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Life and times of John H. Hickcox: Government publications history revisited

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Abstract - Until the late nineteenth century, the printing and distribution of federal government documents was not well regulated. In 1885, John H. Hickcox, Sr. began privately publishing United States Government Publications; A Monthly Catalogue, also known as Hickcox’s Monthly Catalogue, which alerted the public to the availability of recent publications, a function that the government was not then performing. Hickcox’s catalog immediately preceded establishment of the government-published Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications, of which he subsequently was appointed the first compiler. This paper presents information on Hickcox from primary materials and other secondary sources in order to create an awareness of Hickcox and his Catalogue, which have previously been ignored by historians of government information. In addition, some earlier accounts of Hickcox’s activities are clarified and corrected.

INTRODUCTION

John Howard Hickcox, Sr. is best known for his monthly catalog of government publications, aptly titled United States Government Publications; A Monthly Catalogue (1885-1894). His 10-volume catalog was the precursor to the now indispensable Monthly Catalog of United States Government Publications, which today provides the chief basis for access to United States government publications. Less well known is the fact that Hickcox, likewise, was the first compiler of the official Monthly Catalog.

* The authors would like to thank John V. Richardson, Jr. for introducing them to John H. Hickcox, Sr., suggesting this topic, and providing support and encouragement at every step of the way. John Walters quickly responded to a GOVDOC-L discussion list plea for help and set the authors off on the right foot. Going above and beyond the call of duty, John Travis searched Albany County libraries and archives for information on Hickcox. Phyllis Valentino also provided valuable assistance in combing through the Albany Academy archives and locating important background information on the Hickcox family. Thanks are also due to James Corsaro, who negated the rumor that the 1911 fire destroyed all the New York State Library records. Finally, the authors extend their appreciation to everyone who responded to their inquiries with friendliness and enthusiasm.

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Details about Hickcox’s life are obscure. This study brings together available information about Hickcox and his catalog in an attempt to increase awareness of this pioneer disseminator of government information, and the usefulness of Hickcox’s Monthly Catalogue in both past and modern times. Also, earlier representations of Hickcox’s involvement with printing reform are corrected and, in the larger sense, a void is filled in the historical documentation of the Government Printing Office. As Shiflett says, “As yet, no acceptable general history of the GPO, its precursors, or the information activities of the federal government exists” [1]. By documenting the life of John H. Hickcox, one part of this neglected history is provided.

BACKGROUND

John Howard Hickcox, Sr. was born August 10, 1832, in Albany, New York, the youngest of the six sons of Hamlet H. and Hannah (Mull) Hickcox. His father was the Secretary-Treasurer of the Albany & Susquehanna Railroad and a bookkeeper at the Canal Bank. Hickcox attended the Albany Academy, a country day school, from 1840 to 1846. He exhibited a scholarly bent even then, as reflected by his good grades at the Albany Academy [2].

Hickcox’s work history was full and varied. From 1858 to 1864 he served as the assistant librarian at the New York State Library in Albany, and he worked in the congressional library in Washington, DC, from 1874 to 1882. He worked briefly for the Superintendent of Documents as Chief Cataloger of the Monthly Catalog from 1895 to 1896 [3]. In addition, he was the Washington correspondent for the American Geographical Society from 1895 to 1897. As such, he wrote the “Washington Letters” column for the American Geographical Society Bulletin, in which is provided an overview of the geographical activities of the federal government [4]. He also conducted a secondhand book business in Washington, DC, from 1863 to 1874 and again from 1882 to 1885, known as J. H. Hickcox & Company, Booksellers & Stationers [5]. A time line may be helpful in sorting out the sequence of his employment and the degree of overlap between his positions (see Figure 1).

In addition to his United States Government Publications; a Monthly Catalogue, some of Hickcox’s other publications include: An Historical Account of American Coinage (1858), History of the Bills of Credit or Paper Money, 1709-1789 (1865), and Bibliography of the Writings of Dr. Franklin B. Hough (1886). From 1884 to 1895, he compiled the appendices to the American Catalogue, the standard American bibliographic record for this period. In 1895 he also contributed “Notes on Earlier Congresses,” a count of the documents of the first 14 congresses that are contained in the American State Papers, to the second edition of the Checklist of United States Public Documents.

Other than these facts, little is known about Hickcox’s life, and the information that does exist is fragmentary. Although he was the right age and, as an educated person, “ideal officer material,” no definite evidence was found that he served in the Civil War [6]. The only other facts that are known about Hickcox’s life are that he was a founding member of the Albany Musical Society [7], and he died of “valvular disease of the heart” on January 31, 1897, at his residence in Washington, DC [8].
HICKCOX’S MONTHLY CATALOGUE

Hickcox’s monthly catalog is most commonly referred to as United States Government Publications; A Monthly Catalogue, but some contributing members of the Online Computer Library Center national bibliographic database have cataloged his work as Hickcox’s Monthly Catalogue and United States’ Publications. Hickcox himself published the Catalogue from January 1885 through May 1891. Due to “want of support sufficient to pay its working expenses” [9], presumably too few subscribers, W. H. Lowdermilk & Company purchased the
rights to the *Catalogue* and began publishing it in June 1891. Hickcox continued to serve as editor. Later, Lowdermilk reprinted the issues dating from 1889 through 1891 [10].

It is unknown how many institutions subscribed to the *Catalogue*, but that number seems to have been insufficient to cover Hickcox’s expenses. Hickcox’s financial difficulties are indicated by the need for Lowdermilk to adopt the *Catalogue* in 1891. Hickcox had raised the annual subscription rate from $2.00 to $5.00 within two years in an effort to make ends meet, but apparently to no avail. By way of comparison, in 1891 a yearly subscription to *Library Journal*, a monthly, cost $5.00, and a yearly subscription to *The Washington Post*, a daily, cost $6.00. In addition, Charles A. Cutter, as editor of *Library Journal* in 1886, commented on the lack of interest in the *Catalogue*:

> Mr. Hickcox’s monthly catalogue of United States publications has not received from public libraries the support which it deserved. In the preface to Vol. I., 1885, just issued with an excellent index, the editor says that “repeated invitations to subscribe have not produced any considerable amount of encouragement.” Such neglect is their own loss. [11]

Perhaps some libraries, particularly city libraries or small college libraries, did not purchase Hickcox’s catalog due to small acquisitions budgets or because they had few or no government documents in their collections. However, some readers who recognized the importance of Hickcox’s work bent over backwards to compensate for the lack of public interest by doubling or, in one case, even quadrupling their subscriptions [12].

Hickcox claimed that his *Catalogue* contained:

…all the latest publications of the U.S. Government. It includes the books and pamphlets printed by the Departments and Bureaus of Departments; of Commissions and Organizations which publish special works not included in the reports transmitted to Congress, all the documents issued during the sessions of Congress, all public and private Acts, Treaties, Maps and Charts. [13]

In December, 1885, Hickcox went further to assert that he “...confidently believed that no government imprint of the past year has escaped notice” [14]. With this goal in mind, Hickcox went in person to various government departments to obtain the information he needed, at least during 1884 [15]. However, the unidentified author of the preface to the *Checklist of United States Public Documents, 1789-1909* disagreed, saying “the facts are, however, that many publications issued during the decade from 1885 to 1894 escaped the notice of Mr. Hickcox” [16].

Determining the completeness of Hickcox’s catalog relative to the total number of federal publications published during this period is not an easy task for two main reasons: (a) the authors of this paper were unable to determine the total number of publications published by the Government Printing Office annually between 1885-1894; and (b) even if such a total were available, it would not be all-inclusive, because some departments used outside publishing houses to print their publications [17]. Nevertheless, it is possible to roughly estimate the
completeness of the Catalogue, using a total provided by Hickcox himself. In the preface to the 1886 volume of his catalog, Hickcox says: “The number of separate publications issued from the Government Printing Office during the year 1886, was 8,562, including the Reports made to Congress by its Committees and by the Executive Departments, and excluding Bills and Resolutions” [18]. It is unclear where or how Hickcox obtained this figure. A count performed by the authors of the number of separate publications listed for 1886 reveals that Hickcox included 2,887 items, excluding “Public Laws,” “Private Laws,” “Public Resolutions,” and “Private Resolutions” listed by Hickcox, or 34 percent of the figure Hickcox gives for this particular year. The difficulty in determining the total number of publications issued by the federal government during this period reinforces the enormity of the publication control problem of that time [19].

Hickcox’s catalog has a dictionary-style arrangement, with entries by author for special treatises, by subject for congressional documents, and by department for titles. A special feature of the catalog is its extensive analysis of the contents of many publications, and the inclusion of series information and other annotations. More notable are his informative prefaces, which include news and Hickcox’s opinions of then current printing developments, and detailed descriptions highlighting available publications. The following is an example of one of his many announcements:

The separate contributions contained in the fifth section, or, volumes five, six, and seven of The Fisheries and Fishery Industries of the United States, are given prominence in the following pages. The contents of the previous volumes have been similarly treated. This work has greater general interest than is usually credited to Government publications. The natural history of fishes, their geographical distribution, the fishing grounds, the fishermen, the history and methods of the fisheries, have all been elaborated with so few technicalities as to make really delightful reading. [20]

Thus, Hickcox not only listed recent publications, but also provided a valuable current awareness service, and vigorously promoted the use of government documents.

How was Hickcox’s Catalogue received by the librarians of his day? In the April 1887 issue of Library Journal, editors C. A. Cutter and R. R. Bowker included a description of Hickcox’s catalog “…in the hope that those who may as yet be unacquainted with the work may avail themselves of the opportunity of subscribing.” Cutter and Bowker proceeded to say that “[l]ibrarians especially will find this list invaluable, directing them, as it does, to a line of books concerning which information is not always, and never easily, obtainable. Mr. Hickcox has opportunities for doing the work exhaustively, and that he does it well may be judged from the two years’ work now before the public” [21]. At the Conference of Librarians held in San Francisco in October 1891, W.H. Lowdermilk complained that “[s]pasmodic efforts at indexing have been made from time to time, but beyond the lists found in the American catalogue, Hickcox’s monthly catalogue for five years past, and the index to reports of committees made by Capt. T. H. McKee, and which are invaluable, nothing at all satisfactory has been produced” [22]. A Library Journal editorial in 1892 stated that his work was “…of the utmost value to every person who has occasion to handle or consult the current publications of the government”
Evidence of the Catalogue’s continued value can be inferred by the fact that within the last 15 years Carrollton Press published two new editions to enhance access to Hickcox’s catalog. In 1978, Mary Elizabeth Poole, then the Document Librarian at North Carolina State University, saw fit to add SuDoc numbers to a reprint edition of Hickcox’s work [25]. In addition, Edna A. Kanely, who was the Library Administrator in the Division of the Public Documents at the Government Printing Office until 1973, compiled a three-volume, cumulative, subject and author index to the 10-year run of the Catalogue. Unfortunately, the reprint edition of Hickcox’s catalog is now out of print [26].

At first glance, it appears that Hickcox’s Catalogue and John G. Ames’ work, Comprehensive Index to the Publications of the United States Government, 1881-1893, may have fulfilled the same function and competed directly with one another. However, it is important to remember that Ames’ index was not published until 1905, during the second session of the 58th Congress [27]. Thus, Ames’ index was a retrospective bibliography and did not fulfill the current awareness function of Hickcox’s catalog.

Even today, the value of Hickcox’s Monthly Catalogue is not generally recognized. According to OCLC records, few libraries report owning the Catalogue, and now that the Catalogue is out of print, this number will increase little, if at all. In spite of this lack of popularity, Hickcox’s catalog is mentioned in several textbooks and bibliographic guides, both older and recent sources [28]. One explanation for the current lack of popularity of Hickcox’s catalog may be the existence of Ames’ index, which may be perceived as being equivalent. LeRoy Schwarzkopf proposes another explanation in a review in American Reference Books Annual 1983. Schwarzkopf states that Hickcox’s catalog and Ames’ index each contained materials that were not included in the U.S. Congressional Serial Set but that many librarians prefer to use the CIS U.S. Serial Set Index due to the “modern indexing and cataloging procedures” that have been employed [29].

Because unique resources are listed in Hickcox’s catalog, Ames index, the Checklist of United States Public Documents, and the CIS U.S. Serial Set Index, none of these sources are all-inclusive, and not all offer the same access points, the best strategy for a comprehensive search of documents published during this period is to consult all of these sources.

PRINTING ACT OF 1895

The Printing Act of 1895 had a powerful, long-lasting impact on the printing, distribution, and bibliographic control of U.S. government documents. First of all, the Act centralized the printing of documents by putting the Public Printer in control of all printing offices. Agencies were also required to submit printing estimates each year, and agency expenditures had to remain within their given allotments. The Superintendent of Documents (SuDoc) Office was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the Government Printing Office and directed to receive, store, and distribute, as well as catalog and index government documents [30]. One catalog and two indexes were created as a result of this act: the Monthly
Catalog, Document Catalogue, and Document Index. The official Monthly Catalog began as an “in-print list” of public publications, showing where documents could be obtained and at what cost. The Document Catalogue, on the other hand, was a biennial index of public documents, while the Document Index only covered congressional documents [31]. The Act also systematized the Depository Library System and placed the responsibility for distribution of documents to these depository libraries under the control of the SuDoc Office [32].

Prior to the passage of the Printing Act of 1895, the printing and distribution of United States government documents was in a state of disarray. Documents were published in either quantities too large, requiring that additional warehouses be rented to store the overflow, or too small, making them unavailable to a large audience [33]. Frequently, documents were sent to institutions that did not want them. A primary purpose of the Printing Act of 1895 was “to remedy neglect, delay, duplication, or waste in the public printing and binding and the distribution of Government publications” [34]. In addition, there was no systematic way of announcing publications, a role that Hickcox had sought to fill. Hickcox stated that “...it frequently happens that the existence of a valued work is not generally known until the edition printed for distribution is exhausted” [35]. He criticized Section 3809 of the Revised Statutes, which stated that persons wanting to obtain copies of documents needed to notify and pay the Public Printer in advance, when at that time there was no means of announcing forthcoming publications -- other than Hickcox’s Catalogue.

GPO’S MONTHLY CATALOG

Along with Adelaide Hasse and Edith Clarke, Hickcox was one of the first employees of the newly reconstituted Office of the Superintendent of Documents [36]. In 1895, he was appointed as Chief Cataloger of the newly mandated Monthly Catalog [37]. The main difference between Hickcox’s catalog, which ceased in 1894, and the Monthly Catalog, which began the following year, was an organizational one. Hickcox’s Catalogue was arranged alphabetically, dictionary style, while the GPO’s Monthly Catalog had, from its first issue, an arrangement based on provenance. Why did Hickcox change the arrangement of entries from one catalog to the other? In the first issue of the Monthly Catalog, F. A. Crandall, the Superintendent of Documents, stated:

Criticism, and even censure, of the arrangement of the Monthly Catalogue is expected. It is probable that most librarians will say it should have followed the lines of a strictly scientific “dictionary-catalogue.” The departure from those lines has been deliberately and purposely made...The arrangement adopted for the Catalogue is that which it was thought will be most intelligible and convenient to the manufacturer, statistician, farmer, attorney, legislator, and business man...It has been assumed that in a majority of cases the searcher for information in the Monthly Catalogue will have an idea as to which bureau, or at least which Department, has in charge the particular class of information for which he is seeking, and that an arrangement by Departments and bureaus will therefore serve the convenience of the greatest number. It was not thought necessary particularly to consult the convenience of librarians in the form of the Monthly Catalogue.
Their trained skill will enable them readily to find what they desire in a list of this sort, so small in dimensions, without appreciable inconvenience. [38]

However, the editors of Library Journal, in the preface to the September 1895 issue, remarked:

In planning this monthly record, Mr. Crandall -- or Mr. Hickcox, who is his chief cataloger -- has departed from the plan of Mr. Hickcox’s old “Monthly catalogue” and adopted instead an arrangement by departments and bureaus similar to that used in 1884 for the appendix covering the U.S. Government publications in the “American catalogue.” This plan was at that time adopted as a makeshift, and Mr. Crandall presents it now in the same light, with profuse apologies. [39]

Hickcox, as the compiler of the appendices to the American Catalogue, was already familiar with the provenance style of arrangement. Because the Monthly Catalog was intended as an ephemeral publication to be indexed by the Document Catalogue, Hickcox may have seen no reason to use the dictionary scheme. Alternatively, as the number of government documents continued to mount, Hickcox may have been overwhelmed by the sheer abundance of documents, and he may have chosen the provenance arrangement as a quick, stopgap measure. Evidence of this backlog is provided by F.A. Crandall in his preface to the first issue of the Monthly Catalog, when he writes of “the arrears of work under the pressure of which this new office begins its operations” [40]. The presence of Adelaide Hasse, originator of the SuDoc classification system [41], in the same office as Hickcox, might also have had some influence on the style of arrangement. In any case, once this decision was made, for whatever reason, the editors of Library Journal thought that the provenance style was the “natural classification for government documents” [42]. Today, almost 100 years after its first issue was published, the Monthly Catalog continues to use the provenance arrangement, and so do most depository libraries.

WILL THE REAL JOHN HICKCOX PLEASE STEP FORWARD?

Several discrepancies can be found in the literature on John H. Hickcox, Sr. Sarah Miller, in a 1980 dissertation for Columbia University, states that John H. Hickcox was the editor of the Monthly Catalogue. However, she goes on to say that he was employed in the Senate Folding Room beginning in 1876, and that in 1891 he gave testimony before a special joint committee studying government publication printing and distribution matters [43]. Miller states:

The Committee’s inquiry covered a wide area and treated numerous subjects dealing with both printing and distribution. The data it received included information on the procedures followed in the Government Printing Office, on the types of publications issued, and on the manner of their distribution. From both oral testimony and written statements the Committee obtained recommendations for providing a more equitable and widespread distribution of government publications and a greater accessibility of them among the people [sic]. That the government list and catalog its publications was also recommended, with the proponents of this including Ames as well as Hickcox, McKee and Lowdermilk.
Hickcox included a sample of his current listing as one of the exhibits; and Lowdermilk gave an explanation of the type of cataloging and indexing he believed to be needed. [44]

The list of publications mentioned by Miller is credited to J. H. Hickcox -- his name is actually on the publication -- while the testimony clearly states that the witness was J. S. Hickcox. Miller obviously is assuming that the two Hickcoxes are one and the same. She is not alone. Gail Nelson and John Richardson, in their 1986 article, also mention that John H. Hickcox worked in the Senate Folding Room, although they do not cite the source of their information [45]. In fact, the 1888 edition of Boyd’s Directory of the District of Columbia shows three separate Hickcox listings: John H. Hickcox, publisher; John H. Hickcox, Jr., land agent; and John S. Hickcox, Superintendent of the Senate Folding Room [46].

The existence of three people with the same name all living in Washington, DC at the same time has obviously confused historians and, thus, the historical record. Furthermore, two of those men, a father and son, had the exact same name. In none of the references to John H. Hickcox, aside from the entry in Boyd’s Directory, was there any indication if the Hickcox referred to was a “Senior” or a “Junior.”

Equally confusing, John H. Hickcox, Sr. and John S. Hickcox both were involved in government publication distribution. In fact, if these two men were in contact with one another, John S. Hickcox might conceivably have supplied John H. Hickcox, Sr. with the latest information on government publications, which he needed to construct his Catalogue. The discovery of three Hickcoxes all with the same first name makes it nearly impossible to state with certainty who did what. Future historians should be wary when doing research about any of these three men.

CONCLUSIONS

John H. Hickcox, Sr. was a zealous advocate for the announcement and distribution of government documents at the end of the nineteenth century. It is curious that so little has been written about Hickcox and the usefulness of his Catalogue. During Hickcox’s time, his work functioned as a desperately needed catalog of recent government publications. Further, it served as a current awareness service, and a means of announcing pending legislation related to government printing issues. Today, in spite of some overlap with other catalogs and indexes, Hickcox’s work still provides information not found in other sources. In addition, Hickcox’s use of the provenance scheme to organize the official Monthly Catalog set a precedent for the arrangement of government documents by provenance. Nelson and Richardson suggest reasons why the provenance organizational arrangement was originally implemented:

She [Adelaide Hasse] may have seized upon a common denominator possessed by all government publications -- the issuing agency -- as the most efficient means of organization. And, she devised a scheme which could be easily explained to and utilized by a staff less skilled than herself…it is a relatively uncomplicated means of quickly controlling and making accessible a mass of material. [47]
It is hoped that this paper has placed John Hickcox in the context of his times, and given some indication of his contribution to the modern organization of government documents. However, Hickcox’s life remains largely undescribed. Piecing together information on a man long dead whose significance is no longer obvious was not an easy task [48]. More work will be necessary to piece together other details as they surface. The discovery of the location of Hickcox’s papers would be particularly illuminating, as they would reveal his own thoughts about his activities at that time. Meanwhile, this paper will have to serve as the most complete published account of the life of John H. Hickcox, Sr.

NOTES


5. James Corsaro, Associate Librarian in the Manuscripts and Special Collections Department of the New York State Library in Albany, provided a photocopy of a typical invoice from J. H. Hickcox & Company dated September 30, 1865.

6. Phyllis Valentino, Development Associate at the Albany Academy, informed the authors by telephone on 4 December 1992 that she found the original school enrollment cards for John H. Hickcox and his brothers. The school enrollment cards for Hickcox and his brothers each have a red inked star which Ms. Valentino believes means that all six brothers were in the military. However, John Travis, County Historian (Albany, NY), searched the State Archives and found “no evidence that [Hickcox] served in the Civil War...in spite of the fact that he was just about the right age and as an educated person, ideal officer material” (personal communication, letter dated February 15, 1993). In addition, the authors wrote directly to the National Archives and Records Administration, and to the New York State Archives. Both institutions responded that they had no records indicating that Hickcox served in the Civil War.


8. Per death certificate. The Biographical Dictionary of America lists Hickcox’s death date as 30 January. Other discrepancies have been noted, including variations in the spelling of Hickcox’s
surname such as “Hickox” and “Hickcoc.” Hickcox last resided at 906 M Street, NW, Washington, DC.


19. The authors also attempted to determine the comprehensiveness of Hickcox’s catalog by comparing the number of entries it contained to the number of entries in John G. Ames’ *Comprehensive Index to the Publications of the United States Government, 1881-1893*. This proved to be impractical, however, since Ames’ work does not contain a title index and the subject index lists many titles under more than one subject.


26. Claudia Hellemann from the Customer Service Department at Research Publications, Inc., the firm that acquired the rights to publish and distribute Hickcox’s catalog from Carrollton Press, spoke to the authors by telephone on January 6, 1995. She reported that their stock of Hickcox’s catalog ran out “a few years back” and they did not reprint.


42. *Library Journal* 20 (September 1895):301.


44. Miller.


48. It is possible that some of Hickcox’s papers perished in a 1911 fire at the State Capitol Building in Albany, NY. At that time, the State Library was housed in the Capitol Building. According to Roger Ritzmann, New York State Archives, in a telephone interview on 3 December 1992, the fire burned a good portion of the Library, particularly its manuscript materials. However, according to James Corsaro, some records were saved, including a number of J. H. Hickcox & Company invoices from the late 1850s to about 1870.