds of our anticipation it will still have its limits to the specialist.... Even

<sup>17</sup> As cited in George Thomas, “Frank Furness: The Poetry of the Present,” in *The University of Pennsylvania Library*, ed. Edward R. Bosley (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), p. 12.

<sup>18</sup> As quoted in Thompson, “The University Library,” pp. 55-6.

at the British Museum I was told and discovered that no man is long at work without wanting some book with which it is unprovided.” Thus, he argued, it is important that all books be preserved since we cannot know what “some solitary reader a century hence” will need.<sup>19</sup>

But Franklin’s vision of a town-gown symbiosis had not been completely scuttled. To the contrary, it was reaffirmed, with Penn now serving as host to the community. At the same dedication ceremony, the Trustee in charge of planning the new building, Horace Howard Furness, brother of the project architect, noted that according to the terms by which the University acquired the land for the library, Penn had agreed with the city to make the library “a Free Library of Reference open to the entire community.”<sup>20</sup> As if to trump Furness, Provost Pepper reported to the audience that not only would the library be open to all but “its books shall be loaned without charge to all responsible readers.”<sup>21</sup> While the Library has long since abandoned Pepper’s generous idealism, it still conforms to the letter of the original agreement with the city of Philadelphia. Franklin would have been pleased. The modern Penn Library was Pepper’s final and crowning achievement as Provost.

The immediate history of the building testifies to the truth of the adage: if you build it they will come—“they” in this case meaning the books. With a library and library staff, Penn could finally begin to build collections. It did so with focus, energy, and determination.

## *The Maturing of a Research Library*

IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE to do more than suggest something of the dynamic of the growth of Library collections since the tenure of Provost Pepper. The essays that follow this historical introduction describe in detail selected highlights from the collections that came to Penn following the construction of the Furness building and the creation of a research library at Penn. The present narrative will look instead at some of the interstices.

That there were many potential gifts of books for the Library among friends, faculty, and alumni was apparent even before the construction of the Furness building. As part of his strategy to persuade the Trustees to erect a proper library building, the unfortunate Mr. Barnwell issued a public request for donations of books to Penn. He was, of course, hoping that the results would

<sup>19</sup> *Proceedings at the Opening of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania. 7th February 1891* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1891), p. 21.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 16.

dramatically force the issue of space. In response to Barnwell's appeal, more than 50,000 volumes were donated to the University by friends and alumni.<sup>22</sup> Barnwell had made his point. But he inadvertently made another point as well: if the University really wanted to build its collections, there was a large pool at hand from which to select.

One major reservoir for Penn as for other American universities was faculty collections. German professors with their huge seminar libraries were particularly appealing to hungry institutions in need of "instant" collections in particular fields. Thus, coincident with the building of the library, the University acquired the collection of Ernst Ludwig von Leutsch, who taught Classics at the University of Göttingen. It consisted of some 20,000 volumes and was a rich source of nineteenth-century academic monographs, journals, and series.<sup>23</sup> In 1896, Penn bought the library of Professor Reinhold Bechstein, a leading Germanic philologist and folklorist of the day who had taught at the University of Rostock, for \$7,000. Said to be "one of the most complete and outstanding libraries in Germanic philology and its related fields," the collection spanned the breadth and depth of Germanistics, from Gothic to the late nineteenth century, including generous runs of journals and a Handapparat comprised of some 3,000 pamphlets, monographs, and theses. The Continent remained fertile territory. After World War II, the eminent Dutch bibliographer of Jonathan Swift, Dr. H. Teerink, sought to place his collection out of harm's way. Professor Arthur Scouten of the English Department steered Teerink and his collection of some 1,800 volumes by Swift to the Library, which assembled the resources to make the acquisition. Thus, Penn acquired the collection of record for a major British poet and satirist.<sup>24</sup>

Penn faculty also proved to be a valuable source of material for the library. Given the relative absence of a functional library at Penn, it is no surprise that faculty built their own collections—for study and for pleasure. Books were abundantly available in Europe, and, for independently wealthy scholars, they were inexpensive as well. Francis Campbell Macaulay, for example, took advantage of his many years abroad to build an extraordinary collection focusing on early editions of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Tasso, which he bequeathed to Penn in 1896. Faculty in Spanish made the Library a genuine center for research on literature and culture in the Spanish "Golden Age." To write his biography of the playwright Lope de Vega, Hugo Rennert amassed a large and significant collection on his subject, which was

<sup>22</sup> Thomas, "Frank Furness," p. 12.

<sup>23</sup> *A Faculty Survey of the University of Pennsylvania Libraries* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), pp. 97ff.

<sup>24</sup> Arthur H. Scouten, "Materials for the Study of Swift at the University of Pennsylvania," *Library Chronicle*, vol. 23 (1957), pp. 47-52. On Teerink and his politics, see the suggestive study by Daniel Traister, "The History of the Herman Teerink Collection of the Works of Jonathan Swift at the University of Pennsylvania Library," *Swift Studies*, vol. 10 (1995), pp. 80-88.

acquired by the University in 1927.<sup>25</sup> Rennert was able to build a collection of works by Lope, his fellow playwrights Calderon de la Barca and Moreto, and a large repertoire of minor dramatists, poets, and novelists, including Cervantes and Montemayor that had no peer outside of Spain. Rennert's legacy was nicely complemented by the library of his colleague, J. P. Wickersham, which came to the University in 1939, and by the collection of Joseph Gillet, acquired in 1958. Both Wickersham and Gillet were students of Spanish literature in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and their libraries added much in the way of early philology, criticism, and regional literature of the peninsula.<sup>26</sup>

Penn's Medical School is the oldest in the country, and its distinguished faculty, beginning with John Morgan and Benjamin Rush in the eighteenth century, have done much to enrich the Library's collections over the years. Doctors have tended to be ardent book collectors, and it is no coincidence that Provost William Pepper was himself a doctor, a member of the Medical School faculty, and a book collector who made frequent donations to the Library. But the Library's single biggest benefactor in terms of collections is probably Charles Walts Burr, also on the faculty of the Medical School. It is not clear how many titles Burr donated to the Library, but the number could well approach 25,000. In 1932 alone he contributed 19,000 volumes to the collections.<sup>27</sup> Burr's major interest as a collector was Aristotle and the Aristotelian tradition in the West. Thanks to him, the Penn Library has what must be the largest collection in the country on Aristotle and his legacy.<sup>28</sup> E. B. Krumbhaar was another member of the Medical School faculty whose bibliophilic interests brought an important collection to the Library: a virtually complete collection of imprints by the Dutch firm of Elzevier. Krumbhaar located himself, as doctor and collector, in a venerable Penn tradition. Among the influences on him, he noted in particular Sir William Osler and William Pepper.<sup>29</sup> Osler was a contemporary of Pepper and his colleague in the Medical School in the late 1880s. Both were bibliophiles. With Pepper, Krumbhaar "enjoyed the excitement of book-auctions." From Osler, he received direct illumination: "I took to heart a chance remark by Dr. William Osler, in one of his delightful essays, on the pleasure of carrying about a little Elzevier in his pocket...." Elzeviers were uniformly small-format volumes from the seventeenth century issued exactly for people like Osler who valued portability in their books. The librarian needs to

<sup>25</sup> For Macaulay and Rennert, see J. P. Wickersham Crawford, "The Spanish and Italian Collections," *Library Chronicle*, vol. 1 (1933), pp. 15-21.

<sup>26</sup> On Gillet's collection, see *Library Chronicle*, vol. 25 (1959), pp. 90-92.

<sup>27</sup> *Library Chronicle*, vol. 1 (1933), p. 11 and vol. 12 (1944), pp. 3-4.

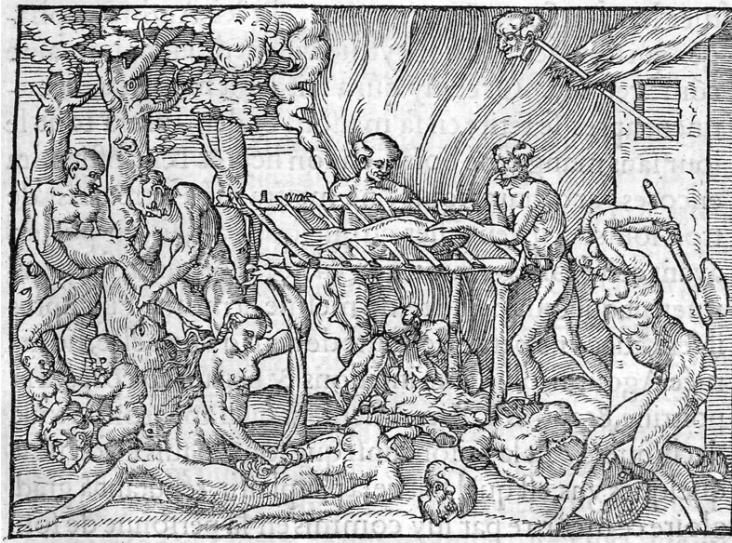
<sup>28</sup> See Lyman Riley, *Aristotle Texts and Commentaries to 1700 in the University of Pennsylvania Library* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1961).

<sup>29</sup> E.B. Krumbhaar, "On Collecting Elzeviers," *Library Chronicle*, vol. 23 (1957), pp. 1 ff.

add, however, that once a part of the Library's collections, portability is (we hope) no longer the chief attraction of an Elzevier imprint.

There are, of course, numerous other examples of faculty collections that have come to the Library since the opening of the original library building at the end of the last century. What they all emphasize, however, is the one overarching constant in the development of the Library's collections that give them their personality and distinctiveness: almost without exception, significant acquisitions have come as the direct result of faculty interests and initiatives. The essays that follow testify abundantly to the truth of that characterization. Whether it is the Ancient Near East, South Asia, British and American Literature, or Renaissance Studies, the role of the faculty in identifying collection needs and opportunities has been decisive. This accounts, in turn, for certain broad characterizations that can be made about the collections: their concentration on classical texts and traditions in different civilizations, their preoccupation with language and philology, their retrospective (as opposed to contemporary) orientation, and their utterly workman-like character. The Penn Library is notable for the extent to which it largely ignores most of the well-trodden paths of book collecting: high spots, fine printing, the illustrated book, children's literature, little magazines, illuminated manuscripts, and modern firsts, among the more obvious. The collections announce solemnly that books are meant to be read, studied, and commented on, not admired, worshipped, or even necessarily enjoyed. Like the industrial and manufacturing town that Philadelphia became, the collections eschew the traditions of gentility and amateur collecting. If, as George Thomas has argued on many occasions, the Furness library building is analogous to a machine made of iron and brick, it was indeed the perfect shell for the collections it sheltered.

While the faculty deserve pride of place in the maturing of the Library's collections, they had many fellow travelers. Three of the largest and most important gifts to the Library came from a trio of men who cultivated very different fields but who knew, liked, and admired each other. They flourished in the later nineteenth century, along with the city itself. They were members of the elite, men who were known around town; they participated in the social and civic life of Philadelphia; they collected books prodigiously; and they were intellectuals. Their collections were not accumulations of bibliophilic artifacts but rather essential tools of their several trades. Horace Howard Furness, whose father was



From André Thevet's *Les singularitez de la France antarctique* (Paris: Heirs of Maurice de la Porte, 1558), p. 77r. Gift of Robert Dechert.

a Unitarian minister and friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson, was a lawyer who exchanged a career at the bar for one with the Bard and spent over twenty years compiling his variorum edition of Shakespeare. Henry Charles Lea was heir to the largest and most important publishing house in Philadelphia, Carey and Lea, a firm he directed for the better part of his life. But his real passion was history, and he became a magisterial presence among historians and scholars with a remarkable series of books on Church governance and the Inquisition in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Edgar Fahs Smith was of comparatively humble origins but rose through the academic ranks to become Provost of the University in the early twentieth century. Smith was a chemist with a broad and intense commitment to the origins and history of his discipline. As Provost, Smith had easy access to Furness, Lea, and the clubs of the city. Each of these men acquired books voraciously, and their important collections came to Penn after their decease. The essays that follow will explore their careers and collections in detail.

Trustees, such as Robert Dechert, were also proud to place their collections with the Library. A 1916 graduate of Penn, Dechert became a prominent Philadelphia lawyer with strong Republican connections in Washington, DC<sup>30</sup> His wife, Helen Godey Wilson, descended on her mother's side from the founder of *Godey's Lady's Book* in the early nineteenth century. However, the marriage brought to Dechert more than a connection to one of Philadelphia's earliest and most important serial publications.

<sup>30</sup> On Dechert, see the entry on him by John Pollack in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 187: *American Book Collectors and Bibliographers*, second series. Ed. Joseph Rosenblum (Detroit: Gale Research, 1997), pp. 56-60.

Helen Godey Wilson had inherited a collection of rare books having to do with the French in the New World and with the American West. Known generically as “Americana” in the book trade, these volumes were highly sought-after by collectors looking to possess some of the earliest literature on North America and its European colonization. Inspired by the collection, Dechert began adding to it himself in earnest. By the time he began placing his collection with the Library in 1962, it came to more than seven hundred titles. Although small, it was choice, and the numerous classics of the genre it brought to Penn were not the sorts of books that faculty could have afforded to acquire.

In 1933, “a group of twenty-four men met at the Lenape Club, by invitation of the Provost, and formed an organization to be known as ‘Friends of the University of Pennsylvania Library.’”<sup>31</sup> Thus Penn created its Library support group. Just as Provost William Pepper had launched the modern Penn Library, Provost Josiah Penniman gathered its friends. Despite the inauspicious timing of its founding—the depths of the Depression—the Friends of the Library group has contributed much to the Penn Library over the years. Not only have they been a constant source of financial support to the Library, but they have actively worked to solicit gifts of materials. They have presented the Library with material ranging from manuscripts of Lope de Vega, Benjamin Franklin, and Walt Whitman to early printed editions of Boccaccio and previously unrecorded copies of Swift publications. The roster of Friends who have enriched the collections includes A. S. W. Rosenbach, Boies Penrose, Lessing Rosenwald, James T. Farrell, Seymour Adelman, and Robert M. Bird, among others.

Companies and institutions have also played a notable role in the building of the collections. In 1920, for example, the Curtis Publishing Company, donated its extensive collection of Franklinitiana to the Library. Curtis was the publisher of the *Saturday Evening Post*, the direct descendant of Franklin’s *Pennsylvania Gazette*, and their collection is noteworthy for containing a complete set of Indian treaties printed by Franklin.<sup>32</sup> The Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, founded in 1785, is the oldest such group in America. Its original membership included luminaries such as Benjamin Rush, James Wilson, Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, John Cadwalader, and George Clymer.<sup>33</sup> In 1888, with membership in decline and its future uncertain, the PSPA transferred its library of 500 volumes and its archives to the University. Under the auspices of the Penn School of Veterinary Medicine, the PSPA

<sup>31</sup> *Library Chronicle*, vol. 1 (1933), pp. 1–3.

<sup>32</sup> *Faculty Survey*, pp. 188–89.

<sup>33</sup> On the PSPA see Simon Baatz, “Venerate the Plough:” *A History of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, 1785–1985* (Philadelphia: PSPA, 1985).

revived and its library grew. Today it numbers just under 2,000 volumes and focuses on the history of agriculture and agricultural improvement.

A final example comes from the field of religion. In 1974, the Yarnall Library of Theology moved six blocks west to the Penn Library. Numbering some 20,000 volumes, the Yarnall Library had served the Philadelphia Divinity School until its closing in 1973.<sup>34</sup> With its focus on Anglo-Catholicism, though, the historic roots of the collection are less with the Divinity School than with the Episcopal Church of St. Clement's and one of its turn-of-the-century benefactors, Ellis H. Yarnall. A Quaker by birth and a lawyer by training, Yarnall embraced the Oxford Movement in the later nineteenth century and converted to High Church Anglicanism. His parish of choice, St. Clement's, had already established itself as a bastion of High Church theology and liturgy when Yarnall decided to incorporate into his will a legacy that would allow it to build a library and turn itself into a center for Anglo-Catholicism. For a variety of reasons, however, the center could not be realized at the Church and so the benefaction went to support a collection at the Divinity School. With the closing of the School, Penn finally received its core collection in religion—more than two hundred years after its founding. There is probably some small irony in the fact that the school whose athletic tag is “The Quakers,” and whose tutelary educational genius, Provost William Smith, was a Presbyterian, should have as its major collection in religion one that focused on Anglo-Catholicism.

### *Towards the Present*

THE LIBRARY building that Frank Furness designed was soon filled to capacity and sooner still reviled by a campus community that saw in its creativity and individuality only eccentricity and dysfunctionality. As the historian Edward Potts Cheyney noted (with considerable restraint, no doubt) about the building: “It was at the time of its erection considered very fine; it was indeed the triumphant product of a popular architect and an admired example of his school. According to later standards, it is in doubtful taste and of questionable adaptation to its uses.”<sup>35</sup> Indeed, an “official” publication issued to celebrate the University on its 200<sup>th</sup> anniversary, was openly (and surprisingly) sarcastic about the building: “The main part of the building was

<sup>34</sup> On the Yarnall Library see Joyce L. White, “Biographical and Historical Background of the Yarnall Library of Theology,” in *Library Chronicle*, vol. 43 (1979), pp. 134-58.

<sup>35</sup> Edward Potts Cheyney, *History of the University of Pennsylvania, 1740-1940* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), p. 324.



erected in 1890, from plans drawn after consultation with the most eminent librarians of the day. It was a day when grotesque ornamentation was considered art, and the chief requirement for interior plans for a library was to give readers no easier access to books than was necessary.”<sup>36</sup> Such was the verdict in 1940. However, the Penn community would have to wait until 1962 to get a new library building more congenial to the tastes and needs of the time.

The post-war economic boom allowed the Penn Library to do something heretofore uncharacteristic of it: participate aggressively in the international trade for books and manuscripts. The war—like so many before it in Europe—dislodged books, uprooted libraries, and forced many institutions, businesses, and collectors to sell their material simply to survive in perilous times. For American research libraries, on the other hand, these would be golden years. The flow of books and manuscripts across the Atlantic increased apace.

Penn was especially fortunate in having on its Library staff Dr. Rudolf Hirsch, an immigrant from Munich who came to America in 1933. The son of a distinguished German antiquarian bookseller, Hirsch was a scholar as well as a librarian, with advanced degrees from Chicago and from Penn. He brought to the Library both erudition and a keen knowledge of the marketplace. Hirsch was primarily interested in early printed books, and some of the most impressive acquisitions he made for the Library were in the late medieval and early modern periods. Hundreds of codex manuscripts came to the library during his tenure in the Library from the mid-1940s to 1974, including the large and extraordinarily valuable archive of the business records of the Gondi and the Medici families, ca. 1500-1700. He also quadrupled the size of the Library’s holdings of incunabula.

Even a partial list of Hirsch’s harvests is impressive. In 1948, he purchased for the Library a collection of 1,600 volumes in Frisian, a Teutonic language close to Saxon. In the same year he was able to locate and acquire a significant clutch of Whitman letters and manuscripts. Later he found a large harvest of manuscript catalogues in the library of the Prince of Liechtenstein. He played an important role in bringing the Saulys Collection on Lithuanian history to Penn in 1952. It remains one of the largest concentrations of Lithuanian imprints outside of Lithuania. On his annual book buying tour in Europe that same year he learned of the availability of the library of the great German medievalist, Gustav Ehrismann, and brought back over 150 items from the nineteenth

<sup>36</sup> *The University of Pennsylvania Today*, ed. Cornell M. Dowlin (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940), p. 87.

and twentieth centuries, some of which appeared at the time to be unique to North America. Two years later he found a collection of over 16,000 *Programmschriften* at a Swiss antiquariat. These documents were annual reports issued by *gymnasien* in German-speaking Central Europe before World War I, and they usually included a scholarly essay of some significance by the director or a member of the faculty. In 1955, he was able to acquire at auction some 800 comedias and seltas from the Spanish Golden Age. Throughout the 1950s and '60s, Hirsch actively sought out collections of broadsides relating to the government and policy on the Continent between 1500 and 1800. Today, the Library holds over 10,000 broadsides in that general area.<sup>37</sup>

Hirsch built collections for the Library in the same workmanlike way in which the faculty built their own libraries. He was not attracted to high spots and “treasures.” Thus, the manuscripts that Hirsch typically acquired were usually humble examples of significant texts, remarkable for their general lack of illuminations and miniatures. The same could be said for the early printed books that came into the Library during his tenure. Hirsch saw himself as participating in a shared labor of collection building with the faculty. His concerns were their concerns: research and texts. He brought a discipline, focus, and overall collection integrity uncommon in large research libraries. The Penn Library was not—and would not become—an “omnium gatherum” repository.

The legacy of Hirsch, of Penn Provosts and faculty, of the founders of the institution, and of its serious and dedicated friends persists today. In a world that celebrates size and magnitude, the Penn Library holds fast to Franklin’s prudence and a resilient Quaker dedication to the lasting over the ephemeral. The Quaker ideal of outer plainness and inner richness has served to characterize a Library quietly dedicated to supporting research and learning. Benjamin Franklin both wrote and made books. He also collected them and created libraries that would lend them. He was nothing if not a “man of the book.” And that very bookishness, that commitment to texts and their value remains the living legacy of Franklin in the Penn Library.

<sup>37</sup> During the 1940s, '50s, and '60s, the *Library Chronicle*, which Hirsch edited for part of that time, regularly reported on major acquisitions.