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THE PRIVATE LIBRARIES IN THE NORTHERN COLONIES

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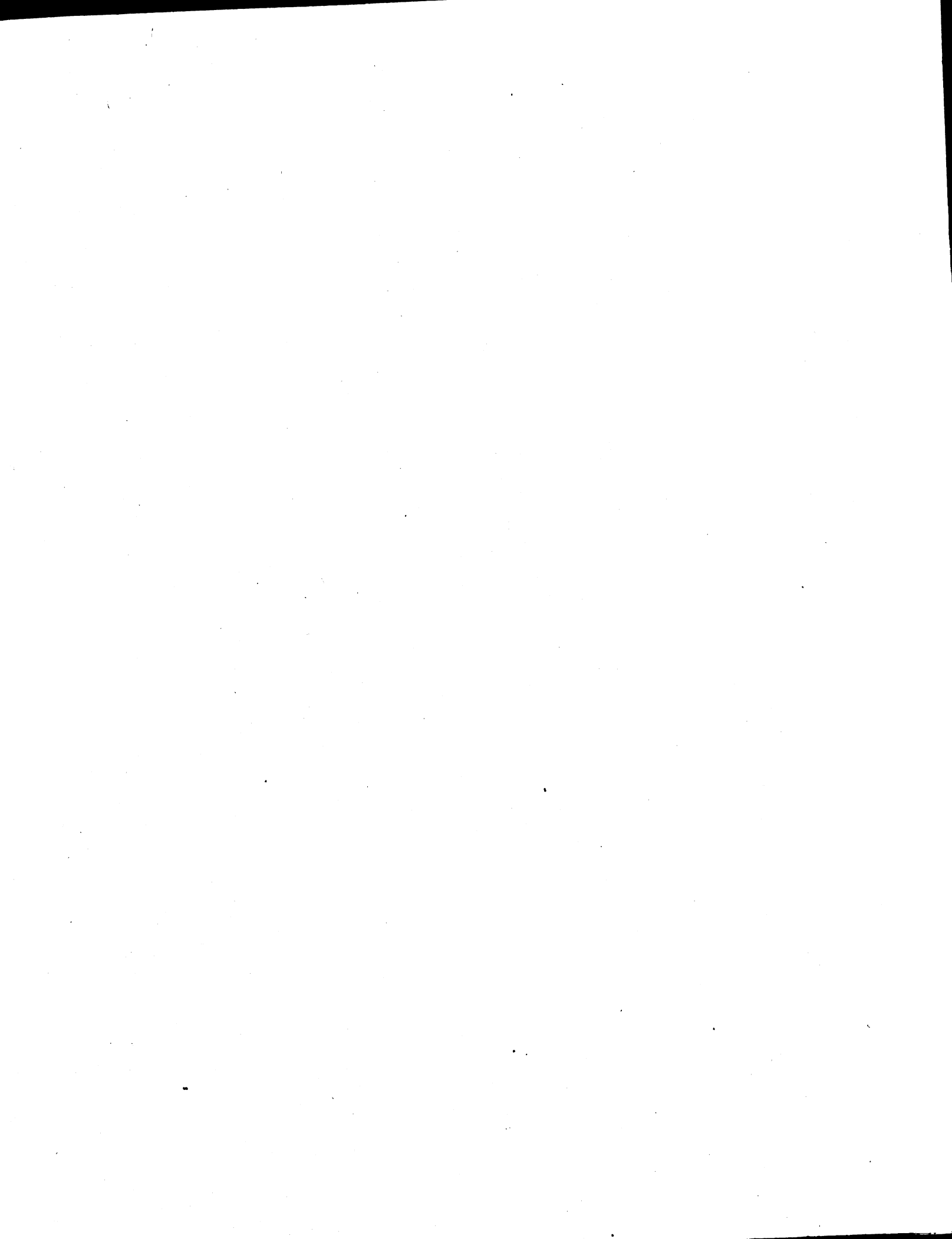
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THE PRIVATE LIBRARIES IN THE NORTHERN COLONIES

By

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THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

The problem of this essay in early American history is to determine as nearly as possible the actual numbers, contents, and value of the private libraries existing in the New England and middle colonies prior to the Revolution. The dates covered then are from approximately 1620 when the first permanent settlers in New England landed at Plymouth in what is now Massachusetts to the year 1776 which marks the real beginning of the warfare of the American Revolution.

A study of this type is of interest on several counts. Primarily, one can assume that within reasonable limits, what books these people owned, they read, and that what they read affected their thoughts, beliefs, and even actions. Thus knowing what the people (and particularly the leaders) of colonial America owned and presumably read is one key to an explanation of the rest of the history of this particularly dynamic, important, and interesting period in our country's development. However, I have made no attempt (nor do I believe it would be possible) to "tie in" the libraries with any particular historical events of the period.

The geographical area this study covers is from the sparsely settled northern region now known as Maine, where few people or libraries were found, as far south as the more populous colonies of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, where relatively numerous and large libraries were found. For all practical purposes, the material has limited itself to a study of those

settlements and peoples that were very predominantly English speaking. I have also purposely not included the abundant and interesting material on the college and university libraries developed during this period, the public libraries (particularly of Boston and Philadelphia), and the rather numerous semi-public lending libraries as I felt them to be distinct and separate topics well worth specific studies of their own.

The sources for a work of this type are quite widespread and, unfortunately, at times very difficult to obtain. Whenever and wherever possible, I have attempted to obtain the actual library inventories or catalogues listing the actual numbers, titles, and value of the volumes they contained. Unfortunately, however, at times when these were obtainable, those making the estate inventories seem to have had little or no interest in the titles and contents of these volumes and would either list a few titles (possibly those with which they were the most familiar) and then would lump together the remaining volumes together under such vague and unspecific terms as "bookes," "several small bookes" or "old books" making them of no real practical value to a study of this type. Useful evidence was also sometimes found in wills in which specific titles or types of books would be mentioned. In certain cases (Benjamin Franklin and John Adams being the most notable examples) the actual autobiographies, correspondence and other writings of the colonial people themselves served as useful evidence for obtaining the desired information. It

was also necessary at times to resort to the use of secondary material. The most useful of these were specialized articles dealing either with one or more particular private libraries or with the libraries in a particular colony or at a particular period. Biographies were probably the least useful and at times least reliable of the secondary sources, but in some cases furnished usable information.

At times it was actually a very difficult matter to deal with the private libraries of the later part of the eighteenth century. Obviously these individuals were still very much alive in 1776 (and several until many years after that date), so estate inventories and wills would be of little or no value in determining the contents of their libraries in 1776. It was therefore necessary to use biographies, the people's own writings and correspondence, or any other available means of determining probable library contents to that time.

I have attempted at all times to keep the organization of this essay as simple and logical as possible. Within each chapter, the libraries have been separated first into the various colonies in which they were located. The colonies were then discussed in the order of their settlement or acquisition by the British, and of course within each colony the libraries have been treated chronologically. Any deviations from this have been noted and explained.

CHAPTER I

NEW ENGLAND PRIVATE LIBRARIES OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

This first chapter discusses the libraries of colonial New England from the year 1620, when the Pilgrims first landed at what is now Plymouth, Massachusetts, to approximately the year 1700. Historians have shown a great interest in this very early period in American history and especially in the very first settlement at Plymouth. Consequently records, especially wills and estate inventories, for this period have been printed and made available and accessible in greater abundance than for most of the later settlements and periods. This section discusses seventeenth century private libraries that existed as far north as the region now known as Maine and as far south as Connecticut and Rhode Island.

The men who settled the first New England colony, Plymouth, in 1620, evidently felt that books were of some importance even on the frontier. There is no available record of just when the first books were brought to Plymouth, but one of the earliest records of a library in this colony appears in the inventory of the estate of Samuel Fuller, taken in 1633. Some twenty-six books are listed by title, and only three of these could be considered non-religious - a book on government, one on husbandry, and a "dixionary." A volume of "notable things" might be classified either way. Fuller also owned other unnamed books to the value of ¹£1.

1. T. G. Wright, Literary Culture in Early New England 1620 - 1730 (New Haven, 1920), 29.

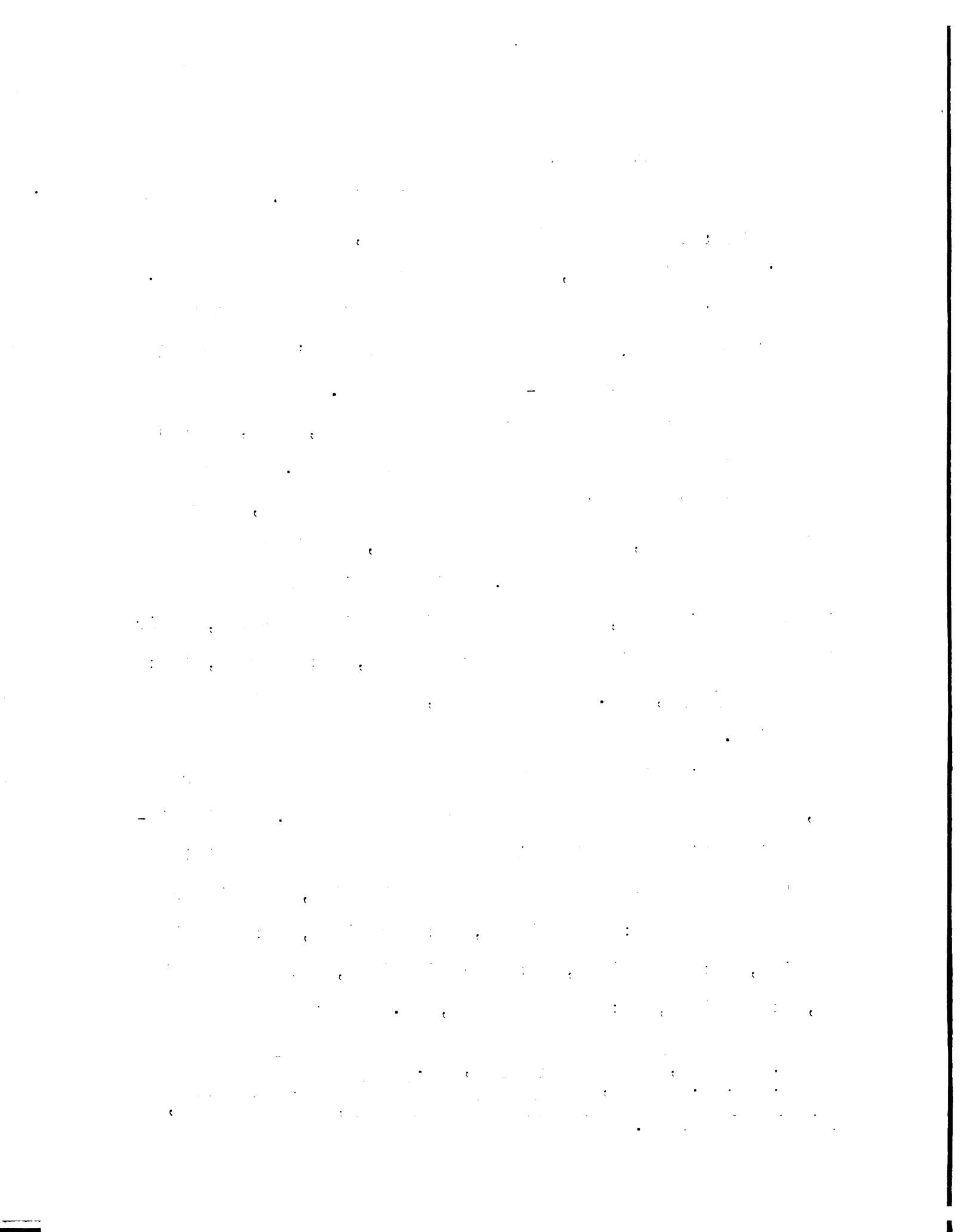
Just ten years later, the books in the estate of John Atwood were valued at $\text{£}9$ when inventoried in 1643. These included Acts and Monuments in three volumes, a history, Prynne's Historio Mastix, and other books to the value of $\text{£}3$.² Whether the books not discussed were predominantly religious or not is not known, but we do know that Atwood's library did include some works of a non-religious nature.

Elder William Brewster died the next year, 1644, leaving the best library then in existence in the colony. The catalogue of his library lists some 393 distinct titles, four having two volumes, making a total of 397, not including "a bundle of smale books & papers." Disregarding thirty whose size is undesignated, and sixteen unidentifiable titles, their size can be classified as follows: folios, 48; quartos, 177; octavos et infra, 121.³ By language, 62 are in Latin and 302 in English.

Brewster's library was not only larger than the other two, but also covered a wider variety of subjects. Taking into consideration cases in which a volume could be classified almost equally well under more than one heading, the list can be broken down thus: expository, 98; doctrinal, 63; practical religion, 69; historical, 24; ecclesiastical, 36; philosophical, 6; poetical, 14; miscellaneous, 54. There also seems to

2. Wright, Literary Culture, 29.

3. H. M. Dexter, "Elder Brewster's Library," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, V, 1889 - 1890, 81.



be thirteen duplicates, suggesting the possibility that this library which was, indeed, of extraordinary size and quality for its time, might at least have had some small relation to the general needs, and was intended in part for general use.⁴

Analyzing the dates of publication of the 393 titles, and eliminating all of those of unknown date or unrecognizable, we find that 281 or roughly 75% of them were dated in or before 1620, and 89, or nearly 25%, after 1620. With complete assurance lacking only in the case of six or seven, the printing and issuing dates of the later books can be assigned as follows: 1621, 8; 1622, 10; 1623, 5; 1624, 6; 1625, 13; 1626, 1; 1627, 6; 1628, 2; 1629, 4; 1630, 2; 1631, 4; 1632, 4; 1633, 4; 1634, 4; 1635, 2; 1636, 3; 1637, 3; 1638, 5; 1640, 1; 1641, 1; 1643, 1. Thus it is evident that Brewster imported for himself some of the newer literature from abroad after his arrival in 1620, and, in fact, he bought books published every year but two until the year he died.⁵

A large part of Brewster's library dealt with religion, particularly Separatist Doctrine, but his interests were not confined entirely to religion. It included the major works of John Robinson, Barrow, Browne, John Smyth, Perkins and Ainsworth as well as Aristotle, Francis Bacon's Advancement of Learning, books on silkworms and medicine, W. Hornsby's Scyrge of Drunkards, a verse called A Good Wife; or a rare one among

4. Ibid.

5. Dexter, "Brewster's Library," 82.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for the integrity of the financial system and for the ability to detect and prevent fraud. The text notes that without reliable records, it would be difficult to track the flow of funds and identify any irregularities.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze data. It describes the process of gathering information from different sources, such as interviews, surveys, and document reviews. The text also discusses the importance of ensuring the accuracy and reliability of the data collected, and the need to use appropriate statistical techniques to analyze the results.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of the auditor in the process. It describes the responsibilities of the auditor, including the need to maintain independence and objectivity, and to follow established standards and procedures. The text also discusses the importance of communication and reporting, and the need to provide clear and concise information to the relevant parties.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the challenges faced by auditors in the current environment. It notes that the increasing complexity of financial transactions and the use of new technologies have made the auditing process more difficult. The text also discusses the need for auditors to stay up-to-date on the latest developments in the field, and to have the necessary skills and expertise to handle these challenges.

5. The fifth part of the document concludes by summarizing the key points discussed in the previous sections. It emphasizes the importance of maintaining accurate records, using appropriate data collection and analysis methods, and following established standards and procedures. The text also notes that the role of the auditor is crucial in ensuring the integrity of the financial system, and that auditors must be equipped with the necessary skills and expertise to handle the challenges of the current environment.

Women, and a copy of a Tragedy of Messalina, the Roman Empress, "as it hath been acted with general applause, divers times, by the Companie of his Majestie's Revells. London, 1640." ⁶ Brewster also owned several works by Calvin, a Treatise of English Medicines, a Remedy against Famine & Warr, a Hebrew Grammar, and a copy of Machiavelli's Prince, but almost no classics or belles-letters. ⁷ His interest in classical languages, though, is shown by his ownership of Morelius's Latin, Greek, and English Dictionary, and Buxtorf's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon. Eleven of his books were printed in Leyden, Holland (1617-1619) by Brewster himself. Brewster also had a great many books dealing in detail with the Bible and its various parts, which shows that he must, indeed, have been a close student of ⁸ the Bible.

The inventory of Brewster's estate taken on May 18, 1644, valued his library at £42 19s. 11d., including both Latin and English titles. The Latin volumes alone were valued at £15 19s. 4d., and the works in English at £27 0s. 7d. ⁹

6. G. F. Willison, Saints and Strangers, Being the Lives of the Pilgrim Fathers & Their Families, with their Friends & Foes; & an Account of their Posthumous Wanderings in Limbo, Their Final Resurrection & Rise to Glory, & the Strange Pilgrimages of Plymouth Rock (New York, 1945), 330.

7. "Library of Elder Brewster," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Second Series, III, 1886-1887, list 265-275.

8. Dexter, "Brewster's Library," 82.

9. J. A. Goodwin, The Pilgrim Republic: An Historical Review of the Colony of New Plymouth with Sketches of the Rise of other New England Settlements, The History of Congregationalism, and the Creeds of the Period (Boston, 1888), 432.

1

1

Not only men, but women also possessed libraries in the Plymouth colony. One of the early Pilgrim women, Ann Atwood, owned £7 worth of books at the time of her death in 1654, and her library included two unnamed works by Prynne, a French Testament, two other books in French, and "four and fifty smale bookes at 6d the piece."¹⁰ Unfortunately little can be deduced from this meager information as to the library's actual contents, except that it did contain some books on religion (as Prynne was a religious writer), and some works in French.

A much better known library was that of Captain Miles Standish whose library inventory I felt was sufficiently interesting and valuable to be included in full, both for its contents and as an example of a typical library inventory of the time. As taken on December 2, 1657, it listed:

	£	s.	d.
It. the history of the world and the Turkish history	01	10	00
It. a cronicle of England and the countrey ffarmer	00	08	00
It. Ye history of Queen Elizsbeth, the state of Europe	01	10	00
It. Doctor Hales workes, Calvin's institutions	01	04	00
It. Wilcock's workes and mayor's	01	00	00
It. Rogers' seaven treatises and the ffrench akadamey	00	12	00
It. 3 old bibles	00	14	00
It. Ceser's comentaryes, Bariff's artillery	00	20	00
It. Preston's Sermons, Burroughes Christ in Contentment, gosspe conversation, passions of the mind, the phisions practice, Burroughes, Earthly mindedness, Burroughes discovery	01	04	00

10. Wright, Literary Culture, 27.

It.	Ball on faith, Brinsley's watch, dod on the Lord's Supper, Sparke against herisys, davenporte apollogye	00	15	00
It.	A reply to Doctor Cotten on baptisme, The Garmon History, the Sweden Intel- ligencer, reasons discussed	00	10	00
It.	1 testament, one psalme booke, Nature and grace in conflict, a law booke, The mean in mourning allegation again- st B.P. of Durham, Johnson against hear- ing	00	06	00
It.	a pcell of old bookes of divers sub- jects in quarto	00	14	00
It.	Wilson's dixonary, homer's Illiad, a comentary on James Ball catterkesmer	00	12	00 11
It.	an other pcell in octavo	00	14	00

Here is a library in which medicine, military science, his- tory, law and the classics were all represented in addition to a substantial number of religious works.

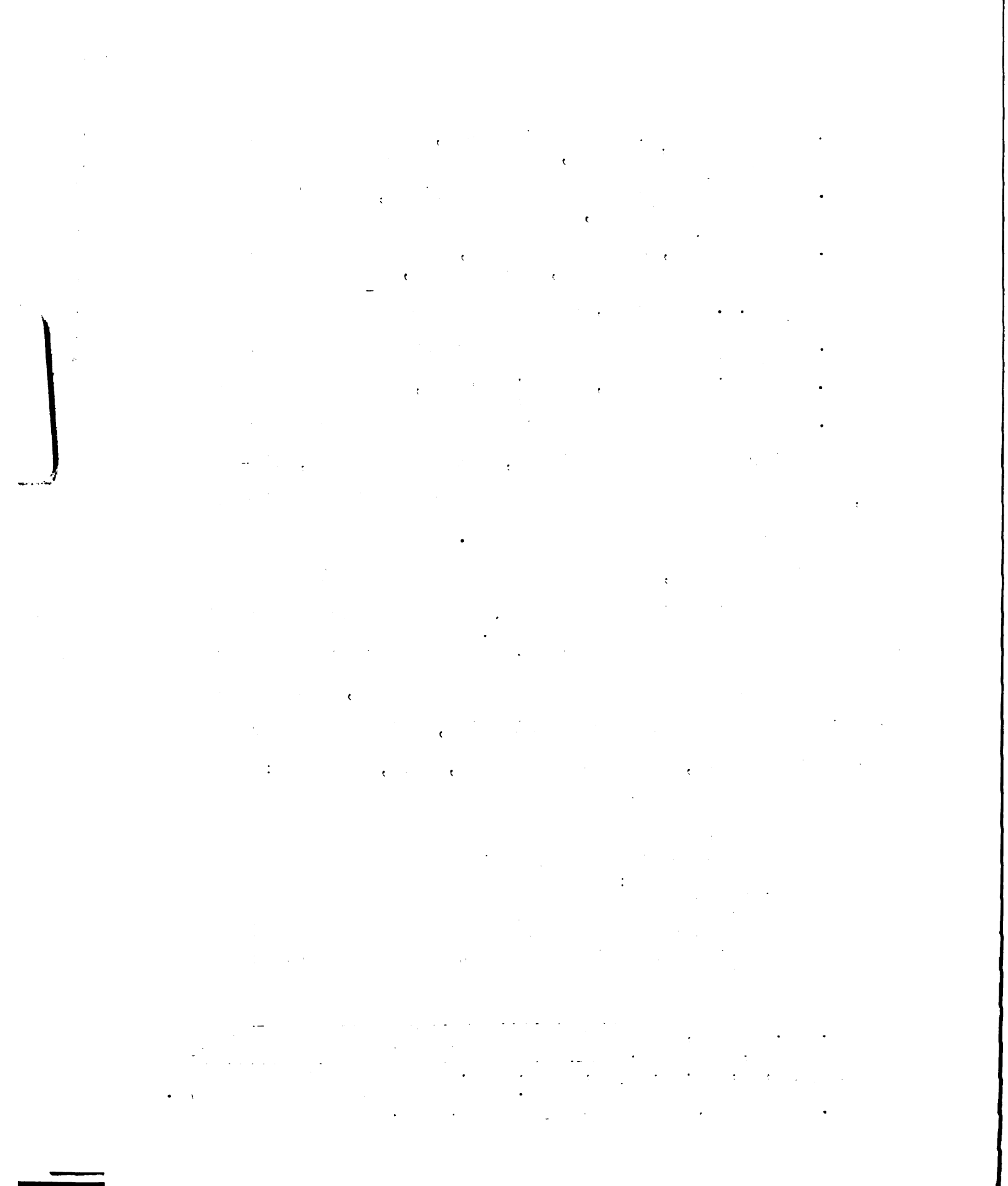
William Bradford, an early governor and historian of the colony and also its richest resident, left a library at the time of his death in the spring of 1657.^{12.} Its exact contents are not known as several of the volumes are not named, but the cata- logue in the estate inventory of his wife, Alice Carpenter Southworth Bradford, who died on April 5, 1670, included:

In the studdy in bookes

Item	mr Perkins two of them	01	00	00
Item	3 of Docter Willetts on genises exodus & Daniel:	01	00	00
Item	Quicksarraden	00	10	00
Item	the history of the Church	00	08	00
Item	Peter Martirs Comon places	00	15	00
Item	Cartwright on remise Testament	00	10	00
Item	the history of the Netherlands	00	15	00

11. J. Winsor, "Abstracts of the Earliest Wills in the Probate Office, Plymouth," New England Historical and Genealogi- cal Register, V, no. 3, July, 1851, 337. By my figures the total value of the books is \$12 3s. from a total estate of £358 07s.

12. Willison, Saints and Strangers, 337.



Item Peter Martir on the Romans	00 05 00	
Item Moors workes on the New Testament	01 00 00	
Item Cottons Concordance	00 08 00	
Item Speeds history of the world	01 00 00	
Item Weams Christian Sinnagogue & the protracture of the Image of God	00 08 00	
Item the Meathod of Phisicke	00 02 00	
Item Calvins harmony and his Coment on the actes	00 08 00	
Item Downhams 2cond: prte of Christian warfare	00 03 00	
Item mr Cottons answare to mr Williams	00 02 00	
Item Taylers libertie of Propheseye	00 01 06	
Item Gouges Domesticall Dutyes	00 02 06	
Item the Institutions of reasons Discused & observations Divine and morrall the synode of Dart and the Appologye	00 06 00	
Item mr Ainsworth workes the Counterpoison & the tryall	00 02 00	
Item mr Ainsworth on Genises exodus & livitticus	00 04 00	
Item Calvin on Genises	00 02 06	
Item Dike on the Deceightfulnes of mans hart	00 01 06	
Item Gifford refuted	00 00 06	
Item Dod on the Comaundements and others of his	00 03 00	
Item 53 smale bookes	01 06 06	
Item Calvin on the epistles in Duch: and Divers other Duch bookes	00 15 00	
Item 2 bibles	01 00 00	
Item the actes of the Church	00 05 00	
Item 3 of mr Bridgg: his workes	01 00 00	
Item the Lives of the fathers	00 03 00	
Item a skin of buffe	00 05 00	13

From this list it is evident that Bradford's library was predominantly religious, but it also included works on history, geography and languages.

Actually, few of the Pilgrims seem to have been without at least small libraries. A study of the inventories of over seventy estates listed in the first two volumes of the Plymouth

13. G. E. Bowman, "Alice (Carpenter) (Southworth) Bradford's Will and Inventory," The Mayflower Descendant, a Quarterly Magazine of Pilgrim Genealogy and History, III, 1901, 146-147.

Colony Records showed that only about a dozen failed to mention some books. However, in many cases, the books mentioned were few or the exact number was hidden under such phrases as "bookes" or "all his bookes."¹⁴

Thomas Prince, a later governor of the colony, died in 1673, leaving some 187 volumes valued at £13 03s. 8d. from a total estate of £422. His estate inventory listed the following:

Bookes			
Item a Great bible 10 s, Psalm book 6 d	00	10	06
Item mr Ainsworths Anotations of the 5 bookes of Moses	01	10	00
Item Byfeild upon the Collosians	00	05	00
Item John Weames Exposition on the law of Moses	00	12	00
Item Weames off the Lathocker in Scotland	00	15	00
Item 1 exposition on the revelation	00	06	00
Item 1 booke of Docter prestons unbound	00	02	00
Item mr hookers Survey of Church Discipline	00	02	06
Item Nortons Orthydox evangelist	00	02	00
Item Burrows Gospell Conversation	00	01	06
Item another of Gospell Worship	00	01	06
Item mr Tillinghast Generation worke	00	02	00
Item New Englands Memoriall	00	02	00
Item a little Index and an answare to a question	00	02	00
Item Colpepeers London Dispensatory	00	02	00
Item 7 paper Sermon bookes	00	01	09
Item 1 great bible	00	08	00
Item a Dispute betwixt the Lord Bishop and the Jesuite	00	04	00
Item the key of the hebrew tongue	00	01	00
Item 1 Great old Psalme booke	00	00	06
Item 1 great Psalme booke	00	02	06
Item 2 law bookes	00	02	06
Item 100 of Psalme bookes	07	10	00
Item William Cornwallis Essaies	00	01	06
Item 1 Psalme booke 1 booke of private Comunion	00	02	03

Item Prins workes on Canterberrys tryall	00 01 06	
Item the voulcanus	00 00 06	
Item 50 smale paper bookes to be Distributed bound up		15

Again a predominantly religious library is found with just a smattering of law, medicine and history and almost no belles-lettres.

The next colony whose libraries are to be discussed is the Massachusetts Bay Colony, first settled by the Puritans in 1628, and where were found the largest and best libraries of the time. It has usually been considered to be the most influential in colonial New England, and the evidence to be given certainly supports any claim to its predominance in the field of private libraries.

The first private library of importance referred to in this colony is the one collected by John Harvard, a young minister of Charlestown, Massachusetts, who died on September 14, 1638, leaving what was for a minister of that time a relatively catholic collection of books. He had carried with him from England some 300 volumes, and his library included the classical works of Homer, Plutarch, Pliny, Juvenal, and Horace, as well as Bacon's Essays, a Mirror for Magistrates, and Quarles Divine Emblems. He also purchased Saville's Eton edition of the works of Chrysostom at ¹⁶ \$9 per set. The 373 or more volumes he left included books by Jesuit authors, and, indeed, he

15. G. E. Bowman, "Governor Thomas Prentice's Will and Inventory, and the Records of His Death," Mayflower Descendant, III, 1901, 208-209.

16. H. C. Shelley, John Harvard and His Times (Boston, 1913), 231.

owned more volumes by St. Thomas Aquinas than by John Calvin,
¹⁷
 the theological forefather of Puritanism.

His library, though quite predominantly religious, did contain for its time a considerable number of books of a more literary nature. Included in addition to those already mentioned were such titles as Elegant Phrases, Garden of Eloquence, Thesaurus poeticus, Duns Scotus in 8 Libros Arist. Phys., and Isocratis Orat: Graec & Latin and at least two other books of
¹⁸
 poetry, Quarles Poems and "animae Gaudia." However, the really major importance of his library was not so much its contents as the fact that it along with half of Harvard's estate was donated to the then infant Harvard College as a beginning for its library.

A lesser known library than Harvard's is that of George Phillips, minister of the church at Watertown, who left a "study of bookes" valued at £71 9s. 9d. at his death on July 1, 1644, indicating that he probably owned a quite sizeable
¹⁹
 library. Unfortunately nothing is known of its contents.

The only clue to the library of John Winthrop Sr. (1588-1649), governor of Massachusetts, is his gift of approximately forty volumes to Harvard College about the year 1642. The

17. J. H. Tuttle, "The Libraries of the Mathers," American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, New Series, XX, 1910, 273 and S. E. Morison, The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New England in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1936), 10.

18. Wright, Literary Culture, list, 265-272.

19. Ibid., 49.

great majority of these were, again, religious (as was quite possibly his library) and included many in Latin, a French Bible, Chronologia in Livii Historiam, a Greek and Latin Lexicon, Livy's history in two volumes, and Sibthorpe's Advisement to²⁰ Catholickes in Ireland. Unfortunately nothing more is known of this library which seems to have contained at least works on history and religion.

John Eliot, missionary and "apostle to the Indians" in the seventeenth century was the recipient of two relatively important libraries purchased for his use by the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England in 1651. The first was that of the Rev. Thomas Jenner who came to New England from England in 1635, settled first at Roxbury, then served as minister at Weymouth, Saco, Maine, and Charlestown, Massachusetts before returning to England in 1650. He sold to the Corporation exactly 200 books, almost all of which were religious works. Many of these were in Latin, and at least sixteen were by Calvin. About the only non-religious works were a Greek Lexicon, Rider's Dictionary, Barnard's Guide to Grand Jury Men with Respect to²¹ Witchcraft, and Dod's Household Government. Its contents, then, are relatively narrow and seem to reflect both that the predominant intellectual current of the time was religious and that

20. R. C. Winthrop, Life and Letters of John Winthrop, from His Embarkation for New England in 1630, with the Charter and Company of Massachusetts Bay, to His Death in 1649, Second Edition (Boston, 1869) 2 Vols., II, list, 438-439.

21. C. F. and R. Robinson, "Three Early Massachusetts Libraries," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts; Transactions 1930-3, XXVIII; analyzed from list of titles, 113-137.

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Rev. Jenner had no great breadth of interest.

The second library sold to the Corporation in 1651 was that of the Rev. Thomas Weld who had come to Boston in 1632, settled in Roxbury, and returned to England in 1641. This library, purchased for £34 on August 18, 1651, included some 195 books, again mainly religious with Aristophanes being the only classical author represented. It, too, included some works in Greek and Latin, Cotton's Concordance, books by Calvin and Luther, sermons, a Greek grammar and testament, and "Down-²²hams warfare in 3 books." Thus, except for the many books on religion, these two libraries would give no practical help to Eliot.

Eliot, himself, and his colleague Thomas Mayhew, Jr., also owned and used Roger Williams's Key Into the Language of America and Mayhew also knew Latin, Greek and Hebrew and might well²³ have owned some volumes either in or concerning these languages.

John Cotton (1585-1652), a Puritan minister and scholar, left a large and valuable library. He estimated the value of the books at £150²⁴ "though they cost me much more." Of this library, Cotton Mather, the famous Puritan minister said: "Indeed, his Library was vast, and vast was his acquaintance with it, but although among his readings he had given a special room

22. Robinson, "Three Early Libraries," analyzed from list, 136-156.

23. F. B. Anderson, A Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin: The True Story of a Nantucket Pioneer and His Mates (Boston, 1890), 81-3.

24. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 273.



unto the fathers and unto the school-men, yet at last he preferred one Calvin above them." ²⁵ Indirectly we also know that he knew Aristotle's de Mundo, de Caelo, and de Generatione et Corruptione, as well as Pliny, Copernicus, Plato, and Galen. ²⁶ Cotton's library seems to have been particularly rich in classical and possibly medieval literature, but its other contents are not known.

One Captain William Tyng of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, died the same year as Cotton, 1652, leaving the following library as listed in the inventory of his estate:

Bookes, in folio.-Bookes of Martyrs in 3 volumes, Bookes of Statutes at Large, The Survey of London, Speeds Chronicle, Camdens Brittania, Ainsworth on Moses and Psalmes, Mr. Harris Workes, Dr. Sibbs Saints Cordiall, Marchants Accompts, Gecords Herball.

In Quarto.-A Concordance, Prestones Workes 2 of them, Dr Vsher against Jesuit, Barriffe, The Soules implantation, Treatise of Magistracy Two, Childe of light in darknes, goodwin: Enonimous Tresure, Apeale to Parliament, Janua Linguarum, Ans. to Mr Davenport, Parralells Censures observations, Dod & cleauer on Sacraments, defence of the Wach-Word, Sibbs on faith, Mr Barnard against Seperatists, the Discoverer, Ecclesiastical cannons, Complainte euill doers, Interest States and kingdomes, Bloody Tenent, Forbes 4 sermons, Axe at the roote, Popish Idollatry, Experience of light & health, Circkle of Comerse, Mary Pope, EdwardRenolds, Minester against briges, Doctrine of the Saboth, the still destroyer, a Vindication of Mr Burrowes, a Duch Worke, An apollogy of Brownists, Doctrinall & Morrall instructions, Reformation observations, Censure on Anabaptists Answer, abridgmt of Camden, Tolloration Justified,

25. C. Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana; or the Ecclesiastical History of New England; from its First Plantation in the Year 1620, Unto the Year of Our Lord 1698 (Hartford, 1855), 2 Volumes, I, 274.

26. T. Hornberger, "Puritanism and Science-The Relationship Revealed in the Writings of John Cotton," New England Quarterly, X, No. 3, September, 1937, 508.

J

Burrowes gospell Conversation, Moses Choice, Gospell Worship, Churches Ressurrection Cott, Childrens Baptisme, 7 vialls 3 Congregationall churches, Singin Psalemes.

In Octavo.-Excellency of a gracious spirit, office of executors, pentisia Indicaria, Christians Engagement, Imposts and customes, Concordance, logick & Rethoricke, Christians dayly Walke, duch testaments & psalmes, An arrow against Idollotry; 16 Ciceroas orations. 27

Again we find a library including a great many religious books, but other interests are shown in such titles as Imposts & customes, Circkle of Comerse, office of executors, Books of Statutes at Large, Camdens Brittania (a history), and as about the only classical titles represented 16 Ciceroas orations. Tyng, then, owned books on government, history, law, and religion. This library was valued at £10 in an entire estate of ²⁸ £2774 14s. 4d.

Two relatively small Massachusetts libraries of the early 1650's were those belonging to John Glover and the Widow Rebecca Bacon. In the estate inventory of John Glover of Boston, dated December 7, 1653, we find listed "bookes English & Lattine" valued at £4. No idea of their number or contents is given. ²⁹ Two years later, in 1655, the Widow Rebecca Bacon died at Salem leaving a library consisting of "3 Bibles, a Concordance,

27. W. B. Trask, "Abstracts of the Earliest Wills on Record, or On the Files in the Country of Suffolk, Massachusetts," The New England Historical and Genealogical Register for the Year 1876, XXX, 432.

28. Wright, Literary Culture, 37.

29. "Records of the Suffolk County Court, 1671-1680," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2 parts, XXX, 1933, 432.

Calvins Institutions, Luther upon the Galatians, Mr. Shepard's Morality of the Sabath, Nicholas Gibbins Disputations, Joshua Symonds bookes, 2 of Dr. Sibs and 1 of Mr. Preston Markham and 10 smal bookes ³⁰ 2." Again, the majority of the books named were religious in nature. Here, as in many other instances, too, the appraisers noted the titles of folios and of the works they recognized, while the remainder, which would have been equally interesting to study, or even more so, were entered simply as "small books" or just plain "books."

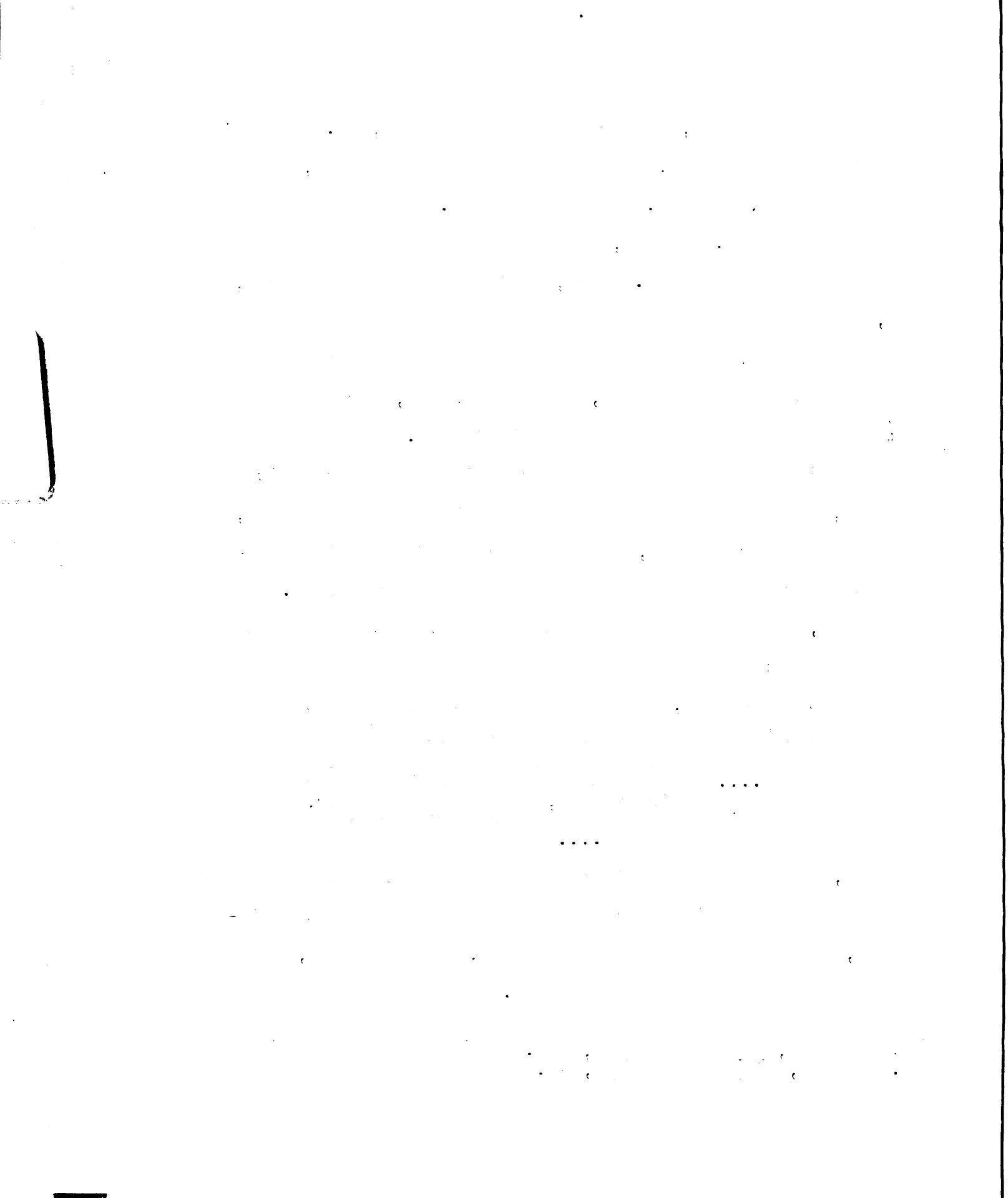
A private library might well contain books by classical authors, religious writers of various attitudes and beliefs, or even Catholic authors, but the founding fathers in Massachusetts were in no mood to tolerate books on Quakerism. On August 22, 1654 the General Court of Massachusetts passed the following law:

It is ordered, that all & euery the inhabitants of this jurisdiction that haue any of the bookes in their custody that have lately bin brought out of England under the name of Jonn Reeues & Lodowick Mugglton....& shall not bring or send in all such bookes now in their custody, to the next magistr̃, shall forfeit the sune of ten pounds for euery such booke that shalbe found....31

However, it seems most unlikely that this affected to any great extent either the size or contents of many Massachusetts libraries, particularly because Puritanism, not Quakerism, was the predominant theology of the time.

30. Morison, Puritan Pronaos, 136.

31. Wright, Literary Culture, 48.



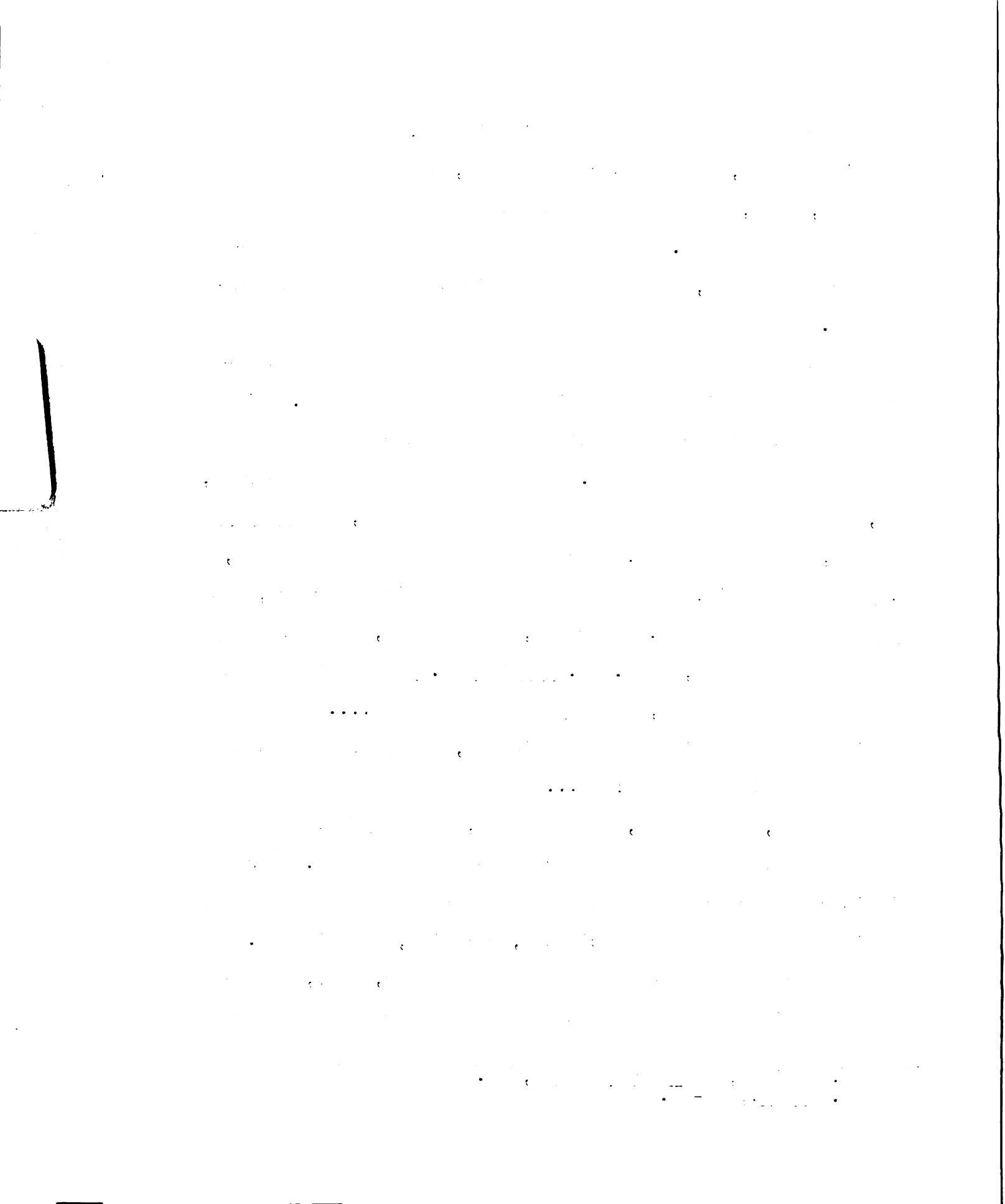
Returning again to a minister's library, the estate of Nathaniel Rogers, late pastor at Ipswich, was inventoried August 16, 1655, and his books were valued at £100 out of a total estate of £1497.³² Again no details concerning its contents are available, but its value indicates it was quite substantial.

Sometimes a man considered his library of sufficient importance to be divided item by item among his children. Nicholas Busby of Boston indicated specifically that certain of his books were to go to particular sons. In his will dated September 10, 1657, he gave his son John "all my Phisicke books, as Glendall practice, Barrowes method, Dutch Phisicke & garden of health, Mr. Coggans treatis, and the Dialogue of Phisicke Surgery, with Plinnys Natural Hystory." Abraham, another son, was given "my bookes of Divinities, vizt. Mr. Perkins Mr. Willet sinops and Comentary on the Romans, & Mr Hieroms two bookes...." The division of the remainder of his library, however, he left to his sons individual tastes: "...as for the rest of my bookes of divinities, or Hystory, my desire is, they may Loveingly & Brotherly devide them between except the three Bibles."³³ From this it can be concluded that the three predominant elements in his library were medicine (science), religion, and history.

Governor Thomas Dudley died this same year, 1657, leaving a small but interesting collection of books including some on

32. Wright, Literary Culture, 50.

33. Ibid., 38-39.



religion but also a more representative collection of history and government than was usual for that time. His religious works included volumes by Calvin, John Cotton, and a book of Rogers sermons. In the field of history he owned a Turkish History, Comentaryes of ye warrs in France, Buchanany Scot Hystory, Swedish Intelligencer, Apology of ye Prince of Orange, and a General History of the Netherlands. His law books included an Abstract of Penal Statutes, and Camden: Annale Regnante Eliza (Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth). Of the classical authors, Dudley owned the works of Livy as well as a Latin Dictionary. A listing of "8 French books" shows an interest in modern foreign languages. Thus Dudley owned works of religion, government, law, the classics, and modern foreign languages - a more catholic collection than a great many to that time and one of the few not completely dominated by religion.³⁴

On occasion, a man might will particular books to his sons, but also include others in the division and distribution of his library. The Rev. Peter Bulkeley of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, in his will dated January 13, 1658 stated:

Item I do give to my Sonne John, Mr. Cartwright upon the Rhemish testament & Willetts Sinopsis. Item to my Sonne Joseph, Mr. Hildersham upon the one & fiftieth psalme, and ye History of the Council of Trent in English, and Cornelius Tacitry in English, & Mr. Bolton on Gen. 6: concerning a Christian walking with God. 35

34. "Governor Thomas Dudley's Library," New England Historical and Genealogical Register for the year 1858, XII, 355.

35. "Will of Peter Bulkeley," New England Historical and Genealogical Register for the year 1856, X, 167.

A little later he spoke of giving to Robert Merriam "Mr. Rutherford's upon the dying of Christ, on Jn^o 12," to William Hunt "Mr. Cooper on the 8th chapter to the Romans," and to Timothy Wheeler "Mr. Dike on Jeremiah 17th concerning the deceitfulness of mans heart."³⁶ In an addition dated February 26, 1658, he listed the following books to be bequeathed to his son, Edward:

- 1: I give him all Piscators Commentaries on the bible
- 2: Dr. Willett on Exod. & Levitt. on Sam. 1. 2. & on Daniell
- 3: Tarnovious in 2 vollums upon prophetas minores
- 4: Dr Owen, against the Arminians in 4^o
- 5: I give him one part of the English annotations upon the bible, the other part to be to my son Gershom....
- 6: Mr. Aynsworth notes upon the 5 books of Moses & upon the psalmes.... 37

His library was later inventoried at ~~5~~123, indicative of an extensive collection. Other volumes it contained that are worthy of note are Pontificate Romanum, Camden's Descriptio Britanniae, and a tract of King James I against demonology, indicating that the King might have been a believer in ghosts and spirits (and possibly witchcraft).³⁸ Cotton Mather wrote of Bulkeley that he was "a most excellent scholar" and "a very well-read person."³⁹ Here again is a predominantly religious library including some books on history.

Still other evidence of a similar type is found in Edward Holyoke's will made December 25, 1658, which stated:

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36. "Will of Peter Bulkeley," 169.
 37. Ibid.
 38. F. B. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries in New England," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series XVIII, Part 2, 1907, 140.
 39. Mather, Magnalia, I, 400.

I give my sone Holyoke all the books that are at Linn.... and the books I have in my study that are Mr. Beanghans works I give him....and likewise I give all my manuscripts wat soeauer, and I giue him that large new testament in folio....also Mr. Ainsworth on the 5 books of Moses and the psalmes, and my dixinary and Temellius bible in Latten, and my latten Concent and daniell bound together, and A part of the new testament in Folio....and that old manuscript called Synas sight.... 40

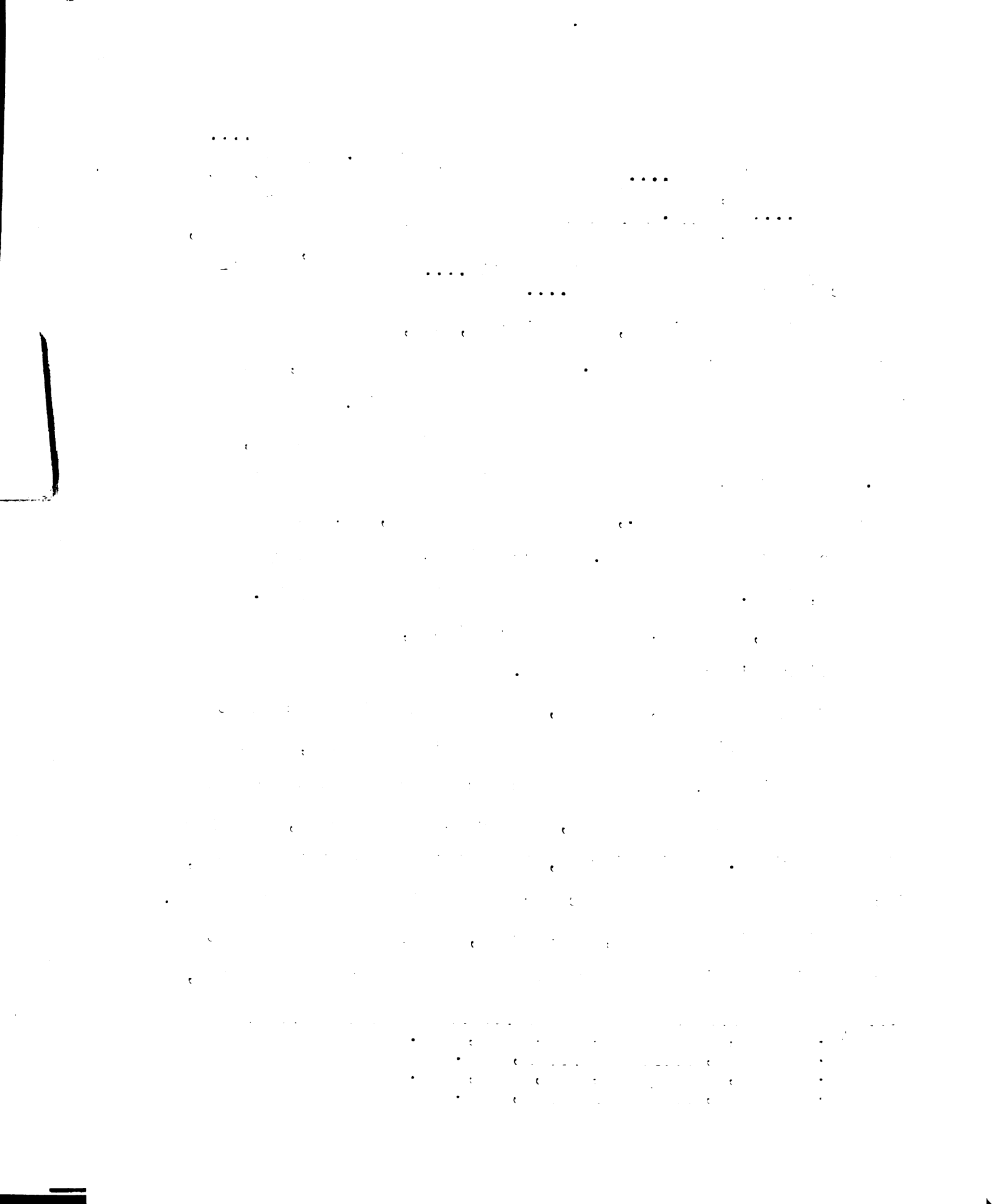
From the titles mentioned, this library, too, seems to have been mainly of a religious nature. It was appraised at $\text{£}20$, not including certain books "lent out and not Gott in."⁴¹

A Boston minister and teacher of the Church of Christ, Rev. John Norton, left a library consisting of 159 books in folio valued at $\text{£}187$ 19s., and 570 books in 4^o, 8^o, and 12^o at "4^s one wth another 112.7^s" according to an inventory of April 24, 1663. The entire estate was valued at $\text{£}3095$ 3s. Unfortunately, however, no titles are listed, and no hint as to the library's contents is given.⁴²

Three years later, in 1666, Thomas Wells of Ipswich left to his son his library which included "all the bookes, that I bought for his use, and my three physicke bookes and the booke called the orthodox evangelist, the great sermon booke, and Hye-⁴³lings Geogripha." This library, in addition to religious works, included then some works on science and at least one on geography.

During this same year, on July 12, 1666, Simon Bradstreet recorded in his diary the loss of the family library in Andover,

40. Trask, "Abstracts," IX, 1855, 345.
 41. Morison, Puritan Pronaos, 137.
 42. Trask, "Abstracts," XI, 1857, 344.
 43. Morison, Puritan Pronaos, 137.



Massachusetts. He said: "While I was at n. London my fathers house at Andover was burnt, where I lost my books....Tho: my own losse of books (and papers espec.) was great and my fathers far more being about 800...."⁴⁴ It seems likely that quite a substantial library was thus destroyed, but of its contents again nothing is said.

Evidence of a library at least partially purchased here in the colonies is found in the will of one John Wilson. In his will dated May 31, 1667 he said: "To my son, John Wilson, I give all my old Bookes and my new Bookes lately bought of Mr. Usher or of any others in New England, to be divided between my son, John Wilson, and my daughter Mary Danforth...."⁴⁵ Its exact contents are unknown, but at least some of it was purchased in America.

A library quite typical of that belonging to many seventeenth century ministers was that left by the Reverend Benjamin Bunker of Malden at his death in 1669. It included about eighty volumes on religion and theology, among them Suarez's Metaphysica, twenty-five volumes of the classics, some belle-lettres and college texts, and two books of medicine.⁴⁶

Two small libraries of the 1670's were those belonging to John Symonds and Rev. John Oxenbridge. John Symonds of Salem left "2 old Bibles, a Booke of Doct. Prestons Works and a booke

44. Wright, Literary Culture, 44.
 45. Trask, "Abstracts," XVII, 1863, 343-344.
 46. Morison, Puritan Pronaos, 135.

of Mr. Rogers works and a psalm booke," with a total value of 18s.⁴⁷ Here again is an example of a library including nothing but religious books. Another library of whose contents we know little except for religious works was that belonging to the Rev. John Oxenbridge. In his will proved January 9, 1674/5 he bequeathed to his wife Susanna a few volumes "beside ye books she had in her former widow hood" including "Rogers on Judges, his 7 Treatises, and Thomas Goodwin 'his child of light'" and left 26 volumes to the Boston Public Library.⁴⁸

Evidence of two other private libraries, those of Richard Baxter and John Lightfoot, are referred to in reports of gifts to the Harvard College Library in 1675. Baxter, a celebrated non-conformist, seemed to fear that his library would be seized to pay a fine and so sent to Harvard "some of my commentators, and some historians, among which were Freherus', Reuberus', and Pistorius' collections." Of its exact numbers or contents other than religion or history, nothing is known. This same year, 1675, John Lightfoot bequeathed to Harvard his library containing "the Targums, Talmuds, Rabbins, Polyglot, and other valuable tracts relative to oriental literature." This is one of the very few references to oriental literature found in seventeenth century libraries.⁴⁹

Another interesting library was that of George Alcock, a

47. Ibid., 136.

48. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 275-276.

49. C. A. Cutter, "Harvard College Library," North American Review, CVII, July-October, 1868, 572.

Harvard medical student, who went to England in 1676 and died that same year of Smallpox. An inventory of his estate in the Suffolk County Probate Court Records lists the library he left when he went abroad. Probably some of these books were inherited from his grandfather, George Alcock, who emigrated in 1630 and settled in Roxbury as a physician, and from his father, John Alcock, also a practicing physician. A distinguishing feature of its contents is its strength in medicine and weakness in theology. Out of some eighty items, only ten or twelve, among them a Bible, a Psalter and a Greek and a Hebrew Testament were religious. Sir Thomas Browne's Religio Medici is also included. Many of his medical works were obsolete, but others like those of Sennert and Harvey were up to date and the best available at the time. His non-professional tastes were shown in his ownership of Don Quixote, the works of Justus Linsius, and Lord Bacon, as well as classics such as Horace, Homer, Hesiod and Plutarch. His library was valued at $\text{\$}17\ 13^{\text{s}}$. when inventoried on December 27, 1677.⁵⁰ This trend toward the diversification of libraries and the inclusion of more and more secular works progresses as the century advances.

In direct contrast to this library is the one noted in the inventory of the estate of Andrew Sheppard of Boston, dated June 1, 1676, listing only "two Bookes" valued at only 8d.⁵¹

50. S. E. Morison, "The Library of George Alcock, Medical Student, 1676," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions 1930-1933, XXVIII, list, 351-357.

51. "Records of the Suffolk County Court," XXX, 432.

Another primarily medical library of which an inventory remains is that of Samuel Brackenbury, a young physician of Suffolk County who died in the smallpox epidemic of 1678. He left a small library, including several works on chemistry such as the Basilica Chymica (1609) of Oswald Croll, and the Furni Novi Philosophici (1648) and Opus Minerale (1651) of Glauber. His medical books included the collected works of Etienne de la Riviere (1635), Medicina Practica (1644) by Johannes Johnston, the Thesaurus by Dr. Adria of Mazara, Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy and four books by Dr. Thomas Willis, physician in ordinary to King Charles II of England, namely Diatribae Duae (1659) on intestinal fermentation and the urinal system, Cerebri Anatome (1664), Pathologia Cerebri (1667, a pioneer work on the nervous system), and Pharmaceutice Rationalis (1674). He also owned an unnamed work of Descartes.⁵² This is a very different library from that of the typical religious-dominated one so prevalent at that time, and reflects the trend toward more secular collections found toward the end of the century.

Another library not dominated by religious works is that of Daniel Russell of Charlestown who died in 1679 when less than ten years out of college. His collection included the poems of George Herbert, Samuel Butler, Anne Bradstreet and Michael Wigglesworth, a few college classics, a Book of Characters, French Paraphrases, Decades Patavini, Seneca's work in English, Homer's Iliad, two folio Chaucers, the Parismus romance, a French and an Italian grammar, a work by "Sir Walter Raughleigh," a work

by Machiavelli, Mrs. Rowlandson's narrative of her captivity (which along with his ownership of Wigglesworth and Bradstreet shows an interest in native authors), Barclay's Argenis, about half a dozen medical books of the more popular sort (Culpeper, Lowes, Bailey's Directions for Health, Ambroise Paré in English), numerous college texts and "80 Pamphlets."⁵³ This library contained a great many more literary works than the majority of libraries discussed so far. The classics are also represented as are medicine and textbooks. It would be interesting to know the contents of the "80 Pamphlets" to get a more complete idea of the contents of the library.

Of the library of Percival Lowell of the famous Boston family, we know only indirectly, but his descendants reported that he sat by day reading his Bible or Richard Hooker's The Lawes of Ecclesiastical Piety or Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy. So it seems quite probable that these three books at least⁵⁴ were in his library at the time of his death in 1682.

The inventory of the estate of another Bostonian, Elnathan Chauncy, son of President Charles Chauncy of Harvard taken August 5, 1694 included "a pcel of Books as apprized by Doctor Graves Mr. Cotton Mather & Mr. Parris 44:03:0 [544 03s.]." Unfortun-⁵⁵ately, again, no titles or suggestion of contents are given.

53. Ibid., 134-135.

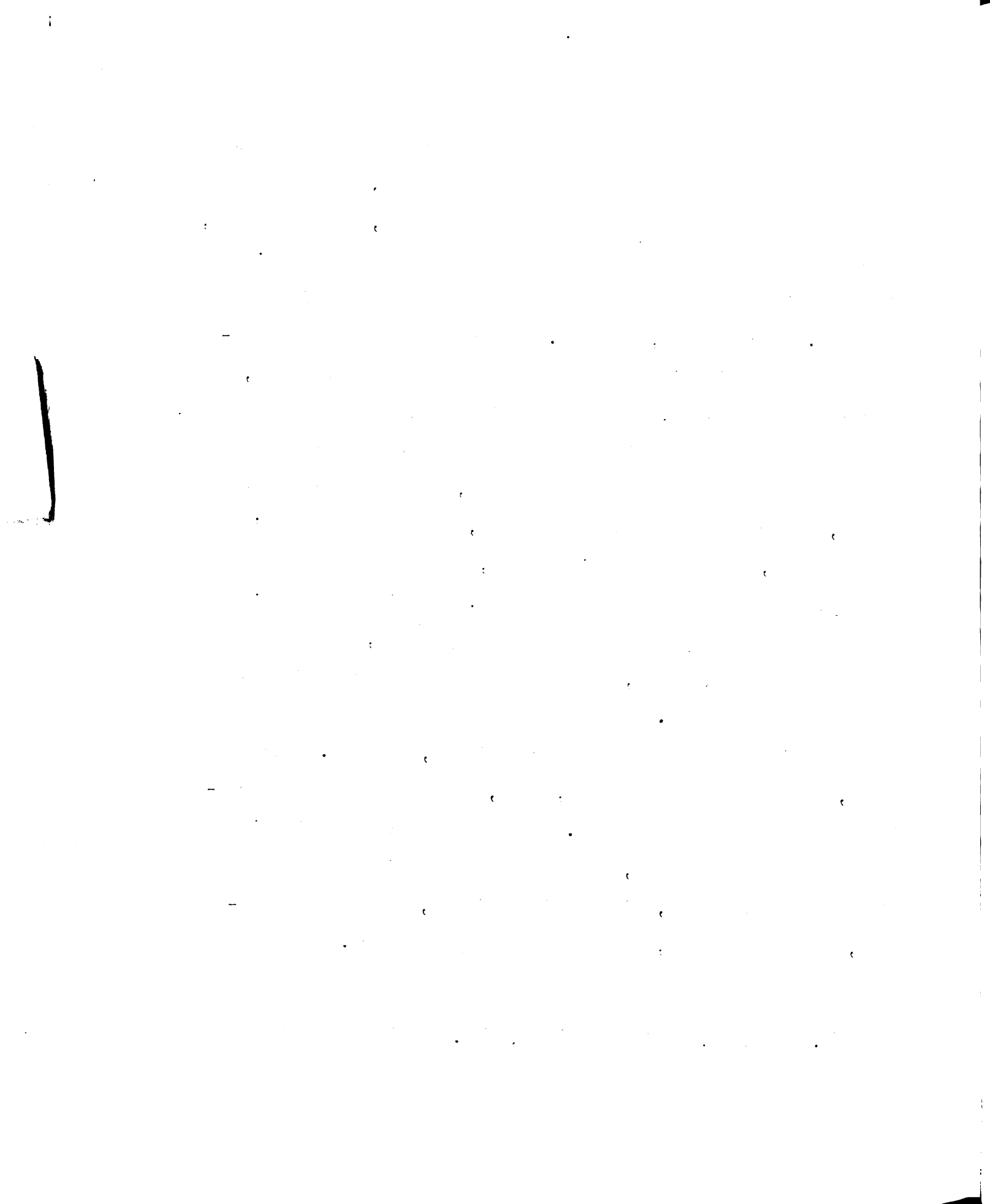
54. F. Greenslet, The Lowells and their Seven Worlds (Boston, 1946), 18.

55. J. H. Tuttle, "Early New England Libraries," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions 1910-1911, XIII, 289.

The evidence presented in this chapter seems to support the generalization that as the century advanced, so did the libraries of the time with more of the classics, medical works, books on mathematics included more often even in minister's libraries in addition to the almost inevitable predominance of religion. For example, the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell of Middlesex County who died in 1688 left about 181 religious works, 75 classics and the like, and 11 of medicine (a total of 267 books). Among the more unusual titles listed in his inventory are the histories of Raleigh and Alexander Ross, the Essays of Montaigne, several volumes on mathematics, including Norwood's Trigonometry, George Herbert's Temple, the Poetae Minores Graecae, the Meditationes of Descartes, Matthias Prideaux's Introduction for Reading all Sorts of Histories, and an English translation (London, 1653) of the Peregrinação of Mendez Pinto in the Far East.

The library of still another minister, the Rev. John Brock, who died this same year, 1688, also indicated the growing emphasis on secular works. When the 386 volumes in his library were inventoried, they were found to include sixteen titles in mathematics, fifteen in medicine, eighteen in history, and 65 classics, belle-lettres and grammars. The remainder were religious with one hundred volumes not listed

56. Morison, Puritan Proneos, 135.



by title.⁵⁷ Here, once more, is a predominantly religious library, but one with a better representation in the fields of mathematics, history, classics and literature than a great many ministers' libraries of the time.

The largest number of books listed in any estate inventory was the more than 6,000 volumes recorded as owned by Michael Perry, New England book-seller. This in itself indicates an interest in books if a man could engage in the business. These books were his stock in trade at the time of his death in 1700, but those listed represented only 213 titles. The Assembly's Catechism, of which 428 copies were listed, apparently was the most popular title he sold. His inventory also listed over 900 primers of various sorts showing that there was considerable interest in education at the time. Other titles included were Willard's Men of War, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, Mather's Folly of Sinning, Aesop's Fables, George Sandys' translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses,⁵⁸ Stapleton's Juvenal, Plutarch's Lives, Lee's Joy of Faith, Peace on Death, Goldman's Dictionary and even Sturny's Magazine.⁵⁹

Three-fourths of Perry's stock was theological, 300 classical literature, 50 on mathematics, 34 copies of popular astrological works, 6 Common Prayer Books, 170 Bibles or parts of Bibles, and more than 300 Psalm Books.⁶⁰ If his stock can be

57. Morison, Puritan Proneos, 136

58. T.E. Keys, "The Colonial Library & the Development of Sectional Differences in the American Colonies," The Library Quarterly, VIII, no. 3, July 1938, 375-376.

59. W.B. Weeden, Economic & Social History of New England, 1620-1789 (Boston, 1890), 2 Vols., I, 413.

60. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries," 141.

considered to reflect the general trend of libraries of the time, the predominance of religious works is truly outstanding, with classical literature and "useful" books (primers, mathematical works and the like) far less popular, but probably more popular than earlier in the century.

I have purposely discussed the rest of the seventeenth century private libraries in the Massachusetts Bay Colony before telling about the famous libraries of the Mather family, which by the end of the seventeenth century was the largest private library in all New England. My reason for this is that its history is virtually the only one I found that extended over almost the entire century, building up from generation to generation.

Its history really begins in England about the year 1610 with the early collection of books later brought over by Richard Mather, the first of this notable family of ministers to settle in New England.⁶¹ Although not a great many of the details concerning this library are known, we do know that he willed Mr. Perkin's works, some three volumes, to Timothy, and "Mr. Scudder Treatise on Christians daily walke" to Elizabeth. All the rest of his books were divided among his other sons Samuel, Nathaniel, Eleazar, and Increase, with Samuel getting a double portion as the eldest son. Samuel, in his will of

61. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 269.

March 7, 1672, gave "double porcion of my father's manuscripts and books in New England to my nephew Samuell Mather [the son of his brother Timothy] ... my own writings and manuscripts to my brother Nathaniel...."⁶²

Nathaniel, Richard's second son, gave most of his books to his brother Increase's son, Samuel, while the library of Eleazar, Richard's third son, probably went into the hands of his own son, Wareham.⁶³ Of the contents of these libraries, nothing is said, and of their dispersion nothing is known.

The next (and most important) evidence in the study of the seventeenth century Mather libraries is a catalogue of the books in the library of Increase (1639-1723), the youngest son of Richard who inherited a share of his father's library. Increase, a very prominent minister of the time, wrote this list in his own handwriting. It was dated August 18, 1664, and listed about 675 titles,⁶⁴ of which about 30 per cent were in Latin and some in Greek.⁶⁵ The great majority of these were on religion, with some colonial authors represented, among them John Cotton and Richard Mather himself.⁶⁶ It also included several books on government, such as Sir Walter Raleigh's The Prerogatives of Parliament, as well as copies of Propositions Sent to the King at New Castle, and the Solemn League and

62. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 277-279.

63. Ibid., 279

64. I counted from the list in Tuttle, 280-290, about 664 - 454 in folio, 166 in octavo, and 54 small octavo or 16to.

65. Keys, "The Colonial Library," 375.

66. Taken from list of this catalogue printed in Tuttle, 280-290.

Covenant. Also listed are a Hebrew Bible, several Greek and Hebrew grammars, and even a Syriac grammar. The classics are also represented by such authors as Juvenal, Cicero with his de oratore, de officiis, and orationes, Demosthenes, Horace, Homer, Ovid and Aesop. ⁶⁷ Indeed, classical literature numbered 21 titles, and history 72, ⁶⁷ including History of the Waldenses and Jefferii Historia Gotteschalii. Two rather unusual works of interest also included were Willet and Holland's De Vocal Judgment of Witches and Hall against long hair. At the end of this catalogue, Increase included a list of some seventeen titles out on loan to ten different people, including his brother, and also lists four books that he himself had borrowed ⁶⁸ from one Mr. Gover.

A study of Mather's correspondence also affords evidence as to his library acquisitions after the 1664 catalogue of his library was made. On February 16, 1676/7, Richard Chiswell, a London bookseller, sent Increase the following books:

	£	s.	d.
<u>A Coppy</u>			
Postage of 2 Pacquett wherein Letters for your Brothers	0.	1.	0
Dr Tuckneys Sermons, 4 ^o	0.	8.	0
Straight gate to heaven, 12 ^o bound	0.	0.	8
Hotchkis reformation or ruine, 8 ^o	0.	2.	0
Discovery of Pigmies, 8 ^o	0.	1.	0
Horologicall Dialogues, 8 ^o	0.	1.	0
Hornes Cause of Infants maintained, 4 ^o	0.	1.	0
Whiston on Baptism, all 3 parts, 8 ^o	0.	5.	6
State of Northampton, 4 ^o	0.	0.	3

67. Keys, "The Colonial Library," 375.

68. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," list, 280-290.

	£	s.	d.
Tozer's Directions to a godly life, 12 ^o	0.	1.	0
Barbets Chircurgery, 8 ^o	0.	6.	0
Leybournes Dialling, 4 ^o	0.	3.	0
Hook's Motion of the Earth, 4 ^o	0.	1.	0
Stephenson's mathemat. Compendium, 12 ^o	0.	2.	6
8 First principles of New England, 4 ^o . re- turned 69	0.	8.	0
<u>Added.--</u>			
Pacquet of advices to the men of Shaftsbury, 4 ^o	0.	1.	6
King & Ld. Chancellor's Speeches	0.	0.	6
Dr. Stillingfleet's Letter to a Deist, 8 ^o	0.	2.	6
Mr Hales (of Eaton) his Tracts, 8 ^o	0.	2.	6
Hornecks Law of Consideration, 8 ^o	0.	3.	6
Walker of Baptism, 12 ^o	0.	3.	6
Rules of Health, 12 ^o	0.	1.	0
Family Physitian, 12 ^o	0.	1.	0
Judge Hale's Contemplations, 2 Vol. 8	0.	10.	0
24 Warrs of New England, 4. [written by Mather]	-	-	-
Catalogue No. 7. 8. 9. 10, fol.	-	-	70

Samuel Petto informed Mather in a letter dated June 13, 1677, that he intended to send him "Dr. Owen of the reason of faith."⁷¹

In another letter written on May 14, 1678, Petto wrote: "I have herewith sent you three books Christianismus Christianandus, and Mr. Ny's paper...also Mr. Troughton of Divine Providence & especially of pr determination & Concourse..."⁷²

On August 23, 1679 Increase received a letter from Thomas Jolie in which Jolie said: "I have sent you herewith 2 treatises, which severall yeares agoe I drew up when I was a prisoner."⁷³

Increase's cousin Jonathan Tuckney wrote him from Hackney, England, on September 9, 1679, saying: "I...sent you two

69. A book written by Increase Mather that did not sell well.

70. "Mather Papers," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fourth Series, VIII, 1898, 577.

71. Ibid., 341

72. Ibid., 343

73. Ibid., 325

bookes of my father's labors, one English sermons, the other Latin Prelections & Determinations..."⁷⁴ Samuel Petto wrote to Increase again on January 16, 1681-2, informing him that he was sending him "Mr Stockton's book entituled Consolation in Life & Death."⁷⁵ Abraham Kick wrote to him on August 5, 1683, hoping that "...the bookes sent by Mr. John Pecke come safe to your hand..."⁷⁶ Samuel Baker informed Mather on September 2, 1684:

I have given Mr. Epps order to send you 1. An Acct of the present state of the Prot. Religion, supposed by Dr. O., though I guess you have it, for which reason I do not send you his Meditations of Glory. 2. A defence of his 12 arguments in answer to Baxter. 3. The Dr's Escot reprinted, with a Catalogue at the end, of all the Dr's books. 4. A little book against Health-drinking. 5. The life of one Mr. Henry Dorney, who was an Elder of Mr. Row's Church, whose Discourses & Lrs in it I presume you will value....⁷⁷

His cousin, Jonathan Tuckney, wrote Mather again on August 29, 1684 that "...whereas you desire to see Dr. Spencer of Prodigies, I have procured it you, & herewith send it...."⁷⁸ In a postscript to the same letter written five days later on September 3, Tuckney added: "...and I desire you accept from me... another Latin piece of the same author's concerning Urim & Thummim; what they were...."⁷⁹ In January, 1688-9, John Leusden of Utrecht, Belgium, wrote Increase stating that "...on the 30th

74. Ibid., 353
 75. Ibid., 348
 76. Ibid., 598
 77. Ibid., 513
 78. Ibid., 354
 79. Ibid., 355

of March I sent some books, vizt a New Lexicon, a Compendium of the Greek New Testament, two Psalters in Hebrew and English,⁸⁰ and one in Hebrew & Latine."

Unfortunately, a fire on November 27, 1676 destroyed a part of this magnificent collection. Cotton Mather, Increase's son, in his Parentator said:

His own house also took a part in the Ruins: But by the Gracious Providence of God, he lost little of his Beloved Library: Not an Hundred Books from above a Thousand: of these also he had an immediate Recruit, by the generous offer which the Honourable Mrs. Bridget Hoar made him, to take what he Pleased from the Library of her Deceased Husband. 81

From entries in several volumes of the Mather Collection at Worcester it appears likely that Increase also bought books while he was living in London, 1688 to 1691.⁸²

Increase also saw to it that his library was distributed as he wished. By his will, dated September 23, 1673 (although he did not die until 1723, some fifty years later), he gave one-half of his library and all his manuscripts to his son Cotton, one-fourth to his son Samuel of Witney, England, and the remaining one-fourth to his "fatherless grandson, Mather Byles, in case he shall be educated for and employed in the work of the ministry."⁸³

John Dunton in a letter written from Boston on March 25, 1686, said of Increase and his library: "After an hour spent

80. Ibid., 679
 81. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 290
 82. Ibid., 292
 83. Ibid., 292-293

in his company (which I took for Heaven) he shew'd me his Study: And I do think he has one of the best (for a Private Library) that I ever saw... Mr. Mather's Library is the Glory of New-England, if not of all America." ⁸⁴ Increase, then, had a truly magnificent private collection for his time, and though, as is to be expected, it was primarily religious, yet many works in the fields of classical literature, history, languages and similar fields were included. Fortunately, too, the preservation of his 1664 listing of it is available to give a complete picture of it as it existed at that time.

Cotton, Increase's son, carried on the tradition of the Mather libraries. Born on February 12, 1662/3, he received the largest part of his father's vast library after his death in 1723, and had begun his own library at the age of nineteen with some 96 volumes, of which 81 were theological and the remainder works on history, philosophy and philology. ⁸⁵

Cotton seems also to have manifested an early passion for books and learning, and his studies in preparation for college seem to have been more extensive than was usual at the time since he studied the works of Homer and Isocrates as well as those of many Latin authors not even very familiar to those who had taken a degree. ⁸⁶ Cotton said of himself:

84. Ibid., 294

85. C.M. Andrews, Colonial Folkways: A Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges (New Haven, 1921), 152-153.

86. J. Sparks, The Library of American Biography (New York, 1856), 10 vols., VI, 171.

I am able with little study to write in seven languages. I feast myself with the sweets of all sciences, which the more polite part of mankind ordinarily pretend to. I am entertained with all kinds of histories ancient and modern. I am no stranger to the curiosities which by all sort of learning, are brought to the curious. 87

This certainly implies a wide knowledge of bookes, and very probably a large library. Charles Chauncy, President of Harvard, said of him: "There were scarcely any books written but he had [some] how or other got the sight of them. His own library was the largest by far of any private one on the continent."⁸⁸ Cotton, himself substantiates this, stating in his diary, October 28, 1683, that he had "a Library, exceeding any man's, in all this Land."⁸⁹ Another diary entry of interest occurs on October 16, 1700, when he visited the widow of President Charles Chauncy and was offered his pick of Chauncy's library. He singled out about forty volumes "and some of them large Ones" to add to his library already numbering "between two and three thousand."⁹⁰ Cotton, then, seems to have had a very large library, including volumes on religion, history, science and very likely literature.

Here, however, we must leave the story of the Mather libraries until the chapter dealing with New England private libraries of the eighteenth century and turn our attention to

87. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 294.

88. Ibid.

89. "Diary of Cotton Mather 1681-1708," Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, Seventh Series, VII, 1911, 2 parts, part 1, 77.

90. Ibid., 368.

the tiny colony of Rhode Island or Providence Plantations, founded by Roger Williams in 1636. Naturally there was not nearly as much material available on the private libraries of this settlement as for its larger "neighbors," Massachusetts and Connecticut.

The first library I found reference to was that of William Blackstone, a hermit minister, who died not far from Providence in 1675, leaving a library numbering some 160 volumes, and ten manuscript books valued in the estate inventory at the sum of 6 d. each or 5 s. for the lot. However, only one month after his death, King Philip's war broke out, and among the first things to be burned were his former home and its library.⁹¹ Its contents were not given or discussed.

William Harris of Rhode Island, a contemporary and adversary of Roger Williams, left a library of about thirty volumes in 1680. Rather interestingly, over one-third of it, some eleven books, were on law, headed by Coke on Littleton. He also owned the "London Despenctory" and two other common medical books, a "Dixonarey," Richard Norwood's Trigonometry, Gervase Markham's Gentleman Jockey, Lambarde's Perambulation of Kent, Morton's New England Memorial, a treatise on "The Effect of Warr," a sprinkling of theology, and standard literature such as Sir Mathew Hale's Contemplations, Moral and Divine.⁹²

91. C.F. Adams, "Exercises at the Laying of the Corner Stone," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, New Series, XX, Part 1, 1909, 11.

92. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries," 137.

It is interesting to note the rather rare dominance of law books and the relative weakness of theological writings. Although all of its contents are not given, there also seems to be a lack of classical authors.

Hardly worthy to be called a "library" is the one book left to his heirs by John Smith, a miller, who died at Providence in 1682, just two years after Harris's death. In the line of books he owned only one volume, a Bible, and that mutilated ("some lost and some of it torn").⁹³

Only a biographer furnishes us with information concerning the library of Roger Williams (circa 1604-1683), religious dissenter and founder of the Rhode Island colony. It is stated that:

The material used by Williams..was built upon a long lifetime of much reading and study. In his wide reading, he came "by books to know the affairs and religions of all countries; let any man read the works of the Papists, Lutherans, Arminians, and amongst ourselves the Episcopal and Presbyterian writings, a man shall have wherein to exercise his judgment, memory, etc...he entered into Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Anglo-Saxon, and English philology; he discussed English accidents, tautologies, grammar, diction, symbols, and figures of speech. Christian symbolics, comparative dogmatics, biblical criticism, and history were called in to contrast the Quaker tenets with Papists, Protestants, Sectaries, and the many heresies of the past. In historical criticism he was especially advanced for his age. To understand fully the arguments and proofs in George Fox Digg'd Out of his Burrows requires a thorough training in apologetics and dogmatics. He makes mention of Bellarmine, Plato, Diogenes, Machiavelli, Book of Martyrs, Chaucer, Baxter, Jeremy Taylor, John Bunyan, and

93. R. Stewart, "Puritan Literature and the Flowering of New England," William and Mary Quarterly, Third Series, III, no. 3, July, 1946, 319.

many other writers both Pagan and Christian....⁹⁴

From this it seems quite likely that Williams owned a predominantly religious library with probably a liberal representation of history, classical languages and some English literature.

One of the best known and most interesting Rhode Island libraries was that of Samuel Lee, a dissenting clergyman, who emigrated to New England in 1686 and became minister of a church at Bristol. On a voyage back to England in 1691 he was taken prisoner by a French privateer, and died in France. His library, however, remained in New England and was sold by Duncan Campbell "Book-seller over against the Conduit" in Boston in 1693. It was considered important enough to be advertised for sale in a special book catalogue. On this catalogue cover, the library was advertised as containing "A Choice Variety of Books upon all subjects: particularly, Commentaries on the Bible: Bodies of Divinity. The Works as well of the Ancient, as of the Modern Divines: Treatise on the Mathematicks, in all Parts; History, Antiquities: Natural Philosophy Physick, and Chymistry; With Grammar and School-Books."⁹⁵

About 1300 volumes belonging to Lee were recorded in this catalogue, about four-fifths of them in Latin. Books on divinity and ecclesiastical history made up about 30 per cent of the collection.⁹⁶ Of divinity in Latin there were about 215

94. J. Ernst, Roger Williams, New England Firebrand (New York, 1932), 476.

95. S. A. Green, Remarks On an Early Book-Catalogue Printed in Boston; with other Bibliographical Matter (n.p., n.d.), 3.

96. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries," 141.

titles, and in English 96. The headings of medicine and natural science included about 119 titles, and philosophy, including two works of Descartes, 71.⁹⁷ There were also about 60 titles in mathematics, astronomy, and astrology, and some eight or ten volumes on law, such as Justinian's Institutes, Corpus Juris Civilis, and Grotius's de jure belli.⁹⁸ Histories in Latin included one of Normandy, one of France, one of Byzantium, one of Hungary, Dugdale's Monasticon, the works of Meursius, Cluvier, Vossius and Plutarch, Seldon's Mare Clausum and Polydore Virgil, totalling altogether 120 volumes. Histories in English numbered about 45 and included Sir Walter Raleigh's, Fynes Moryson's Travels, the History of Scanderbeg, an English naval history, Arthur Wilson's History of the Reign of James I, Sandys' History of China, a biography of Mary Queen of Scots, Howell's History of London, and natural histories such as Bacon's and Evelyn's Sylva. In addition, there were over 300 unclassified works in Latin.⁹⁹ Indeed, Rev. Lee had an extremely large and varied library, again predominantly religious and with an unusually high percentage of works in Latin. However, science, medicine, mathematics, the classics, history and law were all represented to some extent, and the only real weakness of this library seems to lie in the field of modern literature and belles-lettres.

97. Morison, Puritan Pronaos, 140.

98. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries," 142.

99. Morison, Puritan Pronaos, 140-141.



A little more information is available concerning the early private libraries of Connecticut where the first permanent English settlement was made in 1636 by the Rev. Thomas Hooker and the Rev. Samuel Stone. The first library of which there is any mention in this colony is that of Edward Tench of New Haven, who died in 1640 leaving a library valued at 12 10 s. in a total estate of 400.¹⁰⁰ Fifty-three volumes of his are listed, including six Bibles, a Concordance, some forty books of Bible commentary and practical religion (the chief author represented being Dr. Richard Sibbes), two or three medical books, one law book, Dalton's Country Justice, one book of cookery and household economy, and two agricultural works, Markham's Husbandry and Mascall's Government of Cattle.¹⁰¹ This predominantly religious list again lacked any works of the classics, science (except for cookery and agriculture), or belles-lettres.

Theophilus Eaton, one of the founders of New Haven, Connecticut, although a wealthy merchant rather than a minister, owned a predominantly religious library. A catalogue of it shows a total of 95 titles. About two-thirds of the books were in Latin and were, again, mainly theological. Most numerous were the works of Calvin (11 Latin folios) and David Pareus, an eminent German divine of the Reformed Church. Other departments of theology were also represented with books

100. Wright, Literary Culture, 49.

101. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries," 49.

on dogmatics, practical theology, sermons, and polemics, including writers such as John Robinson and Henry Ainsworth. The classical authors represented in this library were Plutarch, Virgil, and Ovid in an English translation. More modern Latin works listed were Sir Thomas More's Utopia and Erasmus's Proverbs. No belle-lettres were found in this library, and almost no science with the exception of "Lawsens Anatomy." The only modern history was Sir Walter Raleigh's History of Ye World, and in ecclesiastical history, the popular Foxe's Books of Martyrs. An unidentified book on military discipline, Martin's Hebrew Grammar, a Greek grammar and "Kecker, Syst. mathem." complete the library of this well-to-do merchant who left his library to the town of New Haven at his death in 1658. ¹⁰²

Two other early connecticut libraries about which less information can be given were those of William Ames and Rev. Thomas Hooker. Ames, a teacher of theology at Cambridge University, had intended to follow Rev. Hooker to Connecticut, but died soon after Hooker left for New England. However, his library did reach New England as it was brought here in the early summer of 1637, just one year after the first permanent English settlement in the colony, with his widow and children. ¹⁰³ The library of Hooker, himself, was inventoried at the sum of £300 from a total estate of £1336 15 s. in 1647, suggesting a

102. F. B. Dexter, "The First Public Library in New Haven," Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, VI 1900, list, 309-313.

103. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 273.



large library.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, however, none of the details concerning its contents are available.

Evidence of book ownership is also found in some rather peculiar and amusing entries in Connecticut estate inventories. Robert Day of Hartford died in 1648 leaving an estate of £143 including "one pound in bookes, and sackes, and ladders." Joseph Clark of Windsor owned goods valued at £44 at his death in 1655 and one item from his estate inventory included: "For bacon, 1 muskett, and some bookes, £ 2.12s." In 1661, John Wakeman of New Haven left an estate of £300 including "three shirts and some old Bookes, fifteen shillings." At his death, Nathaniel Bowman of Wethersfield possessed "Books, bottles and odd things" with a total value of 12 s. Gov. John Haynes of Hartford left an estate of more than £1400 including "1 greate bible and 1 gilded looking glass, 16 shillings" as the only reference to any sort of library.¹⁰⁵

Three Connecticut ministers, Rev. John Norton, Rev. John Davenport, and Rev. John Wareham left libraries between the years 1663 and 1670. The Rev. John Norton left a library of 729 volumes valued at £300 in 1663, and the library of the Rev. John Davenport, one of the colony's earliest settlers, was appraised at £233 17s. after his death in 1670, suggesting that he, too, probably owned a substantial library.¹⁰⁶ Mr. John Wareham, pastor of the Church of Christ at Windsor,

104. Weeden, History of New England, I, 230.

105. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries," 137 and 145.

106. Morison, Puritan Pronaos, 135.

died this same year, 1670, leaving a library valued at $\text{£} 82$ ¹⁰⁷
4s.

About the only library belonging to a woman to which I found any reference in Connecticut was that of Dame Anna Palsgrove, the widow of a physician. At her death in 1669 she left a collection of medical books (probably left by her husband) and Pliny's Natural History.¹⁰⁸

A far better known library was the one belonging to John Winthrop, Jr. (1606-1674), a governor of Connecticut. His library of some 269 titles contained a few Latin classics, some works of Cornelius Agrippa, Aristotle, Aquinas, Erasmus, Grotius on "True Religions," Machiavelli's Contra Tyrannos Bloundevill on horses, an abridgement of Coke, Godwyn's Civil and Ecclesiastical Rites of the Hebrew, Jamblichus' Lulli Raymundi, Sir George Mackenzie's Moral Galantry, two books by Melancthon, three by Paracelsus, a few on mathematics, and many of a mystical nature such as Flannel's Philosopher's Stone. Pascall is represented by Les Provinciales, and also included are William West's Symbiography, works on astrology, anti-papal and theological treatises, Curia Politiae, William Potter's Key to Wealth, a folio tract¹⁰⁹ of 1650, and Castiglione's Book of the Courtier.

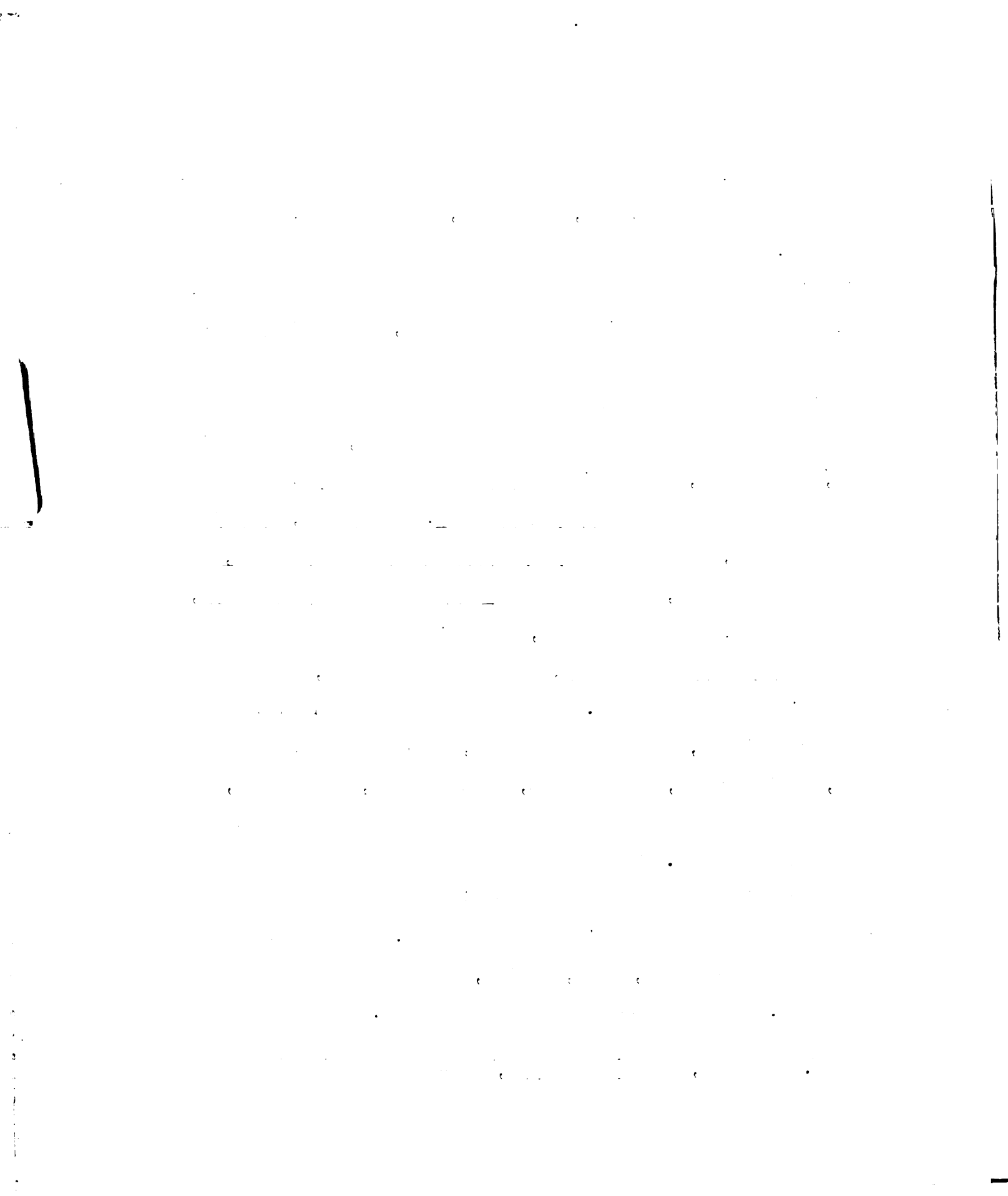
107. Stewart, "Puritan Literature," 319.

108. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries," 136.

109. Stewart, "Puritan Literature," 332, and Weeden, History of New England, I, 230-231.

This library shows that Winthrop was a man of relatively broad interests, concerned not only with the things of the soul, but also with the state, law, geography, the classics, and literature. Among those of a general cultural character were Scaliger's edition of the Latin poetry of Ausonius (Heidelberg, 1588), Boistuat de Launai's Théâtre du Monde, Cluvier's Introductio in Universam Geographiam, an Italian translation of Erasmus's Christian Prince, and a collection on political and economic theory including Potters' Key to Wealth, Machiavelli's Prince, Jean Bodin, and the Vindiciae contra Tyrannos. He also owned two volumes of Ley Hymnes de P. de Ronsard, gentil homme Vandomois, as well as The Historie of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderberg, The Historie of the Troubles of Hungarie, by Martin Fumee, Lord of Genille, Camden's Annales Rerum Anglicarum Regnante Elizabetha, the works of Hesoid, and Stephanus's Greek Anthology. As to the languages in which his books were written, half were in Latin, 71 in English, 23 in German, 17 in French, 12 in Dutch, 7 in Italian, 4 in Greek, and one in Spanish showing a wide knowledge of both ancient and modern languages.

Several items of interest concerning books and libraries were also found in Winthrop's correspondence. Henry Jacie wrote to him in January, 1631, saying, "A book of the Northern Star (by Dr. Goad) was sent you to go herewith." The next



year Edward Howes wrote him saying that he had sent books to James Downing, John Winthrop Sr., as well as Winthrop Jr. who received at this time the Swedish Intelligencer, Archymedes, an alamanac, and a "booke of the probabilities of the North West Passage." Howe also included Smyth's Arte of Gunnery and Norton's Practise of Artillery for the use of a Mr. Samford. March, 1634, Howes also sent him the following list of books:

	Li.	s.	d.
Dr. Fludds Macrocosme in 2 volumes	1	10	0
Isogoge Phisico Magico &c.	0	1	6
Petrus Galatinus de Arcanis Catholicae veritatis	0	10	0
Phillippi Grulingii Florilegum	0	2	0
Mercurius Rediuius per Norton	0	2	6
The Rarities of Cochin China	0	1	0
Wingate Logarithms	0	4	6
An English Grammer	0	1	0
The Gunners Dialogue	0	2	0
Bedwells Messolabium	0	1	0
			111

Writing from Pequot to England in 1648, Winthrop said:

I am glad to heare of those books coming forth. Paullin and Propugnaculi Fabri, and Helmont's Workes...I desire also yt in high Dutch, Galuberus, if you approve of it, and more I desire you earnestly to procure for me, that is Vagineer des Cyphres wch you know is to be had at Paris. 112

Two letters from Henry Oldenburg to Winthrop give evidence of Winthrop's interest in science. Oldenburg wrote to Winthrop on March 26, 1670 saying: "... you are to receive with it some few books lately printed here by several Fellows of ye Society, viz.: 1. Mr. Boyles Continuation of ye Experimts concerning the Spring and weight of the Aire. 2. Dr. Holders Philosophy

111. Wright, Literary Culture, 32-34.

112. Andrews, Colonial Folkways, 152.

of Speech. 3. Dr. Thurston de Respirationis usu primario.

4. The Transactions of the last year." ¹¹³ Oldenburg wrote to him again on April 11, 1671 stating:

I herewith send you a few philosophical Books printed here; viz.:--

1. Mr. Boyl's New Tracts about ye wonderful rarefaction and Condensation of the Air, etc.

2. Monsr Charas's New Experiments upon Vipers.

3. The Transactions of 1670.

To these I adde a small discourse, originally written in French against yt great Sorbonist, Monsr Arnaud, touching ye Perpetuity of ye Romish Faith about the Eucharist....114

July, 1672 Winthrop received a letter from William Coddington of Rhode Island informing him that "G. F. [George Fox] hath sent the a booke of his...& two more now....Allso I remember before thy last being in England, I sent thee a booke, written by Francis Howgall against persecution...." ¹¹⁵

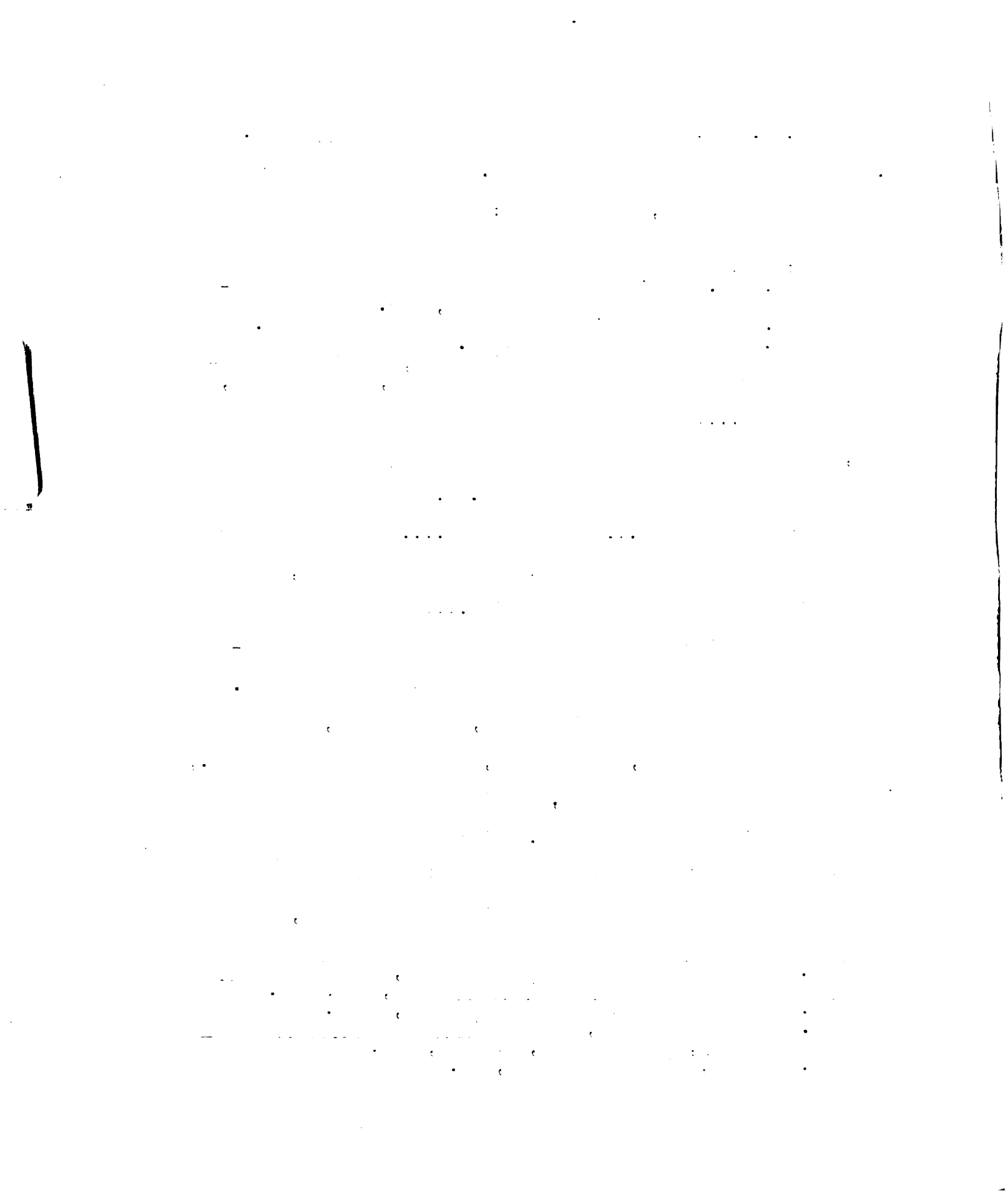
Two other libraries of this period of which little detail is known were also referred to in letters to Winthrop. Stephen Bachiller wrote to him May 18, 1644 saying, "I have had great losse by fire, well knowne, to the vallue of 200 li., with my whole studdy of bookes," ¹¹⁶ implying at least that he had owned a library of some size. Lion Gardiner wrote to Winthrop in 1650 with reference to obtaining a pastor for the small (but unnamed) settlement of which he was leader, and

113. "Henry Oldenburg to John Winthrop," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for 1878, XVI, 244.

114. "Henry Oldenburg to John Winthrop," 251.

115. "Winthrop Papers," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Third Series, X, 1849, 289.

116. Wright, Literary Culture, 34.



said that his library contained "First, the 3 Books of Martters, Erasmus, moste of Perkins, Wilsons Dixtionare, a large Concordiance, mayor on the new Tstement," and concluded saying, "Some of theas, with othar that I have, may be uce-¹¹⁷ full to him."

For being purely theological, however, the library of John Kirby of Middletown, Connecticut is indeed unique. He¹¹⁸ died in 1677 leaving only nine books, all of them Bibles.

The last seventeenth century Connecticut library to which I found reference was that of Deacon George Clark of Milford¹¹⁹ who owned "Record's Arithmaticke" at his death in 1690.

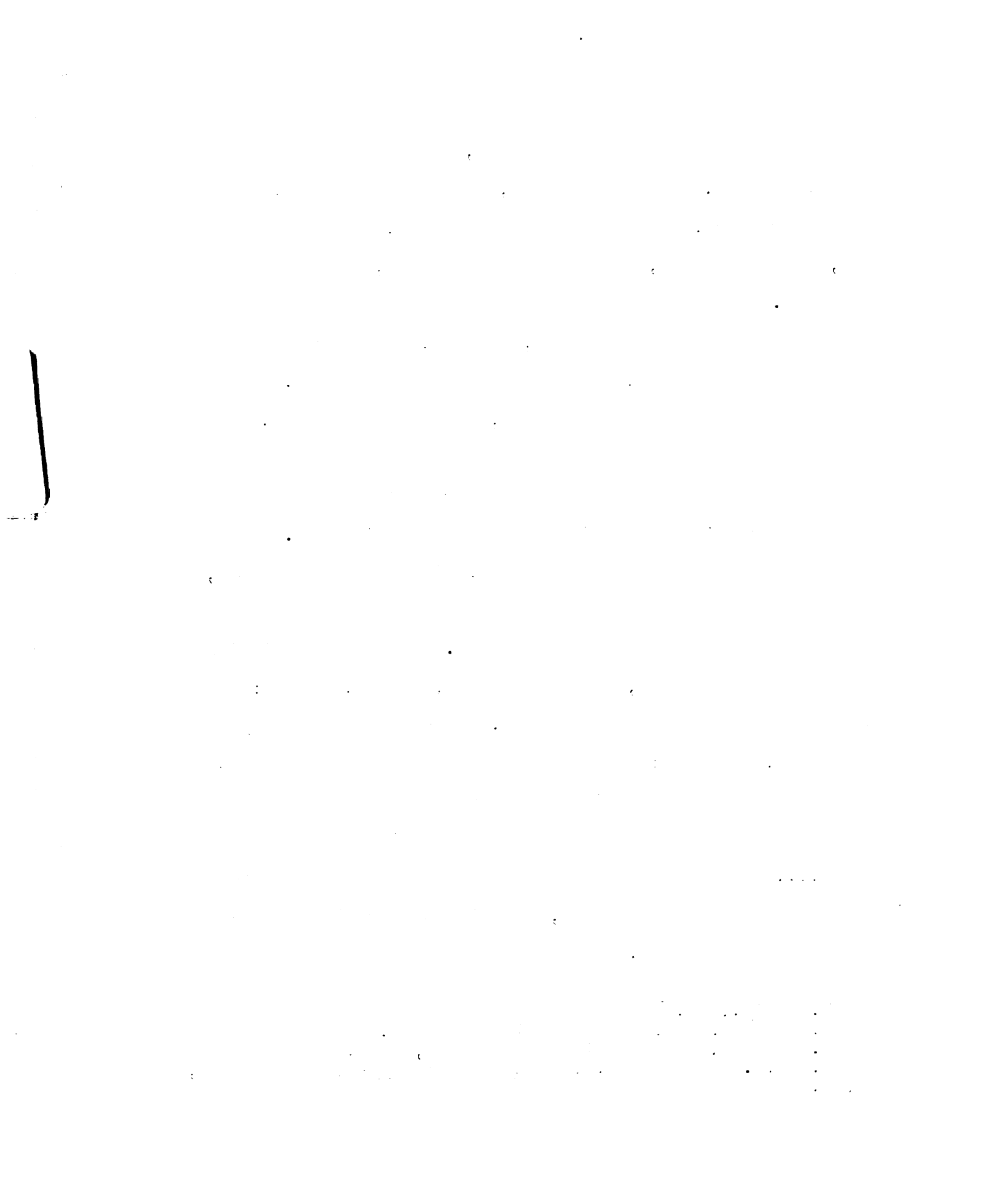
For the region now known as Maine, first settled in 1641, a book of old wills served as the primary source of information concerning seventeenth century libraries. The will of William Scadlocke of Cape Porpus, dated January 7, 1661/2, stated: "I bequeath Vnto my daughter Susanna Mr. Cottons workes Vpon ye new Covenant, of grace: I bequeath a booke Intitled meate out of the Eater to my sun William/ & to my sun John I bequeath a book concerning Justifying faith/ & the practice of pyety to¹²⁰ Rebeccha...." This curious old will consisted almost entirely of this bequest of books, so evidently Scadlocke considered them very highly. It is also interesting to note that

117. Ibid., 44.

118. Dexter, "First Public Library," 307.

119. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries," 136.

120. W.M. Sargent (ed.), Maine Wills: 1640-1760 (Portland, 1887), 2.



every title is religious, and even more significant is the fact that this is the only seventeenth century will included that mentioned books at all.

From the facts presented it is possible to draw some conclusions as to the overall contents of seventeenth century private libraries in New England. Probably the most outstanding fact that this chapter has pointed out in example after example was the predominantly religious contents of an overwhelming number of these New England libraries, particularly in the early part of the century. Bibles, psalters, catechisms, collections of sermons and other religious writings composed the major portion of the majority of seventeenth century New England libraries.

However, exceptions to the usual religious-dominated library were found, especially later in the century. The library of Miles Standish is probably the earliest example of this, and the predominantly medical libraries of George Alcock and Samuel Brackenbury, and the relatively high percentage of law books in the library of William Harris were probably the most striking later examples of this.

A factor closely related to this was the evidence of the great predominance of libraries belonging to ministers. The material presented certainly upholds the belief that they were the major book owners, and probably the better educated people of their day. Again, exceptions can be noted, with the library of John Winthrop Jr. of Connecticut being probably the most

notable example.

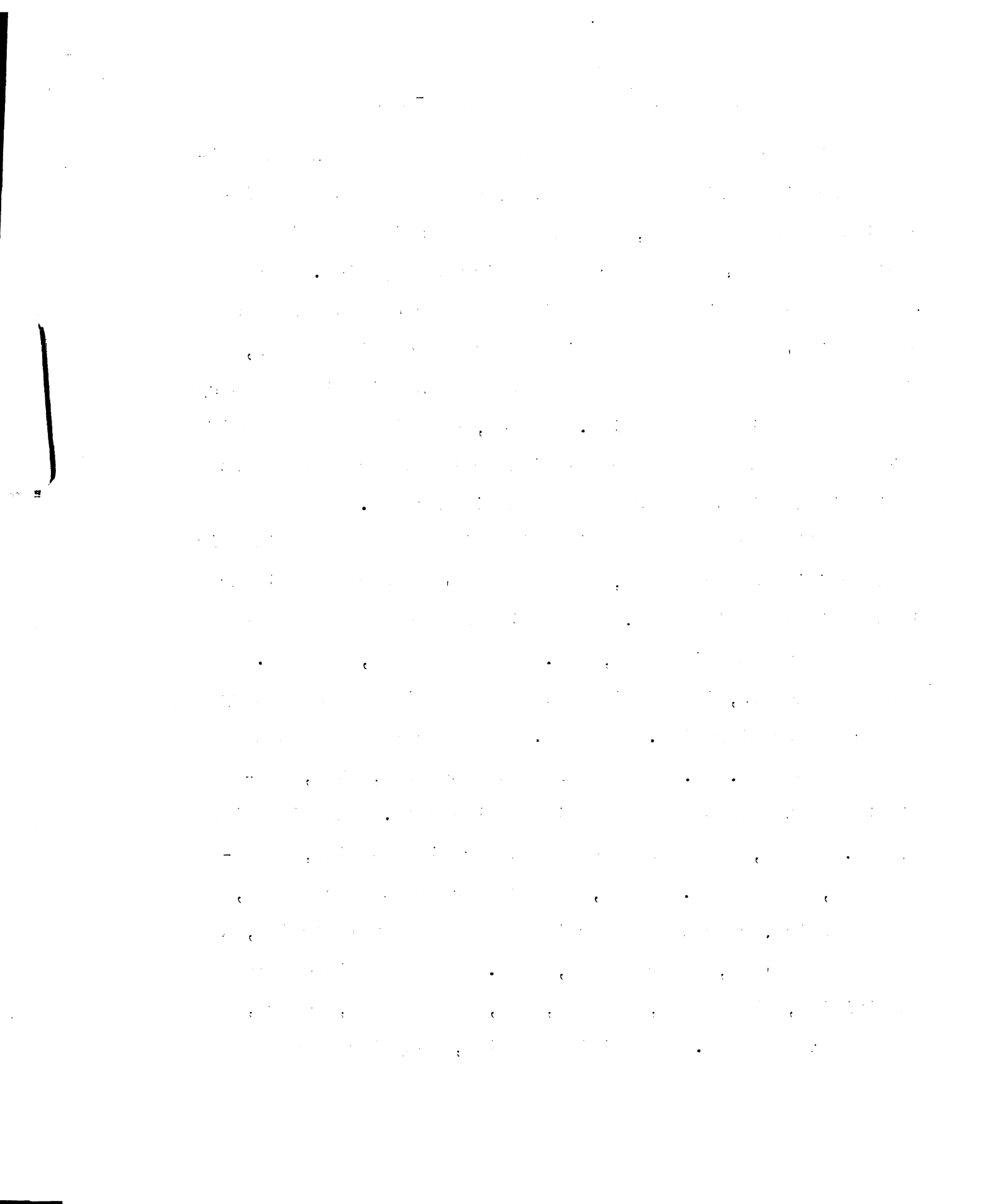
Returning briefly to a discussion of the contents of these early libraries, we found that, in addition to religious works, these collections also often contained the classics, works on medicine, law, agriculture, dictionaries, grammars, and occasionally works in modern foreign languages such as French or Dutch. The most glaring and widespread deficiencies were in the fields of literature and belles-lettres, with contemporary poetry and drama being extremely rare and fiction almost non-existent. However, as has already been pointed out, as the century progressed, the libraries began to include more and more secular works such as the classics and also showed an increased interest in scientific books. The rather widespread mention of books in wills implies that these early settlers placed considerable value on their books and took real pride in their collections. Unfortunately, however, the appraisers of many of these early estates were not interested in their contents and often made their listings and references to them so unspecific as to make them virtually worthless as evidence.

In comparing the libraries in the various colonies, Massachusetts shows her predominance. Within her borders were found the largest and best libraries of the period. It seems not unreasonable to presume that she was the literary and intellectual leader of her time and Boston the intellectual capitol of New England.

CHAPTER IINEW ENGLAND PRIVATE LIBRARIES - 1700-1776

It is necessary now to begin the story of New England Private Libraries again with the year 1700 and complete the discussion to the year 1776, showing the growth in both size and variety of contents that occurred during that period. I have chosen the year 1776 as the closing date because it marks the real beginning of the hostilities of the Revolutionary War, and therefore serves as a convenient termination point in the story of colonial private libraries. Indeed, one might well classify 1776 as the date ending the colonial period and call the next period in American history the Revolutionary era.

The first colony whose libraries will be discussed in this "new era" is Massachusetts, which again shows her predominance in the field of libraries. An auction sale of the books of two Massachusetts ministers, Rev. Rowland Cotton, and Rev. Nathanall Rogers, is the first evidence of eighteenth century Massachusetts libraries. The Rev. John Checkley of Boston wrote to the Rev. Dr. Zachary Grey on October 8, 1725, mentioning that he had attended this auction sale. The libraries of Rev. Cotton, late pastor of the church in Sandwich, Massachusetts, and of Rev. Rogers, late pastor of the Portsmouth, New Hampshire, church were auctioned off by Samuel Garrish, a Boston bookseller, on October 4, 1725. They contained volumes on divinity, philosophy, history, law, mathematics, poetry, and voyages and travels. Classified by size, they included 120



folios, 220 quartos, and 335 octavos or less for a total of 695 books.¹ Since the libraries of the two men were listed together, it is impossible to know which one of them owned various books, and also unfortunately no idea is given of the number of books included under the various subject headings.

Also indirectly we know that John Wise, a colonial democrat from Massachusetts, a minister from 1675-1725, and a political philosopher and thinker, either owned, or at least read, books concerning law, the classics, the church fathers, Reformation leaders, politics, history, philosophy, and fellow New Englanders. He acknowledged his debt to Samuel von Pufendorf (1632-1694), an eminent German jurist and a major figure in the natural law school whose great work was De Jure Naturae et Gentium, a persuasive commentary upon the whole philosophy of natural law. He also quoted the works of Plato, Aristotle, Virgil, Cicero, Cato, Plutarch, and Aesop; the church fathers, especially Tertullian and Eusebius of Caesarea; early and later Reformation leaders such as Martin Luther, Benedict, Turretin, William Ames and John Owen; as well as the Mathers, Nicholas Noyes and John Cotton of New England. He also mentioned such diverse political and philosophical figures as Boethius, Ulpian, Machiavelli, Richard Hooker and Sir Edward Coke, as well as Greek, Roman, English and ecclesiastical histories.²

1. E. F. Slafter, John Checkley; or the Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay, 2 Vols., (Boston, 1897), II, 177-179.

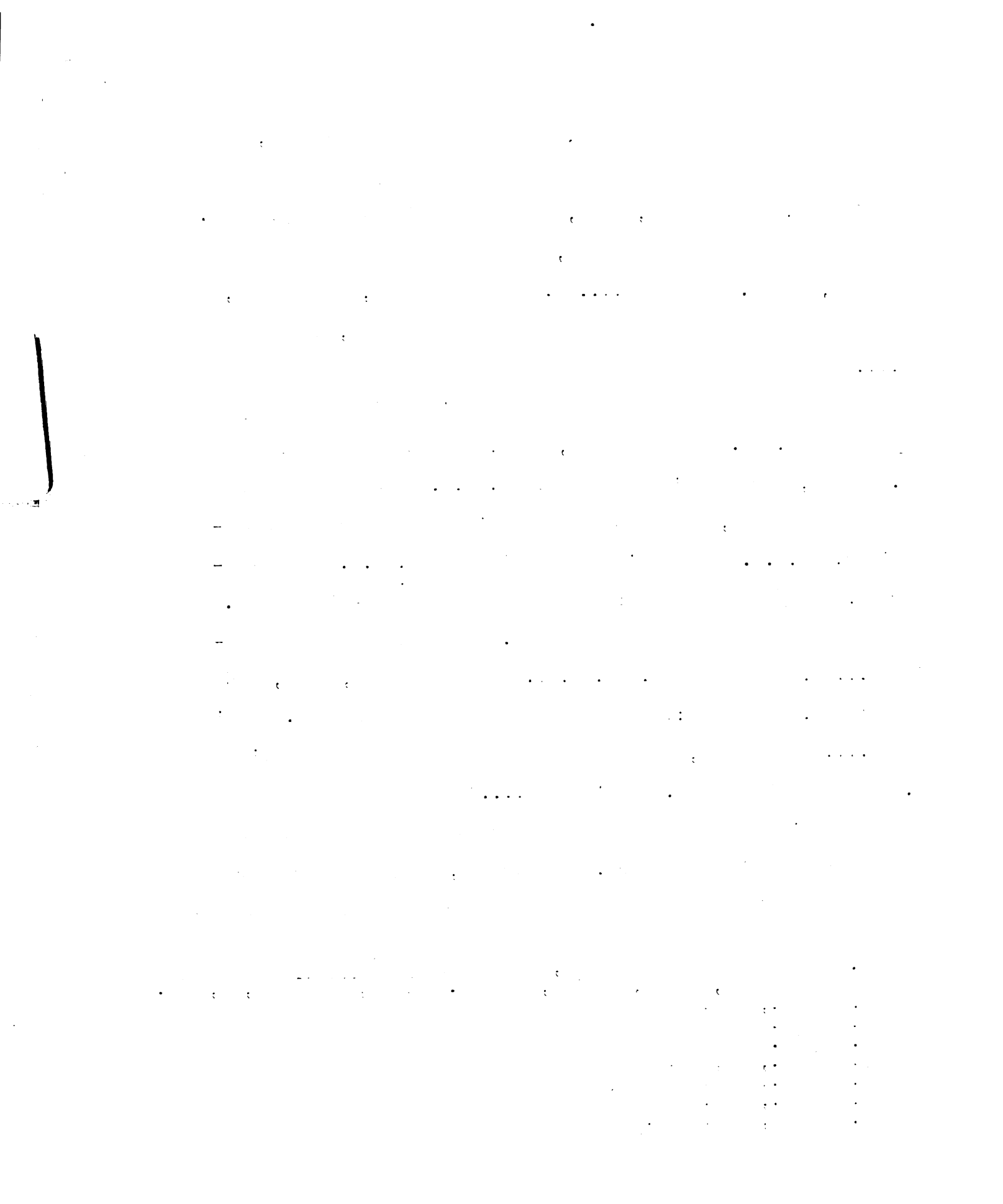
2. C.L. Rossiter, "John Wise: Colonial Democrat," New England Quarterly, XXII, 1949, 14-15.

Samuel Sewall (1652-1730), famous jurist and diarist, has left us in his "letter books" and renowned diary evidences of his library. On July 13, 1680, he recorded in his diary: "Mr. Wotton gave me a very good Book, well bound and Lettered on the Back, of Mr. Flavell's....Mr. Matthew Wotton, bookseller, sends me by his Servant a parcell of Englands Duty, which are 25...."³ July 26 of that same year he stated that he had bought at Holburn a Greek Testament and Shephard's Abridgment of the Laws for 18s. 6d.⁴ On August 1, 1689, he recorded paying "To Mr. Wotton, for Baker's Chronicle, £0.17.6."⁵ Just one week later on August 8, he spent "To 2 Pole's Anotations and 2 Catechises. £4.8.0. Leusden's Hebrew Bible - £1.18.0."⁶ On January 2, 1700/1 he recorded: "Gave to the College-Library Dr. Owens two last Volumes on the Hebrew."⁷ Sewall reported reading "...Mr. Caryl on Job. 12.22...."⁸ on January 1, 1709, and on July 18, 1711 said: "we recreated ourselves with Mr. Watt's Poems...."⁹ June 24, 1721 he recorded that he had "receiv'd 7. of the Folios of Dr. Owen's Life...."¹⁰

Sewall's correspondence adds a great deal more detail to our knowledge of his library. On March 6, 1687/8 he wrote to Edward Taylor inquiring about the Magdeburg Centuries (a complete

3. "Diary of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Fifth, Series, 3 Vols. (V, VI, and VII), V, 284.

4. Ibid., 285.
 5. Ibid.
 6. Ibid.
 7. Ibid., VI, 28.
 8. Ibid., 271.
 9. Ibid., 323.
 10. Ibid., VII, 289.



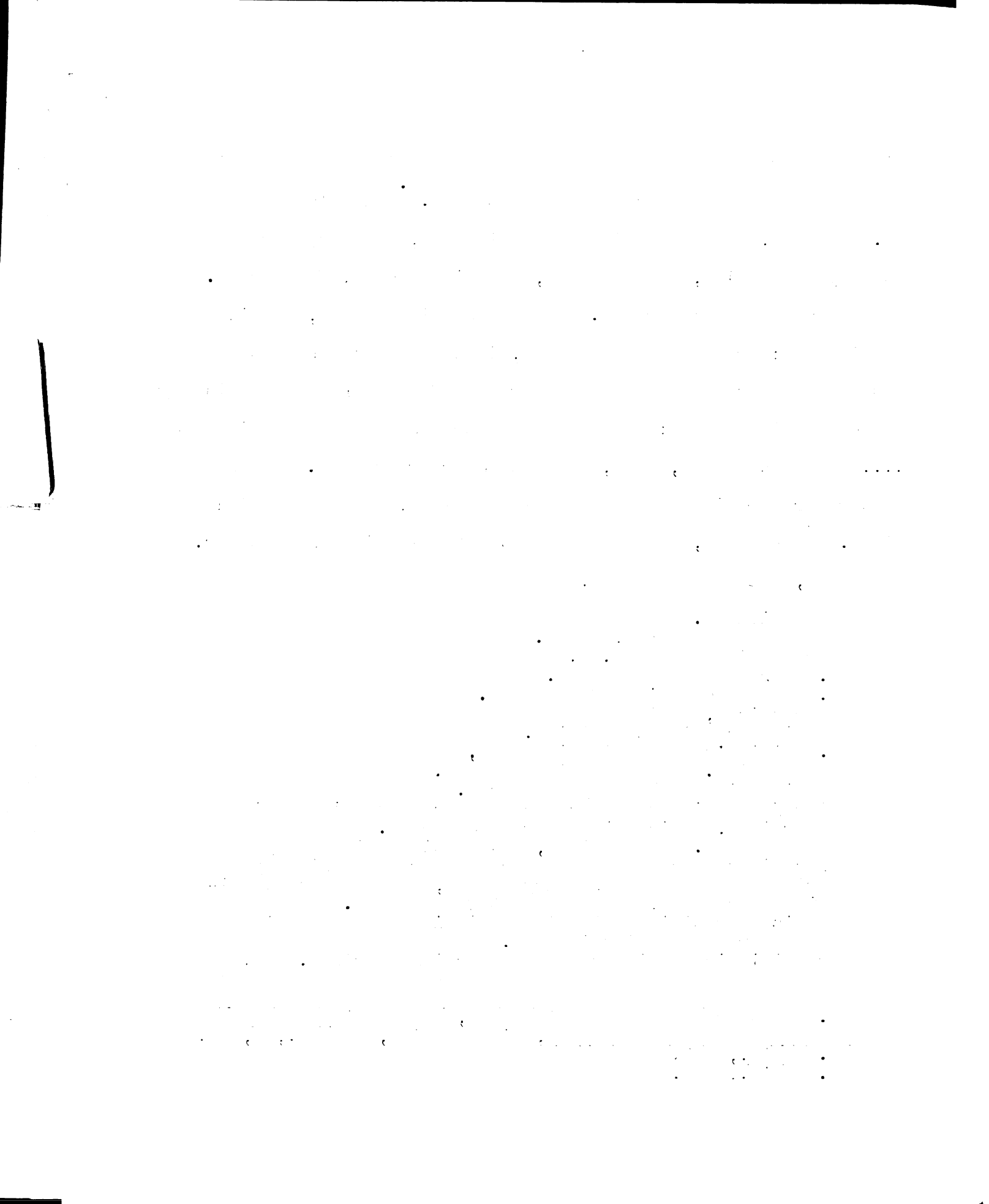
history of church matters from the earliest times to the period of the Reformation) which he wished to own." ¹¹ In a letter to a Mr. Stretton, probably written late in 1691, he asked Stretton "to buy Bellarmine," two volumes, polemical works, fair print. Some Spanish Books; Barthol. de las Casas in Spanish, and in English too; Gram̄ar and Dictionary, if to be had; and what else you shall see convenient for my purpose of getting a Smattering of the Spanish Tongue: provided you exceed not forty shillings" ¹² On April 25, 1698, he sent an order by Capt. Thomas Carter for "Spanish Bible of Cypriano Valero, Deodats Italian Bible." ¹³ June 10, 1700 Sewall sent the following order to Mr. John Love, a London merchant:

Ars Cogitandi. 2
 Le Grands Philosophy, Latin.
 Heerboordi Meletomata. 3.
 Dr. Charletons Physiologia.
 Dr. Moors Imortality of the Soul.
 Metaphysicks, Ethicks
 Glanvils Sceptis Scientifica.
 Dr. Wilkins's natural Principles,
 and Duties. His World in the Moon.
 Stallius his Regulae Phylosophicae.
 Stierij Questiones Physicae cum Praeceptis Philosophiae
 Burgerdicus, Logick with Heerebords Notes.
 The great His. Geographical, and Poetical Dictionary being
 a curious Miscellany of Sacred and Prophane History
 printed at London for Henry Rhodes, If there be an Edi-
 tion since 1694, Send the best Two of them.
 Francis Turretini Institutio Theologiae Elencticae in
 tres partes distributiae 4to.
 Turretini Disputationes de satisfactione Christi. 4to.

11. "Letter Book of Samuel Sewall," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Sixth Series, 2 Vols., I, 76.

12. Ibid., 123.

13. Ibid., 199.



Poles Synopsis criticorum in five volumes, if light on them a peniwoth.

A K Edward 6th, his Common Prayer Book, of Queen Eliz. The Queens Bible....If the money doe more then hold out, send in School Books; Esops Eng. and Lat, Corderius Engl. and Lat., Terrence Eng. and Lat., Ovid de Tristibus, Metamorphosis, Virgil, Tullies de Officijs, Grammars, constr [u]ing Books.... 14

July 1, 1700 he added to this order:

A Narrative of the Portsmouth Disputation between Presbyterians and Baptists at Mr. Williams's Meetinghouse, Bp. of Norwich's Sermon of Religious Melancholy, Amintor, a Defence of Milton, with Reasons for abolishing the 30th January; Two of them. Account of the first Voyages in America by Barthol. de las Casas; two of them. Account of a Jew lately converted, and baptised at the Meetinghouse near Ave-Mary-Lane; Four of them. 15

In writing to Paul Dudley on November 20, 1700, Sewall spoke of
16
having received an Old Testament in Spanish. Late in 1700, he wrote to John Love again saying:

...send me a Duz. of Dr. Bates's Harmony of the Divine Attributes, 6. Flavels mental errors, 2 Mordeus Geographie rectified, 12. Colsons Seamans Kalendar. 6. Wakely's Compass rectifier. 6. Norwood Epitome of Navigation. One great Histor. Geograph. and Poetical Dictionary of the newest Edition.... 17

This order shows an interest in works other than those of a religious nature.

Turning now to Sewall's eighteenth century correspondence, we find him writing to John Love again on October 11, 1701 that:

...Dr. Nehemiah Grew has put forth a book entituled Cosmologia Sacra, or a discourse of the Universe as it is the Creature and Kingdom of God....also a Treatise of Dr. Holder concerning Time, and another of the natural

14. Ibid., 237-8.

15. Ibid., 239.

16. Ibid., 246.

17. Ibid., 248.

Grounds of Harmony....Send one of each...Send in the Assembly Confession of Faith and Catechismes in Latin bound up together. 18

On March 10, 1704/5 he asked Thomas Newton to "...Buy for me all the statutes at large made since Mr. Keeble's Edition. 1684. Let them be well Bound...The Register, Crompton [Jurisdiction of divers Courts], Bracton, Britton, Fleta, Mirror [Horn's Miroir des Justices]....Heath's Pleadings, Sir Edward Coke's Reports." ¹⁹ Another order to John Love on January 7, 1712/3 included:

Pole's English Annotations.

Mr. Henry's Annotations so far as he has gone.

The Dutch Annotations.

Cambridge Concordance.

Tremellius and Junius Latin Bible of a fair print to carry to Church.

Dr. Lightfoot's Works in Volumes.

Tigurine Bible.

Pareus his Adversaria on the Bible.

Harris's Lexicon Technicum.

Alcuinus

Pauli Freheri Theatrum virorum Eruditione clarorum.

Dr. Preston's Works.

Rushworth's Collection abridged and improved, two Sets.

Ray of the Wisdom of GOD in the Creation.

All Calvin's Commentaries.

Dr. Owen's two last volumes on the Hebrews, from the 6th Chapter to the End.

Stillingfleet's Origines Sacrae, Irenicum, Church Rome.

Supplement to the great Historical Dictionary.

Dr. Edwards his Tracts.

Two Herbert's Poems.

Mr. Watt's Hymns.

Virgil in usum Delphini. I have Ovid's Metamorphosis, if there be anything else of Ovid in Usus Delphini, let me have it.

Dr. Arrowsmith's Armilla.

If any of the Old Books be so scarce, that they are very dear; forbear buying them; and acquaint me with the Price.... 20

18. Ibid., 261.

19. Ibid., 310,

20. Ibid., II, 10-12.

Still another letter to John Love of March 20, 1715/6 reported: "I have the Statutes at large to the Two and Thirtieth Year of Charles the Second....I desire you to send me the Statutes at Large from that time all along....Send me Dr. Owen upon the Hebrews, all the 4 Books...."²¹ On August 21, 1716 Sewall added to this order: "Two Setts of Dr. Calamy's Abridgment of Mr. Baxter's Life."²² Writing to Samuel Storke on August 30, 1720, Sewall asked him to:

...goe to Mr. John Clark...and subscribe for Six books for me, that are going to be Printed, of Dr. John Owen; several valuable Manuscripts &c. of that excellent Author. If the book be already printed, buy two of them, or three well bound in Calves Leather, and send me....²³

In another letter to Storke written on October 2, 1728, he requested:

Three Sets of the Dutch Annotations 2d hand if fair and reasonable.

Pool's Engl [ish] Annotations at 2d Hand, three Sets also if fair and good.

Twelve of the Assembly's Confession of Faith, larger Catechisme with proofs at Length. Shorter ditto &c. bound up together.

Dr. Calamy of the ejected Ministers two Vols., and his Answer to him that insulted him.

Mr. Baxter against the National Conversion of the Jews.²⁴

From this evidence, we can conclude that Samuel Sewall's library was predominantly religious, but also included works on law, government, classics, geography, navigation and even a little poetry. He also seemed to be a student of languages,

21. Ibid., 53.

22. Ibid., 58.

23. Ibid., 116.

24. Ibid., 253.

especially Latin and Spanish. Although its exact contents and value are not known, it seems from the rather large orders he frequently made that Sewall probably owned a quite large and valuable library.

It is time now to return to the famous library of the Mathers, the largest and in many ways the most interesting private library in all New England, and complete its story which we left in the year 1700. Several of Cotton Mather's diary entries give hints as to its size and contents. Late in November, 1702, he wrote: "My Study, is tho' a Large, yett a Warm Chamber. (the hangings wherof, are Boxes with between two and three thousand Books in them,)...." In February, 1705/6, he spoke in his diary of a present of books from the "Library of the three Famous Shepards," probably Thomas Shepard of Cambridge and his sons Samuel and Thomas, which enriched his library not only with its printed books, which, even priced low, might have been worth more than \$12, but also with manuscripts of the Shepard's themselves which Mather felt were even more valuable. ²⁵ Writing in his diary on February 12, 1708/9, Mather said:

Tho' I am furnished with a very great Library yett seeing a Library of a late Minister in the Town to be sold, and a certain Collection of Books there, which had it may be above six hundred single Sermons in them; I could not forbear mentioning my Wishes in my Prayers before the Lord,-that in case it might be a Service to His

25. Mather Diary, Part I, 532.

Interests, or to me in serving His Interests, He would enable me in His good Providence, to purchase the Treasure now before me. But I left the Matter before Him with the profoundest Resignation willing to be without every Thing that He should not order for me. Behold, a Gentleman, who a year ago treated me very ill; but I cheerfully forgave him! carried me home to dine with him; and upon accidental Mention of the Library aforesaid, he, to my Surprize, compelled me to accept of him a Summ of Money, which enabled me to come at what I had been desirous of. 26

Mather's correspondence also refers to books he obtained as additions to his magnificent library. In a letter to a Mr. Ward from Boston, November 20, 1716, Mather said:

...I have a mighty Thirst after the Sight of Books, now and then published in Holland; which may upon sending you the Titles be transmitted with the Goods that you may send hither....There is one Thomas Crenius, who had published above a dozen little Duodecimo Volumes of Collections of small Treatises, full of Erudition....Our dear Mr. Loftus, will explain what they are; and will direct how to come at them....27

Also in November, 1716, John Winthrop wrote to Cotton Mather thanking him for the communications from the Royal Society and for the loan of a book by a Dr. Woodward called Naturalis Historia Telluris which Mather owned.²⁸ In a letter to John Winthrop dated July 15, 1720, he said: "Within these Few Days, I have received packetts of books from Gresham-Colledge; by which I am sensible, that some former packetts from them hither have unhappily miscarried...."²⁹ In another letter to Winthrop on December 26, 1720, he tells of an interesting addition to his

26. Ibid., Part II, 2.

27. Ibid., 421-422.

28. Wright, Literary Culture, 190.

29. Ibid., 178.

library: "I have newly received large packetts from Tranquebar in the East Indies; with a New Testament & some little Books of piety, printed in the Damulic Language & character; which are the first things that ever were printed in those parts of the world...."³⁰

The exact fate of the Mather library is not definitely ascertainable. On March 15, 1724 Cotton wrote in his diary a most moving passage concerning his financial difficulties and his beloved library, saying in part:

...I am a very poor Man. I have not a Foot of Land upon Earth. Except a Library and a little Household Stuff, I have nothing upon earth. And this also I am now offering unto my Creditors, to satisfy for Debits, wherof I never did myself owe a Farthing. My very Library, the Darling of my little Enjoyments is demanded from me. Tis inexpressible, how much this condition pleases me, gladdens me! 31

However, his fears do not seem to have been borne out, and apparently his library was still intact at the time of his death, February 13, 1727/8. One rather curious reference to the Mather library in later years occurred in the correspondence of Abigail and John Adams. Abigail, in a letter to John written from Braintree, Massachusetts, June 25, 1775 and referring to the great conflagration at Charlestown said: "Mr. Mather [probably Cotton's grandson, Samuel] got out a day or two before Charlestown was destroyed, and had lodged his papers and

30. Ibid., 176.

31. Mather Diary, Part II, 707-8.

what else he got out at Mr. Carey's, but they were all consumed...."³² Her husband, John, writing from Philadelphia on July 7, 1775, added this comment: "The loss of Mr. Mather's library, which was a collection of books and manuscripts made by himself, his father, his grandfather, and great-grandfather,³³ and was really very curious and valuable, is irreparable...." However, no other reliable record of the loss of this library has been found, and the library apparently seems to have been intact at the time of the death of Cotton's tory grandson, Samuel, in 1785. A letter in support of this written by Samuel and quoted in an introduction to an 1862 edition of Increase Mather's History of King Philip's War said: "My Father's Library was by far the most valuable Part of the family Property. It consisted of 7000 or 8000 Volumes of the most curious and chosen Authors, and a prodigious Number of valuable Manuscripts, which had been collected by my Ancestors for five Generations." He considered that these books were worth at least ~~£~~\$8,000 sterling. 34

Thus, although I was unable to find any catalogue or inventory of Cotton Mather's library at the time of his death in 1727/8, it seems reasonable to assume that it very likely contained some 3,000 or more volumes of many different types, particularly religion and science. It seems also to have been

32. C.F. Adams, Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams During the Revolution with a Memoir of Mrs. Adams (New York, 1876), 72.

33. Ibid., 76.

34. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 298-299.

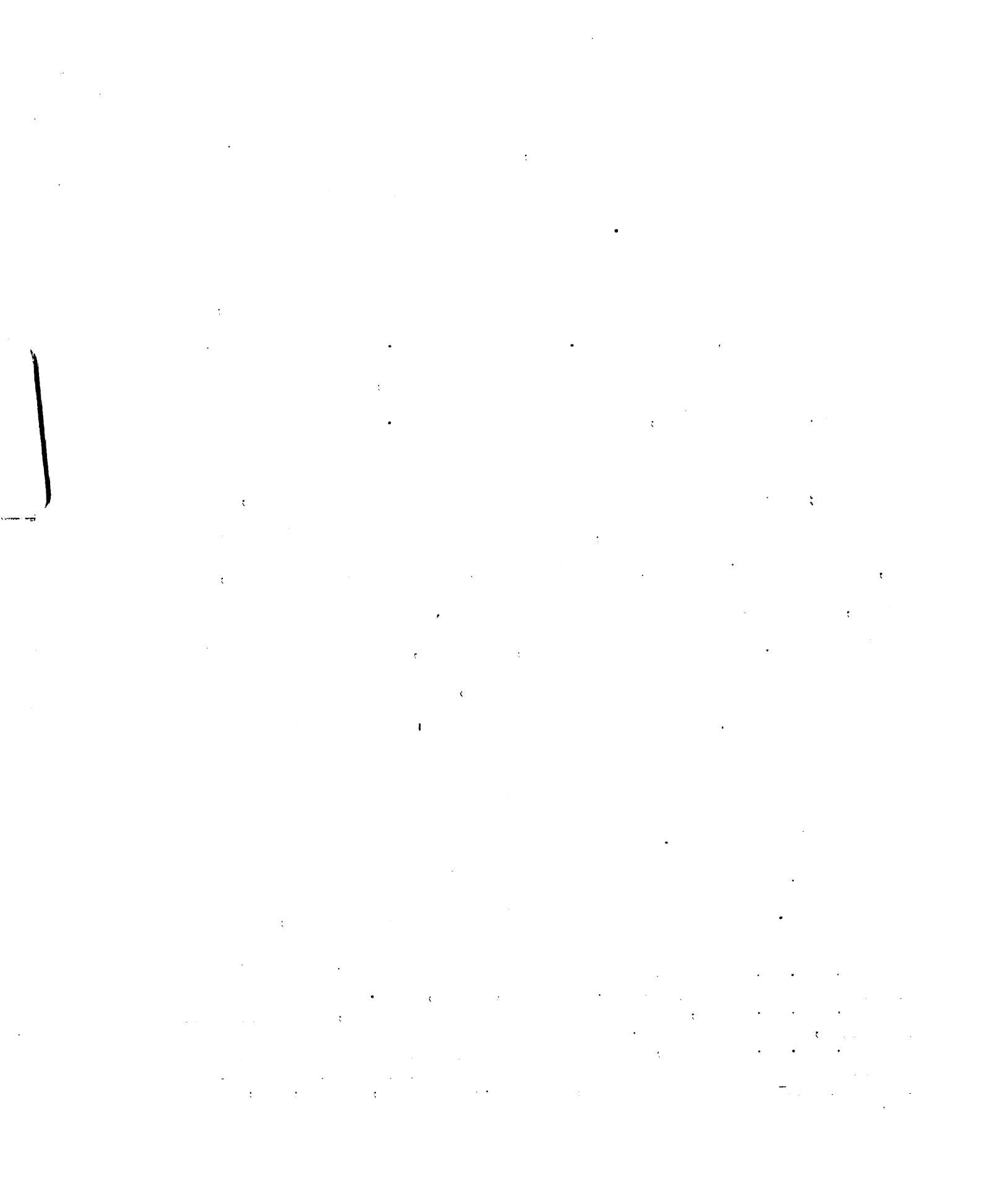
passed down from Cotton to his son, and from there to Cotton's grandson which takes us into the Revolutionary period and out of the scope of this paper.

Three smaller but interesting Massachusetts libraries of the period 1729 to 1736 were those belonging to Edward Taylor, William Pepperell, and the Rev. Thomas Harvard. Edward Taylor, a New England poet and Harvard graduate of 1671, owned books of poetry, the classics, religion and medicine. The inventory of his estate taken after his death in 1729 listed 192 items valued at $\$54$, including many texts on theological doctrine, an occasional medical volume, a book of Anne Bradstreet's verses,³⁵ Theocritus' Idylls, Homer's Iliad, some works of Horace, Seneca, Statius,³⁶ and the Greek minor poets, and a volume on versification. Just a year later, in 1730, a law library was ordered from London by William Pepperell, but its specific contents are unknown. That year Governor Jonathan Belcher of Massachusetts ordered that the Court of Common Pleas be reconstituted and placed Pepperell at its head in order to get a clerk appointed for it. Pepperell then ordered a law library from London, and on its arrival applied himself to the study of that subject.³⁷ The last of this trio of library owners, the

35. T. H. Johnson, "Edward Taylor: A Puritan 'Sacred Poet'", New England Quarterly, X, No. 2, June, 1937, 321.

36. S. E. Lind, "Edward Taylor: A Revaluation," New England Quarterly, XXI, 1948, 522.

37. J. G. Palfrey, A Compendious History of New England from the Discovery by Europeans to the First General Congress of the Anglo-American Colonies, 4 Vols., (Boston, 1884), IV, 154.



Rev. Thomas Harvard, minister of King's Chapel, Boston, died in 1736 leaving a scanty library of "only ninety works, mostly small and of poor quality." The only specific titles in it to which I found reference were Fuller's Medicinal Gymnastic, one volume, Sydenham's Works in one volume valued at 14 s.,³⁸ and Howe's Blessedness of the Righteous valued at 8 s.

Again only indirectly can we learn of the contents of the library or at least the reading of Benjamin Colman (1673-1747), the first pastor of Boston's Brattle Street Church, and widely known in his day as a liberal and accomplished preacher. He knew William Whiston's New Theory of the Earth and referred to articles in Chamber's Cyclopaedia, first printed in London in 1728. Colman also used evidence from Cato, Emperor Marcus Antonius, the stoics, Steele's Christian Hero, and of course, the Bible.³⁹ Thus, he may well have owned books on religion, the classics and possibly an encyclopedia.

One of the largest libraries in eighteenth century New England belonged to the Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston (1687-1758), a very active book collector, who for fifty years with great enthusiasm, perseverance and intelligence collected and annotated contemporary books and manuscripts of his generation. From his grandfather, Thomas Hinckley, the last governor of Plymouth Colony, Prince acquired the rudiments of his bibliothecal knowledge, probably his interest in book-collecting, and

38. Weeden, History of New England, 545.

39. T. Hornberger, "Benjamin Colman and the Enlightenment," New England Quarterly, Vol. XII, No. 2, June, 1939, 231 & 239.



also many books for his own library which he began collecting as early as his seventh year. His earliest books are not known, but Justin Winsor, who eventually catalogued what remained of his library, said that he exchanged one of his first books for Michael Wigglesworth's Day of Doom, one of the most popular books of the day. A note in this book records its acquisition in exchange "for one had A. D. 1694."⁴⁰

Some information is also available concerning Prince's book purchases. While travelling abroad to Barbados, Madeira, and England and after his return in 1717 he seems to have purchased books steadily.⁴¹ One item in the manuscript account book of Daniel Henchman, bookseller, showed the following:

Revd. Thos Prince Dr.

December 20, 1726

To 56 octavos 2d hand	7.00.00	
8 Quartos 5'	2.00.00	
3 Folios	2.00.00	42

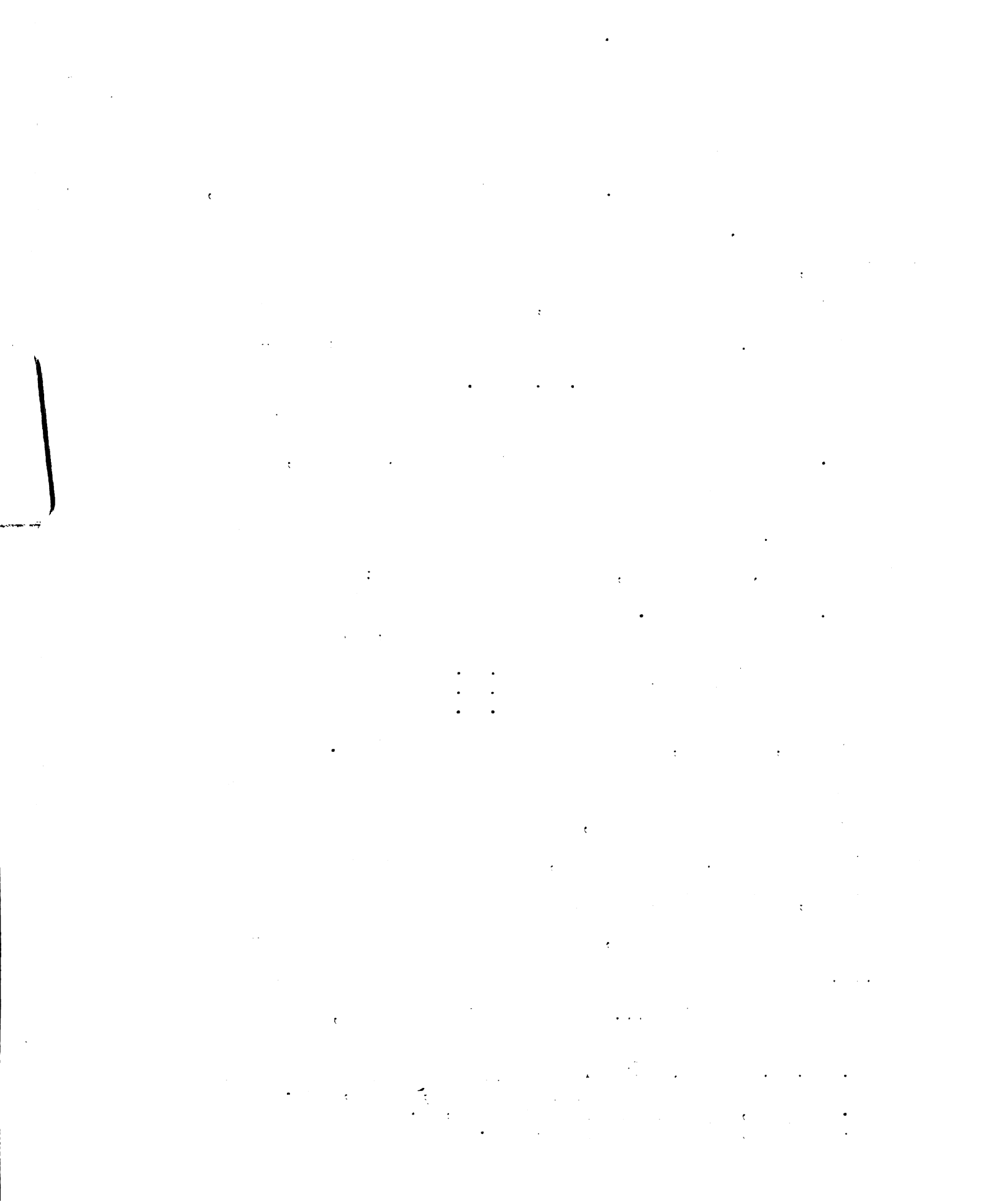
Unfortunately, however, none of the titles are given.

Many of the intellectual leaders of Massachusetts seem to have borrowed and loaned books, especially since books were not cheap in those days. For example, Cotton Mather wrote to Prince on April 16, 1718 saying: "Many pages would not be enough to express the Thanks I owe you, for the Long Loan of your Pri-deaux....great Riches are added unto the Biblia Americana, by these your communications... [asks] if you'll favor me, by this

⁴⁰. C. L. Cannon, American Book Collectors and Collecting from Colonial Times to the Present (New York, 1941), 1-2.

⁴¹. Cannon, American Book Collectors, 3.

⁴². Wright, Literary Culture, 179.



Bearer, with the Book of Poetry, you bought the last ~~w~~ at your Booksellers." Again on December 11, 1718, Mather wrote that Prince had William Whiston's Speculation upon celestial Explosions, and that he wished to see it.⁴³

Prince also owned some valuable papers and manuscripts. The brightest jewel of his collection was the manuscript History of Plymouth Plantation written by William Bradford and borrowed by Prince to use in compiling his Chronological History of New England. He got it ~~from~~ Judge Samuel Sewall who had himself borrowed it from Major Bradford, a grandson of Governor Bradford. He eventually inserted his own bookplate in this volume, and this led to its eventual return to America by the Bishop of London 169 years later.⁴⁴ From Gov. Thomas Hinckley, he acquired manuscripts now catalogued as the Hinckley Papers which included letters to and from colonial governors, official papers of Plymouth Colony, and others dealing with legal affairs and accounts. Also included were letters from William Penn, Governor Josiah Winslow, Governor Bradstreet, Gov. Jacob Leisler,⁴⁵ Roger Williams, the Rev. John Cotton and others. He also owned the Mather papers which he assembled chronologically into seven folio volumes covering the period 1632-1689. These were of great value for students of ecclesiastical history as well as serving as political annals and for recording domestic occurrences. During Prince's absence in England, however, some

43. Tuttle, "Mather Libraries," 295.

44. Cannon, American Book Collectors, 4-5.

45. Ibid., 6.

papers "of curiosity and value were unhappily lost." He also at one time had in his possession three manuscript volumes of Gov. John Winthrop's Journal covering the history of the colony of Massachusetts Bay to the year 1649.⁴⁶ Almost no traces of any interest in manuscript collecting were found in seventeenth century New England, and this is probably a new development in this period.

At his death in 1758, Prince turned his library over to South Church on the following terms:

...that the said Church make a rule and order that the key of said library shall always be kept by one of their Pastors; that the New England library be always kept in a different apartment from the other Books, and that it may be a rule that no Person shall borrow any book or paper there from: but that any Person whom the Pastor and Deacons of said Church...shall approve of, may have access thereto, and take copies hence.... 47

Although the exact contents of his library at this time are not known, a complete catalogue was made in 1812 of all that remained of his library. It stated that "there are new bound 90 vol. Octavo; (95 twelvemo); 16 Folio; 22 Quarto...." He seems also to have owned the principal philosophical works of Sir Kenelm Digby in the original 1644-1645 edition, a collection of pamphlets in eighteenth century binding presented to the American Antiquarian Society on July 26, 1815 and including New England First Fruits; London, 1643; Good News from New England, London, 1648; Of the Conversion of Five Thousand and Nine Hundred East Indians by Joseph Caryl, London, 1650; The

46. Ibid.

47. Cannon, American Book Collectors, 9.

Day-Breaking if not the Sun-Rising, London, 1647; The Clear Sun-Shine of the Gospel by Thomas Shepard, London, 1648; The Glorious Workers of the Gospel by Edward Winslow, London, 1649; Strength out of Weaknesse, London, 1652; Tears of Repentance by John Eliot, London, 1653; A Late and Further Manifestation, London, 1655; A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians by W. Hubbard, Boston, 1655; and Entertaining Passages Relating to Philip's War by Thomas Church, Boston, 1716.⁴⁸

Prince's library, then, seems to have contained an unusually high percentage of contemporary volumes and papers, and, indeed, in this respect was probably superior among colonial libraries.

Biographers are again the chief source of information concerning the library of Jonathan Edwards (1704-1758), the dynamic religious leader of the "Great Awakening" in the middle of the eighteenth century. His father, the Rev. Timothy E. Edwards, was an eminent Latin, Greek and Hebrew scholar and saw to it that Jonathan achieved accuracy and maturity in these fields of literature. At the age of fourteen, Jonathan read John Locke's Essay on Human Understanding (very likely belonging to his father), and in this same period read in the field of science, especially in Issac Newton's works.⁴⁹ As a student at Yale, he was required to memorize (and thus probably owned) "the

48. Ibid., 10-11.

49. Sparks, Library of American Biography, Vol. VIII, 10 and P. Miller, Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1949), The American Men of Letters Series, 38.

Assemblies Catechism" in Latin and Ames's Theological Theses. He also took courses in Cicero and Virgil as well as the New Testament in Greek and the Hebrew Psalter. He asked his father for Alstead's Geometry and Gassendus' Astronomy as well as the Art of Thinking. He read the third Earl of Shaftesbury's treatises on ethics and the study of science,⁵⁰ and also as a student read Solomon Stoddard's The Safety of Appearing and The Appeal to the Learned.⁵¹ He later read Berkeley's Essay Toward a New Theory of Vision and his treatise concerning human knowledge.⁵²

Edwards borrowed books, bought books and read avidly. Evidence of this is the elaborate notebooks he made in which he accumulated, arranged, and sorted the knowledge he gained from reading and upon which he based his later writings and sermons. In his Catalogue, a homemade notebook of forty-three pages bound in heavy brown paper, he entered more than 600 titles of the books he was reading or wanted to read, adding notes and comments.⁵³ Thus his library very likely contained volumes on religion, law, science, philosophy, mathematics, languages and the classics, although we have no definite information as to its exact numbers, contents or value.

In one very interesting statement, he deplored America's

50. A. C. McGiffert, Jr., Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1932), 7.

51. O. E. Winslow, Jonathan Edwards, 1703-1758: A Biography (New York, 1940), 64.

52. Ibid., 244.

53. Winslow, Edwards, 119-120.



dependence upon England in intellectual matters. In a sermon preached during one of the great revivals, whether that of 1734-5 or 1740-1 is not clear, Edwards pointed out how English manners and customs were aped in America, and commenting upon the cultural dependence of the colonies upon the mother country said: "We are [a] country dependent on them, we are such to their government, we have our books, and our learning from thence, and are upon many accounts exceeding liable to be corrupted by them."⁵⁴

Some idea of the contents of the Rev. William Smith's library can be gained by a study of diary entries referring to books he loaned various friends and relatives. For the year 1739 he stated: "Lent Mr. Lord 1 vol of Spectat [o] r; Mr. Bass 2 ditto, Isaac, one; Mr Humphrey 2 voll. Spect [ato] r...

Books lent:

Spectator, one volume to my Brother Isaac.
 One volume of the Guardian to Mr. Abbot.
 Dr. Mathers Life to Mr. Fox
 1 vol. of Spect'or to Mr. Bass and 1 v. of Dr. Sharp
 Mr. Humphrey, 2 vol. ⁵⁵
 Mr. Bayley, the His [tory] of England

In 1741 he recorded lending "Mr. Gay's Sermon to Mr. Bass," and "June Lent Mr. Gay 2 Books Law and Burnet."⁵⁶ For the year 1749 we find the following entry:

54. P. Miller, "Jonathan Edwards' Sociology of the Great Awakening," New England Quarterly, XXI, 1948, 54-55.

55. "Diaries of Rev. William Smith and Dr. Cotton Tufts, 1738-1784," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, XLII, 1908-1909, 449.

56. "Diary of Rev. Smith," 454.

Books lent, 1749

To Mr. Gay 1 vol. history of ye Reformation
 To Mr. Gay 1 vol. of Dr. Sharps Sermons.
 To Mr. Shute 1 vol. of Dr. Watts Sermon.
 To Cotton Tufts Several Books.
 To Deb. Bodlam 1 vol. of Spectator.
 To Mr. Humphrey 1 vol. of Pride. 57

A similar list for 1755 included:

Books Lent:

To Mr. Gay, Burnet's history of the Reformation, 3 vol.
 To Mr. Chranck Locke's Letters
 To Mr. Shute, 1 vol. of Dr. Watt's Serman, and 2 Ser-
 mons of Mr. Gees
 To Mrs. Jenny Goold, the 8 vol. of the Spectator
 To Lucy 1 vol. Spectator
 To Joseph Diar, Mr. It. and Littles
 To Sarah Diar Gardoner's Life. 58

It is interesting to note that four of these borrowers were women. In 1759 he spent at various times £4 for books, £1 10 s. for books and £2 5 s. for bookbinding. His last diary entry referring to his library occurred in 1768 and recorded lending "Dodrige to the Widow Thayer."⁵⁹ His library, then, seems to have contained works on religion, history, biography, agriculture, law and several current periodicals.

Again there is unfortunately little definite information on the library of Samuel Adams, Boston patriot and leader in the movement towards independence, to the year 1776, but a study of his collected writings does afford some clue as to works he read and probably owned. In a letter to John Smith, Esquire, dated Boston, December 20, 1765, he mentioned "Dr. Ellison on temporal & spiritual Liberty."⁶⁰ In an article

57. Ibid., 457.

58. Ibid., 465.

59. Ibid., 467 & 469.

60. H. A. Cushing, ed., The Writings of Samuel Adams, 4 Vols., (New York, 1904), I, 55.



presumably written by Adams under the pseudonym "Vindex" and addressed to the printers of the Boston Gazette, December 19, 1768, he referred to Coke, the well known writer of works on law.⁶¹ In another newspaper article, this time for the Boston Evening Post of February 13, 1769 under the pseudonym "Candidus," he quoted Virgil.⁶² Thus, though the evidence is meager, we can conclude that he quite likely read and owned works on religion, law and the classics.

A few definite titles have been assigned to the library of Joseph Hawley (1723-1788), a colonial statesman and revolutionary leader from Massachusetts. He owned Hunt's Explanation on Daniel, Dr. Samuel Mather's Entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven, Willard's Truly Blessed Man, Virgil's works, and Cicero's Orations and Rules of Pleading.⁶³ After his graduation from Yale in 1742, he became the owner of two works of theological study, Bishop Usher's Body of Divinitie and Dupin's three volume History of the Church from the Beginning of the World to the Year of Christ 1718. In 1744 he read and possibly owned "a most Dangerous and Corrupt Book," Experience Mayhew's Grace Defended in a Modest Plea for an Important Truth.⁶⁴ Hawley knew Lord Hale and cited him liberally in a long article written for the Boston Evening Post of January 25, 1768. He was also familiar with Coke's work which he purchased for

61. Ibid., 271.

62. Ibid., 309.

63. E. Francis Brown, Joseph Hawley: Colonial Radical (New York, 1931), 11.

64. Ibid., 18 and 20.

§ 13 s. d 4. in 1758, and cited him along with Blackstone in an argument written about 1770 on the question "Are the Justices of the Superior Court removable at Pleasure or for just Cause only." In his commonplace book (a sort of literary diary), he wrote an explanation of a passage in Blackstone's third volume which was not so "clear and obvious as others." Tradition has also made him conversant with Bracton, Fleta and Rastell.⁶⁵ In other words, he seems to have owned books on religion, the classics, history and law.

Specific information can be given for at least a portion of the library of James Bowdoin, (1726-1790), later governor of Massachusetts, because a list remains of the books left in his mansion when it was taken over by British General John Burgoyne to use as his headquarters. In this catalogue made on September 9, 1775, I counted 341 volumes, including many on history, several on travel, some written in Latin, many on religion and law including the laws of Massachusetts and Connecticut, the works of Voltaire and Rabelais and several others in French, a biography of Cotton Mather, collections of sermons, books on mathematics, astronomy, poetry, the familiar Gardener's dictionary and other works on agriculture, volumes on geography (including collections of maps), surveying, philosophy, the classics (including Lucan, Horace, Plutarch and others), dictionaries, plays, including those by

65. E. Francis Brown, "The Law Career of Major Joseph Hawley," The New England Quarterly, IV, No. 3, July, 1931, 485.

Shakespeare, medical and surgical works, and books by contemporary English literary figures such as Addison and Steele. In other words, Bowdoin's library in 1775 was a very catholic collection with no one type predominant and showing an extremely wide range of interests. However, while Burgoyne was residing at Bowdoin's home, Bowdoin was living at Middleboro at the home of Judge Andrew Oliver and quite likely had at least part of his library with him, so this catalogue is very likely not a complete list of all the books he owned in 1775, but is no doubt a fairly representative collection.⁶⁶

Reported readings are again the only evidence of the library of Timothy Dwight (1752-1817) of Massachusetts, a teacher and president of Yale University. According to his biographer, he read the historical parts of the Bible, the catechism, Watt's Divine Songs, Lily's Latin Grammar, Salmon's Grammar, Josephus, Prideaux, a history of the Jews, Rollin, Hooke's History of Rome, various histories of Greece and England, and accounts written by the first New England settlers. He also read the Boston Chronicle and the current magazines the Rambler and the Tatler as well as Homer, Horace, Cicero, Milton's Paradise Lost, Thompson's Seasons, and much of Dryden, Pope, and the Spectator. The only actual book purchase he made that is referred to is that of Ward's System of Oratory.⁶⁷ However, I

66. J. H. Tuttle, "Bowdoin Library," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, LI, 1917-8, list, 361-8.

67. C. E. Cunningham, Timothy Dwight 1752-1817, a Biography, (New York, 1942), 13, 16, 17, 29, 37, and 39.

feel that his reading tastes quite likely reflected the actual contents of his library which probably contained works on religion, history, classical languages and literature, belles-lettres of English authors, and current newspapers and periodicals.

Again specific detail is unfortunately lacking as to actual library contents, but Dr. Nathaniel Ames (1741-1822) of Boston and Cambridge, Massachusetts showed a lively interest in drama in his diary entries to the year 1776. April 29, 1759 he "went see The Drummer acted at How's"; on April 21 he recorded "The Orphan acted, ye 13th inst."; on June 20, "The Recruiting Officer acted by ourselves, then public...."; on July 6, "The Revenge acted...."; and on September 7, "Cato acted this evening." The next year, 1760, he recorded on April 8, "Tancred and Sigismunda acted...."⁶⁸ The only other books I found referred to were as follows: On April 24, 1759 he stated that he had begun reading Locke, and on February 16, 1761, he began to recite Watt's Astronomy.⁶⁹ Thus his library very likely contained both classical and contemporary dramas as well as textbooks common to university students of that day.

The writings of John Adams (1735-1826), a leader in the revolutionary movement in Massachusetts and eventually the second President of the United States, contain numerous references to books and to his library. In a letter to his friend

68. C. Warren, Jacobin and Junto: or Early American Politics as Viewed in the Diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames 1758-1822 (Cambridge, 1931), 18 and 20.

69. Ibid., 18 and 21.

70

Richard Cranch dated September 2, 1755 he mentioned Milton. A year later in 1756 he commented on his current readings. On May 2 he said "...I have been studying the first part of Butler's Analogy."⁷¹ On May 23 he wrote: "This week I have read one volume of Duncan Forbe's works, and one half of Bentley's Sermons at the Boilean Lectures,"⁷² and on May 30 stated: "This week I have wrote the eighth Sermon of Bentley's....⁷³ Read part of the first volume of Voltaire's Age of Louis XIV." On October 5, 1758 he stated: "I am resolved to translate Justinian and commentator's...and read Gilbert's Tenures... [and] on a Sunday I will read the Enquiry into the Nature of the Human Soul, and for amusement, I will sometimes read Ovid's Art of Love to Mrs. Savil."⁷⁴ In December he discussed Shakespeare's King Lear and read aloud Cicero's four orations against Catiline.⁷⁵ On October 12, 1759 he began to transcribe from Brightland's English Grammar and to compare Dr. Cowell's Institute of the Laws with Justinian's Institutes of the Laws of Rome.⁷⁶ Also in his journal for 1759 he advised: "...search ...in Roman, Grecian, French, English treatises of natural, civil, common, statute law....Study Seneca, Cicero, and all

70. C. F. Adams (ed.), The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: With A Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations, 10 Vols., (Boston, 1856), I, 27.

71. Ibid., II, 16.

72. Ibid., 18.

73. Ibid., II, 21.

74. Ibid., 37.

75. Ibid., 51-2.

76. Ibid., 80.

other good moral writers; study Montesquieu, Bolingbroke,
 Vinnius, &c...."⁷⁷ In 1760 he wrote:

I have read a multitude of law books; mastered but few. Wood, Coke, two volumes Lillie's Abridgment, two volumes Salkeld's Reports, Swinburne, Hawkin's Pleas of the Crown, Fortescue, Fitzgibbon, ten volumes in folio...besides octavos and lesser volumes, and many others, of all sizes that I consulted occasionally without reading in course, as dictionaries, reporters, entries, and abridgments.

...However, I have read no small number of volumes upon the law in the last two years. Justinian's Institutes I have read through in Latin, with Vinnius's perpetual notes; Van Muyden's Tractatio Institutionum JustinianiWood's Institute of the Civil Law I read through. These on the civil law. On the law of England, I read Cowell's Institute of the Laws of England, in imitation of Justinian, Doctor and Student, Finch's Discourse of Law, Hale's History, and some reporters, cases in chancery, Andrews, &c., besides occasional searches for business. Also a General Treatise of Naval Trade and Commerce, as founded on the laws and statutes.... 78

On May 29, 1760, he said: "I must run over Fractions again... and now and then a few questions in Fenning and Hammond and Ward, or else I shall totally forget my numbers."⁷⁹ June of this same year he recorded readings in Horace, Homer, Timon of Athens, Naval Trade, Coke, Andrews, Locke, and some current magazines, and on August 19 said: "Read Pope's Homer in about a week."⁸⁰ On December 6 he recorded talking with a person named Zab about Newton, Bacon, Locke, Martin, Chambers, Rowning,⁸¹ Desaguliers, S'Gravesande and similar authors. He stated on February 9, 1761: "Last week rambled and straggled from Corpus Juris Canonici to Bolingbroke, from Bolingbroke

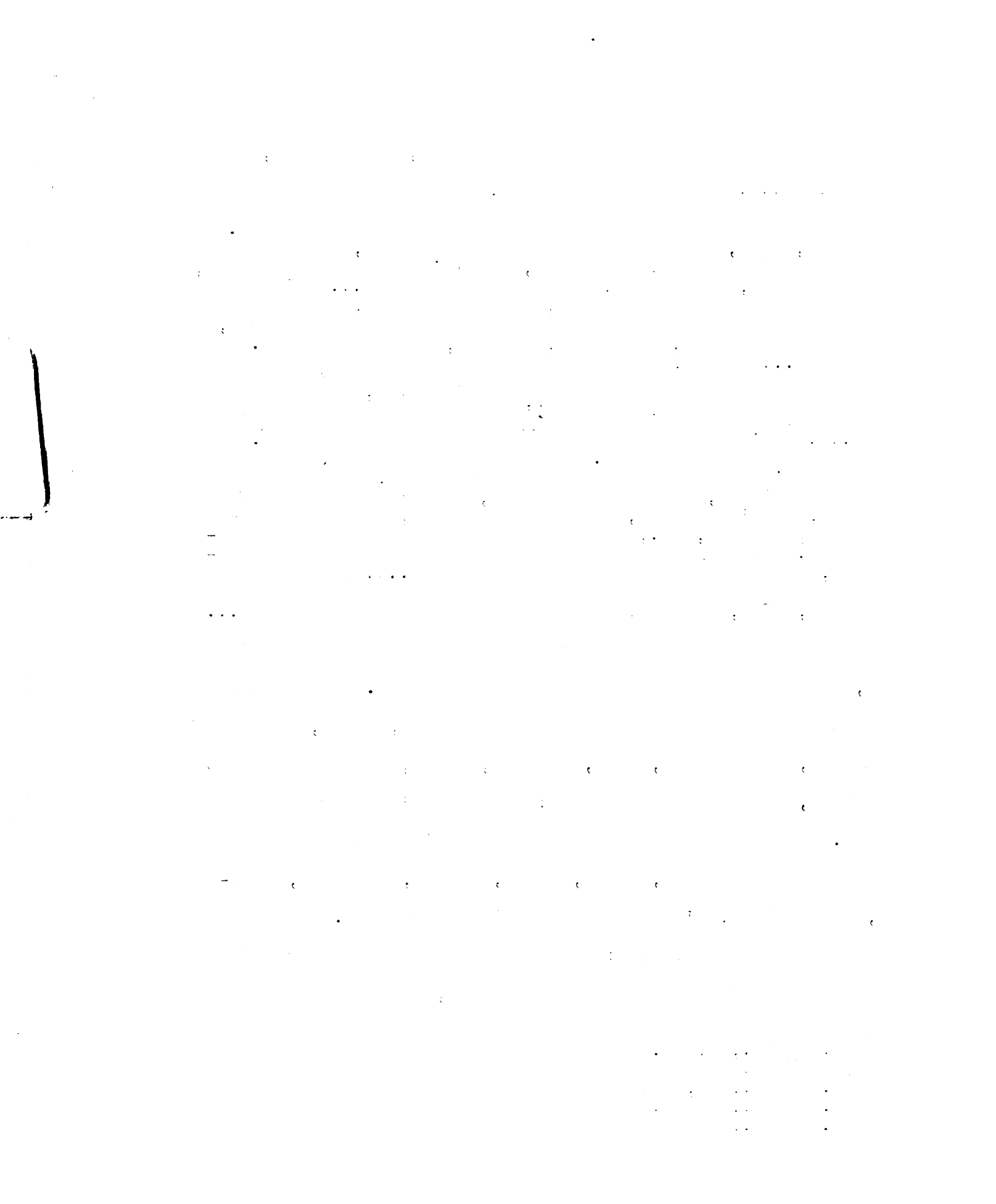
77. Ibid., I, 46.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid., II, 83.

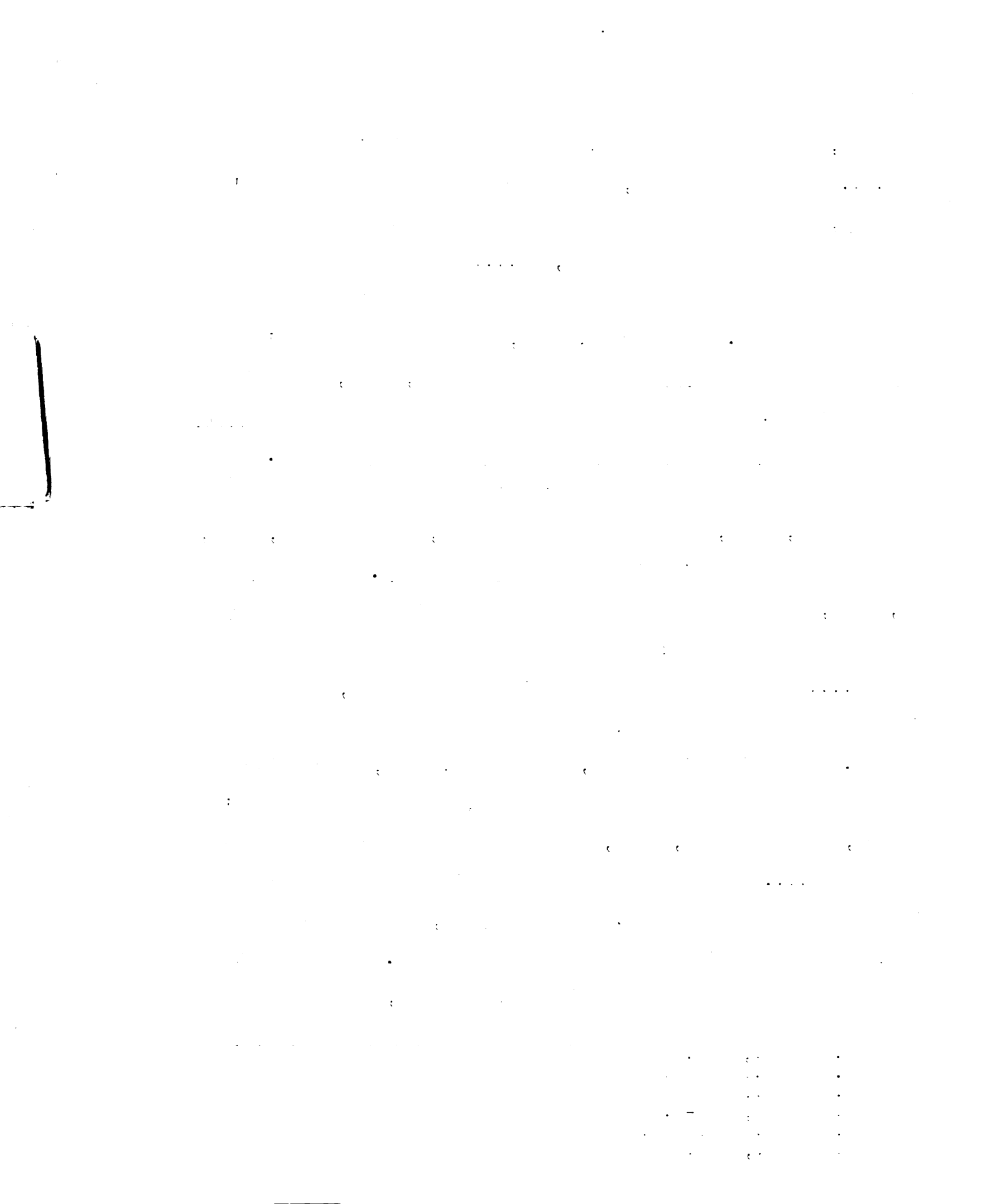
80. Ibid., 87-97.

81. Ibid., 105.



to Pope, from him to Addison, from him to Yorick's Sermons etc...."⁸² On October 18, 1761 he recorded reading in Pope's Satires, and on November 10 made the statement that in the past year he "bought some books, &c...."⁸³ Unfortunately he gives us none of their titles nor any idea of their general type or contents. October 22, 1762, he read in Thompson's Travels in Turkey and Asia and on February 1, 1763, read five sermons in Dr. Sherlock and several chapters in An Inquiry Into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful.⁸⁴ He mentioned reading Shakespeare's Life of King Henry VIII on December 30, 1765, and just two days later, on January 1, 1766,⁸⁵ mentioned Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts. On July 18, 1766, he described an interesting addition to his library in the following terms: "I accidentally found a curious volume....It seems to be a collection of pamphlets, published in the memorable year 1640, bound up together in one quarto volume. Lord Digbie's Speech, 9 November, 1640, concerning grievances and the Triennial Parliament, Harbottle Grimstone's speech, 18th December, 1640, moving for an impeachment of the Archbishop....Pym's speech after the articles against Sir George Ratcliffe were read."⁸⁶ On July 29, 1766 he recorded purchasing Gilbert's Law of Evidence at Boston.⁸⁷ In almost his only reference to purely fictional reading, he stated on

82. Ibid., 117.
 83. Ibid., 132-3.
 84. Ibid., 137 and 141.
 85. Ibid., 170-1.
 86. Ibid., II, 196.
 87. Ibid., 198.



July 2, 1771: "I have been...reading the achievements of Don Quixote."⁸⁸ Again on November 21, 1772 he spoke of the gradual increase of his library, but gave no specific details concerning it.⁸⁹ However, the most all-inclusive statement he made concerning his own library and the purposes it was to serve appeared in his diary entry for January 30, 1768, a part of which stated:

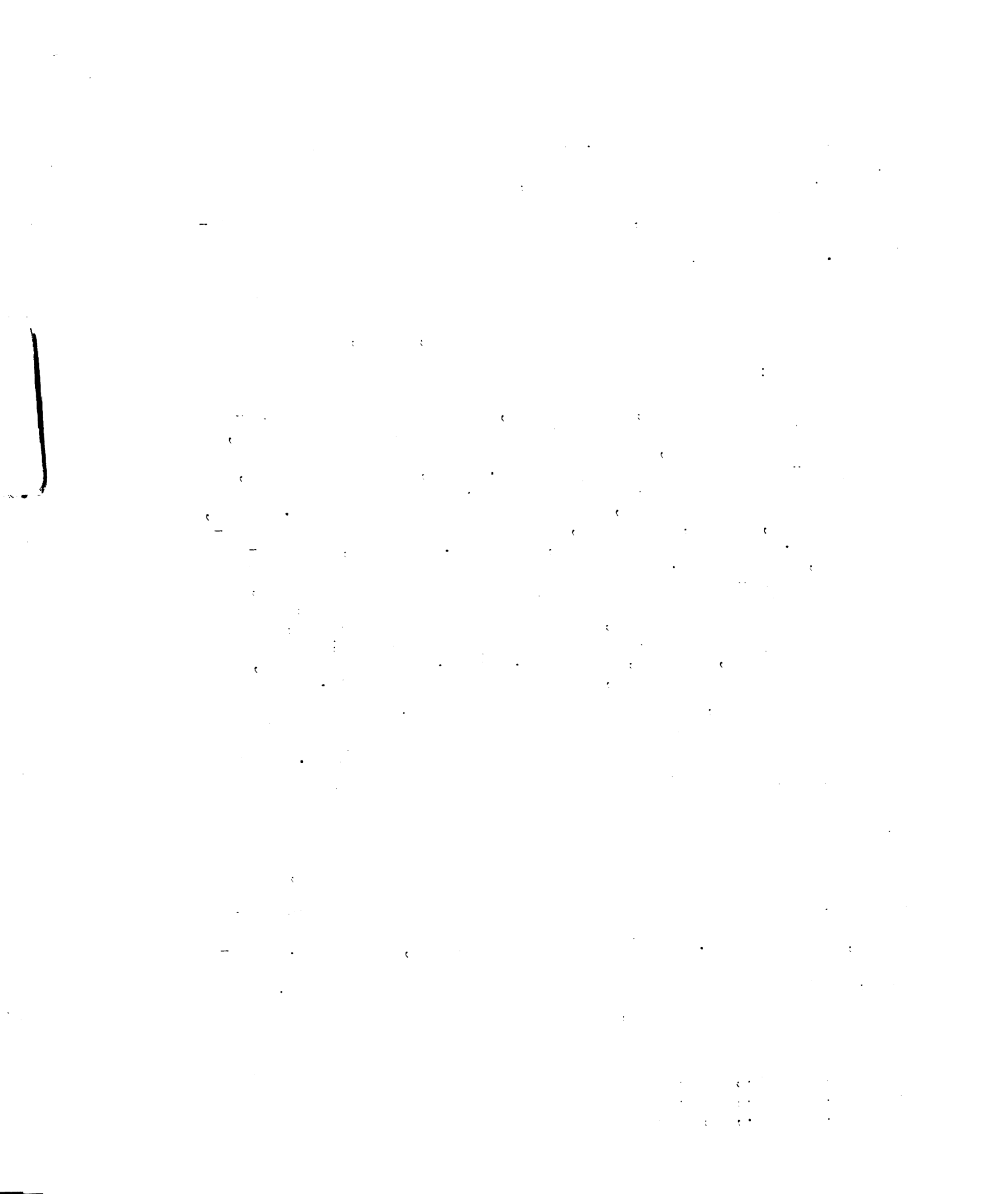
I am mostly intent, at present, upon collecting a library; and I find that a great deal of thought and care, as well as money, are necessary to assemble an ample and well-chosen assortment of books. But, when this done, it is only a means, an instrument. Whenever I shall have completed my library, my end will not be answered. Fame, fortune, power, say some, are the ends intended by a library. The service of God, country, clients, fellow-men, say others. Which of these lies nearest my heart? Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,
As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;
The centre moved, a circle straight succeeds,
Another still, and still another spreads;
Friend, parent, neighbor, first it will embrace,
His country next, and next all human race. 90

One of Adams's biographers ranked Adams's library as one of the largest and most diversified in colonial times. He said this library was a "speaking instance of the intellectual tastes of an educated American gentleman and man of action of the eighteenth century" and was a collection of over 3,000 volumes, surpassed numerically only by one other private library, that of Col. William Byrd of Westover, Virginia. However, certainly not all of these were collected by 1776. He further stated that Adams's interests lay mainly in the fields

88. Ibid., 286.

89. Ibid., 302.

90. Ibid., I, 84.



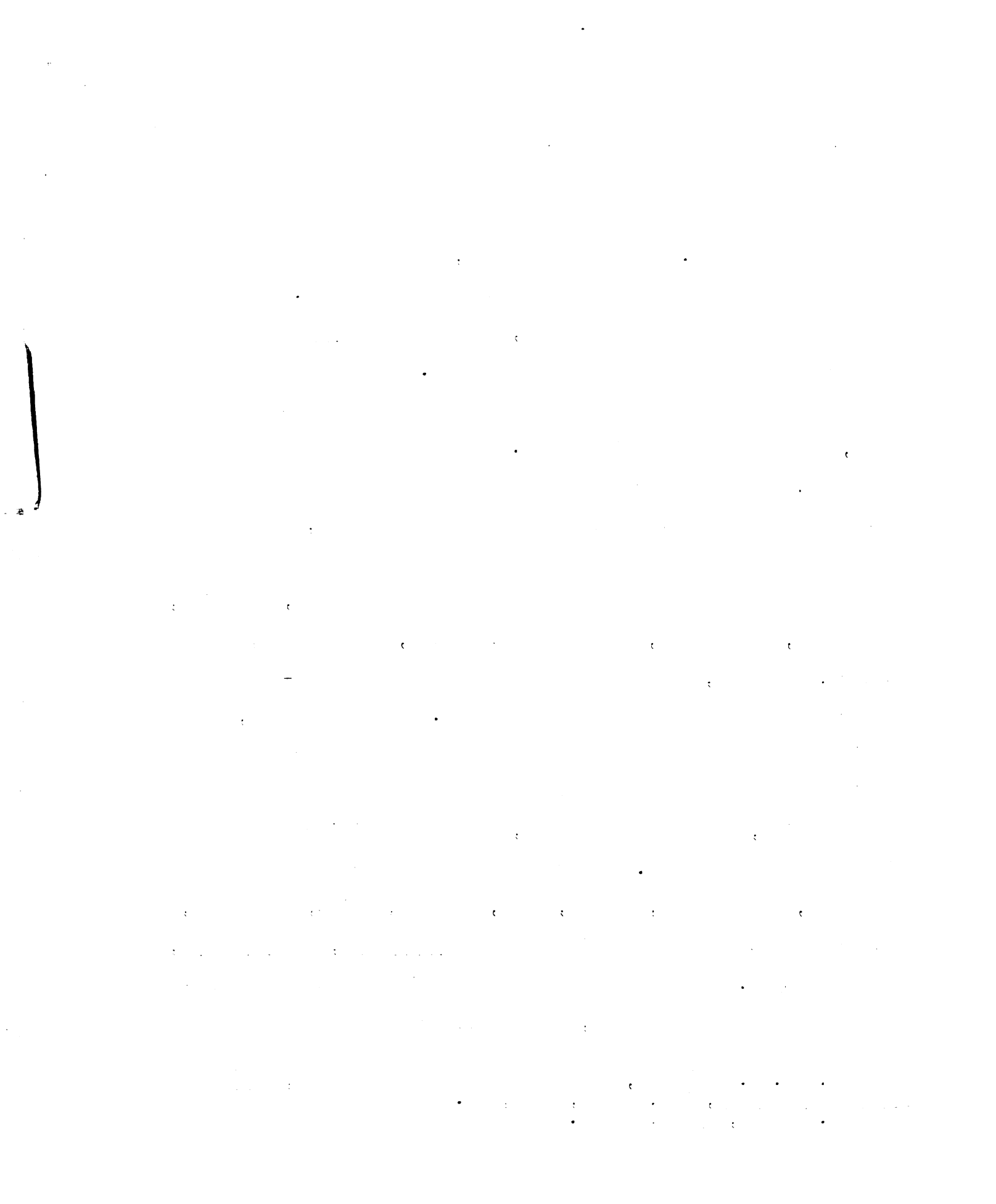
of law, government and politics, but that the Greek and Latin classics were represented in his library by nearly one hundred volumes in the originals besides some translations from French and English authors. In his collection, classical historians and philosophers outnumbered the poets and dramatists. He seemed to own few works of fiction, one being the Satiricon of Petronius of which Adams had two copies. He also owned many complete sets of works such as a three volume edition of Plato, according to one biographer.⁹¹

Thus, although we cannot state the actual number of books in John Adams' library in 1776 nor their exact value, his rather frequent references to his readings and his quotations from them support the conclusion that he owned books on law, politics, government, philosophy, the classics, travel, mathematics, science, religion, some current periodicals and belles-lettres and probably even a smattering of fiction. In other words, his interests were relatively broad with law and government seemingly particularly favored.

His wife, Abigail Smith Adams, was also familiar with the literature of the times. She seems to have known the writings of Milton, Shakespears, Dryden, Pope, Addison, Swift, Tillotson, Butler and Locke and the periodicals the Spectator, the Guardian,⁹² and the Tatler. She was also probably familiar with some classical authors and literature, and in 1775 contrasted the conduct

91. D. M. Robathan, "John Adams and the Classics," New England Quarterly, XIX, March, 1946, 91.

92. Adams, Works, I, 63.



of the British General Thomas Gage of Boston with that of Julius Caesar and even earlier quoted Polybius.⁹³ It seems not unlikely then that she used her husband's library and became acquainted with some of these authors there.

Unfortunately very little information is available concerning the library of Thomas Hutchinson (1711-1780), governor of Massachusetts and historian. The only reference I could find was a statement saying that his books "would have given any cultivated Englishman a reputation for good taste and discriminating judgment" but giving no idea of their numbers,⁹⁴ contents or value.

We now return to a discussion of private libraries in the Connecticut colony from 1700 to 1776, which show a definite increase in contents and a marked trend toward secularization. The first eighteenth century Connecticut library to which reference was made was that of John Elliott of Hartford who owned in 1719 some 243 volumes. Included were two volumes of the Tatler, some old histories, sermons, a few medical books, a larger number of law books and other miscellaneous literature now almost completely unknown. Among the more familiar titles were The Whole Duty of Man, Call to the Unconverted, Erasmus's Colloquies, Calvin's French Commentary, Religio Medici, A Defence of Human Learning, Bacon's Book Learning, Aristotle's

93. Robathan, "John Adams," 93-4.

94. C. L. Becker, Beginnings of the American People (Boston, 1915), 170.

Logic and works by Josephus, Cicero, Lucan, Horace, Ovid,
 95
 Virgil, Homer and Seneca.

The largest library in New London, Connecticut in 1726 belonged to one George Dennis and contained some 139 books
 96
 "mostly of small value." Unfortunately, however, nothing is known of the type of books it contained.

Two interesting references to Connecticut libraries appear in the diary of John Adams. On June 7, 1771, while traveling through Connecticut he had occasion to note the existence of the following library:

In Kibby's bar-room, in a little shelf within the bar, I espied two books. I asked what they were. He said Every Man his own Lawyer, and Gilbert's Law of Evidence. Upon this I asked some questions of the people there, and they told me that Kibby was a sort of a lawyer among them; that he pleaded some of their home cases before justices and arbitrator's, &c. Upon this I told Kibby to purchase a copy of Blackstone's Commentaries. 97

Just two days later, on June 9, 1771, while on the same journey, he stopped at Middletown, Connecticut, and recorded in his diary the following information:

Looking into a little bedroom in this house, Shaler's, I found a few books, the Musical Miscellany, Johnson's Dictionary, the Farmer's Letters, and the ninth volume of Dr. Clarke's Sermons. This last I took for my Sabbath-day book, and read the sermon on the fundamentals of Christianity.... 98

The remainder of the Connecticut libraries were still in the process of being collected in 1776, so final information

95. Weeden, History of New England, Vol. II, 546.

96. Ibid.

97. Adams, Works, II, 271.

98. Ibid., 274.

concerning their value and exact numbers to that time are not obtainable. However references to them and indirect evidence of reading done from them will have to serve as evidence in attempting to determine as nearly as possible their contents and value. Rather arbitrarily, then, I will discuss the libraries still in the process of formation in 1776 in an alphabetical order by the last name of the owner or collector.

Ethan Allen (1739-1789), the famous Revolutionary war hero, was not without access to the literature of the day. He was born at Litchfield, Connecticut, and while preparing for college as a youth, he met Thomas Young, an itinerant medico who lived near Salisbury, Connecticut, and carried books as well as medical equipment in his saddlebags. Young was far from being a "frontier illiterate." Indeed, he had read widely, attended college, and copied or memorized passages from his favorite books which he laid before young Ethan. One of the most prominent of these authors Allen learned about from Young was Charles Blount, an early champion of Deism who used the Greek, Latin, and Hebrew classics, including Plutarch and Tacitus, the scholastics such as Thomas Aquinas and Athanasius, as well as "moderns" such as John Locke, Hobbes and Machiavelli in his arguments. Allen also became acquainted with Locke's Essay on Civil Government and Essay on Human Understanding as well as Warburton's Divine Legation of Moses, Watt's Sermons and Salmon's Geographical Grammar through the contents of Young's

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saddlebags and memory. Thus we know through Ethan Allen that Young (and possibly Allen himself at a later date) owned books on religion, geography, government, philosophy, and very probably, since he was doctor, some on medicine and surgery.

Joel Barlow (1754-1812), an early American Poet, very likely had not collected much of a library by 1776. However, we do know that he studied from Dilworth's Spelling Book and Lily's Latin Grammar as a boy, and very probably either he or his father owned these books before 1776.¹⁰⁰

Two libraries are also mentioned as owned by members of the Trumbull family of Connecticut in the eighteenth century. John Trumbull Sr. (1714-1787) owned a library containing many theological works, and about 1760 he obtained Shephard's The Parable of the Ten Virgins, Hucheson's Exposition of the Book of Job, and Marshall's The Gospel - Mystery of Sanctification. His son, John Trumbull, Jr., was born about 1750 and probably read and owned Virgil, Cicero's orations and de Oratore, Horace, and a Greek New Testament as was required of all Yale University students of the time.¹⁰¹ He wrote a poem entitled, "On the Philanthropy of the Author of Tristram Shandy. 1769," so he must have at least read and quite likely owned this volume if he was to become so familiar with it.¹⁰²

99. J. Pell, Ethan Allen (Boston, 1929), 14-16.

100. T. A. Zunder, The Early Days of Joel Barlow: A Connecticut Wit-Yale Graduate, Editor, Lawyer and Poet, Chaplain During the Revolutionary War - His Life and Works from 1754-1787 (New Haven, 1934), 16-7.

101. A. Cowle, John Trumbull: Connecticut Witt (Chapel Hill, 1936), 21-2.

102. Ibid., 47.

The only suggestion of the possible contents of the library of Noah Webster (1758-1843), the author of the famous speller and dictionary is, again, in the books from which he was taught. He received his earliest instruction from Thomas Dilworth's Spelling Book, a primer, and a psalter on the Bible, so it is quite likely that he or his family possessed these books. ¹⁰³

The next New England colony whose libraries are to be discussed is Rhode Island, where again we find an increase in both the numbers and contents of libraries. The earliest account of reading Elizabethan plays in New England occurs in this colony, and is referred to in Samuel Sewall's diary for the year 1706 which reads as follows:

I set out [from Bristol]...for Narraganset. Din'd at Bright's [a tavern at Newport]: while Dinner was getting ready I read in Ben Johnson, a Folio.... 104

A biography again gives all the available information concerning the library of Robert Feke (1705 to about 1750), one of the earliest American artists and portrait painters. His biographer states that by the 1740's, Feke was acquainted with Samuel Richardson's novel Pamela Andrews and with the writings of Lord Shaftesbury. Indeed, he even went so far as to paint a portrait of the ideal representation of Pamela Andrews, so must, indeed, have been quite familiar with it and very possibly owned it. ¹⁰⁵ Of any other probable contents of his library,

103. H. R. Warfel, Noah Webster: Schoolmaster to America (New York, 1936), 11.

104. "Sewall's Diary," II, 167.

105. H. W. Foote, Robert Feke: Colonial Portrait Painter (Cambridge, 1930), 31.

however, we unfortunately know nothing.

A collection of old books, a diary, a will and a few letters in the possession of the Marchant family show that Henry Marchant of Newport and South Kingstown, Rhode Island, a graduate of the embryo University of Pennsylvania, an attorney-at-law, a colonial agent, and member of the Continental Congress owned a varied and extensive library. Most of his collection was in thick folios, bound handsomely in calf and printed almost without exception in England. Some of these may have been purchased by Marchant on a visit to England in 1771-1772 to secure compensation to Rhode Island for services rendered during the French and Indian War. He owned Katherine Macaulay's History of England from the Accession of James I to the Elevation of the House of Hanover. He also owned a History of England in two huge folio volumes of 800 pages each written in French by Rapin de Thayras and translated into English by N. Tindal, M. A., vicar of Great Waltham in Essex. Also listed among his volumes were the works of Sir William Temple, Algernon Sidney, A Treatise of Military Discipline by Humphrey Bland, An Essay on the History of Civil Society by Adam Ferguson, Johnson's Dictionary in two volumes, fourth edition, John Locke's Essay Concerning Human Understanding, the Poetical Works of Alexander Pope in four volumes and Bell's edition of the Poets of Great Britain, complete from Chaucer to Churchill. Listed among his books on law were The Principles of the Laws of Scotland by John Balfour and

Observations on Reversionary Payments on Schemes for Providing Annuities for Widows and Orphans by Richard Price. ¹⁰⁶

That he possessed a rather sizable library seems quite likely from the following statement in a letter from Marchant to Mr. Alexander Grant, a London merchant, written from Newport, Rhode Island, February 12, 1744 saying: "I have had many Books of Them [Brotherton & Sewell at the Sign of the Bible opposite the Royal Exchange] and it may not be amiss to let them know you want Them for me." He then inclosed an order for the following books:

Sir William Temple Works 2 folio Volumes
 Sidney on Government with his Life and Apology
 Sir Matthew Hale's Pleas of the Crown; published with
 Notes by Soloni, 2 Volumes
 Lord Talbot's Reports
 Wilson's Reports
 Banbury (Will) Replica of Copy in the Exchequer published
 by George Wilson
 Plowden's Reports
 Vattally, Law of Nations. I think the Title is in
 2 or 3 Quarto Volumes.
 Burroughs Settlement Cases Adjudged from the Death of
 Lord Raymond, 1732
 The Complete Body of Husbandry: - A large folio Volume
 The best Treatise [sic] in 1 Octavo Volume upon For-
 estry 107

Shortly after the Battle of Lexington in 1775, Marchant moved from Newport to South Kingstown and at this time bought for his son, William, a Short Introduction to English Grammar for ¹⁰⁸ the sum of 2 s 6 d. This is the last reference found to

106. S. S. Brayton, "The Library of an Eighteenth-Century Gentleman of Rhode Island," New England Quarterly, VIII, No. 2, June, 1935, 277-280.

107. Ibid., 280-1.

108. Ibid., 282.

his library before 1776, and we can thus conclude that quite likely it was a relatively large library containing books on law, history, government, philosophy, military science, poetry, agriculture and textbooks, with special emphasis on works of law and government.

Thus we can conclude that private libraries in New England from 1700 to 1776 were more catholic in their scope and subject matter and relatively larger than those of the seventeenth century. Even more important, however, was the ever lessening emphasis on religion and the great increase in books on law, history, agriculture, science, the classics and other secular subjects. However, though secular works became more and more important, religious books were still very widespread, although they did not predominate the entire private library field as they had in seventeenth century New England. Subjects such as drama, poetry, belles-lettres and even fiction, which were largely neglected in seventeenth century libraries, were also more widely found and more abundant.

Another interesting trend of this period is the increasing interest in book-collecting in a more or less scientific sense and as an end in itself. The prime examples of this, of course, are the libraries of Thomas Prince, who seemed to make a real study of rare and valuable volumes and was particularly interested in contemporary and early colonial books and manuscripts, Cotton Mather, who owned what was

probably the largest private library then in existence in New England and was also interested in odd and unusual works and manuscripts, and John Adams, who frankly stated the purpose of his library and his interest in books.

Again, as in the seventeenth century, Massachusetts showed her superiority over the other New England colonies of the time. Connecticut seems to have had the next best collections.

Ministers, too, seem again to have been the largest book-owning group. However, there were also several important libraries owned by lawyers and government officials such as John Adams and Henry Marchant. Even the library of Samuel Sewall cannot be completely excluded from the ranks of the ministers as he was originally trained and educated for the ministry although he did not practice this profession.

Thus we can say that eighteenth century New England private libraries were, on the whole, larger and somewhat broader in scope than their seventeenth century predecessors.

CHAPTER IIIPRIVATE LIBRARIES IN THE MIDDLE COLONIES, 1664-1776.

Since there did not seem to be sufficient available material on the private libraries of the so-called "middle colonies" of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania to warrant a separate chapter for each of the two centuries under discussion, I have chosen to include the existing material on private libraries from the time of their coming under British control or founding to the year 1776 in one chapter. Indeed, these three colonies were later in their founding and coming under British control than the majority of the New England colonies already studied, and therefore the records of any seventeenth century private libraries are relatively scarce. As we shall also see, the libraries in these middle colonies seem to have been relatively more catholic and less predominantly religious than those of New England.

The first colony to be considered, New York, was taken over by the British from the Dutch with almost no resistance in 1664, and had its name changed from New Amsterdam when it was granted by King Charles II of England to his brother, James, Duke of York.

I found only two references to seventeenth century New York libraries. The first record of a private library is found in the inventory of the estate of Pastor John Yongs of Southold, Long Island, who died February 24, 1671/2. Listed in it is the item "Old bookes - by Mr. Hubard prised at £5." Since the entire estate was valued at only £97, it seems safe to assume that the reverend was not a wealthy man and owned a

rather meager library, although its contents are not given.¹
 The only other reference to seventeenth century New York libraries I found was a statement from a secondary work that books and libraries were scarcer in New York than in New England, and that those that did exist in the seventeenth century were chiefly religious and theological works owned by the clergy.² For lack of evidence to the contrary, I am inclined to agree with this rather reasonable statement, especially since the evidence given on private libraries in seventeenth century New England supports the fact that ministers were very definitely the leading book owners of the time, and that a great many of the libraries of the time were predominantly religious.

The first library of which I found mention in eighteenth century New York was that belonging to Col. William Smith of St. George's Suffolk County, who left a library worth £40 at his death in 1705.³ Unfortunately, no other details concerning its numbers or contents were obtainable.

A letter to the editor of a New York newspaper gives evidence of another library. One N. S., an unidentified resident of Hempstead, Long Island, and correspondent of the New York Weekly Journal, wrote the following information to its editor, Peter Zenger, on March 4, 1733: "My library is not

1. E. Whitaker (ed.), Whitaker's Southold: Being a Substantial Reproduction of the History of Southold, Long Island, Its First Century (Princeton, 1931), 141.

2. L. B. Wright, Atlantic Frontier; Colonial American Civilization, 1607-1763 (New York, 1947), 209.

3. J. T. Adams, Provincial Society, 1690-1763 (New York, 1927), 73.

large, it consists of a Bible, Pool's Annotations, Calamy's Sermons, Dr. Clarke's and Locke's Works, Hugo Grotius, The Tale of a Tub, De Foe's Jure Divina, Jacob's Law Dictionary, Pryn's Animadversions, The Compleat Justice, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, 2 Prayer Books, a Psalter, and one Primer."⁴ This library, though small, showed its owner's probable interest in religion, law, philosophy and even contemporary literature, a fairly catholic collection and not a predominantly religious one.

Probably the best private library in the colony in the eighteenth century was that belonging to Dr. Samuel Johnson (1696-1772), the first President of King's College (Columbia University). According to a secondary account, he had the "library of a nobleman." English authors represented in his collection were Stanley, Raleigh, Ogilby, Bacon, Dryden, Newton, Locke, Swift, Milton and Prior. Classics numbered 31 volumes, history 15 volumes, and philosophy 18⁵ volumes, again showing the trend towards secular literature. Unfortunately, however, the catalogue of this library exists only in manuscript form and was unobtainable, so I was unable to determine its exact contents and value.

Another library whose catalogue exists only in manuscript form and about which no definite details can be given is that

4. E. C. Cook, Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers, 1704-1750 (New York, 1912), 133.

5. T. E. Keys, "The Colonial Library and the Development of Sectional Differences in the American Colonies," Library Quarterly, VIII, July, 1938, 381.



of Dr. Alexander Innes of New Jersey and New York, a digni-⁶tary of the Church of England in the eighteenth century.

Turning now to New Jersey, whose territory was also included in the extensive grant of land given by Charles II to his brother James in 1664, we find that the library situation on its plantations seems to have been somewhat of an improvement over that of its larger neighbor, New York. For example, an interesting statement was made by Jasper Danckaerts, a traveler in this region, in his Journal, dated November 20, 1769. Speaking of the town of Burlington, New Jersey he said: "We went again to the village this morning, and entered the ordinary exhorters' house....We found lying upon the window a volume of Virgil, as if it was a common handbook, and also Helmont's book on Medicine...."⁷

Information is also found on three other seventeenth century New Jersey libraries, those of John Allen, John Skeene, and Elizabeth Tatham. John Allen of Woodbridge left a library of some 252 volumes in 1684, and John Skeene of Peachfield in Burlington County left a library valued at more than £24, although nothing is known of its numbers or contents. One of the few women in this period to have any number of books listed in their estate inventory is Elizabeth Tatham of Burlington, widow of John Tatham, who in 1702 listed 552 volumes which her husband

6. Ibid., 380.

7. B. J. Bartlett and J. F. Jameson (eds.) Journal of Jasper Danckaerts 1679-1690 (New York, 1913), 99.

had collected in his mansion house.⁸ However, I felt it should be mentioned in this section on seventeenth century libraries, as the great majority of these volumes seem to have been her husband's and were collected by 1700. Again, almost no idea of the contents of seventeenth century New Jersey libraries can be gained except for Danckaerts rather obscure reference suggesting that the reading of the classics might be widespread.

Turning now to the year 1700-1776, I was able to find no references to any private libraries in New Jersey in the early part of this period. However, evidence that there must have been some interest in libraries at this period was the establishing by royal charter of a Library Company in Burlington in 1758.⁹ Charles Read III (1715-1774), a leader in agricultural experimentation and development, donated a three-volume set of A Collection of Voyages and Travels (London, 1744), and three other works of folio size: Tables of Chronology, containing a View of Universal History, from the Creation to the Year 1700; Historical Collections, by Heywood Townshend, M. P. (London, 1680); and William Sheppard's An Epitome of All the Common and Statute Laws now in Force (London, 1656). He also donated in smaller volumes a set of The Poetical Register; or the Lives and Characters of all the English Poets (London, 1723), a Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England (1681),

8. Wright, Atlantic Frontier, 209.

9. C. R. Woodward, Ploughs and Politicks; Charles Read of New Jersey and His Notes on Agriculture 1715-1774 (New Brunswick, 1941), 46.

[Faint, illegible text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side of the page]

and Maxims, Theological Ideas, and Sentences, extracted by J. Gambold (London, 1751).¹⁰ Thus Read seems to have owned books on history, law, voyages and travels, and poetry, in addition to agriculture, although it seems highly probable that he gave away none of his very favorite volumes. Several works on agriculture were also donated by some of Read's friends. William Smith gave a copy of The Husband-man's Guide, in 4 Parts, second edition (New York, 1712), John Smith gave a copy of The New Art of Gardening, by Leonard Meager (London, 1699), A Treatise on Fruit Trees, by Thomas Hitt (London, 1755), and A Complete Body of Husbandry, by Thomas Hale (London, 1676). Samuel Smith contributed The Manner of Raising, Ordering and Improving Forrest Trees, by M. Cooke (London, 1676). However, nothing more is known of these libraries, although it seems quite probable that they also included still other titles on agriculture.¹¹ This evidence shows that eighteenth century colonists had a real interest in scientific agriculture.

The last of these three colonies whose libraries are to be considered is Pennsylvania which was granted to William Penn by King Charles II in 1681. Fortunately more information is available concerning the value, numbers and contents of libraries within its boundaries than for the other colonies of this section, New York and New Jersey.

The library of John Bartram (1699-1777), a Pennsylvania

10. Woodward, Ploughs and Politicks, 47.

11. Ibid.

botanist and explorer, contained about the year 1739 many scientific works sent by European friends, a volume of the Spectator papers and probably some historical works.¹² Peter Collinson sent him from England scientific books such as Sir Hans Sloane's Natural History of Jamaica and books "to replenish thy inner man," such as Robert Barclay's Apology for the Quakers. Mark Catesby sent him a copy of his History of American Birds, Dillenius his History of Mosses, Linnaeus his Systema Naturae and Charactres Planatarum, and Gronovius his Index Lapideae and his Flora Virginica. Besides these works, some books on surgery in the Pennsylvania Historical collection bear his signature. This, too, seems to have been a primarily secular library. His son, William, born in 1739, carried on in his father's footsteps, but details concerning the contents¹³ of his library to the year 1776 are lacking.

Evidence of an even earlier eighteenth century library, that of the Honorable Charles Read II, one time sheriff of Philadelphia, is found in an ad of the Pennsylvania Gazette for August 4, 1737. It stated:

Whereas the Library late of Charles Read, Esq., is very much despers'd, and many Sets of Books broken, particularly the Spectator, Tatler, Guardian, Conquest of Mexico, Athenian Oracle, &c. and some whole Sets lent out, together with several valuable Treatises.

These are therefore to desire those who have any Books lately belonging to the said Charles Read, that (in order

12. E. Earnest, John and William Bartram: Botanists and Explorers 1699-1777, 1739-1823 (Philadelphia, 1940), 84.

13. N. B. Fagin, William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape (Baltimore, 1933), 19.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice to ensure transparency and accountability.

2. The second section outlines the procedures for handling discrepancies between the recorded amounts and the actual cash received. It states that any such variance must be investigated immediately and reported to the appropriate authority.

3. The third part of the document details the process of reconciling the accounts at the end of each month. It requires that the total amount recorded in the books must match the total amount shown on the bank statements.

4. The fourth section describes the requirements for the physical custody of the cash. It mandates that all cash must be stored in a secure, fireproof safe and that access to the safe is restricted to authorized personnel only.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the frequency and timing of audits. It specifies that internal audits should be conducted quarterly, while external audits should be performed annually by an independent accounting firm.

6. The sixth section outlines the consequences of non-compliance with these financial management policies. It states that any employee found to be involved in the misappropriation of funds will be subject to immediate disciplinary action, up to and including termination.

7. The seventh part of the document provides a list of the key personnel responsible for the implementation and oversight of these financial controls. It includes the names and titles of the Chief Financial Officer, the Controller, and the various department heads.

8. The eighth section of the document discusses the importance of ongoing training and education for all employees. It requires that all staff members receive regular training on the latest financial management practices and regulatory requirements.

9. The ninth part of the document describes the process for reviewing and updating the financial management policies. It states that these policies should be reviewed at least once a year to ensure they remain relevant and effective.

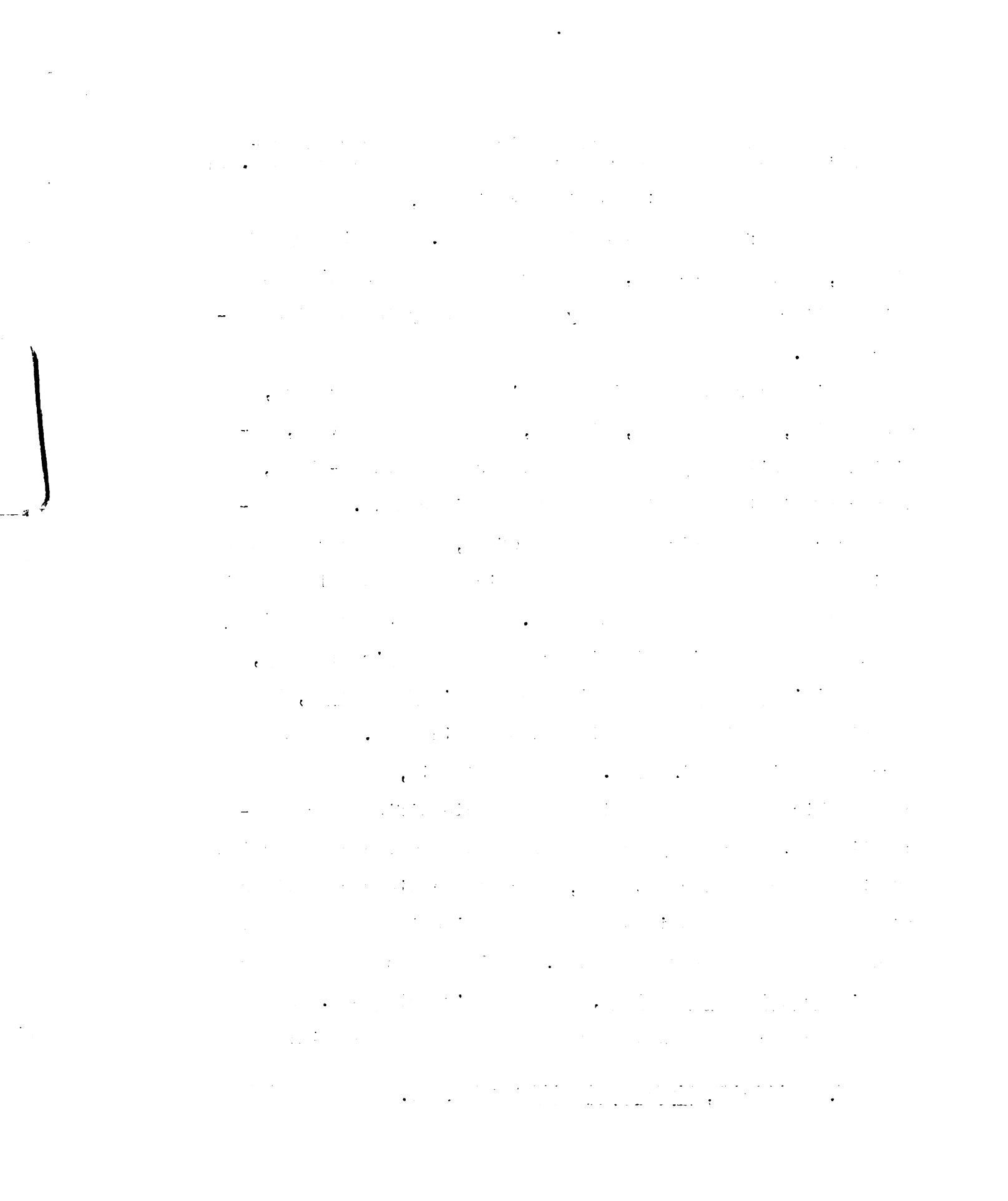
10. The tenth and final section of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed in the document. It reiterates the commitment to maintaining the highest standards of financial integrity and transparency.

to prevent the Expence of repairing the Library afore-
said) they would generously and gratefully return them. 14

Evidently Read owned quite a sizable library, although we do not know any of the details of its contents. The library of his son, Charles Read III, was discussed in the section on the private libraries of the colony of New Jersey in the eighteenth century.

A library reflecting its owner's interest in science, mathematics, the classics, history, voyages and travels, religion and philosophy was that of James Logan (1674-1751), a deputy of William Penn in the Pennsylvania colony. Even before he came to America at the age of 23, Logan had collected a library of some 800 or 900 books which he had to dispose of before leaving England for America. The only books definitely known to have been in this library were Ptolemy's Almagest, and Euclid's Elements bound with Campanus's Commentary, both of which were printed in Venice in Latin in 1515. He repurchased these books in 1726. In Pennsylvania, he seems to have pursued his goal of collecting a good scientific and classical library. For ten years before he started the construction of his country seat at Stenton, he read the literary reviews of the day and bought important works which interested him as soon as they came from the press. In 1708 he purchased Charles Hayes's Treatise on Fluxions, and Newton's Principia. In 1713 he ordered through an agent the works of John Keill which

14. Woodward, Ploughs and Politicks, 35.



he said were available at the shop of William Innis, bookseller, at the sign of the Plume and Feather in St. Paul's Churchyard, London. A year earlier he ordered issues of the Spectator and later Bayle's Historical Dictionary. Logan asked Fettiplace Bellers in 1714 to send him "anything that's new and valuable." At this time he was also buying books from Christopher Bateman, and in 1718 asked him for editions of the classics, saying that he had most of the works of the Latin authors but wanted better editions of them. He also studied the works of Linnaeus, and had the works of Gronovius, Charles Pournier and large numbers of botanical and herbal "theaters." He also was interested in and owned books of early voyages and travels such as Purchas's His Pilgrimes, Capt. John Smith's Virginia, Dampier's Voyage to New Spain and the like. He quoted and probably owned the writings of Milton and Chaucer. Of the more contemporary authors, Logan liked the satires of Pope, Defoe and Swift. In drama, he liked the writings of the classical Greeks, and of the more modern English and French dramatists he liked the works of Shakespeare, Racine, Moliere and Corneille. In the field of religion, he owned the writings of Bellarmine, Bishop Burnet, John Calvin, Jean de Labadie, and even John Eliot's Indian Bible. He owned books by modern European philosophers such as Descartes, Leibnitz, Hobbes, Voltaire, Locke and Malebranche.¹⁵ One of the most notable sections of his library was his collection of scientific works which one author says covered "the whole compass of that remarkable outburst of scientific

15. Cannon, American Book Collectors, 29-33.

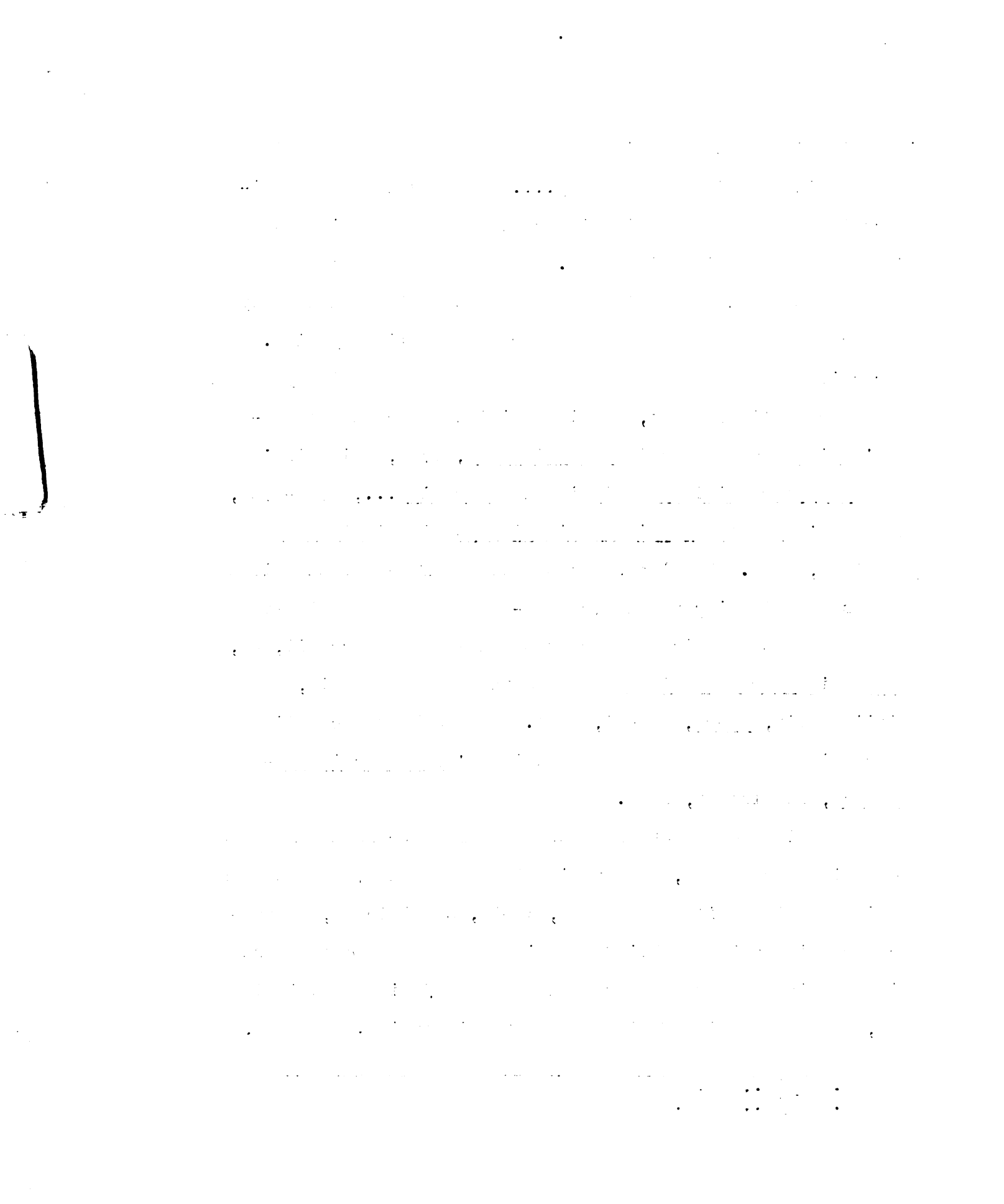
investigation that began in the seventeenth and came to its strength in the eighteenth century....Certainly no college library in the America of his time could offer the equivalent of his collection in this field."¹⁶

That Logan was a serious book collector is evidenced by the fact that he owned and used a great many library aids. He received and kept many book catalogues sent to him by dealers and other bibliographers, and in addition owned Bishop Kennett's Bibliothecae Americanae Primordia, 1713, Maittaire's Annales Typographici ab Artis inventae Origine..., 1719-1722, and James's Catalogue Universalis librorum in Bibliotheca Bodleiana, 1620. He also seems to have been one of the first persons to bring incunabula (cradle-books or books printed before 1500) to America and seems to have owned Boccatii, Jo, Genealogia Deorum Gentilium printed in 1491 and Boetii, Anitii Manlii, Opera, Veneti, 1491. The book by Boccatii (Boccaccio) was bound with Peter Apianus' Introductio Geographico,¹⁷ Ingolstadt, 1553.

There is some doubt as to the number of books Logan owned and their exact value, but by his will dated in 1749 (although he did not die until December 31, 1751), he willed 2,000 volumes from it to "the public" of Philadelphia and some to the Philadelphia Library Company founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1731, but left an indefinite number to his family. However,

16. Ibid., 34.

17. Ibid., 34-5.



his library has been considered by some to be the third best book collection belonging to a colonial American, ranking behind those of the Mather family and Col. William Byrd of Westover, Virginia.¹⁸ The following excerpt from his will gives some idea also of his library's contents:

In my library...are above one hundred volumes of authors, in folio, all in Greek, with mostly their versions; all the Roman classics, without exception; all the old Greek mathematicians, viz., Archimedes, Euclid, and Ptolemy, both his geography and almagest, which I had in Greek (with Theon's commentary in folio, above 700 pages) from my learned friend, Fabricus, who published fourteen volumes of his Greek Bibliotheque in 4to....Besides, there are many of the most valuable Latin authors, and a great number of modern mathematicians, with all the three editions of Newton, Dr. Halley, Wallis, &c. 19

A manuscript account of Logan's library written before 1776 says:

...he was almost constantly immers'd in affairs of a Political nature his Turn of mind was notwithstanding inclin'd to learning & chiefly in the Mathematical Sciences & the languages of which he was reckon'd a Master. he collected near three Thousand volumes in almost all Sciences arts & languages, not without a considerable expence.... 20

Thus he seems to have owned books on mathematics, the classics, voyages and travels, religion, philosophy and science, a primarily secular library.

Another Pennsylvanian who seems to have been interested in the classics, Friend Robert Strettel, mayor of Philadelphia

18. Ibid., 36.

19. E. V. Lambertson, "Colonial Libraries of Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XLII, No. 3, 1918, 208-9.

20. Ibid., 210.



in 1749, brought together a library of Greek, Latin and French Literature at his Germantown estate.²¹ Its exact contents, numbers, and value are unknown.

The reading and libraries of eighteenth century women in the middle colonies is quite a controversial (and rather amusing) issue. Three young ladies of the period, all from Philadelphia, seem to have had libraries. Sally Wister was given Joseph Andrews, Julie Grenville, Caroline Melmouh and some "Ladies Magazines." Sara Eve, the fiancee of Benjamin Rush, whose library will be discussed a little later, read and probably owned Thomson's poems and The West Indian, and Elizabeth Sandwich read and possibly owned Pope's Homer, Rabelais, French authors and newspapers and "bought little books at Rivington's,"²² (a Philadelphia bookstore). In 1744, young William Black of Virginia spent an evening with some other gentlemen in the company of five Philadelphia debutantes of the time. He rather amusingly records in his diary that the girls began to discuss and criticize plays and authors, "Addison, Prior, Otway, Congreve, Dryden, Pope, Shakespeare, &c...were names often in question..."²³ and soon the men found themselves well "beyond their depth." However, Andrew Burnaby, an English clergyman, who travelled through the middle colonies in 1759-1760, had quite a different account. In his book written about this journey called Travels Through the

21. C. Bridenbaugh, "The Press and the Book in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXV, No. 1, 1941, 25.

22. Ibid., 27.

23. Ibid., 28.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that this is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in the organization's operations.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It highlights the need for a systematic and consistent approach to data collection, as well as the importance of using appropriate statistical methods to analyze the results.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the interpretation and communication of the findings. It stresses that the results should be presented in a clear and concise manner, using appropriate visual aids such as charts and graphs to enhance understanding.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the implications of the findings and the need for further research. It suggests that the results should be used to inform decision-making and to identify areas for improvement in the organization's processes and procedures.

5. The fifth part of the document provides a summary of the key points and conclusions. It reiterates the importance of maintaining accurate records and using appropriate methods for data collection and analysis, and emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in all aspects of the organization's operations.

Middle Settlements in North America, London, 1798, he said:

"The women are, generally speaking, handsome....They have but few advantages, and consequently are seldom accomplished; this makes them reserved, and unequal to any interesting or refined conversation...they seldom read, or endeavor to improve their minds...."²⁴ Since all the evidence I found on libraries owned by Pennsylvania women was in Philadelphia, however, and since Reverend Burnaby was no doubt speaking about both the frontier and back-country as well as the more settled areas and cities, his statement may well have been true for the population in general.

Two Philadelphia Quakers, Isaac Norris Sr. and his son, Isaac Jr., also owned libraries. Isaac Norris Sr. began to assemble books at his home, Fair Hill, as early as 1722 when he sent to England for a copy of Milton's Paradise Lost. His son, Isaac Jr., built up this collection by careful purchase and selection, and at his death, it passed into the hands of his son-in-law, John Dickinson, author of the "Letters From a Pennsylvania Farmer," and signer of the Declaration of Independence, where it met the critical approval of John Adams, who pronounced it "a grand library" in 1774. Unfortunately none of its specific contents or its value are know.²⁵

John Adams writings are the source of information and

24. T. C. Pease and A. S. Roberts, eds., Selected Readings in American History (New York, 1928), 73.

25. Bridenbaugh, "The Press and the Book," 24-25.



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In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze the data. This includes both primary and secondary data collection techniques. The primary data was gathered through direct observation and interviews, while secondary data was obtained from existing reports and databases.

The third section details the statistical analysis performed on the collected data. Various tests were conducted to determine the significance of the findings. The results indicate a strong positive correlation between the variables being studied, suggesting that the observed trends are not due to chance.

Finally, the document concludes with a series of recommendations based on the research findings. These suggestions are aimed at improving the efficiency of the processes being analyzed and ensuring that the data remains accurate and reliable for future use.

comments concerning other Pennsylvania libraries of the time. He recorded in his diary on September 7, 1774 that he "Dined with Mr. Miers Fisher, a young Quaker and a lawyer [of Philadelphia]²⁶. We saw his library, which is clever...." On November 24, 1775 he wrote: "Dr. Rush [Benjamin Rush, a Philadelphia physician] came in...he has been much in London... [from where]²⁷ Dilly sends him books and pamphlets...." He also stated that Mr. Joseph Galloway, delegate from Pennsylvania to the First Continental Congress, in presenting a plan of a proposed union between Great Britain and the colonies on September 28, 1774, mentioned Burlamaqui, Grotius, Puffendorf, and Hooker, from which one might infer that Galloway knew and quite likely²⁸ owned writings of these authors. Unfortunately nothing more is known concerning these libraries other than these brief references.

I am including here a reference to no particular private library, but a statement I felt particularly interesting and quite possibly significant of the private libraries of the delegates to the First Continental Congress, held in Philadelphia and beginning in September, 1774. William Bradford, a young Philadelphian, wrote to his friend James Madison at Princeton, New Jersey, that he had been "hanging around" near Carpenter's Hall during the secret sessions of the Continental Congress. Young Bradford Pumped the city librarian to learn what the

26. Adams, Works, II, 369.

27. Ibid., 427.

28. Ibid., 388.

delegates were borrowing and reading. He wrote to Madison that "Vattel, Burlamaqui, Locke and Montesquieu seem to be the standards to which they refer...by which we may conjecture that their measures will be wisely planned since they debate on them like philosophers."²⁹ Probably a number of these delegates were already familiar with the works of these authors as being contained in their own private libraries.

Two famous Pennsylvania Quakers, John Woolman and Anthony Beneset, also contributed to the library history of this period. Woolman, who was born in 1720, said in his Journal for 1742: "My Parents haveing a large family of children, used frequently on first-days after meeting, to put us to read in the Holy Scriptures, or some religious books, one after another...."³⁰ Evidently then his father owned a library including religious works, although we know nothing more of its contents. Also from his Journal we find that he did not confine his reading (and probably not his library) to exclusively Quaker or even religious literature. He quoted Cowe's Primitive Christianity, Fox's Acts and Monuments, Thomas a Kempis, French writers in English translations, books on travel written by Jesuit fathers exploring India and Africa, and agents of the East India Com-
³¹pany. In a supplementary note at the end of the volume, the

29. I. Brant, James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist, 2 Vols. (Indianapolis, 1941), I, 76.

30. J. Woolman, The Journals and Essays of John Woolman Edited from the Original Manuscripts with a Biographical Introduction, A. M. Gummere, ed., Rancocas Edition (New York, 1922), 151-2.

31. Woolman, Journal, passim.

editor spoke of finding one of Woolman's account books which included a list of books loaned to various persons, including Every Man His Own Lawyer and the writings of Eusebius, Everard, Desiderius, Behemen, and Edward Taylor which he owned.³² Unfortunately I could find no record of any will or inventory of any estate left by him. He died on October 27, 1772.³³

The second of these influential Quakers, Anthony Benezet, an eighteenth century schoolmaster and leader of religious thought, referred to books several times in his correspondence. In a letter to a schoolmaster friend written about 1752, he said: "I would advise thee, as soon as thou canst spare the money, to buy thee a good dictionary. Bailey's Dictionary, with an English grammar at the end, is a very good one.... A Young Mans Companion may also be very serviceable to thee in several respects...."³⁴ Quite likely Benezet, himself, owned both these works. In a letter to another friend, Samuel Fothergill, dated October 17, 1757 he said: "I herewith send thee a new Edition of John Everard's writings...."³⁵ On December 30, 1757, Benezet wrote to a John Smith saying: "I send herewith two copies of the first part of the 'Economy of Human Life' [by Robert Dodsley] ."³⁶ In another letter to Smith written February 8, 1760, he listed the magazines he had

32. Ibid., 632.

33. Ibid., 143.

34. G. S. Brooks, Friend Anthony Benezet (Philadelphia, 1937), 209.

35. Ibid., 223.

36. Ibid., 225.

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

In the second section, the author details the various methods used to collect and analyze the data. This includes both primary and secondary research techniques. The primary research involved direct observation and interviews with key stakeholders. The secondary research focused on reviewing existing literature and industry reports.

The third section presents the findings of the study. It shows that there is a significant correlation between the variables being studied. The data indicates that as one variable increases, the other tends to decrease. This relationship is supported by statistical analysis and is consistent with the theoretical framework.

Finally, the document concludes with a series of recommendations for future research and practical applications. It suggests that further studies should explore the underlying causes of the observed trends. Additionally, it provides actionable insights for practitioners in the field, based on the study's findings.

recently purchased for Smith from David Hall, a Philadelphia printer and partner of Benjamin Franklin, including the London Magazine and the Gentleman's Magazine. Benezet also said that some Friends were reprinting a book called The Way to the Sabbath of Rest," "to which I prevailed with them to add, The Prefatory Discourse to Hartley's Sermons & 2 Discourses out of Wilm. Dell's works, viz. Christ's Spirit a Christian's Strength, & Christ ye Stumbling Stone...."³⁷ Obviously he knew these works, and quite likely owned them. In still another letter to Smith dated December 11, 1760, he said: "I...send thee two new Pieces...wrote by Law & Heartley...be so kind as to send them back by a safe conveyance; one is borrd. & the other I have not yet read thro."³⁸ Evidently he owned one of these books, both of which were written by religious writers. On March 2, 1765 he sent Smith The Gentleman's Magazines, London Magazines, American Magazines, and Universal Magazines.³⁹ On July 16, 1774 he sent Samuel Allinson John Woolman's Journal "and that part of his work published in England."⁴⁰ He thus also probably owned some writings by this contemporary Quaker author who had died only two years previously, and whose writings were partly religious. At the time of his death in 1784, then, Benezet's library seems to have contained religious works and very likely some magazines,

37. Ibid., 235-6.

38. Ibid., 243.

39. Ibid., 256-7.

40. Ibid., 313.

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The third section details the statistical analysis performed on the collected data. This involves the use of descriptive statistics to summarize the data and inferential statistics to test hypotheses. The results of these analyses are presented in the following tables and charts.

Table 1: Summary of Data Collection Methods

Method	Number of Data Points	Source
Primary (Interviews)	150	Direct Observation
Primary (Surveys)	200	Questionnaires
Secondary (Reports)	50	Industry Publications
Secondary (Databases)	100	Government Records

The data shows that primary data collection through interviews and surveys provided the most comprehensive view of the subject matter. Secondary data from reports and databases provided additional context and historical trends.

The statistical analysis revealed several key findings. First, there is a strong positive correlation between the variables studied. This suggests that as one variable increases, the other tends to increase as well. Second, the data indicates that the majority of the sample falls within a specific range, which is consistent with the theoretical model.

In conclusion, the study has provided valuable insights into the relationship between the variables. The findings support the hypothesis and have implications for future research and practical applications. Further studies should explore the underlying mechanisms of these relationships.

a dictionary and some common textbooks of the day, although its exact value and contents in 1776 are not known.

John Smith, with whom Benezet corresponded, married Hannah Logan, James Logan's daughter, and seems to have owned books on religion, travel, biography, science, poetry, belles-lettres and even some fiction if a secondary account of him is to be believed. It states that he read Sherlock's Practical Meditation Upon the Four Last Things, volumes of sermons, Steele's Christian Hero, unnamed volumes on travel, biography and science, Steele's Conscious Lovers and The Funeral, Thomson's Sophenisba, Shakespeare, Atalantis, Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones, five volumes of the popular Turkish Spy, and in poetry Thomson's Seasons, Pope's Windsor Forest, and Paradise Lost.⁴¹ It seems reasonable to suppose that he owned at least some of these works and that quite likely his library reflected to some extent at least his reading interests which were quite varied.

Another Quaker, Thomas Cadwalader, an eighteenth century physician, bought widely in the fields of general literature and scientific works while pursuing his medical studies in France and England.⁴² No other details concerning his library are known.

Dr. John Morgan, another physician, owned one of the most catholic libraries in all the colonies on the eve of the

41. Earnest, John and William Bartram, 29.

42. Bridenbaugh, "The Press and the Book," 25.



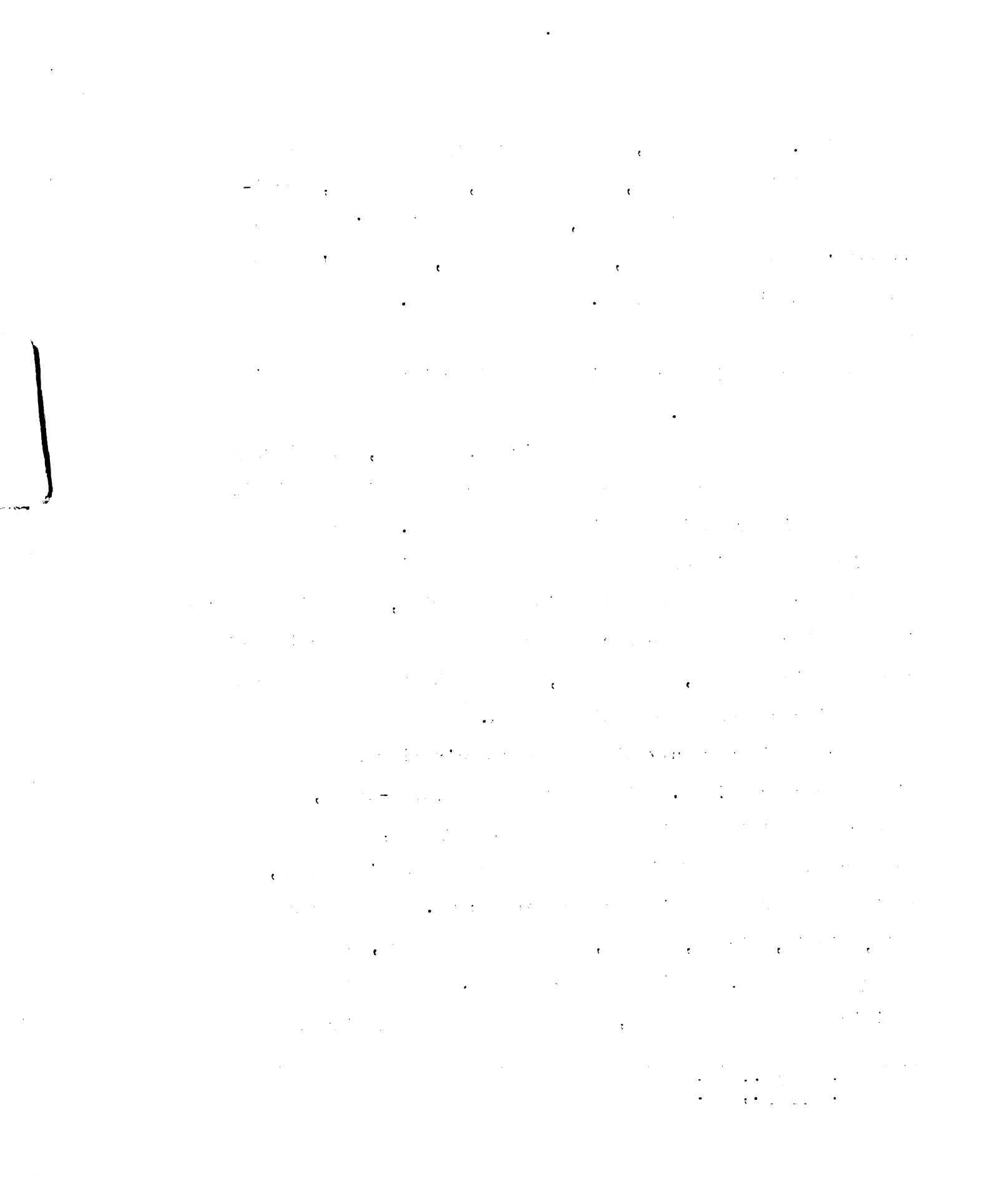
Revolution. It included, besides a rarely equalled medical and scientific collection, books on art, archaeology, architecture and general literature, including Ariosto's and Boccaccio's works in Italian, Hume in French, Voltaire's Tancred and some Italian manuscripts.⁴³ Evidently Dr. Morgan had very broad interests and a knowledge of modern foreign languages and probably a fairly catholic book collection of a predominantly secular nature.

For any student of early Americana, however, the library of the relatively poor Eugene du Simitiere of Philadelphia is of supreme interest in the eighteenth century. He collected the first really important assemblage of Americana both in printed form and in manuscripts in this period, and this collection has since become the backbone of the notable selection of early American books, newspapers, and pamphlets now belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia.⁴⁴

Once again our only hint as to a man's library comes from his reported readings. Alexander Graydon (1752-1818), an author and soldier during the Revolutionary War, entered an academy at the age of eight and there read Aesop's fables, an abridgement of Roman history and Telemachus. He later read Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Caesar, Sallust and Horace, as well as Venice Preserved, Rollins belles-lettres, and the celebrated political poem of the time, The washing of the Blackmoor

43. Ibid., 25.

44. Ibid., 26.



white.⁴⁵ If this is a true reflection of the contents of his library to the year 1776, it must have contained many of the classics and possibly some history and general literature (belles-lettres).

We now come to a discussion of the library of one of the most interesting personalities in all American history, Benjamin Franklin, statesman, scientist, diplomat, author, printer, journalist and sage. Of the library of his father, Josiah, Benjamin said: "My father's little library consisted chiefly of books in polemic divinity, most of which I read....Plutarch's Lives there was in which I read abundantly, and I still think that time spent to great advantage. There was also a book of De Foe's called an Essay on Projects, and another of Dr. Mather's called Essays to do Good...."⁴⁶ An older brother of Benjamin, James Franklin, returned to England to learn the printer's trade, and when he came back to America, brought with him some of the newer literary works such as those of the poets Butler, Du Bartas and Cowley, and the prose works The Turkish Spy, The Art of Thinking, The Art of Speaking, The Reader, The Lover, The Ladies Pacquet Broke Open, A Tale of a Tub, and Shakespeare.⁴⁷ In his autobiography, in addition to his

45. A. Graydon, Memoirs of His Own Time, with Reminiscences of the Men and Events of the Revolution by Alexander Graydon, J. S. Littell, ed., (Philadelphia, 1846), 27, 40 & 91.

46. B. Franklin, The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin & Selections from His Writings (n.p., 1944), Illustrated Modern Library Edition, 16.

47. C. K. Shipton, "Literary Leaven in Provincial New England," New England Quarterly, IX, No. 2, June, 1936, 214.



father's library, he mentioned the library of one Matthew Adams saying, "And after some time an ingenious tradesman, Mr. Matthew Adams, who had a pretty collection of books, and who frequented our printinghouse, took notice of me, invited me to his library, and very kindly lent me such books as I chose to read." ⁴⁸ Unfortunately nothing more is known concerning this library.

Franklin's early passion for books is shown in the following passages from his autobiography:

From a child I was fond of reading, and all the little money that came into my hands was ever laid out in books. Pleased with the Pilgrim's Progress, my first collection was of John Bunyan's works in separate little volumes. I afterward sold them to enable me to buy R. Burton's Historical Collections; they were small chapmen's books, and cheap, 40 or 50 in all. 49

A little later he stated:

When about 16 years of age I happened to meet with a book...recommending a vegetable diet. I determined to go on it.... [I] then proposed to my brother, that if he would give me, weekly, half the money he paid for my board, I would board myself. He instantly agreed to it, and I presently found that I could save half what he paid me. This was an additional fund for buying books.... I took Cocker's book of Arithmetick, and went through the whole with great ease. I also read Seller's and Sherny's books of Navigation.... And I read about this time Locke On Human Understanding, and the Art of Thinking, by Messrs. du Port Royal....Soon after I procur'd Xenophon's memorable Things of Socrates.... 50

Franklin also mentioned other eighteenth century libraries in his Autobiography saying: "My friend and companion Collins...set out before me...leaving his books, which were a

48. Franklin, Autobiography, 17.
 49. Ibid., 20-21.
 50. Ibid., 16.



pretty collection of mathematicks and natural philosophy."⁵¹

Later he said: "I made an acquaintance with one Wilcox, a bookseller....He had an immense collection of second-hand books."⁵²

Hundreds of examples could be listed of authors and books Franklin mentioned and quoted in his own writings, but since that does not prove whether or not he actually owned the books, I will limit my references to specific mentions of his library or particular books acquired or ordered as found in his writings and correspondence. I have organized these references into four groups: first his quite heavy correspondence with William Strahan, a London bookseller; next his correspondence with others but Strahan or his immediate family dealing with works of a scientific nature; third, his correspondence with his immediate family; and lastly, his correspondence dealing with books of a general literary or religious nature.

Franklin bought a number of books from William Strahan, a London bookseller, with whom he corresponded quite regularly. In his first letter to Strahan in which I found any reference to books he said: "If Mr. Warburton publishes a New Edition of Pope's Works, please to send it me as soon as it is out.... Whatever Thomson writes send me a dozen copies of. I had read not poetry for several years, and almost lost the Relish of

51. B. Franklin, The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, Collected and Edited with a Life and Introduction, A. H. Smyth, ed., 10 Vols., (New York, 1907), I, 261-2.

52. Ibid., 278.

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it, till I met with his Seasons...."⁵³ In another letter to Strahan written just a few months later, Franklin stated: "I thank you for Mr. Dobb's piece....I have long wanted a friend in London, whose judgment I would depend on, to send me from time to time such new pamphlets as are worth reading on any subject (religious controversy excepted), for there is no depending on titles and advertisements."⁵⁴ Writing once more to Strahan, Franklin asked him "Please to send me a book lately advertised; I think it is called a Collection of Sentences, Wise Sayings, etc., by some officer about the Parliament House...."⁵⁵ The next year he wrote to Strahan requesting him to send him "Viner's, Bacon and Danver's Abridgments of the Law, with Wood's and Coke's Institutes," the Complete Attorney, in six or eight volumes, 8 vo, and "a new translation of Tully on Old Age."⁵⁶ In a later letter referring to books he had previously received from Strahan, Franklin said: "In the parcel of books I had from you, 1747...there was a number of law books....please also to send me the last three volumes of the 8 vo Universal History to complete my set...."⁵⁷ A few months later, Franklin asked Strahan to send him "the remaining volumes of Viner as fast as they are published."⁵⁸ Writing to Strahan again the next year, Franklin said he had

53. Ibid., February 12, 1744, II, 242.
 54. Ibid., July 4, 1744, 278-9.
 55. Ibid., July 3, 1749, 376.
 56. Ibid., February 14, 1750, III, 39.
 57. Ibid., June 28, 1751, 51.
 58. Ibid., September 22, 1751, 56.



written for a few books, mostly school books, and still wanted Volume XVII of the Universal History to complete his set.⁵⁹ A short time later he wrote once again to Strahan saying: "I received...the two Vols. of Viner...mistakenly got the 2d vol. of Fosters Natural Religion in boards, which I keep, having the first."⁶⁰ The next year Franklin told Strahan to "...send me here the quarto abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, except the first five volumes which I have. Send me also Fielding's Proposals for Employing the Poor...."⁶¹ In two more letters to Strahan, written in 1753 and 1754, Franklin reported in the first one having received "Bower's second volume," and in the second requested: "Please to send me the Philosophical Transactions from the End of Martin's Abridgment, 1744, to the present time....send...also Dampier's Voyages 4 vols., 8 vo."⁶² However, this letter of 1754 to Strahan was the last record I found of any correspondence between the two referring to books.

Franklin's correspondence also showed his interest in science and his ownership of works in that field (in addition to those mentioned in his correspondence with William Strahan or his immediate family). In a letter to Cadwallader Colden he reported owning a copy of "Dr. Mitchell's tract on the Yellow Fever."⁶³ Three years later he wrote to his friend

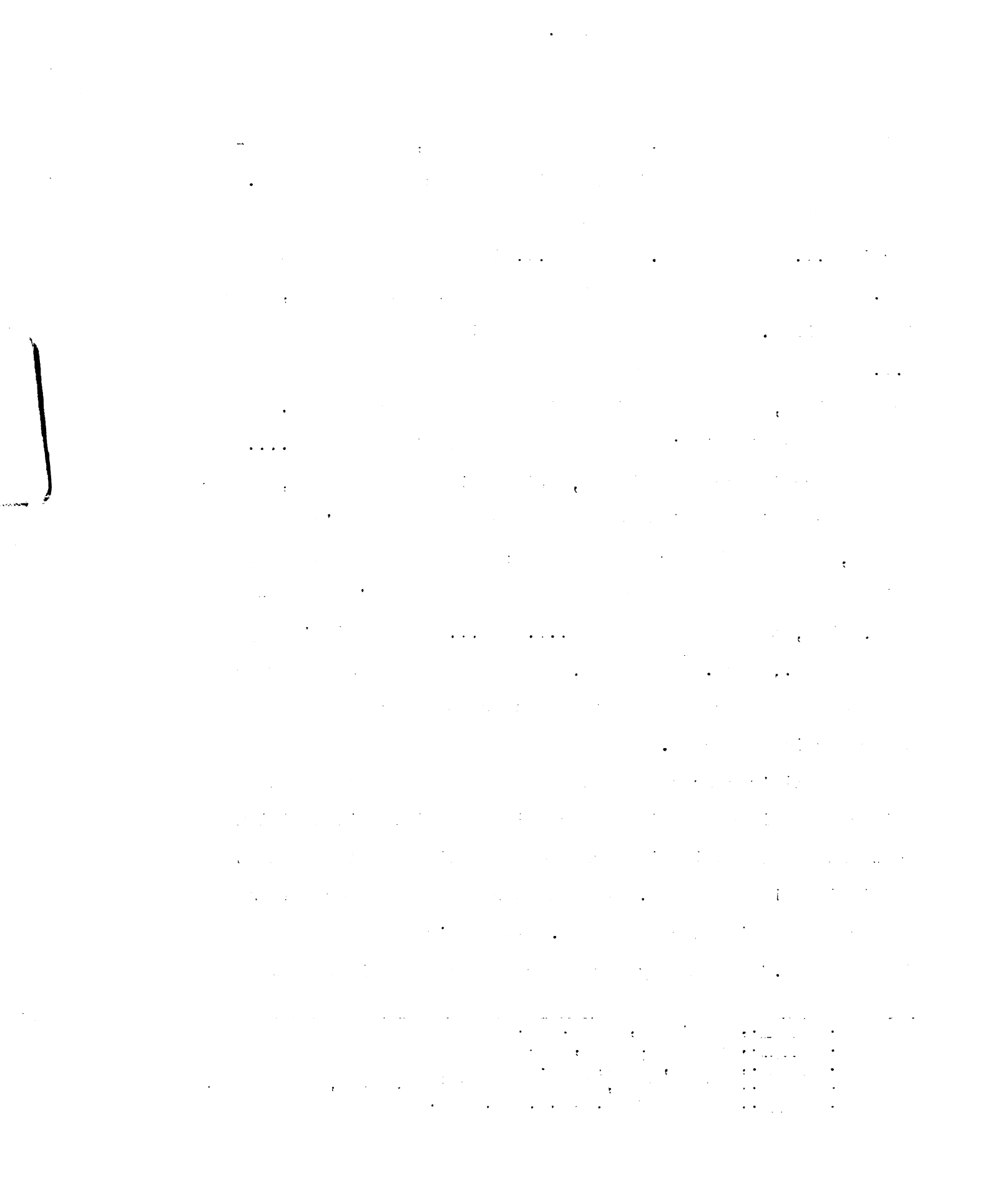
59. Ibid., March 21, 1752, 81.

60. Ibid., June 20, 1752, 90.

61. Ibid., May 9, 1753, 143.

62. Ibid., October 27, 1753 and April 18, 1754, 165 & 196.

63. Ibid., November 28, 1745, II, 293.



James Logan, thanking him for "the piece on the Generation of Plants."⁶⁴ In a letter to Jared Eliot, probably written in 1749, he reported having perused Eliot's two essays on field husbandry.⁶⁵ In a letter to a John Perkins, Franklin recorded: "I have a French piece printed at Paris, 1724, entitled, Observations sur la Saignée du pied, et sur la Purgation, au commencement de la Petite Vérole, et Raisons de doute contre l'Inoculation."⁶⁶ Franklin later wrote to James Bowdoin, whose library will be discussed in the chapter on private libraries in the New England colonies in the eighteenth century, that he was sending him Dr. Brownrigg's treatise on common salt which Franklin seemed to own.⁶⁷ In another letter to Cadwallader Colden Franklin said: "Since my return I have received from Italy a book in quarto, entitled Dell'Elettricismo Artificiale e Naturale Libri Due, di Giovambattista Beccaria de 'CC. RR. delle Scuole Pie, printed at Turin, and dedicated to the King."⁶⁸ Writing to Cadwallader Evans he stated: "Mr. Henry's Register, which you communicated to me last year, is thought a very ingenious one....I send you a late French treatise on the management of silkworms,"⁶⁹ (which Franklin himself possibly owned). In a letter to the Rev. John Ewing, Franklin reported: "I received...several Copies of your Observations

64. Ibid., October 30, 1748, 367.
 65. Ibid., 383.
 66. Ibid., August 13, 1752, III, 96.
 67. Ibid., October 18, 1753, 163.
 68. Ibid., August 30, 1754, 229.
 69. Ibid., September 7, 1769, V, 219.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for transparency and accountability, particularly in financial matters. The text notes that without clear records, it becomes difficult to track expenses, revenues, and overall performance over time.

2. The second section addresses the challenges associated with data collection and analysis. It highlights that gathering large amounts of data can be a complex and time-consuming process. However, once collected, this data provides valuable insights into trends and patterns. The document suggests that investing in robust data management systems can significantly streamline these processes and reduce the risk of errors.

3. The third part of the document focuses on the role of technology in modern business operations. It discusses how digital tools and software solutions have revolutionized the way companies operate, from automating routine tasks to enabling more sophisticated data analysis. The text argues that embracing technology is not just a competitive advantage but a necessity for staying relevant in today's market.

4. The fourth section explores the importance of human resources and talent management. It states that while technology is crucial, it is the quality of the workforce that ultimately determines a company's success. The document provides insights into effective recruitment strategies, employee training, and performance management practices that can help organizations attract and retain top talent.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the significance of customer relationships and service quality. It emphasizes that in a highly competitive market, providing exceptional customer service is a key differentiator. The text offers practical advice on how to build strong, long-term relationships with customers through personalized communication and consistent service delivery.

6. The sixth section addresses the topic of risk management and compliance. It notes that as businesses grow and operate in more complex environments, the potential risks also increase. The document outlines various risk assessment techniques and provides guidance on how to develop comprehensive compliance programs to mitigate these risks and ensure legal adherence.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of financial planning and budgeting. It explains that a well-defined financial strategy is essential for the long-term sustainability of any organization. The text provides detailed information on how to create realistic budgets, monitor financial performance, and make informed decisions about resource allocation.

8. The eighth section focuses on the role of innovation and research and development (R&D). It argues that innovation is the engine of growth and that companies must continuously invest in R&D to stay ahead of the curve. The document offers insights into how to foster a culture of innovation and effectively manage R&D projects.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of strategic partnerships and alliances. It notes that collaborating with other organizations can provide access to new markets, resources, and expertise. The text provides guidance on how to identify potential partners, negotiate terms, and manage these relationships effectively.

10. The final section of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed and offers concluding thoughts on the overall business strategy. It reiterates the importance of a holistic approach that considers all aspects of the organization, from financial health to customer satisfaction and employee well-being.

of the Transit of Venus, for which I thank you...I shall send the new Volume of the Transactions to Mrs. Franklin...."⁷⁰

Franklin also mentioned books and his library in letters to his immediate family. While on a trip to New York in 1757 he wrote to his wife, Deborah, saying that "Among my Books on the shelves, there are two or three little Pieces on the Game of Chess. One in French bound in Leather, 8 vo -- one in a blue Paper Cover, English; two others in Manuscript...."⁷¹

While on this same journey, he wrote his wife again from Woodbridge, New Jersey stating: "In my Room on the Folio Shelf... stands a Folio, call'd the Gardener's Dictionary, by P. Miller" In this same letter, he mentioned a Treatise of Cyder-making he owned.⁷² In still another letter to his wife, this

time written about a year later from London, Franklin reported sending their daughter Sally "two sets of Books...The World and The Connoisseur...."⁷³ One of his most interesting acquisitions obtained while on a later journey to London is told about in a letter to his cousin Samuel Franklin:

A person, that deals in old books...acquainted me, that he had a curious collection of pamphlets bound in eight volumes folio, and twenty-four volumes quarto and octaveOn examining, I found that they contained all the principal pamphlets and papers on public affairs, that had been printed here from the Restoration down to 1715... and the collector, I find from the handwriting and various other circumstances, was your grandfather, my uncle Benjamin. Wherefore, I the more readily agreed to buy them....⁷⁴

Writing to his son William from London on this same lengthy

70. Ibid., August 27, 1770, V, 270.
 71. Ibid., April 29, 1757, III, 393.
 72. Ibid., May 21, 1757, 396.
 73. Ibid., January 21, 1758, 434.
 74. Ibid., July 12, 1771, V, 333-4.



trip, he discussed the present state of his library in London:

I am almost settled in my new Apartment; but Removing, and sorting my Papers, and placing my Books and things has been a troublesome Job. I am amaz'd to see how Books have grown upon me since my Return to England. I brought none with me, and now have a Roomfull; many collected in Germany, Holland and France; and consisting chiefly of such as contain Knowledge that may hereafter be useful to America. 75

Numerous mentions of works of a general literary or religious nature were also found in Franklin's correspondence. Corresponding with Mrs. Jane Mecom, Franklin advised her to read Jonathan Edwards' latest book⁷⁶ entitled Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England, which he had read and possibly owned.

In a letter to Samuel Johnson, D. D., he asked: "If you have a spare one of your 'Essays on the Method of Study', its English edition, please to send it me."⁷⁷

Franklin wrote to Lord Kames in England in 1760 and mentioned reading (and probably owning) Kames' Principles of Equity,⁷⁸ and in a later letter to Kames he wrote of reading his Introduction to the Art of Thinking.⁷⁹

Writing to Col. Henry Bouquet, Franklin stated: "I have lately received a Number of new Pamphlets from England and France, among which is a piece of Voltaire's on the Subject of Religious Toleration."⁸⁰ An undated letter from Franklin to the printer of

75. Ibid., November 3, 1772, 445.
 76. Ibid., July 28, 1743, II, 238.
 77. Ibid., December 24, 1751, III, 62.
 78. Ibid., May 3, 1760, IV, 12.
 79. Ibid., November, 1761, 120.
 80. Ibid., September 30, 1754, 267.

the London Chronicle said:

I met lately with an old Quarto Book on a Stall, the Title-Page and the Author's Name wanting, but containing Discourses, address'd to some King of Spaine, on the Means of extending the Greatness of that Monarchy, translated into English, and said in the last Leaf, to be printed at London by Bonham Norton and John Bull, Printers to the King's most excellent Majestie, MDCXXIX. ⁸¹

Corresponding with Charles W. F. Dumas, who lived in Leyden and served as a secret agent for the colonies in Holland during the American Revolution, Franklin said: "I received...the very entertaining and informing Books you so obligingly sent me, for which I thank you." ⁸² He also wrote to Cadwallader Evans saying: "With this I send you our last volume of Philosophical Transactions....When you and your friends have perused it, please to deliver it to Mrs. Franklin to be put among my books. Thanks for the books on the silk affair." ⁸³ Writing to Thomas Cushing he reported: "I was a Subscriber to a Set of Plates published here [London], entitled The Senator's Remembrancer...." ⁸⁴ Franklin wrote to Dr. Richard Price thanking him for a book entitled An Appeal to the Public on the Subject of the National Debt (1771). ⁸⁵ In 1772 Franklin wrote to Francis Masera thanking him for the pamphlets on proposing to establish life annuities in parishes, ⁸⁶ and to the Rev. William Smith expressing his thanks for the books "the Society"

81. Ibid., n. d., 89.

82. Ibid., July 25, 1768, V, 150.

83. Ibid., August 27, 1770, 270.

84. Ibid., June 10, 1771, 327.

85. Ibid., February 11, 1772, 389.

86. Ibid., June 17, 1772, 406.

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had sent him.⁸⁷ In 1773 Franklin received pamphlets from Benjamin Rush and Anthony Benezet,⁸⁸ and also wrote to John Baskerville: "I duly received your...valuable Present of Shaftesbury, excellently printed...."⁸⁹ Writing once again to C. W. F. Dumas, Franklin said: "I am much obliged by the kind present of your edition of Vattel....Your manuscript 'Idee sur le Gouvernement et la Royauté' is also well relished....I thank you, likewise, for the other smaller pieces, which accompanied Vattel. 'Le Court Exposé de ce qui est passé entre la Cour Britanique et les Colonies, '&c...."⁹⁰ Even royalty added books to his collection, as can be seen in a letter from Franklin to His Most Serene Highness, Don Gabriel of Bourbon thanking him for his "excellent version of Salust."⁹¹

Franklin was also a student of modern foreign languages and seems to have read and owned books written in these languages. In his autobiography he stated: "I had begun in 1733 to study languages; I soon made myself so much a master of the French as to be able to read the books with ease. I then undertook the Italian....I afterwards with a little painstaking acquir'd as much of the Spanish as to read their books also."⁹²

87. Ibid., August 22, 1772, 431.
 88. Ibid., July 14, 1773, VI, 100.
 89. Ibid., September 21, 1773, 125.
 90. Ibid., December 9, 1775, VI, 432.
 91. Ibid., December 12, 1775, 436.
 92. Ibid., I, 347.

Evidence of both Franklin's forgetfulness and his library are found in the ads of his own newspaper, the Pennsylvania Gazette. On July 24, 1735, the following ad appeared: "The Person that borrowed B. Franklin's Law-Book of this Province is hereby desired to return it, he having forgot to whom he lent it."⁹³

Similar ads were:

Lent some time since a Book entitled Campbell's Vitruvius Brittannico's, the Person who has it is desired to return it to the Printer hereof. Also the first Volume of Clarendon's History.

Lent to Capt. Lawrie (and left by him in the Hands of some of his Acquaintance in Philadelphia) the second Volume of State Trials, wrote on the Title-Page, William Shaw. The Person who has it, is requested to bring it to the Printer hereof.

Lent, and forgot to whom, Wood's Institutes of the Laws of England, Folio. The Person that has it, is desired to return it to the Printer hereof.

Lent, but forgot to whom, the second Volume of Pamela; also the first Volume of the Turkish Spy. The persons that have them, are desired to send them to the Post-Office. 94

Thus we can see the extreme breadth of Franklin's interests and learning which covered almost every phase of life. We can gather from the evidence cited from his autobiography, correspondence and other writings that he owned books dealing with religion, science, the classics, law, philosophy, government, mathematics, poetry, drama, fiction and current periodicals, with scientific publications being possibly the most

93. Cook, Literary Influences, 119.

94. P. L. Ford, The Many-Sided Franklin (New York, 1898-9), 102.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that this is crucial for the company's financial health and for providing reliable information to stakeholders.

2. The second part of the document outlines the specific procedures for recording transactions. It details the steps from initial entry to final review, ensuring that all necessary information is captured and verified.

3. The third part of the document addresses the role of the accounting department in this process. It highlights the need for clear communication and collaboration between different departments to ensure data accuracy.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of regular audits and reviews. It explains how these checks help identify errors early and ensure that the records remain up-to-date and accurate.

5. The fifth part of the document covers the final steps of the process, including the preparation of financial statements and the distribution of reports to management and other interested parties.

6. The sixth part of the document provides a summary of the key points discussed. It reiterates the importance of accuracy and the need for a systematic approach to record-keeping.

7. The seventh part of the document offers some practical tips and suggestions for improving the record-keeping process. It includes advice on how to handle common challenges and how to stay organized.

8. The eighth part of the document concludes with a final statement on the overall goal of the process. It emphasizes that the ultimate aim is to provide a clear and accurate picture of the company's financial performance.

9. The ninth part of the document provides a list of resources and references for further information. It includes links to relevant articles, books, and internal documents that can be used for more detailed guidance.

predominant single group. Unfortunately, however, no real estimate of its size or value in 1776 can be given, but it is certainly an excellent example of the trend away from religious works towards secular works so prominent in the eighteenth century.

In concluding this section on Pennsylvania private libraries, it seems fitting to include a statement made by Franklin concerning the large German population in Pennsylvania. In a letter to one Richard Jackson written in 1733, Franklin stated: "They [the German population] import many books from Germany; and of the six Printing-Houses in the Province, two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English."⁹⁵ Evidently, then, at least some of the German speaking population of Pennsylvania owned libraries, although again we know nothing of their numbers, value, or contents.

It is necessary now to draw some conclusions as to the private libraries in the middle colonies from 1664 to 1776. References to any seventeenth century libraries, were, indeed, scarce, particularly in the colonies of New York and Pennsylvania, and none of real importance were found in this period. However, the eighteenth century showed a marked increase in the numbers and size of private libraries, particularly in the latter part of the period.

95. Franklin, Writings, May 5, 1733, III, 140.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. This is essential for ensuring the integrity of the financial statements and for providing a clear audit trail. The records should be kept up-to-date and should be easily accessible to all relevant parties.

2. The second part of the document outlines the procedures for handling cash and other assets. It is important to ensure that all cash receipts are properly recorded and that all disbursements are supported by valid documentation. Regular reconciliations should be performed to ensure that the books are in balance.

3. The third part of the document discusses the requirements for preparing financial statements. These statements should be prepared in accordance with the applicable accounting standards and should be reviewed by a qualified professional. The statements should provide a clear and concise summary of the organization's financial performance.

4. The fourth part of the document outlines the procedures for managing debt and other liabilities. It is important to ensure that all liabilities are properly recorded and that payments are made on time. Regular communication with creditors should be maintained to ensure that all obligations are met.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the requirements for maintaining proper records of all transactions. This includes keeping accurate records of all sales, purchases, and other business activities. These records should be kept for a sufficient period of time to allow for a complete audit.

6. The sixth part of the document outlines the procedures for handling tax matters. It is important to ensure that all tax obligations are properly calculated and paid on time. Regular consultation with a tax professional is recommended to ensure compliance with all applicable tax laws.

In both numbers and size of libraries, Pennsylvania showed her predominance over the neighboring colonies of New York and New Jersey for all but the very earliest years of the period under discussion. It seems reasonable to assume from the evidence presented that as Boston seems to have been the "literary capitol" of the New England colonies, so Philadelphia assumed a similar position in the literary life of the middle colonies.

As far as library contents were concerned, the collections on the whole showed a very definite trend away from religious domination and towards a greater variety of contents. Certainly one could not say that religion, science, philosophy or any single type predominated as it did in seventeenth century New England. Books on almost every subject were found - religion, science, law, government, philosophy, mathematics, classics, poetry, drama, agriculture, medicine (although I found relatively few references to libraries belonging to physicians or surgeons), voyages and travels and even a smattering of fiction which was virtually non-existent in the libraries of seventeenth century New England. Also several contemporary authors and periodicals seem to have been relatively common (Pope, Addison, Steele, Locke, Voltaire and magazines such as The Tatler, The Spectator, and The Gentlemen's Magazine). However, again, probably the most important trend of the period was the trend towards secularism in libraries.

Unfortunately, the available evidence is not sufficient

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes that proper record-keeping is essential for ensuring transparency and accountability in financial operations. This section also highlights the role of internal controls in preventing fraud and errors.

2. The second part of the document focuses on the implementation of robust risk management strategies. It outlines various risk assessment techniques and provides guidance on how to identify, measure, and mitigate potential risks. The text stresses the need for a proactive approach to risk management to protect the organization's assets and reputation.

3. The third part of the document addresses the importance of effective communication and reporting. It discusses the need for clear and concise communication channels and the role of regular reporting in keeping stakeholders informed. This section also touches upon the importance of data security and the need for strong cybersecurity measures to protect sensitive information.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the importance of continuous improvement and innovation. It encourages organizations to regularly review their processes and procedures to identify areas for improvement and to embrace new technologies and practices. This section also highlights the importance of fostering a culture of innovation and learning within the organization.

5. The fifth part of the document discusses the importance of ethical conduct and corporate social responsibility. It emphasizes the need for organizations to adhere to high ethical standards and to be transparent in their operations. This section also touches upon the importance of contributing to the community and the environment through various social responsibility initiatives.

6. The sixth part of the document discusses the importance of financial stability and sound financial management. It outlines various financial management techniques and provides guidance on how to maintain a healthy financial position. This section also highlights the importance of budgeting and financial forecasting in making informed business decisions.

7. The seventh part of the document discusses the importance of human resources and talent management. It emphasizes the need for organizations to attract, develop, and retain top talent. This section also touches upon the importance of providing training and development opportunities to employees to enhance their skills and productivity.

8. The eighth part of the document discusses the importance of legal compliance and regulatory requirements. It outlines various legal and regulatory requirements that organizations must adhere to and provides guidance on how to ensure compliance. This section also highlights the importance of staying up-to-date on changes in laws and regulations.

9. The ninth part of the document discusses the importance of environmental sustainability and green business practices. It emphasizes the need for organizations to minimize their environmental footprint and to embrace sustainable business practices. This section also touches upon the importance of reporting on environmental performance and the role of sustainability in long-term business success.

10. The tenth part of the document discusses the importance of crisis management and business continuity planning. It outlines various crisis management techniques and provides guidance on how to develop and implement a business continuity plan. This section also highlights the importance of having a clear communication plan in place to manage crises effectively.

to allow any real supposition as to just how widespread libraries (and literacy) were. About the best that can be said is that there were libraries (and good libraries) in the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania from the time of their founding to the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

CONCLUSION

What then can be concluded concerning the numbers, contents, and value of private libraries in the New England and middle colonies (ranging from Maine on the north to Pennsylvania and New Jersey on the south) from 1620 to 1776? It certainly is not sufficient to say merely that there were many libraries existing in this period (and many of them good ones).

First of all, one can hardly overemphasize the great predominance of religious works (Bibles, psalters, catechisms, collections of sermons and other similar volumes of a religious nature) in the private libraries of seventeenth century New England. Example after example was cited of this fact, and it certainly stands out as the major trend of the earlier part of the century in particular. However, as is to be expected, there were some very definite exceptions to this generalization, with the predominantly medical libraries of George Alcock and Samuel Brackenbury, and the rather high percentage of law books in the library of William Harris being probably the most notable exceptions.

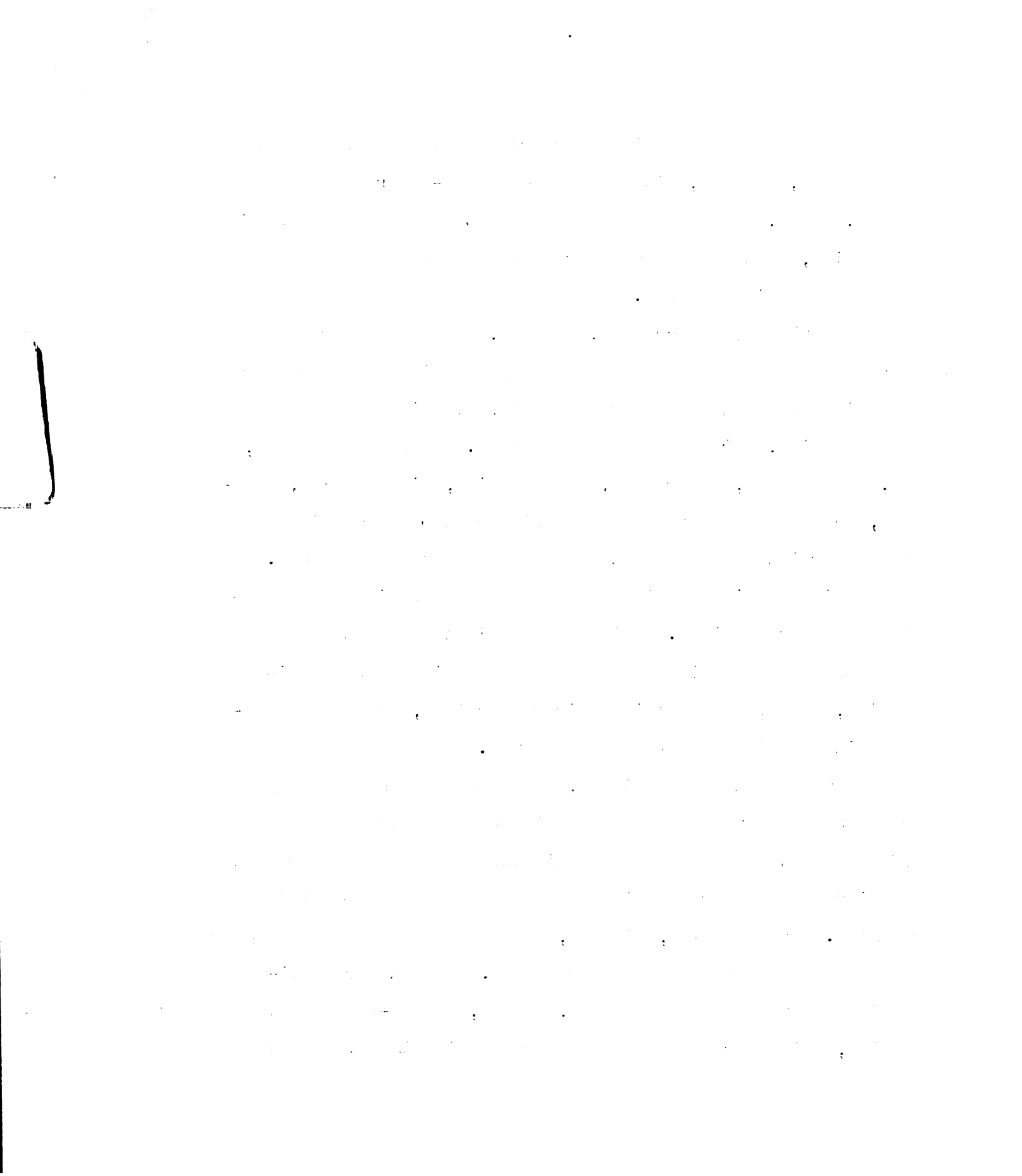
As the seventeenth century wore on, however, this predominantly religious trend in libraries began to undergo some modifications, and secular works - the classics, scientific works (including works on agriculture, medicine, and surgery), and even occasionally some literature and belles-lettres - came to be more and more prevalent in the libraries of the time.

Even with these modifications occurring in the later part of the century, however, literature and belles-lettres (including poetry, drama, and fiction) are the outstanding weaknesses of the period, with almost no references to fiction being found during the entire century.

It would not be accurate, however, to leave the reader with the impression that only books of a religious nature were found in seventeenth century libraries, even in the early part of the period, for such was not the case. Works on medicine, law, agriculture, government, the classics, dictionaries, grammars, and even an occasional book either in or concerning a modern foreign language such as French or Dutch were found.

It is also interesting to note the rather widespread mention of books in wills. This seems to imply that these early settlers placed considerable value upon their books and libraries, took real pride in their collections, and were interested in the disposal of their contents.

As has already been hinted, as the seventeenth century progressed and much more strongly in the years from 1700 to 1776 the trend towards the predominance of secular rather than religious works increased in both the New England and middle colonies. Books on law, history, the classics and other secular subjects became more and more prevalent. The number of libraries including works of drama, poetry, belles-lettres and even fiction, which were for the most part lacking in seventeenth

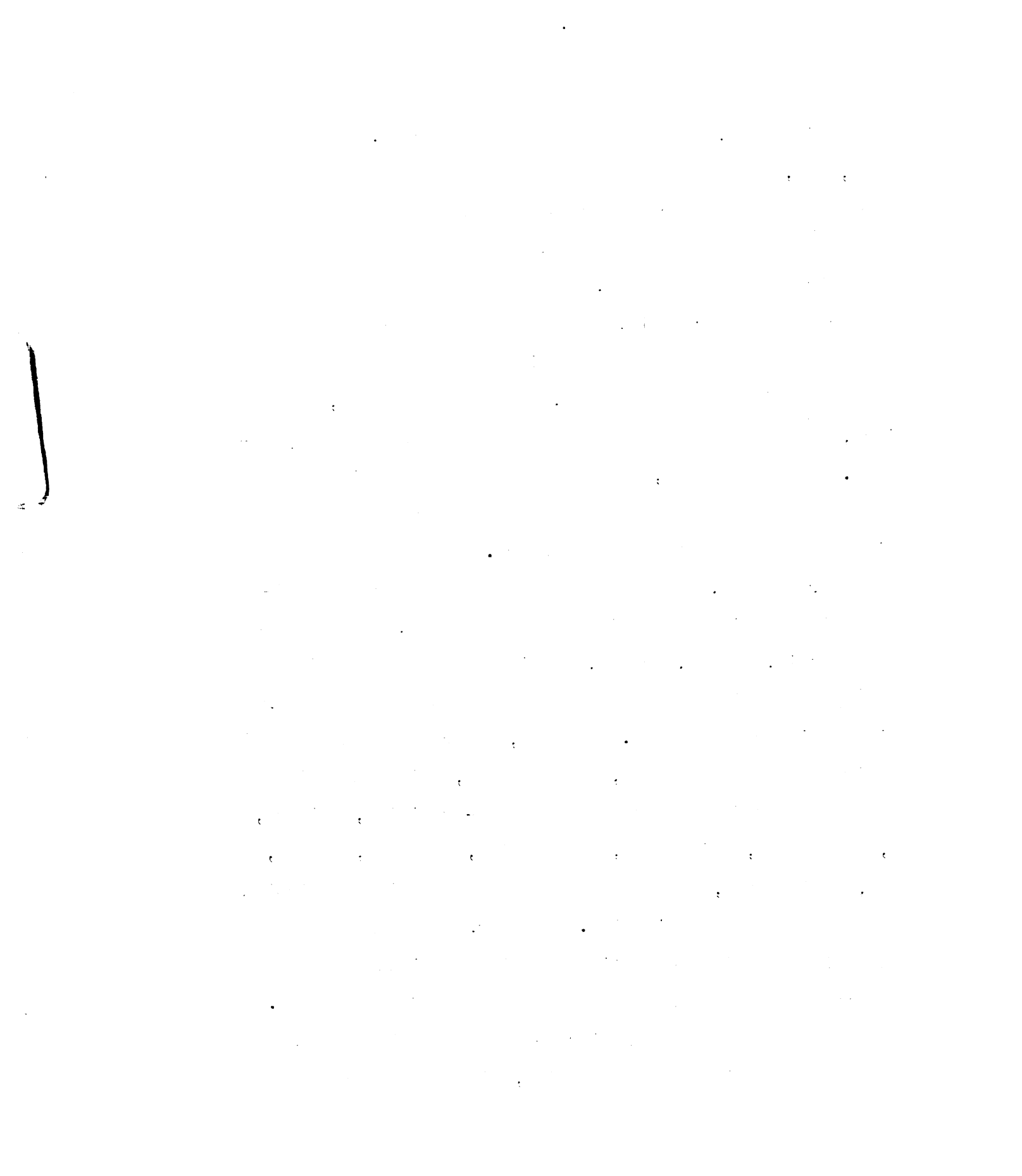


century libraries, also increased in this period. It is interesting, too, to note that more and more books by contemporary authors and more and more current periodicals were included in libraries as the century advanced.

During this same period, an interest in book collecting in a more or less scientific sense and as an end in itself also seems to have developed with the libraries of the Mathers (Cotton and his son and grandson, both named Samuel), Thomas Prince, and John Adams being probably the most noteworthy examples. In other words, eighteenth century libraries seem to have been on the whole larger and somewhat broader in scope than their seventeenth century predecessors.

Unfortunately, the evidence of seventeenth century libraries in the middle colonies of Pennsylvania, New York and New Jersey is, indeed, scanty, and it is almost impossible to make any generalizations as to their contents with the extremely limited evidence available. However, the collections found in the eighteenth century were, on the whole, quite catholic with all types of subject matter being found - religion, science, law, government, philosophy, mathematics, classics, poetry, drama, agriculture, medicine and even a smattering of fiction with no one type predominating. However, there is somewhat less available evidence of libraries in the middle colonies on the whole than for their northern neighbors of New England.

In the New England colonies in particular in both the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, ministers were the



largest book-owners, and seem to have in general been the better educated people of the time. The great predominance of religious books in the early part of this period is no doubt directly related to this fact. However, physicians, surgeons, and leaders in law and government were also well represented among library owners in both the New England and middle colonies.

As for a comparison of the numbers and value of libraries in the various colonies discussed, Massachusetts very definitely showed her predominance through this entire period and lives up to the claims of those who state that she was the leading colony of the time in things of an intellectual nature. Connecticut was probably the next ranking colony during the seventeenth century with Pennsylvania and Connecticut both showing evidence of relatively good libraries in the eighteenth century. It also seems reasonable to conclude from the evidence presented that Boston was more or less the "literary capitol" of the New England colonies with Philadelphia occupying the same position in the middle colonies.

Unfortunately, no definitive statement can be made as to just how many libraries existed in the New England and middle colonies from 1620 to 1776 or their total value. About the best that can be concluded is that there were private libraries - many of them large and important - existing in this period.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is, indeed, a difficult job to attempt to classify the works used in a study of this type. Primarily the trouble lies in the fact that it is almost impossible to separate them categorically into primary and secondary sources, as in many instances both primary material (such as wills or listings of estate inventories or the like) and secondary material (comments by the author on the subject's books and libraries) were contained in the same book or periodical article. Therefore I have determined that the most practical method is to break down the works used into four major categories, source material from periodicals, source material from books, secondary material from periodicals, and secondary material from books. Where one volume or article might be classified in more than one of these categories, I have rather arbitrarily included it in the one I personally felt the most logical and noted its deviation from the standard.

Source Material from Periodicals: As might be expected, historical journals and publications of historical societies afforded the bulk of source material from periodicals. Records of some of the very earliest New England libraries were found in two articles by George Ernest Bowman in The Mayflower Descendant, a Quarterly Magazine of Pilgrim Genealogy and History, vol. 3 (1901), "Alice (Carpenter) (Southworth) Bradford's Will and Inventory," 144-149, and "Governor Thomas Prentice's Will and Inventory, and the Records of His Death,"

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203-216. A list of the library of Theophilus Eaton given to the town of New Haven is listed in an article by Franklin B. Dexter, "The First Public Library in New Haven," in Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, vol. 6 (1900), 301-313. Three articles from the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts also give source material concerning early libraries. The primarily medical library of George Alcock is discussed and listed by Samuel Eliot Morison in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Transactions 1930-1933, vol. 28 (1935) in an article titled "The Library of George Alcock, Medical Student, 1676," 350-357. In this very same volume, the Rev. Charles F. and Mr. Robin Robinson wrote of "Three Early Massachusetts Libraries," 107-175, sold to the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel. In Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Collections, vols. 29 and 30 (1933) were included "Records of the Suffolk Country Court, 1671-1680." Source material was also found in three articles from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. Justin Winsor wrote one titled "Abstracts of the Earliest Wills in the Probate Office, Plymouth" appearing in vol. 5, no. 3 (July, 1851), 335-339. "The Will of Peter Bulkeley" was printed in vol. 10 (1856), 167-170. William B. Trask collected "Abstracts of the Earliest Wills on Record, or On the Files in the Country of Suffolk, Massachusetts," which appeared in vols. 9 (1855), 343-349; 11 (1857), 338-346; 17 (1863), 343-347; and 30 (1876), 432-435.

Two articles giving some primary material on the library of Elder William Brewster of the early Plymouth Colony appeared in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The first one, "The Library of Elder Brewster" appeared in vol. 3, second series (1886-7), 265-274, and the second by Rev. Henry M. Dexter titled "Elder Brewster's Library" appeared in vol. 5, second series (1889-90), 37-85. Also appearing in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society were letters from "Henry Oldenburg to John Winthrop," vol. 16 (1878), 244-245 and 250-251, "Diaries of Rev. William Smith and Dr. Cotton Tufts, 1738-1784," vol. 42 (1908-9), 410-471, and Julius Herbert Tuttle's "Bowdoin Library," vol. 51 (1917-8), 362-368 listing the catalogue of the library of James Bowdoin that was left in his home when it was taken over by British General Burgoyne in 1775. Probably the most important source of primary material among the periodicals, however, were the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Included in these volumes were the "Winthrop Papers," vol. x, third series, (1849), 1-127, the "Diary of Samuel Sewall" in three volumes, vols. 5, 6, and 7 of the fifth series (1878, 1879 and 1882), and "The Letter Book of Samuel Sewall," vols. 1 and 2, sixth series (1886 and 1888). These Collections also included two works giving source material concerning the famous Mather Libraries, "The Mather Papers," vol. 8, fourth series (1898), and "The Diary of Cotton Mather, 1681-1708," vol. 7 (1911) in two parts. A mention of the extremely useful article by Julius



H. Tuttle titled "The Libraries of the Mathers" (which also gave some secondary evidence of other New England private libraries as well as both primary and secondary material on the Mather Libraries) appearing in the American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, vol. 20, new series (1910), 269-357, concludes this section on source material from periodicals.

Source Material from Books: A great deal of material concerning libraries and their contents was found in such things as the collected writings, correspondence, journals and diaries of persons living in the colonial period. Rather interestingly, however, almost all of these come from the eighteenth century. The only two exceptions in this essay were The Life and Letters of John Winthrop, from His Embarkation for New England in 1630, with the Charter and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, to His Death in 1649, edited by Robert Charles Winthrop, second edition, 2 vols., (Boston, 1869), and The Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679-1680, Burleigh James Bartlett and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., (New York, 1913). Danckaerts was a traveller in America and included some information on the libraries of the middle colonies. Several journals, writings, diaries, correspondence and the like for the eighteenth century included source material. Concerning the library of the Pennsylvania Quaker, John Woolman, we have The Journals and Essays of John Woolman Edited from the Original Manuscripts with a Biographical Introduction, Amelia Mott Gummere, ed., Rancocas edition (New York, 1922). From my own personal point of view, however, I felt

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that the most interesting reading I did in connection with this essay was in the writings of that extremely colorful American, Benjamin Franklin. Information concerning his library was found in The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin and Selections From His Writings, Illustrated Modern Library Edition (n. p., 1944) and The Writings of Benjamin Franklin, Collected and Edited with a Life and Introduction, Albert H. Smyth, ed., 10 vols. (New York, 1907) which make fascinating and valuable reading indeed. Not much material on libraries was available in The Writings of Samuel Adams edited and collected by Harry Alonzo Cushing, 4 vols., (New York, 1904). Much more useful information was found in The Works of John Adams, Second President of the United States: with a Life of the Author, Notes and Illustrations, Charles Francis Adams, ed., 10 vols., (Boston, 1856). John and his wife Abigail also mention the library of the Mathers's in Familiar Letters of John Adams and His Wife Abigail Adams During the Revolution with a Memoir of Mrs. Adams, also edited by Charles Francis Adams (New York, 1876). A very limited amount of material is also available in Memoirs of His Own Time, with Reminiscences of the Men and Events of the Revolution by Alexander Graydon, John Stockton Littel, ed. (Philadelphia, 1846). Some information concerning libraries in the middle colonies was found in an account of the travels of Andrew Burnaby, an English clergyman who travelled through the middle colonies in 1759 and 1760, included in Selected Readings in American History edited by Theodore C. Pease and

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The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions. It emphasizes that every entry should be supported by a valid receipt or invoice. This ensures transparency and allows for easy verification of the data.

In the second section, the author outlines the various methods used to collect and analyze the data. This includes both manual and automated processes. The goal is to ensure that the data is as accurate and reliable as possible.

The third section provides a detailed breakdown of the results. It shows that there has been a significant increase in sales over the period covered. This is attributed to several factors, including improved marketing strategies and better customer service.

Finally, the document concludes with a series of recommendations for future actions. These include continuing to invest in marketing, improving operational efficiency, and maintaining the high standards of data accuracy that have been established.

A. Sellow Roberts (New York, 1928). The only available information concerning libraries in the state of Maine was included in Maine Wills: 1640-1760 compiled and edited by William M. Sargent (Portland, Maine, 1887). Unfortunately, however, the state library fire made it impossible for me to complete the use of this book as it was unobtainable either at the University of Michigan library or through inter-library loan.

Secondary Material from Periodicals: Historical journals and publications of historical societies are the chief source of secondary material concerning libraries. For example, The Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society include a speech by Charles Francis Adams at the "Exercises At the Laying of the Corner Stone," vol. 20, new series (1909), part 1, 7-17, which mentioned the library of an early Rhode Island minister, William Blackstone, and a much more valuable article by Franklin B. Dexter, "Early Private Libraries in New England," vol. 18 (1907), part 2, 135-148. An article containing predominantly secondary material on "Gov. Thomas Dudley's Library" was found in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, vol. 12 (1858), 355. Another valuable article of a more general nature was Julius H. Tuttle's "Early New England Libraries," Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, vol. 13 (1912), 288-292. Randall Stewart contributed an article on "Puritan Literature and the Flowering of New England" to the William and Mary Quarterly: A Magazine of

Early American History, Institutions, and Culture, vol. 3, no. 3, third series (1946), 319-343. However, the information on libraries given in this publication was almost entirely limited to those south of the region covered in this study. An extremely helpful article was Thomas E. Keys, "The Colonial Library and the Development of Sectional Differences in the American Colonies," the Library Quarterly, vol. 8, no. 3 (1938), 373-391. This article, however, was not as valuable for the secondary material it presented as for its listing of the locations of the catalogues and inventories of many important libraries of the period. The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography contained two important articles on private libraries of that colony, E. V. Lamberton's "Colonial Libraries of Pennsylvania," vol. 42, no. 3 (July, 1918), 193-235, and Carl Bridenbaugh's "The Press and the Book in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," vol. 65, no. 1 (January, 1941), 1-31. Evidence of libraries from gifts to Harvard College was found in Charles A. Cutter, "Harvard College Library," North American Review, vol. 107 (July-Oct. 1868), 568-594. The largest single source, however, for secondary material from periodicals was the New England Quarterly: An Historical Review of New England Life and Letters. At least ten useful articles were found within its pages. Since there is no particular connection between these articles, I will rather arbitrarily discuss them briefly alphabetically by the last name of the author. Susan Stanton Brayton wrote "The Library of an Eighteenth Century

Gentleman of Rhode Island," vol. 8, no. 2, (1935), 277-284, telling of the library of Henry Marchant. E. Francis Brown wrote about "The Law Career of Major Joseph Hawley," vol. 4, no. 3 (1931), 482-509, and included some material on Hawley's library. Two articles were contributed by Theodore Hornberger, "Benjamin Colman and the Enlightenment," vol. 12, no. 2 (1939), 227-241, and "Puritanism and Science - The Relationship Revealed in the Writings of John Cotton," vol. 10, no. 3 (1937), 503-516. Two articles mentioning the library of Edward Taylor, an early New England poet, were written by Thomas H. Johnson and Sidney E. Lind. Johnson's article was titled "Edward Taylor: A Puritan 'Sacred Poet'", vol. 10, no. 2 (1937), 290-323, and Lind wrote "Edward Taylor: A Revaluation," vol. 21, no. 4 (1948), 519-530. The library of Jonathan Edwards, the dynamic leader of the so-called "Great Awakening" was mentioned by Perry Miller in "Jonathan Edwards' Sociology of the Great Awakening," vol. 21 (1948), 50-77. Another source for information concerning the library of John Adams in addition to his own writings and correspondence was Dorothy M. Robathan's "John Adams and the Classics," vol. 19 (1946), 91-98. The only available information concerning the library of John Wise was Clinton L. Rossiter's "John Wise: Colonial Democrat," vol. 22 (1949), 3-32. The last article of importance from the New England Quarterly was Clifford K. Shipton's "Literary Leaven in Provincial New England," vol. 9, no. 2 (1936), 203-218 which mentioned particularly libraries of colonial Connecticut.

Secondary Material from Books: Several books gave a more or less general history of the entire colonial period or a particular section of either country or time. In all these books, any mentions of libraries were more or less incidental and not particularly valuable: Florence Bennett Anderson, A Grandfather for Benjamin Franklin: The True Story of a Nantucket Pioneer and His Mates (Boston, 1890), Carl Lotus Becker, Beginnings of the American People (Boston, 1915), John A. Goodwin, The Pilgrim Republic: An Historical Review of the Colony of New Plymouth with Sketches of the Rise of other New England Settlements, The History of Congregationalism, and the Creeds of the Period (Boston, 1888), Cotton Mather's famous Magnalia Christi Americana; or the Ecclesiastical History of New England; from its First Planting, in the year 1620, Unto the Year of Our Lord 1698, 7 books, 2 vols. (Hartford, 1855), John Gorham Palfrey, A Compendious History of New England from the Discovery by Europeans to the First General Congress of the Anglo-American Colonies, 4 vols. (Boston, 1884). Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, John Checkley; or the Evolution of Religious Tolerance in Massachusetts Bay, 2 vols. (Boston, 1897), William B. Weedon, Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789, 2 vols. (Boston, 1890), Whitaker's Southold; Being a Substantial Reproduction of the History of Southold, Long Island, Its First Century, edited by Rev. Epher Whitaker (Princeton, 1931), and George F. Willison, Saints and Strangers, Being the Lives of the Pilgrim Fathers and Their Families, with Their Friends

and Foes; and an Account of Their Posthumous Wanderings in Limbo, Their Final Ressurrection & Rise to Glory, & the Strange Pilgrimages of Plymouth Rock (New York, 1945).

Another group of books was more valuable to this study and contained information more specifically relating to libraries. By far the most important secondary source for this essay was Thomas Goddard Wright's Literary Culture in Early New England, 1620-1730 (New Haven, 1920). Mr. Wright did an amazing amount of both accurate and detailed research in the field of private libraries and his book is indeed invaluable to a study of this type. Its rather lengthy appendix also presents some primary material in its listings of catalogues and inventories, but I felt that the work belonged primarily in this secondary category. Some valuable information as well as some bibliographical suggestions for this study were found in James Truslow Adams, Provincial Society, 1690-1763 (New York, 1927), part of the History of American Life Series. Substantial amounts of material on a few important library owners was found in Carl Leslie Cannon's American Book Collectors and Collecting From Colonial Times to the Present (New York, 1941). Samuel Abbott Green's Miscellaneous Writings (n. p., n. d.) included material on the library of the Rev. Samuel Lee in the section entitled "Remarks On an Early Book-Catalogue Printed in Boston; with other Bibliographical Matter." Another important book for the early part of this study was Samuel Eliot Morison's The Puritan Pronaos: Studies in the Intellectual Life of New

England in the Seventeenth Century (New York, 1936). Less valuable works were Charles M. Andrews, Colonial Folkways: A Chronicle of American Life in the Reign of the Georges (New Haven, 1921), Elizabeth Christine Cook, Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers, 1704-1750 (New York, 1912), and Louis Booker Wright, The Atlantic Frontier: Colonial American Civilization, 1607-1763 (New York, 1947).

The least important group of secondary sources were the biographies. On the whole they were less reliable and less helpful than any other large category. For that reason I do not feel it necessary to comment on each one of them individually, so will merely list them alphabetically by the last name of the author: Irving Brant, James Madison: The Virginia Revolutionist, 2 vols. (Indianapolis and New York, 1941), George S. Brookes, Friend Anthony Beneset (Philadelphia, 1937), E. Francis Brown, Joseph Hawley: Colonial Radical (New York, 1931), Alexander Cowie, John Trumbull: Connecticut Wit (Chapel Hill, 1936), Charles E. Cunningham, Timothy Dwight 1752-1817, a Biography (New York, 1942), Ernest Earnest, John and William Bartram: Botanists and Explorers 1699-1777, 1739-1823 (Philadelphia, 1940), James Ernst, Roger Williams: New England Firebrand (New York, 1932), N. Bryllion Fagin, William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape (Baltimore, 1933), Henry Wilder Foote, Robert Feke: Colonial Portrait Painter (Cambridge, 1930), Paul Leicester Ford, The Many-Sided Franklin (New York, 1898-9), Ferris Greenslet, The Lowells and their Seven Worlds (Boston,

1946), Arthur Cushman McGiffert Jr., Jonathan Edwards (New York, 1932), Perry Miller, Jonathan Edwards, The American Men of Letters Series (n. p., 1949), John Pell, Ethan Allan (Boston, 1929), Henry C. Shelley, John Harvard and His Times (Boston, 1913), Jared Sparks, The Library of American Biography, 10 vols. (New York, 1856), Harry R. Warfel, Noah Webster: Schoolmaster to America (New York, 1936), Charles Warren, Jacobin and Junto: or Early American Politics as Viewed in the Diary of Dr. Nathaniel Ames 1758-1822 (Cambridge, 1931), Ola Elizabeth Winslow, Jonathan Edwards 1703-1758: A biography (New York, 1940), Carl Raymond Woodward, Ploughs and Politicks; Charles Read of New Jersey and His Notes on Agriculture 1715-1774 (New Brunswick, 1941), and Theodore Albert Zunder, The Early Days of Joel Barlow: A Connecticut Wit - Yale Graduate, Editor, lawyer and poet, Chaplain during the Revolutionary War - His Life and Works from 1754-1787 (New Haven, 1934).

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